DIGITALNE MEDIJSKE TEHNOLOGIJE I DRUŠTVENO-OBRAZOVNE PROMENE

8

FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET · NOVI SAD ·

DIGITALNE MEDIJSKE TEHNOLOGIJE I DRUŠTVENO-OBRAZOVNE PROMENE 8

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UNIVERZITET U NOVOM SADU
FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET NOVI SAD
21000 Novi Sad
Dr Zorana Đinđića 2
www.ff.uns.ac.rs

Za izdavača
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Glavni i odgovorni urednici
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Uvodnik

JUBILEJ *MOSTOVA MEDIJSKOG OBRAZOVANJA*

Zbornik radova *Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene 8* rezultat je odabira radova sa pozitivnim recenzijama, koji su predstavljeni na jubilarnoj 10. međunarodnoj naučnoj konferenciji *Mostovi medijskog obrazovanja*, održanoj na Filozofskom fakultetu u Novom Sadu 14. i 15. septembra 2018.

Na konferenciji je svoje radove predstavilo 42 izlagača – nastavnika, saradnika, studenata doktorskih i master studija, kao i samostalnih istraživača koji su došli iz čak 16 zemalja: Belgije, Bosne i Hercegovine, Bugarske, Crne Gore, Italije, Japana, Mađarske, Makedonije, Norveške, Poljske, Portugala, Rumunije, Slovačke, Slovenije, Srbije i Velike Britanije. Autori su se u svojim istraživanjima u *Zborniku* bavili temama kao što su: *Lažne vesti i medijska pismenost u hibridnim medijskim sistemima, Javni medijski servisi u kontekstu novih medija i publike, Digitalni mediji, kultura i isključenost, Digitalni mediji, politika i novinarstvo, Novinarstvo i digitalna medijska praska* i *Učenje i digitalni mediji.*

Zbog aktuelnih medijskih tema i naučnih pristupa, ovaj *Zbornik* kako u štampanoj verziji, tako i u digitalnom formatu, predstavlja veoma korisno štivo naučnoj i stručnoj javnosti i dobru referencu za dalji istraživački rad. *Zbornik* je rezultat istraživanja i osme (produžene) godine realizacije projekta (šifra III 47020) koji finansira Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja Republike Srbije od 2010. i kategorizovan je kao tematski zbornik međunarodnog značaja (M14).

Budući da je u pitanju svojevrsni jubilej, ovo je prilika da se urednici *Zbornika* zahvale svim dosadašnjim istraživačima kojih je u proteklih 10 godina bilo preko 150 i koji su objavilli, pod okriljem ovog *Zbornika*, preko 200 naučnih i stručnih radova čija je najšira tema uvek bila u vezi sa digitalnim medijskim tehnologijama i društveno-obrazovnim promenama.

U Novom Sadu, decembra 2018.

Glavni i odgovorni urednici
vanr. prof. dr Dejan Pralica
asist. msr Norbert Šinković

Preface

JUBILEE OF *THE BRIDGES OF MEDIA EDUCATION*

The Book of Proceedings Digital Media Technologies And Socio-Educational Changes VIII is the result of the selection of the papers with the positive reviews, which were presented at the 10th International scientific conference *The Bridges of Media Education*, held at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad on 14th and 15th September 2018.

The papers were presented by 42 teachers, assistants, PhD and MA students, as well as researchers from sixteen countries: Belgium, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Bulgaria, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Hungary, Macedonia, Montenegro, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia and Slovenia. The authors of these *Proceedings* addressed the following topics: *Fake news and media literacy for hybrid media systems, Public broadcasting services in the context of new media and audiences, Digital media, politics and journalism, Digital media, culture and exclusion, Journalism and digital media practices* and *Learning and digital media.*

Due to current media topics and their scientific approach, these *Proceedings*, in both print and digital forms, represent a very useful read to academic and professional communities and good reference for further researches. *The Book of Proceedings* is the result of the eighth (additional) year of the realization of the project (III 47020) funded by The Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia since 2010, and it is classified as M14.

Since this is a jubilee, the editors would like to thank all the researches who published more than 200 papers in the *Proceedings* over the previous ten years.

In Novi Sad, December 2018

Editors in Chief
Assoc. Prof. Dejan Pralica, PhD
Ass. Norbert Šinković, MA

SADRŽAJ

Milica Bracić

MEDIJSKA ISTRAŽIVANJA 2011-2018 : BIBLIOGRAFIJA 13

Sanja Adzaip-Velichkovski

THE STORY BEHIND THE STORY OF THE "BOYS FROM VELES"..... 37

Jasmina Arsenijević, Milica Andevski

PARTICIPATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN DIGITAL MARKETING IN SERBIA 51

Carla Baptista

MEDIA PLURALISM AND DIVERSITY IN PORTUGUESE PUBLIC TELEVISION 65

Vladimir Barović

TERORIZAM KAO KRIZNA SITUACIJA U SVETU DIGITALNIH MEDIJA 81

Sandra Bašić Hrvatin, Lenart J. Kučić

„LAŽNE VIJESTI" – ZATON POVJERENJA U MEDIJE 93

Broos Claerhout, Alexander Deweppe

THE MEDIA PRODUCTION METHODOLOGY: USING MEDIA PRODUCTION TO EMPOWER YOUNGSTERS WITH FEWER OPPORTUNITIES: THE EDITORIAL BOARD SIMULATION PRACTICE 109

Vesna Đurić

DIGITALNA TELEVIZIJSKA ARHIVA: VAŽNA KARIKA U FUNKCIONISANJU *RADIO TELEVIZIJE REPUBLIKE SRPSKE* 123

Zlatomir Gajić

ČLANAK KAO NOVINARSKI ŽANR U ŠTAMPANIM MEDIJIMA I NA INTERNETU 133

Vladislava Gordić Petković

MIGRANT CRISIS AND ARTIVISM IN CONTEMPORARY SERBIAN FICTION 147

Giovanni Gozzini

SOCIAL MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY 161

Csilla Horváth

THE "EXTRAORDINARY THING" THE ONLY MANSI NEWSPAPER ON ONLINE PRESENCE AND SOCIAL MEDIA PRACTICES 165

Stefan Janjić

ANALIZA DISKURSA ONLAJN MEDIJA U SRBIJI O POLITIČKOM I DRUŠTVENOM ŽIVOTU JAPANA 177

Jelena Kleut, Ana Milojević

PROTEST I NASILJE: UOKVIRIVANJE PROTESTA „PROTIV DIKTATURE" U ONLAJN MEDIJIMA I KOMENTARIMA KORISNIKA .. 191

Sanja Kljajić

JAVNI MEDIJSKI SERVISI I PUBLIKA U DIGITALNO DOBA: STUDIJA SLUČAJA *RADIO-TELEVIZIJE VOJVODINE*..... 211

Manojlo Maravić

MAŠINIMA: PRIMER KULTURE FANOVA I MEDIJSKE KONVERGENCIJE VIDEO-IGARA I FILMA 225

Slađana Marić

VIRTUAL REALITY IN EDUCATION AND CPD: RESOURCES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS 239

Anka Mihajlov Prokopović, Marija Vujović

RADIO TELEVISION OF SERBIA IN FRONT OF CHALLENGES OF DIGITAL AGE..... 253

Tijana Milosevic

CYBERBULLYING POLICIES OF SOCIAL MEDIA COMPANIES 267

Irina Milutinović

AKTUELNI IZAZOVI JAVNOG MEDIJSKOG SERVISA – KOMPARATIVNA PERSPEKTIVA 279

Nikos Panagiotou

RE-READING TELEVISION: A CRITICAL APPROACH 295

Dragana Pavlović, Dina Petrović

TEORIJA KONEKTIVIZMA I UČENJE STRANIH JEZIKA 305

Marija Horvat, Tena Perišin

NOVINAR KAO INTERPRETATOR VIJESTI I DOGAĐAJA: USPOREDBA IZVJEŠTAVANJA U SREDIŠNJIM DNEVNICIMA *HRT*-A I *NOVE* TV 319

Jelena Petrović, Sanja Domazet

JOURNALISTIC PRACTICES IN DIGITAL AND PRINT EDITIONS OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS *POLITIKA* AND *NOVOSTI* 341

Dejan Pralica, Smiljana Milinkov

DIGITALIZACIJA RADIJA U SVETU I SRBIJI 353

Biljana Radić-Bojanić, Gordana Lalić-Krstin

BLENDED LEARNING WITH EDMODO: POTENTIALS AND DRAWBACKS 369

Nataša Ružić

THE ROLE OF MEDIA LITERACY IN PROTECTION AGAINST FAKE NEWS 383

Joan Soler-Adillon

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING IMMERSIVE 395

Zorica Stanisavljević Petrović, Anastasija Mamutović

STAVOVI STUDENATA O UPOTREBI DRUŠTVENE MREŽE *FACEBOOK* 405

Mira Vidaković, Dario Vidaković

ETIČKE IMPLIKACIJE LAŽNIH VESTI I NOVINARSTVO U NOVIM DIGITALNIM MEDIJIMA..... 419

Bissera Zankova

FIGHTING FAKE NEWS AND HOAXES IN THE AGE OF CONVERGENCE: EVALUATION OF FACT-CHECKING AND DEBUNKING ORGANIZATIONS' PERFORMANCE..... 433

Milica Bracić

MEDIJSKA ISTRAŽIVANJA 2011-2018 : BIBLIOGRAFIJA

UVODNE NAPOMENE

Bibliografija se sastoji iz dve glavne celine. U prvoj su navedene bibliografske pojedinosti svakog zbornika objavljenog u ediciji *Medijska istraživanja* od 2011. do 2018. godine, a u drugoj bibliografski podaci o naučnim radovima objavljenim u zbornicima. Zbornici su predstavljeni hronološki, a raspored analitičkih jedinica je abecedni. Svaku celinu prati po jedan imenski registar, koji uz ime autora sadrži i numeričku uputnicu u bibliografijama.

Podaci za bibliografiju preuzeti su iz elektronske baze COBISS.SR Biblioteke Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu (COBISS.SR-ID omogućava direktan uvid u bazu). Za predstavljanje bibliografskih podataka korišćeni su međunarodni bibliografski standardi za opis monografskih publikacija i analitičkih priloga iz zbornika, prilagođeni potrebama i svrsi same bibliografije.

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REGISTAR UREDNIKA

Barović, Vladimir 2
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Valić Nedeljković, Dubravka 1,2,3
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37. Diskursi o publikama u kulturi konvergencije / Jelena Kleut, Stefani Šovanec. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 7. – Str. 100–110. – COBISS.SR-ID 525478500
38. Društvene mreže i perspektive deliberativne demokratije / Milan Vukadinović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije

i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 389–395. – COBISS.SR-ID 523923812

39. Društvene mreže: "Ribari ljudskih duša" / Sanja Jovanović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 157–166. – COBISS.SR-ID 523786852
40. Efekti korišćenja medija u ranom uzrastu / Nataša Starčević. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 301–311. – COBISS.SR-ID 519721828
41. Effective preparation of multimedia journalist – possible reality or unachivable dream? / Zora Hudiková. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 149–157. – COBISS.SR-ID 525837412
42. Ekonomska održivost javnog servisa Srbije / Maja Dimić, Andrea Boršo. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 49–60. – COBISS.SR-ID 525832548
43. Ekonomska održivost radiodifuzne ustanove Vojvodine / Dijana Subotički. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 113–124. – COBISS.SR-ID 525835876
44. Elektronski muzej umetničke igre u Srbiji: rodna perspektiva / Vera Obradović, Svenka Savić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 252–261. – COBISS.SR-ID 523876708
45. Elektronski muzej žena Crne Gore / Ervina Dabižinović. – Summary: Women's e–museum of Montenegro. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 50–59. – COBISS.SR-ID 523737444
46. Empowering teachers through continuous professional development within digital environments / Slađana Marić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 7. – Str. 124–135. – COBISS.SR-ID 525480036
47. Enciklopedijska izdanja opšteg tipa na srpsko(hrvatskom) jeziku : štampana i/ili onlajn izdanja / Uglješa Belić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 7. – Str. 51–60. – COBISS.SR-ID 525291108
48. Ethical dimensions of (journalistic) representations and reporting of the other / Dejan Donev. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. – Str. 279–290. – COBISS.SR-ID 525825380
49. Etička pitanja prirodnog oglašavanja u novim digitalnim medijima / Mira Vidaković, Dario Vidaković. – U: Digitalne medijske

tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 309–318. – COBISS.SR-ID 322484231

50. Etična implementacija SEO strategija u digitalnom marketingu / Mira Vidaković, Dario Vidaković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str.: 378–388. – COBISS.SR-ID 523923044
51. Evaluation of public relations – theories and methods / Hrvoje Jakopović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 2. – Str. 175–183. – COBISS.SR-ID 525867364
52. Evropa za građane: kvantitativno–kvalitativna analiza medijskog diskursa pokrajinskih medija o Evropskoj uniji i evropeizaciji / Stefan Janjić, Goran Jerosimović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – ISBN 978–86–6065–308–8. – Str. 93–102. – COBISS.SR-ID 315160583
53. From challenges to opportunities: how to use digital technologies in transformation of Serbia into innovation-driven economy and knowledge-based society / Slađana Čabrilo, Leposava Grubić–Nešić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. – Str. 29–45. – COBISS.SR-ID 525806436
54. Gender and social roles in the media : faux feminism od "Gilmore girls" / Vladislava Gordić Petković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 7. – Str. 72–80. – COBISS.SR-ID 525312356
55. Govor mržnje u onlajn izdanju britanskog tabloida Dejli mejl / Stefan Janjić, Goran Jerosimović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 81–90. – COBISS.SR-ID 322351367
56. Identiteti obrazovanih Romkinja i Roma na društvenoj mreži Fejsbuk / Nevena Andrić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 11–27. – COBISS.SR-ID 523732836
57. Imaginea Țiganilor în cultura Română conterporană / Sorin D. Vintilă. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 319–326. – COBISS.SR-ID 322497543
58. Indikatori multimedijske pismenosti kao osnova medijskog obrazovanja / Ljiljana Lj. Bulatović, Goran Bulatović, Olja Arsenijević. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 149–157. – COBISS.SR-ID 525837156
59. Informacijsko društvo i demokratija : građanska

pismenost za digitalno doba / Emir Vajzović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 7. – Str. 268–278. – COBISS.SR-ID 525545572

60. Informisanje izbeglica i migranata pomoću multimedijalnih platformi – primer Refugee radio / Norbert Šinković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 257–267. – COBISS.SR-ID 322473735
61. Internet i marginalizovane grupe u Crnoj Gori / Nikola Radunović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – ISBN 978–86–6065–308–8. – Str. 375–384. – COBISS.SR-ID 315206919
62. Internet u doba Srbije : problemi interneta kao komunikacijskog medija u Srbiji / Isidora Todorović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 385–393. – COBISS.SR-ID 519738724
63. Internet u svakodnevnom životu : sociološki aspekti onlajn komunikacije / Dušan Ristić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. – Str. 69–82. – COBISS.SR-ID 525816676
64. Internet users, community and social implication / Anamaria Filimon Benea. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. – Str. 83–90. – COBISS.SR-ID 525817188
65. Intervju kao novinarski žanr u štampanim medijima i na internetu / Zlatomir Gajić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. – Str. 185–195. – COBISS.SR-ID 515962980
66. Istorija tabloida u srpskoj žurnalistici i ličnost Krste Cicvarića / Vladimir Barović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 2. – Str. 113–121. – COBISS.SR-ID 516831844
67. Izazovi i perspektive novih medija u odnosu na tradicionalne / Dragana Pavlović, Tatjana Vulić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 155–163. – COBISS.SR-ID 315164679
68. Između konvergencije i interaktivnosti: informativni program RTS–a i američkog PBS–a / Nikola Mlađenović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 218–227. – COBISS.SR-ID 523842404
69. Izveštavanje dnevnih novina (Blic, Politika i Kurir) na internetu o Paradi ponosa i Vojnoj paradi tokom 2014. godine / Silvija Pasti. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne

promene. 6. – Str. 262–273. – COBISS.SR-ID 523877220

70. Izveštavanje o seksualnim manjinama u srpskoj i rumunskoj dnevnoj štampi / Laura Spariosu. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. – Str. 291–299. – COBISS.SR-ID 525826916
71. Izvještavanje o Europskoj Uniji – iskustvo Hrvatske televizije / Tena Perišin. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 2. – Str. 199–206. – COBISS.SR-ID 525868388
72. Izvođenje ženskog identiteta u video–igrama / Manojlo Maravić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 263–272. – COBISS.SR-ID 315183367
73. Javni RTV servisi u Bosni i Hercegovini između digitalizacije i politizacije / Ljubomir Zuber, Dejana Radovanović Šarenac. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 335–341. – COBISS.SR-ID 322490631
74. Javni RTV sistem u BiH u digitalnom okruženju / Dejana Radovanović Šarenac, Aleksandra Mandić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 344–355. – COBISS.SR-ID 523916132
75. Javni servis Vojvodine – izazovi digitalizacije / Ljiljana Lj. Bulatović, Goran Bulatović, Olja Arsenijević. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 2. – Str. 123–135. – COBISS.SR-ID 512395165
76. Jezik medija kao instrument ideološko–političkih instrumentalizacija društvenih subjekata / Andrea Ratković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 205–213. – COBISS.SR-ID 322458631
77. Journalists, creators and actors of media events / Simona Bader. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 2. – Str. 193–197. – COBISS.SR-ID 525867876
78. Ka integrativnom pristupu (digitalnim) medijskim tehnologijama / Jelena Kleut. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 99–108. – COBISS.SR-ID 322379783
79. Kandidatkinje u medijima u kampanji pred parlamentarne izbore 2014. godine / Dijana Subotički. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 211–220. – COBISS.SR-ID 519737700
80. Komentari korisnika na informativnim veb–sajtovima : pregled pristupa / Jelena Kleut. – U: Digitalne medijske

tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 343–353. – COBISS.SR-ID 519701604

81. Komplementarnost medijskog obrazovanja i nastavnog kurikuluma na primeru obrazovnog sistema BBC / Sofija Košničar. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 179–189. – COBISS.SR-ID 517968484
82. Konvergencija u proizvodnji medijskih sadržaja : dokle su stigli Javni medijski servis HRT i komercijalna televizija u Hrvatskoj? / Tena Perišin. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 165–176. – COBISS.SR-ID 315164935
83. Kratkouzlazni akcenat u govoru studenata žurnalistike poreklom iz nečetvoroakcentskih oblasti / Dejan Sredojević. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 235–246. – COBISS.SR-ID 322471943
84. Kreativna participacija i konzumiranje (digitalnih) medija / Jasmina Arsenijević, Milica Andevski. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 28–37. – COBISS.SR-ID 523733860
85. Kreativnost u prostoru interneta / Jasmina Arsenijević, Milica Andevski. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 11–21. – COBISS.SR-ID 522111332
86. Kultura u novom medijskom i tehnološkom okruženju : studija slučaja portala za kulturu jugoistočne Evrope Seecult.org / Brankica Drašković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 71–81. – COBISS.SR-ID 517966436
87. Learning and teaching the net–generation according to the innovative pedagogical concept of improvisation / Marijana Kosanović, Jelena Đermanov, Tamara Borovica. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 2. – Str. 55–68. – COBISS.SR-ID 516923492
88. Loneliness, self–esteem and Internet addiction among students of the Ondokuz Mayis University Samsun High School of Crafts / Sena Sengir, Kemal Özcan. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 312–320. – COBISS.SR-ID 523901796
89. Marginalizovane grupe u medijima Srbije / Varvara Lazarević. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 131–139. – COBISS.SR-ID 315162119

90. Mass effect trilogy as a narrative / Marija Kačavendić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 329–338. – COBISS.SR-ID 525848676
91. Maturacija u digitalnom okruženju – tinejdžeri kao digitalni naivci / Nataša Starčević. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 247–256. – COBISS.SR-ID 322472967
92. Media communication and advertising / Ioana Vid. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 2. – Str. 167–173. – COBISS.SR-ID 525867108
93. Media competence and "new" pedagogical discussion of competence / Milica Andevski, Željko Vučković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. – Str. 225–241. – COBISS.SR-ID 515968868
94. Media education on gender perspectives in music media reports : discourse analysis of press reports on opera Mileva / Slađana Marić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 339–348. – COBISS.SR-ID 525849700
95. Media, technology and gender : the changed status of contemporary women's writing / Vladislava Gordić–Petković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. – Str. 197–208. – COBISS.SR-ID 515967332
96. Medicamentum ante portas: oboleli od kancera i inflacija nade u onlajn medijima / Stefan Janjić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 126–135. – COBISS.SR-ID 523776100
97. Medijatizacija politike : teorijski pristup / Aleksandra Krstić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 103–112. – COBISS.SR-ID 515868247
98. Mediji i javni interes – kao opstati izvan tržišnih okvira / Viktorija Car. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 33–47. – COBISS.SR-ID 525832292
99. Medijska (ne)pismenost srednjoškolaca u Republici Srpskoj / Slavica Išaretović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 102–114. – COBISS.SR-ID 523771236
100. Medijska etika kao moguća regulacija medijske profesije / Dejan Donev. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 315–324. – COBISS.SR-ID 315184647
101. Medijska industrija: znamo li ko su vlasnici medija u

Srbiji, Bosni i Hercegovini i Hrvatskoj? / Belma Buljubašić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 2. – Str. 15–23. – COBISS.SR-ID 525864548

102. Medijska pismenost kao način zaštite od manipulacije / Nataša Ružić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 209–215. – COBISS.SR-ID 517972068

103. Medijska pismenost studenata novinarstva u regionu / Vuk Kešelj. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 167–178. – COBISS.SR-ID 523797860

104. Medijska pismenost tinejdžera u Srbiji / Vuk Kešelj, Nikola Marković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 93–102. – COBISS.SR-ID 518257764

105. Medijske tehnologije i dekontekstualizacija kognicije : mapiranje tihog glasa ideologije / Dušan Ristić, Dušan Marinković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 361–369. – COBISS.SR-ID 517974884

106. Medijski (ne)pismeni : prilagođavanja i perspektive / Milica Andevski, Jasmina Arsenijević. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 235–251. – COBISS.SR-ID 519719524

107. Medijsko lice Međunarodnog Dana žena u Crnoj Gori u 2014. godini / Ervina Dabižinović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 83–92. – COBISS.SR-ID 315160327

108. Medijsko obrazovanje – putokaz u svetu zasićenom medijima / Nataša Starčević. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 217–227. – COBISS.SR-ID 517972836

109. Mesto i uloga javnosti u procesu medijskog izveštavanja o evropeizaciji i potreba njenog medijskog opismenjavanja / Dejan Donev. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 61–69. – COBISS.SR-ID 525832804

110. Metode u obrazovanju: multimedija / Ana Lakatoš, Maja Vojinović–Tomašević. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 2. – Str. 137–150. – COBISS.SR-ID 525865316

111. Mjerenje imidža i učinaka odnosa s javnošću na društvenim mrežama – analiza Facebook stranice Love Croatia / Hrvoje Jakopović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-

obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 83–92. – COBISS.SR-ID 525833060

112. Mladi i upotreba interneta / Ivan Šćepanović, Tamara Kliček, Vesna Šćepanović, Milica Andevski. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. – Str. 127–142. – COBISS.SR-ID 525818212

113. Mobile journalism training : best practices for good storytelling / Petra Kovačević, Tena Perišin. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 179–189. – COBISS.SR-ID 523839332

114. Modernizacija portala manjinskih naroda (studija slučaja: Radio Dux) / Nataša Ružić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 7. – Str. 209–220. – COBISS.SR-ID 525535332

115. Monitoring of media in election campaign / Ana Lakatoš, Sonja (Vukobrat) Ivković, Maja Dimić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 119–130. – COBISS.SR-ID 315161607

116. Multimedijska pismenost u Srbiji / Milica Andevski, Jasmina Arsenijević. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 137–148. – COBISS.SR-ID 517967204

117. Na putu odomaćivanja digitalne televizije u Srbiji : korisnička perspektiva / Jelena Kleut, Brankica Drašković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. – Str. 47–68. – COBISS.SR-ID 515962212

118. Nation branding in conditions of Slovak Republic / Anna Kalúsová. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 2. – Str. 185–190. – COBISS.SR-ID 525867620

119. Neke alternative i teškoće pri implementaciji WCMS (Web Content Management Systems) / Ilija Lalović, Marko Lazić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 355–364. – COBISS.SR-ID 315206407

120. Net generacija i e–učenje : savremena obrazovna revolucija / Mira Vidaković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 255–265. – COBISS.SR-ID 525842532

121. Nova medijska pismenost i građanski aktivizam: probelmi i perspektive / Bojana Karanović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 169–178. – COBISS.SR-ID 525838948

122. Novinarska etika i medijski rad u kriznim situacijama /

Vladimir Barović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. – Str. 265–277. – COBISS.SR-ID 515970916

123. Novosadski nedeljni informativno–politički list Dunav kao primer lokalne međuratne štampe u Vojvodini / Vladimir Barović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 23–32. – COBISS.SR-ID 519629668

124. O upotrebi jezika na internetu : da li su nam potrebni gramatički nacisti? / Olivera Durbaba. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 74–81. – COBISS.SR-ID 523749220

125. Obrazovanje novinara između tehnološkog determinizma i sistema vrednosti / Rade Veljanovski. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 351–359. – COBISS.SR-ID 517974372

126. Od medijskog obrazovanja do medijske pismenosti / Sanja Jovanović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 253–262. – COBISS.SR-ID 315183111

127. Odrastanje uz računar / Dragana Pavlović, Tatjana Vulić. – Summary: Growing up with computer. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 153–161. – COBISS.SR-ID 322444807

128. Onlajn prostori za razgovor o vestima / Danka Ninković Slavnić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 228–238. – COBISS.SR-ID 523869284

129. Online journals and terminology databases in foreign language teaching / Silvia Madincea Pascu. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 197–205. – COBISS.SR-ID 523840356

130. Online platforms in foreign language business vocabulary teaching / Andrea Kriston. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 190–196. – COBISS.SR-ID 523839844

131. Opet nevidljiva : politika u Srbiji je "muškog roda" : predizborni TV spot u kampanji 2014. / Dubravka Valić Nedeljković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 221–231. – COBISS.SR-ID 519698020

132. Osobine ličnosti i upotreba digitalnih medija primarno kao izvora informisanja / Sonja Vukobrat. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. – Str. 117–125. – COBISS.SR-ID 525817700

133. Percepcija dikcije proznog teksta od strane mlađih ispitanika / Dejan Sredojević. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 191–200. – COBISS.SR-ID 519712100
134. Perception of media literacy in the education and academic community of Serbia / Jasmina Arsenijević, Milica Andevski. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 7. – Str. 9–18. – COBISS.SR-ID 525309540
135. Perspektive digitalizacije radija u Srbiji / Dejan Pralica. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 163–172. – COBISS.SR-ID 322445831
136. Perspektive medijske pismenosti u Srbiji / Dejan Pralica. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. – Str. 211–224. – COBISS.SR-ID 515968356
137. Pismenost u digitalnom i medijskom kontekstu iz diskursa savremenog obrazovanja / Slađana Marić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 131–141. – COBISS.SR-ID 322380551
138. Političko novinarstvo između tradicionalnih medija i novih platformi : preispitivanje koncepta "svete" i "pragmatične" novinarske kulture / Aleksandra Krstić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 109–117. – COBISS.SR-ID 517181271
139. Pouke.org – pravoslavna internet zajednica / Dubravka Valić Nedeljković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 7. – Str. 258–267. – COBISS.SR-ID 525545060
140. Predizborna kampanja 2016. u srpskim lokalnim onlajn medijima / Dubravka Valić Nedeljković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str.: 367–377. – COBISS.SR-ID 523920996
141. Predizborna kampanja na društvenoj mreži Fejbuk – izbori 2016. godine / Stefani Šovanec. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str.: 356–366. – COBISS.SR-ID 523919972
142. Predstavljanje društvene stvarnosti u digitalnom diskursu : aspekti i perspektive / Dušan Ristić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 2. – Str. 101–112. – COBISS.SR-ID 516920932
143. Predstavljanje žena na Portalu Javnog servisa Radio i Televizije Crne Gore / Ervina Dabižinović. – U: Digitalne

medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 45–55. – COBISS.SR-ID 322343943

144. Prikaz Romkinja u dnevnoj štampi / Zorana Joksimović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 109–118. – COBISS.SR-ID 315161095

145. Prikaz zbivanja u Evropskoj uniji u srpskim i rumunskim dnevnim novinama / Laura Spariosu. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 2. – Str. 207–222. – COBISS.SR-ID 516835428

146. Prisutnost političkih kandidatkinja u medijskim objavama RTV Vojvodine – predizborni period / Zorana Joksimović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 146–156. – COBISS.SR-ID 523780708

147. Privatizacija medija na jezicima manjina – šansa ili pretnja : dijahrona i sinhrona perspektiva / Dubravka Valić Nedeljković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 291–300. – COBISS.SR-ID 322477319

148. QR kôd i njegova primena u digitalnim medijima / Željen Trpovski, Nikša Jakovljević. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 277–290. – COBISS.SR-ID 322476039

149. Reklama : medij usmjeren djeci / Martina Banić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 23–32. – COBISS.SR-ID 522113124

150. Reportaža kao novinarski žanr u štampanim medijima i na internetu / Zlatomir Gajić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 125–134. – COBISS.SR-ID 517966180

151. Re–presentation of street art in digital space : the language of walls in "Streetartnews.net" / Bahar Dincakman. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 60–73. – COBISS.SR-ID 523746660

152. Reprezentacija EU i BIH kroz diskurs javnih TV emitera u BIH : dekonstrukcija projekta "Reportaže o EU" / Ognjen Radović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 2. – Str. 235–244. – COBISS.SR-ID 525869412

153. Reprezentacija majčinstva u pisanim medijima za žene: analiza diskursa / Dijana Gajić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 293–305. – COBISS.SR-ID 525848164

154. Responzivna etika i servisi za društvene mreže / Milan Vukadinović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 7. – Str. 279–286. – COBISS.SR-ID 525545828
155. Revizija teorije o čuvarima kapija: oživljavanje modela u informacionom društvu / Ana Milojević, Miroljub Radojković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 185–194. – COBISS.SR-ID 322447111
156. Rod, tehnologija i mediji kao toposi savremene srpske ženske proze / Vladislava Gordić Petković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 333–342. – COBISS.SR-ID 519707236
157. Rodne uloge i stereotipi u savremenom crtanom filmu / Valentina Đekić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 82–92. – COBISS.SR-ID 523749476
158. Roma youth and online participatory politics / Kornelija Ćeran. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 38–49. – COBISS.SR-ID 523735908
159. Romska nacionalna zajednica na rumunskim internet portalima / Laura Spariosu. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 225–233. – COBISS.SR-ID 322462471
160. Ruthenpress – prva novinska agencija na rusinskom i na jezicima nacionalnih zajednica u Vojvodini / Boris Varga. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 301–308. – COBISS.SR-ID 322481159
161. Sadašnjost i budućnost digitalnog medijskog obrazovanja / Slađana Marić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 206–217. – COBISS.SR-ID 523841380
162. Safety of adolescents in the digital age / Maja Kostadinovic, Aleksandra Jovanovic. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 7. – Str. 101–123. – COBISS.SR-ID 525478756
163. Savladavanje prostora : internet kao "smrt distance" / Isidora Stanić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 321–331. – COBISS.SR-ID 523904100
164. Savremeni trendovi komunikacije na internetu / Miloš Ljubojević, Vojkan Vasković, Nenad Orlić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. – Str. 91–115. – COBISS.SR-ID 525817444

165. Seksizam u antiejdž novinskim oglasima – šta nam obećavaju? / Margareta Bašaragin. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 33–43. – COBISS.SR-ID 315146247
166. Selekcija i produkcija televizijskih vesti u Srbiji / Brankica Drašković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 2. – Str. 79–90. – COBISS.SR-ID 516819044
167. Smrt na internetu – odlike digitalnog opela / Stefan Janjić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 7. – Str. 90–99. – COBISS.SR-ID 525325668
168. Social awareness in digital environment: "Stop spreading your legs, don't occupy my space!" / Bahar Dincakman. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 57–69. – COBISS.SR-ID 322492167
169. Social networks as terrorism information source / Zoran Jevtovic, Zoran Aracki. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 136–145. – COBISS.SR-ID 523778404
170. Spektakularizacija društva podržana tabloidizacijom masovnih medija / Brankica Drašković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 325–332. – COBISS.SR-ID 519699812
171. Srpska dnevna štampa o predizbornoj kampanji / Laura Spariosu. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 177–190. – COBISS.SR-ID 315166215
172. Stavovi studenata o ulozi digitalnih tehnologija u nastavnom procesu / Željen Trpovski, Leposava Grubić-Nešić, Ljubica Đuđak, Nikša Jakovljević. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 229–240. – COBISS.SR-ID 525841764
173. Stavovi vaspitača prema stručnom usavršavanju u oblasti IKT / Zorica Stanisavljević Petrović, Dragana Pavlović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str.: 332–343. – COBISS.SR-ID 523911780
174. Strategija konvergentnog Javnog servisa Vojvodine / Goran Bulatović, Ljiljana Lj. Bulatović, Olja Arsenijević. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 57–67. – COBISS.SR-ID 315148295
175. Television is a box with a brain / Miroljub Radojković, Ana Milojević. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i

društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – ISBN 978–86–6065–308–8. – Str. 289–300. – COBISS.SR-ID 519714660
176. Television show programs from the view of visual studies / Jana Žjak. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. – Str. 307–313. – COBISS.SR-ID 525827428
177. Televizija i medijska pismenost mladih / Jelena Vukićević, Jelena Đermanov. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 267–278. – COBISS.SR-ID 517975140
178. The changing role of teachers in the digital age / Ivana Bajšev. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 7. – Str. 30–37. – COBISS.SR-ID 525310820
179. The European construct, its ethical values and the media reality / Dejan Donev. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 2. – Str. 223–233. – COBISS.SR-ID 525868900
180. The Mona Lisa of Khanty–Mansiysk expanded urban linguistic landscape from Siberia : written and visual, online and offline / Csilla Horváth. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 7. – Str. 81–89. – COBISS.SR-ID 525317220
181. The role of a mobile phone in the social area of the youth / Milica Andevski, Željko Vučković, Tamara Kliček. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 2. – Str. 151–165. – COBISS.SR-ID 516834660
182. The use of smartphones for news reporting in public broadcasting services in the Balkans / Jelena Petrović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 7. – Str. 176–183. – COBISS.SR-ID 525488996
183. Transformation of traditional media in Serbia to the networked society / Anka Mihajlov Prokopović, Zoran Jevtović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 7. – Str. 136–147. – COBISS.SR-ID 525481828
184. Trends in stylistics of the cultural reportage / Ioana Vid. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. – Str. 301–306. – COBISS.SR-ID 525827172
185. TV reklama kao ogledalo stereotipne mizoginije – kritička analiza reklamnog TV diskursa iz rodne perspektive / Margareta Bašaragin. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 281–292. – COBISS.SR-ID 525843812
186. Učenje pomoću mobilnih telefona u srednjoj školi /

Biljana Radić Bojanić, Branka Ranisavljević. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str.: 288–300. – COBISS.SR-ID 523899236

187. Uloga i značaj medijske digitalizacije u kvalitativnom poboljšanju izveštavanja u kriznim situacijama / Vladimir Barović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 15–23. – COBISS.SR-ID 517933924

188. Uloga medija u formiranju univerzalnih vrednosti / Mira Vidaković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. – Str. 243–255. – COBISS.SR-ID 525823076

189. Úloga štátu pri uplatňovaní verejného záujmu v médiách / Elena Benova, Lubos Cibak, Michal Fabus. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 25–32. – COBISS.SR-ID 525832036

190. Uticaj digitalizacije medija na kvalitet informisanja / Dejan Pralica. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 2. – Str. 45–54. – COBISS.SR-ID 516818532

191. Uticaj interneta na radio u Srbiji / Anka Mihajlov–Prokopović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. – Str. 159–169. – COBISS.SR-ID 525818724

192. Uticaj medijsko–informatičkih inovacija na kvalitet nastave / Biljana Novković Cvetković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 6. – Str. 239–251. – COBISS.SR-ID 523872868

193. Vidljivost vjerskih zajednica i njihovog zauzimanja za marginaliziranje skupine u društvu na mrežnim stranicama hrvatskih dnevnih novina / Suzana Peran, Anđelka Raguž. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 7. – Str. 164–175. – COBISS.SR-ID 525896548

194. Vidovdan i mediji : istorizam, zloupotreba ili neznanje? / Boris Stojkovski. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 343–353. – COBISS.SR-ID 519724388

195. Viralnost kao medijski, društveni i marketinški fenomen / Mira Vidaković, Dario Vidaković. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 395–405. – COBISS.SR-ID 315209223

196. Virtuelna kolaboracija među studentima / Biljana Radić–Bojanić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene.

– Str. 143–157. – COBISS.SR-ID 515962724

197. Virtuelno ponašanje na Fejsbuku / Biljana Radić–Bojanić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 365–374. – COBISS.SR-ID 519709028

198. Vizuelna reprezentacija žene u ženskoj štampi / Ivana Milovanović, Marija Vujović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 141–153. – COBISS.SR-ID 315162631

199. Zaštita privatnosti na internetu na primeru društvene mreže Fejsbuk / Božana Mirkov. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 143–152. – COBISS.SR-ID 322443783

200. Zašto je Crnoj Gori neophodna digitalna i medijska pismenost / Nikola Radunović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 195–204. – COBISS.SR-ID 322457095

201. Zastupljenost zastupnica i zastupnika iz Hrvatskoga sabora u javnim medijima / Martina Banić. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 4. – Str. 13–21. – COBISS.SR-ID 315119623

202. Žena kao subjekt novinskog teksta / Zorana Joksimović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 3. – Str. 315–328. – COBISS.SR-ID 525848420

203. Značaj informacione, medijske i tehnološke kompetentnosti školskih pedagoga / Senka Slijepčević. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 5. – Str. 215–224. – COBISS.SR-ID 322460679

204. Značaj lokalnog radija na internetu – slučaj Crne Gore / Andrijana Rabrenović. – U: Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene. 7. – Str. 196–208. – COBISS.SR-ID 525535076

IMENSKI REGISTAR

Andevski, Milica 84,85,106,112,116,134,181
Andrić, Nevena 56
Aracki, Zoran 169
Arsenijević, Jasmina 84,85,106,116,133
Arsenijević, Olja 31,58,75,174
Baya, Adina 1
Bader, Simona 7,77
Bajšev, Ivana 178
Bala, Karlo 19
Banić, Martina 149,201
Barović, Vladimir 2,28,66,122,123,187
Bašaragin, Margareta 165,185
Belić, Jovana 36
Belić, Uglješa 47
Benova, Elena 189

Borovica, Tamara 87
Boršo, Andrea 42
Bukvić, Marin 16
Bulatović, Goran 31,58,75,174
Bulatović, Ljiljana 31,58,75,174
Buljubašić, Belma 101
Vajzović, Emir 59
Valić Nedeljković, Dubravka 19,32,131,139,140
Varga, Boris 160
Vasković, Vojkan 164
Veljanovski, Rade 125
Vid, Ioana 92
Vidaković, Dario 49,50,195
Vidaković, Mira 49,50,120
Vintilă, Sorin 35,57
Vojinović-Tomašević, Maja 110
Vujović, Marija 198
Vukadinović, Milan 6,38,154
Vukićević, Jelena 176
Vukobrat (Ivković), Sonja 115,132
Vulić, Tatjana 67,127
Vučković, Željko 93,181
Gajić, Dijana 153
Gajić, Zlatomir 65,150
Geler, Zoltan 19
Gordić Petković, Vladislava 15,22,26,33,54,95,156
Grubić-Nešić, Leposava 53,172
Gruhonjić, Dinko 12
Dabižinović, Ervina 45,107,143
Dimić, Maja 42,115
Dimovski, Vladimir 9
Dincakman, Bahar 150,168
Donev, Dejan 48,100,109,179
Drašković, Brankica 5,86,117,166,170
Duđak, Ljubica 172
Durbaba, Olivera 124
Đekić, Valentina 157
Đermanov, Jelena 87,177
Đorđević, Jasmina 21
Žjak, Jana 176
Zakinski Toma, Viktoria 4
Zuber, Ljubomir 73
Ivković (Vukobrat), Sonja 115,132
Išaretović, Slavica 99
Jakovljević, Nikša 148,172
Jakopović, Hrvoje 51,111
Janjić, Ivana 20
Janjić, Stefan 52,55,96,167
Jevtović, Zoran 169,183
Jerosimović, Goran 52,55
Jovanović, Aleksandra 162
Jovanović, Sanja 39,126
Joksimović, Zorana 144,146,202
Kalúsová, Anna 118
Kalchev, Kalin 8
Karanović, Bojana 121
Kačavendić, Marija 90
Kešelj, Vuk 34,103,104
Kleut, Jelena 37,78,80,117
Kliček, Tamara 112,181
Kovačević, Petra 113
Kosanović, Marijana 87
Kostadinović, Maja 162
Košničar, Sofija 81
Kriston, Andrea 130
Krstić, Aleksandra 97,138
Lazarević, Varvara 89
Lazić, Marko 119
Lakatoš, Ana 110,115
Lalović, Ilija 119
Lincényi, Marcel 13
Ljubojević, Miloš 164
Madincea Pascu, Silvia 129
Mandić, Aleksandra 74
Maravić, Manojlo 9,72
Marinković, Dušan 106
Marić, Slađana 25,46,94,137,161
Marković, Nikola 104
Milovanović, Ivana 198
Milojević, Ana 155,175
Milosavljević, Ilija 23
Mirkov, Božana 199

Mihajlov Prokopović, Anka 183,191
Mlađenović, Nikola 68
Ninković Slavnić, Danka 128
Novković Cvetković, Biljana 192
Obradović, Vera 44
Özcan, Kemal 88
Orlić, Nenad 164
Pavlović, Dragana 23,67,127,173
Panagiotou, Nikos 18
Pasti, Silvija 69
Peran, Suzana 193
Perišin, Tena 71,82,113
Petrović, Jelena 182
Petcovici, Tania 24
Pešić, Tijana 29
Pralica, Dejan 2,135,136,190
Prodanović, Dragana 5
Rabrenović, Andrijana 204
Raguž, Anđelka 193
Radić Bojanić, Biljana 14,21,186,196,197
Radovanović Šarenac, Dejana 73,74
Radović, Ognjen 152
Radojković, Miroljub 155,175
Radunović, Nikola 61,200
Ranisavljević, Branka 186
Ratković, Andrea 76
Režnáková, Eva 3
Ristić, Dušan 63,105,142
Ružić, Nataša 27,102,114
Savić, Svenka 44
Sengir, Sena 88
Simić, Nevena 11
Slijepčević, Senka 203
Spariosu, Laura 70,145,159,171
Sredojević, Dejan 83,133
Stanisavljević Petrović, Zorica 17,173
Stanić, Isidora 163
Starčević, Nataša 40
Stojkovski, Boris 194
Stokuća, Marija 28
Subotički, Dijana 43,79
Tešić, Milica 34
Todorović, Isidora 62
Tomić, Cvijeta 10
Trpovski, Željen 148,172
Ćeran, Kornelija 158
Fabus, Michal 190
Filimon Benea, Anamaria 64
Horváth, Csilla 180
Hudiková, Zora 41
Car, Viktorija 16,98
Cibak, Lubos 189
Čabrilo, Slađana 53
Šinković, Norbert 30,60
Šovanec, Stefani 37,141
Šćepanović, Vesna 112
Šćepanović, Ivan 112

Sanja Adzaip-Velichkovski
Faculty of Communications
International Balkan University
Skopje, Macedonia

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THE STORY BEHIND THE STORY OF THE "BOYS FROM VELES"

Abstract: Releasing fake news is a powerful and high-impact tactic that can change public perception almost instantly, mainly due to the fast-paced news cycle. Fake news is affecting governments, organizations, and individuals alike, and in the current era of information overload, problems and distortions of information are becoming key issues of public interest, because of their influence on the representations and distortion of reality.

The term "fake news" was actualized during the US presidential election in 2016, where fake news was related to the campaigns of the two presidential candidates, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. In the final weeks of the US presidential election, the investigative stories by The Guardian and on BuzzFeed, revealed that the city of Veles, Macedonia, was home to at least 100 registered pro-Trump websites, most of them filled with sensationalist and mainly fake news. The Macedonian city of 55,000 inhabitants was then dubbed the "fake news factory of the world". This paper will look at 'the story behind the story of the boys from Veles', since according to the '2018 Media Literacy Index of the Open Society Institute in Sofia', Balkan countries are the most vulnerable in Europe to "fake" news. As the Media Literacy Index report states, the responsibility for this situations lies within the media that are highly controlled by the state or business interests, educational deficiencies, and low overall trust levels in society.

Key words: Fake new, Boys from Veles, media literacy

INTRODUCTION

This year marks the 80th anniversary of the announcement of the most famous fake news in the history of the media. It is the Orson Wells radio drama War of the Worlds, broadcast on CBS radio on October 30, 1938 for the alleged invasion of Martians on a farm in the Grover's Mill site in the US state of New Jersey. The radio drama caused a massive panic, and the result was the emergence of serious moralization hysteria about the (mis)use of the media. There were 12,500 news articles published for this issue and its consequences in one week. From today's perspective, the newspapers did this

to present the radio as an insecure and completely immoral medium; however, they failed. The radio at that time was what the Internet is today (Levine, 2000).

Today, millions of people in the world have profiles on social networks, which are the main source of the fake news. Fake news begin to pop up in a few seconds, and today social networks are showing that they are much more interesting to share on, any news, than on any other respectable medium (Geteva, 2018). The spread of fake news is not a new phenomenon: tabloidization, false content, conspiracy theories and political propaganda all have histories. However, social media has drastically changed the scale and speed at which junk news is distributed and consumed. Facebook has more than two billion active monthly users around the world. However, as individuals increasingly use social media to obtain information and develop their political identities, the nontransparent algorithms that run these platforms are being co-opted for the mass manipulation of public opinion, raising new and critical concerns for democracy (Bradshaw and Howard, 2018).

"The story behind the story" of the boys from Veles started with a few young men/boys from this Macedonian city realizing the potential of making some extra money by publishing social media content during the election campaign in the United States in 2016, related to the presidential candidate Donald Trump, since it was what the world public was interested in; for that purpose they created fake news sites on which they published news (fake news) relevant to the campaign . The "Veles case" has promoted Macedonia to the top states that are capable of producing fake news globally (Georgievski, 2018). Initially, information from foreign portals and media were downloaded, and then the 'boys' began writing their own content, inventing news with sensationalistic titles that attracted thousands of readers not only in the United States, but also around the world (Sitel TV 2017). Although the election in the United States has long been completed, the story about the 'Boys from Veles' is still interesting and subject to research from several aspects. Nevertheless, the fact is that their work was not against the law, although it is fake news.

WHAT COUNTS AS FAKE NEWS, AND HOW TO IDENTIFY IT?

Fake news has been one of the most hotly debated socio-political topics of recent years. Websites that deliberately published hoaxes and

misleading information popped up across the internet and were often shared on social media to increase their reach. As a result, people in the United States became wary of the information that they read online, with over a quarter stating that they rarely trusted the news that they read on social media.

The terms such as “fake news”, “post-truth” and “alternative facts”, even though not new, will be forever associated with the 2016 Presidential Election in the US. Hoax stories, such as Hillary Clinton selling weapons to ISIS and Pope Francis endorsing Trump for President were liked and commented upon hundreds of thousands of times on Facebook, with many consumers not being able to tell whether the headlines were real or not. Over 60% percent of respondents in a survey believed that the latter headline, claiming the Pope released a statement in support of the Republican candidate, was somewhat or very accurate. This highlights the level of confusion that fake news caused which, according to President Barak Obama, created a “dust cloud of nonsense”. The frequency at which such bogus headlines infiltrate social media and the Internet is alarming (Statistic News, 2018).

Jessica Barker (Hamid, 2018), a cybersecurity consultant who believes fake news will attack corporates next, tells *The National* that “Fake news is a strategy of war” and that “The reason is because it’s effective. Some organisations will engage in activity to discredit their competitors. It will be a form to influence reputation and trust that consumers have”.

Something has gone wrong with the flow of information. It is not just that different people are drawing subtly different conclusions from the same evidence. It seems like different intellectual communities no longer share basic foundational beliefs. Maybe nobody cares about the truth anymore, as some have started to worry. Maybe political allegiance has replaced basic reasoning skills. Maybe we have all become trapped inside the echo chambers of our own making – wrapping ourselves in an intellectually impenetrable layer of likeminded friends and web pages and social media feeds (Indiana University, 2018).

The proliferation and the sheer amount of fake news is a serious challenge, to both journalism and media in general, on a global scale. However, the phenomenon of fake news is not something new that is happening in the current period, but it is a very old phenomenon and a part of a wider cluster of public misinformation, cluster that includes rumors also.

According to the journalist Slobodan Georgiev (2018), the fake news is a name for an old thing. What once had been rumors, unwieldy information and banners, began to look like news with the emergence of social networks (fake news). He points out that social networks are a fuel for fake news, especially in the case of some catastrophic scenarios or conspiracy theories, because social networks respond well to semi-information and fake information.

New to fake news is that it is now multiplied, spread all over the world and is "indoors", mostly among politicians (Jakšić, 2018). Fake news in most cases, carries messages of nationalism, racism, gender and ethnic divisions, and more often, than not, contain hate speech. Through deliberate twisting and manipulation of words and images, it addresses the most hidden fears among audiences (Petrovska, 2018). According to Jaksić (2018), the makers of fake news are mostly politicians, while the media are the ones that carry them out, but unfortunately, they are losing the race with fake news. Or, as Petrovska (2018) said, "fake news is like a bacteria. It multiplies if there is fertile soil".

CONNECTION BETWEEN 'POST-TRUTH' AND FAKE NEWS

In 2016, Oxford Dictionaries declared "post-truth" the international word of the year. The dictionary defines it as an "adjective relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief" (Oxford Dictionaries, 2018).

The term "fake news" has risen to prominence in the post-truth world, and is often used as an umbrella term to describe a wide range of problematic content, from accidental misinformation to purposefully misleading and deceptive information. The term is also used discursively to describe the swath of incendiary and outrageous headlines, hate speech, hyper-partisan content, and political propaganda that have partially characterized the post-truth world.

There is still no consensus among scholars and journalist on the term "fake news", which has its roots in the presidential election in the US in 2016, where fake news appeared with two meanings. The first meaning is related to the cases of fabricated and fictional news that were published online and expanded through social networks in order to harm Hillary Clinton's

campaign. The second meaning is directly related to Donald Trump, who often used the term “fake news” in his speeches and press statements (Trump said that fake news is one of the best terms he invented) for that information in the main media that in essence he did not like. In this way, Trump still applies today to critical news about him in CNN and New York Times (Džigal, 2018).

However, even if the campaign manipulation, in particular in the dissemination of online misinformation, is undeniable, the real effect of fake news of Donald Trump's success has not yet been confirmed.

Since his election to presidency Trump started using the term “fake news” frequently, and the term was borrowed by world leaders, especially those at the head of authoritarian regimes.

It can be concluded that the fake news is a deeply politicized term; it is part of wider information warfare, and it is yet to be debated and defined (Džigal, 2018). It is often argued that fake news is the greatest threat and number one enemy to democracy.

The notion of fake news has become an eponym for which we are not sure what it contains. Fake news now refers to occurrences that were formerly called propaganda, political marketing, misinformation, speculation, fraud, conspiracy theories, journalistic ducks, and a number of other terms and phrases (Džigal, 2018).

It is of particular importance to distinguish between the terms “fake information” and “fake news”, which are most commonly used interchangeably, or even used as synonyms. It is important to understand that fake information is planned disinformation for a specific purpose. While disinformation can occur in various forms, fake news refers specifically to fictitious or fabricated events. Because of this, we should not accept the statements such as the one by the journalist Božidar Andrejević (Cenzolovka, 2018), who argues that “we just have to get used to living in the times of lies and accept it, because we live in the systems with the complete disintegration of values, where the creators of fake news are not only politicians, but also the social elites”.

Due to the increased number of sources of information, and especially the fake ones, it is necessary to work intensively on their recognition. This would mean checking the web address; whether the publisher's site has an impression; whether the text is signed; whether the content of the article corresponds the title; whether the text uses valid sources of information; the

date of publication of the news; illustration (photos) in the news; the presence of typographical errors; whether one or more sources of information are used; whether the information is confirmed in at least 2-3 credible media; whether it's the so-called „Bot", and so on.

If media and online portals cite only social networking resources, information should be accepted with reserve and checked through other sources. Web pages should be used to check the facts, and keep an eye on strange names pages.

BEHIND THE TRUTH ABOUT THE "BOYS FROM VELES"?

On November 4, 2016, *Buzzfeed* broke a news story with the headline "How Teens in the Balkans Are Duping Trump Supporters with Fake News". The article described how some young people from Veles, a town in Macedonia, were operating websites that featured fabricated and sensationalist stories about the U.S. presidential election. Typical headlines proclaimed "Hillary in 2013: 'I Would Like to See People like Donald Trump Run for Office; They're Honest and can't be Bought' (This story generated more than 480,000 reactions on Facebook), and "Pope Francis Shocks World, Endorses Donald Trump for President". These young people promoted such stories through Facebook and earned revenue through Google's AdSense program when readers visited their advertisement-laden webpages (Graan, 2018).

The news that a group of young boys from Veles (one of them considered a pioneer in the fake news industry, known on the CNN under the pseudonym Mihail, but recognized on the Internet under the user named Jessica) earned big money from fake and sensational news about Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton came as a blow. "This is the news of the millennium", the WorldPoliticus said in an article. Unnamed FBI sources were quoted saying that Hillary Clinton would be charged in 2017 for her crimes in connection with a mail scandal. The boys from Veles helped, this completely unfounded story to get over 140,000 shares and countless comments on Facebook. In a small Macedonian town, 7,000 kilometers away from the United States, a group of boys "watched" how their bank accounts grew from Google ads. At least 140 portals in the US presidential election have been launched in Veles. These sites were with domains that seemed to be as if they had really been established in the US - WorldPoliticus.com,

TrumpVision365.com, USConservativeToday.com, DonaldTrumpNews.com, USADDailyPolitics.com (Factor.mk, 2016). BuzzFeed News revealed that more than 100 sites that dealt with the elections in the United States in 2016 were "driven" by the boys from Veles, with two of the ten most successful fake news, in the last three months of the election campaign in the United States, coming precisely from the Macedonian websites (Silverman & Alexander, 2016).

That caused more representatives of the world media to come to Veles and try to discover the truth about the boys from this city in Macedonia. After analyzing the posts on social networks, government surveys, domain registration information, archived fake news sites, as well as discussions with the main "players", OCCRP (Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project), BuzzFeed News and the Laboratory for Investigative Journalism in Macedonia, it was established that the news industry in Veles is not something that spontaneously went from the apolitical young people from Veles (Rakela, 2018). The analyzes have identified Trajce Arsov, a lawyer from Macedonia, as the owner of the first "Veles" site for American politics – USAPoliticsToday.com (Stojančov, 2018). According to Arsov, the story against websites for fake news from Veles originates from the American mainstream media that have lost much of the audience and the influence due to the surge of conservative sites on social networks (talk about Radio Free Europe). Arsov points out that the motives for opening the sites were strictly business, and that the sources of the fake news were US conservative web sites that still exist. He assures that USAPoliticsToday.com worked professionally and did not deal with fake news. His site was publishing authorial content in English and he hired journalists from the United States and the United Kingdom and collaborated with American writers and publishers. During this period, almost no one knew that Macedonians and Americans had worked together for months. Arsov believes that Veles sites did not influence the outcome of the US presidential election in 2016, but shook the US media scene. Although Hillary Clinton blamed the Veles sites for fake news and alluded to the fact that Russia is behind these sites, the website owners testify that there is no political background behind their work, but earning big money that was incomparable to the previous sites for healthy food, sport, cars and engines through online advertising. Arsov is convinced that the sites were created by children with almost no interest in American politics and with modest English skills, and that is why most sites just copied

their stories from already existing US right-wing sites (Brightbart, Fox News, Washington Examiner, Hill, Daily Caller), but also from Infowars and other US sites that spread conspiracy theories (Stojančov, 2018). Facebook, Google and other platforms have begun to react to Veles sites. The pages from Veles were dropped from the AdSense program, and later Facebook pages were lost. One year after Trump's victory, Wade said that even Goldman's Facebook page with more than 1.8 million followers disappeared. However, Facebook pages linked to Arsov's websites, with more than 2 million fans, survived more than the pages of its US partners.

The culmination of the "five minutes of fame" or the "glory" of the boys from Veles was the message from the famous host columnist Stephen Colbert, who in his show on CBS said: "Hey, Macedonian teens! Stop!" (Silverman & Alexander, 2016).

When *Buzzfeed* opened the black box of sensational stories circulating on Facebook, they found not journalists (nor even pundits, hoaxers, or bots) but an absolute other: bored teenagers from a small post-socialist country (Graan, 2018).

ARE 'FAKE NEWS FROM VELES' JUST A GOOD BUSINESS?

By the end of 2016, Veles became a real industry for websites on US policy. For young people, for whom employment is a key issue, this became an extraordinary opportunity for easy earnings. In Veles, over a period of interest in this paper, more than 100 websites were created that produced fake news, designed to attract the attention of Americans, in which Donald Trump's name was most often favoured. Each click carried a supplement to the accounts of "the boys from Veles". According to one of the "boys", he earned $2,500 per day from publishing fake news, which is extremely big and easy earnings in the Republic of Macedonia, where the average salary is $426. The profit originally came from the service that makes advertisements online. Every click earns more money. His last page on Facebook had 1.5 million visitors.

Interesting are the statements of some of the boys from Veles about the reasons for engaging in this activity: "I founded it so I could easily earn some money"; "In Macedonia, the economy is very weak. Teens are not allowed to work, so we have to find a creative way to make money. I am a musician, but I cannot afford to buy instruments. Here in Macedonia, the

income from a small website is enough to get you a lot of things. A good part of the world thinks that the Macedonians are primitive, but that's not true” (Anon, 2016).

Macedonia has no global or international media outlets, that is, has no media organization that can meet the minimum of world standards, and yet, it is considered a country that is setting records in the production of fake news. However, Macedonia does not have the capability to produce fake news in a way to produce any serious propaganda regarding the country's external positioning. The media are treated just as any other business, which implies maximum profits at the cost of quality content, reduced number of media, the open dependence of the media on the centres of power, finally completed with the image of the journalist as a hired labourer without ethics or/and integrity. It's much easier to deal with the interests of some of the power centres with fake news, than to be committed to painstaking journalistic work. If this is so easy and possible at the national level, why shouldn’t someone be encouraged to do the same on the global level? And that is the “Veles case”, where the so-called “apolitical” young people are successfully involved (Georgievki, 2018).

As of present, Macedonia is conducting its own investigation spreading disinformation during the US election in 2016. In addition to the inquiries about who organised and participated in these events, the key question is: where did the boys get the money to start this “business”? Although setting up web pages in Macedonia is relatively cheap, the basic structure must be provided somewhere, which is not at all financially cheap.

Thus the investigation about the story behind the story of the boys from Veles continues.

HOW TO DEAL WITH FAKE NEWS

False information is dangerous because of its ability to affect public opinion and electoral discourse. According to David Lazer (West, 2017), “such situations can enable discriminatory and inflammatory ideas to enter public discourse and be treated as fact. Once embedded, such ideas can in turn be used to create scapegoats, to normalize prejudices, to harden us-versus-them mentalities and even, in extreme cases, to catalyze and justify violence”. As he points out, factors such as source credibility, repetition, and social pressure affect information flows and the extent to which misinformation is

taken seriously. When viewers see trusted sources repeat certain points, they are more likely to be influenced by the material.

In the last few years, a number of organizations and fact-checking services have been established in certain newsrooms as models for dealing with fake news, but these models can no longer address the problem, as hundreds of untruths are produced per day. The range of established organizations that verify whether what is published is true is significantly weaker than the scope of fake news, that is, the overproduction of falsehoods and misinformation.

After the US election in 2016, two of the world's largest Internet companies decided to step up in control of the fake news. Google has announced that it will ban the use of their online advertising services for websites that promote such news, while Facebook has added fake news in its advertising policy to websites that display fake or illegal content (West, 2017).

Large companies are already testing software that make it possible to produce fake news, or a video statement that has never been given (and that video is the voice of the "desired one"). Facebook, Twitter and Google are investing millions of Euros to set up fake newsgroups, but unfortunately, no creative solution has been found so far to remove fake news.

CONCLUSION

Worldwide, real "wars" are being announced and are being led with legal and semi-legal means against fake news. There are different approaches to combating disinformation and fake news, and there is worldwide consensus on necessity not only combating them, but also a need for deeper understanding of their cause.

What is clear for now is that democracy cannot be and will not be saved simply with accurate news and information, no matter how good it sounds, but with truly democratic and democratized institutions, including the media. With the help of globalization and the Internet, the action can be global. Hence, in fact, we can think of the United States as a small country in relation to the rest of the world, which is confirmed by the role of "some" boys from Veles who are said to have seriously influenced the results of the last presidential election in the United States (Georgievski, 2018).

Furthermore, in the era of the Internet, it is necessary to have “fact-checkers” of everything that is published, especially in the media with credibility, but the biggest problem is when the policy will establish control over it (Rakela, 2018).

Online media should not perform their activities if they do not have a defined structure: property, employees, editor, journalists, and authorship texts in countries with a poor media literacy index; particular attention should be paid to delineating online political propaganda or online misinformation from fake news, to deal with and find solutions (Džigal, 2018).

It is of outmost importance to point out that democratic societies should create conditions for citizens to develop a practice of tracking news from different sources, to be critical of information they consume and to respect the role of independent media, Also, favourable conditions should be created to counter disinformation by the individuals who are prominent in public, to promote transparency and accountability and to create conditions for the creative functioning of the media space (Petrovska, 2018).

And finally, the most important prerequisite for the effective dealing with fake news is media literacy. Thus increasing media literacy among adult population, and implementing media literacy programs to schools as early as possible, should be an obligatory part of any media reforms that aim at effectively combating of the fake news and other kinds of media disinformation.

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Jasmina Arsenijević
Preschool Teacher Training in Kikinda
Kikinda, Serbia
Milica Andevski
Faculty of Philosophy
University of Novi Sad
Novi Sad, Serbia

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PARTICIPATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN DIGITAL MARKETING IN SERBIA

Abstract: The subject of this research is to examine participation of young people in digital marketing and the relations that new media have in marketing with young people in Serbia. The aim is to examine how young people generally use SN and for what purposes, i.e. how much they use online sites for trading and discounts, purchases, sales, finding information about discounts or special offers for products and services, which sources of advertisements are they mostly exposed to, and which advertisements they pay most attention to. This research monitored the interaction of individuals from young educational community in Serbia within digital online communities in which media has become the dominant form of interaction that influences viral marketing as well as marketing in general.

The survey was conducted in January 2018 among higher education students. A five-point Likert scale was used and the Chronbach reliability of the questionnaire was 0.73. The statistical analyses were: frequencies, percentages, arithmetic mean, standard deviation and cross-sectional data.

The results indicate that internet content is dominant and that Internet carries an extremely rich marketing potential for the target group of young people studying. In that sense, new media can be a potential focus of marketing activities for young educational community in Serbia. The results also indirectly point to the need for more intensive development of modern digital communication, which should take into account the cooperation and creative potentials of young people in the direct design of digital marketing promotion.

Keywords: digital marketing, internet, virality, young people[1].

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1. INTRODUCTION

The development of information and communication technologies (ICT) and the emergence of new media have caused new dimensions of interaction and cooperation among people. The emergence of Web 2.0 technology has led to a change in the context of communication between people and is based on the connection, communication, knowledge sharing, information, experiences and social interaction. Underlying ICT is the ability to quickly, easily and cheaply communicate regardless of time and spatial distance of the callers, as well as the fact that almost instantaneous feedback is provided in a truly massive and interactive manner, so that every individual having access to the Internet can become an immediate part of the global, online communities. Since its inception, the digital space and the digital community have been an accessible and attractive marketing platform, so in the late nineties, along with the emergence of new media and the development of Web 2.0, the term *Virality* emerged, a phenomenon of a new era, shaped and dimensioned by new media.

2. VIRALITY AND VIRAL MARKETING - CURRENT MARKETING PARADIGMS

The new phenomenon Virality - reflects the specific phenomenon of new media: massive sharing of specific multimedia content between a large number of Internet users. The viral process, the potential of viral content, and the role that Virality plays in modern marketing, and the social media marketing, have caused the emergence of a new marketing paradigm in the context of the phenomenon referred to as Marketing 2.0. Viral marketing and virality are based on modern social behavior theories and rely on the interaction of individuals within social groups, whereby social media has become one of the dominant forms of interaction that generally shapes and influences socialization, marketing in general terms, and thus on viral marketing (Vidaković, 2014).

The significance and relevance of virtual marketing have grown with the development of ICT so that it has become an attractive topic of modern business theory. "Word of mouth" marketing experienced some small evolution: at the basis, it remains the same, but it is supported by ICT and has become a very relevant factor in the business, and especially marketing practices of serious market participants. This concept brought about a series of

others where the obvious new communication paradigm is noticed: "word of mouth web marketing", "word of mouse", "consumer to consumer" (C2C) or "peer to peer" (P2P) communication (Porter, Golan, 2006). In a broader sense, the term ‘viral marketing’ describes a strategy that motivates individuals to propagate a particular message, thus creating potential conditions for the exponential growth of the presence and the impact of the given message (Kurultay, 2012). It's about "word of mouth" marketing with the help of a digital platform - hence the term "word of mouse": the message is spread over the Internet, and it ensures the certainty that those who receive the message will be interested to forward it to people for whom they believe will also be interested.

One of the main factors in spreading information is its content, that is, the relevance of the given information to the transferrer himself. Useful content has a certain value in the social exchange. Individuals can engage in social exchanges in order to achieve the reciprocity on which the modern information flow is based. Emotional aspects of the content can also affect its spreading. People discuss emotional experiences, and consumers share more positive than negative experiences (Kurultay, 2012).

3. METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

The subject of this research is the exploration of *the relationship between new media and marketing* with young people in Serbia: how many young people *use SN* (Social Networks) *and on-line services* (YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Instagram, Blogs, Forums, Podcast); are young people present on *online shopping and discounts sites* (Limundo, Kupujem prodajem, Kupoman, Najpopusti, Zumzi, KupiMe, Grupko...); what are the most common *reasons for the presence of young people on SN* (socializing, informing about daily political issues and profession, learning, entertainment); *to which sources of advertising are young people exposed* (TV, radio, newspapers and print media, streets, public transport, shops, internet); *to which sources of advertising young people pay the most attention* (billboards, posters, TV, radio, printed magazines, SN, websites, e-mail, flyers, brochures ...); and how many young people *use SN to buy, sell, and find information about discounts or special offers for products and services.*

The goal is defined to examine how young people generally use SN and for what purposes, i.e. how much they use online sites for trading and

discounts, purchases, sales, finding information about discounts or special offers for products and services, and to which sources of advertisements are they exposed most, and to which advertisements they pay most attention.

The following *tasks* were to examine:

the overall participation of young people on SN and online services;
for what purpose young people use SN;
the sources of advertising that young people perceive the most;
which sources of advertising young people pay most attention to;
how much young people use SN to trade and use discounts, buy, sell, and find information about discounts or special offers for products and services.

The survey was conducted in January 2018. The questionnaire was distributed in the form of paper-pen, and the target group of respondents were higher education students. For data collection, a questionnaire technique was used with a survey containing 24 questions. Statistical analyses were used for processing and analysis of results: frequencies, percentages, arithmetic mean, standard deviation. The survey *sample* consisted of 111 respondents.

There were 57% female and 43% male respondents. Such a gender structure may have an impact on the results of the research, thus the gender analysis is particularly significant in the research process. Regarding the area of education, the research includes the socio-humanist (SH) area 49%, and the technical-technological (TT) area 51%.

A research instrument on new media and the Internet has been conceptualized for the purpose of this research, consisting of open-ended and closed-ended questions. In this study, the answers to four questions were selected and analyzed, which are presented in the form of a five-point Likert scale, with the reliability of 0.73. Within the applied questionnaire, respondents provided information about socio-demographic data.

3.1. Research results

In relation to the first research task – to examine the overall participation of young people in SN and online services, the time that young people in Serbia spend using SN was determined (Youtube, Facebook, Twitter, Linkedin, Instagram, Blogs, Forums, Podcast).

Table 1: *Participation of young people on SN in general and by the field of education*

Criteria for respondents distribution	**Field of education**		**Gender**		**Total**
Groups of respondents	**SH**	**TT**	**Male**	**Female**	
Number of respondents	54	57	48	63	**111**
Youtube	4.6	4.8	4.8	4.6	**4.7**
Facebook	4.4	4.4	4	4.6	**4.4**
Twitter	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.4	**1.4**
Linkedin	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.3	**1.3**
Instagram	2.9	3.8	3.1	3.6	**3.4**
Blog	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.9	**1.8**
Forum	1.8	1.9	1.9	1.8	**1.9**
Podcast	2	2.1	1.3	1.1	**2.1**
Online services	1.3	1.3	2.2	2	**1.3**
Other	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.4	**1.1**

The table shows that young people are most likely to use YouTube (4.7 - almost every day), Facebook (4.4 - multiple times a week), Instagram (3.4 - more than once a week), while other SN and online services (Twitter, LinkedIn, Blogs, Forums, Podcast, etc.) are considerably less frequent (from very rarely to once a month).

No difference in participation in SN was found among those surveyed that could be attributed to differences in education and gender. These differences are evident with using YouTube, which female respondents use somewhat less than male respondents (4.6 to 4.8). Women use Facebook and Instagram more often than men (4.6 to 4 or 3.6 to 3.1); male respondents frequent Forums more than female (1.9 to 1.8), and females frequent Blogs more (1.9 to 1.6). Participation on Twitter, LinkedIn and Podcast were marked with the items ‘never’ or ‘very rarely’.

In the overall sample 21.6% of the respondents responded with the option "other", out of which 24.1% of the respondents were from the SH, and 19.3% of the respondents from the TT field of education, i.e. 33% female and 25% male respondents, with a score on the overall sample of 1.1, which means very rarely.

The second research task was to examine for what purpose young people use SN.

Table 2: *The reason for the use of SN in general and by the field of education*

Criteria for respondents distribution	**Field of education**		**Gender**		**Total**
Groups of respondents	**SH**	**TT**	**Male**	**Female**	
Number of respondents	54	57	48	63	**111**
Friendship	4.0	4.1	3.9	4.1	**4.0**
Information on daily events	3.1	3.0	2.8	3.2	**3.0**
Professional information	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.6	**3.5**
Learning	3.9	4.1	3.8	4.2	**4.0**
Entertainment	4.4	4.3	4.2	4.5	**4.3**
Purchases, sales, discounts offers	2.5	2.9	2.6	2.8	**2.7**
Other	1.1	1.8	1.5	1.2	**1.3**

The respondents use SN for the following purposes: firstly for entertainment: listening to music, watching funny video material, watching clips or whole TV shows and movies (4.3 – several times a week), for hanging out with friends (4 – several times a week) for learning (3.9), information on the profession (3.5 – between once and several times a week), and informing about the daily political events (3 – once a week). 10.8% of the respondents responded with "other", out of which 13% were respondents from SH field and 7% from the TT education field, that is, 9.5% female and 12.5% male respondents, i.e. very rarely.

These data are consistent with previous findings, which indicate that YouTube is the most visited network – and the reason for using SN is mainly pleasure. Facebook is next and, increasingly, in the last few years, Instagram, a SN primarily designed for socializing, but recently also for education, marketing, political propaganda, activism, and a number of other activities) – networks that respondents also use very often – several times a week, which confirms the finding that respondents approach SN mostly for socializing and learning. The respondents' informing and networking is carried out on networks such as Instagram (Professional SN), blogs, forums, podcasts, Twitter and other online services.

The third research task was to examine the source of exposure to advertisements that young people perceive most.

Table 3: *Perception of exposure to advertisements from various sources in general and in the field of education*

Criteria for respondents distribution	**Field of education**		**Gender**		**Total**
Groups of respondents	**SH**	**TT**	**Male**	**SH**	**TT**
Number of respondents	54	57	48	63	**111**
TV	3.4	3.3	3.3	3.4	**3.3**
Radio	3	3	2.9	3.1	**3**
Newspapers and print media	3.2	2.9	3	3.1	**3.1**
On street	3.5	3.3	3.3	3.5	**3.4**
In transport	3	2.5	2.4	3	**2.7**
Stores	3.5	3.2	3.1	3.5	**3.4**
Internet	4.5	4.4	4.3	4.6	**4.5**
Not paying attention	2.5	2.7	2.8	2.4	**2.6**
Other	1.4	2	2	1.4	**1.7**

Young people in Serbia perceive that they are exposed to advertisements from the following sources: most frequently from the Internet (4.5 – between several times a week and every day), then on the street (from flyers, billboards, panels, etc. – 3.4 – more than once a week), in stores – 3.4, on TV – 3.3, radio – 3, via printed media – 3.0, i.e. once a week, and the least on transport – 2.7 – less than once a week. Respondents answered "I do not pay attention to advertisements" with the score of 2.6. 10.8% of the respondents responded "other", out of which 9.3% were respondents from SH and 12.3% respondents from the TT field of education; 9% female and 14.6% male respondents, with a score on the overall sample of 1.7, which is slightly less than once a month.

The fourth task of the research was to examine the sources of advertising that young people pay most attention to.

Table 4: *Paying attention to advertising from different sources in general and by field of education*

Criteria for respondents distribution	**Field of education**		**Gender**		**Total**
Groups of respondents	**SH**	**TT**	**Male**	**SH**	**TT**
Number of respondents	54	57	48	63	**111**
Billboards and LED billboards	2.9	3.1	2.9	3.1	**3**
Advertisements on transport	2.6	2.7	2.4	2.8	**2.7**
Posters at stations	2.7	2.7	2.4	2.9	**2.7**
TV	3.2	3.1	3.0	3.3	**3.2**
Radio	2.7	2.5	2.4	2.7	**2.6**
Printed gazettes, magazines or newspapers	2.9	2.6	2.6	2.9	**2.7**
Street promoters	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.7	**2.7**
SN	3.8	3.8	3.4	4.1	**3.8**
Search engines	3.4	3.8	3.6	3.7	**3.7**
E-mail	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.3	**2.2**
Post office	2.1	2.1	2	2.1	**2.1**
Not paying attention	2.1	2.4	2.5	2	**2.2**
Other	2.2	1.7	1.7	2.2	**2**

The respondents pay attention to advertisements from the following sources: from SN (3.8 - multiple times a week), from search engines (3.7 i.e. one or more times a week), the TV (3.2 - more than once a week), billboards and LED billboards (3 - more than once a week), street video advertisements (2.7 - once a week); printed gazettes, magazines and newspapers (2.7 - once a week); posters and video advertisements on buses and other means of transport (2.7 – once a week).

From other sources (posters and video advertisements in transportation, radio, street promoters, e-mail) young people rarely notice advertisements. When advertisements are received via any electronic or traditional mail, they pay attention to it slightly more than once a month. Although e-mail also comes from the Internet, other internet sources are logically far more productive, because when it comes to the SN that the

respondents use or the search engines, they are cognitively present, which is not so much the case when receiving e-mail.

8.1% of the respondents answered with the option "other", 11.1% of them were respondents from the SH, and 5.3% from the TT field of education, 9.5% female and 6.3% male, with the score on the overall sample of 2, i.e. once a month. Compared with previous scores, the scores on this question are virtually one grade lower - a significant data, consistent with previous results – suggesting that the Internet, primarily SN, as well as the search engines, are potentially the most powerful marketing tool for today's students – digital natives. Following the Internet, the television comes next, and then the marketing tools which are targeted at the physical environment - streets, transport, stations, shops or print advertisements, such as flyers and brochures handed by street promoters, followed by the regular mail or ads within print magazines or other publications.

The fifth research task involved examining how many young people use SN for trade and discounts, buying, selling, informing about discounts or special offers for products and services.

Online services for buying and selling in Serbia (Limundo, Kupujem prodajem, Kupoman, Najpopusti, Zumzi, KupiMe, Grupko, etc.), according to the research findings, are not frequented by young people. Young people are extremely rarely searching within these sites (1.3); there is no difference among the respondents in relation to the field of education. The difference in relation to the gender is negligible, given that men visit these sites slightly more often than women (2.2 to 2) (Table 1).

When asked about the purposes for which young people use SN, respondents put in the last place the use of SN for activities such as buying, selling or informing about discounts or special offers for products and services (2.7). Differences according to the field of education are negligible, considering that the respondents of the TT field of education use the sites for buying, selling, and informing about discounts or special offers for products or services, slightly more than the respondents of SH orientation (2.9 to 2.6) (Table 2).

In relation to these answers, we have interesting findings in response to questions about exposure to advertising, where respondents responded with a low score to the option of question: "I do not pay attention to advertising" – with a score of 2.6, (Table 3), which means that young people pay attention to advertising. Almost identical response respondents gave to the fourth

question, in which the option, "I do not pay attention to advertising", got the low score – 2.2 (Table 4), which confirms the presence of advertising in the living space of young people.

3.2. Interpretation of the results

The first research task observed the overall participation of young people in Serbia on SN and online services (Youtube, Facebook, Twitter, Linkedin, Instagram, Blogs, Forums, Podcasting). Regardless of the field of education, Facebook is losing the central place, with young people giving priority to YouTube which they visit every day. Participation on Facebook is also significant – several times a week. On this SN, there is greater participation of young women compared to young men.

These research findings are compatible with the results of the *second* research task to determine for which purpose young people in Serbia use SN. Young people use SN primarily for entertainment (listening to music, watching video materials, movies) and then for socializing and learning. Differences between the SH and TT areas are insignificant, with young women having a bit higher scores than young men for each item.

The data obtained in the research correspond to similar researches carried out in Serbia, keeping track of the total time that young people today usually spend in virtual space and on SN. Every day young people spend 4.16 hours on Facebook and YouTube, and a little less time on Twitter, forums and online communities (Andevski, Arsenijević, 2013). A large number of the Internet users in Serbia have created profiles on SN (2.500.000), the majority of which are underage (60%). The survey also shows that young people carry out the leisure activities on the Internet as well, approximately 2 hours a day. The difference between this research and those from a few years ago is in the mild advantage of YouTube and Instagram versus Facebook, which generally reflects the trend change among young people.

The results of this research are close to the results in surveys in the Western countries, monitoring digital participation. According to the Medienpädagogischer Forschungsverbund Südwest, the participation of young 18-year-olds on the Internet falls under frequent everyday activities, and only surfing on digital media can be roughly divided into equally large areas of communication and entertainment, which takes young people far more time than searching for information (MFS, 2007). The insignificant differences in the research results in relation to men and women, as well as in

relation to the field of education – the SH and science and math, show that digital technology has generally networked and connected young people of all ages and education profiles, of both genders, and the only condition is the possession of a computer (Gerhards, Mende, 2009).

The third task of our research was to examine the sources of exposure to advertisements that young people mostly perceived. Young people are the most exposed to the media on the internet – almost daily. Other sources of exposure to advertisements much lower: street (flyers, billboards, and panels), followed by shops, television, radio, and the lowest exposure is in transport. The results indicate that the Internet content is dominant when it comes to perceiving exposure to advertisements. In this sense, the Internet and SN represent an extremely rich marketing potential for the target group of young people. It is interesting that young people perceive the Internet as a source that is more effective than street billboards and panels, and more effective from an older but powerful media – television. When the results are linked to the previous related to the presence and participation on SN, that are most popular among young people, the conclusion is that YouTube, Instagram, and Facebook are the three most powerful marketing tools for this, so-called, cyber population.

The fourth task of the research was to examine the sources of advertising to which young people pay the most attention. The results here are also in favor of SN and sites, then comes television, followed by advertisements that young people see on the streets. A significant result concerning advertisements is that these scores are a whole grade lower than the ones to previous questions. This means that although young people perceive their exposure to advertisements on the Internet very high (4.5 – daily), they evaluate their own, willing attention to advertisements lower (3.8 – several times a week). Although being an entire score lower (compared to previous estimates), in this case also, SN represent the source which young people encounter the most and to which they pay most attention when it comes to advertising. This result is nevertheless significant and allows us to, with great care and due to insufficient empirical indicators, assume that young people, regardless of the great exposure to advertisements, retain the freedom of choice and the autonomy in relation to the often intrusive intentions of advertising messages.

The fifth task of the research was to examine how young people use SN for trade and discounts, buying, selling, informing about discounts or

offers for products and services. The results show the lowest score in respondents' answers. Young people rarely visit online trading and discount sites (Limundo, Kupujem prodajem, Kupoman, Najopusti, KupiMe, Grupko – 1.3), and also rarely use SN to buy, sell and inform about discounts or offers for products and services (2.7). There is no difference between respondents in relation to the field of education, and there is a marginal difference in gender. These answers are interesting if we look at them in terms of exposure to advertisements and paying attention to advertisements, where results show that young people perceive advertisements but do not use services related to shopping, sales, discounts, or special offers from these advertisements. The results raise a number of dilemmas such as how carefully young people watch these promotions, and how much they concentrate on them. On the other hand, it is perhaps the case that digital marketing (DM) messages do not matter to them, that the pragmatic consumer mentality has not yet affected the youth population, which is, in essence, a good response of young people to the flood of advertising materials. However, it is also possible that this is a population that is not employed yet; it does not have its own source of income. Most often they are supported by parents, and therefore they are not burdened with consumer "fever". The lack of own financial sources leads to the fact that for young people the marketing related to advertisements is in the background, and the priority for the use of SN is – entertainment, fun and socializing. Young people essentially pay attention to advertisements offered to them from different connections and from various sources, but they are not motivated to do what is advertised. The question is whether young people have truly understood the manipulative power of advertisements and are therefore not subject to a manipulation possible through advertisements, or this "awareness" is conditioned by the fact that they do not yet have their own sources of financial means. The Internet, primarily SN, is potentially a powerful marketing instrument for today's young people – digital natives. Young people are exposed to these influences, they pay attention to them, but the results we get show that young people have their own protection mechanisms to marketing intentions.

4. CONCLUSION

In this paper, virality is examined as a media phenomenon of a modern society through the potentials of viral content presented through SN

and the role that virality acquires in modern marketing of social media - through the emergence of a new marketing paradigm and in the context of the phenomenon designated as marketing 2.0. In this research, we monitored the interaction of individuals within digital online communities in which the media has become the dominant form of interaction that influences viral marketing, as well as marketing in general.

Although due to the simultaneous occurrence in the mid-nineties, the connection between viral and social media in the context of Web 2.0 is emphasized; virality existed, based on well-known social models even before the ICT revolution, even before Web 2.0. In that sense, we can conclude that just as the new communication technologies have not changed the causes of social interaction, virality has not changed the core of marketing either. The way in which individuals interact, meet their needs, as well as the needs related to marketing offers, related to product and purchase choices and services, information about discounts and special offers – have changed. To the population of young people, digital presentations and content are much closer compared to the traditional presentations (press, TV, radio, posters, brochures, panels, etc.). This revolution has changed the way in which consumer views his role in society: he now has the need to express his individuality, and social media is a way of meeting these needs. Through seeking the satisfaction, the individual transferred on the new platform, to a large extent, and the marketer obviously followed him, since the theory of integrated marketing states that the consumer is the one who is a guide in market interaction (Vidaković, 2014). However, this cannot in any way be a sign of certain and real manifestation of the creativity and uniqueness of individuals. Neither can this be a measure of the actual act of purchasing, as many other factors influence this dimension, conditioned by the standard of living, and financial situation of the group of digital users.

The research results can be guidelines for creating marketing content and policies at the state level.

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Carla Baptista
Faculty of Social and Human Sciences
NOVA University of Lisbon
Lisbon, Portugal

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MEDIA PLURALISM AND DIVERSITY IN PORTUGUESE PUBLIC TELEVISION

Abstract: This paper presents data from two research projects focused in media diversity: *DIVinTV - Public Television and Cultural Diversity in Portugal*[1] and the *Media Pluralism Monitor*[2] (MPM), a tool developed by the Centre for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom) to assess the risks for media pluralism in the 28 European Union (EU) member states. These studies intend to contribute to a realignment of media content under the strategic framework of the European Agenda for Culture. The results collected from Portuguese public television programming reveal major deficits regarding diversity and raise concern regarding the role of public media to promote inclusion, gender equality, the diversity of voices and the plurality of cultural expressions.

Key words: media pluralism, diversity, Portugal, public service media, democracy

1. MEDIA DIVERSITY, PLURALISM AND DEMOCRACY

Media diversity and media pluralism are often used synonymously, referring simultaneously to an underlying orientation and a societal value. According to McLennan (1995:7), the "constitutive vagueness" of pluralism and its "ideological flexibility" allows it to embody reactionary as well as progressive tendencies. Karppinen (2007:9) notes "the resonance of pluralistic discourses has been exploited in arguments for various and often incompatible objectives: for free market competition as well as further public interventions and public service obligations."

The absence of media diversity raises social and political concerns, contributing to political or religious fanaticism and cultural narrowness. Diversity, freedom of expression and democracy are closely connected and the relationship between the three concepts is established in normative theories. As van Cuilbenberg (1998:38) puts it, "in promoting diversity of

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[1] Project funded by the Portuguese Science Foundation **(**PTDC/IVCCOM/4968/2014).

[2] Project co-funded by the EU (http://cmpf.eui.eu/media-pluralism-monitor/).

opinions, democracy foremost is a way of truth finding in society." In democratic and multicultural societies, diversity is a basic construct of tolerance. According to van Cuilbenberg (1998:40) "diverse information on different cultures and different patterns of values, norms and ideas may contribute to mutual respect and acceptance."

Most claims towards the media are related with an inaccurate and stereotyped representation of minorities, gender and people with disabilities. The homogeneity of voices in mainstream media supports the metaphor of the "spiral of silence" (Noelle-Neumann, 1974). The term refers to the pressure people feel to conceal their views when they are in the minority. Fear of isolation accelerates the spiral of silence.

Without media regulation to enhance diversity, corporate logics impose themselves and corrupt the communicative and social process of shared information. Corporate interests, dominant sources of information or manipulative political agendas, can privatize journalism. The perception of journalism as a "public good" entitled to public trust is negatively affected and the media system becomes unbalanced, biased and dysfunctional.

In digitized societies, a significant amount of political dispute migrates to media spaces. The media are perceived as virtual arenas where individuals and groups express and perform subjectivity, engage collectively and develop civic participation. A diverse media system has the potential to foster a more inclusive political decision process and promote citizenship, agency and better governance. According to Chaffee and Wilson (1977: 467) "the media audience should be concerned with those issues stressed in the news (…) and there should be a diversity of perceptions of public issues." The level of "media richness" of a local community correlates with its metropolitanism and the diversity of public opinion.

The media are impacted by power dynamics and tend to reproduce hegemonic logics established inside and outside media spheres. A complex set of questions must be taken into account when assessing the roles played by the media in presenting different versions and negotiating collective consensus, namely related with access privileges (which voices are dominant, which are excluded); with news values and frames (what is considered notable and what is considered irrelevant) and journalistic storytelling (how people and events are represented).

Other issues, like limited corporate mergers and the concentration of ownership and cross-media ownership, are central towards the definition of

media diversity. Most regulatory policies in highly commercialized media landscapes consider that concentrated ownership constricts the number and kind of speakers. This presupposition is generally framed under the principle of "safeguarding a diversity of owners or maintaining a diversity of voices" (Horwits, 2004).

The "marketplace of ideas" notion is constantly challenged by the media tendency to reproduce prevailing structures of power and seems out of sync with reality. "High entry costs into the mass media, central ownership by large corporations, the popular media's tendency to marginalize radical and little-known ideas, etc., all act as barriers to a free flow of ideas" (Morrison, 2001)[3]. The "intermediary structures of modern democracy" (Curran, 2000) compromises the media neutrality ideal and turns the colourful metaphor into a delusional image.

Karppinen (2007:13) situates the use of the term media pluralism within the debates about deregulation of electronic media that begun in Europe in the 1980s, arguing the need to re-discover the "contested nature" of these values and deconstruct the general de-politicization and technocratization of public policy.

The media make sense of social events and are important framers of reality in a complex process of social interactions. Stuart Hall (1980) described how the dominant ideology is inscribed as the "preferred reading", without excluding different stances: from dominant to negotiated and even oppositional readings. The digital ecosystem improved the potential for dissent and plurality, as people are more able to produce their own versions and comments in the process of consuming and sharing information. At the same time, the 1995 Nicholas Negroponte prediction of "the Daily Me", described as the possibility of any individual to become his/her own editor, evolved in the immersive multiplatform contemporary media environment with unplanned effects, such as to insulate individuals in hermetically sealed political chambers. Sunstein (2007) claims the social media fragmentation fuels the spiral of silence dynamics and recent debates on electoral coverage and post-truth journalism seem to aggravate Negroponte prediction.

[3] http://www.jasonmorrison.net/content/2001/the-internet-the-marketplace-of-ideas-and-the-public-sphere/

2. THE MEDIA DIVERSITY AGENDA

Democratic societies require diversity of opinions and points of view. There is a long tradition of academic literature focused on the media flaws to provide a fair representation of social actors and public life, especially women and minorities. Media often contribute to associate people with rigid protocols of behavior and thought, using underrepresentation, stereotypification, misrepresentation or all three intersectioned, leading to persistent inequalities. Intersectionality has been used to explain how individuals may face multiple sources of discrimination and oppression and is a key concept to understand how media representations tend to erode the multiple categories of differences among individuals and rather naturalize attributes and construct homogeneous group representations (Sang, 2016).

The "media diversity agenda" is a political agenda for social change, based on the idea that media should contribute to a more democratic and inclusive society and prevent gross misrepresentations of people and their views. Democratic societies rely on a variety of viewpoints and ideas and the lack of media diversity affects every community in terms of a less engaged or even distorted public opinion. The importance of diversity within media consumptions, including social networks, has been extensively theorized and documented. Hampton, Lee and Her (2011) highlights how "personal networks high in diversity are associated with a range of positive outcomes that include better physical and mental health (Cohen et al., 1997), deliberation (Delli Carpini et al., 2004), autonomy (Coser, 1975), cultural knowledge (Erickson, 1996), tolerance and trust (Putnam, 2000), and access to job information (Granovetter, 1974)." Karppinen (2006:53) claims "diversity and pluralism are foundational principles that seem to underlie much of the arguments in European communication and media policy". Under this perspective, voicing the citizens becomes one of the media primary duties.

The majority of the journalists' ethical codes highlight the importance of a fair, inclusive, accurate and accountable coverage. The experience of diversity in "real life", in terms of income, ethnicity, gender, disability, sexual orientation, religious belief or political affiliation, should translate into media discourses in a balanced proportion. Responsible media coverage is expected to foster inclusion and cultural dialogue and fight inequality, prejudice, and discrimination. The rational supporting this norm is

the powerful influence of the media in social life and its ability to shape the collective experience of diversity.

The media potential to do good (promote democracy) equals its potential to do harm (promote bias and hate). Media regulations towards the fostering of diversity are informed by continuous public claims about the faults and sins of media organizations, namely concerning the historical under-representation of minorities (in the newsrooms and in media content) and the stereotyping of women and other less privileged groups. The basic question underlying any diversity promotion policy is to achieve more accurate portrays of social groups, to reject prejudice and to present fairly and proportionally the views and voices representative of the communities that would, otherwise, be barred from the media.

3. THE MPM EXPERIENCE

This article relies on data resulting from a recent assessment of the Portuguese public service media sector conducted under the Media Pluralism Monitor (MPM) project[4], implemented by the Centre for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom (CMPF) at the European University Institute. The Monitor assesses the risks for media pluralism based on a set of twenty indicators covering four different areas: Basic Protection of Journalists, Market Plurality, Political Independence of the Media and Social Inclusiveness.

The pluralism concept is embedded with political values and a westernized conception of freedom of the press and professional autonomy of the journalists. The pluralism reports show that some countries that seem to perform adequately in terms of institutional policies and frameworks, since they organize regular elections, are ruled by elected parliaments and governments, possess political diversified media outlets and laws protecting the basic rights of journalists, are nevertheless showing less media pluralism. The situation is particularly expressive in Eastern and Central Europe, but countries outside the realm of what have been called “authoritarian democracies” also have pluralism deficits, due to media ownership concentration, oligarchy relationships between media tycoons and politicians, absence of media independent regulators, or failures in public service media. In a very diverse media regulatory landscape such as the European Union

[4] http://monitor.cmpf.eui.eu/mpm2015/results/

(UE), a commitment to media pluralism is at the heart of communications policy at national and supranational levels. A reliable public service media and independent investigative journalism is seen as the strongest alternative against disinformation, attacks on media freedom and proliferation of hate speech and fake news.

Following the MPM terminology, the social inclusiveness domain is adequate to assess how PSM perform in terms of diversity goals. Social inclusiveness indicators are concerned "with access to and availability of media for different, and particularly vulnerable, groups of population. They assess regulatory and policy safeguards for access to media by various cultural and social groups, by local communities and by people with disabilities (…) the centralization of the media system and the quality of the country's media literacy policy."[5] The Basic Protection domain, referring to indicators as "the existence and effectiveness of implementation of regulatory safeguards for freedom of expression and the right to information; the status of journalists, including their protection and ability to work"[6], also provides valuable data to discuss the state of media pluralism.

Recent developments in the understanding of how job precariousness is eroding journalists autonomy and preventing them to act as reliable watchdogs of the political and economic powers justify a sceptical view about the sustainability of media diversity goals. In Portugal, the most recent sociological inquiry (2017)[7] regarding labour relationships in journalism clearly links economic constrains, such as low income and weak social protection, to potential risks, such as a perceived vulnerability towards power abuses, a frail self-professional regulation and the degradation of ethical standards. The protection of journalists as part of a media policy supporting a pluralistic public sphere needs to be considered in relation to overall socio-political goals.

[5] http://monitor.cmpf.eui.eu/mpm2015/results/inclusiveness/

[6] http://monitor.cmpf.eui.eu/mpm2015/results/basic/

[7] http://www.jornalistas.eu/ficheiros/1444784272_2017_OBERCOM_Profissao_Jornalista.pdf

4. MEDIA DIVERSITY IN PORTUGAL

Portugal is a homogeneous country in cultural and linguistic terms. The immigrant community is mostly originated in the former Portuguese colonies, namely Angola, Cape Verde, Brazil, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. Non-Portuguese speakers originated in a more recent immigration, from the 1990s, with Eastern Europe and China being the most representative countries. Public policies towards the sector are vague and there is a need for academic research focused on media diversity, articulated with questions of social and ethnic discrimination, vulnerable publics and economic exclusion. Media literacy policies are particularly neglected in terms of national coordination. The economic weakness of regional media indicates the need for a more supportive and proactive policy.

The mission of gender equality is stated in several PSM strategic documents, but still the gender gap in relation to leading positions applies to not only to PSM but to media organizations in general, which still are dominated by men, even though journalism is becoming an increasingly female profession (Subtil, 2000; Miranda, 2015). Gender imbalance is particularly strong at the management functions, the multimedia sector and the specialists.

The television activity follows the Television Law in the obligation to ensure pluralism and political, social and cultural diversity and PSM is bound to more specific obligations. The Concession Contract for Public Service Television (AAVV, 2015) includes a set of norms related to gender equality in what concerns broadcast content: excluding, inter alia, gender-based hatred; or ensuring that the information spaces contribute to the awareness of the public to gender equality issues.

The media regulatory body (ERC) is charged annually with the PSM auditing report and the regulatory report, which also include the television private channels. Regarding the presence of women as protagonists in the news, the data show there is gender inequality. According to the 2015 ERC Regulation Report, in the evening news services of the general channels of public service RTP1 and RTP2, as well as the commercial channels SIC and TVI, a significant share of the protagonists of the news items are men (over 70%). The "Telejornal" of RTP1 is the news service that accentuates this overall trend, resulting in a higher weight of masculine protagonists in the news and a more marginal presence of women.

The Portuguese Constitutional Law guarantees access to airtime on PSM channels to different social and cultural groups. The Concession Contract between the state and *RTP* (Public Television and Radio) contains obligation clauses referring to the access to different social and cultural groups and the TV Law states PSM must "provide a varied and comprehensive programming, promote cultural diversity and take into account the interests of minorities". Portugal has no national minorities and is the only country in Europe whose frontiers as a state and as a nation have been coincident in the last 800 years. This fact does not collide with the phenomenon of immigration, and the existence of one ethnic minority, the Roma community.

Portugal signed in 1995 and ratified in 2002 the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and has thus a legal obligation to promote the full equality of persons belonging to minorities. There isn't any political party with parliamentary representation possessing a racist or xenophobic rhetoric.

The commitment to promote cultural diversity and respond to the multilingual and multicultural contemporary reality of Portuguese society is expressed in several documents, including the annual report on the sustainability of PSM[8] but the analysis provided is scarce and lacks comprehensibility. The ERC annual regulation report (2016:45) refers to 3 programmes in *RTP1* specifically aimed at promoting the cultural diversity of minority groups, in a total of 39 annual broadcasts and 36 hours of programming, which represents a significant decrease in comparison to the year before (8 programmes, 234 annual broadcasts, 127 hours of programming).

The Portugal Digital Agenda (2012)[9] emphasises the thematic of accessibility and digital inclusion, recommending that barrier-free access to audiovisual content should be envisaged as a fundamental human rights issue. There are two main policy areas: to promote the availability of e-books adapted for people with special needs; and to define an accessibility policy for digital content and Portuguese digital platforms in several key-sectors, such as

[8] http://media.rtp.pt/institucional/wp-content/uploads/sites/31/2015/07/Relatorio Sustentabilidade2014_2602.pdf

[9] https://www.anacom.pt/render.jsp?contentId=1150167

public and local administration, learning institutions, banking, services, shopping and the media.

The obligation to take into account the special needs of people with disabilities is part of the license agreement and mandatory for the registration process. Integrative public policies exist but are not consolidated. The current offer includes subtitling, audio description and signing. Video searching, double screen and vocalisation are available on the websites. PSM are forced to a minimum of hours of broadcasts adapted with subtitling, audio description and signing. The on-demand audiovisual services obligations remain to regulate in terms of minimal standards.

The Portuguese media literacy policy is aligned with international standards, namely the European Council Conclusions on Literacy, from 26 November 2012, and European resolutions (Directive 2010/13/UE from the European Parliament and from the European Council of 10 March 2010), but there is no consistent national policy and some good practices are disjointed in the field. One example is the creation of the Media Literacy Portal, in 2010,[10] to aggregate reference documents and resources. It is not updated regularly and fails to provide a useful tool for educators, researchers and citizens. Another positive measure was the development of the National Plan for Cinema, to foster filmmaking and film criticism skills among students. However, the number of schools involved is very limited and most lack the resources to develop the proposed activities. Media literacy is not formally included in the school curricula, excluding the curricular unit of Information and Communication Technologies, where topics concerning digital security and digital gaming are addressed. The remaining curricular areas may include dispersing approaches.

5. PUBLIC TELEVISION AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

The DIVinTV project is based in a two-year content analysis of the programming grids of the two public general channels (RTP1 and RTP2), from September 2015 to August 2017, including informative and entertainment genres. The general aims are to quantify the presence of diversity content, to identify the types of programs and formats that fall under the categories of cultural diversity and to analyse their specific content and

[10] http://www.literaciamediatica.pt/pt/o-que-e-o-portal-da-literacia

overall contribution to the promotion of pluralism, diversity and inclusion. Diversity was categorized under four main categories (plurality of voices and cultural expressions; cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity; youth questions, namely inclusion, representation and juvenile cultures; gender discrimination; people with special needs, aging experiences; cultural heritage protection and national/local culture and, finally, diversity regarding television genres and formats). The content analysis was conducted during a sample of seven weeks for informative programming and four weeks for entertainment programming.

The overall results reveal different programming logics between RTP1 and RTP2 regarding the presence of diversity content in informative programmes. RTP1 is the leading public channel in terms of national audience and the strongest competitor with the two general private channels (TVI and SIC). In a total of 814 minutes of daily information, 189:26 minutes correspond to diversity content (23,25%). The most represented category is cultural heritage protection and national/local culture (30,11%); followed by youth inclusion and juvenile cultures (28,72%); cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity (12,22%); gender discrimination (11,30%) and people with special needs and aging experiences (10,84%). The remaining categories are residual.

The only informative programme analysed in RTP2 is *Jornal2* and from a total of 222 minutes, diversity content is present in 40:27 minutes (18,1%). The most represented category is cultural heritage protection and national/local culture (45,5%), followed by television genres diversity (23,1%), youth issues (19,9%), and gender and discrimination (10,6%). The other categories are residual.

As for entertainment content, the study analysed a total of 28,268 minutes of programming in RTP1. The content related with diversity represents 4584:2 minutes (16,21%) and the most represented category is cultural heritage protection and national/local culture (5.47%), followed by the television genres diversity (5%.). The other categories have an irrelevant presence.

The results for RTP2 consider 34,585 minutes of programming, from which 7110:05 minutes (20,6%) are diversity content. The most relevant presence concerns the diversity of television genres (7,8%), followed by the cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity (6,8%) and the cultural heritage protection and national/local culture (3,6%).

6. CONCLUSION

Despite the political guidelines and the PSM obligations regarding the promotion of diversity, there is a scarcity of diversity content both in informative and entertainment programming. A closer analysis of the diversity content also reveal a disparity between the categories, compromising the balance of the diversity agenda and the ability of public television to foster cultural tolerance, cosmopolitanism and social inclusion.

The results suggest a need to strengthen a broader programming to promote cultural diversity and narrow the visibility gap of specific ethnic groups within the Portuguese society. We recommend the creation of mechanisms to foster a professional journalistic culture committed to guaranteeing a more systematic and in-depth coverage of immigrant communities and, at the same time, the development of monitoring tools developed by media authorities and academia focused on the relationship between the media and the minorities.

The analysis of the risks for media pluralism shows these are closely related with strong protective institutional safeguards, media regulatory authorities able to provide monitoring, sustainable business models for independent journalism and, last but not the least, a participative civic culture fostered by media literacy criticism and inequalities awareness.

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Vladimir Barović
Filozofski fakultet
Univerzitet u Novom Sadu
Novi Sad, Srbija

UDC 343.326:004.738.5

TERORIZAM KAO KRIZNA SITUACIJA U SVETU DIGITALNIH MEDIJA

Apstrakt: U svetu digitalnih medija postoji značajan broj kriznih situacija koje možemo okarakterizovati kao čin terorizma. Ovaj rad analizira prednosti digitalizacije prilikom izveštavanja o terorističkim napadima. Digitalizacija nudi velike prednosti (VR, AR) za reportere koji pokrivaju terorističke napade i svakako je ogroman faktor brzog izveštavanja, zahvaljujući internet platformama i drugim prednostima digitalne ere.

Medijsko izveštavanje o terorizmu intenzivirano je u poslednjoj deceniji zbog naglog povećanja aktivnosti različitih terorističkih organizacija i grupa. Da bi novinari razumeli problem terorizma, potrebno je definisati ovaj fenomen iz medijskog aspekta i objasniti podelu terorističkih organizacija, kao i osnovne uzroke njihovog postojanja i širenja. Ovaj dokument navodi prve napade koji se mogu smatrati terorističkim. Zatim su utvrđeni osnovni elementi za pripremu novinara koji treba da izveštava o datoj vrsti krizne situacije. Osnovni elementi uključuju znanje i informacije koje mogu uticati na bezbednost izbeštača i njihovog medijskog tima, što sugeriše da se stručna znanja i veštine moraju teoretski formulisati pre poseta mestu krize. Navedene su metodološke prednosti koje novinar lokalne ili nacionalne radio-televizije ima u hipotetičkoj situaciji kada izveštava o terorističkom napadu. Dokazano je da novinar lokalnih medija u izveštavanju nije nužno inferiorniji od većih medija. Štaviše, postoje brojne prednosti koje novinari lokalnih medija moraju vešto koristiti u svom izveštavanju. Važan element je psihička stabilnost koja je ključni faktor za pravovremeno, objektivno i etički prihvatljivo izveštavanje o terorističkim napadima kao obliku visoko rizičnih kriznih situacija. Prema predviđanjima eksperata, izveštavanje o terorističkim napadima može se intenzivirati u bliskoj budućnosti. Iz navedenih razloga, od ključne je važnosti da se obučavaju i pripremaju novinari koji će biti u mogućnosti da rade novinarski posao na siguran i profesionalno prihvatljiv način.

Ključne reči: digitalizacija, mediji, internet, VR, AR, izvještavanje, terorizam, kriza, novinari.

1. UVOD

Terorizam je reč koja se često može pročitati u štampanim i onlajn medijima, čuti na televiziji ili radiju, jer od samog početka 21. veka evidentno je da su urednici i novinari veoma senzibilisani kada je reč o toj temi. Činjenica je da u svetu medija krizna situacija uvek mora biti vest koja zauzima značajan prostor; kada se radi o terorizmu, tada je, i u danima kada imamo obilje važnih informacija, to vest kojoj se daje prioritet. To je slučaj čak i kada se teroristički napad dogodi na nekoj nama udaljenoj destinaciji kao što je afrički grad Najrobi (Blic, 2019).

Usled značajnog broja terorističkih napada širom Evrope, kada se dogodi određena krizna situacija kao što je npr. eksplozija, uvek se u medijima prvo razmatra mogućnost terorističkog napada kao moguće opcije. To je posebno slučaj ako je pogođena zemlja koja je (kao npr. Francuska), već bila na meti terorističkih napada velikih razmera (Blic, 2019).

Zbog visokog intenziteta aktivnosti terorističkih organizacija i grupa u poslednje dve decenije a posebno poslednjih godina mediji su primorani da se intenzivnije bave tom tematikom. Iz navedenog razloga neophodno je eksplicirati pojam i definiciju terorizma i to sa aspekta medija, jer se radi o fenomenu koji nije dovoljno analiziran i promišljan iz novinarskog ugla. Sa druge strane možemo determinisati dva fundamentalna elementa koji su prisutni kod terorista a to su: **nasilje** koje je uvek prisutno kod terorističkih aktivnosti i operacija (podmetanja bombe, masovnog napada vatrenim oružjem, atentata i sl.), dok je drugi element veoma bitan kada govorimo o medijima, a to je **strah**. „Drugi, za medije koji izveštavaju u kriznim situacijama važan moment je strah koji možemo nazvati **pokretnim motorom terorizma**, jer teroristi su postigli željeni efekat ako se prosečan građanin usteže da leti avionom ili razmišlja o posledicama korišćenja metroa u višemilionskim gradovima“ (Barović, 2013: 296). Posebno je važno razmotriti medijsko izveštavanje o terorizmu u kontekstu širokih mogućnosti koje nam pruža svet digitalnih medija, koji imaju (zahvaljujući tehnološkom napretku) značajne prednosti u odnosu na analognu tehnologiju.

2. DEFINISANJE TERORIZMA IZ UGLA MEDIJA

Terorizam je odrednica koja nakon napada na Sjedinjene Američke Države 2001. godine kao i evropske gradove a posebno Pariz (13/14. novembar 2015. godine), ima ogroman broj definicija i pokušaja

determinisanja u raznim oblastima nauke. U tom obilju definicija za one koji se bave medijima, treba markirati nekoliko određenja koja jasno i precizno determinišu pojam terorizma: „Mi definišemo terorizam kao pretnju ili stvarnu upotrebu sile ili nasilja da se postignu politički ciljevi, kroz strah, prinudu ili zastrašivanje“ (Russell, Banker & Miller, 1999: 13). Definicije koje se bave determinisanjem terorizma a ističu ulogu javnosti takođe su važne za sagledavanje tog fenomena iz ugla medija, jer se terorizam određuje kao: „unapred smišljeno politički motivisano nasilje koje protiv neborbenih ciljeva sprovode subnacionalne grupe ili tajni agenti, obično sa namerom da utiču na javnost“ (Kegli, Vitkof, 2004: 622). Za novinare i urednike pažnje je vredna i sledeća definicija terorizma: „nasilni akt koji se preduzima naročito da bi privukao pažnju, a onda putem stvorenog publiciteta da bi preneo poruku“ (Hofamn, 2000: 118). Upravo je element prenošenja ideološke ili vrednosne poruke vođstva terorista osnovni cilj njihovog delovanja, jer žele da širenjem subjektivnog osećaja straha stvore utisak da su moćniji, opasniji i uticajniji – mnogo više od realnih dometa njihovog organizovanog nasilja. Za tu svrhu im trebaju mediji koji često svojim izveštavajem doprinose (ne)svesnom širenju straha i panike. „Mediji deluju dvojako, jer osim izveštavanja i zauzimanja vrednosnog stava o terorističkom aktu, istovremeno pružaju publicitet terorističkoj grupi, ali pojačavaju i uverenje u ispravnost ideje među istomišljenicima grupacije koja je izvela akt. Teroristi imaju za cilj da pored trenutnog racionalnog i sasvim razumljivog straha stvore i ’imaginarni strah da su sveprisutni’ i da mogu naneti udar uvek i na svakom mestu“ (Chomsky, 2001: 108). Iako je to neizvodljivo, uz (ne)svesnu pomoć medija često se imaginacija koju priželjkuju teroristi realizuje, te se stvara opšta konfuzija i rasprostranjen osećaj opšte nesigurnosti“ (Barović, 2013: 296–297).

Terorističke organizacije u svetu nisu identične po doktrini, taktici, organizaciji i ideologiji i zato je potrebno izvesti podelu prema određenim kriterijumima. Određeni teoretičari izveli su moguću podelu terorističkih organizacija prema: 1. programsko-ciljnoj orjentaciji, 2. prema sredstvima, 3. metodama, 4. prema akteru–subjektu terorizma. Pozivajući se na Simeunovića, Kovačević i Talijan iznose podelu terorističkih organizacija prema programsko-ciljnoj orjentaciji na: „ideološki motivisan terorizam (levičarski terorizam, desničarski terorizam, etno-separatistički terorizam, verski fundiran terorizam (terorizam sekti, terorizam fundiran na interpretaciji velikih religija)“ (Kovačević, Talijan prema Simeunović, 2017: 376–377).

Smatramo da je sa aspekta medija najprihvatljivija podela terorističkih organizacija na: „1. Nacionalističko-etničko-separatističke grupacije koje za cilj imaju autonomne etničke nacionalne države ili se bore za nezavisnost; 2. ideološko-religijske grupe koje ne moraju uvek imati vidljivu idejnu komponentu u delovanju; 3. grupe koje su povezane motivacijom kao što je nihilizam; 4. grupe koje deluju na osnovu interesnog povezivanja u cilju političkog afirmisanja“ (Barović prema Rusell et al., 2013: 297). Navedena podela primenljiva je u svakodnevnom medijskom radu i izveštavanju, ali je svakako moguće implementirati i druge podele koje možemo naći u radovima teoretičara koji se bave terorizmom.

3. TERORIZAM I (ZLO)UPOTREBA MEDIJA

Izveštavanje o terorizmu kao specifičnom fenomenu ne jenjava još od prvog incidenta u novijoj istoriji koji je privukao pažnju svetskih medija: „Kao prvi savremeni akt terorizma sa aspekta medijskog izveštavanja sa kriznih situacija, možemo markirati otmicu izraelskog aviona na liniji Rim – Tel Aviv koja je izvršena 23. jula 1968. godine. Tada su mediji izvestili o toj kriznoj situaciji sa svim elementima koje danas prepoznajemo u štampanim i elektronskim medijima, sa tom razlikom da tada nije bilo interneta“ (Barović, 2013: 298). Upravo internet, ali i nove digitalne tehnologije novinarima pružaju niz pogodnosti kada se izveštava o strukturalnom fenomenu kao što je terorizam.

Neophodno je istaći da je u svetu terorističkih grupa na početku 21. veka Al Kaida po oceni stručnjaka imala značajnu ulogu u (zlo)upotrebi medija, ali je sa druge strane njeno delovanje u medijskom smislu prevazišla pojava Islamske države. Ta teroristička organizacija osnovana je 3. januara 2014. a kalifat je proglašen 29. juna iste godine; pun naziv je **Islamska država Iraka i Levanta** – na engelskom: ISIL – *Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant* ili **Islamska država u Iraku i Siriji** ISIS – *Islamic State of Iraq and Syria.*

Nakon jačanja ISIL-a i širenja njihove propagandne delatnosti, najvažnije mesto imao je mesečni onlajn magazin **Rumija (Rumiyah)**. Prvi broj magazina izašao je u septembru 2016. godine i to na više jezika: francuskom, engleskom, nemačkom, ruskom, ujgurskom, turskom, urdu i indonežanskom; list je imao uredništvo u Raki i služio je za medijsku propaganda ISIL-a.

Radio stanica **Al Bajan** bila je zvanični medij Islamske države koja je počela emitovanje radijskog programa početkom 2015. godine**.** Program je bio višejezičan (na lokalnim jezicima: arapskom i kurdskom ali i na engleskom, francuskom, ruskom) i emitovao je program iz Mosula, dok grad nije oslobođen u ofanzivi iračkih snaga bezbednosti marta 2017. godine.

Islamska država smišljeno je počela da vrbuje i na teritoriju pod svojom kotrolom dovodi obrazovane IT stručnjake, inženjere, eksperte za komunikacije. Regrutovanje stručnjaka za medijske sadržaje i onlajn platforme omogućilo je toj terorističkoj organizaciji da na savremen način svoje medijske sadržaje plasira najširoj publici. U tu svrhu je napravljena agencija i sajt ***Amak njuz*** (engleski: *Amaq News Agency*). Ono što sugeriše da terorističke organizacije veoma organizovano i smišljeno koriste digitalne medije i onlajn platforme u svojoj medijskoj propagandi, jeste činjenica da imaju dobro organizovane servise na više stranih jezika. Činjenica da angažuju ozbiljne stručnjake za proizvodnju medijskih i propagandnih sadržaja, za posledicu ima zavidan nivo tehničkog kvaliteta tih materijala (uz napomenu da su to sadržaji puni govora mržnje, poziva na ubijanje, masovne zločine i sl.).

4. TOR BROWSER U SLUŽBI TERORIZMA

O tome koliko je razvijena upotreba digitalnih medija i onlajn platformi u krugovima terorista, najbolje svedoči podatak da su stručnjaci Islamske države dugo bili neuhvatljivi u digitalnom svetu. Tek nakon što je formirana „digitalna koalicija“ eksperata za nove tehnologije nekih od najmoćnijih svetskih država, uspešno je identifikovana a time i neutralisana onlajn propaganda Islamske države. „Europol je saopštio da je međunarodna operacija zadala (30. 4. 2018. prim. aut.) težak udarac internet propagandi Islamske države. Sajber specijalci iz nekoliko evropskih država, Kanade i SAD ciljali su na sajtove poput *Amak Njuz*-a, koji se smatra glasnogovornikom ISIS-a. Europol je koordinisao „simultanim multinacionalnim skidanjem“ medija Islamske države, kojim su zauzeti digitalni dokazi i server. Džihadisti se sada mogu identifikovati” (BBC, 2018).r

Teroristi veoma uspešno koriste legalan internet a posebno društvene mreže gde su aktivni na Tviteru i Fejsbuku; postavljaju i različite sadržaje na Jutjubu. Područje na kojem su veoma prisutni u digitalnom svetu je takozvani

duboki veb **(Deep Web)** i mračni veb **(Dark Web).** Iako većina konzumenata informacija oba termina smatra za sinonime, to je pogrešan pristup. *Deep Web* (uključuje i *Dark Web*) termin je koji se odnosi na one stranice koje pretraživači nisu u stanju da pronađu i sve ono na internetu što zahteva lozinku, odnosno skriveno je od net pretraživača. Sve to može naći na dubokom vebu. Sa druge strane, mračni veb mnogo je zanimljiviji teroristima jer je to skup sajtova koji su na enkriptovanoj mreži i nije ih moguće naći pretraživačima koje svakodnevno koristimo. Zajedničko za sve sajtove na mračnom vebu je to da kriju svoj identitet i lokaciju, tako što koriste *Tor browser* (alat za enkripciju). Po sistemu upotrebe VPN servisa, kada se od strane terorista pokrene *Tor browser*, prikaže se da je lokacija sajta u sasvim drugoj državi, čime se gubi trag realne lokacije, a korisničke IP adrese prolaze kroz višeslojnu enkripciju, što je za, recimo, Islamsku državu od ključne važnosti. Tu se osim sajtova koji promovišu terorističku ideologiju može naći i niz sajtova koji pružaju praktične savete kako napraviti bombu od javno dostupnih supstanci i materijala. U praksi se pokazalo da u kućnoj radinosti proizvedena priručna eksplozivna sredstva mogu biti izuzetno ubitačna i smrtonosna (Blic, 2017).

U toj oblasti posebno „kreativna“ bila je Al Kaida čiji su pripadnici napravili onlajn magazine sa savetima „kako napraviti bombu u maminoj kuhinji“ i nizom praktičnih instrukcija, detaljnih uputstava i informacija za sve potencijalne izvršioce terorističkih napada (Večernje novosti, 2014). Ako bi zainteresovani pojedinac pristupio *Dark Webu* koristeći *Tor browser* (jer sajt koji je na *Dark Webu* koristi tor enkripciju), dobio bi putem terorističkog sajta ne samo potrebnu indoktrinaciju već i praktična upustva kako da napravi bombu, kako da postavi tajmer, izabere lokaciju za napada, odabere „najpovoljnije“ vreme, ubije i rani što više ljudi i sl. Na pomenutim sajtovima teroristi trenutno promovišu novu taktiku, a to je napad običnim kuhinjskim ili lovačkim nožem na organe bezbednosti ili obične građane, sa preporukom da se napad izvede u nekom većem evropskom gradu i savetom kako da se povredi ili ubije što veći broj ljudi.

Ako virtuelni korisnik nije član terorističke organizacije velika je verovatnoća da nije „na radaru“ bezbednosnih službi. Upravo su „usamljeni vukovi“ tj. oni koji deluju samostalno bez logističke i druge pomoći terorističke organizacije najveći problem za bezbednosne i policijske službe. „Usamljene vukove“ veoma je teško otkriti (kao i predvideti kada će napasti i šta će im biti cilj), jer nemaju fizički kontakt sa pripadnicima terorističke

grupe i ne kontaktiraju sa drugim teroristima čija sredstva komunikacije se nadziru. Za tu tezu primer je ultradesničarski terorista Anders Brejvik koji je 22. jula 2011. godine u dva odvojena napada u Norveškoj ubio 77 osoba i ranio 240 ljudi. On je izveo napad automobilom bombom u centru Osla a zatim je izveo masakr vatrenim oružjem u letnjem kampu podmlatka norveške Laburističke partije na ostrvu Utoja. Iako je policija istraživala da li je Brejvik delovao u okviru šire terorističke mreže, utvrđeno je da je taj terorista delovao samostalno (RTS, 2011).

5. UPOTREBA VR I AR TEHNOLOGIJE I IZVEŠTAVANJE O TERORIZMU

U digitalnom dobu, prema Pavliku, nastalo je novo novinarstvo koje on naziva kontekstualno novinarstvo (Pavlik, 2001). Pozivajući se na tog autora, Mihajlov Prokopović ističe osnovne karakteristike kontekstualnog novinarstva: „Kontekstualno novinarstvo ima pet osnovnih karakteristika: 1. multimedijalnost; 2. hipertekstualnost; 3. aktivnu publiku; 4. dinamični sadržaj; 5. Specijalizaciju“ (Mihajlov Prokopović, 2016: 76).

Prednosti digitalnih medija kada je reč o medijskom izveštavanju o terorističkim napadima su:

- mogućnost da se pogleda i analizira televizijski sadržaj – materijal emitovan 72 sata unazad (ima opcija da se pogleda i više vremena unazad), što je posebno važno kada su u pitanju obimniji teroristički napadi;
- postoji mogućnost ubrzavanja snimka, zasutavljanja snimka na određenim kadrovima i segmentima;
- moguće je gledati više sličnih sadržaja simultano;
- kvalitet slike u HD tehnologiji mnogo je bolji nego snimaka koji nisu u formatu navedene tehnologije;

Pored Fejsbuka, Instagrama i niza drugih pogodnosti novinari moraju pratiti trendove u svetu medija a to je svakako virtuelna realnost – **VR tehnologija (VR – Virtual reality)** i augmentovane realnosti **– AR tehnologija** (**AR – Augmented reality).** Virtuelna realnost sintetiše sklop

vizuelnih, zvučnih, dodirnih i čulnih iskustava sa ciljem pružanja iluzije da elemente smeštene u memoriji računara možemo videti, čuti i osetiti. Virtuelna i augmentovana realnost podrazumevaju dodatak digitalnih informacija preko realne slike koju konzumenti informacija imaju pred sobom. Virtuelna realnost je u medijskoj praksi starija od augmentovane realnosti koja postaje sve važnija sa širokom upotrebom mobilnih aplikacija. „Od zanimljivih primera besplatnih mobilnih aplikacija koje se zasnivaju na AR tehnologiji, pomenućemo BlippAR, koja na osnovu snimanja okruženja kamerom na telefonu daje dodatni sloj informacija o pojedinačnim predmetima i pojavama iz tog okruženja i korisnicima omogućava da recimo, postavljanjem kamere prema nebu, istog trenutka dobiju aktuelnu vremensku prognozu“ (Krstić, 2017: 84). Augmentovana realnost termin je koji opisuje korisnikovo viđenje sveta prošireno kompjuterski generisanim tekstom, slikom i zvukom.

Virtuelna i augmentovana realnost koristi se u raznim oblastima, od vojnih i medicinskih treninga do obuka za različite specijalnosti, a u našem fokusu je primena VR i AR tehnologije u medijskom izveštavanju o terorizmu. Tokom izveštavanja sa terorističkih napada ili borbe sa teroristima gledalac može da posmatra situaciju **u opsegu 360 stepeni.** Nova tehnologija poznata kao **VR Studio** gledaocima omogućava **posmatranje programa snimljenog tehnologijom 360 stepeni,** odnosno VR-om. Jedan od primera modela dobre prakse kada se koristi tehnologija 360 stepeni je televizijski paket objavljen 15. marta 2017. godine o borbama kurdskih trupa „pešmerga“ protiv terorista ISIL-a u Mosulu. Tu gledalac ima mogućnost da sam pomera kameru i iz različitih uglova posmatra okolinu, borbene akcije, kretanje jedinica, čekpointe i sl. (Blick VR, 2017). Tu dolazimo na područje **imerzivnog novinarstva** u kojem se teži da se što više uključi publika tako da je involvirana u medijsku priču, u pomenutom slučaju izveštavanje o borbi bezbednosnih snaga sa teroristima. „Medijska upotreba AR i VR tehnologije izučava se kao ’imerzivno’ novinarstvo, odnosno, vid novinarstva u kojem je iskustvo korisnika, a ne novinara, u centru pažnje” (Krstić, 2017: 85).

Osim klasičnog izveštavanja koje se realizuje snimcima sa zemlje za izveštavanje o terorizmu posebno je atraktivan paket koji je snimio *BBC* 22. maja 2017. godine i objavio pod nazivom „Mosul: Fight against ISIS from the sky in 360 video“ (BBC News, 2017). To je bio prvi snimak te vrste u svetu a gledaoci su imali mogućnost da iz perspektive pilota helikoptera osmatraju iz svih uglova područje grada iznad kojeg se vodila borba kao i da vide grafičke

prikaze važnijih otpornih tačaka terorista, po kojima je izvršeno vatreno dejstvo borbenog helikoptera iračkih snaga bezbednosti. Uz navedene mogućnosti uloga novinara nije minimalizovana, jer on gledaoca uvodi u priču i komentariše ono što gledalac tokom gledanja snimka treba da uoči, upozorava ga na ključne momente i sl. U tom paketu smo mogli videti da se uz pomoć proširene realnosti **digitalne informacije postavljaju preko stvarnog sveta.** Iako je ovde korišćena tehnologija 360 stepeni za medijsko izveštavanje o terorizmu, treba istaći da je *CNN* koristio istu tehnologiju za izveštavanje o zemljotresu i humanitarnoj krizi na Haitiju, što se pokazalo kao veoma dobar i koristan postupak, jer su gledaoci mogli da uvide razmere katastrofe.

Imerzivno novinarstvo omogućava dublje iskustvo korisnika medijskih sadržaja ali samo ako se koristi na etički zasnovanim principima. Autorka Krstić ističe i druge aspekte imerzivnog novinarstva: „Džouns (Jones, 2017), s druge strane, kao jednu od najvećih prednosti novog koncepta navodi potpunu uronjenost publike u sadržaj posredstvom VR opreme, odnosno, izuzetnu koncentrisanost na medijski sadržaj – za razliku od tradicionalnog gledanja televizije, gde publika može da radi i druge stvari dok gleda određeni TV program, odnosno da multitaskuje“ (Krstić, 2017: 87). U slučaju gledanja programskih sadržaja na temu izveštavanja o terorizmu u VR i AR tehnologiji, zbog samog sadržaja i tehnoloških mogućnosti, savremeni gledalac je (za sada) potpuno fokusiran i zaokupljen onim što čuje i vidi.

6. ZAKLJUČAK

Terorizam kao krizna situacija u svetu digitalnih medija dobija novu dimenziju i upotreba novih tehnologija širi mogućnosti medijskog izveštavanja o tom kompleksnom fenomenu koji je svakodnevna tema naših medija. Izveštavanje o terorističkim aktivnostima organizacija i terorista pojedinaca raznih političkih i ideoloških orjentacija i usmerenja (nažalost) po predviđanju stručnjaka biće sve češća tema medija širom sveta. Sa druge strane, upotreba digitalnih tehnologija otvara novo polje širokih mogućnosti za izveštavanje o terorizmu u koje se unose novi elementi.

Kada novinar izveštava koristeći novu tehnologiju kao što je 3D ili tehnologija 360 stepeni, to kod korisnika informacije gledaoca stvara osećaj kao da je bio na mestu sukoba snaga bezbednosti i terorista. Kod konzumenta

informacija stvara se transcedentalni osećaj prisustva na području sukoba, a prateći efekti dodatno ukazuju na koje elemente treba obratiti pažnju, gde se vrše operacije, koji su ključni objekti na slici, gde se odvija evakuacija civila i sl. U tom kontekstu je bitna i uloga novinara, mada ima mišljenja da se zadatak izveštača u tim situacijama minimalizuje. Smatramo da novinar, ipak, ima važnu ulogu da gledaoce uvede u priču i da, npr., tokom korišćenja tehnologije 360 stepeni komentariše ono što vidi, istakne bitne momente svog izveštaja i uputi gledaoca u dešavanja na terenu (novinar ima zadatak vizuelnog storitelinga). Augmentovana stvarnost takođe ima važnu ulogu u novinarstvu jer: „Pavlik i Bridžis (Pavlik & Bridges, 2013: 6) smatraju da je augmentovana stvarnost neophodna novinarstvu jer funkcioniše kao i vest, odnosno pojačava ili uvećava ljudsko iskustvo u odnosu prema okruženju i stvarnom svetu“ (Krstić, 2017: 88).

Urednicima će trebati vremena da prihvate VR i AR ali je to novo poglavlje u izveštavanju a efekat koji ostavlja na korisnike/konzumente informacija je značajan jer stvara osećaj uživljavanja u događaj o kojem se izveštava. Mediji mogu veoma uspešno da koriste VR i AR tehnologiju za virtuelni studio, za izveštavaje o terorizmu, ratu ili drugim kriznim situacijama, ali uz veliku dozu opreza**.** Konstatovali smo da je virtuelna i augmentovana realnost podrzumevaju dodatak digitalnih informacija preko realne slike koju konzumenti informacija imaju pred sobom, što ostavlja široko polje za (ne)namernu manipulaciju. Ako medij koji izveštava o terorizmu koristi VR i AR na etički neutemljen način tj. koristi prednosti digitalnog sveta sa manje ili više skrivenom propagandnom porukom, tada se radi o ozbiljnoj zloupotrebi tehnologije. Poznajući savremenu civilizaciju teško je verovati da takvih slučajeva u medijskoj praksi neće biti, što otvara niz etičkih dilema i nedoumica u bližoj budućnosti.

TERRORISM AS A FORM OF CRISES SITUATION IN DIGITAL MEDIA WORLD

Summary

In the world of digital media there is a significant number of crisis situations that we can characterize as an act of terrorism. This paper analyzes the benefits of digital tools in reporting on terrorist attacks. These tools offer broad- spectrum of opportunities (VR, AR) for reporter who covers terrorist attacks. Media reporting on terrorism has intensified in the last decade due to increase the activities of various terrorist

organizations and groups. Because of these reasons journalists should understand this problem, and its is neccessary to define this phenomenon from the aspect of the media.

Keywords: digitalization, media, Internet, VR, AR, reporting, terrorism, crisis, journalists.

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Sandra Bašić Hrvatin
Fakultet društvenih nauka
Univerzitet Primorska
Kopar, Slovenija
Lenart J. Kučić
Ljubljana, Slovenija

UDC 323.266:004.738.5

„LAŽNE VIJESTI“ – ZATON POVJERENJA U MEDIJE

Apstrakt: „Lažne vijesti“ su sistemski problem medijske industrije koja se već desetljećima nalazi u krizi. Postale su paravan kojim se zakriva problem povjerenja u sve institucije političkog sistema. U članku tražimo odgovor na temeljno pitanje: kada i kako su „lažne vijesti“ postale dio novinarskog narativa i novinarske prakse? Odnosno: kada je laž koja je karakteristična za propagandu postala legitiman pojam o kojem se raspravlja kada govorimo o novinarstvu.

Ključne riječi: lažne vijesti, dezinformacije, propaganda, medijska pismenost, internet, društvene mreže

Kada bismo odabrali samo jedan pojam kojem svi upleteni u javnu komunikaciju – od novinara i političara do korisnika medija i interneta – danas namjenjuju toliko pažnje, onda bi to svakako bio pojam „lažne vijesti“ (*fake news*).

Ne bez razloga taj pojam stavljamo u znake navoda. Što taj neobičan pojam uopće znači? Vijest je po definiciji nešto što se je dogodilo. Vijest je događaj, pojava ili osoba o kojima u novinarskom žanru izvještavaju mediji. „Lažna vijest“ za razliku od vijesti može biti mnogo toga. Može biti laž koja je predstavljena u novinarskom žanru vijesti ili pak medijsko pokrivanje događaja koji se nikada nije dogodio. U svakom slučaju ono što „lažnu vijest“ određuje nije novinarski žanr (vijest) nego njen sadržaj (laž).

U političkoj retorici je pojam „lažne vijesti“ dobio dodatnu dimenziju. Političari definiraju kao „lažnu vijest“ svako novinarsko izvještavanje koje im nije u interesu. Iz do sada zapisanog vidimo da je pojam „lažne vijesti“ postao nekakav omnibus pojam čije stvarno značenje varira od toga tko ga upotrebljava i tko od njegovog širenja u prostoru javne komunikacije ima nekakvu korist. U osnovi „lažna vijest“ nije ništa drugo doli oblik crne propagande (Jowett i O'Donnell, 2012). Crna propaganda temelji na lažima,

njen cilj je manipulacija mišljenjima i stavovima ljudi o određenim događajima i pojavama u interesu propagandista. Crna propaganda djeluje unutar medijskog sistema gdje su stvarni izvori informacija sakriveni (tračevi) ili pak gdje je pravi izvor informacija zamijenjen sa drugim kojemu ljudi više vjeruju.

Glavna nit našeg razmišljanja temelji na tezi da su „lažne vijesti" sistemski problem medijske industrije koja se već desetljećima nalazi u krizi. Iz toga slijedi da sistemske probleme ne možemo rješavati strukturnim promjenama kao što je recimo medijska pismenost. „Lažne vijesti" su postale nekakav paravan koji skriva problem povjerenja u sve institucije političkog sistema. Pitanje koje slijedi je veoma jednostavno: kada i kako se dogodilo da su „lažne vijesti" postale dio novinarskog diskurza (i prakse)? Odnosno: kada je laž koja je karakteristična za propagandu postala legitiman pojam o kojem se raspravlja kada govorimo o novinarstvu?

Zato nije neobično da je masovna pojava „lažnih vijesti" u medijima i politici izazvala toliko žučnih rasprava i komentara. Suočena sa činjenicama da se lažne vijesti koriste za utjecanje na izbore i oblikovanje javnog mnenja o pojedinim važnim društvenim pitanjima (kao što su migracije) Evropska komisija imenovala je posebnu grupu nezavisnih stručnjaka sa ciljem da oblikuju učinkovitu javnu politiku koja bi zaustavila širenje „lažnih vijesti" na internetu. (Evropska Komisija, 2018) Njihov izvještaj u mnogo čemu pokazuje kako evropska medijska politika nema nikakvog mehanizama pomoću kojega bi zaštitila interese građana i njihovo pravo na istinite i vjerodostojne javne informacije.

U izvještaju stručnjaka predlažu se neke mjere koje kratkoročno mogu pomoći da se fenomen „lažnih vijesti" ograniči kao što su recimo transparentnost djelovanja internetskih portala koji nude informativne sadržaje i informacijska pismenost. Kako to konkretno sprovesti u vidu javnih politika, nije jasno. Kao pomoć pri postizanju tih ciljeva stručnjaci predlažu razvoj posebnih oruđa koja bi omogućila korisnicima i novinarima da se efikasnije bore protiv dezinformacija. Među predloženim mjerama je i zaštita raznovrsnosti (*diversity*), pluralnosti (*pluralism*) i ekonomske održivosti evropskog informativnog medijskog sistema (mjera koju je Evropska komisija desetljećima odbijala pozivajući se na to da nema političkih ingerencija nad tim pitanjima) kao i istraživanje utjecaja koje dezinformacije imaju na oblikovanje mišljenja i stavova ljudi. Stručnjaci zaključuju da je zbog jasnijeg poimenovanja fenomena o kojem govore, potrebno pojam „lažnih vijesti"

zamijeniti širim pojmom dezinformacije koji, po njihovom mišljenju, jasnije opisuje današnje prakse kreiranja i širenja laži u medijima i na internetu.

1. DEZINFORMACIJSKI RAT

Dezinformacija ima u povijesti medija specifično značenje. Pojam ne dolazi iz latinske riječi nego je nastao kao referencija na ime odjela za propagandu sovjetske tajne policije KGB. Odjeli za dezinformaciju su imali primarni zadatak da sistematično kreiraju i šire laži preko medija u kontekstu šireg sistema psihološkog rata. Jednostavna definicija dezinformacije kaže da se radi o propagandi koja za utjecaj na odabrane ciljne grupe koristi medije (to je bitna razlika između dezinformacije i crne propagande). Glavni zadatak dezinformatora bio je plasirati laž u odabrane medije sa ciljem da se mišljenje javnosti o određenom problemu oblikuje u skladu sa željama i ciljevima službene politike. Da bi učinak dezinformacije bio veći i trajniji, dezinformator je morao sakriti tragove odakle dolazi informacija, da čitatelj ili gledatelj ne može provjeriti tko je njezin izvor (Jowett i O'Donnell, 2018: 24–25).

Za nas koji se profesionalno bavimo istraživanjem utjecaja medija na javnost poznata je činjenica da ljudi ocjenjuju vjerodostojnost informacije s obzirom na to kako ocjenjuju vjerodostojnost izvora informacije. Za ljude nije toliko važno što je bilo rečeno, nego tko je to rekao. Ako vjerujem osobi (ili mediju) koji mi je posredovao tu informaciju, vjerovati ću i u njen sadržaj. Zato je u slučaju dezinformacija važno održati paravan vjerodostojnog izvora informacija.

Razumljivo je da dezinformatori pokušavaju predstaviti laži zapakirane u formu novinarskih sadržaja („vijesti“), ustanoviti vlastite propagandne medije za širenje laži ili pomoću laži zaraziti medijski sistem „napadnute“ države i postići da o njima izvještavaju i ostali mediji. U slučaju društvenih mreža i digitalnih platformi moć dezinformatora dobila je nevjerovatne mogućnosti. Vjerodostojan izvor informacija može biti nečiji prijatelj ili elektronski kontakt na društvenim mrežama kojemu vjerujemo. Ako nam informaciju pošalje ili preporuči naš analogni ili digitalni prijatelj, postoji velika vjerovatnoća da ćemo je dijeliti sa svim ostalim prijateljima koji su dio naše društvene mreže. U tom procesu aktiviraju se i algoritmi koji pomažu da se laž širi eksponencijalno i postane dio šire mreže društvenih kontakata na internetu. Jednostavnije rečeno: na prvu laž koju smo dijelili

nam algoritam kao opcije ponudi slične informacije (još više laži) i tako stvori informacijski eko sistem u kojem istina uopće ne može ući.

Agenti KGB (i njihovi nasljednici u velikim farmama dezinformacija danas) dobro su znali da građani ne vjeruju službenim izvorima informacija i državnim medijima u državama koje su postale meta njihovog djelovanja. Ustanovili su da ljudi pokušavaju dobiti „prave“ informacije u disidentskim medijima (koji su bili službeno zabranjeni, ali svejedno dostupni po neformalnim kanalima) i u stranim medijima koje su potajno slušali preko radijskih prijemnika ili čitali u prokrijumčarenim novinama. Zato su razvili sofisticirane tehnike kako upravo u tim medijima kojima ljudi vjeruju podstaknuti režimu naklonjene informacije odnosno laži.

Te metode pokazala su se veoma efikasnim. Čitatelji nisu mogli znati da je informacija lažna. Njihovo prihvaćanje laži temeljilo je na činjenici da su imali povjerenje u medij koji je tu informaciju širio. To se pokazalo posebno u slučaju informacija koje su dezinformatori plasirali u medijima onih stranih država gdje im je bio cilj promijeniti mišljenje ljudi o točno odabranom pitanju. Metode su bile do detalja razrađene. Laž se plasira u neki medij koji sa ciljanom državom na prvi pogled nema nikakve veze. Potom tu informaciju preuzmu mediji ciljane države i time prvobitna laž postane legitimna istina o kojoj sada raspravljaju ne samo mediji, nego i političari i javnost.

2. DRŽAVOTVORNE LAŽI

Da ne bude zabune, dezinformacije kao način manipuliranja javnim mnenjem nastale su u Sovjetskom Savezu, ali su se kao metoda raširile po cijelom svijetu. Tu tehniku utjecanja na mišljenja i stavove ljudi koriste brojne države danas. Pojedini primjeri učinkovitog širenja „lažnih vijesti“ imaju u literaturi gotovo kultni status. Za neke od tih laži smo nakon duljeg vremena saznali kako su nastale. Za neke vjerovatno nikada nećemo saznati tko i kako ih je plasirao u javnost.

Znani primjer dezinformacije bila je vijest da je virus HIV nastao u laboratoriju američke vojske. Taj virus, tako kruži priča, američki su obavještajci koristili za namjerno širenje zaraze u određenim grupama ljudi. Sada znamo da je tu informaciju (laž) u javnost plasirao KGB. Drugi znani primjer je mišljenje kako jedenje mrkve poboljšava vid. Tu informaciju su u vrijeme drugog svjetskog rata širili britanski propagandisti. Ideja je bila

jednostavna. Da bi pred njemačkim špijunima sakrili djelovanje svoje radarske mreže pomoću koje su u zračnoj bitki za Englesku izvojevali pobjedu, britanski mediji su redovito objavljivali „znanstvene“ informacije o tome kako britanski piloti jedu mrkve i time oštre svoj vid. Koliko od nas još uvijek vjeruje toj laži?

Brojne primjere negativnog utjecaja širenja dezinformacija na javno mnenje u državi koja je postala meta propagandnog „napada“ možemo naći u odličnoj knjizi Gartha Jowetta i Victorie O'Donnell *Propaganda and Persuasion* (2012) kao i u knjizi *Sleepwalkers* (2013) Christophera Clarka.

Clark je pokazao kako su upletene države pred početkom Prvog svjetskog rata masovno zloupotrebljavale medije za posredovanje svojih službenih stavova „na znanje“ drugim državama putem njima naklonjenih medija. Takva praksa je bila tako raširena da je službene krugove zahvatila panika kada je koji časopis objavio pravi (istiniti) novinarski prilog. Diplomatske službe odmah su počele analizirati tko je „istinski naručilac“ objavljene informacije i teško ih je bilo uvjeriti da novinari mogu pisati po svojem vlastitom uvjerenju.

Slične prakse opisuje i američka novinarka i voditeljica tjedne radijske emisije *On the Media* Brooke Gladstone koja je u knjizi *The Influencing Machine* (2011) potvrdila tezu da su SAD kao državu izgradili lažljivi novinari.

Na nizu primjera Gladstone pokazuje na koji način su američki političari svjesno iskorištavali novinare i slabosti ondašnjeg medijskog sistema za sistematično širenje tračeva i dezinformacija. Laganje, produkcija i širenje lažnih vijesti, curenje informacija u korist jednih i na štetu drugih su bili (i u mnogo slučajeva i ostali) dio novinarskog rada. Američki predsjednik Thomas Jefferson prisvojio je (odnosno ukrao) novac iz državne blagajne za financiranje časopisa koji su napadali njegove protivnike. Povjesničari su otkrili kako je namjerno ostavljao otvorena vrata svoje kancelarije da bi njegov „prijateljski“ urednik na radnom stolu pročitao odabrane državne tajne i potom ih objavio istrgane iz konteksta. Slično curenje politički osjetljivih informacija prije je obilno koristio George Washington. Za vrijeme svog predsjedničkog mandata na platnom spisku imao je vladine službenike čiji jedini zadatak je bio da njemu naklonjenim novinarima redovito prosljeđuju ekskluzivne informacije.

Te prakse Gladstone (2011: 17) cinički komentira: „U čemu je problem? Washington nikada nije lagao“. Naravno da ne. Umjesto njega su

lagali novinari. U današnje vrijeme društvene mreže omogućile su političarima nevjerovatne mogućnosti manipuliranja javnim mnenjem. „Lažne vijesti“ o kojima smo do sada pisali nisu ništa u usporedbi sa „dubokim lažnim vijestima“ (*deep fake news*). Današnja digitalna tehnologija koju može praktično koristiti bilo tko omogućava nove metode širenja laži protiv kojih se praktično nemoguće boriti.

3. LAŽLJIVČEVA DIVIDENDA

Korištenje umjetne inteligencije (*AI-artifical inteligence)* za produkciju lažnih audio i video snimaka u kojima ljudi govore nešto što nikada nisu rekli ili se pojavljuju u situacijama u kojima nikada nisu bili predstavlja dodatnu dimenziju širenja i utjecaja „lažnih vijesti“. Danas nije više moguće sa sigurnošću tvrditi, da je ono što čujemo ili vidimo istinito.

Kakve etičke probleme predstavljaju duboke „lažne vijesti“ i kakve posljedice imaju na komunikaciju u društvu, pitanje je o kojem očito veoma mali broj medijskih i tehnoloških stručnjaka ozbiljno razmišlja (Chadwick, 2018 i Schellman, 2018). Duboke „lažne vijesti“ se nevjerovatno brzo šire i uspijevaju na društvenim mrežama, „hrane“ ih naše predrasude, stereotipi, žudnja za novošću i lagodnost bivanja u vlastitom informacijskom mjehuriću. Robert Chesney i Danielle Keats Citron (2019) pravilno upozoravaju da se sve laži ne pojavljuju u obliku afirmativne tvrdnje da se je nešto (što se nikad nije) dogodilo. Najtvrdokornije laži se pojavljuju u obliku nijekanja.

Autori pokazuju da je u slučaju dubokih „lažnih vijesti“ lažljivcima puno lakše nijekati istinu. Fenomen koji autori nazivaju „lažljivčeva dividenda“ (*liar's dividend*) temelji na dvjema pretpostavkama. Ako lažljivca napadnete da širi laži njegova prva strategija može biti da širenjem generiranih alternativnih audio ili vizualnih snimaka stvori sumnju. Naravno da se radi o rizičnom postupku posebno zbog toga što postoje profesionalni mediji koji mogu svaku od tih laži provjeriti i dokazati da je laž. Drugi pristup, pokazuju autori, temelji se na tome da lažljivac tvrdi da je autentična informacija laž. U situaciji kada je publika svjesna postojanja „lažnih vijesti“ i istina može funkcionirati kao laž ako netko tako tvrdi (Chesney i Keats Citron, 2019).

Istraživanja povjerenja ljudi u institucije u društvu pokazuju sve veći porast nepovjerenja među ljudima. Mediji naravno nisu nikakav izuzetak. Kada vodeći političari u svojim javnim nastupima neprestano koriste pojam

„lažnih vijesti“ i „lažnih medija“ za diskreditaciju rada profesionalnih medijskih kuća i novinara, polako (a sigurno) normalizira se stanje u kojem je svako traganje za istinom ili svako provjeravanje činjenica „lažna vijest“ koju proizvode koruptivni mediji i koruptivni novinari. Nije teško vidjeti kako će se „lažne vijesti“ s pomoću tehnologije razviti u duboke „lažne vijesti“ u budućnosti. Kada takve vijesti počnu dominirati prostorom javne komunikacije, javnost će imati sve više problema vjerovati u istinitost onoga što čuje ili vidi. „Lažne vijesti“ uništavaju povjerenje u djelovanje institucija što je preduvjet za demokratično djelovanje nekog društva. „Kombinacija zatona istine i zatona povjerenja, širi prostor za jačanje autoritarizma“ (Chesney i Keats Citron, 2019).

4. MEDIJSKA PISMENOST NIJE DOVOLJNA

Grupa stručnjaka koju je Evropska komisija imenovala za pripremu strategije protiv „lažnih vijesti“ na internetu je pravilno ustanovila da su „lažne vijesti“ oblik dezinformacije. Njihova preporuka i uvjerenje da je dezinformacije moguće zaustaviti pomoću medijske i digitalne pismenosti građana nije samo neuvjerljiva nego i potpuno pogrešna. Logika argumenta kojim se koriste spomenuti stručnjaci izgleda približno ovako: ako opismenimo građane da sami prepoznaju prave od „lažnih vijesti“, ako istreniramo medijske potrošače da sami navigiraju u moru različitih informacija, problem je riješen. Naravno da nije.

Za razumijevanje ideje medijske i informacijske pismenosti moramo razumjeti kako se oblikovala evropska medijska politika. Evropska komisija je na medijskom području cijelo vrijeme pokušavala pronaći nekakav kompromis između interesa komercijalne medijske industrije koja je zahtijevala deregulaciju, ukidanje nepotrebnih poslovnih ograničenja i liberalizaciju te interesa građana koji su zahtijevali zaštitu pred zloupotrebama korporativne medijske moći. Na vagi je prevagnula zaštita slobodne gospodarske inicijative nad temeljnim ljudskom pravom svakog građanina (sloboda izražavanja).

Takva kompromisna politika se u konačnici pokazala kao potpuno neujednačena. Ono što su dobili građani (medijska pismenost) nije bilo ni približno toliko „vrijedno“ kao ono što su dobili medijski vlasnici (deregulacija). U praksi je taj proces izgledao kao kvadratura kruga. Evropska komisija dozvolila je velike strukturne promjene koje su koristile medijskim

korporacijama i oglašivačima tvrdeći da nema nikakvih nadležnosti za ograničavanje medijske koncentracije. U cilju jačanja tržišnog položaja evropskih medijskih korporacija (protiv američkih) medije je pretvorila u usluge.

Ne radi se samo o nedužnoj zamjeni pojma. Mediji su kroz povijest bili jedan od temelja djelovanja demokratskih sistema. Usluge su privatni tržišni odnos koji sklapaju pojedini potrošači sa poduzećem koju tu uslugu nudi. Mediji moraju poštivati brojna ograničenja koja se odnose na produkciju sadržaja. Kod usluga je važna samo njihova kvaliteta koja se mjeri sa brojem programa koje potrošač dobiva u paketu. Što su zauzvrat dobili građani? Dobili su male ustupke i politički prihvatljive mjere koje bitno ne štete korporacijama kao što su projekti za financiranje medijske pismenosti i zaštite potrošača. Umjesto da je Evropska komisija postavila ključno pitanje tko je kriv za sve veće zloupotrebe medijskog sistema, *a priori* je zaštitila medijski sistem kao takav i ublažila neke od najgorih posljedica koje proizvodi. Među te posljedice svakako spadaju i „lažne vijesti". Evropskim građanima dali su male doze medijskih aspirina pomoću kojih su morali blažiti posljedice teške kronične bolesti.

Istu strategiju ponudili su i zaključci grupe stručnjaka. Ideja da su medijske i digitalne platforme možda (samo možda!) neposredno odgovorne za produkciju i širenje „lažnih vijesti" za njih je nezamisliva. To je potpuno razumljivo. Ako bi bili sposobni to misliti, onda bi morali predložiti mjere za efikasnu regulaciju medija i digitalnih platformi. Tako su predlagali mjere iz željeznog repertoara protivnika bilo kakve regulacije: za širenje dezinformacija nisu odgovorne platforme i mediji koji ih šire nego konkretni pojedinci koji ih objavljuju. Budimo dosljedni: Za problem „lažnih vijesti" krivi su sami čitatelji koji takvim informacijama nekritički vjeruju.

5. ZLOUPOTREBE MEDIJSKOG SISTEMA

Građani vjeruju dezinformacijama ne zbog toga što su premalo medijski obrazovani (nepismeni) ili imaju na raspolaganju premalo činjenica koje bi mogli provjeriti. Vjeruju zato što ih dezinformatori namjerno manipuliraju zloupotrebljavajući medijski sistem kao takav. Iskorištavaju povjerenje koje imamo u vjerodostojne medije i (druge) ustanove, šire sumnju, raspiruju strahove i kreiraju otrovni medijski i društveni sistem u

kojem ne možemo vjerovati nikome. I upravo je to glavni cilj dezinformacije. Održavati latentnu sumnju u sve i svakoga.

Medijska pismenost ima uspjeha samo u situacijama kada mediji i političari poštuju pravila igre, kada je moguće jasno odvojiti vjerodostojne izvore informacija od nevjerodostojnih, laži od istine, kada izgovorena i napisana laž ima posljedice (ostavka politika ili urednika) i kada su krive informacije samo nehotična greška i ne namjerno oružje političke borbe ili metoda efikasnog služenja novca. Medijskim opismenjavanjem se ne možemo boriti protiv farmi za produkciju dezinformacija koje države financiraju milionima eura (MacFarquar, 2018). Dezinformator nije običan lažljivac koji se boji da će biti otkriven. Dezinformacija djeluje i onda kada je prepoznamo i pokušamo pobijati činjenicama. Na činjenice dezinformator počinje „lijepiti“ alternativne činjenice, pokušava diskreditirati pojedince ili organizacije koje se bore protiv laži ili pak cijelu novinarsku profesiju označiti za neprijatelje naroda.

Američki lingvist i kognitivni znanstvenik George Lakoff (2014) detaljno je opisao različite metode pomoću kojih političari koriste slabosti medijskog sistema za širenje dezinformacija. Pokazao je da mediji nemaju efikasnih metoda zaštite pomoću kojih bi se odbranili od političkih demagoga. Ako ne izvještavaju o lažima koje izgovori pojedini političar, on sam i njegovi politički sljedbenici optužiće ih za pristranost i cenzuru. Ako ga pokušaju raskrinkati objavljivanjem činjenica koje dokazuju da laže, samo će ojačati (i reproducirati) njegove poruke i potvrditi mišljenje njegovih sljedbenika da ga mediji namjerno napadaju. Zato se političari trude unaprijed oblikovati narativni okvir u kojem će svaki pokušaj traženja istine biti okarakteriziran kao napad ili zavjera skrivenih centara moći čiji dio su i mediji („duboka država“, „većinski/lijevi/liberalni mediji“...)

Sa sličnim problemima suočavaju i upravitelji društvenih mreža. U intervjuu za američki časopis *Columbia Journalism Review* predstavnik *Facebook*-a Adam Mosseri (Dalton i Vernon, 2018) objasnio je kako je kreiranje „lažnih vijesti“ i dezinformacija izuzetno profitabilan posao u kojem je moguće s pomoću algoritama zaslužiti na stotine tisuća dolara. Poznajemo primjere kada su pojedinci na internetu u vrijeme američke predsjedničke kampanje 2016. godine kreirali na stotine veb-strana na kojima su objavljivali „lažne vijesti“, brinuli o njihovom masovnom umrežavanju i pomoću korisničkih klikova i lajkova dobivali novac od oglašavanja.

Priča koja je dobila status urbane legende govori o tome kako su mladi makedonski hakeri produkcijom lažnih vijesti djelovali u korist Donalda Trumpa i zaradili mnogo novca. Grupa istraživačkih novinara tek nakon godinu dana i provjeravanja brojnih izvora informacija pokazala je da se radi o „dvostrukoj lažnoj vijesti". Naizgled nezavisne hakere koordinirala je ekipa američkih republikanskih stratega koja je po cijelom svijetu kreirala lažne internetske stranice sa ciljem sistematičnog nanošenja političke štete Hillary Clinton (OCCRP Report, 2018).

Mosseri ocjenjuje da velika većina lažnih informacija na *Facebook*-u nastaje zbog novca i ne zbog ideologije. Zato su aktivirali različite oblike kontrole oglašivačkih algoritama koji mogu uspješnije prepoznavati lažne profile i otkrivati pokušaje manipulacije. *Facebook* smatra da će nedostatak profita od širenja „lažnih vijest" automatski smanjiti i njihov obim. Uvjerljiv odgovor na pitanje novinarke o tome kako će spriječiti ideološko motivirane dezinformacije, nismo dobili. U stilu klasičnih argumenata protivnika regulacije digitalnih platformi odgovorio je da na *Facebook*-u ne žele ograničavati slobodu izražavanja čak i u slučaju kada se radi o diskriminatornim izjavama ili ekstremnim političkim mišljenjima. Taj odgovor kao „krunski argument" danas koriste brojni politički analitičari, političari pa čak i novinari. Slobodno širenje laži je cijena koju moramo platiti da bi mogli širiti istinu – u svom tvitu napisao je slovenački član ekspertne grupe stručnjaka.

6. BRZO ŠIRENJE ZARAZE

Takvo mišljenje nije samo problematično nego je i štetno. Zanemaruje činjenicu da mediji i digitalne platforme zarađuju prikupljanjem i prodavanjem prisutnosti korisnika na internetu. U sistemu koji vodi algoritam mreženja istina i laž nemaju iste mogućnosti.

Istraživanja pokazuju da „lažne vijesti" koje se šire društvenim mrežama i objavljuju u medijima imaju daleko veći domet i utjecaj od informacija koje se temelje na činjenicama. Komentari, preporuke, ironično komentiranje izjava, događaja i pojedinaca mnogo se jednostavnije širi od ozbiljnih medijskih sadržaja. Odziv korisnika na društvenim mrežama glavna je „valuta" trgovanja na internetu. Broj klikova i lajkova određuje vrijednost informacije i njenu oglašivačku cijenu. Odaziv korisnika ujedno je i glavni mjerni instrument pomoću kojega algoritmi definiraju informacijske i

komunikacijske navike ljudi na internetu, na temelju njih se posreduje dodatne preporuke i povećava vidljivost „uspješnih“ objava na internetu.

Za širenje dezinformacija nisu krivi samo algoritmi. Kao što je potvrdilo istraživanje medijskog laboratorija MIT (*Massachusettes Institute of Technology*) političari, medijska i internetska poduzeća uspješno iskorištavaju raširenost i utjecaj netočnih vijesti (istraživači koriste pojam *false news* a ne *fake* news). Netočne vijesti imaju 70 posto veću mogućnost širenja od istinitih. To je ujedno i razlog što se netočne vijesti puno brže šire putem *Twitter*-a od istinitih (Dizikes, 2018). Istinitoj priča treba šest puta više vremena od netočne da dostigne vidljivost kod 1.500 ljudi.

U slučaju „tviterskih kaskada“ (neprekidnog lanca širenja jedne te iste vijesti) pokazalo se da se netočna vijest širi brže i dublje nego istinita. Detaljno predstavljanje podataka analize bi zahtijevalo previše prostora (više o tome u Vosough, Roy i Aral, 2018) zato za potrebe ovog članka navodimo ključnu tezu istraživanja: netočne vijesti su po svojoj narativnoj strukturi, izboru teme i sadržaju zanimljivije o istinitih. Ljudi radije dijele informacije o nepoznatim i zanimljivim stvarima i događajima od onih za koje misle da ih poznaju. Dodatnu vrijednost daje činjenica da se onome koji širi takvu novu informaciju na društvenim mrežama utvrđuje status zanimljivog izvora informacija. Takvi informacijski inovatori postaju osobe za koje drugi misle da znaju gdje naći takve informacije. Algoritmi su samo dio sistema. Onaj koji mnogo šalje automatski dobiva status izvora koji treba širiti po cjelokupnoj mreži. Biti informiran danas ne znači imati ključne podatke o tome što se događa u svijetu nego biti onaj čije zapise dijeli najveći broj ljudi bez obzira na to da li se radi o istinitim ili lažnim informacijama.

Što istraživači poručuju korisnicima društvenih mreža? Dobro razmislite prije nego što informaciju podijelite sa drugima! Što napraviti sa onima koji takve informacije (svjesno) produciraju, ostaje pitanje bez odgovora.

7. MOĆ BEZ ODGOVORNOSTI

Problem „lažnih vijesti“ u mnogo čemu nalikuje na neprijatnosti koje društvo ima sa ograničavanjem štetnih utjecaja pušenja, konzumiranja alkohola ili nezdrave hrane. Prehrambena industrija veoma dobro zna da većini ljudi u prehrambenim proizvodima prija kombinacija slatkog, slanog i masnog. Proizvođači cigareta i duhana dobro znaju da nikotin prouzrokuje

ovisnost. Isto važi i za alkohol. Nezdrava hrana, pušenje i konzumiranje alkohola dokazano negativno utječu na zdravlje pojedinca i cijelo društvo (nasilje u porodici, dugotrajno liječenje teških oboljenja). Ali su njihovi lobisti dugi niz godina uspijevali spriječiti bilo kakvu ozbiljniju regulaciju tih proizvoda pozivajući se na slobodu izbora potrošača.

U svojim javnim kampanjama koristili su još jedan mehanizam koji naveliko potpomaže širenje „lažnih vijesti" – sumnju (iste tehnike koriste i oni koji niječu klimatske promjene). Sumnju u rezultate istraživanja, sumnju u istraživače i sumnju o povezanosti uzroka (prekomjerno uživanje nezdrave hrane) i posljedice (debljina i dijabetes).

Mišljenje da je moguće pomoću medijskog opismenjavanja uspješno zaustaviti širenje dezinformacija nije samo naivno nego i štetno. Takvo mišljenje pretpostavlja da bi i za probleme prejedanja nezdravom hranom i pušenja trebalo dozvoliti prehrambenoj, duhanskoj i alkoholnoj industriji da i dalje radi po istom poslovnom modelu (manipuliranje potrošača suptilnim oglašavanjem) pod uvjetom da u školama uvedemo jedan sat tjedno predavanja o zdravoj prehrani, štetnosti pušenja i pijenja alkohola. Potrošačkim organizacijama i pojedincima trebalo je nekoliko desetljeća pravnih bitaka i na stotine tisuća smrti da uspiju zabraniti oglašavanje štetnih proizvoda i izbore obavezno označavanje štetnih sastojaka koji imaju negativne posljedice na zdravlje ljudi. Sličan pristup su imali i na Googlu kada su počeli u agregatoru *google news* označavati „provjerene informacije", da bi ih odvojili od lažnih. Ideja da bi „lažne vijesti" maknuli i sankcionirali one koji ih objavljuju očito je potpuno izvan njihovog načina razmišljanja i djelovanja.

Takvi manji, u suštini kozmetički pokušaji regulacije nisu bitno promijenili djelovanje industrije. „Pismeni" potrošači i nadalje koriste štetne proizvode. Djelomično zato što nemaju na raspolaganju zdravije, djelomično pa zato što su zdraviji proizvodi za njih preskupi. Dodatno oporezivanje tih proizvoda i dalje puni državnu blagajnu, naše odluke da ih i dalje koristimo podstiču suptilni oglasi. I kod „medijske dijete" važe ista pravila. „Lažne vijesti", „duboke lažne vijesti", dezinformacije i širenje nepovjerenja u institucije, struku i činjenice uopće je štetno za političko zdravlje društva. Malo je vjerovatno da će u bliskoj budućnosti mediji i vlasnici digitalnih platformi preuzeti odgovornost na isti način kao i proizvođači cigareta. Iako su u slučaju „lažnih vijesti" jedini koji imaju (barem hipotetički) kontrolu i utjecaj nad komunikacijom koje se odvija na mreži u njihovom vlasništvu.

Očito je da nismo spremni ozbiljno razmisliti o uzrocima problema i brzo nas zadovolje manji ustupci medijske industrije (npr. samoregulacija). Mediji se pokušavaju boriti protiv „lažnih vijesti“ tako da oblikuju posebne timove novinara unutar medijskih kuća čiji zadatak je da provjeravaju činjenice. Slično rješenje nude i brojne nezavisne internetske stranice koje upozoravaju na „lažne vijesti“ u politici i zamjenjuju ih sa provjerenim činjenicama (*factcheck.org, hoax-slayer.com, politifact.com, snopes.com, truthorfiction.com*).

Takvo provjeravanje činjenica može pomoći samo u ograničenom broju primjera i koristiti samo određenim korisnicima, nikako ne može biti cjelovito rješenje koje bi uistinu riješilo problem. „Lažne vijesti“ i dezinformacije bujaju u medijskoj okolini u kojoj čitateljstvo traži one informacije koje u cijelosti ili većim djelom potvrđuju njihova već oblikovana stajališta do određenih problema. U informacijskim mjehurićima okupljaju se oni koji misle isto i isključuju oni čije se mišljenje razlikuje od našeg. „Lažne vijesti“ su u tom slučaju ljepilo koje te informacijske zajednice drži na okupu i sprečava da se ne raspadnu. Informacijski mjehurići imaju još jedno važno obilježje: svoje članove ideološki radikaliziraju. Unutar mjehurića je nemoguće otkriti laž.

Novinari su u novom komunikacijskom eko sistemu samo jedan od mnogobrojnih producenata medijskih sadržaja koji na *Facebook*-u, kao što je istaknuo njihov predstavnik u intervjuu, uopće nemaju privilegiran status (Dalton i Vernon, 2018) Mediji koji se trude poštovati profesionalna pravila novinarskog rada, moraju na digitalnim platformama konkurirati brojnim informacijama čiji izvor nije znan ili je izmišljen. Za razliku od novinara koji za svoje pisanje odgovaraju, pisci na digitalnim platformama ne odgovaraju nikome. „Lažne vijesti“ i dezinformacije zato su „požarni alarm“ koji nas upozorava da medijski sistem treba temeljito reformirati. Širenje „lažnih vijesti“ i njihovu rušilačku moć u javnosti ne može zaustaviti nikakav program medijske ili informacijske pismenosti. Za to je potrebna temeljita reforma cjelokupnog medijskog sistema.

FAKE NEWS – FALL OF TRUST IN MEDIA

Summary

Fake news can be seen as a symptom a systemic problem of the media industry which has been in a deep crisis for several decades. They have become a shading screen covering a problem of deep distrust of all the institution of a political system. In this article we intend tol show how and when have fake news entered into journalistic discourse and practice. When has a lie – which has traditionally been a characteristic feature of propaganda – became a legitimate term in debates regarding journalism.

Keywords: fake news, disinformation, propaganda, media literacy, Internet, social media

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Broos Claerhout
Alexander Deweppe
HOWEST University of Applied Sciences
Quindo Media Lab
Kortrijk, Belgium

THE MEDIA PRODUCTION METHODOLOGY: USING MEDIA PRODUCTION TO EMPOWER YOUNGSTERS WITH FEWER OPPORTUNITIES: THE EDITORIAL BOARD SIMULATION PRACTICE

Abstract: The focus of this research project is on how encouraging youngsters with fewer opportunities to experiment with different media production methods can help establish social inclusion. The results of the used methods are twofold: the development of transferable social skills and the improvement or acquisition of new digital skills. The target groups are children and youngsters in vulnerable households, youngsters under legal custody, newcomers and refugees. Deeper analysis of this experimental methodology indicates that, aside from an efficient practice, this is a fairly unique approach. Social skills are as such defined as attitudes that allow youngsters to fully participate in the society, stimulating them to take responsibility, work in groups, reach out to others, present themselves, etc. The eventual goal is the empowerment of youngsters as 'citizens that matter' through promotion of agency and ownership of their media products. Ideologically and scientifically, this practice stems from a strength-based practice and capability approach. The used media production practices involve various digital skills like sound- and video-recording and editing, smartphone reporting, interview and reporting techniques, live broadcasting, etc. These new abilities tend to provide the target group with an improved degree of media literacy and broadly applicable social and digital competences. An indispensable asset and added value in today's labour force, it more importantly has the potential to boost self-esteem and foster social promotion. The aforementioned projects are executed by the NGO Quindo, a Belgian media lab. The organization has three objectives in its mission statement: primarily informing youngsters on relevant local news, secondly, educational (predominantly through a partnership with Howest University College, and lastly, social inclusion (as the presented project demonstrates). Supported by the Public Centres of Societal Wellbeing (PCSW's), Quindo researches various approaches and methods for social empowerment and e-inclusion involving media production, to strengthen youngsters with fewer opportunities.

Keywords: media production, education, youngsters, practice

INTRODUCTION

Despite a vast body of research and numerous publications on e-inclusion initiatives and digital literacies, it is remarkable that practices involving youngsters with fewer opportunities are hardly included. Van Dijk (2005: 21) describes four access gaps: mental, material, skill-based and usage-related. This research focuses on the skills gap in youngsters with fewer opportunities in particular. The analysis builds upon the digital skills framework presented by Van Dijk and Van Deursen (2010: 5). This framework consists of four types of digital skills, namely formal skills, operational skills, information skills and strategic skills. Additionally, the social skills framework by Thompson (2015: xv) will be employed, which includes personal effectiveness skills, interaction skills and intervention skills.

Recognizing that mental, material and usage gaps contribute substantially to exclusionary implications for youngsters, this methodology focuses on the development of digital skills as well as transferable social skills, through the production of media. The practice of media production by youngsters with fewer opportunities as a way to enhance digital and social skills and establish social inclusion, as such, has received little to no academic attention to date. This paper investigates the implications of applying that media production methodology, within the context of the long-running social work project 'Radio Respect' by NGO Quindo, in Kortrijk, Flanders.

THE MEDIA PRODUCTION METHODOLOGY

Social work practice includes four levels of professional conduct. They can be thought of in a hierarchical manner (as represented in figure 1), but are also subject to cross-level interactions. The highest level is the used professional approach, which often depends on the attitude and mentality of the individual social worker (Abdallah et al., 2016: 25). As described above, this is a strength-based, client-centred and empowerment-oriented approach.

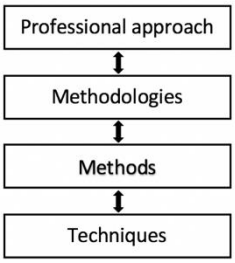

Figure 1: levels of professional conduct
Source: Abdallah, Kooijmans and Sonneveld, 2016 (own translation)

The second level of the taxonomy concerns different methodologies. These consist of a coherent combination of specific worldview, perspectives on mankind, the set goals, used methods and existing scientific insights (Hildago and Baert, 1986, in: Abdallah et al., 2016: 26). The methodologies set predefined goals and select the most fitting methods, techniques and tools (Abdallah et al, 2014: 26). In respect to the case study at hand, the research methodology is called 'media production methodology'.

The method applied within the context of the underlying research study is the editorial board simulation (EBS). The EBS entails an interactive experiential groupwork simulation of a radio editing board, formalized as a workshop in which a group of youngsters make their own live radio show. This procedure is often used as a first point of contact with a group that has no prior experience involving radio. The workshop is essentially open-ended, in the sense that nothing is decided in advance: the group has to discuss name, content, roles and music. Longer projects can involve several EBSs.

Mariën et al. (2010: 8) recognize the so-called learning divide: youngsters with fewer opportunities are less likely to participate in formal education because of earlier negative learning experiences and lower levels of self-esteem. Mariën et al. (2010: 08) identify these lower levels of self-esteem and self-confidence as hindering to social integration and thus exacerbating chances of social exclusion. The target group involves 12-to-25-year-olds experiencing fewer opportunities, often in structurally disadvantaged and vulnerable households. This specifically includes minors under legal custody, newcomers and refugees. Mariën et al. (2010: 8) postulates that one of the main goals should be to engage youngsters in learning activities prompting positive learning experience. The aforementioned methodology does that by means of the described strengths-based client-centred and empowerment-oriented approaches, which aggrandize agency, ownership and success experiences.

SOCIAL INCLUSION AND EMPOWERMENT

The presented media production methodology presupposes an integrated approach to social work, as described by Healy (2011: 3). Effective social work takes into account three levels: the individual micro-level, work on mezzo-level with groups and working on macro-level with communities, signalling function to and interaction with policymakers (Healy, 2011: 3). Our

methodology has been developed and tested in the context of Flemish youth social work. The Dutch-speaking region of Belgium has a long youth work history, in which youth social work is the branch that targets youngsters with fewer opportunities in their leisure time (Van de Walle et al., 2011: 3).

On the assumption that the basic effectivity requirements have been fulfilled, the media production methodology does allow social workers to work on all three of the levels expressed earlier. This paper zones in on the application and impact of the EBS and RE-methods on the mezzo-level, working with groups up to twelve participants. During the fine-tuning process of the methodology, tests and evaluations have also been conducted on micro and macro-level.

In working with youngsters with fewer opportunities, the methodology aims at empowerment through the development of transferable social and digital skills. Positive learning experiences have a constructive impact in the growing of self-image and self-confidence, which in turn may break potential preexisting unfavorable experiences with learning, as well as (vicious circles of) negative self-fulfilling prophecies.

In using media production as a tool to empower youngsters with fewer opportunities, social inclusion is always the eventual goal. Though social inclusion has often been used as the perfect solution to the problem-centered concept of social exclusion, Schirmer and Michailakis (2015: 61) argue that both aren't necessarily good or bad concepts. Working towards social inclusion, on micro level, takes the form of (re)orientating the youngster towards being '*includable*' (Schirmer and Michailakis, 2015: 46) in society. Social inclusion, as conceptualized by Luhmann (2000) and explained by Schirmer and Michailakis (2015: 46-64) through social systems theory, is never established on micro level, as it sees the client as one actor in a complicated network of social relationships and different (complex) systems. Central to Luhmann's (2000) approach is the communications theory. He believes that society consists of different communicational structures, rather than groups of people or their actions. Luhmann theoretizes this as follows: *"Inclusion means that human beings are held relevant in communication, i.e. they are considered as communicative addresses, as persons, as bearers of roles, as accountable actors"* (Schirmer and Michailakis, 2015: 53; Luhmann, 2005: 226; Nassehi, 2002: 127).

According to these reference frameworks, inclusion is established through the reception of roles. The authors postulate the existence of two

types of roles: performance roles and layman roles. The first category contains roles of key figures in certain systems (entrepreneurs in the economy, politicians in politics, scientists in science…). The layman-category exists of the roles of consumers, voters, clients… (Schirmer and Michailakis, 2015: 54). As the role of the welfare state is to support and secure all its citizens, the capacity of social work can be seen as a fail-safe: everyone who slips through the uniform and general approach of the welfare state needs a specific and individualized approach. Social work, as such, may well be redefined as 'exclusion management' (Scherr, 1999: 2). The role of social workers is therefore not to include clients into society or specific systems – which essentially they would not at all be able to do anyway – but to support the client in (re)gaining communicative relevance for existing systems (Schirmer and Michailakis, 2015: 60). In other words: the target set to the social worker is to encompass empowerment of the individuals themselves and to ameliorate their aptness and attractiveness to the existing systems. Social workers have to meet the impact generated on the micro level with different efforts on mezzo and macro-level, to dismantle structural disempowerment systems.

Empowerment-oriented social work, i.e. gearing individuals towards taking control and ownership over one's own life, includes five key components: social action, political awareness, the entitlement to opinion and the ability to exercise that prerogative, recognition of competences and the use of power (Breton, 1994a: 24-28). Whereas Breton (1994a: 23-37) writes about empowerment of the oppressed, according to Freire (1970: 23), the components are transferable to individual work on the micro level in a group context. Breton, in turn, emphasizes the importance of addressing disempowerment structures at macro-level (1994b: 29).

The strength-based perspective recognizes, uses and develops the different strengths, interests, capabilities and skills of the client (Healy, 2014: 161). The perspective builds on a positive attitude towards the client rather than focusing on shortcomings, failure and deficits (Healy, 2011: 65). Healy (2011: 17) suggests that all methods of practice involve four phases: engagement, assessment, intervention and evaluation/termination. These phases are recognized in the media production methodology, but in contrast to Healy's phases, the methodology does not necessarily involve problem solving. Following through on the basics of the strength-based perspective, the discussed methodology provides clients with opportunities rather than focusing on problems. This is, of course, only possible in a context where

basic necessities have been fulfilled and the client is able to move forward in life. The strength-based perspective puts the identified strengths of the client at the center of that process, aiming at the realization of empowerment through promotion of competences (Breton, 1994b: 28). Breton discusses a number conditions leading to competence and empowerment. In the used methodology three of these can be recognized: trust in the client, recognition of skills and abilities and the creation of partnerships. Mutual trust is pivotal in this process.

In sum, the media production methodology builds upon **[1] a strength-based perspective** and capabilities approach: skills and abilities are recognized, used and developed (Breton, 1994a: 27; Healy, 2011: 14). The social professional focusses on talent development through the strengthening of knowledge, skill, quality and attitude (competences). Moreover, the media production methodology requires **[2] a client-centered and client-oriented approach**: the youngster is at center of the process and owns the content, the timing and medium. Additionally, the media production methodology assumes **[3] an empowerment-oriented approach**: everything that happens in the context of the long-running and overarching Radio Respect-project aims at the continued process of empowerment and the eventual empowered situation, by analogy with Breton (1994b: 28-29). Finally, the media production methodology draws on [4] **the context of a broad local network** (Breton, 1994b: 39)**:** involving individuals, communities, institutions and organizations, both in the context of the client, as well as in the context of Quindo and the city of Kortrijk.

DIGITAL AND SOCIAL SKILLS

The media production methodology aims at the development of transferable digital and social skills. The focal point of this section is on the used skills frameworks.

According to Van Dijk and Van Deursen (2010: cont5) digital skills consist of four types of transferable skills. First, the operational **[1]** and formal skills **[2];** these comprise the necessary abilities to use and consume digital media, consult interfaces to acquire information and to navigate to and through digital environments. The operational level combined with the formal skills constitute the medium-related skills. Then, there are the content-based skills to be considered: these encompass the necessary skills to navigate

towards and query information-based sources, channels and repositories. They can be subdivided into the **[3]** informal skills and the **[4]** strategic skills. These content-based skills are mainly concerned with the selection and evaluation of retrieved information, the further application of that information and the considered utilization of various media to reach a particular goal (Van Dijk and Van Deursen, 2010: 7; Deweppe et al., 2016: 12). The specific digital skills developed through the EBS-method focus on sound and video recording and editing, smartphone reporting, interview and reporting techniques, live broadcasting, etc. The methods contain the development of medium-related skills, but predominantly focus on the content-related skills. Even though a basic level of medium-related literacy is indispensable, in the EBS, youngsters have to search, select and process information that fits the concept of their radio show. They are stimulated to develop strategic skills and simulate the role of a professional media producer, including the available tools, contacts and privileges. As such, they *'orient, act and decide upon audiovisual information to reach a particular goal and eventually gain benefits'* (Van Dijk, 2005: 75).

Social skills, the skills that allow people to function in relation to each other, can be divided into three skill groups: personal effectiveness, interaction skills and intervention skills (Thompson, 2015: xv). Although Thompson (2015: xv) developed this people skills framework in the context of social professionals and so-called people workers, we believe the general framework to also be applicable to social skills in a broader context of everyday use. The first skill group, personal effectiveness, covers skills like social resilience, self-awareness, assertiveness and time management, all of which are continuously challenged and strenuously applied during EBS. The second group of social skills, the interaction skills, comprise communication skills, influencing skills, conflict management, disciplinary work etc. These are evidently practiced in interpersonal interactions (Thompson, 2015: 83), and are overtly provided in a natural way through groupwork methods as EBS. Correspondingly, as the used method requires the youngsters involved to research their own topics, they often find themselves in the need to interact with third parties in several ways. The third skillset contains several intervention skills, such as planning, decision making and reflection (Thompson, 2015: 181). These are skills easily associated with editorial settings where the processes of information gathering, restructuring, framing

and presenting are constantly at play. Youngsters ardently practice these in the EBS-session.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The empirical research of the media production methodology consists of an in-depth analysis of collected data from the past five years, in which the methodology was first successfully enacted with different target groups, focusing on the fine-tuning of different applicable methods and techniques. The resulting data includes a description of the involved group (numbers and vulnerable situation), the method used, the goals set, the amount of time the youngsters spent working on the project, the exact content of the workshops and sessions, the amount and type of media products produced, an estimation of the of the digital skill levels prior to the beginning of each project and the resulting skill levels at the end of it.

The involved target groups are: youngsters in special education programs (14 to 16 year old), early school leavers (14 to 18 year old), newcomers and refugees (9 to 22 year old) and youngsters under legal custody (12 to 18 year old). Drawing upon a simplified form of the measurement method of digital skills provided by Van Dijk (2005: 75), the youngsters' digital skills were quantified onto an ordinal scale, where 0 represents little to no digital skills, 1 represents basic operational skills, 2 entails formal skills, 3 indicates that also informational skills are present and finally 4 denotes that additionally, the subject can avail oneself of strategic skills. Their skills were rated both before the project and afterwards.

The development of social skills within the target group was documented by the professional social workers close to the group and its individuals. These evaluations were collected and qualitatively coded on mentioned social skills, using Thompson's division of personal effectiveness skills, interaction skills and intervention skills (2015: xv).

The results of five years of avid experimentation according to said methods, has resulted in a substantial matrix of quantifiable results. This matrix enables us to cautiously draw a number of preliminary conclusions. These will eventually be cross-referenced with testimonies, involving six focus groups with youngsters who participated in the diverse set of projects and were exposed to the researched methodology. The findings will bring

about a conclusion on the efficiency and effectiveness of the media production methodology.

RESEARCH RESULTS

Specialist assessment indicates that the overall progress in terms of digital skills for all the individuals in all of the participating groups evolved from an average score of 1,5 at the zero measurement point to an average of 2,9 as the value for the effects measurement after completion of the procedure. This means that, globally speaking, participants move from being able to operate the used devices (radio studio, computer, smartphone…) on a fairly basic level with some understanding of the medium to being capable to understand, interpret and process collected information with and through those media. With an average increase of 1,4 points on said scale, the smallest attested increment (1,1) was be observed in a project that contained only two EBS-sessions. The biggest augmentation was seen in a project that contained eight separate EBS-sessions, with a group score increase for digital skills with no less than 3.0 full points. Likewise, extensive advance can be observed in group scores for projects involving youngsters under legal custody, where the average amelioration of digital skills ranges around 2 points.

Similarly, in terms of the improvement of socials skills, the evaluations by the social workers show provide useful insights. The social workers involved mainly attest progress in personal effectiveness skills, continuing that self-confidence, broadening of interests and discovering of talents are among the chief areas of skill advancement. Social workers and custodians also corroborate progress in perceived self-image, reflection, stress management and social resilience.

As for the category of the intervention skills, the most commonly recognized progress is said to be ‘reaching a common goal’. Moreover, multiple respondents hinted at various communication skills and the participants’ increased ability to recognize each other’s qualities.

Recognized interaction skills include “helping others”, “listening”, “respect for tools” and “respect for structures”. When interviewed on their view on possible success factors of the method, the social workers identified the extraordinary atmosphere of the radio medium, the peculiar status of ‘radio maker’ the youngsters assign themselves, the relatively big amount of responsibility given to the youngsters and the use of their own music and

production of content of their own interests as being essential to the success of the EBS.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Analysis of the collected data shows a positive impact on the development of the social and digital skills of the youngsters involved. Projects including more EBS have a bigger impact on the development of digital skills. Several social skills, specifically those in the category of the personal effectiveness skills, were also enhanced. The identified success factors can be linked to the professional approaches required by the methodology, hinting on the affirmation of the effectiveness. Several of the social workers involved mentioned impact of the acquired status of 'radio maker', which is a specific performance role within the aforementioned framework of Schirmer and Michailakis (2015: 54). First, it implies being a relevant communicator, which Luhmann (2000) recognizes as a basic requirement for social inclusion, and can be seen as being a crucial part of the empowerment-oriented approach. Secondly, the interviewed fieldworkers identified the great amount of responsibility given to the youngsters as being essential. This can be related to the applied strength-based approach, in which the capabilities of the youngsters are trusted, as indicated by Healy (2011: 14). Results also confirmed that the client-centered approach manifested itself greatly through the all-important use of their own music; this form of agency concerning content was mentioned as crucial to the success of EBS.

Even though demonstrable progress is made on the three different categories of social skills, it should be further examined whether (and how) these skills impact the self-confidence of the youngsters and the empowerment effect in a broader societal perspective. Further research into the stimulated and developed social skills is indispensable to identify the projects' ramifications in terms of transferable social skills. Analysis of the media production methodology could focus on the impact on the development of specific transferable digital and social skills of which the outcome, in turn, could improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the methodology, among others, within the process of empowering the youngsters involved and closing existing digital and social divides.

To research the complete media production methodology, other methods applied throughout the longstanding "Radio Respect"-project yet

remain to be analyzed. These include interactive games, storytelling and full participation projects. Extending the research to additional target groups might provide additional opportunity to test the validity of the methodology, as expansion into the context of divergent professional approaches should substantiate proof of its universality.

Finally, we acknowledge that there are still formidable opportunities to enhance the learning outcome of EBS through the implementation of thorough (individual and group-based) reflection on the learning opportunities and their own behavior. As the state of the research stands, we have only begun to scratch the surface of more advanced findings latent in the substantial body of data. Further research may help elucidate the impact of the method, and hopefully, through better understanding of its effects, EBS may well find more adoption and following in the field of social work.

In sum, to fully assess and establish the methodology's effects on the development of transferable social and digital skills, more data needs to be collected. Further research could involve adapted measuring methods of digital skills. The reduced ordinal scale- measurement based on the "four media skills"-model by Van Dijk (2005: 75) exhibits shortcomings and could be adjusted to ameliorate the evaluation's efficiency and precision, as is the case with the used social skills framework. Moreover, conclusions drawn can then be additionally validated, involving focus groups with youngsters who actually participated in the diverse set of projects and that underwent the researched methodology. These findings will bring about more nuanced conclusions on the benefits of the media production methodology.

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Vesna Đurić
Fakultet političkih nauka
Univerzitet u Banjoj Luci
Banja Luka, Bosna i Hercegovina

UDC 654.172:004.738.5

DIGITALNA TELEVIZIJSKA ARHIVA: VAŽNA KARIKA U FUNKCIONISANJU *RADIO TELEVIZIJE REPUBLIKE SRPSKE*

Apstrakt

Arhiva predstavlja raspoloživu građu koja svjedoči o istorijskom razvoju države i naroda kojom se mogu dokazati određene tvrdnje iz prošlosti kao i materijali za analizu u budućnosti. Razvojem društva mijenjao se i sadržaj arhiva, a tokom evolucije dobio je institucionalni okvir tako da danas egzistiraju različite vrste arhiva. Emitovanje autentičnih arhiviranih materijala televizijskom novinarstvu daje primat nad drugim medijima prvenstveno zbog velikog uticaja televizije na recipijente i mogućnosti inkorporiranja gledaoca u prilog koji gleda, te identifikaciju sa mjestom, vremenom i prostorom događanja.U radu je analizirana uloga i značaj digitalne arhive u funkcionisanju javnog servisa: *Radio televizije Republike Srpske*.

Ključne riječi: digitalna arhiva, novinarstvo, program, emitovanje.

1. UVOD

Mnoge televizijske kuće pružaju novinarima usluge svoje arhive. Filmska arhiva i videoteka, čuvaju vrijedan materijal koji može da ilustruje i poboljša prilog ili da pomogne prilikom istraživanja neke teme.[1]

Dostupni dokumenti svjedoče da su još grčki učeni ljudi čuvali svoja djela, ali i vrijedne predmete kako bi ih njihovi potomci naslijedili. Od kamenog do digitalnog doba, čovječanstvo je težilo da značajne sadržaje sačuva od zaborava u cilju njihovog ponovnog korišćenja. Tokom istorijskog razvoja društva sačuvani spisi i državni dokumenti institucionalno su čuvani kao pokazatelji političkih, ekonomskih, socijalnih, obrazovnih i kulturnih promjena. Proučavanjem arhivskog materijala autori mogu doprinijeti rasvjetljavanju istorijske istine i nedoumica. „Arhivski radnici... čuvari memorije društva svojim djelovanjem stvaraju temelj za oblikovanje slike o određenom vremenskom razdoblju jer selektivnim pristupom odabiraju i čuvaju dokumente i informacije o tom vremenu. Oni tako utiču na široku

[1] Bojd, E. (2002). „Novinarstvo u elektronskim medijima“. Beograd: Clio.

populaciju, na sveukupnu zajednicu i njen odnos prema istoriji“ (Blažević, 2012). Pored poslovnih arhiva stvorenih usljed industrijske revolucije, mnogostruka je uloga ličnih arhiva, posebno novinarskih, jer se time postiže baza podataka od velikog značaja. Mnoge naučne knjige nastale su na osnovu arhivske građe kao i dokumentarni serijali ali i prilozi koji se rade za informativne emisije televizije. Arhivirane sadržaje autori koriste za istraživačke priče, podsjećanje na važne istorijske događaje iz bliže ili dalje prošlosti. Profesionalane novinarske staze nalažu pomno izučavanje dostupnih sadržaja kao dokaznog materijala i podsjetnika proteklih istorijskih događaja. Izučavajući dostupnu građu novinar saznaje mjesto dešavanja, vrijeme, izvore, sagovornike i nivo spoznaje autora koji je tu pojavu proučavao prije njega. Ti podaci mogu poslužiti kao polazno objašnjenje za dalje istraživanje, provjeru podataka i zapažanje detalja koji nisu studiozno obrađeni. Neki oblici novinarskog stvaralaštva zahtjevaju temeljno poznavanje pojave od njenog nastanka, te razvoja kroz istoriju, kako bi komparativnom analizom, studiozno i dubinski, oslikali savremeno stanje pojave. Obrada istorijskog sadržaja podrazumijeva činjenični prikaz arhiviranog materijala bez izvlačenja iz konteksta bilo kojeg dijela. Plamenčić ističe da je ta opasnost neizbježna i da će biti manja ako ga novinar objektivno uklopi u golem lanac čovjekova istorijskog hoda. A u tom kontekstu onda „subjektivno, naše gledanje postaje konstitutivni element objektivnog povijesnog kretanja“ (Plemenčić, 1982: 82). Značaj arhive ogleda se u činjenici da je arhivirani materijal inicijalna kapisla za dalje istraživanje, polazna tačka bez koje poslenici javne riječi ne bi ni mogli raditi pojedine priloge.

2. ARHIVA RADIO TELEVIZIJE REPUBLIKE SRPSKE

Arhiva je mjesto gdje televizija čuva vlastitu produkciju, ali i materijale dobijene razmjenom, ustupanjem ili poklonom drugih TV kuća. Televizija u prostorijama specijalne namjene kao što je arhiva čuva različite vrste audio-vizuelnih materijala: sirove snimljene materijale, informativne priloge emisije, filmove, dokumentarne serijale, muzičke sadržaje… Arhiva je djelatnost od opšteg značaja u svakom društvu a institucije su dužne čuvati arhivsku građu u skladu sa važećim zakonskim propisima. „Dokumentarna građa je izvorni ili reproduktivni materijal (pisani, crtani, štampani, fotografisan, filmovi, fonografisan, magnetno, optički ili na drugi način zabilježen), nastao djelovanjem i radom javnih institucija. Dokumentarna

građa čuva se od oštećenja, zloupotrebe i uništenja i ne može se otuđiti dok se iz nje ne odabere arhivska građa“.[2] Pored Zakona o arhivskoj građi, čuvanje arhivskog materijala na televiziji regulisano je i Zakonom o radio-televiziji Republike Srpske.[3] „*RTRS* ima sva prava na arhivsku građu koju posjeduje i dužna je o njoj starati se sa posebnom pažnjom, kao o neprocjenljivoj kulturno-istorijskoj vrijednosti i zajedničkom dobru građana. *RTRS* ima sva prava ina novo intelektualno vlasništvo koje doda u arhiv”. *RTRS* je dužna organizovati čuvanje i obradu svih audio-vizuelnih snimaka korištenih u programu. Snimci svih emisija moraju se čuvati najmanje šest nedjelja od dana emitovanja.

Novinari u svom radu često potražuju materijale iz arhive da bi gledaoce podsjetili na važne događaje ili ih upoznali sa činjenicama koje mogu animirati recipijente, svjedoke nekih događaja, da i oni učešćem daju doprinos rasvjetljavanju analizirane pojave. Oživljavanjem prošlih događaja javnost se upoznaje sa naslijeđenim važnim dokumentima koji postaju društveno korisni. „To živo arhiviranje, ima ne samo vrijednost arhive iz koje će se, marom povjesničara, napisati definitivna povjest, nego i višestruki uticaj na golem broj televizijskih gledalaca. Osim toga, ta vrsta posla, koji zahtijeva i dokumentarno-povijesnu i dramaturšku obradu, što neposrednije i što impresivnije zadru u povjesna zbivanja i tako zapravo neprestano proširuje krug ljudi koji pišu povijest”. (Plamenčić, 1982: 83). Razvojem televizije, i televizijske tehnnike mijenjali su se i mediji na kojima je pohranjen arhivski material (od s VHS tehnike, U-MATIC-a, Beta kaseta, Digital S, DV Kem, DV do optičkih medija LTO trake, kertrid i XDCAM). Kvalitet arhivskog materijala koji je digitalno dostupan zavisi od kvaliteta medija na kojem se čuvao prije digitalizacije.[4] Sačuvani sadržaji se endemično koriste, a cilj njegovog arhiviranja je da ostane trag o vremenu i prostoru događanja.

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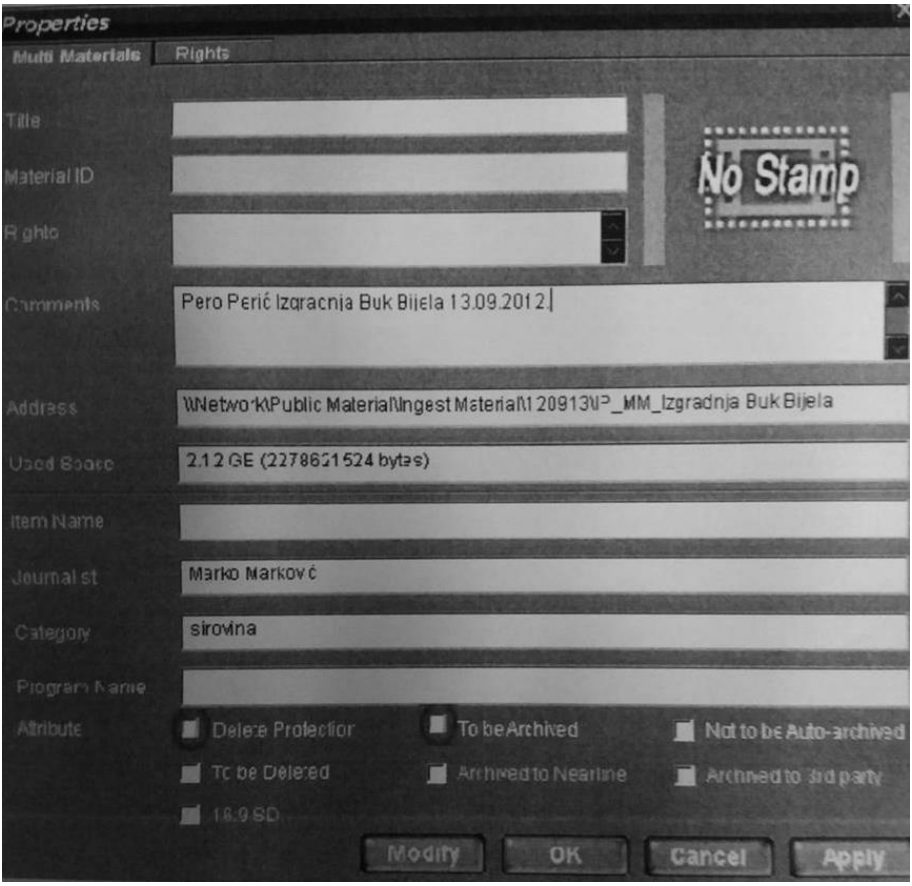
[2] Zakon o arhivskoj djelatnosti objavljen je u Službenom Glasniku Republike Srpske, broj 119/08.

[3] Zakon o radio-televiziji Republike Srpske usvojen je 11. maja 2006. godine a objavljen u Službenom glasniku Republike Srpske broj 49/06.

[4] Sadržaji koji su bili predviđeni za repriziranje ili su se koristili za montažu drugih emisija i priloga na *RTRS*-u, arhivirani su do 2012. godine na kvalitetnije medije (beta, digital s i dv cam kasete), a sportski prenosi, dnevnici i razni prilozi o dnevnim događajima na manje kvalitetne medije (s-vhs i dvd).

Materijal koji je pohranjen u sistem dostupan je svim korisnicima programa. Na više mjesta novinari mogu da pregledaju snimljeno, označe dijelove za montažu, pretraže arhivu ali i odaberu dio sirovog materijala predviđenog za arhiviranje. Novinar bira odgovarajuće klipove i pohranjuje u folder *to be archived*, zatim unosi važne pojmove po formuli 5W (ko, šta, gdje, kada, zašto ili kako). Podaci treba da budu precizni i detaljni da bi bila lakša pretraga sadržaja koji će se u budućnosti često koristiti u kreiranju programskih sadržaja. Prebačeni selektovani material arhivari razvrstavaju po datumskim folderima i arhiviraju.



Slika 1. Properties

S obzirom na ograničen kapacitet arhiva, najčešća dilema u svakoj televizijskoj kući je bila: koje sadržaje treba arhivirati? U vrijeme kada je arhiv pripadao sektoru programa o tome šta se arhivira i na kojoj tehnici odlučivao je urednički kolegij. Urednici su dnevno birali od dva do pet priloga

emitovanih u dnevniku, a i arhivari su pohranjivali sadržaje na osnovu vlastite procjene. Zbog obimnog arhivskog materijala još uvijek je ostao veliki broj neobrađenih kaseta, a nedostatak koordinacije između pojedinih sektora u televiziji doveo je do paralelizma u arhiviranju. Pored centralnog arhiva, i realizacija je imala svoju arhivu koja je korištena za pokrivanje priloga za dnevnik i emisiju vijesti, dok novinari imaju svoje lične arhive sa materijalom koje najčešće koriste.

3. DIGITALNA ARHIVA

Zadatak arhiva u digitalno doba je da sektoru programa omogući nesmetan pristup arhivskom sadržaju. U sistemu programa Sonaps koji koristi *Radio televizija Republike Srpske* vrše se sve radnje sa snimljenim materijalom: unošenje u sistem (unošenje u indžest), montaža i arhiviranje. Materijal se arhivirana na tri medija.

a) *U Sonapsu na LTO trakama*, uvijek dostupan za pregled sa kvalitetnom slikom i tonom. S obzirom na činjenicu da je kapacitet Sonapsa ograničen u Javnom servisu *RTRS*-u odlučeno je da se prilozi TV dnevnika arhiviraju na kertridžima.

b) *Kertridži* – na njima se materijal može pregledati, ali novinar ne može vratiti materijal u sistem nego to moraju uraditi arhivari što usporava i otežava montažu emisija i priloga, a novinare čini zavisnim od arhivara. Zbog efikasnije pretrage prilikom arhiviranja kod Sonapsa i Kertrižda upisuje se datum kada se nešto desilo.

c) *XD CAM* – medij koji se koristi za arhiviranje emisija i filmskih sadržaja. Kod ovog medija ciljni sadržaj novinar nalazi upisom naziva emisije ili filma.[5]

Pored odabira šta arhivirati, dostavljanje meta podataka je jedan od najvećih problema sa kojim se susreću arhivari.[6] Metapodaci su podaci o snimljenoj sirovini, nazivu materijala, priloga ili emisije, kojoj redakciji

[5] Na RTRS-u su to emisije: „Pečat“, „Presing“, „Intervju“, „Aktuelnosti“, „Prozornice“, „Kvadrat na znanje“ ali i dokumentarni serijali: „Pećine Republike Srpske“, „Ognjišta“, „Kapi zavičaja“.

[6] Podatke o radu Arhive Javnog servisa *Radio-televizije Republike Srpske* autor je dobio dubinskim intervjuom u razgovoru sa Goranom Mitrovićem dugogodišnjim radnikom arhive.

pripada, opis kadrova ili sirovine sa tajm kodovima; imena sagovornika, mjesto i vrijeme snimanja i ime novinara. „Metapodaci su podaci o podacima –koji opisuju karakteristike nekog izvora u digitalnom obliku. Uz metapodatke dokument se nalazi u nekoj mapi i sadrži dodatne podatke (metapodatke) koji ga opisuju. Učinkovito i konzistentno upravljanje podacima osigurava da su sve informacije pretražive i dostupne. Uz metapodatke, to postaje puno jednostavnije. Informacije nisu korisne ako se ne mogu pronaći“.[7] Metapodaci omogućavaju da korisnici brže i lakše pronađu željeni sadržaj. Mogu da se odnose na jedan podatak, grupu podataka ili samo na neku karakteristiku.

Slika 2.Arhivirani materijal

„Ukoliko se metadata ne organizuje efikasno, proizvešće se 'digitalni otpad' (termin norveških kolega). Postojaće velika količina AV zapisa čija će efikasnost ponovnog korišćenja biti minimalna i na taj način izgubiti će se osnovna vrijednost digitalne produkcije arhiviranja“ (Mihičić, 2007: 35) Veb-tehnologija pruža veći kapacitet za čuvanje informacija koji je dostupan za pretraživanje čime se proces rada unaprjeđuje i olakšava. Radi što brže pretrage svi sadržaji arhivirani su po redakcijama (redakcija informativnog

[7] Ivanković, Ivan, „Što su metapodaci (za početnike) i zašto su važni“, 2015, https://www.evision.hr/hr/Novosti/Stranice/sto-su-metapodaci-i-zasto-su-vazni.aspx, pristupljeno 14. 11. 2018.

programa (IP), Sportski program, Dječiji program (DJP) dopisnici i IT centri, zatim po emisijama koje imaju šifre (Dnevnik 1 (DN1), Srpska Danas (SD), Sportski pregled (SPP). Dopisnici se mogu naći ukoliko unesemo skraćenicu grada u kojem dopisnik radi Beograd (BG), Prnjavor (PR), kao i informativno tehničke centre Sarajevo (SA), Prijedor (PD).

Arhivirani materijal se pohranjuje po fajlovima koji su opštevažeći za sve korisnike i u sistem se unose po strogo važećim pravilima:

1. za imenovanje **sirovine** fajl mora imati sledeće podatke:

   „REDAKCIJA EMISIJE _ deskriptivni naziv“ npr. IPDN1_ Kosovo protesti

2. za imenovanje **priloga** unose se sledeći podaci:

   „DATUM_REDAKCIJA EMISIJE_ deskriptivni naziv“, npr.

   120701_IPDN1_Kosovo protesti, a datum se formira upisom godine (upisuje se samo zadnje dvije cifre), mjeseca i dana.

3. za imenovanje **gotovih** emisija upisuje se:

   „DATUM_REDAKCIJA EMISIJA“ 120701_IPDN1

4. za imenovanje **dopisničkih priloga iz** IT centara upisuju se podaci

   „DATUM_REDAKCIJA, EMISIJA, GRAD_deskriptivni naziv“

Arhivirani materijali su dakle raspoređeni po folderima *Import* (u kojem su smješteni prilozi sa FTP server, sirovine sa kamere Z7 i sirovine sa interneta), *Ingest* materijal (u kom su smještene sirovine sa „novih“ kamera i sirovine koje dolaze putem trasa), i *Edit material* (u kojem su smješteni prilozi).[8] Prilozi, sirovi materijali kao i sirovine sa interneta mogu se pronaći: a) pretragom po datumu unosa sadržaja, b) i atributu *To be Archived*.

U savremenom sistemu funkcionisanja arhiva *Radio televizije Republike Srpske* novinarima je omogućeno pretraživanje na nekoliko mjesta i na nekoliko načina:

[8] Kada je potrebno pronaći priloge odabere se folder *Edit material*, i u okviru tog foldera podfolder emisije u okviru koje je emitovan prilog vremena a proces je neizvjestan zbog problema očuvanja digitalne građe.

1. pretraživanje u sistemu Prodeska je materijal nastao posle 2012. godine koji je arhiviran na XD CAM-u i samo arhivar ga može pretraživati;

2. pretraživanje u Sonapsu;

3. pretraživanje na optičkoj arhivi na kertridžima.

Savremena tehnologija omogućava unaprjeđenje: a) čuvanja građe i b) konstantnu dostupnost sadržaja. Nosači digitalnih zapisa ubrzavaju istraživanja i doprinose kvalitetnijem istraživanju zbog obilja baznih podataka što ujedno novinarima omogućuje sve obuhvatniju analizu u obrađivanju tema.

Rad arhivarima otežava neprofesionalan odnos novinara i urednika prema arhivi. Često ne dostavljaju ništa od snimljenog materijala u folder *TO ARCHIVE* za arhiviranje, ili dostavljaju svu sirovinu (sa mnoštvom nepotrebnih i nekorektnih klipova, promašenih sted UP–ova, i sa nedovoljnim i nepotpunim podacima. Problem predstavlja i čuvanje zapisa u audio-vizuelnom novinarstvu. Važno je da se svakodnevno izdvajaju sadržaji koji će biti trajno čuvani i oni koji se privremeno čuvaju na server osam dana. Sonaps sistem ima limitirajući kapacitet i popunjenost otežava njegovu efikasnost i funkcionisanje.

Jedno od rješenja je redovna migracija materijala tj. periodično kopiranje na savremene trenutno aktuelne tehnologije. Ovaj način arhiviranja je u materijalnom smislu teško ostvarljiv u mnogim televizijama zato što je skup i zahtjeva mnogo.

Upravljanje sistemom skladištenja i isporuke dokumenata prema preporukama UNHCR-ovih smjernica za projekte digitalizacije ogleda se u „angažovanju komercijalnog provajdera internet usluge (ISP – Internet Service Provider), plaćanju posebne telefonske linije i mjesečne pretplate provajderu. Drugo rješenje koje podrazumjeva skroman budžet sastoji se u formiranju nacionalnih ili regionalnih konzorcijuma, u kojima se mogu pokriti troškovi kandidovanjem zajedničkih predloga za dobijanje granta. Ovo rješenje nudi ogromne dodatne benefite koji se ostvaruju kroz zajedničku obuku zaposlenih, razvoj zajedničke politike za novo područje djelovanja i

dodatnu sigurnost kroz saradnju na upravljanju podacima“. [9] Iako je danas arhiv svakome dostupan, pred arhivarima je veliki i izazovan posao digitalizacije analogne arhive. Iako je to težak, mukotrpan i dugotrajan proces, njegovim završetkom bi se u mnogome olakšao rad i arhivara i novinara.

4. ZAKLJUČAK

Arhive koje čuvaju jedinstvene zapise prošlog vremena imaju veliku obavezu i odgovornost da od zaborava sačuvaju i na raspolaganje stave raznoliku građu iz svih oblasti društvene zbilje. Novinar mora djelovati u svako doba i na različitim mjestima veoma brzo, što mu omogućuje dostupnost korištenja dokumentacije televizijske kuće u kojoj radi. Arhivirani televizijski prilozi su jedinstveni svjedoci događaja s jedne strane, a sa druge su važni i za obradu događaja iz više uglova, u čemu im pomaže i *background* bez kojeg recipijenti ne bi imali cjelovitu spoznaju.

Arhiviranjem se postiže viši stepen organizacije sadržaja, a omogućuje se pohranjivanje i čuvanje informacija i dokaza. Nova organizacija upravljanje digitalnim podacima omogućuje kvalitetniji i brži pristup arhiviranoj građi i efikasniji rad. Značajno je da arhivski sadržaji budu propisno odloženi.

U budućnosti bi urednički kolegiji u koordinaciji sa arhivarima trebalo da profesionalnije selektuju sadržaje, odnosno ograniče skladišten prostor. U digitalnom dobu mnogi korisnici su dio arhivskog lanca, i njihova obrada i interpretacija proučavane arhivske građe utiče na to kako je prošlost prezentovana kroz audio-vizuelne kadrove.

DIGITAL TELEVISION ARCHIVE: THE ROLE AND THE SAGNIFICANCE IN CREATING PROGRAM CONTENT

Summary

An archive represents a dispositional structure which testifies to a historical development of state and people, with which certain claims of the past can be proven,

[9] Crnojević, Đurđe, 2002, „Smjernice za projekte digitalizacije“, priručnik IFLA, Nacionalna biblioteka Crne Gore, preuzeto 18. 10. 2018 sa https://www.ifla.org/files/assets/preservation-and-conservation/publications/digitization-projects-guidelines-me..pdf

as well as materials for the analysis of future. As the society developed concurrently developed the content of the archive, and during the evolution it garnered an institutional frame, therefore there exist different sorts of archives. Broadcasting of authentic archived materials provides television journalism with the upper hand as opposed to other media due to the substantial influence of television on recipients and possibilities of incorporating viewers substantial influence of television on recipients and possibilities of incorporating viewers substantial influence of television on recipients and possibilities of incorporating viewers into the report being watched, as well as identification with the place, time and area of happening. In this work the digital archive is analysed, as well as the role and importance of archived content in creating the programme of Radio television of Republic of Srpska.

Keywords: digital archive, journalism, program, broadcasting

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Zlatomir Gajić
Filozofski fakultet
Univerzitet u Novom Sadu
Novi Sad, Srbija

UDC 070:82-92

ČLANAK KAO NOVINARSKI ŽANR U ŠTAMPANIM MEDIJIMA I NA INTERNETU

Apstrakt: Transformacija medija u poodmakloj fazi informatičke ere 21. veka negativno se odrazila na objektivnost i kvalitet sveukupne medijske sfere u Srbiji. Centri političke i ekonomske moći iz senke kontrolišu protok informacija i na sve načine utiču na objektivnost u informisanju, koja se na taj način, pod pritiskom, seli u nezavisne medije, koji uglavnom egzistiraju na internetu. U nastojanjima da se očuva objektivnost, kao i sam integritet novinarske profesije, sve manje zastupljeni analitički segmenti novinarstva dobijaju na sve većem značaju. U skladu sa tezom da javno mnjenje zadržava potrebu za istinitim, necenzurisanim i nekontrolisanim pristupom realnom tumačenju društvene stvarnosti, članak kao jedan od osnovnih žanrova novinarskog pisanja opstaje sa primarnom ulogom i u savremenom žurnalizmu (uz sve snažniji uticaj kolumne i bloga kao njenog pandana u domenu interneta). Analitički pristup novinarskoj temi kroz pisanje članka sa idejom objektivnosti ogleda se u pravilnom rasporedu zastupljenih uglova analize, u kojima izbor relevantnih sagovornika po principu "pravila druge strane" predstavlja tek polaznu osnovu. Stav objektivnosti je nakon toga dostupan kroz tumačenje zakonskih okvira uz pomoć relevantnog nezavisnog stručnjaka iz domena obrađivane teme, uz sve druge neophodne elemente finalizacije.

Ključne reči: štampani mediji, internet, novinarski žanrovi, članak.

UVODNA RAZMATRANJA: "SMRT" INFORMATIVNOG NOVINARSTVA

Aktuelan trenutak na medijskoj sceni u Srbiji svedoči o brojnim negativnim pojavama kao posledicama transformacije čitave ove profesije u poodmakloj fazi informatičke ere 21. veka. Krajem prethodnog milenijuma započeta tehnološka revolucija sa uvođenjem interneta i digitalizacijom u sferi komunikacija unapredila je i ubrzala protok informacija i u potpunosti inovirala novinarski posao, donoseći brojne metodološke olakšice i daleko lakši pristup izvorima podataka, njihovoj selekciji i daljem plasmanu na medijsko tržište (Gajić 2011: 185). Društvene promene koje su se postepeno odvijale paralelno sa tehnološkim trendovima, međutim, nisu imale tako

pozitivan odjek u savremenom srpskom žurnalizmu: nedovršena tranzicija društva ka potpunoj demokratizaciji i uvođenju tzv. "evropskih vrednosti" najuočljivija je na trenutnom stanju u ovdašnjim medijima, posebno njihovom štampanom segmentu.

Postepen prelazak na tržišno poslovanje po principima liberalnog kapitalizma doveo je do velike konkurencija na tržištu štampanih medija i borbe za tiraž, poverenje i pažnju auditorijuma u kojoj se sredstva biraju veoma pažljivo. Kvalitetan novinarski rad u skladu sa etičkim kodeksom profesije i nastojanjem da se istina dozna i podeli sa čitaocima, u srpskoj štampi više nije primaran faktor sticanja poverenja čitateljstva, koje u dominantnom procentu podleže marketinškim metodama zasnovanim na psihologiji masa i poigravanju sa senzacijama koje zadiru u najniže ljudske strasti (smrt, nesreće, seksualni tabui, jeftina zabava i glamur kvazielite, različite vulgarnosti i druge devijacije konvencionalnih društvenih vrednosti). Tako kreirani novinski sadržaji doveli su do gotovo potpune tabloidizacije štampanih medija u Srbiji, što je uočljivo samim uvidom u naslovne strane najtiražnijih dnevnika (*Kurir*, *Informer* i *Blic*)[1].

Pored takvog gubitka kvaliteta i značaja srpske štampe, veliku smetnju novinarskom radu predstavlja i snažan uticaj različitih ekonomskih interesnih sfera i centara političke moći na uređivačke politike dnevnih listova. Vlast u državi, u svim pojavnim oblicima od uvođenja višestranačkog sistema do danas, prisutna je u medijskoj sferi kao njen vodeći kreator, mada to na sve načine nastoji da sakrije, prvenstveno netransparentnom slikom vlasničke strukture medija, kao i ograđivanjem od uređivačke politike pod parolom "nezavisnog" novinarstva. Uvid u sadržaj većine tiražnih srpskih dnevnika, međutim, ukazuje na tretman informacija u skladu sa dnevnopolitičkim interesima vladajuće elite, bez medijskog pluralizma i kritičke misli, ili svođenjem tih segmenata na najmanju meru kako bi se eventualno stekao utisak o kakvoj-takvoj ravnopravnosti u raspodeli medijskog prostora.

Sa takvim saznanjima o stanju na medijskom tržištu u Srbiji, koje se suštinski bitno ne razlikuje od drugih globalnih, uočljivo je brzo približavanje filozofskom viđenju simulakruma inverzije, proisteklom iz Bodrijarove teorijske nadgradnje Mekluanovih razmišljanja o medijima:

[1] Videti na internet adresama: www.kurir.rs, www.informer.rs i www.blic.rs.

> "Taj simulakrum inverzije ili involucije polova, to genijalno lukavstvo koje je tajna celog diskursa manipulacije i prema tome, danas, tajna svake nove vlasti u uklanjanju govora iz kojih je proizišla ta fantastična ćutljiva većina, karakteristika našeg doba - sve je to, bez sumnje, započelo u političkoj sferi sa demokratskim simulakrumom, što će reći sa zamenjivanjem božije instance instancom naroda kao izvora vlasti, i vlasti kao emanacije, vlasti kao reprezentacije. (...) S tim veličanstvenim recikliranjem počinje da se ustanovljava, počev od scenarija masovnih izbora do aktuelnih fantoma ispitivanja javnog mnjenja, univerzalni simulakrum manipulacije." (Bodrijar 1991: 162)

Ključna posledica simulirane stvarnosti u štampanom dnevnom medijskom segmentu u Srbiji je gubitak primarne uloge novinarstva u nastojanju da ispuni legitimnu potrebu javnog mnjenja za istinitim, necenzurisanim i nekontrolisanim pristupom realnom tumačenju društvene situacije. Aktuelan trenutak u ovoj sferi može da se okarakteriše i kao "smrt" informativnog novinarstva, s obzirom da se pažljiva selekcija medijskih objava uglavnom kreće tek u opsegu servisnih informacija i brojnih sadržaje sumnjive verodostojnosti, prepoznatljivih po uobičajenim sintagmama tipa "kako tvrdi naš izvor blizak vlasti..." i sličnim. Nastojanje da se elementarni zanatski nivo objektivnosti u informisanju ipak očuva pod pritiskom centara moći nije, međutim, u potpunosti iskorenjeno, već se u velikoj meri i dalje neguje u nezavisnim medijima, koji uglavnom egzistiraju na internetu (*VOICE, KRIK, BIRN*...)[2].

U težnjama da se očuva objektivnost, kao i sam integritet novinarske profesije, u štampi sve manje zastupljeni analitički segmenti novinarstva na internetu dobijaju na većem značaju. U skladu sa tom tezom, članak kao jedan od osnovnih žanrova novinarskog pisanja opstaje sa primarnom ulogom i u savremenom žurnalizmu. Cilj ovog rada je da ukaže na značaj i vrednost članka u nastojanju da se očuvaju elementarni postulati novinarstva kao jednog od stubova demokratski uređenog društvenog sistema, kao i da ponudi adekvatan metodološki pristup izradi medijskog sadržaja ove vrste.

[2] Videti na internet sajtovima: www.voice.org.rs, www.krik.rs i www. birnsrbija.rs.

ANALITIČKI ŽANR

Analitičnost se prihvata kao druga važna odlika novinarstva, odmah uz informativnost, jer primarnom faktografskom obaveštenju o aktuelnoj pojavi putem vesti ili izveštaja daje dodatnu dimenziju, nastojeći da je na konkretniji način sagleda, produbi i vrednuje. Osim što se te dve funkcije novinarstva međusobno prožimaju u neraskidivoj vezi, analitika predstavlja i nadgradnju faktografike, kojom je i uslovljena, jer nije moguće delovati kao novinski analitičar bez prethodno ustanovljene baze u nekom od osnovnih informativnih elemenata. Analitička nadopuna informativnog segmenta zaokružuje celokupan proces plasmana medijskog proizvoda u javnu sferu i tako dovršava kompleksnu društvenu ulogu novinarstva u totalitetu. Dok informatika na auditorijum deluje u jednoj dimenziji - prenošenjem elementarnih podataka o određenoj kategoriji interesovanja javnosti, analitika joj daje dodatnu, dalekosežniju dimenziju valorizacije sa zadatkom da utiče na svest konzumenta i njegovo shvatanje teme približi zdravorazumskom, legitimnom i društveno prihvatljivom nivou (Rajnvajn 1988: 84).

Elementarni kredo analitičkog novinarstva je da ono ima stav, koji proističe iz potreba da stvarnost bude objašnjena, jasno rastumačena i razumljiva. Kako je to ipak ideološko načelo, jer ova vrsta novinarskog rada deluje na vrednosno-interpretativnom nivou, što može da bude posmatrano i kao čisto individualna kategorija - koja počiva na ličnim afinitetima i ukusima, u analitičkim žanrovima se na prvom mestu ogleda kredibilitet redakcija i njihovih najistaknutijih predstavnika, čija nepristrasnost i distanciranost od eventualnog skretanja u bilo kakav inters osim javnog važi kao jedina garancija sticanja i zadržavanja poverenja javnosti. Svaki drugačiji pristup analitici mogao bi da bude (i jeste) protumačen kao kampanja, pa i propaganda neke od zainteresovanih ili uključenih interesnih sfera. Stoga se u idealnoj slici novinarstva ovakvoj vrsti rada pridaje posebna pažnja i istaknuta uloga, a pristup temi počiva na kombinaciji činjenica, iskustava javnosti i čvrstog autorskog stava maksimalne objektivnosti (Jevtović i dr. 2014: 270)

Lingvistički nivo razumevanja pojma analitike približava novinarske metode rada naučnim, zasnovanim na dijalektičkom posmatranju i raščlanjivanju pojave kroz korelaciju svih prisutnih elemenata unutar i oko predmeta analize. Isključivanjem ili površnim prihvatanjem jednog od njih, nije moguće desezanje potpunog i celovitog tumačenja analizirane pojave, pa se u novinarstvu sveobuhvatnost uzima kao polazna osnova ka ostvarivanju

elementarnog zadatka profesije u nastojanju da se dokuči i prikaže potpuna istina, a to je - objektivnost. Tek kada su prikupljeni svi dostupni segmenti razvoja pojave koja se tumači, moguća je njena dubinska analiza kroz nastojanje da se ti elementi razumeju i na osnovu njih izvuku validni zaključci koji će dovesti do konkretnih rezultata u skladu sa osnovnim načelima profesije.

Uloga analitičkih žanrova je da posmatranu pojavu objasne, da joj pronađu uzroke, ukažu na njeno kretanje i razvoj, predvide moguće ishode i posledice, i tako otkriju njenu pravu suštinu i istaknu njenu društvenu ulogu, kao i vrednost, opravdanost i perspektivu. Ukoliko se za vodeći podsticaj novinarskog rada uzme njegova društvena uloga, a kao polazna osnova očekivanje javnog mnjenja da novinar tu ulogu i ostvari, jasno je da medijski profesionalac zastupa interese svog i šireg auditorijuma, u kom cilju pokreće novu temu, koju stručnom i sveobuhvatnom analizom sagledava i vrednuje, nudeći publici tumačenje koje ona nestrpljivo očekuje kako bi do kraja, uz ostvareno poverenje prema autoru, zaokružila proces uobličavanja stava prema pojavi o kojoj već i sama ima određena saznanja i sud. Samim tim, novinarska analitika nikada ne može da bude bezlična ili potpuno neutralna, zato što interpretacija nesumnjivo vodi do zauzimanja jednog od mogućih uglova gledanja na društvenu stvarnost, konkretno do - stava, što ovakav vid novinarskog rada uzdiže na nivo krupnog značaja za zajednicu u celini, a takođe i do visokog stepena društvene odgovornosti (Rajnvajn 1988: 85).

Ovako utvrđena važnost analitike za javno mnjenje opravdava tumačenje članka kao vodećeg novinarskog žanra, kojeg Dušan Slavković dešifruje kao "ozbiljan, studiozan i idejno protkan napor da se jedan veći deo stvarnosti dublje sagleda, objasni, protumači i valorizuje" (Đurić 2000: 293). Istovremeno, članak je i tipska odlika pisanih medija, u štampi i na internetu, jer konvencionalnim elektronskim medijima, radiju i televiziji, nisu svojstveni sadržaji sa obiljem podataka, poređenja, argumentacija i drugih srodnih elemenata (Đurić 2001: 286). Iz sličnih razloga on je danas sve manje prisutan čak i u pisanom segmentu novinarstva, jer prosečnog čitaoca savremenih štampanih medija ili onlajn portala uglavnom ne privlači ta vrsta priloga, koji se tumače kao "spori" ili "dosadni".

Suština članka i jeste u obilju podataka, činjenica, dokaza, argumenata i suprotstavljenih mišljenja, što uglavnom nema efekat privlačnosti na veći deo savremenog auditorijuma, naviknutog na lake, brze, jeftine ili tek zabavne sadržaje na granici dobrog ukusa. Stoga članak zahteva

kako specijalizovane autore od kredibiliteta, sa razvijenom zanatskom veštinom, opštom kulturom i znanjem, tako i još više publiku sa višim stepenom zainteresovanosti za društvenu stvarnost, pa i na boljem obrazovnom nivou (Jevtović i dr. 2014: 270). Članak predstavlja i sinonim tipičnog novinskog izraza: prepoznatljiv je po jedinstvenom diskursu distanciranog, odmerenog i zvaničnog saopštenja smirenog tona, koje argumentovano prezentuje istinu na način blizak naučnoj terminologiji, uz nastojanje autora da tekstualnu celinu pročisti od stručnog i nerazuljivog rečnika, te da tako ostane pristupačan svakome. Iz tih razloga nestručna javnost i dalje većinu različitih žanrovskih napisa u štampi pogrešno podvodi pod isti termin - članak.

Ranko Petković tvrdi da je članak kamen-temeljac analitičkog novinarstva (Đurić 2001: 287), što ukazuje na sposobnost članka da više od drugih novinarskih žanrova utiče na razmišljanje i mišljenje čitaoca. Autor članka usmerava pažnju čitaoca na društveno koristan i potreban zaključak, koji se direktno ne nameće, ali se sugeriše, metodološkim pristupom analize, vrednovanja i uopštvanja iznetih činjenica, koje se logički povezuju i zaokružuju na osnovu temeljno obrađenih iskaza i dokumenata, kao i objektivnih argumenata. Javnost od autora članka ima velika očekivanja: ona traži verodostojne i stručno kvalifikovane odgovore na krucijalna društvena pitanja i probleme iz svih oblasti života u zajednici, od unutrašnje i spoljne politike, privrede i ekonomije, preko obrazovanja, nauke, umetnosti i kulture, do sporta, zabave i raznih zanimljivosti (Rajnvajn 1988: 89). Baveći se širokim aspektom događaja, pojava, problema ili ličnosti od interesa ili interesovanja javnosti, novinar ih analizira, vrednuje, uopštava i evaluira na osnovu važećih zakonskih i društvenih normi, nudeći auditorijumu validne odgovore koji će ga ideološki usmeriti ka otklanjanu nedostataka, suprotstavljanu nepravilnostima i zloupotrebama u društvu i sveobuhvatnom dosezanju kvalitetnijeg nivo opšteg stanja u zajednici.

Metodološka sveobuhvatnost rada na pisanju članku u cilju prikupljanja svih argumenata koji mogu biti korisni ili su neophodni da bi krajnji cilj dosezanja pune istine o analizoranoj pojavi bio ostvaren, ovu vrstu novinskih napisa neminovno svrstava među složene i hibridne žanrove. Kako bi kolekcija neophodnih podataka i uglova gledanja na razmatranu problematiku bila potpuna, novinar mora da se posluži i faktografskim i analitičkim, pa i beletrističkim metodama rada, polazeći od činjenice kao aktuelnog povoda, stičući i produbljujući saznanja putem intervjua i nastojeći

da tekstualna celina dobije prijemčiv, čitaocu privlačan, te jezički standardizovan i stilski doteran oblik. Od faktografskih i beletrističkih žanrova u novinarstvu članak se razlikuje po širini i dubini poniranja u društvenu stvarnost, kao i po svestranijem uvidu u materiju, argumentovanosti, analitičnosti i idejnoj angažovanosti (Jevtović i dr. 2014: 287). U poređenju sa komentarom kao srodnim analitičkim žanrom, članak je po brzini reagovanja na vest ili informaciju sporiji, na šta utiče njegova potreba za dosezanjem temeljnosti i studioznosti, što podrazumeva strpljiv i predan rad, često i u veoma dugom vremenskom periodu (Đurić 1997: 128). Autor članka čitaocima često nudi i neke nove, do tada nepoznate podatke ili informacije, što ovu složenu i razvijenu vrstu novinskog pisanja žanrovski približava početnom stadijumu - faktografiji. Po metodološkoj nužnosti primene različitih procesa u sticanju saznanja ili uvida u faktografiju, svaki članak je na neki način veoma blizak i - istraživačkom novinarstvu.

Po pitanju aktuelnosti povoda pisanja članka, sugerišu se teme koje su u datom trenutku interesantne i značajne za društvo, što je elementarna pretpostavka za početak novinarskog rada, koja otklanja opasnost od mogućeg pitanja čitaoca "zašto baš sada?". Nije, međutim, dovoljno da se predmet obrade samo osvetli sa stanovišta sadašnjosti (što je zadatak osvrta i komentara), već treba da se nadvisi interes trenutka i analiza da vrednost šireg, dalekosežnog, opštedruštvenog gledišta i interesa (Rajnvajn 1988: 90). Veza između pokretanja teme i intersovanja javnosti ne mora da bude aktuelan događaj, već kao povod može da posluži i neki novotkriven društveno relevantan podatak kao rezultat istraživanja u javnom mnjenju ili nauci, koji analizom može da se osvetli kao relevantan i uticajan na dalje društvene tokove (Đurić 2001: 290). Da aktuelnost teme mora da prevaziđe trenutak, proističe i iz metodološke potrebe da se prikupi sva neophodna argumentacija, što može da bude proces od nekoliko sedmica, pa i meseci, nakon čega bi tema koja nije krucijalna za zajednicu izgubila važnost ili bila zaboravljena pred brojnim drugim važnim događajima.

METODOLOŠKI PRISTUP

Na izboru adekvatne teme u neposrednom dodiru sa aktuelnim povodom i sa društvnim značajem koji će nadvisiti trenutak, počiva prvi korak u metodološkom pristupu izradi članka. Uređivački kolegijum medijske kuće, u skladu sa aktuelnim informacijama, bira redakciju kojoj će poveriti zadatak

osvetljavanja povoda prema okvirnoj pripadnosti teme nekom od sektora interesovanja u skladu sa kojima su podeljene rubrike unutar medija. Redakcija izabranog sektora zadatak poverava novinaru od najvećeg poverenja i kredibiliteta, uglavnom stručnjaku za traženu oblast. Razlog je logičan: dugogodišnji rad na praćenju jedne oblasti redakcijske podele podrazumeva dobro poznavanje činjenica, aktivnosti i tendencija u traženoj materiji, uz obilje kontakata sa ključnim akterima, sa kojima novinar već ima iskustvo i uspostavljenu saradnju na liniji informisanja javnosti. Iskusan novinski stručnjak će u dodiru sa novom temom odmah imati jasnu sliku i konkretnu pretpostavku o povodima ili ishodima problematike. Odlike uspešnog istraživača i autora su širok nivo obrazovanja i opšte kulture, analitičnost, temeljnost, sposobnost interpretacije činjenica, jezička elokvencija i visoki moralni standardi. Neophodna nepristrasnost će, uz takve profesonalne i ljudske karakteristike, redakciji omogućiti poverenja auditorijuma, koji će pak dobiti adekvatanu analizu stvarnosti na potrebnom nivou razumevanja i shvatanja, bez većeg čitalačkog napora ili sumnje u ideološke motive autora (Jevtović i dr. 2014: 289).

Istraživački rad počinje temeljnim upoznavanjem sa činjeničnim stanjem koje proističe iz inicijalne informacije o temi, čime ste stiče uvid u problematiku i prave pretpostavke o daljem istraživanju. Neophodno je detaljno upoznavanje sa zakonskim odredbama koje se odnose na temu: inicijacija za pisanje članka najčešće je neka zloupotreba ili prekršaj koji se kosi sa javnim interesom, što, na prvom mestu, može da bude potvrđeno samo sučeljavanjem sa adekvatnom legislativom. Razlog za poznavanje propisanih normi može da bude i u mogućem krajnjem ishodu istraživanja, da sam zakon nije dobro postavljen jer sadrži nepravilnosti, tzv. "rupe", koje omogućavaju zloupotrebe, pa su neophodne izmene njegovih odredbi, koje novinar sugeriše.

Upoznavanje sa pozadinom priče navodi na uvid u arhivu srodnih tema ili prethodnih dešavanja u traženoj oblasti. To će istraživača na internetu ili u arhivu pisanih dokumenata, prvenstveno dovesti do već objavljenih novinskih napisa, posvećenih sličnim dešavanjima u prošlosti, uz mogućnost pronalaženja i nekog validnog dokumenta koji može da posluži kao dokazni materijal u daljem istraživanju, što se nameće kao jedan od prioriteta. Pravilno odabrana ključna reč ili pojam veoma su bitni za pokretanje pretrage, kako bi se fokus suzio na manji broj rezultata koji o predmetu istraživanja. Tek kada okvir priče dobije jasnije obrise, pripremaju se intervjui sa poželjnim sagovornicima koji bi mogli da daju svedočanstvo o predmetu pisanja.

Ukoliko je osnovna pretpostavka za pisanje članka potreba da se pojava analizira, što se u odnosi na sintezu činjenica u pravcu zaključka, onda prikupljanje potrebnih aspekata pojave mora da podrazumeva striktno poštovanje pravila "druge strane". Izvor ili subjekat primarne informacije, uz pretpostavku da ona sadrži negativan segment, kritiku ili optužbu na nečiji račun, mora da bude posmatran kao prvi, nikako i jedini, ugao gledanja na pojavu, što je česta greška u današnjoj praksi, motivisana pogrešnim pobudama i kršenjem kodeksa profesije. Iskaz ujedno i ne sme da bude prihvatan kao bezuslovna istina, jer motivi pokretanja "slučaja" na nečiji račun često mogu da budu nečasni. Novinar od kredibiliteta ne sme da veruje ni jednom izvoru, dok se sam direktno i argumentovano ne uveri u verodostojnost izrečenog. Itinitost novinskog proizvoda postiže se isključivo dokumentarističkim pristupom, uz čvrsto pridržavanje samo činjenica koje je novinar lično video ili dobio iz poverljivih izvora, a temelje se na dokazanim materijalnim podacima (Malović 2005: 20).

Prikupljanje iskaza uključenih strana u nastojanju da se dopre do potpunog saznanja o činjenicama, u novinarskoj praksi podrazumeva metod intervjua, pri čemu je poželjan susret sa sagovornikom, kako bi se nedoumice produbile dodatnim pitanjima, suočavanjem sa suprotnim mišljenjem i eventualnim dokazima (Gajić 2011: 191). Upotreba neposrednog svedočanstva aktera priče neophodna je kako bi se, na bazi izrečenih stavova, članak formulisao u pravcu sveobuhvatne spoznaje o svim aspektima teme, koji će, pravilnom sintezom i interpretacijom u skladu sa načelima profesije, osvetliti istinitost dešavanja i verodostojno ih valorizovati.

Saznanja do kojih je došao putem dva suprotstavljena izvora, novinar može da klasifikuje oznakama plus (+) i minus (-), što ne ukazuje na njihovu pozitivnu ili negativnu ulogu u istraživanju, već na razmimoilaženje, koje kao neophodnost nameće upotrebu najmanje još jednog faktora, čija uloga neće biti da presudi ili donese prevagu jednoj od strana, već da objektivnom, neutralnom i stručnom ekspertizom pomogne u pravilnom formulisanju stava o krajnjem ishodu. Za tu ulogu preporučuje se konsultovanje javnih radnika neukaljanog ugleda u drutvu i maksimalnog digniteta u profesiji koja je u dodiru sa dešavanja koja se istražuju.

Rad na pisanju članka tako počinje tek kada se obezbede izjave od najmanje tri različito motivisana izvora, a ukoliko je moguće, poželjno je da se intervjuiše što više sagovornika bliskih temi, jer je to siguran način da se prikupljena saznanja produbе, a njihova validnost učvrsti i tako utemelji

hipoteza članka. Kao imperativ u odnosu na verodostojnost teksta, nameće se potreba da svi sagovornici budu predstavljeni imenom i prezimenom, uz zanimanje i društvenu ulogu, kako bi se osnažilo poverenje javnosti u istinitost napisanog i otklonile pretpostavke o pogrešnoj motivaciji autora (Jevtović i dr. 2014: 308).

Ukoliko neko od sagovornika, zbog lične bezbednosti, insistira da u tekstu ostane neimenovan, zadatak novinara je da ga ipak sasluša, uz nastojanje da mu suptilno objasni nužnost javnog eksponiranju. Novinar će njegov ugao gledanja na predmet ipak prihvatiti, ali će nastojati da pronađe svedoka koji ne traži anonimnost, dok će neimenovan izvor biti integrisan u članka tek ukoliko drugo rešenje ne bude moguće, uz maksimalnu zaštitu njegove privatnosti (Itjul i Anderson 2001: 338). Novinar je dužan i da čuva čvrst dokaz o obavljenom razgovoru u audio ili video formatu ili kao tekstualnu prepisku putem interneta, kao dokaz u eventualnom sudskom sporu do kojeg može da dođe nakon objavljivaja članka zbog nezadovoljstva nekog aktera, što u današnjem novinarstvu nije retka pojava.

Glas javnosti često može da bude koristan za saznanja o predmetu istraživanja, jer se pokrenuta tema u najčešće odnosi na opšti javni interes. Suočene sa neophodnošću istraživanja pojave koja se u negativnom kontekstu dugotrajno javlja u zajednici, a u nedostatku konkretnog aktuelnog povoda koji bi inicirao pisanje članka, redakcije mogu da posegnu za glasom javnosti i kao načinom da uočena tema dobije podsticaj za dalje istraživanje. Tada se koristi metoda ankete građana, uz pravilno odabran uzorak koji mora da bude reprezentativan za čitavu zajednicu na koju se odnosi tema pisanja (Itjul i Anderson 2001: 148). Pri tom treba voditi računa da broj ispitanika bude paran, jer krajnji ishod ankete ne mora da donese prevagu na jednu stranu mišljenja, već može da ukaže i na podeljenost javnosti. Kako bi anketa bila opravdana, neophodno je obezbediti njenu autentičnost uz pomoć fotografija ispitanika, uz njihova imena i druge podatke validne za istraživanu temu (godine, društvena uloga i status). Dignitetu članku će doprineti i portreti sagovornika, fotografije koje dokumentuju predmet pisanja, skenirana dokumenta koja ukazuju na ishod ili tabele i grafikoni sa rezultatima istraživanja ako su oni ishazani brojčano.

STRUKTURA TEKSTA

Medijski analitičari su saglasni da ne postoji idealna struktura članka kao tekstualne celine, jer su mnogi elementi koji figuriraju kao neophodni za dobar novinski napis podložni promenama u skladu sa stečenim saznanjima "na terenu" (Rajnvajn 1988: 94). Pravilno formulisan članak se prvenstveno prepoznaje po temeljno napisanom, efektnom i preciznom lidu, na šta navodi i obrnuta piramida kao osnovno načelo gradnje novinskog tekst. Pažnja recipijenta pisanog novinarakog sadržaja, kao i konzumenata bilo kog medija, danas je vrlo kratka, i može da se izmeri najmanjim jedinicama vremena. Neophodnost da se ispuni informativna uloga medija upućuje na primaran cilj da konzument u prvom kontaktu sa sadržajem dođe u dodir sa potpunim saznanjem o temi, jer će u suprotnom njegova zaintersovanost nestati pred drugim nagomilanim i široko dostupnim temama i senzacijama.

Rezimirajući lid se nameće kao idealan za otvaranje novinskih napisa koji u sebi sadrže istraživačke elemente, poput članka, pogotovo ako se njihova suština zasniva na razotkrivanju negativnih faktora ili pojava u društvu (Itjul i Anderson 2001: 340). Konkretno i sažeto saopštenje o mapiranoj pojavi i krajnji ishod istraživanja ili moguće solucije slučaja, uz ukazivanje na eventualnu, u daljem tekst obrazloženu i dokazanu, negativnu ulogu nekog od aktera, jasan je način da se, zauzimanjem stava i navođenjem sublimisanog zaključka, javnost efikasno informiše o suštini napisa. Predugačak, lirski ili apstrakno intoniran, ili reportažno slikovit lid će današnjeg čitaoca novina odbiti od udubljivanja u tekst koji će i inače iziskivati više vremena, pažnje i koncentracije (Jevtović i dr. 2014: 305).

Dalji tok teksta zahteva opširnije iznošenje konkretnih činjenica pomenutih u lidu i njihovo pojašnjenje. Stoga treba krenuti od njihovog ređanja po prioritetu važnosti u skladu sa temom, što je varijabilna komponenta. Svedeno na primarni nivo od minimalno neophodna tri ugla gledanja, u slučaju analize pojave koja podrazumeva optužbe na nečiji račun, prvo treba da se navedu činjenice strane koja iznosi optužbu, a one zatim treba i da se pojasne uz adekvatnu dokumentaciju i izjave drugih svedoka. Nakon toga je nophodno da se druga strana (uslovno rečeno - optužena) uvede u priču kako bi kontraargumentima opravda svoje učešće u slučaju, što u tekstu dovodi do utiska intrige, koju treba razrešiti okvirnim upoznavanjem čitaoca sa važećom zakonskom regulativom. Odredbe zakona pri tom treba interpretirati, dok se citiranje i navođenje ne preporučuju, jer bi to tekst

opteretilo većini čitalaca slabo razumljivim pravničkim diskursom. Treći sagovornik nakon toga dobija ulogu komentatora, kako bi se konkretno razumele uloge suprotstavljenih aktera u odnosu na društvene norme i propisane standarde.

Kako tekst članka treba da bude narativna celina specifičnog novinarskog diskursa, koja će od početka do kraja ostati jasno razumljiva, privlačna i zanimljiva za čitanje, zadatak novinara je da pri pisanju zadrži prijemčiv misaoni tok, u čemu će znatnu ulogu odigrati pravilna upotreba citata kao nadopuna pripovedačkom toku ređanja činjenica. Pri citiranju je neophodno da čitalac u svakom trenutku zna čije reči se navode, kako ne bi došao u zabunu i bio prinuđen da nasumice pretražuje tekst kako bi potvrdio svoje pretpostavke, ili odustao od daljeg čitanja. Ovo je česta greška u današnjem pisanom novinarstvu, koja efikasno može da se prevaziđe metodom "tri rečenice".

Dužina teksta je u današnjim štampanim medijima uslovljena prostorom na stranicama; ni na internetu ona nije veća, mada je prostor neograničen, ali ne i pažnja i koncentracije čitalaca (Dedović 2005: 183). Stoga je neophodno da se svaka izjava kao ugao gledanja na analiziranu pojavu sažme na najmanju moguću meru, po mogućnosti na maksimalno tri rečenice koje će, pravilno raspoređene, čitaocu ponuditi suštinu stava bez mistifikacije o imenu sagovornika i zastoja u narativnom toku celine. Prva rečenica tog pasaža treba da se nadoveže na prethodno izrečenu misao autora teksta, kao parafraza sa navođenjem imena sagovornika. Na taj način se uvodi citat kojim se navodi druga rečenica, a iz citata se izlazi parafrazom treće rečenice.

Dobro struktuiran članak neće zahtevati konkretan zaključak, već će poenta istraživanja odjeknuti u svesti čitaoca sa poslednjom rečenicom. Bogatstvo činjenica i podataka, obogaćenih izjavama aktera, otkloniće svaku sumnju u validnost istraživanja i kredibilitet novinarskog rada.

ZAKLJUČAK

Osim težnje da analitički sagleda stvarnost i auditorijumu ponudi njenu jasnu, autentičnu i verodostojnu sliku, uloga članka u današnjem medijskom segmentu društva je i da očuva duh nezavisnosti novinarske profesije u koju će javno mnjenje i dalje imati puno poverenje. Sličnu tendenciju pokazuje komentar kao još jedan analitički žanr u kojem se,

međutim, objektivnost često potire pred subjektivnim stavom oštre i strastvene autorske retorike koja činjenice ne objašnjava, već ih samo - vrednuje. Na taj način, komentar gubi sposobnost šireg društvenog angažovanja, jer pogoduje uglavnom onom delu auditorijuma koji je na istoj ideološkoj liniji kao i autor, dok ga drugi odbacuju kao neautentično tumačenje stvarnosti. U oštro podeljenom društvu kakvo je današnje u Srbiji, kolumna više nema moć da promeni stanje stvari, dok dobro napisan i argumentovan istraživački članak još uvek može da pokrene pojedinca i društvo na razmišljanje, pa tako u perspektivi utiče i na sam kvalitet života, i opšte stanje u zajednici.

ARTICLE AS A JOURNALISTIC GENRE IN PRINT MEDIA AND ON THE INTERNET

Summary

The transformation of the media in the advanced stage of the informational era of the 21st century had a negative impact on the objectivity and quality of the overall media sphere in Serbia. Centers of political and economic power control the flow of information and in all ways affect the objectivity, which in this way, under pressure, moves into independent media mostly exist on the Internet. In an effort to preserve objectivity, as well as the integrity of the journalistic profession, increasingly less analytical segments of journalism are getting more and more important. In keeping with the thesis that public opinion retains the need for a true, uncensored and uncontrolled approach to a realistic interpretation of social reality, the article as one of the basic genres of journalistic writing survives with a primary role in contemporary journalism (with the increasing influence of the column and blog as its counterpart in the internet domain). Analytical approach to the journalistic topic through the writing of the article with the idea of objectivity is reflected in the correct distribution of the presented angles of analysis, in which the selection of the relevant interlocutors on the principle of the "rules of the other side" is just the starting point. The attitude of objectivity is subsequently available through the interpretation of legal frameworks with the assistance of a relevant independent expert, along with all other necessary elements of the finalization.

Key words: print media, internet, journalistic genres, article.

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Vladislava Gordić Petković
Faculty of Philosophy
University of Novi Sad
Novi Sad, Serbia

UDC 821.163.41-3:314.74
821.163.41.09 Otašević M.

MIGRANT CRISIS AND ARTIVISM IN CONTEMPORARY SERBIAN FICTION

Summary: The paper will discuss various ways in which literature and visual arts tackle the current migrant crisis. Being a powerful tool for activism, art can grapple with the world and bring about change with the help of *artivism*, a technique and strategy used to gather people who are marginalized, ignored or silenced by society. Artivism is not simply a communication device or a campaign tool, but also a way of understanding the world we live in. In her novel *The Gorgons* (Gorgone, 2017) Serbian writer Mira Otašević examines the ways art can confront war, injustice and racism; she discusses the history of Europe from Nazism and Holocaust up to European migrant crisis which started in 2015, using the avant-garde techniques of radical and unorthodox contrasting biographical records of famous 20th century artists with the partly fictionalized testimonies of the authentic figures who inspired their work. Her novel dwells on lives and achievements of artists such as Bertolt Brecht, Ai Weiwei (the Berlin-based Chinese dissident who directed "Human Flow", a film about the global migrant crisis) and Ellsworth Kelly, American painter who requested to be assigned to the 603rd Engineers Camouflage Battalion, which took many artists trained in deception techniques during the Second World War. The battalion became part of the Ghost Army, the tactical deception unit whose inflatable tanks and cannons, as well as airplanes that could be pumped up with air compressors, engaged in successful war operations which became an epitome of powerful artistic practices[1].

Keywords: migrant crisis, artivism, Serbian fiction, visual arts

ART AND ARTIVISM

Art incites an emotional response both from the experience of the creator and the beholder. It can incorporate unwieldy and confusing emotions, but it can also touch a nerve to provoke feelings which are difficult to explain

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rationally. Both elements can be useful for activists as they navigate their movements and seek to change society with the means of artistic practice. As a contemporary strategy of spiritual awakening, artivism is not simply a communication device or a campaign tool, but a way of understanding where we are located in the world and expressing the depth of our feeling about it.

A compound word made of *art* and *activism*, the term artivism implies using artistic talents to fight against injustice and oppression of the society. An artivist is committed to justice, equality, freedom and human rights like any activist, but the difference between being an artist and being an artivist lies in the fact that the latter uses his or her imagination, body, pen or brush to express the political attitude and start a struggle for change.

Amina Doherty explains what artivism means to her by identifying the essence of the concept: "The term (...) refers to an individual who uses their art (and I define art loosely to include all forms of creative expression) to "fight and struggle against injustice and oppression – by any medium necessary." I have come to define myself as someone who believes in the **power of creative expression** for social change." (Doherty, bold hers). Defining her vocation as "an all-ways' feminist – sometimes writer, self-taught painter, budding photographer with a growing interest in filmmaking, wannabe DJ, and cultural curator" (Doherty), she says: "I feel compelled to ask questions, share experiences, tell stories, and to do that in a way that challenges oppression at all levels." (Doherty).

Art can be a powerful tool for activists, since it can grapple with the world and bring about change by challenging oppression. Artivism here operates to focus on people who are marginalized, ignored or relegated to the fringe of society. Through collaboration with the subjects of social exclusion, the artists transform the way the observers perceive the world, and also the way the subjects see themselves.

Asking questions, sharing experiences and telling stories is basically what artivism is about. Our aim in this paper is to show that contemporary Serbian fiction discloses elements of artivism by joining authentic testimonies together with fictitious additions in terms of plot and structure. It focuses on migration and exile as its principal concerns.

ARTIVISM, MIGRATION AND EXILE IN *THE GORGONS*

In her latest novel *The Gorgons* (Gorgone, 2017), Mira Otašević discusses the history of Europe from Nazism and Holocaust up to European migrant crisis which began in 2015, using the avant-garde techniques of radical and unorthodox conflating the biographical records about famous 20th century artists with the partly fictionalized testimonies of the authentic figures who inspired their work. *The Gorgons* is a narrative triptych, the parts of it called "Arbeit macht frei", "Art macht frei" and "Profit macht frei"; the titles are given in German in order to reconstruct the time of Adolf Hitler's regime and its ideology of anti-Semitism, racism and eugenics, and with the intention to revive gruesome evidence of human suffering. The characters presented in the novel are larger than life, and their tragic fate is larger than art: Otašević uses history and ideology as the agents of her plot and the major force of change imposed from without, since she insists on demonstrating the devastating influence of historical changes on individual figures. The author deliberately employs variations of Nazi slogans in order to commemorate and commiserate the downfall of ideals and the failure of humanistic values which result from problematic ideological and political practices. Work, art and profit have proven to be incompatible, but, at the same time, indispensible elements in the history of humanity.

The greatest part of the novel fictionalizes biographies of artists, sportsmen and historical personages in the wake of the Second World War. Mira Otašević narrates the chronology of friendship of Sinto boxer Johann Wilhelm Rukeli Trollmann, actress and singer Carola Neher and famous theatre director and playwright Bertolt Brecht, showing how their respective destinies took different turns amid the outrageous discrimination and oppression in Nazi Germany. Rukeli was forcibly sterilized and interned in a concentration camp, where he was humiliated, tortured and beaten to death, Neher fled to Russia where she was condemned to ten years of hard labor in a gulag as "Trotskyst spy and conspirator", whereas Brecht, whose reluctance to help Carola Neher caused much disgust among Russian emigrants in the West, managed to leave Germany in 1933 and moved to Denmark. Mira Otašević blends scarce facts and fiction when she reconstructs and reinvents the biography of a deported Romani girl Settela Steinbach, whose existence is documented only in film recordings which were being made on the orders of Camp Westerbork commander Albert Konrad Gemmeker by the Jewish

photographer Rudolf Werner Breslauer. Settela was on the train which transported Roma and Jews to Auschwitz-Birkenau, peeping through an opening, with a torn sheet covering her shaven head. The image of the anonymous frightened young girl, staring out of the wagon, about to be transported to Auschwitz, became an icon of the Holocaust, and until 1994, she was only known as "the girl with the headdress" (Benevento), assumed to be Jewish. The haunting image of Settela, standing in the closing doors of a goods train in Westerbork concentration camp, became famous after the war, but her identity and biography remained largely unknown. In the early 1990s, Dutch journalist Aad Wagenaar started an investigation into the identity of the girl and discovered that she was not Jewish, but Sinti. Mira Otašević follows in his footsteps in order to reconstruct what could have been an ordinary childhood of emotions, passions and unfulfilled wishes, trying to be more than a witness in a swirling fluid mess of memory and time.

Lives of musicians Alma Rosé, an Austrian violinist who died in Auschwitz, and Django Reinhardt, a Romani-French jazz guitarist whose immense talent helped him to survive the war unscathed, are used by Otašević with a different purpose. In the carnival of hatred and death, some lives might be temporarily spared, or the execution could be postponed, but there is no negotiation with the horror of extermination and disappearance. It becomes impossible to be a bystander, ignorant or a detached observer, since the terms of death are unpredictable. Becoming the conductor of the Auschwitz women's orchestra did not save Alma's life, whereas Django's narrow escape from death demanded a high price of suffering, turmoil and misery. The two characters are presented in order to show that the fate turns into a wild incontrollable force when the judges who rule on life and death belong to the autocracy of a powerful military regime. As opposed to their music as an ideal and an escape, there is art with the mission to delude evil and ensnare it: Otašević also relates the biography of Ellsworth Kelly, American painter who demanded to join the 603rd Engineers Camouflage Battalion as many other artists who were being trained in deception techniques during the Second World War. The battalion became part of the Ghost Army, the tactical deception unit whose inflatable tanks and cannons, as well as airplanes that could be pumped up with air compressors, engaged in successful war operations which became an epitome of powerful artistic practices.

All the characters Otašević writes about are migrant or refugees, forced to run for their life and to move from country to country in order to

escape death and discrimination. She is among rare Serbian writers (such as Mileta Prodanović, Slobodan Tišma and Dejan Atanacković) who insist on introducing artivist practices into literature and advanced artistic strategies of reinforcement of articulate humanistic values such as freedom, understanding and benevolence and many other assertive characteristics such as judgment and prudence. Avant-garde and neo-avant-garde innovations help Otašević in picturing the 1930s world at the brink of a ravaging disaster. Biographies of artists are seen in her documentary novel as deliberately devised extensions of their artistic pursuit. The choices in life can be introduced as poetic strategies or narrative patterns, so some artist are seen to choose the role of victim, some build their escape and recovery on the misery of their fellowmen, whereas the gaps and lacunas in a person's biography can be taken as a point of departure in creating work of art that would simultaneously figure as a symbolic compensation of negligence and ignorance surround the victims of racial hatred. Otašević finds explanations or additions that could fill the missing parts of her protagonists' lives in order to keep them safe from oblivion and forgetfulness. Her artistic choice includes multilayered narrative and the playfulness of genres, whereas she uses trial transcripts, witness statements, biographical sketches and most of all photographs to make the readers believe and understand, and help them unveil the mystery of forgotten artistic lives and careers. *The Gorgones* is a keen investigation into the disputed borders between history and fiction, where the artivism uses various methods to recall the horror and reinvent lost lives: trial transcripts, witness statements, biographical sketches, photographs. There is the brutal solidity of the present, and there is the swirling fluid mess of memory and time.

Merging historical facts and fictitious characters, Dejan Atanacković's *Lusitania* follows in the footsteps of its unknown predecessor, Judita Šalgo, whose unfinished, posthumously published novel *A Voyage to Birobijan* reads as a gospel recounted by the voice of the entire destitute womanhood, addressing the alternative history which belongs to the female Christ figure named Messiana and the army of her followers who firmly believe in the existence of an Utopian refuge for all the underprivileged and deprived. The leading thread of *Lusitania* is similarly alternative, as it participates in a centuries-long discussion about the ambivalent and multilayered connections of reason and madness through a showcase of human stupidity and its numerous incarnations of the modern era. While Atanacković creates character sketches of intellectuals and adventurers

obsessed both with common interests and private quests, Judita Šalgo takes the character of Sigmund Freud's former patient Bertha Pappenheim and endows her with various habits and traits, as well as many commitments and duties. Šalgo sends her character on a very particular mission which borders with an unattainable fantasy on the one hand and a task of a lifetime on the other. Being at the same time confused and encouraged by the growing group of destitute, sick and pregnant girls and women who incessantly rant and rave about a faraway land of plenty and a female deity who would be their guide to happiness and bliss, Pappenheim boldly embarks on a humanitarian mission which will apparently start as an assistance to socially deprived Balkan women, but turn into an unswerving and unyielding quest for a female continent along the way.

Lusitania brings together two apparently unrelated subjects of the First World War: the sinking of famous British passenger ship Lusitania in May 1915, after being hit by a torpedo of a German submarine and a series of unexpected events in a psychiatric hospital in Belgrade occupied by the Austrian and German troops. The hospital acquires an extraterritorial status and becomes a parliamentary republic. The novel uses a series of magical events and coincidences to show that migration is an eternal flow of struggle, energy and ideas, to demonstrate that it pictures the eternal struggle of madness and reason, the human stupidity and the many ways it collides with the idea of progress.

SERBIAN FICTION DISCLOSING HISTORY

The common interest of contemporary Serbian writers lies in the reinvention of reality. The authors manipulate facts and fiction in many ways, exploring the border territory between the social and political reality on the one hand and the territories of imagination on the other, playfully trespassing into a metafictional discourse which is packed with actual events from either recent or remote history, with the aim to offer a plausible redefinition of a world confused with rejecting the totalitarian past and embracing a promised future of capitalist consumerism.

Contemporary Serbian fiction generally operates with three distinctive narrative strategies. One is postmodern experimenting with the text, notably in the juvenile works by David Albahari, Svetislav Basara and Sreten Ugričić, but in later phases of the authors' work largely abandoned; the

second strategy is concerned with rewriting history, resulting in some truly astonishing achievements, such as critically acclaimed novels by Radoslav Petković; the third is obsessive confession, as in case of Dragan Velikić, who widely exploits memories and personal experiences in the process of character building.

Contemporary Serbian fiction is often focused on travelling as a ritual of disclosing history and identity. The journeys of individual characters symbolically represent the wish to reach maturity and escape reality. While travelling, the characters of Dragan Velikić, Mileta Prodanović and Judita Šalgo yearn to build a new life unburdened by historical impasses of living in their homeland.

Digging deep into personal histories hidden behind the walls of European cities from the Mediterranean to the Central Europe, Velikić is clearly obsessed with exile as the condition of the modern man, particularly in the post communist era where the illusion of sharing the dream of capitalism dies quickly. Thus, his character Rudi Stupar from *The Russian Window* (*Ruski prozor*, 2007) travels from his hometown Subotica further to the north in order to find a new life unburdened with ethnic animosities, social injustice and war conflicts. Rudi wants to escape the overdose of history unavoidable when living in his homeland, and he desires to break the unbearable routine of living in between wars or political crises. First, Rudi successfully resettles in Budapest, until the city turns into a "Serbian Casablanca" with the flow of Serbian expatriates who have escaped the NATO air strikes in the spring of 1999. Velikić casts elaborate sketches of European cities ranging from Pola to Hamburg, which gets to be much more than a mere backdrop to the characters' identity crises. His heroes are dissatisfied lonely men who are trying to come to terms with their historical, cultural and intimate heritage, looking for their idols and friends among the figures of prominent artists who set the example for a successful reconciliation of love, ambition and faith. The sacredness of art replaces the nightmare of belonging to the dreary world the heroes hope to change.

Rudi Stupar will reemerge in the next Velikić's novel *Bonavia* (2012), as a sad and largely unimportant sidekick who reaps accidental success in Germany with one of his plays, the man who unexpectedly shows up on the funeral of Raša Borozan's ex-girlfriend. Velikić's main character Marko Kapetanović is a dangling man without vocation, a disinterested underdog lacking a clear objective in life. His roles as a father, son and lover have never

been taken seriously and, until the very end of the novel, he remains emotionally uninvolved to the point of numbness. While being passionately immersed in writing a novel that should be the climax of his success and the way to rise above less exciting tasks such as writing travel books, he constantly misses the crucial points of art and living. Marko perceives his destiny in a row of conditionals, as a cluster of *whats* and *ifs*: what if his mother did not die at childbirth, what if his father, a self-made man who chose to become a successful restaurant owner, altered his decisions, and so on, and so forth. The basic motive of *Bonavia* is the unsuccessful flight from reality in its various forms, some of which need migration: fleeing from either unwanted or insufficiently loved lovers and wives, fleeing from a country and a culture that no longer fulfill expectations and also the inability to change the course of one's destiny without the impact of political changes.

A carefully constructed parallel to the disciplined and composed character of Marko is Raša Borozan, a poet living in splendid isolation: this figure of an artist and *arbiter elegantiarum*, based upon Serbian poet Raša Livada, displays an utter lack of ambition and motivation. Borozan is an expatriate in his own country, as he lives in a splendid isolation, rejecting to address both duties and pleasures. Borozan refuses to engage in both work and travel, seeing them as no more than two different mechanisms of unnecessary involvement and incontrollable waste, claiming that neither diligence should be overpriced, nor leisure underestimated. He writes poetry only rarely, trying to live life to the fullest, choosing Zemun to be his continent, following thus in the footsteps of Cavafi and Pessoa, his role models and favourite poets.

Bonavia embodies the paradox of the intersected roads and discontinued destinies: although the trajectory paths of the respective characters are crossing and intersecting all the time, the ever migrating and migratory characters do not meet; they remain oblivious of one another, unfocused in their dissipated lives. They miss their partners and misunderstand their friends and relatives, and although they refer to the mutual memories from the past, there is no connection, no resonance, no echo. The five central characters embody the individual initiative to change the course of one's destiny, which seems to be futile in a conflicting and conflicted society as Serbian is.

Mileta Prodanović's collection of stories *Agnus Dei* (*Agnec*, 2009) revolves around the motives of miracle and penance, using transition as an

emblematic condition of either the nation as a whole or the pursuit of an individual. Filled with irony, harsh criticism and grotesque, the stories reflect shallow and careless attitudes of the transitional age, best represented with the narrative manner limited to a straight-forward recount of events delivered in the colloquial and jovial tone of an objective, yet bemused reporter. For instance, the story "Patriotism" tells of the fictitious religious order "Mary Magdalene", whose duty is to provide sexual gratification to the soldiers in the First World War. On the other hand, fantasy, religion and parody are blended so as to accentuate the absurd elements of living in the world of today. Thus, the story "Agnus Dei" tells of a miracle which occurs where it is mostly needed, that is, amid the world of fast profit and crude material concerns. The narratorial figure is a businessman of the age of transition who made money on recruiting beggars, only to find out one day that his pack of paupers has inexplicably turned into a flock of sheep. Moral and religious hypocrisy results in a deliberate mixture of satire and catharsis after having provoked miracles of all sorts: in some other stories the reader stumbles across circus animals which all of a sudden blurt out startling testimonies of the Second World War ethnic atrocities committed in a small village in Vojvodina, or an elderly lady literally grows a new generation of "homo machiavellicus" from plain tomato sauce. Hypocrisy, greed and blasphemy resulting from transitional processes are frequent motives in the novels of Mileta Prodanović as well; such is the case with *Collection* (*Kolekcija*, 2006), whose plot joins the history of art with criminal records, and postmodern experiment with newspaper scandals, in order to investigate the dangerous mystery of a collection of silver gone missing.

ARTIVISM AND UTOPIA OF BERTHA PAPPENHEIM

Judita Šalgo's posthumously published, unfinished novel entitled *A Voyage to Birobijan* (1997) is, at least partly, an attempt at creating a "gospel according to women" (Gordić Petković 2005:172); it introduces an investigation of a female Utopia unparalleled in post-Yugoslav literature. The unseen, but omnipresent, female Christ figure called Messiana has an intriguing flock of followers who spread the word about a Utopian refuge for all the weak and defeated (Gordić Petković 2005:172):

> Messiana's advent was announced and foretold [...] by prostitutes, single mothers, women swollen with venereal diseases and

> tuberculosis, illegitimate children and orphans, pregnant underage girls, by women and children from the streets, as well as women and children bought and sold to Balkan brothels and Turkish harems. Some of those women through whom the advent of the Egyptian woman was announced remembered a peculiar traveller, a German woman who visited brothels and boarding houses, asked questions and initiated conversations (Šalgo 1997: 66-67 in Gordić Petković 2005)[2].

Later in the novel, the "German woman" is identified as Bertha Pappenheim, Sigmund Freud's patient who had used the pseudonym Ana O during the psychiatric treatment; Judita Šalgo deliberately uses a historical character as "a catalyst for her plot" (Gordić Petković 2005:172). What at first seemed to be a multinational and cross-cultural humanitarian project focused on the status of underprivileged Balkan women, in the rich, imaginative minds of Bertha and the women she befriends along the way from Vienna to Istanbul readily turn into a mysterious and dangerous search for the faraway female continent. The quest unites destitute women, expatriates, migrants and displaced persons who are practically unstoppable in their search for the safe harbor. This strange lot Judita Šalgo describes suffers from a peculiar side-effect of their medical treatment, called "syphilitic messianism": the women and the girls believe to have been chosen to save the female half of the world by following an unseen woman leader who is as poor and marginalized as they are. What the destitute women desperately need to postpone the tragic demise is both the divine miracle and the divine justice (Gordić Petković 2005:172).

The search for the feminine continent and an alternative reality is associated with malady, mostly with syphilis and hysteria among numerous different disorders. Hysteria is presented as impossibility to move and an impulse to migrate: Bertha herself feels "like a uterus wandering through the body." (Šalgo 1997: 105). Furthermore, hysteria is pictured as an evil, unhealthy substitute for pregnancy and the childbirth, "as an alternative, an unsuccessful substitute." (Šalgo 1997: 105). The female body is thus depicted as a vast expanse in which the detached and dissociated uterus is desperately roaming, afraid of procreation and unable to rest. Hysteria is thus a missing effect, a signal that women's growth is unsuccessful, aborted or unfinished.

[2] Translation mine.

Haunted by numerous hints and clues about the ultimate female exile and faced with the emotional unrest of her fragile yet vivid mind, Bertha constructs her own idea of a migration to happiness: "If women are not allowed their rights and a complete life here where they are, they should *travel somewhere*. They can establish the world of their own, a state in which things will be properly placed from the very beginning." Bertha identifies the feminine continent with some typical female symbols, such as the moon and the water: "Instead of the masculine SUN CITY, they will found the CITY OF THE MOON [...] the city of the water" (Šalgo 1997: 106). The clear reference to Moore's *Utopia* suggests that the female world should be a dynamic contrast to the male vision of paradise.

Šalgo adds a touch of complicity to the concept of the female Saviour, since her following needs unity and perseverance as well as the utmost secrecy and strict confidentiality to cherish their ideal. Bertha's ambition is to give voice to the voiceless rejects of the society and to articulate the female unconsciousness. Freud's theory is thus taken by Judita Šalgo and transposed onto a legitimate imagination's territory: therefore, the novelist reads the case studies of a psychiatrist as if they were a literary text, using them both as a source of information and invention. The structure of *A Voyage to Birobijan* resembles the work or the unconscious: the narrative holds against the dominant motives of an unknown country, the female Savior, the weak and the sick (Gordić Petković 2005:173).

The project of the Female continent originated in the Jewish myth of the undiscovered country which is both a dream vision and a realistic objective: Birobijan is several times referred to as "a spare homeland" (Šalgo 1997: 106) because it embodies a revelation that a hideaway where women should be safe from persecution must exist, at least beyond reality. Situated within a mock picaresque narrative frame, *A Voyage to Birobijan* tackles the issues of harassment, abuse and molestation with a presumption that the promise of a miracle might annul the pain and suffering. This unfinished novel is thus apparently more than an intimate story of a social worker who appeases her own fears of mental illness and death by helping the women in need (Gordić Petković 2005:173).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Contemporary Serbian fiction fully recognizes that artivism is not simply a communication device or a campaign tool, but a way of understanding the world we live in and its past and present. We might find Serbian authors' approach unconventional, because where a British or American writer would focus on drama of human existence, Serbian writers look for facts and figures which can be reflected in fictional discourse devised neither to entertain nor to instruct. The powerful and absorbing novels by Mira Otašević, Dragan Velikić and Judita Šalgo are written with the noble intention to reenact eternal human quest for wisdom and peace. Similar to the agenda articulated by Amina Doherty, these writers boldly ask questions, share experiences, and tell stories, in order to challenge oppression.

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Giovanni Gozzini
Department of Social, Political and
Cognitive Sciences
University of Siena
Siena, Italy

UDC 316.742-4:004.738.5]:321.7

SOCIAL MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY[1]

The hypothesis I propose to your discussion is very simple and radical. Besides some other and maybe much more important factors (income inequalities, cost of active politics, demobilization of civil society), social media represent an intrinsic threat to democracy. Especially, social media put into question the original meaning of democracy as a forum of different opinions; as a place of free and peaceful exchange and interaction between different parts of the society. The surveys periodically operated by the Pew Research Center in the US display two constant trends (at least since 2014) in the association between social media and public opinion. First, social media (notably, Facebook and Twitter) became the principal source of political information, replacing traditional media such as TV, radio, newspapers. The predominance of social media was favored by the parallel surge of the smartphone as the principal (and tending to become exclusive) device within the domain of information and communication technologies. Personal computers and tablets are losing ground day by day and the smartphone are becoming the fulcrum of a new convergence in the media. Second (and more significant for the hypothesis I am proposing you), political information in the US audience is increasingly restricted to groups, chats, communities, who share the same opinions. Regarding a little more conservatives than liberals, this kind of behavior is practically cancelling the opportunity to take into consideration not only a divergent idea, but even the mere existence of an alternative point of view.

The consequences are apparent. In a recent article on the Journal of Economic Perspectives, Alcott and Gentzkow demonstrate the incidence of the so-called «fake news» during the last presidential campaign in the United States. Their database collects 115 pro-Trump and 41 pro-Clinton episodes of totally fictional information, which were shared on Facebook a total of 30,3

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[1] The paper is based on plenary presentation at the conference “Bridges of Media Education 2018”.

million and 7,6 million times, respectively. In a large majority of cases, the originators of the disinformation are young people located in Eastern Europe, without significant political connections; their purpose is exclusively monetary, aimed at exploiting the resonance of the content in order to enlarge the audience and attract collateral advertising. The electoral challenge represents only an opportunity to gain more attention; that is the main reason why the presence of fake news on Facebook (but not on Twitter) is drastically decreasing since 2016, as Alcott and Gentzkow demonstrate in a subsequent and not yet published paper. The window to make money, in other words, has been closed, at least temporarily, until the next occasion on a global scale.

The problem is that fake news are believed because they confirm and reinforce a value judgment that is already and firmly rooted in the mind of the people who share them. Accordingly, the social function of the fake news is quite the contrary of making information and illuminating the reality; their function is to support the personal and collective identities of the people, without any concern for the truth. In times of (perceived) disorder and instability, such as the current ones, a psychological support becomes much more important than a correct knowledge.

It is not a accident, if the fake news resemble two basic features of the fairy tales. The first is a rigid divide between good and bad guys. The intricacy of the world is reduced to a Manichean scheme, which does not call into question someone's ability to analyze and understand, but only his or her choice of staying in one of the two sides (good guys, normally). Ideology is, first of all, an efficient reducer of complexity. The second pillar of the fairy tales is the ogre, that in modern times very often becomes a conspiracy. In such case, it is of some interest the reconstruction of the authoritarian personality led by Adorno in the early 1950s. After conformism and xenophobia, the third marker of the authoritarian personality is «projectivity», i.e., a disposition to believe that in the outer world there is a plot against myself. The authoritarian personality is a fragile personality, who is not curious about the unknown; he/she is feared by the unknown and thus he/she attributes to the unknown a prejudicial negative attitude. The list of the historical partisan conspiracy theories depicted in the article by Alcott and Gentzkow reveals a common inspiration, that is, the idea that the world is a fiction, organized by very powerful «others» who are aimed at deceiving the public opinion. Thus, projectivity becomes a universal key to simplify the

world as well as strengthen the cohesion of the small community created by common beliefs which are shared via smartphone.

The spreading of such attitudes is not new in history, of course. The inter-war period in the twentieth century resembles something of that kind: ideological reducers of complexity, emotional divides within national public opinions. A vast literature on the German civil society during the Nazi period demonstrates the association between anti-Semitism and rural and poor population; that means whereby the Jews did not live, since their community was almost exclusively urban and well-posited within the higher middle class. The «ogre» has to be invisible, because if I know some Jews in my everyday life I hardly may believe they are the cause of every problem.

At that time all was made violent by the chronological contiguity with World War I. Today we fortunately miss that kind of degeneration, but two diagrams of US public opinion are particularly significant and tightly correlated. The first is the index of trust in mainstream media, which is vertically falling until the bottom limit of 15 percent for Republican voters since 2015 and slowly declining from 60 percent to 50 percent for the Democratic voters over the 2000s. Historically, the conservative rightist parties show a preferential association with fairy tales ideologies. Far from being a symptom of a modern use of new communication technologies, the distrust in traditional media means the refusal of an all-around information and the run to take refuge into the closed and ideologically saturated environment provided by social media. In fact, the second index relates to the deepening cleavage of US political field; the feeling thermometer of one party's voters toward the other party's voters is increasingly negative since 2000.

Until today, social media are dividing the public forum and reducing the open spaces of interchange between political opponents. According to my humble opinion, the creation of such spaces of more open-minded information within social media is clamorously delaying. My guess estimate is that such creation represents the old-new purpose of the mainstream media; i.e., a journalism conceived and practiced as a service to the people in order to provide a global and actually world-covering information tending to the truth. A better (and less divisive) politics would be positively supported by such non-partisan journalism.

Csilla Horváth
Research Institute for Linguistics
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
Budapest, Hungary

UDC 316.774:004.738.5=511(470+571)

THE "EXTRAORDINARY THING" THE ONLY MANSI NEWSPAPER ON ONLINE PRESENCE AND SOCIAL MEDIA PRACTICES

Summary: The article introduces the place of Mansi and Khanty languages in the linguistic landscape of Khanty-Mansiysk city, Russia. The presence of Ob-Ugric languages in the case of linguistic landscape – just as in the context of language use – is rising, yet it is still rather narrow in. Mansi and Khanty are missing from the official and semi-official domains of the linguistic landscape, they are present in the domains of economy, education and private languages use. The article summarizes the findings of Ob-Ugric linguistic landscape in the public spaces, the online sphere; it covers both textual and visual elements.

Key words: linguistic landscape, indigenous minority languages, Ob-Ugric languages, urbanisation

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of the paper is to introduce the role of online presence and social media practices as a topic in present day Mansi journalism. The presentation presents the situation of Mansi linguistic vitality, the presence of Mansi on the web2.0 domains, the history of the Mansi press. The paper concentrates on the journalists understanding of social media and the effects their understanding has on present-day Mansi language use.

Present article is primarily based on the findings of my research carried out in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug during my fieldwork in 2006 (4 months), 2008 (2 months), 2009 (2 months) and 2012 (1 month). The data on online Mansi language use have been gathered during online participating observation carried out in the last 10-12 years, while the data on the Mansi newspaper and the journalists editing and publishing it were collected via semi-structured interviews.

2. MANSI LINGUISTIC VITALITY

Mansi (former term: Vogul) is an extremely endangered indigenous Uralic language, in minority position, spoken in Western Siberia, especially on the territory of the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug. Among the approximately 13,000 people who declared to be ethnic Mansi according to the data of the latest Russian federal census in 2010 only 938 stated that they could speak the Mansi language, which shows drastic decrease compared with the 2002 census figures (2,746 speakers, see Table 1).

Table 1. *The census data of those declaring themselves to be of Mansi ethnicity, to speak Mansi, and the ratio of Mansi population living in urban settlements (1959-2010).*

	1959	1970	1979	1989	2002	2010
Mansi population	6,318	7,609	7,434	8,279	11,432	12,269
speakers of the Mansi language	~ 3,820	~4,040	3,742	3,184	2,746	938
ratio of Mansi population living in urban settlements				45.6%	51.8%	57.3%

The demographic processes characterizing the Mansi language (and the Khanty language, its closest relatives in the Ob-Ugric branch of the Uralic language family as well) are quite different from the tendencies observed among other Uralic language speaking communities. While the number of Mansi speakers is decreasing in every census (2,746 speakers in 2002, only 938 speakers in 2010), the number of those declaring themselves as belonging to the Mansi ethnicity is increasing, from 11,432 people in 2002 to 12,269 people in 2010 (Sipőcz 2005, Census data 2010 – Национальный состав населения Российской Федерации, Национальный состав населения по субъектам Российской Федерации).

According to the latest census data, the majority of the Mansi, 10,977 people, live in the territory of the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug – Yugra, with the remaining roughly one thousand people living in the neighbouring administrative districts of the Russian Federation. The Mansi have been traditionally living on hunting, fishing, to a lesser extent also on reindeer breeding, they got more closely acquainted with agriculture and urban lifestyle during the Soviet period. Urban lifestyle gained prominent

importance in the last decades. As a result of the discovery and exploitation of oil deposits in the 1970s, major economic and social changes have taken place in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug since the 1960s. Before the massive oil drilling that started in the 1970s, the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug was one of the many sparsely populated Siberian areas; however, after the economic boom began, the Okrug has become a prosperous, multicultural region – in fact, one of the richest areas of the Russian Federation. The Mansi – together with the representatives of the other indigenous peoples – followed the general migration trends dominant in the Okrug. Instead of living the lifestyle regarded to be traditional (such as hunting, fishing and reindeer herding), 57% of the Mansi population now live in urban settlements. Although the majority of the Mansi live in towns and cities, they form only a tiny minority there, for example, in Khanty-Mansiysk they represent only 1.5% of the city’s population (Население…). This tendency together with the unsatisfactory access to Mansi education and the weakening intergenerational transmission of the language makes the situation of Mansi vulnerable.

2.2. Language vitality and the status of the language

Regarding the status of the language, Mansi is an indigenous minority language spoken in Western Siberia, without any kind of official status. The consequences of rapid urbanisation, namely, the altered lifestyle, the multiethnic environment, the Russian-dominated press and media, etc. intensify the influence of factors accelerating language shift and create new opportunities to support language revitalization attempts (c.f. Horváth 2012). Although the domains of Mansi language use are becoming more numerous than before, they are still limited. Mansi is not an official language, either at the regional or the municipal level, and it is practically absent from official or semi-official domains such as legislation, public transport or street signage. Mansi has no economic significance either, thus it plays a marginal role in the business sphere or the labour market. Mansi has a small but growing importance in cultural and leisure activities, as well as the internet, and, compared to these domains, has a relatively strong position in education and family

3. MANSI ON THE WEB

3.1 The history of Mansi language web

Using the internet became a typical feature of urban life, an integral part of everyday life, and online communication has been accepted as one of the domains of language use too. Access to the internet spread in the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug, especially in cities and larger settlements until the late 2000s, while internet users with Ob-Ugric background appeared in growing numbers since the 2010s.

The first page in Mansi was created by Finnish scientists around 2008, it displayed the history of Finnish researchers investigating Mansi language and culture at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. The page used many pictures (comics) and few texts, with plenty of grammatical mistakes. This page remained the only Mansi online content for a few years, without any followers among Mansi or non-Mansi users. The first Mansi sentences written by Mansis appeared on the web at the beginning of the 2010s, especially on the social networking sites: the Mansi have been keeping touch with their foreign acquaintances on Facebook, while have been holding intercourse with their friends living in Russia on Vkontakte, many of them having accounts on both sites.

3.2 Mansi online language use

The internet has been playing a double role in the life of Mansi users. It serves as a tool for sharing, accessing and storing Mansi content created for other domains, primarily used by press and media, and to a smaller extent by individual users. The web (especially the social networking sites) is used as a tool to form and express the Mansi users' (ethnic) identity segments, and to promote their offline contributions, such as exhibitions, art and scientific work, concerts and performances. Besides being a tool, the web serves also as a domain of Mansi language use. Mansi internet users use the web, especially their private accounts and thematic groups to communicate in Mansi.

The official institutions and services providing static content in general are operating with Russian webpages as a rule, if translations are available in other languages, the alternatives are in English, sometimes in Chinese, but not in the local minority languages. Aside from the homepage of the Khanty and Mansi journals, no official webpage is available in Khanty or Mansi in the Okrug.

In the offline world, usually, only speakers with native competence use Mansi between themselves, while language learners or less confident speakers do not want or do not dare to speak it. In the virtual sphere, on the contrary, even users with minimal command of Mansi publish shorter texts in Ob-Ugric languages both in private and public domains, and initiate conversation in Mansi with native speakers. Still, while comparing the more or less active domains of language use, it is necessary to emphasize the relativity of such activeness: the online users of Mansi are surrounded by the dominance of Russian online just as much as in the physical world, and the use of Mansi remains marginal and incidental besides the use of Russian.

4. MANSI IN THE PRESS

4.1 History

Mansi articles appeared occasionally during Soviet times, frequently during the 1980s in the mainly Khanty-speaking local newspaper of the time, the *Ленин пант хува* (‘On Lenin’s way’), but the history of the official Mansi press began owing to a coincidence, since, as the result of an epidemic, all the Khanty co-workers were lying in bed with flu, and only one Mansi journalist was able to work, so she edited a whole issue in Mansi. The official Mansi newspaper started to appear since February 1989, under the name *Лӯимӑ сэ̄рипос* (‘northern dawn’) twice a month on four pages, now it is available every second week on 16 pages. The print version of the newspaper is in Mansi only, while on the official homepage the articles can be found in Mansi and in Russian as well. The Mansi texts published cover various topics such as traditional lifestyle, folklore and short biographies, as well as domains of urban life. Since the newspaper runs on governmental financial sponsorship, the laws and decrees issued in the Okrug have to be published in Luima Seripos as well, thus encouraging the journalists to create the missing (first and foremost: judiciary) Mansi terms.

4.2 The journalists

The Mansi newspaper is edited by a relatively small board, which usually consists of 6-8 Mansi journalists. Women are overrepresented among the co-workers, during the history of Luima Seripos less than five men have been working for the newspaper as journalists. The journalists were born in villages or other small settlement at the outskirts of the Okrug, in Mansi

families, growing up speaking Mansi as their mother tongue and being balanced Mansi-Russian bilinguals, thus their sociolinguistic background is different from the average Mansi internet users.

5. MANSI PRESS ON THE WEB

5.1 The corpus

To provide a language resource that represents the Mansi language, together with Veronika Vincze, Norbert Szilágyi and Ágoston Nagy we created a Mansi corpus (Horváth et al 2017). The corpus contains issues of Luima Seripos from 2013 (more precisely, issues 1050-1131), processed with the permission of the editorial board and accessed through the online archive of Luima Seripos, available on the home-page of the joint editorial board of Luima Seripos and regional Khanty newspaper Khanty Yasang[1]. The corpus consists of 520,000 tokens, converted into XML format. Cyrillic characters with diacritics, i.e. those that denote vowel length were segmented into two characters: the vowel itself and the macron, which enables a proper display of the Unicode characters (the original website is sometimes inadequately displayed on certain machines or browsers). The following metadata are also assigned to the texts of the corpus: number of issue, date of publication, author of the article, title of the article, link to the article and a unique identifier for each article within the corpus. Also, the XML file applies special tags for named entities such as person names and locations as well as embedded texts written in Russian.

5.2 The terms

Contemporary standard Mansi is used in both spoken and written form. Mansi in oral form is most often used with relatives and childhood friends. Outside of a handful of short academic papers written in Mansi, the written language is used primarily in the monthly newspaper (Лӯима сӑрипӧс [Luima Seripos]), and in sporadically published volumes of folklore and poetry. The written form of Mansi was created in 1931, originally based on the Latin alphabet, then on the Cyrillic alphabet in 1937. Since 1937 the Mansi writing system has undergone only minor changes. Currently two slightly different variants are in use, one used in academic and pedagogical

[1] http: //www.khanty-yasang.ru/luima-seripos/archive

publications (dictionaries, traditional schoolbooks), and the other in other media and in schoolbooks designed for heritage language learners.

The principles of Soviet linguistic policy according to which the Mansi literary language has been designed kept changing from time to time. After using Latin transcription for a short period, Mansi language planners had to switch to the Cyrillic transcription in 1937. While the more general tendency was to create new Mansi words to describe the formerly unknown phenomena until the 1950s, the usage of Russian loanwords became more dominant later on. Since the 1990s, the tendencies governing the planning of Mansi language use and language acquisition have become multidimensional, important differences and interferences may be observed between the different actors of language use, especially the leading specialists (mainly following the Soviet academic policy) and the journalists (using and promoting the language on a daily basis, with the largest active number of followers).

Thus, it is not surprising, that the IT vocabulary is missing from all the dictionaries (with the sole exception of *печатайтан йильпи сыр машина*, ‘new kind of typing machine’, a term used for computer), while – although using the neologisms rather inconsistently – the new terms created by the journalists appear in the Mansi newspaper. The most important Mansi IT term is *ищхӣпыӈ ут* ‘extraordinary thing’, as in examples 1-3.

1. *Нӯврамыт район ос округ янытыл ищхӣпыӈ ут (интернет) хосыт конкурсыт ос ощхулит вӑрыглэ̄гыт.* (1091, 2015. 01. 16.)
   The children in the *rayon* and the *okrug* make contests and interesting things along the extraordinary thing (internet).

2. *Исколавт ань э̄рнэ матыр пуссын о̄лы – сырсыр ищхӣпыӈ утыт (компьютерыт, интернет, интерактивный пӑртыт), мӑнти ло̄пс (сайт) тот о̄ньщ̄ев.* (1091, 2015. 01. 16.)

   Now all the required things are in our school: all kind of extraordinary things (computers, internet, interactive whiteboards), we even have a page (site) there.

3. *Таимӑгыс* [person’s name] *«Фейсбук» сайт намма ищхӣпыӈ утыт акв ло̄пс вӑрыс*. (1070, 2014. 02. 21.)

Because of this [person's name] created a page on the extraordinary thing called Facebook.

The term 'extraordinary things' has been being used for all kinds of technical novelties, until it settled to mean internet. The internet in the Mansi newspaper is very much personalized, or at least regarded as a solid, concrete entity which 'is made' (as in Examples 4 and 5), and which can 'work'.

4. *Школат интернет ва̄рвес.* (1087, 2014. 11. 07.)
   Internet was made at the school.

5. *Тав юипа̄л пыге наме Павел, ӯс янытыл интернет ва̄рнэ хӯмыг рӯпиты.* (1075, 2014. 05. 09.)
   After him comes her son called Pavel, he works as internet-making person in town.
6. *Интернет рӯпиты, ка̄сыӈ колнакувт электронный па̄рт о̄лы.* (1056, 2013. 07. 26.)
   Internet is working, electronic whiteboards are in every room.

The understanding of internet in the Mansi newspaper appears to be very practical. The first mentions introduce the internet as the source of knowledge, which – besides its implicit value – is precious because of the limited information available locally, especially in villages, as described in Examples 7-9.

7. *Сакати ты нэ̄пакыт ня̄врамыт ловиньтэ̄гыт. Ань май интернет нампа ищхӣпыӈ ут о̄лы, та ут та̄ра ма̄н са̄в ма̄хум ёт потрамӗв, халанувт пищма хансэ̄в.* (1063, 2013. 11. 08.)
   Children don't read these books very much. Nowadays there is this extraordinary thing called internet, across this thing we speak with many people, we exchange letters.

8. *Ань йис ня̄врамыт ловиньтан нупыл тэ̄ланыл сака пыл а̄ти, юн са̄всыр компьютерт ман интернет о̄ньщӗгыт, номтаныл тувле нупыл мины.* (1063, 2013. 11. 08.)

   The children don't have much to do with reading the old things, at home they have all kinds of computers or internet, they prefer to go there.

9. *Мāн библиотекат туп 18 сōтыра арыгкем нэ̄пак ōньщēв. Тыи мāгсыл ты компьютер сака э̄ри, интернет хосыт сāвсыр нэ̄пак хōнтункве ос ловиньтанкве рōви.* (1077, 2014. 06. 06.)

   In our library we have just about 18.000 books. Because of this the computer is really necessary, all kinds of books can be found and read along the internet.

Right after recognizing internet as the source of information comes the idea of adding personal knowledge to this data bank, in order to promote hobbies or to gain popularity by advertising talent or performances. (Examples 10-11.)

10. *Ам лāвēгум: «Нāн ты йӣквсы̄н, интернетн пинылӯв, э̄рынӈ хотьютн кāсалавēн тах, пӯмщалахтункв патэ̄гыт»*. (1092, 2015. 01. 30.)
    I say: „You are dancing, we put in onto the internet, maybe someone comes across it, gets interested”.

11. *Ань таимāгыс «фейсбук» намма ищхӣпынӈ утыт ам я̄нас лōпс вāрсум ос тот тōва пōслум хуриянум суссылтыянум.* (1075, 2014. 05. 09.)

    Now because of this, I made a separate page on the extraordinary thing called „Facebook” and I show my photos there.

Besides personal use, the communal benefits of internet connection are also acknowledged, taking the article in Example 12 as an evidence for using online communication as a tool for political activity.

12. *Мāн округувт мāвит ӯргалан тэ̄ла ань акваг тāрапаттым ōньщаве. Ты хосыт рӯпитан мāхум вāтихал аквaнатхатыглэ̄гыт ос ты урыл потыртэ̄гыт. Акв тамле сапрāни губернатор вāӈын хум Геннадий Бухтин вāрыглас. Мāвит ӯргалан службат рӯпитан хōтпат округ янытыл яласэ̄гыт, кāсыӈ районт мā, я̄т ос лылыēп мӯсхалыг ханищтэ̄гыт. Ос ты вāрмалит пуссын акв нэ̄пакн хансыяныл. Мāвит ӯргалан мāхум ты нэ̄паканыл щирыл, Белоярский ӯст лылыēп щар пāӈкыӈыг ōлы. Та ӯст сāв тāл газокомпрессорный*

станция рӯпиты. Тав са̄в лю̄ль ут кон ты та̄рты. Щар сыстамыг Кондинский ос Советский районыг ловиньтахтэ̄г, тот мощща предприятие рӯпиты, та̄н ма̄, я̄т сака ат па̄ӈктыяныл. Яныг ӯст халт щар па̄ӈкыӈ Нижневартовск ӯс ловиньтахты. Ты юипа̄лт Сургут, Нефтеюганск ос Ханты-Мансийск ӯсыт хансым о̄лэ̄гыт. Кӯщаит ос таи ла̄всыт, ты нила ӯсытт сака са̄в ма̄шина яласэ̄гыт, та̄н сака лылые̄п па̄ӈктэ̄гыт. Ты конып ал ты ӯсыт ляпат ма̄во̄й но̄хвинэ са̄в компаниям рӯпитэ̄гыт, та̄н о̄с са̄в лю̄ль ва̄ре̄гыт. Округувт ма̄вит хумус ӯргалаве, хо̄т ма̄вит сака па̄ӈктаве ос хумус сыстамтаве, ты урыл кӯщаит ка̄сыӈ та̄л яныг докладнэ̄пак щ̄е̄питэ̄гыт. Ма̄хум та̄н хансум нэ̄паканыл ловиньтаӈкве вос ве̄рме̄гыт, таве интернетын ва̄рияныл. (1079, 2014. 07. 11.)

In our *okrug* the protection of the environment is getting more and more important. The people working on this issue often meet each other and talk. One of such meetings was organized by Gennadiy Bukhtin, a person knowing the governor. The environmentalists go all around the *okrug*, they investigate all the lands and rivers and the air. And they write all these things into a book. According to this book of the environmentalists, the air in the town of Beloyarkiy is very dirty. In this town a gas compressing station has been working for many years. It exhales many bad things. The clearest districts are the Kondinskiy and Sovetskiy district, very few companies work there, the lands and rivers are not very dirty. Among the cities, Nizhnevartovsk is the dirtiest. After that Surgut, Nefteyugansk and Khanty-Mansiysk are listed. The investigators said that in these four cities too many cars are running, which makes the air dirty. Beside this, oil companies are working close to these cities, they do many bad things as well. How to protect the nature, how to soil and how to clean the nature, the investigators read papers about this. In order to let the people be able to read this book, they put it on the internet.

It is important to highlight the problem introduced in Example 12 being online in two ways: the reference book on environmental pollution was published on the web, similarly to the article discussing it, while it is hardly conceivable to make the original work widely accessible in printed form or to speak about the debates concerning pollution in the offline media.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Although the journalists working at the Mansi newspaper Luima Seripos are not very active users of the internet themselves, and they are in many respects different from the average Mansi internet users, as a result of their profession they have a strong impact on online and offline language use. Using the internet and speaking about it, the journalists are eager to follow a global trend, and the practice of an age group younger than their own as well. Understanding and introducing a phenomenon they’ve met in their adult life, they have been creating a new set of words in contemporary lexicon, not only for the different domains of urban life, but the vocabulary of information technology as well. The best evidence of their deep understanding of the importance of internet as a tool and a domain is that of all the amazing and astonishing events and phenomena in the history of written Mansi language use they decided to name the internet as the ‘extraordinary thing’.

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Stefan Janjić
Filozofski fakultet
Univerzitet u Novom Sadu
Novi Sad, Srbija

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ANALIZA DISKURSA ONLAJN MEDIJA U SRBIJI O POLITIČKOM I DRUŠTVENOM ŽIVOTU JAPANA[1]

Apstrakt: Cilj istraživanja je dekonstrukcija diskursnih obrazaca koje onlajn mediji u Srbiji kreiraju o Japanu, njegovom političkom sistemu, društvenom životu, istorijskim aspektima razvoja i geostrateškog, privrednog i kulturnog napretka, kao i o paralelama koje se u tom kontekstu povlače između Japana i Srbije. Kao metod je korišćena analiza medijskog diskursa, a rezultati istraživanja pokazali su na korpusu od 623 teksta portala *Blica, Novosti, Politike, RTS*-a i *Danasa* u periodu od 2011. do 2017. godine da je u vezi sa Japanom, njegovom tradicijom, kulturom, i naročito tehnologijom, stvoren specifični interpretativni okvir koji insistira na pozitivnim simbolima, te se ova država kombinacijom činjenica i mitova predstavlja kao postmodernistička zemlja, zemlja mira, budućnosti, obrazovanja i ideja. Japan se u tekstovima onlajn medija na srpskom jeziku diskursno uspostavlja kao država uzor – dovoljno nepoznat da bi bio egzotičan i dovoljno poznat da bi bio predstavljen kao najrelevantniji primer naprednog političkog sistema, pogona civilizacijskog napretka i odnosa prema radu, ekološkim standardima i kulturi. Analiza je pokazala da onlajn mediji u Srbiji kreiraju specifičnu reprezentaciju Japana, prema kojoj je ova država sušta suprotnost svih mana Srbije.

Ključne reči: Japan, Srbija, mediji, medijski diskurs, meka moć

1. UVOD

Iako Srbija i Japan nisu ni kulturološki ni geografski bliske zemlje, nivo tehnološkog razvoja i radne etike u Japanu, aktivni geološki procesi, bogata istorija i kultura, kao i čitav niz simbola i mitova koji se upliću u narative o ovoj dalekoistočnoj zemlji čine je često prisutnom u srpskim medijima.

Japan je država kojoj uspeva da ostane globalno značajna, a da tu poziciju ne učvršćuje naoružavanjem ili ratovima. Način na koji ostvaruje svoj uticaj – ekonomski i kulturološki – počiva na modelu meke moći. „Meka

[1] Rad je nastao uz podršku Fondacije Sakura, kroz program stipendiranja za istraživački rad o Japanu.

moć svoje izvore ima u kulturi i tradiciji, političkim vrednostima i ideologiji, diplomatiji, institucijama, uticaju u međunarodnim organizacijama i forumima, kredibilitetu i dobroj reputaciji, brendovima, sportu i drugim tekovinama i dostignućima jedne zemlje, zajednice ili grupe" (Putre Jakovljević, 2015: 31). Agencija Portland kreirala je 2015. godine indeks zemalja prema stepenu meke moći, a Japan je zauzeo osmo mesto na svetu (Economist, 2015, jul). Zbog svega ovoga Japan više nije samo fabrika brendova, već država koja je sama po sebi brend, pre svega „zahvaljujući svojoj mekoj moći, naprednoj tehnologiji, umetnosti i pop kulturi, tzv. slici *cool Japana*, što podrazumeva mange, anime, J-pop muziku, video igrice i sve *Made in Japan* gedžete (prema Armour, 2015). Pritom, pogrešno bi bilo shvatanje prema kojem Japan svoju imidž duguje isključivo tehničko-tehnološkim i popkulturnim atributima: mejnstrim kultura razvija se s osloncem na bogato tradicionalno nasleđe, počevši od arhitekture (Ando), preko plesa (Hidžikata), vajarstva (Asakura), muzike (Takemicu), slikarstva (Taikan), književnosti (Dazai), filma (Kurosava), pa sve do stripa (Maruo) i mode (Mijake).

Nakon poraza u Drugom svetskom ratu, Japan je sve uspešnije gajio imidž dopadljive, napredne i miroljubive zemlje. Nastojao je da se pridržava *Jošidine doktrine*, što obuhvata „(1) usredsređivanje na ekonomska pitanja, (2) lako naoružavanje i strogo izbegavanje međunarodnih sporova i sukoba, (3) držanje po strani u vezi sa rešavanjem globalnih pitanja i (4) prihvatanje i sleđenje političkog vođstva SAD i njihove vojne zaštite" (Sakan, 2014: 18). Na ovom tragu nastala je vizija o Japanu koji više nije samo moderna, već i postmodernistička država, država budućnosti i čuvar mira, iako o konceptu miroljubivosti u samom Japanu postoje delimično neusaglašeni stavovi: „Za stranku desnog centra, Liberalnu demokratsku partiju (LDP), Japan je uvek bio 'zemlja mira' (*heiwa kokka*), dok za stranke levice, predvođene Japanskom socijalističkom partijom (JSP), ona to tek treba da postane" (Hagström, 2015: 129). Zalaganje za mir, napredak i kooperaciju nije samo deklarativno, već se ostvaruje u mnogobrojnim praktičnim tokovima: „U spoljnoj politici Japan stavlja težište na ekonomske aspekte i jedan je od glavnih svetskih donatora i finansijera međunarodnih organizacija. Predvodnik je u bespovratnim donacijama zemljama u razvoju za zadovoljavanje osnovnih životnih potreba, zatim u dodeli zajmova za velike projekte ekonomskog razvoja i u pružanju stručne i naučne pomoći" (Sakan, 2014: 22). U januaru 2018. godine, uoči posete japanskog premijera Šinzo

Abea Srbiji, mediji su izvestili da je Japan „najveći donator Srbije", tj. da je od 1999. Srbiji uputio 500 miliona evra kroz bespovratnu pomoć i pozajmice (Ljubisavljević, 15. 1. 2018).

Pored kulturne baštine i mnogobrojnih formata meke moći, Japan svoj imidž direktno promoviše putem medija. Japanska štampa dugo je bila okrenuta samo unutrašnjim pitanjima. „Sredinom 19. veka u Japanu je u opticaju veliki broj novinskih listova koji (uglavnom nepotpisani) pretežno sadrže satire i ponekad političke kritike i postavljaju se na prometna i vidljiva mesta u gradu" (Kljajić, 2012: 73). Međutim, tada dolazi do nagle promene, budući da je institut Banšo Širabešo uposlio trideset učenjaka da prevode značajne članke iz vodeće britanske, holandske i francuske štampe na japanski jezik (prema Huffman, 1997). Posledično, i sam odnos vlasti prema medijima počinje da se menja. Početkom 21. veka „preko 72 miliona novina se štampa svakog dana u zemlji gde 90% ljudi čita novine na dnevnom nivou" (Kljajić, 2012: 70).

Interesovanje srpskih medija za izveštavanje o Japanu počinje da jača tridesetih godina 20. veka, u isto vreme kada o Japanu počinje da se govori kao o globalnoj sili. Štampa u Srbiji je i pre toga pisala o Dalekom istoku, ali su u tim slučajevima uglavnom bili zastupljeni prevedeni agencijski sadržaji. *Politika* se u pogledu inicijative za izveštavanje o Japanu može smatrati pionirom: od 1933. godine, pa sve do rane faze Drugog svetskog rata, najstariji list na Balkanu imao je svog dopisnika iz Tokija i Jokohame – Branka Vukelića. Prvi tekst ovog novinara, nazvan „Ribe zvane namasu koje pretskazuju zemljotres" bio je posvećen katastrofalnim tektonskim potresima koji su pogodili severne krajeve Japana (prema Radisavljević, 2015). Već bi se ovaj prvi tekst mogao uspostaviti kao paradigma: najveći medijski interes Japan privlači svojom nikad uspavanom prirodom, po univerzalnoj medijskoj logici gde je *neobično* uvek ispred *svakidašnjeg*, ali se zahvaljujući privlačnosti japanske kulture i tradicije, sve veći prostor posvećuje vestima sa pozitivnim kontekstom.

2. METODOLOGIJA ISTRAŽIVANJA

Istraživanje je bazirano na kvalitativnoj i kvantitativnoj analizi diskursa o političkom i društvenom životu Japana na onlajn medijima u Srbiji u periodu od 2011. do 2017. godine. Jedinica analize je medijska objava na onlajn portalu, što uključuje osnovni tekst, naslovni blok i sve pripadajuće

grafičke elemente. Analizom su obuhvaćeni tekstovi čija je primarna tema politički i društveni život Japana, a cilj istraživanja je dekonstrukcija diskursnih obrazaca o Japanu, njegovom političkom sistemu, društvenom životu, istorijskim aspektima razvoja i geostrateškog, privrednog i kulturnog napretka, kao i o paralelama koje se u tom kontekstu povlače između Japana i Srbije.

Metodom analize medijskog diskursa razmatrani su tekstovi o političkom i društvenom životu Japana koji su objavljeni na odabranim onlajn medijima od 1. januara 2011. godine do 31. decembra 2017. godine. Ovakav, šestogodišnji period, odabran je zato što pokriva značajna dešavanja u novijoj istoriji Japana (poput zemljotresa u Tohoku), ali i period intenziviranja saradnje Japana i Srbije u pogledu donacija, investicija i naučne kooperacije, što će zbirno posmatrano pružiti širi uvid o medijskoj slici Japana, njegovoj globalnoj ulozi, ali i simboličkom značaju za Republiku Srbiju. Mediji su odabrani tako da pokrivaju različita ideološka stanovišta i različite medijske pristupe: sajt *Radio-televizije Srbije* kao onlajn prezentacija javnog medijskog servisa (*rts.rs*), sajt dnevnog lista *Politika* kao najstarijeg živog medija u Srbiji (*politika.rs*), sajt dnevnika *Danas* (*danas.rs*) i *Večernjih novosti* (*novosti.rs*), kao i najposećenijeg portala u Srbiji – *Blic* (*blic.rs*)[2].

3. ANALIZA

Analizom su obuhvaćena ukupno 623 teksta na odabranim portalima, od čega je najviše objavljeno na *Blicu* (B, 280), a potom na sajtu *Novosti* (N, 156), *RTS*-a (R, 86) *Politike* (P, 71) i *Danasa* (D, 30)[3]. U obzir su uzeti tekstovi kojima je Japan u primarnom fokusu[4]. Uočeno je da kvantitativni

[2] Prema podacima servisa Alexa.rs (14. decembar 2018), *Blic* je najposećeniji informativni portal u Srbiji.

[3] Treba uzeti u obzir da su analizom obuhvaćeni samo tekstovi koji su u trenutku prikupljanja korpusa (februar 2016. za period od 2011. do 2015, odnosno februar 2018. za period od 2016. do 2017) bili vidljivi na posmatranim sajtovima. Dakle, količina dostupnog sadržaja ne zavisi samo od frekvencije objavljivanja, već i od veličine servera, ali i uređivačke politike sajtova. Može se pretpostaviti, na primer, da je *Danas* povlačio starije tekstove.

[4] To bi na konkretnom primeru značilo da je u korpus uvršten tekst „Indija između Kine i Japana“ (P, 7. 6. 2013), ali ne i tekst čija je tema promena GDP-a na globalnom nivou, a u kojem je Japan samo usputno naveden. Takođe, nisu analizirani ni tekstovi

aspekt izveštavanja nije proporcionalan kvalitativnom: dok su *Danas*, *Politika* i *RTS* insistirali na analitičkom pristupu i medijskim inicijativama, *Novosti* i naročito *Blic* oslanjali su se neretko na senzacionalizam, zloupotrebu tragedija i naslove udice.

Zbirno gledano, najzastupljeniji žanrovi bili su vest i izveštaj (63%), pri čemu su u nekoliko navrata uočene vesti u nizu, prvenstveno u slučajevima kada je praćen tragičan događaj: nalet cunamija, šteta koju je proizveo, curenje radioaktivnog materijala, ali i proces obnove. Četvorostruko nižu zastupljenost od vesti i izveštaja ima članak (16%), nakon čega sledi reportaža (11%), koja je pre svega zastupljena na portalu *Politike* i *RTS*-a, zahvaljujući ne toliko razgranatoj koliko posvećenoj dopisničkoj mreži. U posmatranom periodu objavljeni su putopisni tekstovi poput *Otmeni mir Kjota* (P, 11. 6. 2011) i *Ledeno carstvo u Japanu* (RTS, 6. 2. 2012).

Najređi žanr u analiziranom korpusu bio je intervju, koji se javlja u svega četiri procenta objava. U najvećem broju slučajeva intervjuisani su Srbi koji žive ili su živeli u Japanu (trener Dragan Stojković Piksi, kantautorka Jadranka Stojaković), ili Japanci koji žive u Srbiji ili su joj došli u posetu. Drugoj pomenutoj grupi pripada i Kajoko Jamasaki, pesnikinja i vanredna profesorka Filološkog fakulteta u Beogradu. Čak su tri od pet analiziranih medija intervjuisali profesorku Jamasaki tokom perioda obuhvaćenog analizom: „Novosti“: *Kajoko Jamasaki: Ono najbolje u nama* (23. 3. 2011), „Politika“: *Jamasaki: Pripadam ljudima kojima je potrebna svetlost* (8. 9. 2011), te *Danas*: *Još uvek gori narandžasta vatra pred mojim očima* (4. 7. 2014).

Povodi za izveštavanje ugrubo se mogu razvrstati na tri grupe: na aktuelne događaje, pseudodogađaje i medijske inicijative. Već se na osnovu kvantitativne raspodele žanrova može naslutiti da se aktuelni događaji izdvajaju kao najčešći povodi (57%). Tu pre svega ubrajamo informisanje o razornom cunamiju i njegovim posledicama, novosti o procesu obnove, podatke o donacijama Japana Srbiji i Srbije Japanu, praćenje političkih dešavanja i promena u Japanu, prezentacije tehničko-tehnoloških inovacija i diplomatske posete.

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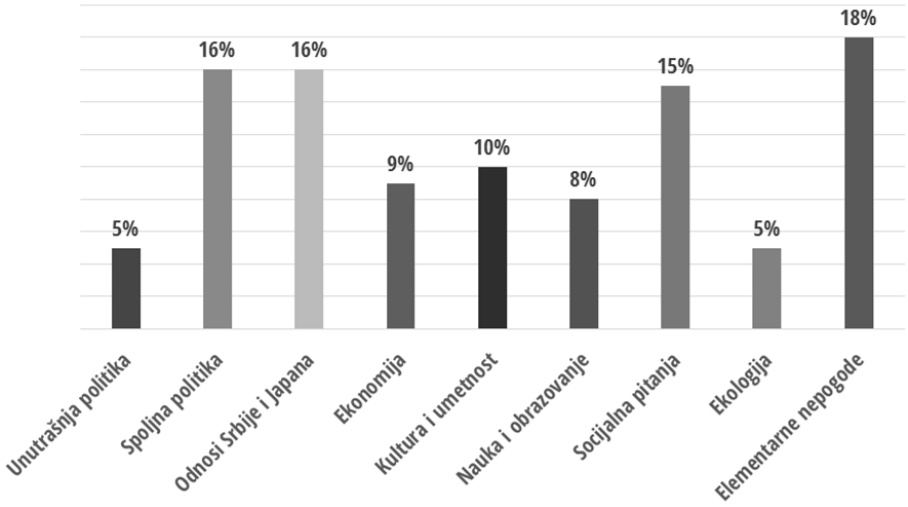
o sportu, jer su mečevi (mahom) srpskih i japanskih sportista uzrokovani slučajnošću (žrebom), kao i zbog toga što je ovakva tematika tekstova dekontekstualizovana – ni na koji način se ne osvrće na politički i društveni život Japana.

Pseudodogađaji su zastupljeni u 10% slučajeva, a medijske inicijative u 34%. Jedna od takvih inicijativa iz *Politik* posvećena je projektu novosadskog arhitekte Vojislava Delića, koji planira da pozove Japan da podigne svoj grad na obali Dunava i da tu doseli pet do sedam hiljada japanskih porodica (21. 4. 2011). Ipak, najupečatljivi primer medijske inicijative predstavlja jednoipočasovna emisija o Japanu koja je na portal *RTS*-a postavljena 11. marta 2011. godine. Tu državu je posetio Zoran Stanojević, specijalni izveštač javnog servisa, baš u vreme kada je pogođena elementarnim nepogodama. On se u početku javljao kraćim tekstovima i video-izveštajima (*Katastrofalan zemljotres u Japanu*, 11. 3. 2011), da bi u aprilu nastala i reportaža o japanskom političkom sistemu, društvenim vrednostima, tradiciji, kulturi, ali i specifičnom mentalitetu koji je građanima ove zemlje pomogao da obnove svoju domovinu u rekordnom roku.

Analizirane objave razvrstavane su u devet tematskih kategorija: unutrašnja politika Japana, spoljna politika Japana, odnosi Srbije i Japana, ekonomija, privreda i menadžment Japana, kultura i umetnost, nauka i obrazovanje, socijalna i demografska pitanja, ekologija, nuklearna katastrofa. U slučajevima kada je u tekstu uočeno više tema (nuklearna katastrofa/ekologija, spoljna politika Japana/odnosi sa Srbijom), u obzir je uzeta ona koja je dominantnija. Najviše tekstova posvećeno je zemljotresu, cunamiju i nuklearnoj katastrofi iz 2011. godine (18%), dok je najniža zastupljenost uočena u domenu ekologije (5%).

Ilustracija 1 *Udeo tematskih kategorija u tekstovima o Japanu*



O unutrašnjoj politici Japana (5%) izveštavano je trostruko manje nego o spoljnoj (16%). Ovakav rezultat može se objasniti prilično stabilnom političkom panoramom Japana, iako su u posmatranom periodu triput održani generalni izbori (2012, 2014. i 2017), na kojima je dolazilo i do smene vlasti. Sa druge strane, spoljna politika Japana odlikovala se većim brojem neuralgičnih tačaka: teritorijalni sporovi sa Kinom oko ostrva Senkaku i sa Rusijom oko Kurilskih ostrva, potom poboljšanje saradnje sa Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, investicije u zemlje jugoistočne Azije, pitanje militarizacije, ali i različite interpretacije istorijskih događaja, mahom onih iz Drugog svetskog rata.

Odnosi Srbije i Japana bili su tema 16 odsto analiziranih tekstova, a pre svega su bili posvećeni domenu bespovratne i humanitarne pomoći. O odnosima Srbije i Japana takođe je izveštavano kroz preispitivanje kulturoloških razlika. U najvećem broju slučajeva crvena nit ovih tekstova ukazivala je na *sličnost različitosti* i prevazilaženje razlika. U tom duhu *Politika* je objavila tekst *9 beba srpsko-japanske ljubavi* (18. 4. 2014), koji donosi priču o mladim Japankama koje su se u prethodnih godinu i po dana udale za muškarce iz Srbije, a *RTS* izveštava o Hirošiju Jamasakiju Vukeliću (9. 6. 2017), koji je na japanski preveo dela Ive Andrića, Vuka Karadžića i Petra Petrovića Njegoša. Međutim, izvestan broj tekstova nosi i negativne konotacije, uz apostrofiranje mentalitetskih razlika. U tekstu *BRUKA U VALJEVU: Ambasador Japana pola sata čekao državnog sekretara Juhasa* (21. 10. 2014) *Blic* piše o tome kako je ambasador Kuroki, čija je zemlja poklonila Srbiji pet miliona evra za obnovu nakon poplava 2014, čekao pola sata državnog sekretara Ministarstva poljoprivrede i zaštite životne sredine.

Nešto manje interesovanja mediji su pokazali za saradnju na planu sporta (*Japanci zbog Novaka Đokovića uče tenis u Srbiji*, B, 9. 7. 2011; *Japanci obožavaju Novaka i Piksija, a ne znaju gde je Srbija*, N, 9. 3. 2011) i privredne saradnje. U analiziranim medijima podjednako su bili zastupljeni pozitivni i negativni aspekti privredne saradnje. Negativni primeri pre svega se odnose na nedovoljnu vidljivost srpske robe i barijere prilikom izvoza u Japan (*Srpski proizvodi nepoznati Japancima*: P, 15. 7. 2015), a pozitivni su orijentisani ka privrednicima koji kvalitetom proizvodnje, ali i preduzetničkom sposobnošću uspevaju da sruše tu barijeru. Tako je *Danas* u tekstu *Čuveni pirotski opanci stigli u Japan* (4. 1. 2011) pisao o pirotskom „Tigru“ koji je nekoliko svojih proizvoda uspeo da plasira na japansko tržište,

da bi šest godina kasnije (16. 10. 2017) *Večernje novosti* pisale o tome kako je „Tigar“ Japancima prodao 10.000 opanaka.

O japanskoj ekonomiji kao takvoj izveštavano je u devet odsto analiziranih tekstova. Tematika je pre svega usmerena ka zadivljujućem oporavku Japana nakon nesrećnih događaja iz 2011 (*Japanci popravili put samo šest dana posle zemljotresa*, B, 24. 3. 2011), ali i ka jedinstvenom kaizen modelu poslovanja. Toj sferi je najposvećeniji bio *Danas*, objavivši čitavu seriju tekstova: *JTI: kaizen filozofija za uspeh* (20. 6. 2011), *Kaizen – ključ za razvoj srpske privrede* (6. 7. 2012), *Novi japanski ambasador posetio JTI* (13. 6. 2013)... Kultura i umetnost bili su centralna tema svakog desetog analiziranog teksta. Poseban domet na ovom polju iskazali su portali *Politika* i *Danas*. Osim o mejnstrim kulturi (književnosti i pozorištu pre svega), analizirani mediji posvetili su pažnju i kulturnim kodovima, simbolima, načinu komunikacije u Japanu. Ono što bi se moglo nazvati uticajem *meke moći* Japana svakako je najvidljivije u tekstovima poput *Mladi su gladni japanizma* (P, 4. 7. 2012), u kome je predstavljeno beogradsko Društvo ljubitelja japanske pop kulture „Sakurabana“. Suprotan proces kulturne razmene je redak, ali medijima izuzetno privlačan. Svi analizirani mediji pisali su o japanskoj postavci predstave Dušana Kovačevića „Japanski špijun“ (2014), gde Iliju Čvorovića glumi Tecu Tanaka, Danicu Čvorović Hemi Ce, a Petra Markova Jošinori Koke.

Nauka i obrazovanje tema su osam odsto analiziranih tekstova, pri čemu su naučna dostignuća (japanski roboti, vozovi i pametne kuće) daleko zastupljenija od obrazovnih pitanja. Demografske i socijalne teme zastupljene su u 15% sadržaja. One su prvenstveno posvećene pitanju pada nataliteta, razlozima zbog kojih se Japan smatra zemljom dugovečnih, uslovima porodiljskog odsustva, načinima na koji mladi Japanci sklapaju prijateljske i ljubavne odnose, ali i promenama u mentalitetu. RTS u reportaži *Feminizacija muškaraca u Japanu* (17. 10. 2014) piše kako „mlade Japanke sada preferiraju muškarce koji svojim nežnim, ženstvenim izgledom brišu granicu između polova. Industrija kozmetičkih proizvoda za muškarce u Japanu godišnje ostvari prodaju u iznosu od oko dve milijarde dolara“, a dve godine kasnije javni servis izveštava i o „zapanjujućem broju Japanaca bez seksualnog iskustva“ (17. 9. 2016).

Analiza sadržaja obuhvatila je i utvrđivanje lokacije sa koje potiče osnovna informacija teksta. Najčešće je to prestonica Tokio (37%), što je i očekivano, s obzirom na to da je reč o gradu koji je središte političkih i

kulturnih dešavanja Japana. O drugim gradovima Japana (prvenstveno o Jokohami, Osaki i Nagoji) izveštavano je u 15% tekstova, dok su ruralna područja bila neznatno zastupljena (2%). Fukušima je kao lokacija utvrđena u 7% primera, a Japan kao takav (vesti koje se odnose na zemlju u celini, a ne na konkretna mesta) u dvostruko većem broju (14%). Srbija je lokacija informacije u 18% slučajeva, a druge zemlje u šest.

U okviru ovog istraživanja posebno su posmatrani propratni elementi osnovnog teksta: naslovi, podnaslovi, fotografije i video snimci. Kada je reč o tipu naslova u analiziranim tekstovima, u tri četvrtine slučajeva korišćen klasični, informativni naslov (75%) poput *Japan želi da kupi sporna ostrva* (P, 2. 9. 2012), *Japan donirao više od 71.000 evra Domu zdravlja Svilajnac* (D, 11. 12. 2015) ili *Tajfun Lan pogodio Japan na dan glasanja, dve osobe poginule* (N, 22. 10. 2017). Metaforički naslovi (18%) se oslanjaju na aluzije, intertekstualnost i folklorne mudrosti. Takvi su naslovi *Banzai! Olimpijada izlazećeg sunca* (P, 9. 9. 2013), *Kaizen – ključ za razvoj srpske privrede* (D, 6. 7. 2012), *Pedeset samuraja Fukušime* (N, 28. 3. 2011), *Japanski zmaj oslobođen stega* (RTS, 26. 6. 2014) i *Probuđeni džin* (B, 18. 10. 2015). Dok neki od ovih naslova imaju prozirnu metaforiku (*ključ za razvoj*), drugi zahtevaju viši stepen upućenosti u društveno-politički kontekst Japana.

Senzacionalistički naslovi javljaju se u 7% tekstova, uglavnom u *Blicu*, u tekstovima o crnoj hronici (*HOROR U JAPANU: Učenica ubila i raskomadala drugaricu*: B, 12. 1. 2014) ili tekstovima sa klikbejt naslovima. Nešto niži stepen senzacionalizma moguće je uočiti i u *Novostima*. Tako, recimo, naslov *Tokio: Smrtna kazna pripadniku sekte* (21. 11. 2011) ne odgovara suštini teksta, jer čitaoca može navesti na pomisao da se u Japanu pripadnici netradicionalnih crkava kažnjavaju smrću. Naslov je trebalo formirati drugačije, budući da se vest odnosi na smrtnu kaznu pripadniku grupe *Aum šinrikjo* zbog napada otrovnim gasom sarinom sredinom devedesetih godina, u kojima je ubijeno više od 20, a povređeno više hiljada ljudi.

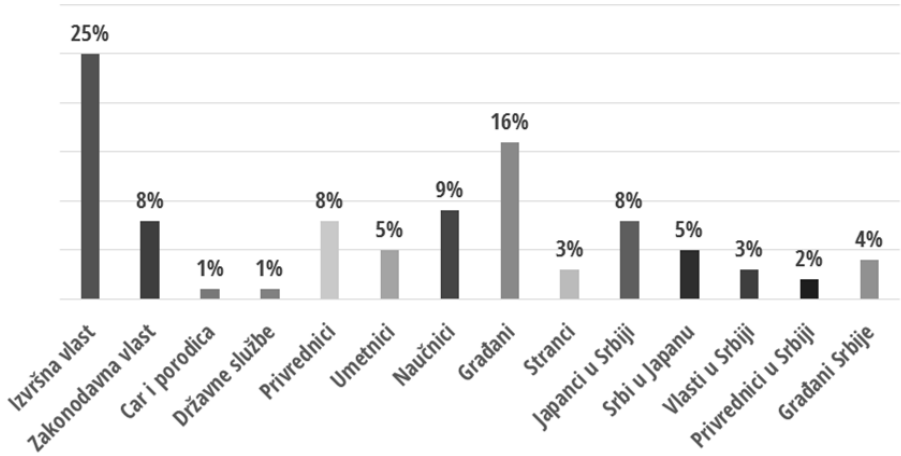
Kada je reč o grafičkim elementima tekstova, oni su na različite načine upotrebljavani i zloupotrebljavani tokom analiziranog perioda. U kontekstu zemljotresa i cunamija iz 2011. godine, medijima su naročito bile zanimljive objave tipa „pre i posle“ – *pre i posle* zemljotresa, ali i *pre i posle* obnove. U prvima se ukazivalo na razornu snagu prirode, a u drugima na snagu i veštinu japanskog naroda. Dok je *Politika* objavljivala zanimljive ilustracije (uputstvo kako napraviti origami ždrala, mali vodič kroz

samurajsku opremu, prikazi japanske arhitekture), *Blic* je grafičke elemente podredio zahtevima senzacije, erotike i crne hronike.

Analizom je obuhvaćena i institucija autorstva. U čak 59% slučajeva osnova za izveštavanje bio je agencijski tekst, dok je u 40% reč o originalnom, autorskom tekstu određenog medija. Preostali procenat (1%) obuhvata retke primere gde autorstvo nije moglo biti identifikovano. *Politika* je u analiziranom periodu imala više dopisnika iz Japana, uglavnom *ad hoc* izveštača, poput Srpkinje koja sa mužem živi u Cukubi. Sa druge strane, *RTS* ima stalnog dopisnika iz Japana, a reč je o Ilji Musulinu, koji je za sajt javnog servisa u više navrata pisao reportaže iz ove zemlje: o kuhinji i kulinarskim začinima, o ekološkim projektima, izletima u prirodu, industriji zabave i slično.

Subjekti su razvrstani u petnaest kategorija: izvršna vlast Japana, zakonodavna vlast Japana, car i carska porodica, državne službe i policija, ekonomisti i privrednici, umetnici, naučnici, građani Japana, stranci, Japanci u Srbiji, Srbi i Japanu, vlasti u Srbiji, privredni subjekti u Srbiji, obrazovni i naučni subjekti u Srbiji, te građani Srbije. Najfrekventnije grupe su izvršna vlast Japana (25%) i građani Japana (16%), koji se obično javljaju anonimno, u reportažama, kao prolaznici, ili se pominju kao prijatelji Srba iz Japana. Zakonodavna vlast bila je trostruko manje zastupljena od izvršne, dok su državne službe i policija, kao i carska porodica – koja ni u Japanu nije suviše medijski vidljiva – pomenuti u samo nekoliko tekstova.

Ilustracija 1 *Udeo subjekata koji se javljaju u tekstovima o Japanu*



U približno jednakoj meri se kao subjekti javljaju ekonomisti/privrednici (8%) i naučnici (9%), delimično i zbog toga što su ovi segmenti društvene sfere – nauka i privreda – u Japanu izuzetno povezani. Stranci koji borave ili žive u Japanu javljaju se u tri odsto tekstova, pod čim se podrazumevaju strani državljani nesrpskog porekla. Srbi u Japanu imaju nešto veću zastupljenost (5%) i uglavnom su prisutni u tekstovima objavljenim tokom 2011. godine, kada su iznosili svoje stavove o oporavku Japana nakon zemljotresa i cunamija. Tada je više medija kontaktiralo iste osobe: na prvom mestu Jadranku Stojaković (*Mislila sam da je smak sveta* – D, 22. 3. 2011; *Jadranka Stojaković: Mislila sam, kraj je* – N, 21. 3. 2011) i Dragana Stojkovića Piksija, tadašnjeg trenera „Nagoje".

Kada je reč o subjektima iz Srbije, Japanci koji žive, rade ili borave u Srbiji zastupljeni su u 8% tekstova. U tom pogledu izdvajaju se aktivnosti japanskih ambasadora u Beogradu, koji ne samo da su obavljali protokolarne dužnosti, već su aktivno učestvovali u medijskoj sferi. Tako su kineski i japanski ambasador sučelili svoje stavove u esejističkoj polemici na stranicama *Politike*, a japanski ambasador napisao je tekst *Doprinos Japana miru u svetu posle Drugog svetskog rata* (P, 8. 2. 2014). Građani Srbije zastupljeni su u 4% slučajeva, vlasti u Srbiji u 3%, dok su privredni subjekti iz Srbije izuzetno retko pominjani (2%) i ovo je segment izveštavanja koji bi u budućnosti trebalo da bude znatno ojačan u cilju snažnije promocije saradnje japanske i srpske ekonomije.

4. ZAKLJUČAK

Rezultati ove analize pokazuju kako u Srbiji, uprkos velikoj prostornoj i kulturološkoj udaljenosti, postoji izuzetan nivo interesovanja za izveštavanje o Japanu. U pogledu kvaliteta izveštavanja može se iscrtati jasna granica između portala *Politike*, *Danasa* i *RTS*-a s jedne strane, i (polu)tabloidnog pristupa *Blica* i *Novosti*. Dok prva navedena grupa neguje visok nivo profesionalizma pri izveštavanju, uz naglašenu empatiju i solidarnost u kriznim situacijama, druga grupa – a prvenstveno *Blic* – iščekuje te iste situacije sa željom da ih senzacionalistički eksploatiše, bez obzira na to da li je reč o elementarnim nepogodama ili crnoj hronici.

Izveštavanje o Japanu na onlajn medijima u Srbiji ne bazira se samo na informisanju o aktuelnim događajima, već i na medijskim inicijativama koje na dubljem nivou analiziraju društveno-politički kontekst života u

Japanu. Ipak, analizirani mediji se suviše oslanjaju na agencijske izveštaje i pokazuju nizak nivo proaktivnosti pri izveštavanju o Japanu, uz izuzetak *Politike* i *RTS*-a, koji u ovoj zemlji imaju i svoje dopisnike. Razvoj savremenih tehnologija i onlajn komunikacije omogućava lakše uspostavljanje kontakata na udaljenim delovima sveta. To je *Politika* iskoristila na pravi način, povezujući se sa izveštačima amaterima iz Japana, dok je *Danas* koristio mogućnosti Skajpa za onlajn intervju na daljinu.

U tekstovima se implicitno povlače paralele između Japana i Srbije, čak i onda kada takva komparativna analiza nije primarni cilj objave. Služeći se stilističkim efektima poređenja i kontrasta, analizirani portali kontinuirano upoređuju civilizacijski i mentalitetski stupanj razvoja u Srbiji i Japanu. Kada je tema železnički trasnport, porede se japanski supervozovi sa „tromim" železnicama Srbije; kada se govori o japanskoj preciznosti, kao kontraprimer navodi se poslovično srpsko kašnjenje i traljavost u radu; po istom modelu naglašavaju se antagonizmi *brzina–sporost, napredak–stagnacija, solidarnost–egoizam, odgovornost–nemar* i slično.

Japan se u tekstovima onlajn medija na srpskom jeziku diskursno uspostavlja kao država uzor – dovoljno nepoznat da bi bio egzotičan i dovoljno poznat da bi bio predstavljen kao najrelevantniji primer naprednog političkog sistema, pogona civilizacijskog napretka i odnosa prema radu, ekološkim standardima i kulturi. Analiza je pokazala da onlajn mediji u Srbiji kreiraju specifičnu reprezentaciju Japana, prema kojoj je ova država sušta suprotnost svih mana Srbije. U takvim narativima ima istine i pozitivnih pobuda (u svetlu *poređenja sa najboljima*), ali je u njima istovremeno prisutna i diskretna mitologizacija. Japan se, dakle, kombinacijom istine i mita predstavlja kao postmodernistička zemlja, zemlja mira, preciznosti, budućnosti, obrazovanja i ideja.

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SERBIAN ONLINE MEDIA ON THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE OF JAPAN

Summary

The aim of the research is the deconstruction of discourse patterns created by online media in Serbia about Japan, its political system, social life, historical aspects of development and geostrategic, economic and cultural progress, as well as parallels that are being drawn between Serbia and Japan in that context. A sample of 623 articles published at five online media outlets (Blic, Novosti, Politika, RTS and

Danas) from 2011 to 2017 was explored using the method of discourse analysis. A specific interpretive framework has been created in relation to Japan, its tradition, culture, and especially technology. That framework insists on positive symbols, on Japan as a postmodern country, a land of peace, future, education and ideas, which includes combination of facts and myths. In the articles of Serbian online media Japan is represented as role model country: sufficiently unknown to be exotic but still known enough to be portrayed as the most relevant example of an advanced political system, work ethic, environmental standards and culture. The analysis has shown that online media in Serbia foster a specific image of Japan, according to which this state is the opposite of all shortcomings of Serbia.

Key words: Japan, Serbia, media, media discourse, soft power

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Jelena Kleut
Filozofski fakultet
Univerzitet u Novom Sadu
Novi Sad, Srbija

Ana Milojević
Fakultet političkih nauka
Univerzitet u Beogradu
Beograd, Srbija

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PROTEST I NASILJE: UOKVIRIVANJE PROTESTA „PROTIV DIKTATURE“ U ONLAJN MEDIJIMA I KOMENTARIMA KORISNIKA[1]

Apstrakt: Tendencija medija da marginalizuju demonstrante, prikazuju ih negativno i delegitimišu njihove zahteve formulisana je kao paradigma izveštavanja o protestima. Promene u medijskom i društvenom okruženju dovele su do toga da istraživači revidiraju paradigmu kako bi procenili njenu relevantnost u kontekstu digitalnih medija koji omogućavaju građanima interakciju sa novinarskim sadržajima. Na osnovu obimnije studije o medijskom uokvirivanju protesta Protiv diktature, u ovom radu je fokus na frekventnosti i realizaciji okvira nasilja u medijima i komentarima korisnika koji su objavljeni na veb sajtovima *Blic* i *Telegraf* tokom 30 dana protesta. Rezultati pokazuju da je uokvirivanje protesta i protestanata kao nasilnih frekventnije u tekstovima i komentarima u *Telegrafu*, što je konzistentno sa opštim obrascem medijske polarizacije. U smislu sadržaja, komentari su odraz medijskih okvira ili njihova amplifikacija, ali uočava se i odbacivanje okvira koji su prisutni u medijima.

Ključne reči: protest, paradigma o protestima, uokvirivanje, masovni mediji, komentari, nasilje, Srbija

1. UVOD

Namera istraživanja koje predstavljamo bila je da se sagleda način na koji su mediji izveštavali o protestu Protiv diktature koji je počeo neposredno

[1] Rad je jednim delom nastao u okviru naučno-istraživačkog projekta Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Novom Sadu „Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene” (III 47020), a drugim delom u okviru naučno-istraživačkog projekta Univerziteta u Beogradu – Fakulteta političkih nauka, “Politički identitet Srbije u regionalnom i globalnom kontekstu” (179076), koje finansira Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja Republike Srbije.

posle predsedničkih izbora u Srbiji, održanih aprila 2017. godine. U istraživanju se oslanjamo na teoriju uokvirivanja (*framing theory*) i posebno na korpus istraživanja medijskog tretmana protesta koji se naziva „paradigma o protestima“ (*prostest paradigm*). Unutar obimnijeg materijala koji je prikupljen tokom istraživanja usmerićemo se ka okviru nasilja koji je u prethodnim studijama identifikovan kao jedan od globalno najprisutnijih načina da se protesti predstave kao „eksces“ i da im se na taj način ospori legitimnost i značaj (Dardis 2006; Gitlin, 1980). Istraživanju medijskih tekstova kao proizvoda novinarskog rada, dodajemo i analizu komentara koje su korisnici ostavljali na veb sajtovima informativnih medija.

2. PROTEST PROTIV DIKTATURE

Protest Protiv diktature organizovan je posle predsedničkih izbora koji su održani 2. aprila 2017. godine, na kojima je pobedio Aleksandar Vučić, kandidat vladajuće većine. Protest je iniciran objavom na Fejsbuku (Babović et al., 2017), i već prvog dana okupio je nekoliko hiljada ljudi koji su izašli na ulice nezadovoljni zbog izbornih rezultata.

Prvi zahtevi protestanata formulisani su tek nekoliko dana od početka protesta i obuhvatali su smene u institucijama koje su zadužene za to da izborni uslovi budu ravnopravni. Ovi zahtevi artikulišu se na tragu izveštaja domaćih i međunarodnih organizacija koji su saopštile da je sastav izborne komisije bio neregularan, da Regulatorno za elektronske medije nije pratilo zastupljenost kandidata u programima, da medijski servisi nisu tretirali ravnopravno sve kandidate. Vremenom je, međutim, spisak zahteva proširivan, od sređivanja biračkog spiska, poništavanje u spornih doktorata visokih funkcionera, pa do obustavljanja postupka privatizacije. Ovime se protest, prvobitno usmeren ka uslovima za fer izbore, proširio na niz društvenih problema oko kojih je postojao manji stepen saglasnosti (Babović et al., 2017). Sa gubitkom jasno definisanih ciljeva, i u odsustvu odgovora vlasti, protest se posle mesec dana osipa i okupljanja prestaju.

Protesti Protiv diktature su prva veća okupljanja u Srbiji koja su organizovana preko internetskih društvenih mreža. Imala su odlike „samoorganizujuće mreže“, novog obrasca aktivizma u kojem su „digitalne tehnologije osnovni organizujući agent i mehanizam koordinacije“ (Petrović i Petrović, 2017: 411). Izostanak centralizovane organizacione strukture i prepoznatljivog rukovodstva dovelo je do pitanja ko organizuje protest i sa

kojim ciljem. Upravo na ova pitanja odgovore su nudili mediji, preuzimajući na sebe, i više nego inače, ulogu da definišu aktere i motive protesta.

3. TEORIJSKI OKVIR
TEORIJA UOKVIRIVANJA

Okviri su obrasci na osnovu kojih se interpretira svet koji nas okružuje. Upotreba okvira se naziva uokvirivanje (*framing*), a taj proces odvija se na različitim nivoima komuniciranja: javni akteri uokviruju svoje poruke upućene javnosti, novinari koriste okvire u oblikovanju svojih priča, a publika uokviruje informacije koje prima putem medija (Brüggemann, 2014). Prema Entmanu, uokviriti određen problem znači „izabrati određene aspekte realnosti i naglasiti ih u tekstu, tako da se istakne određena definicija problema, kauzalna interpretacija, moralna evaluacija i/ili predlog rešenja problema“ (Entman, 1993: 52). Gamson i Modiljiani naglašavaju da je okvir „centralna organizaciona ideja“ (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989: 3), dok Gitlin ističe relativnu trajnost okvira kao „dugoročnih obrazaca mišljenja, interpretacije i prezentacije“ (Gitlin, 1980: 7). Kako bi posedovali komunikativnu funkciju, okviri, kao i sve simboličke tvorevine, moraju biti široko prihvaćene u određenoj kulturi. Ris uokviravanje određuje kao „način na koji se interesi, komunikatori, izvori i kultura kombinuju u jedinstven način razumevanja sveta“ (Rees, 2001: 11). Kada se uokviravanje posmatra kao međusobna interakcija različitih društvenih strukutra, aktera i interesa, postaje očigledno da različiti akteri imaju različitu moć da utiču na uokvirivanje socijalnih pitanja i pojava, unutar zadatog društvenog i kulturnog konteksta. U tom smislu, Brugeman (Brüggemann, 2014) ističe da se uloga novinara najčešće nalazi negde između dve krajnosti: *postavljanja okvira* – interpretiranje događaja i pojava prema ličnim nahođenjima i *prenošenja okvira* – pukog navođenja okvira različitih javnih aktera (Brüggemann, 2014: 64). Drugim rečima, novinari prenose određene okvire, ali i kontekstualizuju okvire javnih aktera, pružajući publici indirektne smernice o tome koji su okviri odgovarajući u datim situacijama (Brüggemann, 2014: 66). Na ovaj proces utiču brojni faktori na individualnom, organizacionom i društvenom nivou, ali i povratna reakcija publike koja sa razvojem interneta i digitalnog komuniciranja postaje sve dostupnija novinarima. Od navedenih faktora u ovom radu se posebno rasvetljava interakcija okvira novinara i publike,

posmatrana kroz sadržaj medija i komentara korisnika u kontekstu izveštavanja o protestima.

4. PARADIGMA O PROTESTIMA

Odnos između medija i različitih društvenih pokreta ili protesta može se okarakterisati i kao borba za uokviravanje određenog društvenog problema ili pojave u javnoj sferi. Zbog moći medija da nametnu javnu percepciju o određenom društvenom pitanju, mediji se smatraju „strukturama prilike" (*opportunity structures*) (Cammaerts, 2012) sa trostrukim potencijalom za društvene pokrete: za mobilizaciju političke podrške, legitimizaciju zahteva pokreta i širenje dometa konflikta izvan grupe istomišljenika (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993). Međutim, medijska logika najčešće nije naklonjena društvenim pokretima. Političke institucije i akteri poseduju visok stepen vrednosti za vesti, i način rada tradicionalnih medija orijentisan je prevashodno na institucionalizovanu politiku. Predstavnici društvenih pokreta nemaju status legitimnih, izabranih političkih predstavnika, pa novinari ne pridaju veliku važnost njihovim aktivnostima. Prethodna istraživanja pokazuju da su mediji prijemčiviji za pokrete što više oni nalikuju institucionalnim političkim akterima, u stepenu organizovanja, širini podrške, načinu artikulacije zahteva i ideja (Amenta et al., 2017). Mediji zapostavljaju ili marginalizuju proteste u meri u kojoj protesti odstupaju od vladajuće ideologije, društvenih normi i predstavljaju izazov za vladajući poredak. Čen i Li (Chan & Lee, 1984) ističu da su mejntstrim mediji agenti socijalne kontrole i formulišu „paradigmu o protestima" da ukažu na strukturalnu pristrasnost izveštavanja o protestima koji teže da promene *status quo*. Prema paradigmi o protestima, ideološka i politička orijentacija medija utiču na uokvirivanje protesta, kao i na način na koji su protesti a) podržani, b) politizovani i c) moralizovani unutar kulturnih granica (Chan & Lee, 1984).

Nasilje je važan faktor preko kojeg se prelamaju logika medija i protesta, najčešće na štetu aktivista. Sa jedne strane, teme poput kriminala, konflikta i skandala zauzimaju visoko mesto na agendi mejnstrim medija, dok sa druge strane „štrajkovi, pobune, skupovi, bojkoti, marševi i masovne demonstracije" postaju redovan repertoar modernih protesta (Cammaerts, 2012: 121). Ovakve manifestacije građanske neposlušnosti, često prate indirektni i direktni oblici političkog nasilja i oštećivanja imovine. Kroz činove simboličkog nasilja se demonstrira otpor 'vlastima' ali se i provocira

‘nasilan odgovor’ policije sa ciljem delegitimizacije vlasti. Zbog toga su česti konflikti između aktivista i čuvara javnog reda i mira, a svaka eskalacija nasilja tokom protesta izaziva medijsku pažnju. Izveštavanje o protestima koje je usmereno na sukobe, uništavanje imovine, logističke probleme, poput rada hitnih službi ili snabdevanja, usklađeno je sa medijskom logikom i preferencijama publike prema pričama o negativnim i emocionalno provokativnim događajima. Međutim, favorizovanjem okvira nasilja protestanti se predstavljaju kao devijantne grupe koje su opasne po društvo i skreće se pažnja javnosti sa ciljeva protesta kao i problema zbog kojeg su se protestanti okupili.

Veliki broj istraživanja pokazuje da je fokus medija na nasilje jedan od najdominantnijih okvira kojima se protesti javno marginalizuju i delegitimišu (Gitlin 1980; McLeod & Hertog 1999; Boykoff 2006; Dardis 2006; Shahin et al., 2016). Mnoge studije su sledile pristup Makleoda i Hertoga (McLeod & Hertog, 1999) koji su unutar šireg okvira nasilja identifikovali okvir sukoba (konflikt policije i protestanata) i okvir nereda (sukob demonstranta i društva). Kasnije su Mekfralan i Hej (McFarlane & Hay, 2003) preformulisali ove okvire u uopšteno bezakonje i konfrontaciju sa policijom. Bojkof (Boykoff, 2006) je pokazao ne samo da okvir nasilja dominira medijskom slikom protesta protiv STO u Sijetlu, nego i da novinari koriste okvir i kada se sukobi ne dešavaju, ukazivanjem na nedostatak nasilja ili upozoravanjem na potencijalno nasilje. Generalno, spektakl, brojnost i nasilje predstavljaju glavnu vizuru koju mediji zauzimaju prema protestima.

Nakon uočavanja paradigme na primeru protesta u Hong Kongu, glavni podaci o važenju paradigme prikupljeni su u SAD, ili iz internacionalnih medija na engleskom jeziku. U poslednje vreme sprovode se istraživanja koje potvrđuju paradigmu i izvan „Zapada“. Ključni elementi paradigme, poput dominacije frejma nasilja, pokazali su se kao relevantni na „Istoku“, odnosno u Aziji (Boyle, McLeod & Armstrong, 2012), zatim u Indiji, Brazilu i Kini (Shahin et al., 2016) ali i u komparativnoj perspektivi dva veoma različita medijska sistema – Velike Britanije i Kine (Veneti, Karadimitriou & Poulakidakos, 2016). Iako je paradigma protesta iznedrila veliki broj istraživanja od kada je formulisana do danas, relativno retko je proveravana postojanost paradigme u Evropi (Kyriakidou & Olivas Osuna, 2017; Trivundža & Brlek, 2017). Iz ugla paradigme o protestima do sada nisu rađene analize medijskog predstavljanja protesta u Srbiji, uprkos bliskoj političkoj istoriji koja je oblikovana građanskim protestima.

5. PROTESTI I KOMENTARI: ALTERNATIVNE DEFINICIJE I IZVORI

Kako navode Veneti i saradnici, digitalno okruženje donelo je tri važne promene koje utiču na medijski tretman protesta: „a) stvaranje alternativnih medijskih izvora, b) mnoštvo informacija koje dolaze od građana novinara koji u realnom vremenu izveštavaju o demonstracijama i c) nove komunikacione mogućnosti za aktiviste i protestante" (Veneti, Karadimitriou & Poulakidakos, 2016: 4). Masovni mediji gube definicijsku snagu jer su građanima na raspolaganju informacije koje potiču direktno od organizatora protesta, kao i niz drugih izvora čije se prakse proizvodnje sadržaja razlikuju od medijskih. Nasuprot tradicionalnim medijima koji upućuju građane na tradicionalne oblike političke participacije, alternativni mediji imaju mobilizatorsku ulogu kada se radi o učešću u protestima (Boyle & Schmierbach, 2009).

Istraživanja pokazuju da je slika protesta pozitivnija kada je stvaraju građani novinari. Na primer, medijski okviri predstavljanja protesta u Egiptu potvrđuju paradigmu o protestima, dok je građansko novinarstvo dovodi u pitanje učestalom upotrebom legitimizujućeg okvira, okvira nepravde i okvira saosećanja (Harlow & Johnson, 2011). Do sličnih rezultata dolaze i Meraz i Papačarisi i uvode koncepte mrežno čuvanje kapija i mrežno uokvirivanje: „Za razliku od ranijih definicija čuvara kapija koje su se primenjivale na dnevnu praksu elitnih redakcija(...), čuvanje kapiju u mrežnom okruženju omogućava običnim korisnicima da stvore merljiv uticaj" (Meraz & Papacharissi, 2013: 142).

Za razliku od internetskih društvenih mreža i blogova, komentari korisnika na informativnim veb sajtovima retko su predmet istraživanja u kontekstu alternativnih definicija i okvira protesta. Često se smatra da komentari nemaju participatorni potencijal (Carpentier, 2011), te da komentatori uglavnom ponavljaju novinarske definicije. Sa druge strane, deo istraživača konstatuje da komentari mogu da ponude alternativne argumente i reprezentacije (Karlsson, 2010; Milioni et al., 2012). Na to utiču i okviri koje mediji koriste, pa tako Holtonova studija pokazuje da se veća kongruencija između medijskog teksta i komentara javlja kada mediji koriste epizodne, a ne tematske okvire (Holton, Lee & Coleman 2014). Cilj našeg istraživanja je da ispitamo, sa jedne strane, efekat rezonance, to jest reflektovanje medijskog okvira nasilja u komentarima i, sa druge strane, načine na koje se u komentarima dopunjuju i osporavaju medijske definicije.

6. METODOLOGIJA ISTRAŽIVANJA

Uzorak istraživanja potiče iz 11 medija u Srbiji (*Blic.rs*, *Telegraf.rs*, *Kurir*, *Informer*, *Večernje novosti*, *Politika*, *Danas*, *Radio-televizija Srbije*, *B92*, *Pink*, *N1*), koji su izabrani kao reprezenti različitih uređivačkih politika, ideoloških i političkih orijentacija. Sadržaji tradicionalnih medija dobijeni su na osnovu pretrage ključnih reči (protest, protiv diktature) u arhivi agencije Kliping d.o.o. Beograd, u periodu od 3. aprila do 3. maja 2017. godine. Onlajn medijski tekstovi uzorkovani su iz dva najposećenija njuz portala (*Telegraf* i *Blic*), pretragom po ključnim rečima preko Google *in site* opcije. Analizom su obuhvaćeni svi novinarski žanrovi (vesti, izveštaji, intervjui, prilozi, kolumne). Komentari korisnika na onlajn tekstove sa dva portala uzorkovani su ručno i od njih je napravljena zasebna baza podataka. Polazeći od toga da novinarski rad i pisanje komentara počivaju na različitim normama (profesionalno–amaterski, organizovano–individualno), u analizi su komentari korisnika kontrastirani sa svim medijskim, novinarskim sadržajima.

Metod istraživanja bila je analiza sadržaja sa kodnim listom kao instrumentom i pojedinačnim tekstom, TV prilogom odnosno komentarom kao jedinicom analize. Centralni deo kodnog lista činile su kategorije okvira, koje smo posmatrale na mikro nivou koji dozvoljava da se okviri pojavljuju i identifikuju u delovima teksta, te da se više okvira pojavi u pojedinačnom tekstu. Deo okvira operacionalizovan je deduktivno, na osnovnu prethodnih istraživanja, kako je predstavljeno u Tabeli 1, pri čemu je sadržaj okvira formulisan na osnovu pregledanog dela uzorkovanog materijala. Ovaj preliminarni pregled omogućio je da induktivno formulišemo okvir demokratije koji u prethodnim istraživanjima nije identifikovan. Navedeni model korišćen je i u analizi komentara, sa dodatkom okvira sankcije nad demonstrantima koji je induktivno formulisan.

Medijske tekstove i komentare korisnika kodirali su studenti Fakulteta političkih nauka i Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu. Kako bi se obezbedilo dobro razumevanje svih kodnih kategorija, obe grupe su prošle intenzivnu obuku. Test pouzdanosti kodiranja urađen je na poduzorku od 51 medijskog teksta (8,8%) i 182 (5,53%) komentara korisnika. Standardizovani Lotus koeficijenti (S-LOTUS) međusobne usaglašenosti kodera za medijske tekstove je u proseku 0.89, a za komentare je 0.90.

Tabela 1: *Operacionalizacija analitičkih kategorija okvir*

Okvir	Sadržaj okvira	Izvor
Legitimizacija **Delegitimizacija**	Mali broj demonstranata, oni su pod uticajem političkih partija ili inostranih faktora, zavedeni su Veliki broj demonstranata, samonikli i spontano organizovan protest, nezavistan, trajnost i odlučnost	Luther & Miller 2005; Laschever 2017; Kyriakidou & Olivas Osuna 2017
Nasilje **Miran karakter protesta**	Konflikt, nered, incident, napad, policija Mirno, bez nasilja	Shahin et al. 2016; Dardis 2006; Hertog & McLeod 2008
Performans	Karneval, performans, šou, pesme, uzvici, slogani, transparenti	Gitlin 1980; Harlow & Johnson 2011; McLeod and Hertog 1999; McFarlane and Hay 2003; Dardis 2006; Xu 2013
Istorija	Protesti u prošlosti	Dardis 2006; Veneti et al. 2016
Nedemokratski karakter protesta **Demokratski karakter protesta**	Pretnja demokratiji, ugrožavanje prava i sloboda građana Pravo na okupljanje, sloboda izbora, sloboda govora, demokratija na delu	

7. REZULTATI

7.1. Okvir nasilja u medijima

U izveštavanju medija najzastupljeniji je bio okvir performativnosti, slede okviri legitimizacije, delegitimizacije, demokratičnosti, karakterisanje protesta kao mirnih, nedemokratičnost, pa tek onda okvir nasilja (Tabela 2). S obzirom na prevashodno miran karakter protesta, i činjenicu da gotovo nikakvih sukoba nije bilo, ovakva zastupljenost okvira nasilja predstavlja način da se protesti okarakterišu kao socijalno devijantni i javno osude. Okvir nasilja je bio najzastupljeniji u tekstovima na onlajn portalu *Telegraf.rs*. Zastupljenost okvira nasilja u različitim medijima oslikava opštu polarizovanost medija prema protestima. Iz Tabele 2 se može uočiti da su *Danas*, *Blic*, *Kurir*, *N1* i *RTS1* intenzivnije izveštavali o protestima, oslanjajući se više na pozitivne okvire, i dajući protestima legitimitet. Preostali mediji, nisu posvetili protestima veliku pažnju, marginalizujući ih dodatno negativnim uokviravanjem.

Najveći broj nasilnih okvira (26) ukazuje na **vandalizam, skrnavljenje kulturnih i nacionalnih spomenika ili simbola**. Većina medija je izvestila o cepanju i rušenju Srpskog zida plača drugog dana održavanja protesta, ali je samo *Informer* slučaj okarakterisao kao *neviđenu agresiju* (5. 4. 2017). Kao kontrast ‘huliganima koji uništavaju nacionalne simbole’, pojavile su se desetine ’dobrih momaka’ da štite panoe *jer vole svoju državu* (*Blic*, 7. 4. 2017). Povodom rušenja zida plača, mediji su preneli i reagovanja Udruženja porodica kidnapovanih i ubijenih na Kosovu i Metohiji, Aleksandra Vulina i drugih javnih ličnosti, ali je osuda Telegrafa bila posebno istaknuta u naslovu baziranom na svedočanstvu slučajnog prolaznika koji je *…branio ‘zid plača’ od pijane rulje…* (7. 4. 2017). Veliku pažnju medija privukao je i apel predsednice Skupštine Maje Gojković upućen učesnicima protesta povodom ispisivanja grafita na skulpturi „Igrali se konji vrani“: *da ne učestvuju u devastiranju spomenika od velike istorijske i kulturne vrednosti* (*N1*, 5. 4. 2017).

Tabela 2: *Zastupljenost okvira u informativnim sadržajima medija*

	Nasilje	Miran karakter	Delegitimizacija	Legitimizacija	Performativnost	Istorija pozitivno	Istorija negativno	Demokratičnost	Nedemoktratičnost
Danas	4	26	40	98	91	20	8	37	4
Blic	13	22	28	56	62	4	2	12	12
Kurir	2	15	11	27	21	2	1	15	7
N1	5	12	11	24	22	0	3	5	3
RTS	3	4	5	7	10	0	0	6	2
B92	0	1	3	2	3	0	0	4	0
Večernje novosti	6	9	12	8	16	1	2	7	7
Politika	5	10	23	13	18	0	3	12	9
Telegraf.rs	17	3	25	14	24	2	6	8	10
Pink	1	7	12	0	2	1	4	9	4
Informer	7	1	14	1	3	0	6	2	9
Total	**63**	**110**	**184**	**250**	**272**	**30**	**35**	**117**	**67**

U šesnaest tekstova se opisuju **manji incidenti**, koškanja tokom protestne šetnje, ispadanje jedne devojke iz kolone, **verbalni sukobi**, najčešće sa zaštitnicima zida plača. Najzapaženiji incident tokom protesta, odigrao se između predsednika Srpske radikalne stranke Vojislava Šešelja i *nekolicine agresivnih demonstranata* (*Informer*, 21. 4. 2017), koji su pokušali da prepreče put Šešeljevom vozilu. Sukob je dobio epilog u medijima, preko kojih je Šešelj poručio *da neće dozvoliti nasrtaje na sebe i svoje saradnike* (*Telegraf*, 19. 4. 2017).

U 12 tekstova prisutne su reči istaknutih političkih aktera kojima se demonstranti i demonstracije povezuju sa **nasiljem uopšteno ili se iskazuje strah od eskalacije nasilja i destabilizacije zemlje**. Na primer, povodom cepanja zida plača, Aleksandar Vulin je izjavio da *danas svako ima pravo da izrazi svoj politički stav, ali ne nasilno*. *Informer* je prednjačio u najavljivanju nasilja, krvoprolića, uličnih sukoba i krvavih nereda, koje smišljaju i planiraju predstavnici opozicije. *Informer* je potencijalnom nasilju pridavao različite svrhe. Pozivajući se na odlično obaveštene izvore, *Informer* je upozorio javnost da će vođe opozicije pokušati da mobilišu ljude *insceniranim sukobima pre Vaskrsa*, zato što su *demonstracije počele da gube na brojnosti*. *Pakleni plan radikalizacije protesta* povezivan je i sa *izazivanjem potpunog haosa u zemlji* (*Informer*, 8. 4. 2017) ili *rušenjem legitimno i legalno izabrane vlasti* (*Informer*, 6. 4. 2017). Bacanje jaja i kamenica na zgradu *RTS*-a protumačeno je kao taktika kojom je trebalo da se *isprovocira prekomerna reakcija policije, što bi kasnije u propagandi bilo iskorišćeno kao dokaz nedemokratske represije i diktature* (*Informer*, 5. 4. 2017).

U nekolicini tekstova je istaknuto da **protestanti iznose pretnje** i predstavljaju **prepreku za rad institucija**. U kontekstu ometanja rada Skupštine, Maja Gojković najavljuje normalizaciju stanja kada *prestanu pretnje da će upasti u parlament, kada prestanu provokacije ka pripadnicima MUP-a* (*Blic*, 6. 4. 2017). Protestanti su ometali i rad hitne pomoći, ali su posebno jake **pretnje po život** uputili Aleksandru Vučiću i ministru unutrašnjih poslova Nebojši Stefanovića putem grafita ispisanih na zidovima u Novom Sadu. Grafite mržnje „Vučiću j...mo ti dete“ i „ubiti Stefanovića“, prekrečio je gradonačelnik Novog Sada Miloš Vučević, prilikom čega je izjavio *da ima strah od toga da poruke sa zidova ne siđu na ulice* (*Telegraf*, 7. 4. 2017).

Tabela 3: *Zastupljenost okvira u komentarima*

	Nasilje	Miran karakter	Delegitimizacija	Legitimizacija	Performativnost	Istorija pozitivno	Istorija negativno	Demokratičnost	Nedemokratičnost	Sankcije za demonstrante
Blic.rs	95	29	549	767	0	57	71	49	161	37
Telegraf	227	12	1280	90	0	5	70	14	281	112
Total	**322**	**41**	**1829**	**857**	**0**	**62**	**141**	**63**	**442**	**149**

7.2. Okvir nasilja u komentarima korisnika

Najzastupljeniji okvir u komentarima je delegitimizacija, a prate ga legitimizacija, nedemokratičnost i nasilje (Tabela 3). Okvir nasilja značajno je zastupljeniji među komentarima koji su objavljeni na veb sajtu *Telegrafa*, što je potrebno posmatrani u kontekstu frekventnije upotrebe negativnih okvira u ovom mediju. Ako se posmatra odnos okvira nasilja u medijskom tekstu i u komentarima, primećuje se da u *Telegrafu* komentari češće sadrže okvir nasilja ako je on sadržan i u tekstu (161 komentar na tekst sa okvirom nasilja, 66 komentara na tekstove koji nemaju okvir nasilja). U *Blicu* beležimo drugačiju situaciju jer je okvir nasilja podjednako zastupljen kada se u tekstu piše o nasilju i kada se ne piše (45 prema 50).

Rezultati kvalitativne analize pokazuju da su u pogledu sadržaja okvira komentari kongruentni sa sadržajima u masovnim medijima. Nasilje se posmatra u kontekstu destabilizacije zemlje, kao sredstvo promene izborne volje građana, kao taktički potez i **kao jedna od karakteristika demonstranata**. Oni se opisuju kao *obični huligani kojima ništa nije sveto* (*Telegraf*, 5. 4. 2017), *pijani i urađeni, dokoličari* (*Telegraf*, 20. 4. 2017) i *glupa destruktivna mladost* (*Telegraf*, 4. 4. 2017). Ovakva slika demonstranata počiva na konstruisanju socijalno neprihvatljivog i devijantnog ponašanja što se posebno ispoljava u komentarima na tekstove u kojima se okvir nasilja koristi za događaje oko Zida plača:

> *Napasti i vređati porodice nastradalih je samo dno nečije kulture i obrazovanja.To nam sve govori ko su ustvari šetači i da su ove šetnje usmerene direktno protiv Srbije.* (*Telegraf*, 20. 4. 2017)
> *To je slika lezilebovića koji za alkohol izazivaju nerede. Pravi ljudi znaju šta znače simboli, svetinje, da se to poštuje a ne skrnavi.* (*Telegraf*, 12. 4. 2017)

Karakterizacija demonstranata kao nasilnih ponekad se stavlja u širi politički kontekst u kome se nasilje predstavlja kao **put ka destabilizaciji zemlje**. Kako se vidi u primerima, okvir nasilja je u ovim slučajevima praćen delegitimisanjem, kojim se protest dovodi u vezu sa opozicionim strankama ili inostranim interesima:

> *Građanski sukobi su na pomolu. Stvar je u tome da treba da se izazovu sukobi i izbije građanski rat kao u Libiji.* (*Blic*, 9. 4. 2017)

> *Ne mogu da verujem da omladina radi protiv sopstvene države, njima je cilj da destabilizuju Srbiju kako bi nama manipulisali tajkuni i strani ambasadori.* (*Telegraf*, 5. 4. 2017)

Drugi cilj koji se pripisuje protestima jeste **promena izborne volje** kojom je Aleksandar Vučić izabran za predsednika Srbije. U nekim od ovakvih komentara koristi se istorijski okvir, odnosno pravi se paralela sa izlaskom građana na ulice posle izbora u jesen 2000. godine:

> *Zar opet da lome pa to treba neko da plati nemože sve na silu nema više dvehiljadita što ne priznaju poraz kao časni ljudi* (*Telegraf*, 4. 4. 2017)
> *Deco, hoćete revoluciju,....prolivanje krvi, haos.....bolje učite, radite, vratite se svojim kućama i popričajte sa svojim roditeljima. Srbija je glasala, vaši roditelji su glasali, hoćete li njih linčovati, tući, ubijati, razbijati njihove kuće i stanove, skrnaviti njihove svetinje. Dosta je bilo razaranja.* (*Telegraf*, 4. 4. 2017)

U jednom delu komentara nasilje se posmatra kao **taktički potez** kojem organizatori pribegavaju jer se protest, kako smatraju komentatori, pokazuje neuspešnim:

> *Njima nije protest bitan već da uništavaju državnu imovinu i izazivaju vlast da reakcijom im da argumente za radikalizaciju protesta.* (*Telegraf*, 5. 4. 2017)
> *Idu do te mere da namerno provociraju da budu uhapšeni i da izmišljaju nove elemente za nastavak protesta.* (*Telegraf*, 5. 4. 2017)

Za razliku od prethodnih okvira koji ponavljaju ili elaboriraju argumente i reprezentacije koji su prisutni u novinarskim izveštajima sa protesta, pojedini komentari **odbacuju medijske navode o nasilnosti demonstranata**. U ovim komentarima, iza nasilja stoji neko drugi ili je ono nepravedno pripisano demonstrantima:

> *AV poslao zvezdine navijače da prave nerede kako bi za to optužio ovu omladinu* (*Blic*, 4. 4. 2017)
> *Šta kaže, da ne upadnu u skupštinu, a vi Majo i tebi slični što ste im ušli u tanjir, u bedu i u budućnost nemate pravo da dajete ovakve izjave jer mladi nisu kao vi, izmišljate nasilje da bi imali opravdanje da ga primenite.* (*Blic*, 6. 4. 2017)

Iako korišćenje okvira nasilja ima za cilj da uputi na društvenu devijantnost, u pojedinim komentarima se nasilje legitimiše kao jedini odgovor na izborne neregularnosti. Rečima jednog od komentara:

Neće biti mirno gospodine Vučiću, ljudi su besni što si pokrao izbore i na samom blicu postoje vesti gde se pre rezultata zna izborni rezultat! (*Blic*, 4. 4. 2017)

U delu komentara implicitno se preuzima medijski okvir nasilja i na osnovu argumenta da su protestanti nasilni predlažu se sankcije za njih (Tabela 3). Mogu se uočiti tri realizacije diskursa o sankcijama – zakonska sankcija, moralna sankcija i govor mržnje. U diskursu o zakonskoj sankciji nasilje se posmatra kao kršenje zakonom propisane norme, te se nude institucionalni odgovori kao što su zatvor, *društveno korisni rad, za neke i odvikavanje od alkohola.* (*Telegraf*, 4. 4. 2017), izbacivanje sa fakulteta ili slanje demonstranata kod sudije za prekršaje (*Telegraf*, 5. 4. 2017). Pozivanje na moralnu sankciju u osnovi ima gledište da se nasiljem krše ne samo zakonske već društvene norme, te je i kazna u ovom domenu:

Dao bi ja njima demokratiju i sve ih poslao na Kosovo kod albanaca da vide demokratiju. (*Telegraf*, 4. 4. 2017)
Propale studente i blejače treba poslati na izgradnju auto puta na ljuti fizički rad.... (*Blic*, 6. 4. 2017)

Na kraju deo komentara koristi govor mržnje, odnosno uz pogrdne nazive poziva na nasilje nad demonstrantima: *Ovu stoku šje bila na ulici treba polomiti, Pobite tu stoku što demonstrira. Kako bih vas išamarala. Puj bre!* (*Telegraf*, 4. 4. 2017). Oba analizirana portala koriste sistem premoderacije i u svojim uputstvima navode da komentari koji sadrže uvredljive komentare ili govor mržnje neće biti objavljeni. Deo komentara koji nisu u skladu sa pravilima je ipak objavljen, što vodi zaključku da se uputstva nedovoljno primenjuju.

8. ZAKLJUČAK

Osnovni zaključak istraživanja jeste da je distribucija okvira nasilja u medijima koherentna sa obrascem medijske polarizacije. Drugim rečima, oni mediji koji su imali negativan odnos prema protestima koristili su medijski okvir nasilja kao još jedan od načina da se protesti i protestanti predstave u lošem svetlu. Ovakvi rezultati potvrđuju važenje paradigme u Srbiji, i produbljuju razumevanje političko-ideološke orijentacije medija kao faktora koji utiče na uokvirivanje protesta unutar polarizovanog medijskog sistema.

Kvalitativna analiza okvira nasilja pokazuje slojevitost u korišćenju okvira kao i veliku sadržinsku podudarnost sa okvirima koji su istraživači

identifikovali širom sveta (McLeod & Hertog, 1999; McFarlane & Hay, 2003; Dardis, 2006). Medijski tekstovi unutar široko definisanog okvira nasilja osuđivali su činove vandalizma, kao i skrnavljenje kulturnih i nacionalnih spomenika ili simbola. Pošto su protesti proticali bez sukoba, posebno sa policijom, što je jedan od okvira prepoznatih u dominantnoj paradigmi, u srpskim medijima su isticani manji incidenti ili verbalni sukobi, uglavnom periferni u odnosu na glavni tok protesta. Mediji su predstavljali protestante i kao „pretnju" za javni red i mir, prepreku za rad institucija, kao nosioce govora mržnje. Novinari su često kao „prenosioci okvira" (Brüggemann, 2014) preuzimali reči istaknutih javnih ličnosti, posebno političara, kojima se najavljuje eskalacija nasilja ili iskazuje strah od potencijalnog nasilja i destabilizacije zemlje. Osim eksplicitnih tvrdnji da će demonstracije dovesti do „krvavih sukoba" često se u medijskim izveštajima mogla pročitati rečenica „danas su protesti protekli mirno", ili konstatacije da može da se protestuje dok god je mirno. Ovakve i slične formulacije otkrivaju postojanost okvira i izvan direktnog ukazivanja na nasilje, čime se potvrđuju prethodna istraživanja, koja ističu da okvir nasilja funkcioniše i latentno, kao incident u najavi (Boykoff, 2006). Generalno, kvantitativna i kvalitativna analiza medijskog uokviravanja protesta potvrđuje da je okvir nasilja jedan od najpostojanijih načina delegitimizacije protesta u najrazličitijim društveno-političkim kontekstima.

Kvalitativna i kvantitativna analiza komentara korisnika na onlajn medijske sadržaje pokazuje da komentari preovlađujuće predstavljaju odraz medijskog uokvirivanja. Veći broj tekstova o nasilju dovodi do većeg broja komentara o nasilju. Diskurs o nasilju zahtevao bi dodatne analize, ali preliminarni pregled pokazuje da se u komentarima pojavljuju slične strategije argumentacije kao u vestima: nasilje se povezuje sa destabilizacijom zemlje, tumači kao nelegitimno sredstvo promene izborne volje većine građana, ili kao taktički potez za demonstriranje postojanja „diktature". Štaviše u jednom broju onlajn komentara se vidi i efekat pojačavanja, pre svega u pojavi okvira o sankcionisanju demonstranata. Ova, u masovnim medijima neizrečena tvrdnja – da je demonstrante potrebno kazniti, može se razumeti kao dekodiranje medijskog teksta sa dodavanjem značenjskog nivoa.

Međutim, na osnovu naših rezultata nije moguće u potpunosti odbaciti ni istraživanja koja konstatuju da komentari mogu da ponude alternativne argumente i reprezentacije (Karlsson, 2010; Milioni et al., 2012). Iako ređe, u pojedinim komentarima propituje se ili čak odbacuje medijski okvir nasilja.

Jedan način jeste da se nasilje diskurzivno izmešta iz polja društveno neprihvatljivog nasilja i daje mu se predznak potrebe i neminovnosti. Drugi način jeste osporavanje veze između nasilja i demonstranata, odnosno ukazivanje na to da nasilnici postoje ali nisu izvorni (time ni legitimni) deo protesta.

Posmatrano u celini, iako ograničeni na okvir nasilja, rezultati predstavljeni u ovom radu doprinose proširivanju saznanja o postojanosti paradigme o protestima u digitalnom medijskom okruženju, time što razmatraju komentare korisnika koji za razliku od blogova i društvenih mreža nisu često uzimani u obzir kao resurs za alternativno uokviravanje protesta. U tom smislu, rezultati ovog rada pokazuju da nasuprot građanima novinarima, građani komentatori češće ponavljaju i pojačavaju okvire koje im nude novinari, nego što osporavaju medijske definicije.

PROTEST AND VIOLENCE: FRAMING PROTEST "AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP" IN ONLINE MEDIA AND USER COMMENTS

Summary

General tendency of media to marginalize protestors, portray them negatively and delegitimize their claims, has been formulated as the protest paradigm. Changes in the media and social environments have led scholars to revise the protest paradigm in attempt to assess its relevance in the digital media landscape that allows citizens interaction with news stories. Based on the larger study of media framing of the protest Against the Dictatorship, in this paper we focus on the frequency and realizations of the violence frame in news and user comments published on *Blic* and *Telegraf* web sites during the 30 days of protest. The results show that framing protests and protestors as violent is more salient in *Telegraf* news and comments. In terms of content, the comments reflect media frames or they amplify them, but also the research identifies the rejection of the news frames.

Key words: protests, protest paradigm, framing, media coverage, comments, violence, Serbia

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Sanja Kljajić
Filozofski fakultet
Univerzitet u Novom Sadu
Novi Sad, Srbija

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JAVNI MEDIJSKI SERVISI I PUBLIKA U DIGITALNO DOBA: STUDIJA SLUČAJA *RADIO-TELEVIZIJE VOJVODINE*[1]

Apstrakt: Digitalna transformacija radiodifuzne industrije primorala je javne medijske servise da prestrukturiraju i ponovo razmotre svoje ponude, razviju i implementiraju nove usluge i sadržaje, koristeći različite platforme, mogućnosti i oblike učešća svojih publika i direktno ih uključe u produkciju medijskih sadržaja, ali i da otvore prostor za nadzor kroz intenziviranje komunikacije sa građanima. Imajući u vidu zakonske obaveze i načela javnih medijskih servisa u Srbiji, s jedne, i borbu za publiku u kontekstu rapidnih tehnoloških promena, s druge strane, rad će težiti da utvrdi na koji način pokrajinski javni medijski servis *Radio-televizija Vojvodine* posmatra nove tehnološke izazove i inovacije u proizvodnji sadržaja, kao i to na koji način pregovara o publici u novom medijskom kontekstu. Osnovna metoda istraživanja je polu-strukturiran dubinski intervju, a istraživanje obuhvata 17 ispitanika – predstavnika visokog i srednjeg menadžmenta i urednika programskih celina *RTV*-a. Istraživanje je pokazalo da RTV onlajn platforme posmatra samo kao produžetak tradicionalnih formata, dok publiku i dalje dominantno posmatraju kao konzumente i anonimiziran kolektivitet. Interakciju i participaciju publike navode samo kao strateško opredeljenje, kojem suprostavljaju otpor prema promenama koji dolazi iznutra.

Ključne reči: publika, javni medijski servis, *Radio-televizija Vojvodine*, digitalizacija, onlajn

1. UVOD

Širenje spektra informacionih i komunikacionih tehnologija, manifestovanih kroz digitalizaciju komunikacije, konvergenciju medija, proširene mogućnosti izbora i interakcije povrh svega, značajno su promenili kontekst upotrebe medija. Ono što se nekada podrazumevalo pod gledanjem televizije, danas teži konvergenciji sa čitanjem, glasanjem, kupovinom, igranjem, istraživanjem, pisanjem, četovanjem (Livingstone, 2004: 76).

[1] Rad proistekao iz master rada „Javni medijski servisi i publika: *Studija slučaja Radio-televizije Vojvodine*“ odbranjenog 10. 10.2018. na Filozofskom fakultetu u Novom Sadu.

Publika je dobila veće mogućnosti da učestvuje u medijskoj produkciji, što je dovelo do promene u odnosima između emitera i gledalaca – članovi publika se ne označavaju samo u kontekstu tradicionalne dihotomije kao građani ili potrošači, već sve više kao kupci, igrači i učesnici (Enli & Ihlebæk, 2011: 955). Savremene manifestacije i artikulacije medijskih publika Hromadžić i Popović sistematizovale su u tri aktuelna trenda: publike koje su konstitutivne za određene medijske sadržaje, odnosno postaju njihovi glavni protagonisti, poput rijaliti programa i kvizova, publike koje posredno ko-kreiraju medijske sadržaje, ali istovremeno ostaju čitaoci, gledaoci i slušaoci, i publike koje neposredno generišu medijske sadržaje putem veb 2.0 modela, poput Jutjuba ili Fejsbuka, pa medijski korisnik, koji je u sferi tradicionalnih medija bio izuzet iz samog čina produkcije medijskog sadržaja, sada postaje i subjekat i objekat“ (Hromadžić, Popović, 2010: 108).

2. DIGITALNA TRANSFORMACIJA JAVNIH MEDIJSKIH SERVISA

Sa promenama odnosa u komuniciranju i javni medijski servisi prinuđeni su da traže novu paradigmu koja bi pružila odgovore na iznova postavljena pitanja o opravdanosti postojanja, finansiranja, misije i uloge, zadržavajući osnovne principe na kojima se zasnivaju. Oni su uslovljeni da u novom kontekstu sadržaje nude kroz najširi mogući raspon distributivnih kanala, uključujući digitalnu televiziju, IPTV, mobilnu televiziju i internet, kako bi ispunili istorijsku misiju univerzalne usluge javnih medijskih servisa, ostvarili učešće publike i dosegli nove publike (Cola & Prario, 2012: 182).

To znači da bi javni medijski servisi morali da promene orijentaciju od „isporučivanja“ ka dvosmernom pristupu koji uključuje dijalog i interakciju. To se može postići kroz sadržaj, upotrebu onlajn kanala i platformi, društvenih medija i inovativnih pristupa. Takođe, moraju da razviju korporativnu kulturu koja prepoznaje interaktivnost i zahteve publike kao priliku, i koja prihvata promenu vrednosti i majndseta koja će na kraju učiniti njihove zaposlene fleksibilnijima, agilnijima, komunikativnijima i više okrenutima ka građanima (Marko, 2017: 221).

U izmenjenim okolnostima navika fragmentirane medijske publike, Vio i Nisen definišu tri nivoa usluga na kojima bi javni servisi ubuduće trebalo da rade: (1) tradicionalne linearne programske usluge za široku javnost koja će i u budućnosti ostati jezgro televizije javne službe; (2) linearne usluge usmerene na uže publike, kao što su kanali specijalizovani za proizvodnju

vesti i aktuelnih događaja, kulturnih kanala i kanala zasnovanih na jezicima; i (3) lične usluge koje podrazumevaju pružanje „personalizovanog javnog servisa“ (Wiio & Nissen prema Cola & Prario, 2012: 184). To ne znači da će navike linearnog gledanja nestati u potpunosti, ali vreme posvećeno nelinearnom pregledu će postepeno rasti. *Bi-Bi-Si* procenjuje da će za deset godina TV domaćinstva provoditi samo 30–40 procenata vremena gledanja TV na linearnim kanalima (Bardoel & d'Haenens, 2008: 342).

Međutim, najveći izazov za javne servise u kojima se sadržaji sve više konzumiraju onlajn, na zahtev i nelinearno, jeste da sadržaje plasiraju tako da podstaknu i publiku na angažman. Interaktivnost između novinara i publika mogla bi se podeliti na socijalnu i tekstualnu, pri čemu bi linija socijalne interaktivnosti mogla da se prati od pisma čitalaca do novih medija koji tu komunikaciju čine bržom, neposrednijom i otvorenijom, dok tekstualna predstavlja interpretaciju sadržaja koju današnja publika materijalizuje u lajkovima, komentarima ili blogovima (Kleut, Drašković, 2014: 337).

Istraživanje mogućnosti učešća publike u procesima proizvodnje vesti u Bi-Bi-Si-ju pokazalo je da je domet publike veoma ograničen, i to uglavnom na komentarisanje ili diskusiju o već objavljenim sadržajima, dok se povratne informacije publike koriste samo kao još jedan izvor informacija, bilo kao očevici, studije slučaja za već postojeće ili izvori za nove sadržaje (Williams, Wardle & Jorgensen, 2010: 2).

Istraživanje potvrđuje da uprkos tome što participativnost publike u diskursu o novim medijima nosi pozitivan predznak, u praksi ona nailazi na otpore unutar medija, koji žele da zadrže tradicionalnu ulogu „čuvara kapija“. Prihvatljivi dometi participativnosti su oni u kojima publika nadograđuje svoju ulogu izvora informacija, ali bez promene ustaljene novinarske prakse, s jedne strane, i korisnika za čije su mišljenje zainteresovani, s druge strane, ali ne i u potpunosti spremni da ga prihvate kao korektiv, te se publici priznaje pravo da donosi sud, ali ne i stručnost da bi taj sud implementirali kroz promenu ustanovljenih praksi.

Iako dostupni podaci za zapadni Balkan ukazuju na trendove u medijskoj potrošnji i navike publike koje su slične onima na globalnom nivou – prodor interneta, povećana upotreba interneta i društvenih mreža među mladima, pad gledanja televizije, porast nelinearnog gledanja, rast upotrebe pametnih telefona i drugih uređaja za pristup informacijama, potražnja za personalizovanijim i sadržajima na zahtev (Marko, 2017: 224) – javni medijski servisi u Srbiji nisu odmakli dalje od jednostavnih usluga i modela komunikacije, poput onlajn portala koji predstavljaju samo „produžene ruke“

televizije sa mogućnošću odloženog gledanja, ili naloga na društvenim mrežama koji više služe prezentaciji sadržaja nego komunikaciji sa građanima, dok stvarna saradnja u proizvodnji o kojoj teoretičari govore kao sledećem stepenu razvoja, u javnim medijskim servisima u Srbiji, pa čak i javnosti, još uvek nije formulisana ni kao tema debate.

3. CILJ I METODOLOGIJA ISTRAŽIVANJA

Imajući u vidu zakonske obaveze i načela javnih medijskih servisa u Srbiji, s jedne, i borbu za publiku u kontekstu rapidnih tehnoloških promena, s druge strane, rad će težiti da utvrdi na koji način pokrajinski javni medijski servis *Radio-televizija Vojvodine* posmatra nove tehnološke izazove i inovacije u proizvodnji sadržaja, kao i to na koji način pregovara o publici u novom medijskom kontekstu.

Osnovna metoda istraživanja je polu-strukturiran dubinski intervju. Istraživanje je obuhvatilo 17 ispitanika, donosilaca odluka u sistemu Javne medijske ustanove *Radio-televizije Vojvodine*, odnosno predstavnika visokog i srednjeg menadžmenta i urednika medija i programskih celina, koji su se na pozicijama nalazili u periodu od 2006. godine, od uspostavljanja javnog medijskog servisa. Intervjui su sprovedeni u septembru 2018. godine, a dužina intervjua je varirala, pa je tako najkraći intervju trajao 23 minuta, a najduži 77 minuta. Intervjui su vođeni na osnovu okvirnog vodiča za razgovor kao instrumenta. Intervjuima je ispitivano nekoliko tema, a u ovom radu fokus će biti na temama koje se odnose na digitalnu transformaciju javnih medijskih servisa. Od rukovodilaca se očekivalo da govore o pravcima razvoja *RTV*-a u kontekstu tehnoloških promena, prednostima i nedostacima novih usluga i mogućnostima njihovog uvođenja, kao i o postojećim platformama, publici kojoj se one obraćaju, mogućnostima komunikacije s publikom putem tih platformi i mogućnostima njihove participacije u proizvodnji sadržaja. Intervjui su snimani digitalnim snimačem uz saglasnost intervjuisanih, nakon čega su tonski zapisi transkribovani, a dobijeni podaci tematski analizirani.

4. REZULTATI ISTRAŽIVANJA

> *Mi bi trebalo da idemo u tom smeru da koristeći nove medije omogućimo ljudima da, ako ne uspeju da gledaju naš program zato što su, ne znam, gledali Pink (smeh), bar da imaju mogućnost da pogledaju neke izvanredne sadržaje koje imamo.*

Da bi javni medijski servis ostao relevantan, mora proći kroz proces digitalne transformacije, navodi se u Strategiji razvoja *Radio-televizije Vojvodine* usvojenoj krajem 2017. godine. U njoj se napominje da je vizija *RTV*-a „da bude funkcionalna i održiva medijska kuća koja funkcioniše kao savremen medij sa merljivim rezultatima proizvedenog i emitovanog medijskog sadržaja, koji ne samo da je u skladu sa očekivanjima konzumenata sadržaja, nego ih stimuliše na interakciju".

Kada govore o strateškim opredeljenjima u pogledu inovacija i prelaska na onlajn formate, donosioci odluka u *RTV*-u, međutim, polaze od straha da će izgubiti publiku svojih tradicionalnih sadržaja. Drugi motiv koji navode jeste privlačenje mladih čiju pažnju ne uspevaju da zadobiju takvim programom.

Tačke na kojima *RTV* zasniva iskorak u digitalno doba jesu unapređenje Multimedijalnog portala koji je u međuvremenu postao zaseban medij, a koji nudi odloženo gledanje i lajvstriming, prisustvo na društvenim mrežama i formiranje Omladinskog radija koji objedinjuje internet radio i multimedijalni portal specijalizovan za mlade uzrasta do trideset godina.

4.1. Prvi korak ka digitalizaciji: Multimedijalni program – Veb

Kao poseban medij, Multimedijalni program – Veb ustanovljen je tek izmenom sistematizacije 2016. godine. Iako je više puta unapređivan i redizajniran, i dalje predstavlja produžetak televizije i radija, što oslikava konzervativni pristup medijskoj proizvodnji. Rukovodioci *Radio-televizije Vojvodine* publiku Veba dominantno posmatraju kao konzumente, tek se sporadično osvrćući na mogućnosti interakcije koje nove platforme pružaju.

Analizirajući korisnike Veba, rukovodioci ih označavaju kao jednoobrazni kolektivitet, ignorišući trend segmentiranja. Višestruke mogućnosti za prikupljanje podataka i analizu publike koje administratorima stoje na raspolaganju, a koje bi mogle da dopune nedostatke tradicionalnih istraživanja i daju indikacije za strateško planiranje razvoja, tek su delimično iskorišćene. Na pitanje o statističkim podacima, predstavnici top menadžmenta pokušavaju da se prisete kada su poslednji put videli tako nešto, navodeći da je to bilo pre četiri ili pet godina.

> *Konkretno, koristili smo Gugl analitiku, koja nam je davala uvid u broj posetilaca, broj otvorenih strana, davala nam je podatke iz kojih mesta i država dolaze i davala nam je podatke o godištu. I dobro se sećam da je naša primarna publika bila 35–45 i 45–55 godina. Bilo*

mi je drago zbog 35–45, ali mi je bilo krivo što na drugom mestu nije publika koja je mlađa.

Iz navedenog citata može se uočiti da je jedini nivo segmentiranja publike segmentiranje prema starosnom dobu. Izuzev te karakteristike, rukovodioci nisu mogli da navedu druga sociodemografska obeležja korisnika Veba, ali navode da je publika bila „kulturno-intelektualno-društvenog profila“. Tu tezu, urednik M. V. razrađuje i u drugim segmentima razgovora:

Mi smo kod komentarisanja bili malo više striktni i mislim da smo tu bili poprilično u pravu i da smo to koristili kao način negovanja naše publike, da stvarno nismo dozvoljavali neprimerene komentare. Uvek se provlačilo nešto, ali kad se sve uzme u obzir, ja sam zadovoljan komentarima koje su ljudi ostavljali, jer nije bilo vređanja na bilo kojoj osnovi[...] Rasprave između komentatora su bile konstruktivne, nije bilo vređanja, bilo je tredova, kad se objavi neka lokalna vest, tu se ljudi prepoznaju, pa tu bude veće rasprave, ali ponosan sam na to što nema vređajućih komentara.

Iz navedenih karakteristika M. V. određuje i zahteve publike s jedne, odnosno komparativnu prednost Veba s druge strane, a to su precizna, tačna i proverena informacija, ne nužno brza.

Kod nas je uvek bilo to da se proveri i mogu da kažem da nas je publika cenila zbog toga što nismo objavili neku, ne znam... da je Dobrica Ćosić dobio nagradu. Nismo nasedali na to, uvek je bilo ček, ček, ček.

Stavljajući s jedne strane fejknjuz sadržaje, kojima dodaje i klik-bejt naslove, vulgaran sadržaj, izveštaje iz rijaliti programa i eksplicitnu crnu hroniku, kao karakteristike izuzetno čitanih njuz portala, a s druge pouzdane informacije, multijezičnost i opciju „čitaj mi“, kao karakteristike *RTV* portala, on pravi distinkciju između komercijalnog tipa medija i javnog servisa. Pri čemu publika od prvih očekuje brzu informaciju, a od drugi tačnost i analitičnost.

Te komparativne prednosti nisu bile takve da biste vi kao krajnji korisnik rekli da mi RTV bude prevashodni izvor informacija[...] Bez tog sadržaja, nama ostaje ona sumorna društvena stvarnost gde se vi trudite da informišete, a ono gde smo nedovoljno radili, nismo se dovoljno kao javni servis trudili da tu stvarnost rastumačimo.

Urednik M. V. dodaje da polje na kojem nije učinjeno dovoljno jeste interaktivnost. U tom segmentu, korisnicima su bili na raspolaganju komentari

na vesti, ali su oni uredništvu drugih medija u okviru javnog servisa i najvišem menadžmentu bili interesantni samo ukoliko su bili politički osetljivi. Publika Veba, međutim, nije dobila ni ulogu izvora informacija, niti učesnika u proizvodnji sadržaja:

> *Ostalo je samo na pojedinačnim slučajevima, da nam neko pošalje kratku vest sa nekom slikom, evo ovde se dešava to... Kad su ljudi krenuli to da šalju, kad smo mi posle tri dana objavljivali te priče, jer je prvo trebalo da obradi televizija, možda radio, i prosto se izgubio taj momentum, izgubili smo te korisnike.*

Na Vebu su dostupne i usluge odloženog gledanja i lajvstriminga. Iako rukovodilac K. Z. navodi da je kapacitet odloženog gledanja danas tri puta veći nego na početku, kaže da to i dalje ne može da odgovori na zahteve publike. Odgovor, smatra on nije povećavanje kapaciteta, već pokretanje arhiva koji bi omogućio dostupnost svih sadržaja. Pokretanje takvog arhiva, međutim, biće tema tek nakon što pokrajinski javni servis dobije novu zgradu, čija je izgradnja u toku. Do tada, uredništvo ima diskreciono pravo da donese odluku koji će sadržaj biti postavljen, kao i koji će sadržaj nakon šest meseci biti uklonjen, a koji će se zadržati na odloženom gledanju. Na taj način, uredništvo zadržava ulogu „čuvara kapija“, što se kosi s idejom interneta koji bi korisnicima trebalo da omogući izbor bez posrednika koji bi taj izbor usmerio.

Tradicionalistički pristup odloženom gledanju može se uočiti i u razgovoru sa nekadašnjim urednikom Veba o nedovoljnom uvezivanju televizije, Veba i odloženog gledanja. Navodeći primere gledanih sadržaja na odloženom gledanju poput „Državnog posla“, „Petkazanja“, emisije o lovu i ribolovu, on ujedno obrazlaže i propuštene šanse da se targetirana publika tih sadržaja iskoristi za povećanje ukupne posete sajta.

> *Mi smo hteli iz Borinog „Petkazanja“ da pakujemo male priče, da izdvojimo zanimljivost, najstariji fića, kako ide fića od 1.000 kubika. To stavite u naslov, pet-šest dobrih rečenica i video, i to internet guta. To bi davalo bust i samom „Petkazanju“ i našem sajtu, ali bez njegovog odobrenja nismo imali dozvolu da sami editujemo i kačimo.*

Ništa drugačiju politiku *RTV* nema ni u komunikaciji putem društvenih mreža. Nalozi koji su prvobitno sporadično otvarani za pojedine emisije, predstavljali su samo „još jedan kanal kroz koji *RTV* može da gurne svoje sadržaje da dopre do publike.“ Kako kaže urednik B. D:

Imali smo, mislim da je bila reprezentacija Škotske, igrala je sa Srbijom u Novom Sadu, gde smo imali kadrove koji su išli u televizijskom programu, škotski navijači su bili dosta atraktivni, preko dana se nešto događalo, kad smo to podelili (na mreže), u roku od sat, sat i po vremena to je imalo više od 10.000–15.000 ljudi je to videlo. Mislim da su ljudi tada shvatili u redakciji da su društvene mreže važna stvar i da si tako vidljiviji.

Tek u narednom koraku, novinari su prihvatili društvene mreže kao jedan od izvora informacija, da bi tek sa razvojem Veba kao posebne jedinice i uvođenjem takozvanog „kontent menadžera" bila uspostavljena pravila interakcije u kojima se pojavljuje publika sa kojom bi trebalo komunicirati.

Tokom istraživanja uočena su dva moguća pravca razvoja te komunikacije o kojima u *RTV*-u nije postignut konsenzus. Prvi, tradicionalistički pravac, reprezentuje zamenik generalnog direktora koji predlaže osnivanje radne grupe koja bi postojeće naloge pojedinačnih emisija uniformisala kako bi oni bili prepoznatljivi kao *Radio-televizija Vojvodine*, a za šta bi trebalo da bude zadužena „radna grupa". Drugi, uslovno rečeno progresivniji, koji reprezentuje nekadašnji urednik Veba, a koji zagovara takozvani „kontent marketing", odnosno upotrebu jednog sadržaja koji ima publiku za promovisanje nekog drugog sadržaja koji se preporučuje na osnovu zajedničkih karakteristika publike, za šta bi bio zadužen kontent menadžer. Zajednička karakteristika oba pravca je fokus na komunikaciji u jednom smeru, čime se zadržava postojeća filozofija proizvodnje u kojoj se publika i dalje drži na distanci u okvirima postojećih tradicionalnih uloga konzumenata.

Na kraju, u segmentu nadzorne uloge građana, ni Veb ni krovni nalozi na društvenim mrežama nisu prepoznati uopšte kao potencijalni mehanizmi komunikacije i nadzora, već oni ostaju na polju introspekcije, što se najbolje očitava u tome što rukovodioci pod lošom komunikacijom sa publikom podrazumevaju lošu promociju sopstvenih sadržaja.

4.2. Drugi korak ka digitalizaciji: Omladinski (internet) radio

Najveći iskorak *RTV* je napravio kada je jula 2014. godine osnovao novi medij – *Omladinski radio*, koji je obuhvata internet radio i multimedijalni portal. O radio formiran je na predlog tadašnjeg generalnog direktora Srđana Mihajlovića koji je ideju preuzeo od nemačkog javnog servisa, kao model da se dođe do mlađe publike.

Međutim, o Omladinskom radiju kao platformi koja *RTV* pomera u pravcu digitalizacije i interaktivnosti govore samo rukovodioci koji su

učestvovali u razvoju te platforme. Ostali intervjuisani rukovodioci u svom osvrtu na tehnološke inovacije nisu se osvrtali na ulogu *O radija*. On je izostavljen i iz Upitnika za učesnike javne rasprave o programu *RTV*-a koji su zajedno izradili Programski savet i Centar za razvoj *RTV*-a. Otpor uvođenju te nove platforme najbolje ilustruje navod jednog intervjuisanog rukovodioca koji je rekao da su *O radio* zaposleni *RTV*-a dugo nazivali „Nula radio".

Eksperimentalni program je pokrenut za vreme festivala Exit, čime je već definisana ciljna grupa novog medija, koja je sa zvaničnim početkom rada O radija dobila i bliže odrednice.

> K. U: *Mi smo svojevremeno nacrtali tog čiča glišu. To je osoba u proseku od 22 godine koja studira, koja gleda kako da zaradi sebi dodatno za život uz studije, koja voli da putuje, koju zanima sve što se tiče novih gedžeta i gledamo da takvoj sobi olakšamo život.*

> Kako ste došli do tog čiča gliše?

> K. U: *Prvo smo krenuli od toga što je Novi Sad univerzitetski grad, najviše ima studenata i nekako se ipak obraćamo više toj budućoj srednjoj klasi. Pri tom, to nije neka vrsta elitizma, ideja je da to ne bude nešto što je nezanimljivo nekome ko ne studira, ali smo stavili to u kontekst kako ovde živi mlad čovek. Živi tako što ga finansiraju roditelji koji jedva sklapaju kraj s krajem, i da bi mogao da ispuni sve svoje želje i očekivanja, mlad čovek mora da nađe neki dodatni posao i kao ajde mi da mu olakšamo sve njegove dnevne potrebe, pa čak i ako ne studira, opet traži neki posao.*

Ovde rukovodioci prvi put jasno definišu ciljnu grupu kojoj se program obraća, što se može dvojako objasniti. S jedne strane, za razliku od drugih tradicionalnih programa, O radio je program koji se formatira od samog početka, te je podrazumevano uže definisanje u odnosu na krovni identitet javnog medijskog servisa. S druge strane, radi se o specijalizovanom programu za koji se očekuje da ima jasno definisanu ciljnu grupu.

U određenju potreba tako identifikovane publike glavni parametar su upravo zaposleni, s obzirom na to da se „ciljna grupa nalazi u redakciji" i oni imaju zadatak i da usmeravaju programsku orijentaciju prema sopstvenim interesovanjima i interesovanjima svojih vršnjaka, ali u okviru određenih datosti, kako u sferi informacija, tako i u sferi muzike, koja čini većinu programa:

> *Cilj nam je bio da nema narodnjaka, da se ne podilazi ukusu publike, u smislu to mladi vole, pa kao dobro, ali naći granicu onoga što*

> *mladi vole, a šta je ono što mi kao javni servis imamo obavezu da držimo neki standard i da imamo neku i edukativnu i zabavnu ulogu.*

Iz stava da se „ne podilazi ukusu publike“ kome se indirektno pripisuje loš muzički ukus, proizilazi težnja da *O radio* preuzme ulogu medija koji će uticati na kreiranje boljeg muzičkog ukusa. Iz još detaljnijeg određenja proizilazi da je to muzika nastala nakon 2000. godine, a osim „narodnjaka“, isključuje se i „domaći pop“. Dodajući da bi možda „tu trebalo malo da se spusti“, urednica *O radija* otkriva ličnu sumnju u to da su standardi postavljeni previše visoko, što bi u ovom kontekstu značilo preveliku distancu u odnosu na publiku koja preferira komercijalnu muziku.

U formi *O radio* nudi multimedijalnost kao komparativnu prednost, a u kreiranju sadržaja sa publikom pregovara o tome za koje su teme zainteresovani, a za koje bi trebalo da budu zainteresovani kao članovi društva. Osim edukativne uloge, sebi dodeljuju i zadatak da kreiraju sistem vrednosti:

> *Osim poznatih ličnosti koje su zanimljive toj ciljnoj grupi, gledali smo da izdvajamo pojedince mlade ljude koji mogu da budu uzor svojoj generaciji, da su po nečemu izuzetni i da se na taj način održava neki normalan sistem vrednosti.*

Daljim obrazloženjem K. U., tu ulogu određuje formulacijom „da se zna šta je ispravno, a šta nije, da se zna da je poštovanje zakona poštovanje zakona, da kriminal, bahatost, sve što mladi žive oko sebe, što vide svakodnevno, da to možemo da promenimo, da to ne treba da bude prihvatljivo“. Negativna slika društva u kojoj mladi odrastaju stavlja se nasuprot pozitivne slike „inostranstva“ iz kojih dolaze mladi koji „donose neke pozitivne primere kako stvari mogu da funkcionišu“.

Koliko su redakcija i publika ostvarili konsenzus o programu, O radio nema egzaktne podatke za radio-stanicu, već se oslanja na merenje uticaja i direktnu komunikaciju koju im nude društvene mreže:

> *Kad se pojavila Radio bitka, koja je donela jako veliku popularnost, odnosno mnogo više ljudi je čulo za O radio, to je bio neki oblik promocije koja je bila besplatna. Svi su nas nešto podržavali, pisali su nam mejlove, od starijih kolega, uticajnih tviteraša, bukvalno svi mediji u zemlji. Ivan Ivanović je u svojoj emisiji pozivao da se glasa za O radio, odjednom su svi bili u fazonu ove klince treba podržati. Vukašin i Sofija su bili predstavnici te kao mlade ekipe koja je OK i baš se stvorila neka jako dobra energija koja se prosto prepoznavala.*

Primetno je da u nabrajanju onih od kojih je podrška stigla nisu direktno mladi koji su definisani kao ciljna grupa, već „uticajni tviteraši“, „starije kolege“, „mediji“, voditelj popularnog tok-šoua koji ne reprezentuje vrednosti i muzički ukus koje je *O radio* definisao kao svoju programsku orijentaciju.

Reakciju ciljne grupe K. U. detaljnije obrazlaže tek na pitanje o tome koliko format za koji su se opredelili obezbeđuje participativnost publike:

> *Za sada ne vidim da je neka velika želja za participativnošću, to je više fidbek. Najviše nas kontaktiraju putem inboksa na Fejsbuku, ali se to isto uglavnom svodi na najave događaja ili kao imaju predloge za intervjue, moja super drugarica je pobedila ne znam gde, mislim da je dobro da vam bude sagovornica[…] Imamo emisiju Vaš sat, to je direktna participativnost gde bilo ko ko želi može da dođe kod nas u studio da pušta muziku. Odziv nije bio previše velik. Emisija funkcioniše šest meseci i svakog ponedeljka smo imali nekoga, ali nije to sad nešto... moglo bi da bude bolje.*

Razloge za to urednica nalazi u promeni paradigme koju donosi digitalizacija koja omogućava da svako sam donese informaciju, te se mladi pre odlučuju da grade sopstveni imidž, nego da prenose informacije. U takvim okolnostima, ni novi medijski formati nisu viđeni kao mesto raspodele publiciteta, bez obzira na nove trendove koje pokušavaju da nametnu.

5. ZAKLJUČNE NAPOMENE

Istraživanje diskursa koji se unutar *RTV*-a formira o inovacijama u proizvodnji sadržaja i publici u novom medijskom kontekstu, pokazuje da *RTV* nije napravio značajan iskorak u tom segmentu. Kada donosioci odluka na *RTV*-u govore o inovacijama, oni prevashodno govore o privlačenju mladih čiju pažnju ne uspevaju da privuku televizijskim programom, a onlajn platforme posmatraju kao produžetak tradicionalnih formata.

Razvoj interaktivnosti koja predstavlja prvi zahtev s kojim se javni servisi suočavaju u novom medijskom kontekstu, rukovodioci razmatraju samo kao strateško opredeljenje, a publiku i dalje dominantno posmatraju kao konzumente i anonimiziran kolektivitet.

Bliže određenje tog kolektiviteta karakteriše izvesna doza elitizma koja proizilazi iz argumentacije da javni medijski servisi moraju da poštuju standarde, a ti standardi zahtevaju određen stepen obrazovanja, pismenosti i ukusa publike, te sadržaji javnih medijski servisa nisu prijemčivi svima. Za

Veb je to „kulturno-intelektualno-društveni profil“ koji se manifestuje kroz kulturu komunikacije u komentarima na sadržaje, a za *O radio* je to mlada urbana osoba koja studira, govori jezike i ne sluša „narodnjake“.

Analiza diskursa o participativnosti publike pokazuje da *RTV* nije promenio orijentaciju od „isporučivanja“ ka dvosmernom pristupu koji uključuje dijalog i interakciju. Isticanje važnosti participativnosti publike koja je zabeležena kod nekoliko rukovodilaca pokazuje, međutim, svest o neophodnosti za povećanim učešćem publike u programu, ali i nespremnost da učini sledeći korak, što bi se moglo tumačiti i kao tradicionalizam s ciljem da se zadrži pozicija „čuvara kapija”. Zato se kanali komunikacije koji su po svojoj prirodi interaktivni, koriste samo kao još jedan kanal komunikacije u jednom smeru – od medija ka publici, a komunikacija sa publikom svodi se na tretiranje publike u tradicionalnom ključu novinar-izvor.

Ukupno posmatrajući, diksursom dominira introspekcija i prebacivanje odgovornosti fraziranjem uz pomoć „ali“. Razliku između onoga što govore i onoga što čine, intrevjuisani rukovodioci opravdavaju prevashodno unutrašnjim otporom promenama koje jedna grupa zaposlenih posmatra kao dodatno radno opterećenje, a druga kao pretnju gubitka radnog mesta. Osim toga, rukovodioci potežu za argumentima finansijskih, tehničkih i organizacionih problema, otporom zainteresovanih za medij, a najčešće promenama u rukovodstvu koje otežavaju strateško planiranje.

Bez konkretnog plana o pravcu razvoja, *RTV* bi se tako mogao suočiti i sa pitanjem opravdanosti postojanja pokrajinskog javnog servisa, ne samo u stručnoj javnosti, već i među publikom kad u njenoj strukturi prevladaju oni do kojih *RTV* u svojoj inertnosti i neinventivnosti nije uspeo da dođe.

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Manojlo Maravić
Akademija umetnosti
Univerzitet u Novom Sadu
Novi Sad, Srbija
Mirko Stojković
Fakultet dramskih umetnosti
Univerzitet umetnosti
Beograd, Srbija

UDC 316.775.4:79

MAŠINIMA: PRIMER KULTURE FANOVA I MEDIJSKE KONVERGENCIJE VIDEO-IGARA I FILMA

Apstrakt: Mašinima filmovi su primer igranja *sa* video-igrama, a podrazumevaju njihovu kreativnu preradu od strane aktivnih korisnika, koji koriste mogućnost snimanja igre kako bi napravili kratke filmove. Ova mogućnost je prvobitno (Doom i Quake) bila korišćena od strane igrača za snimanje svojih prolaza kroz igru kako bi ih podelili na forumima sa drugima. Popularnost ovih filmova je brzo rasla, pa su i brojne druge kompanije ubacile ovu opciju u svoje igre. Cilj ovog rada je da se istaknu dva važna aspekta mašinima filmova. Prvi je činjenica da su oni nastali u domenu u kulture fanova video-igara, da bi veoma brzo nakon toga počeli da se upotrebljavaju od strane medijskih industrija u komercijalne svrhe. Drugi se odnosi na na to da su oni plod medijske konvergencije video-igara i filma i da su kao takvi, kombinujući njihove estetske elemente, postali jednako interesantni kako privrženim igračima tako i profesionalnim filmskim stvaraocima, televizijskim kućama i marketinškoj industriji. Nakon uticaja frankfurtske škole i perioda posmatranja medija kao jednosmernih kanala komunikacije usmerenih ka pasivnoj publici studije kulture usmeravaju analize ka publici koja aktivno interpretira medijske sadržaje, prerađuje ih i reciklira stvarajući nove forme izražavanja. Sa autorima kao što je Henri Dženkins i Džon Fisk „slavljeničke“ studije kulture fokusiraju se na moć publike i njenu ključnu ulogu u konstituisanju popularne kulture. Ta „participativna kultura“ u velikoj meri učestvuje kao važan *think- tank* za razvoj savremenog kapitalizma. Mašinima je primer medijske konvergencije video-igara i filma koja je potekla odozdo, a to znači od samih igrača, ali ubrzo počinje da se koristi za animatikse u profesionalnoj filmskoj produkciji. Komercijalna upotreba mašinime potvrđuje već poznatu tezu o zamagljivanju granica između proizvodnje i potrošnje, javnog i privatnog, autora i publike i govori o značaju inovacija koju donose „prosumeri“ u savremenim medijskim industrijama.

Ključne reči: video-igre, mašinima, fanovi, medijska konvergencija

1. UVOD

Korišćenjem opcije snimanja igranja video-igara igrači počinju da prave kratke filmove, poznatije pod nazivom *mašinima*[1]. Igrajući se *sa* video-igrama i nudeći njihovu kreativnu preradu oni zauzimaju pozicije aktivnih korisnika ovih medijskih proizvoda. Reč je o transformaciji igrača u izvođača, procesu gde je interaktivnost postoji samo u funkciji performativnosti. Ovakav odnos prevazilazi limitiranost na igru kao takvu, odnosno kao Hojzingin magični krug, samodovoljnu sa sopstvenim ciljevima i pravilima, i može se opisati konceptom *metaigranja* koji podrazumeva nepredviđen odnos igrača sa igrom i upotrebu njenih elemenata u širem kulturnom kontekstu (Salen & Zimmerman, 2003).

Mašinima filmovima, kao naučnim problemom, do sada su se najviše bavili teoretičari nove humanističke discipline – Studija igara (*Game Studies*), koja je nastala kompiliranjem različitih teorijskih diskursa Studija medija, Studija filma i Studija kulture. U zavisnosti od polazišta, različiti teoretičari analizirali su pojedinačne elemente ove nove medijske forme, kao što su, na primer: problem legitimnosti mašinime kao umetničke forme (Picard, 2007); pitanje da li se mašinima može nazvati medijem (Nitsche, 2011); problem digitalnog pripovedanja u mašinimi (Mazalek, 2011), ali i mnoge druge. Polazeći od hipoteze da je mašinima kompleksniji i slojevitiji fenomen nego što je to do sada isticano, cilj ovog rada je da se sveobuhvatnim pristupom ukaže na dva najvažnija aspekta ovih filmova, kako bi se dobio potpuniji uvid, ali i na problem njihove komercijalne eksploatacije o kojem je do sada upadljivo malo radova napisano. Prvi aspekt se odnosi na činjenicu da su oni nastali u okviru kulture fanova video-igara, a drugi da su oni u formalnom i estetskom smislu rezultat medijske konvergencije video-igara i filma. Iako su nastale *odozdo,* mašinime su veoma brzo počele da se upotrebljavaju u komercijalne svrhe, odnosno u industriji video-igara, marketingu, profesionalnoj filmskoj i televizijskoj produkciji.

2. FANOVI, PROSUMERI I PLAYBOR

Nakon uticaja frankfurtske škole i perioda posmatranja medija kao jednosmernih kanala komunikacije usmerenih ka pasivnoj publici, studije

[1] *Machinima* (eng.)- amalgam reči „machine“ i „cinema“

kulture usmeravaju analize ka publici koja aktivno interpretira medijske sadržaje, prerađuje ih i reciklira stvarajući nove forme izražavanja. Nekada kritički koncept kulturne industrije, Adorna i Horkhajmera (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1974), teoretičara koji su sa nepoverenjem posmatrali industrijalizaciju kulture, zamenila je u teorijskom diskursu gotovo njegova suprotnost – kreativne industrije. Jedan od važnih aspekata ove promene je i taj da fanovi ili obožavaoci nisu više samo verni potrošači određenog medijskog proizvoda, čiji kulturni život gotovo u potpunosti prožimaju filmovi, popularna muzika, televizijske serije i drugo, već poseduju potencijal kreativnog odnosa sa tekstovima popularne kulture, koji prevazilazi predviđene načine konzumacije. Sa autorima kao što je Henri Dženkins i Džon Fisk „slavljeničke“ studije kulture fokusiraju se na moć publike i njenu ključnu ulogu u konstituisanju popularne kulture (Fisk, 2001). Ta *participativna kultura* ili *kultura konvergencije* koja menja načine proizvodnje i konzumacije medijskih sadržaja u velikoj meri učestvuje kao važan *think-tank* za razvoj savremenog kapitalizma.

Komercijalna upotreba mašinime, koja se udaljila od užeg igračkog konteksta potvrđuje već poznatu tezu o zamagljivanju granica između proizvodnje i potrošnje, javnog i privatnog, autora i publike, kompanije i tržišta. Ona ukazuje na značaj inovacija u savremenim kreativnim industrijama koje donose *prosumeri*[2], odnosno publika koja stupa u aktivan odnos sa medijskim tekstovima – preoblikuje ih, modifikuje, prekomponuje, reciklira i na kraju nudi konceptualnu osnovu za novi komercijalni proizvod. Kada se suzi fokus analize na igračku publiku, dolazimo do još jednog u kritičkom smislu preciznijeg termina od prethodnog, a to je *playbor*[3] kojim su Dyer i De Peuter označili „svojevoljnu mobilizaciju igrača u nematerijalnu radnu snagu“ (2009: 23) kao neku vrstu besplatnog radništva, u ovom slučaju angažovanog putem modinga i mašinime.

U industriji video-igara postoji veoma dobro utemeljena tradicija *osluškivanja* dešavanja u igračkim zajednicama, pa se mogu nabrojati različiti i brojni primeri apsorbovanja modifikacija od strane igrača u komercijalne tokove. Paradigmatični primer doprinosa fanova industriji je svakako „Counterstrike“, MOD igre „Half-Life“, koji posle skoro dvadeset godina ne gubi na popularnosti i u tom smislu je uveliko prevazišao svoju matičnu igru.

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[2] kovanica engleskih reči *producer* i *consumer*.

[3] kovanica engleskih reči *play* i *laybor*.

Nakon ovog uspeha kompanija „Valve“, kreator igre „Half-Life“, sistemski se posvećuje podsticanju takvog poslovnog modela i osniva program finansiranja najboljih timova za razvoj MOD-ova (Herc, 2007: 486). Tako da se ustalila praksa nuđenja dizajnerskih alata u komercijalnim igrama kako bi igrači što lakše mogli da se igraju *sa* igrom, odnosno da stvaraju i oblikuju različite nove sadržaje. Strategija industrije video igara koja podrazumeva davanje mogućnosti igraču da sam kreira sadržaj i implementira ga u igru među prvima je korišćena u igri „The Sims“, da bi se kasnije pokazala kao veoma uspešna u povećanju popularnosti i održavanju interesovanja igrača za igru.

Nije samo modifikovanje sadržaja i strukture igre koju sprovode fanovi aspekt interesantan kompanijama, već su to i zajednice igrača i igračica koje su stekle širu društvenu prepoznatljivost. Kao dobar primer susretanja interesa kapitala i feminizma može se navesti slučaj igračke grupe „Frag Dolls“. Kompanija „Ubisoft“ preuzima model ženskih FPS (*first person shooter*) klanova i feminističkog „grrrl gamers“ talasa i zapošljava ovu grupu devojaka u cilju promocije svojih igara na E3 sajmovima. Ovo je pokrenulo trend angažovanja igračkih grupa od strane kompanija, tada fokusiranih na povećanje broja ženskih igrača FPS igara, u javnosti posmatranih pre svega kao muških (Maravić, 2014).

3. KRATAK PREGLED NASTANKA I RAZVOJA MAŠINIME

Kada su dizajneri „Doom“-a i „Quake“-a odlučili da podstaknu kompetitivnost igrača davanjem mogućnosti da se igranje snimi kako bi igrači zabeležili svoje prolaze kroz igru (*walkthrough*) i brzo prelaženje igre (*quick runs*), a sve da bi ove snimke na kraju podelili na forumima sa drugima, verovatno nisu bili svesni da su inicirali jednu novu medijsku formu. Ključna promena dogodila se kada su igrači uvideli da sa svojim avatarima kao glumcima mogu da snimaju kratke animirane filmove, tada nazivane *Quake movies*. Ukratko, igra se u skladu sa planiranim narativom odigra i snimi, a kasnije se u postprodukciji doda govor i muzika, dok u nekim kompleksnijim slučajevima autori modifikuju likove i prostor igre. Način rada prilikom kreiranja mašinime umnogome podseća na tehniku kolaža vizuelnih umetnika, koja je nastala Pikasovim i Brakovim eksperimentima sa inkorporiranjem postojećih objekata u sliku, pa tako fanovi kombinuju isečke iz sveta video-igre u pravljenju mašinime. Ipak, u poređenju sa standardnim tehnikama animacije, vizuelni aspekt mašinime može delovati manje rafiniran, pa je zato

svest o gejmerskom poreklu ovih animacija važan faktor u njihovom prosuđivanju.

Vremenom su se tehnike snimanja poboljšale, pa se umesto jednog neprekidnog subjektivnog kadra, tipičnog za FPS žanr, uvodi mogućnost sabiranja kadrova više igrača, a time i dobijanja raznovrsnijih planova, koji se kasnije montiraju u programima za montažu (Stojković, 2016). Prva mašinima kod koje je zamenjena perspektiva pogleda iz prvog lica jednog igrača, perspektivama više igrača je „Diary of a Camper" iz 1996. godine nastala snimanjem igre „Quake". Međutim, jedan od razloga zašto mašinime još uvek nisu bile prepoznate od strane šire publike je i taj što su do 2000. godine, kada je na sajtu *machinima.com* prikazan „Quad God" (Triton Films, 1999) u „običnom" video formatu, ovi filmovi snimani samo kao demo fajlovi, što je značilo da su mogli da se gledaju samo uz instalaciju igre na osnovu koje su nastali. Ovo je omogućilo značajan iskorak iz domena relativno malih zajednica igrača i bolju vidljivost mašinime, čiji komercijalni potencijal počinje da prepoznaje industrija video-igara. Popularnost ovih filmova brzo je rasla, pa su i brojne druge kompanije postavile opciju snimanja u svoje igre. Tako 2004. godine izlazi „The Sims 2" prva igra sa alatima namenski kreiranim za pravljenje filmova, što je ujedno značilo prekid sa praksom da mašinime prave samo vešti igrači, koji su sami pravili 3d modele i animacije. Godinu dana kasnije Lajonhedova (*Lionhead*) igra „The Movies" biva napravljena isključivo oko ideje pravljenja filmova, gde je igrač u ulozi holivudskog vlasnika filmskog studija. Činjenica da je postalo moguće praviti mašinime bez prethodnog znanja o endžinu igre, da više nije potrebna kopija igre kako bi se ovi filmovi prikazali nije dočekana sa odobravanjem od strane tvrdokornih igrača (Kelland, 2011).

Iako je upotreba mašinime prevazišla okvire užih igračkih zajednica, velik deo mašinima filmova razumljiv je samo onima koji su deo ove populacije, jer je autoreferencijalnost bitan aspekt ovih filmova. Na primer, teško je bez određenog igračkog iskustva sa FPS igrom „Halo" potpuno razumeti egzistencijalističku autosatiru, verovatno najpoznatije, mašinima serije „Red vs Blue", gde glavni likovi u virtuelnom klancu, mestu sukoba dva suprotstavljena tima igrača, često u dijalozima preispituju smisao njihovog postojanja i međusobne borbe. Ova serija je primer kako je mašinima učestvovala u održavanju interesovanja javnosti za originalnu igru, i privlačenje novih fanova. Mala amaterska kompanija „Rooster Teeth Productions", koja je kreirala „Red vs Blue", predstavlja tipičan slučaj uspešne saradnje industrije i fanova, koji ulažu svoju kreativnost u igranju *sa*

medijem. Naime, oni su angažovani od strane „EA Games“, jednog od najvećih svetskih proizvođača i izdavača video-igara, kako bi u svrhe televizijskog emitovanja pravili reklamne mašinima spotove za sportske igre ove kompanije. Nakon ovog finansijskog uspeha, „Rooster Teeth Productions“ su na zahtev „Monolith Production“ uradili nekoliko mašinima filmova pod nazivom „P.A.N.I.C.S.“ baziranih na njihovoj igri „F.E.A.R“.

Komercijalna upotreba mašinime koja će do danas imati različite varijante je otpočela, a fanovi, kao važni inovatori u kreativnim industrijama, odigrali su taj inicijalni potez u stvaranju ove nove medijske forme. Mašinima predstavlja jedan od najupečatljivijih primera medijske konvergencije između video-igara i filma i dodatni impuls u sinergiji ovih dveju inače u mnogim segmentima isprepletenih industrija.

4. MEDIJSKA KONVERGENCIJA VIDEO-IGARA I FILMA

U teorijama medija dobro je poznata ideja prema kojoj svaki novi medij preuzima sadržaje prethodnih kao što je to već primetio Mekluan (2008), a kasnije i Bolter i Grusin koji pod *remedijacijom*, kao suštinskom osobinom novih digitalnih medija, podrazumevaju „reprezentaciju jednog medija u drugom“ (2000: 45) i na kraju Manovič (2015) kada u svojoj knjizi *Jezik novih medija* kaže da filmske konvencije u velikoj meri prožimaju nove medijske tehnologije. Ovom pravcu razmišljenja pridružuje se i Henri Dženkins sa sveobuhvatnim terminom *medijske konvergencije* pod kojim podrazumeva proces susretanja i ukrštanja različitih medijskih sistema „među kojima se ostvaruje tok medijskog sadržaja“ na različitim medijskim platformama (2006: 282). Umesto o mediju kao takvom, ovaj autor govori o *medijskim sistemima*, a kao jedan od važnih aspekata konvergencije ističe kooperaciju medijskih industrija. Prema tome, relacije video-igara i filma ostvaruju se na tehničkom, narativnom i estetskom nivou, ali se odvijaju i kao sinergija ovih industrija.

Video- igre se zasnivaju na filmskim narativnim, estetskim i žanrovskim obrascima, ali sa druge strane i u filmovima od devedesetih godina prošlog veka sve više su vidljivi uticaji video-igara, kada se učestalo počinju koristiti vremenske petlje („Dan Mrmota“ 1993, „Trči Lola trči“ 1998) ili poslednjih godina sve češće kadrovi iz prvog („Hardcore Henry“ 2015, „Gravity“ 2013) i trećeg lica („Slon“ 2003) karakteristične za žanrove FPS i avanture. Konvergencija igara i filma veoma složena i odvija se na više

nivoa, a mašinime se javljaju kao hibridna forma nastala ukrštanjem ovih dvaju medija. Mašinime ne zahtevaju igrača, već gledaoca, pa su tako veoma srodne sa *cut scenes*, segmentom video-igara čija je svrha u postavljanju narativnog konteksta, odnosno u odvijanju predeterminisane priče koju igrač *otključava* uspešnom igrom, ali ne može da menja njen prethodno utvrđen tok. Ovi *filmični*, neinteraktivni elementi igara baziraju se na filmskim tehnikama kadriranja: švenku, krupnim kadrovima, koji naglašavaju emocije karaktera i opštim planovima namenjenih predstavljanju prostora odvijanja priče.

Na često postavljano pitanje u teorijskom, kritičkom, pa i javnom diskursu: da li se video-igre mogu smatrati novom umetnošću; kao jedan od najupečatljivijih argumenata u svrhe potvrdnog odgovora ističe se njihova sličnost sa filmom i predviđanje da će preći sličan put priznanja umetničkog legitimiteta od zabave i uživanja u tehnološkom spektaklu do respektabilnog umetničkog medija (Dženkins, 2007). Mašinima kao neinteraktivni derivat video-igara, koji je najsličniji animiranom filmu, lakše je došla do neke vrste umetničkog priznanja, a neretko se rad mnogih vizuelnih umetnika zasniva na mašinimama.[4] Može se napomenuti da igrači i fanovi mašinime uglavnom ne gledaju blagonaklono na ovakva prožimanja video-igara i umetnosti (Bittanti, 2011). Za njih su video-igre, pre svega igre, dok bilo kakve umetničke intervencije posmatraju kao invazivne aktivnosti u domenu njihove omiljene zabave. Posmatranju ove, u svojoj suštini, narativne medijske forme, kao umetnosti doprinela je i Akademija mašinima umetnosti i nauke, organizacija nastala po ugledu na filmsku akademiju koja definiše mašinimu kao „umetnost pravljenja filmova u okviru trodimenzionalnog okruženja u realnom vremenu“ (Kelland, 2011: 28). Kada se održavaju festivali mašinime, onda se veoma često kao kategorije za nagrađivanje navode upravo filmske veštine: pisanje scenarija, režiranje, montaža, a pored toga, dodeljivana je i nagrada za najbolju komercijalnu mašinimu.

Mašinima je primer medijske konvergencije video-igara i filma koja je potekla od odozdo, a to znači od samih igrača, ali ubrzo počinje da se koristi za animatike u profesionalnoj filmskoj produkciji, u marketingu, muzičkim spotovima, televizijskim emisijama i serijalima. Zahvaljujući

[4] Za razliku od većine filmova kreiranih od strane fanova koji su autoreferencijalni i bez ikakvog kritičkog odnosa spram društvene stvarnosti, mnogi savremeni umetnici mašinimu koriste kao umetničku formu preko koje ističu šire društvene probleme i teme. Umetnici kao što su Brody Condon, Eddo Stern i Cory Archangel među prvima su koristili video-igre u svojim radovima i pravili mašinime.

estetskim efektima sličnim kao u animiranim filmovima mašinima postaje interesantna, i u finansijskom smislu pristupačnija, forma u domenima u kojima su se tehnike animacije prethodno koristile.

5. PRIMERI KOMERCIJALNE UPOTREBE MAŠINIME

Sa rastom popularnosti ovakvih filmova kod filmskih amatera, mašinima dobija sve značajniju ulogu u profesionalnoj filmskoj produkciji kao prilično jeftino sredstvo za *real time* previzuelizaciju. Pre-produkcija dugometražnih igranih filmova najčešće podrazumeva izradu storiborda, vizualizovane knjige snimanja koja laiku može da liči na strip, ali najveća manjkavost takvog prikazivanja budućeg filma je nedostatak pokreta. Taj problem su različiti autori pokušavali da prevaziđu na različite načine: poznat je slučaj Džordža Lukasa, koji je još 1977. godine sada klasičnu scenu napada na *Zvezdu smrti* pripremao tako što je montirao dokumentarne snimke borbe lovačkih aviona iz Drugog svetskog rata. „Imperija uzvraća udarac“ je, pak, imala ručno animirane storibordove, kao i minijature, dok su noviji delovi ove sage kao evolutivni napredak u odnosu na storibordove koristili 3D animacije, daleko složenije od do tada sve češćih animatika. Lukas je procenio da mu je na poslednjem delu „Ratova zvezda“ koji je režirao korišćenje trodimenzionalnih animacija uštedelo 10 miliona dolara, pošto je samo prvi minut filma u pretprodukciji promenio 23 puta, za fragment troškova koje bi imao u postprodukciji (Harz, 2006). Lukasova prednost je svakako bila to što je njegov studio još od osamdesetih pravio i video-igre, od kojih su neke, kao što su „The Secret of Monkey Island“ iz 1990. godine i „Grim Fandango” iz 1998. na mnogim današnjim listama najboljih igara svih vremena.

Da pravljenje najboljih igara na svetu nije neophodan preduslov za korišćenje mašinima u pripremi dugometražnih igranih filmova, pokazao je jedan drugi režiser, čiji je film poslužio za osnovu igre koja je više puta proglašavana za najgoru svih vremena – Stiven Spilberg. Loše iskustvo sa Atarijevom igrom „E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial”, čijih je na hiljade kertridža bačeno na deponiju u Novom Meksiku, a onda i preliveno betonom, nije sprečilo Spilberga da se u pravljenju animiranog storiborda za film “A.I. Artificial Intelligence” (2001) iskoristi igru „Unreal Tournament”. Zaposleni u „Industrial Light and Magic” razbili su kod te igre kako bi mogli da je kontrolišu u potpunosti i da u *Unreal Engine* okruženju prikažu sve ono što je Spilberg planirao da uradi u ovom filmu.

Komercijalna eksploatacija mašinime nije se zaustavila sa filmskom pretprodukcijom, i one počinju da se emituju na televizijskim kanalima kao što su: MTV, BBC, HBO i drugi, a pojavljuju se i u televizijskim emisijama „Game Over“ i kanadskoj emisiji za decu „ZIXX“. U pravljenje mašinime za televizijsko emitovanje uključuju se čak i kompanije za proizvodnju igara, poput „Blizarda“ koji kreira veći deo epizode „Make Love, Not Warcraft“ iz serijala „South Park“. Kako bi se realistično prikazale istorijske bitke iz prošlosti, u dokumentarnoj seriji „Decisive Batles“ na kablovskom kanalu History korišćen je endžin igre „Rome: Total War“. Bodrijarovski rečeno, simulakrumske kopije bez originala postavljene su na mesto realnog, dokumentarnog. Još ekstremniji primer mogli bi biti mnogi slučajevi u kojima su neiskusni saradnici na raznim televizijskim stanicama svojim urednicima predavali snimke različitih video-igara preuzetih sa interneta, verujući da su u pitanju autentični snimci rata. Emitovanjem bi ti inserti postali simulakrumi, bilo da su u pitanju navodne uspešne akcije sopstvene avijacije, kao što je bio slučaj kada je ruska televizija emitovala *gameplay* igre „Arma 3“ (Chigne, 2018), bilo da su u pitanju neverovatni poduhvati snajperista iz prijateljskih vojnih grupacija, kao što je bio slučaj kada je iranska državna televizija emitovala *gameplay* igre „Medal of Honor“ tvrdeći da je u pitanju snimak snajperiste Hezbolaha koji ubija šest pripadnika Islamske države (Novak, 2018).

Mašinime počinju da se pojavljuju u svrhe reklamiranja raznih proizvoda, a kao jedan od poznatijih primera može se uzeti mašinima pod nazivom „Game On“, koja je osmišljena u svrhe promocije automobila kompanije „Volvo“. Ova mašinima 2005. godine dobila je prvu nagradu u kategoriji najbolje komercijalne mašinime na festivalu koji je organizovala već pomenuta Akademija mašinima umetnosti i nauke. Veliku pažnju izazvao je slučaj primene mašinima estetike u reklami za „koka-Kolu“, koja je rađena za „Super Bowl 2007“. Finale plej-ofa američkog fudbala poznato je i po najskupljoj sekundi reklamnog prostora, te je povratak „Koka-Kole“ na to takmičenje posle skoro dvadeset godina samo po sebi predstavljalo vest u svetskim medijima. Pompa je pojačana informacijom da će reklama, čije je to jedno emitovanje koštalo više od pet miliona dolara, biti povezana sa serijalom „GTA“ kompanije „Rockstar Games“ (Slawinski, 2007). Sama reklama nije mašinima u užem smislu, odnosno nije napravljena u gejm-endžinu, ali jeste 3d animacija koja imitira da je mašinima u užem smislu time što u potpunosti podražava vizuelni stil „GTA“ serijala, uz dramaturški obrt

koji ekstremno nasilje po kome je „GTA“ poznat okreće u njegovu suprotnost, ljubaznost i brigu prema bližnjima.[5]

Pored filmske i televizijske produkcije mora se spomenuti još jedan masovni medij, koji učestvuje u stvaranju ekonomske vrednosti mašinime, a to je pre svega internet čija je i najveća zasluga u skretanju pažnje šire javnosti na ovu medijsku formu. U prilog tome govori slučaj sajta *machinima.com*, koji je inicijalno nastao sa idejom o promovisanju mašinime kao umetničke forme i u velikoj meri doprineo početnoj popularnosti ovih filmova. Nakon promene vlasničke strukture i poslovne logike *machinima.com* izgrađuje ogromnu bazu fanova video-igara i postaje brend atraktivan velikim kompanijama „MK Capital“ (2008) i „Google“ (2012) od kojih dobija milionske investicije, da bi ga na kraju u potpunosti preuzeo medijski gigant „Warner Bros“ (2016).

6. ZAKLJUČAK

Danas su mašinima filmovi uveliko prevazišli igrački kontekst iz kojeg su nastali i koriste se ne samo u marketinške, umetničke i svrhe filmske pretprodukcije, već i u svrhe obrazovanja dece, obuke zaposlenih, a postali su predmet izučavanja i deo kurikuluma na univerzitetima širom sveta. Oni su veoma brzo prešli put od nekomercijalne zabave nastale u malim zajednicama igrača do još jedne nove umetničke i medijske forme, koja ima svoju vrednost na tržištu medijskih industrija.

Nekada kritička poststrukturalistička ideja o detronizaciji autora, davanju interpretativne moći u ruke čitaoca, publike i konzumenta medijskog sadržaja veoma se dobro uklopila u interese simboličkog kapitalizma i nematerijalne proizvodnje. Interaktivnost koja je jedan od ključnih aspekata video-igara kao medija, može da se uporedi sa idejom o interaktivnosti kao postmodernom obećanju slobodnog izbora i demokratičnosti u susretu publike i teksta, gde publika nije samo aktivni interpretator, već i učesnik koji aktivno menja *telo* teksta. Međutim, interaktivnost u slučaju mašinima filmova postaje

[5] Balkan, sa svojim lokalnim pravilima, nije razumeo suštinu reklame i odmah nakon pojavljivanja spota hrvatski mediji su šokirano konstatovali da je u jednom trenutku u mašinimi iskorišćen vojni helikopter „Gazela“ sa oznakama Jugoslovenske narodne armije i specijalcima koji se iz njega spuštaju niz konopce. Nakon burne reakcije hrvatske javnosti, sporni prizor je zamenjen neutralnijim.

marketinška strategija interakcije sa potrošačima, pa se može zaključiti da mašinima nije primer igranja *sa* video-igrama, gde su subjekti igre entuzijasti koji ispoljavaju svoju kreativnost stvarajući nove tekstove i popularnu kulturu *odozdo*, već da je bodrijarovski rečeno ona primer kako se video-igre, kao pre svega komercijalni proizvodi, igraju zapravo sa nama.

MACHINIMA: EXAMPLE OF FAN CULTURE AND MEDIA CONVERGENCE BETWEEN VIDEO GAMES AND FILMS

Summary

Machinima films are an example of playing *with* video games and represent their creative transformation by active users, who use the game recording option to create short films. This option was primarily used by players who recorded their achievements through the game and later shared the results with other players on gaming forums. Popularity of these films has increased rapidly, resulting in many other companies deciding to introduce this option into their games. The purpose of this paper is to underline two important aspects of Machinima films. The first is the fact that they developed in the domain of video game fan culture, but their use soon spread to media industries, which started exploiting them for commercial purposes. The second aspect refers to the fact that they resulted from media convergence between video games and film, and as such, by combining their aesthetic elements, they have become equally interesting to both, their devoted players and professional film makers. Following the influence of the Frankfurt school and period of observing the media as the one-way communication channels addressing the passive audience, cultural studies shift their analyses towards the audience that actively interprets media contents, transforms and recycles them, creating new forms of expression. In works of authors such as Henry Jenkins and John Fiske, the “affirmative” strand of cultural studies focuses on the power of audience and its crucial role in establishing the popular culture. This “participatory culture” takes a significant part, as an important think-tank for development of modern capitalism. Machinima is an example of media convergence between video games and film that originated from the grassroots level, i.e. from players, but it soon started to be used for animatics in the professional film production. Commercial use of Machinima films is a confirmation of a well-known hypothesis of blurring the lines between production and consumption, public and private, author and audience and, emphasising the importance of innovations introduced by “prosumers” in modern media industries.

Key words: video games, Machinima, fans, media convergence

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Slađana Marić
Faculty of Philosophy
University of Novi Sad
Novi Sad, Serbia

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VIRTUAL REALITY IN EDUCATION AND CPD: RESOURCES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Abstract: Digital media technologies are changing the way we see and experience the world. Virtual reality technologies, as creative platforms for learners of all ages and subjects, provide an opportunity for a new level of immersion to cultures, spaces and places students and teachers have never been before, or places and events in the past, present and future they would otherwise be unable to go. Therefore, they are providing opportunities for immersion into a world where students can consume learning content, create and connect with the curriculum on a completely new level. The increasing volume of diverse augmented, mixed and virtual reality content is influencing the way of approaching learning through these immersive technologies, as these experiences can generate more questions and engagement from students and teachers in both using and creating (learning) content. This paper[1] examines more closely the examples of VR content in the form of Virtual Reality (VR) videos and/or 360° videos in open access that can be applied in teaching and learning of many different subjects and levels of study, and also, the examples of VR in the field of teacher education and Continuous Professional Development (CPD).

Key words: 360° videos/VR videos, interactive learning environments, pedagogical issues, virtual reality

INTRODUCTION

As digital media technologies are rapidly changing the way we see and experience the world, teachers, educators, teacher trainers and all involved in education, need to be more oriented to researching these issues continuously in an efficient manner, but also actively take part in designing digital content that will answer the needs of their learners. Even though not completely new technologies, Virtual Reality (VR) technologies now provide

[1] This research was conducted within the research project No. III 47020, titled "Digital Media Technologies and Socio-Educational Changes", funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

an opportunity for a new level of immersion. They had their rise in '50s and '60s, then late '80s and '90s and now, with a new rise in the past five years with the development of mobile technologies and the first *Oculus Rift*, represent creative platforms for learners of all ages and subjects (Robertson & Zelenko, 2018). Immersion can be in cultures, spaces and places that students and teachers have never been before, or places and events in the past, present and future they would otherwise be unable to go or interact in.

The main objective of this research is to examine more closely the examples of VR content in the form of Virtual Reality (VR) videos and/or 360° videos in open access that can be applied in teaching and learning of many different subjects and levels of study, and also the examples of VR in the field of teacher education and Continuous Professional Development (CPD).

VIRTUAL REALITY (VR) AND IMMERSIVE LEARNING

Virtual Reality (VR) integrates computer graphics, immersion and interactivity. It is a term described as "computer-generated 3D environments that allow the user to view and interact with immersive alternate realities" (GNG, 2018: 2). Furthermore, "VR is an immersive, computer-enabled technology that replicates an environment and allows a simulation of the user to be present and interact in that environment" (Figure 1) (Lloyd, Rogerson & Stead 2017: 222). Barilli (2012: 149) notes that "apart from allowing the exploration, VR also provides user interaction with a dynamic virtual world".

The five basic senses across the reality-virtuality spectrum can be defined as *sight, hearing, touch, smell* and *taste*, and the full "five senses immersion is still "partly science fiction", as in the current commercial market, nothing exists that can fully immerse an individual in all five senses to the highest level.

The content is in most cases already provided through VR applications and the interactions are taking place only when the person is using this media. Therefore, when using virtual reality technologies in the classroom, students can experience the same content in many different ways, and they can return to it as many times needed later on. Virtual reality is perceived as a tool that can (1) provide a different perspective of the educational content, (2) raise motivation and engagement of students, and (3) help students to remember with ease the content of learning.

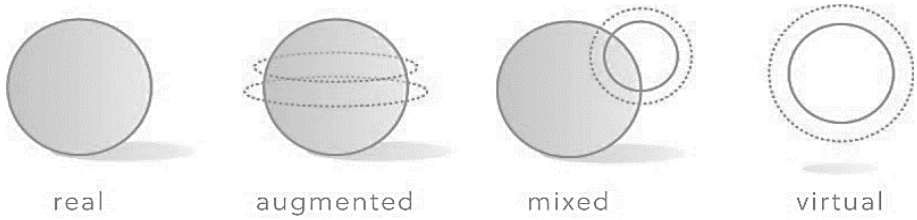

Figure 1 – *"Reality-Virtuality Continuum" by Paul Milgram, adapted illustration Ian Morrow,* (2016[2])

Augmented reality gear, such as Microsoft "HaloLens" and VR headsets, such as *Oculus, MelodyVR, HTC Vive, Samsung Gear VR, The Class VR Standalone Headset* (AR/MR/VR[3] content for students) all represent more costly solutions for educational settings, challenging for most school systems to provide universal access to all of their students, while there are those VR or 360° videos readily available on social media and websites that teachers can use in their classroom with some basic equipment needed (e.g. internet and a computer/mobile device/*Google Cardboard* headset in which a smartphone is placed).

Drawing on the strengths of visual representations, learning by doing, experiencing, active participation and interaction, constructivism is regarded as the best theory for developing educational applications of virtual reality. Strategies for professional development also include the elements related to the construction of knowledge from experience (Barilli, 2012: 145). According to Oh and Nussli (2014: 33) attending virtual concerts and experiencing other cultures and countries through virtual travelling are some of the benefits of the elimination of physical barriers and barriers to social participation, such as sharing a sense of a community (affordances which may increase the quality of life). VR provides "supportive environments for direct instruction and situated cognition that may engage students and support skill development" (Johnston, Olivas, Steele, Smith & Bailey, 2017: 18).

Although there has been an increasing interest in applying AR/MR/VR to create unique educational settings, the number of available review studies that focus on investigating the features, current uses and challenges, possible and practical advantages and limitations, and

[2] https://medium.com/design-intelligence/the-spectrum-of-reality-27c8ab40705b

[3] Augmented Reality (AR), Mixed Reality (MR), Virtual Reality (VR)

effectiveness in educational settings, is rather limited, additionally running behind the increased development and changes in the industry of digital media technologies.

VR was primarily used for learning in three ways that overlap (noticed by Schroeder, 1995: 33) - (1) to learn about VR itself (how to build virtual worlds and how to explore them; (2) to visualise or experience phenomena in virtual worlds which are difficult or impossible to illustrate by other means, or (3) to train people in virtual worlds for performing tasks in the real world such as operating a machine or performing an action. In addition, today VR can be used for travelling, listening to music or experiencing sound and music, learning languages, exploration of virtual space through physical movement in real space, content creation, etc.

EXAMPLES OF VIRTUAL REALITY TECHNOLOGIES WITH EDUCATIONAL POTENTIAL

Some research findings indicate that VR has educational possibilities and value[4]. Yahaya (2006: 262), findings report that immersive VR environments can help increase students' understanding of decision making, enhance learning and provide participants with real-life experience that they can relate to, and (as part of authentic learning environments) are an effective method of delivering knowledge in the classroom.

Pantelidis[5] notes that "VR provides an opportunity for the learner to make discoveries previously unknown" (2009: 63). Students and teachers can learn and develop their skills through these immersive VR experiences in learning: astronomy, geology, marine life, medicine, architecture, enterprise,

[4] Teachers need to be aware that using a virtual environment of high level of immersion may have physically or emotionally damaging effects on learners if the situations experienced through viewing of VR (using headsets and additional gear such as gloves), is not appropriate in terms of age, content, enhancement of any type of fear or anxiety student may have, or other physical and mental health issue.

[5] In 1995/2009, this author has developed and used a ten-steps model for determining when to use virtual reality in education and training courses, theoretically based on the work of Dr. Leslie J. Briggs and Dr. Robert Gagné, and Dr. Martha Jane K. Zachert, a leader in the use of simulation in teaching (image of the model – Pantelidis, 2009: 68).

art, aircraft engineering and building maintenance skills, etc. (Gomes, Figueiredo & Amante, 2014).

In the context of science subjects, virtual reality applications are aimed to a clearer understanding of structures and relationships between objects, not visible or not easily approachable in real life situations. In introducing "Peer", as a mixed reality platform (MR) that provides "compelling visual models of complex physical science concepts like gravity, molecular bonds, aerodynamics and force" through a headset, Daniel Park (2016) notes that "teachers using these platforms provide context that allows students to understand not only why they are learning a particular topic, but also understand where this topic fits into the real world in the future" (e.g. uncover the new knowledge and apply it to build something of their own). In their lessons, teachers can also "facilitate prototyping" and encourage "collaboration" as "the combination of physical and digital elements engages students by making abstract concepts and complex forces visible and tangible" (Park, 2016).

In learning geography, Stojšić et al. (2016) recognise the importance of many different applications. In the following part, a summary table (Table 2) is presented on applications that can be used in teaching/learning Geography and many different subjects. Many of these applications are in open accesses, although, some may be purchased and used only with special equipment.

Table 2 – *VR applications in teaching and learning Geography*

APPLICATION	TOPIC
Google Cardboard	contains the VR version of "Google Earth"
Expeditions	virtual tours; based on a collection of 360º VR panoramic photos on a specific topic
Street View	cities; content in stereoscopic view
Mars is a Real (Oculus)	Space, Mars, stars; a musical slideshow of stereoscopic 3D photos of the surface of Mars.
Place VR	a virtual "familiarisation tour" of the community in the region of Northeast Minnesota and Northwest Wisconsin
Star Chart VR (Oculus)	Solar System; a real-time simulation of the night sky, a 3D solar system to explore, a guided tour; moments in time (set foot on the Moon and Mars), etc.
Titans of Space Cardboard VR	a short and guided tour of our planets and a few stars in VR
View-Master	Space, Destinations, Wildlife; specially designed for

APPLICATION	TOPIC
	children (VR app, VR headset)
EON Experience AVR - mobile app	combines augmented and virtual reality and contains gamified educational contents; gamified Augmented Reality and Virtual Reality Learning library; (Geography teaching - Planetarium, Earth Continents, Earth Tropics, Earth Oceans, Arizona Crater, etc.)
SitesVR	sightseeing religious objects, archaeological sites, museums, fortifications, and nature in many countries (Turkey, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Morocco, Kuwait, Yemen, Macedonia, Belgium, and France).
Cardboard Camera	enables capture of 360º panoramic images; it is also possible to make 360º video materials with many cameras.
YouTube - 360° Videos	e.g. National Geographic 360° Videos
VR Cities	enables watching the scenes from the greatest cities of the world in immersive VR
Ascape	360° videos, scenic virtual travel tours or trips
Discovery VR	Adventure and wildlife

In learning music history Gomes, Figueiredo and Amante (2014), describe the development of a 3-D virtual world titled “Musical Journey” (a type of Desktop VR). The results of a case study conducted among a group of students contemplating its use in an educational context, showed positive student feedback on parameters such as satisfaction, ease of use, ease of learning, functionality and interface consistency. Kristen Brown (2014: 7), presented a project of developing an iOS augmented reality application “Prelude” for music educators that aims to serve as a tool in teaching students to recognise specific music notes and symbols. He acknowledges the potential of AR, in terms that it can transform the way people interact with the world around them, and that “it has the ability to ground us in the physical world while still providing us with an experience greater in impact than what the physical world provides alone.” Within the fields of education, “Prelude” is an example of an application that seeks to increase student engagement with the course material and provide an alternative technologically-inspired educational method of instruction for teachers to apply in their classroom.

Furthermore, VR/360° videos of concerts of classical music[6] and other types of music can be found on YouTube.

Godwin-Jones (2016) acknowledges that today, even in learning languages students now have the possibility for exploring "location-based topics", such as learning with *Google Expeditions* about literary works through a detailed virtual tour of the Italian city of Verona, historical or cultural interest in the city, and locations featured in the play "Romeo and Juliet". Some of the reasons for using VR in teaching and learning languages may be the following: situated learning, embodied interaction, immersion, active engagement, experiential learning and spatial affordance (Driver, 2018a).

Teachers can build on the "traditional use of images" in digital media literacy, or in many cases digital video (audio with image, interactive activities), as a way of scaffolding prior knowledge, and engaging students with the content utilising virtual reality technology (Google Street View, Google Expedition) as a learning tool for 'field trip-like' experiences (Pilgrim & Pilgrim, 2016). An example of experiential learning through 'field trip-like' experiences is the "Buckingham Palace Expedition"[7] tour (10 min) in the third or desktop type of VR, the 360° format with sound (narration). Students can access the video on YouTube website or application (smartphone or other mobile devices). This guided tour provides students with authentic language, history and culture experience.

Social media sites, such as Facebook and YouTube have invested a lot in providing their users with the possibility to publish their personal VR videos. As a social network video sharing site leader, YouTube, provides a rich archive of videos (travel[8]/geography/artistic/science) that can find their way to the classroom teaching and learning, especially with the virtual reality experiences designed for experiencing with the *Google Cardboard* application and *Google Cardboard* headset. Especially important for media literacy and education, is the YouTube Channel "The Female Planet", which uses virtual reality to give an inspirational 360° look into the personal and professional experiences of "five extraordinary women from around the world, with

[6] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j-vtJYmia_o

[7] https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=67&v=gen0NgJjry4

[8] "A London City Guided Tour (360 VR Video)" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m9EClKA1VeQ

careers spanning technology, science, sports and the arts." The sound, story, visual and overall immersive experience of students can generate more questions and engagement from the learners. Teachers, researchers and students together can work on re-examining and redefining digital literacy for immersive learning environments.

The several following examples provide virtual tours that can be used in many different teaching situations, depending on the technology available in the classroom:

1. *SamRohn 360° VR, Panoramic Photography and Virtual Tours*, provides virtual tours of factories, museums, city buildings and public spaces.
2. *AirPano Arial Panorama and 360° World Tours*, provides visuals (360° images and videos[9]) of locations around the world that can be viewed on YouTube.
3. *World in 360°* provides views from around the world.
4. *Blakeway Gigapixes* provides high resolution 360° views for sporting venues, parks, monuments and places.

A virtual field trip with 360° panoramas of places/scenes and high quality 360° videos on YouTube or other sites can be used in many different subjects in education as tools and immersive learning materials, but also as examples in developing student creativity of making such videos (with the topics of their interests) on smartphones with, for example, the free *Cardboard Camera app*. Another application for creating such videos is *CoSpaces Edu*, a creative platform for learners of all ages and subjects, "immersing students into a world where they can create, consume and connect with the curriculum on a completely new level (coding, creating 3D & VR content).

These videos, as well as those previously mentioned, can also be used in teacher education, training and development - CPD (Continuous Professional Development), as materials in courses and workshops for enhancing motivation and developing new skills of teachers. For example, teachers can experience "a speaking test day at Cambridge English

[9] "360° Carnival of Venice, Italy 4K video" https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=26&v=pwivE6bvD8w

Assessment" [10], (experiencing a *new situation*), in the role of a student in an exam, together with a student named Maria (recorded in the video) and practice real speaking test parts in the form of a 360° video. This type of experience can certainly help novice teachers and teachers in different countries and teaching contexts to prepare their students better for this type or similar types of exams. In the context of language learning, in such activities with mobile and VR devices, language areas and skills that students can practice are connected to the development of all language skills. Students can practice making comparisons or suggestions about a certain topic, practising persuading, predicting and guessing. As post-viewing activities students can engage in a discussion or debate, and practice agreeing and disagreeing, expressing preferences, and justifying opinions. In learning new vocabulary students can research the meaning of new words, do the matching of new words to synonyms, or simply label the items seen (Sutcliffe & Barns, 2017).

As VR is now used as a teaching and learning tool, especially in practice in a wide range of fields, it is important to remember that students do not necessarily learn from using VR technologies; instead, they learn to think significantly with the thought-activated activities and interaction experienced in these new situations that were provided by VR and the learning context (self-initiated or teacher guided) that happened before and after using VR technologies.

In summary, in the context of learning, the benefits of bringing virtual reality (VR), materials into the classroom can be the following:

1. captivating and motivating students to perform learning at various levels of education,
2. enriching learning activities through immersive experiences,
3. facilitating student engagement in learning (Brown, 2014),
4. providing examples of authentic language resources (real communication, a wider range of language/genre),
5. introducing new/interesting topics or approaching familiar topics in a new more immersive way (Sutcliffe & Barns, 2017),
6. encouraging experiencing sound and music in new ways, in the field of entertainment, but also in music education,
7. enhancing greater cross-cultural understanding,

[10] "Cambridge Assessment English: B2 First Part 1" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IArd6ZadFJ4

8. building social responsibility and eliminating "physical barriers and barriers to social participation, such as sharing a sense of a community" (Barilli, 2012),
9. developing skills (Johnston et al. 2017)
10. developing digital media literacy and skills (Pilgrim & Pilgrim, 2016),
11. encouraging life-long (language) learning and development.

CPD IN VIRTUAL ENVIRONMENTS

Teachers and educators usually lack a pedagogical rationale for using technology in their teaching that can be provided through an amount of training, continuous mentoring and technical support. In a study by Oh and Nussli (2014: 33) authors offered recommendations and a model for teacher educators (special education) who are interested in training teachers in the use of three-dimensional (3D) Immersive Virtual Worlds (IVWs), such as Second Life (SL), for their own teaching, also, several key benefits of 3D IVWs emerged from the qualitative analyses, namely "social skills practice, collaborative learning towards a joint goal with a competitive element and increased motivation to participate".

Instead of using video, simulated environments are more frequently used in teacher education and training (e.g. *Teach Live*, a mixed-reality program created by the University of Central Florida), as teachers can practice responding to problematic or challenging behaviours of students without the risk of causing emotional harm to real students. Although they provide an opportunity to practice basic teaching techniques and lesson management strategies, student reactions are pre-programmed, and in that way can potentially reinforce stereotypes about students.

Driver (2018a,b) findings from a study in designing, developing and implementing VR/360° content (with 360° sound recording) in educational training situations, especially with CELTA trainees, show that trainees transformed their approach to reflection, where they (1) moved from superficial reflection to more nuanced reflection, (2) expended their focus more on the lesson instead of focusing on the lesson logistics, (3) moved from homogenisation (e.g. seeing students as a mass) to individualisation (started to notice individual students in the lesson), (4) moved from negative self-image to externalised constructive criticism. Trainees also started looking more at

their gestures in teaching, and they started looking at VR video recordings as something happening in real time (shift in time perception). Furthermore, they experienced a shift of focus from them as teachers to their students and started appreciating the level of authenticity that 360° view offers. In addition, Bordcosh (2018) also examined a model of teacher training and self-observation based on recording a lesson in 4K technology (360°), and posting it directly to a YouTube account, allowing teachers by wearing VR cardboard goggles "to sit beside their students in their class in their own lesson":

> "...the evaluation is instantly transformed into an exploration, one that is self-directed and observed, not judged. In so doing, teachers attain a valuable sense of self-awareness that enables them to see areas for improvement and set their own goals. In this sense, evaluation and development become one in the same and are no longer mutually exclusive." (Bordcosh, 2018, par. 5).

FINAL REMARKS

This paper explored more closely many examples of VR content in the form of Virtual Reality (VR) videos or 360° videos that can be applied in teaching and learning of many different subjects and levels of study.

> "Real efficiency of technologies to support learning will depend on our ability to develop new concepts and acquire new knowledge, to analyse learning processes and to develop methods to design adequate learning resources, to exploit the uniqueness of available technologies and, most importantly, integrate all of them into a coherent complex system." (Mellet-d'Huart, 2009: 217).

How educators perceive the usability of VR for education will likely influence how they will implement it in their teaching and CPD. As noted by Oh and Nussli (2014), through deep reflection about their new experiences in an entirely new learning environment, for example, keeping a journal, teachers can "help educators understand the problems that their own students will encounter in future explorations of 3D IVWs and to design assignments with these issues in mind."

Considering the distinction between "probable – possible" and "wild–preferable futures of VR in Education" (Passig, 2009), in this paper, the "short-term forecast" is oriented to future directions aimed at *engaging both teachers and learners in experimenting in small-scale research and acting as key users of VR content and creators of knowledge in the educational and*

CPD processes. The integration of VR systems into all levels of educational environments in that way will closely meet their learning and development needs. A growing industry and academic work will preferably deliver a vast variety of applications that would aim to offer unique learning experiences in different educational contexts.

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Anka Mihajlov Prokopović[1]
Marija Vujović
Faculty of Philosophy
University of Niš
Niš, Serbia

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RADIO TELEVISION OF SERBIA IN FRONT OF CHALLENGES OF DIGITAL AGE

Abstract: For almost two decades, Radio Television of Serbia (RTS) has been facing the challenges of the digital age and, at the same time, going through the transformation from formerly state television into a public media service with clearly defined commitments and expectations. This paper maps the challenges in the technological sphere to which RTS is exposed, as well as the ways and strategies on which the RTS reacts to these challenges. The subject of the analysis is the three major processes: the process of digitalization of television and radio programs, the online edition of RTS and the new Internet platform RTS Planeta (RTS Planet) launched in March 2018. The aim is to determine whether, and in what ways, RTS meets one of the obligations of the public media service. The requirement that will be examined here is that the public media service is tasked with being the first to apply technological advancements and, accordingly, to the widest area, and thus to the greater number of viewers and listeners, provide distribution and reception of content using the new digital technology. This task becomes further complicated by the conflict of interest in the economic sphere in the commercial media system. The goal is also to determine how much RTS is going to meet the changing role of the public service traditionally defined through the phrase that the public service informs, educates and entertains (author John Reith) into the role that new needs of users define as education, entertainment and participation (Enli 2008). The results of the analysis showed that RTS has been developing an adequate strategy and responding to the needs of the audience that has been moving to the internet. RTS does this by promoting online editions both technologically and in terms of the media forms and media contents, as well as the engagement of educated professionals with digital competencies. In the technological field, new application for mobile phones has been introduced; then a new platform is being prepared, which will, among other things, enable greater user participation; 19 external associates have been hired as permanent employees and the editorial team follows the site's visit and meets the interests of the

[1] This paper is partly derived from the doctoral thesis “Transformation of traditional media in the new technological environment” presented at the Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade.

audience. This strategy of RTS is embodied in the launch of the new Internet platform of RTS Planeta (RTS Planet) which, according to the sources from RTS, has 150 thousand users, and provides them with the possibility of watching TV and listening to the radio program via the Internet and access to a rich archive of RTS.

Key words: Radio Television of Serbia, digitalization, media, digital platforms, online edition

INTRODUCTION

The digital era has posed new demands to traditional media (Boczkowski, 2004, Hermida, 2014). Thanks to the Internet, the changes in the media sphere are huge - they are changing journalistic practices and market models. In Serbia, a new media digital sphere is emerging, which now has its clear outlines - the number of online media is growing from year to year, investigative online media is emerging, online advertising grows, and online readership is growing (Mihajlov Prokopović, Jevtović, 2017, Share foundation 2017). With the challenges of the new digital age, the Radio Television of Serbia, whose recent history was facing the problems of transformation from former state television into a public media service with clearly defined obligations and expectations, also faces the challenges (Matić, Valić Nedeljković, 2014: 106-116, Vujović, Mihajlov Prokopović, 2013). This paper analyzes the challenges in the technological sphere to which the RTS was exposed, as well as the ways and strategies to which the RTS reacted to these challenges. The subject of the analysis is the three major processes: the process of digitalization of television and radio programs, the online edition of the RTS and the new RTS Planeta (the RTS Planet), an internet platform that allows users to watch eleven television channels and listen to four public service broadcasts live or delayed, launched in March 2018. The aim is to determine whether and in what ways the RTS meets one of the obligations of the public media service. This obligation is defined in the Law on Public Service Broadcasting of the Republic of Serbia, which in Article 8 states that the public media service in the exercise of public interest is obliged to "ensure the use and development of modern technical and technological standards in the production and publication of programs and in the foreseen period implements plans to switch to new digital technologies" (Law on Public Service Broadcasting, 2014: Article 8). European media policy prescribes obligations in the digital sphere for public media services

such as the provision of innovative services on all platforms (Veljanovski, 2016: 18).

DIGITALIZATION

Digitalization[2] in Serbia was completed on 7 June 2015, 10 days before the revised deadline – the initial deadline was 4 April 2015; however, this deadline was extended because neither the citizens nor the country were ready enough for this process to be completed by the initial deadline (Samardžić, 2010: 8-10, Veljanovski, 2012: 137).

At the Regional Radiocommunication Conference (RRC) in Geneva, in June 2006, amongst the members of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), Serbia accepted to conduct digital switchover by 17 June 2015 at the latest. In order to meet this goal, The Government of the Republic of Serbia issued the Strategy for the Transition from Analogue to Digital Signal in 2009. This strategy provided the standards for digital broadcasting that would bring savings to the frequency spectrum, ”because with the use of very efficient standards, programs can be placed within a much smaller number of frequency channels than it was possible with old, less efficient digital broadcasting standards” (Reljin, Jocić Tanasković, 2014: 15). In accordance with the above Strategy, in 2009, The Government decided to create a public company for broadcasting infrastructure management, whereby digital broadcasting services were separated from television stations, which would only produce program. Another significant thing for the digitalization process in Serbia was the adoption of the Law on Electronic Communications in June 2010, as well as the adoption of a package of media reform laws in August 2014 - the most important one being the Law on Electronic Media (Reljin, Jocić Tanasković, 2014: 16-17).

Most European countries have already conducted digital switchover; many of them had finished this process before Serbia did (Veljanovski, 2012: 136). By the time Serbia had completed the switchover, there were only three more European countries remaining to do so: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania and Romania (Beta 3 January 2016). In the interview with the Beta News Agency, Branko Gogić, the acting director of the Broadcasting and

[2] “Digitalization is a term that denotes the use of new technologies in the field of broadcasting and the transition from analogue to digital broadcasting.” (Veljanovski, 2012: 135).

communications equipment company (in Serbian: *ETV)*, said that 98% of the country was covered by the digital signal, while the plan is to conduct digitalization in the rest of the country as well (Beta 3 January 2016). The projected European standard for digital signal coverage is 95%, which means that Serbia is above the standard. Branko Gogić says that Serbia has installed state-of-the-art digital technology (DVB-T2 for signal transmission, and MPEG4 for television signal compression), and our country is keeping up with the developed European countries with regards to this aspect.

The transition to digital technology by radio stations in Serbia is not being carried out at the same pace as it was the case with television signal. Digital radio broadcasting is present in many countries in Europe (Pralica 2015: 166-169). Serbia is in that group of countries that are "making the first steps" (Zlatanović, Gaćinović, Stanković 2018: 228). Many radio stations in Serbia use another technology-related opportunity, which is radio station broadcasting on the Internet (Pralica, 2011: 39). This feature is also used by the RTS for its four radio programs, which was enabled by launching the RTS Planet platform.

INTERNET PORTAL RTS.RS

In order to analyze the web edition of the Radio Television of Serbia (hereinafter: RTS), two techniques will be used: the analysis of the online edition content and an in-depth interview with the editor-in-chief of the electronic edition (Ljubiša Obradović). Since the author of this paper analyzed the RTS website in 2015 for the purposes of her doctoral dissertation, she will use this paper to compare the indicators of the website structure and complexity today to what the situation was three years ago. During the same year (28 April 2015), the author conducted an in-depth interview with Ljubiša Obradović, the editor-in-chief of the web portal RTS.rs. This interview covered several topics: how digital technology affects radio and television, the characteristics of the RTS web edition, the changes of the role of traditional media, changes in journalism practice, the relationship between media and citizen journalism, media and social media, media policy and digital culture in Serbia. In the interview that the author conducted with Ljubiša Obradović, the current editor-in-chief of the RTS online edition in August 2018 covered similar topics. The reason this interview was conducted was to identify the changes that took place in the meantime and how the editor perceived these

changes. The goal of this paper is to find out how journalism practice changes in the digital age.

The indicators analyzed were: interactivity, hypertextuality, multimedia, website content updates, identifying original website content, organization of newsroom, changing audiences, the development of this specific online edition compared to others in the world, and the willingness of the RTS to experiment in the digital realm.

Interactivity was investigated in two ways. The first way was to examine the possibilities for direct communication between the website users and journalists via email. The second way was to investigate whether interactivity can be enabled via interactive services such as: user comments, site visitors' participation in the blog, forum, surveys, and other user content (articles, photos, audio and video clips). The RTS web portal contains the e-mail address of the editorial office, while there are no e-mail addresses of the journalists. Editorial distance[3] has remained the same as it was the case three years ago. Many studies have shown that establishing a more direct relationship between the audiences and the journalists has been very slow, regardless of the advantages provided by the Internet (Paulussen, 2004: 9-10, Schultz, 1999, Oblak, 2005: 98-103). When the online editions of traditional media started to emerge worldwide, journalists at first avoided direct communication with the audiences enabled by the Internet, while later on, this possibility has started to be more and more acceptable (Krejg, 2010: 46-48). The RTS web portal soon plans to improve the communication with citizens. With the new platform, users will have the opportunity to send their own photographs, audio and video clips. There will be a link at the bottom of each news article which will invite website visitors to send more details to the editorial team if they know more about that particular news. "So, these wouldn't be comments, but it would actually be an attempt to create, the so-called, citizen journalism, where someone would send some information, but that piece of information would certainly be verified before being published. That would be done by journalists as a part of their everyday work. That would probably be done by the journalist who originally posted that news, who is keeping track of everything related to that news – that person best knows all the details. Or it could be the duty editor or editor-in-chief, depending on the story" (Ljubiša Obradović, interview, 30 August 2018).

[3]For more details on the unavailability of email addresses as an indicator of editorial distance please see: Oblak, 2005: 98-99.

There is an option for website visitors to leave their comments on articles; however, RTS adheres to the rules of pre-moderation (regulation and moderation of comments). These rules are published on the website, and Ljubiša Obradović points out that the comments are moderated in order to avoid ungrounded accusations or insults. “We are trying to introduce some sort of responsibility and accountability, so those comments that involve hate speech, either political or nationalistic, are not published” (Ljubiša Obradović, interview, 30 August 2018). The number of comments that a particular article has received is not shown in the article header, but rather at the end of the article. News articles are ranked by topicality, as well as by the fact which were the most read ones, but not by the fact which received the most comments (Image 1.News ranked by the number of clicks on RTS.rs).

Image 1. *News ranked by the number of clicks on RTS.rs (23 August 2018)*

Radio Television of Serbia website does not contain forums or surveys, while although there is a “Blog” section in the bottom of the page, it

is not active. With regards to other user-generated content on the RTS web portal, there are photographs and video clips. Photographs sent by users are published regularly in the "Gledaoci reporteri" ("Users as Reporters") column, in the "Magazin" ("Magazine") section. Videos sent by users, mostly funny and entertaining, can be found in the "Video dana" ("Video of the Day") column, in the "Vesti" ("News") section.

When analyzing hypertextuality of the online edition of the RTS, we started from the division of links into external and internal, investigated which type of links are the most frequently used, and checked whether the linking policy exists and, if so, what its principles are. This website uses only internal links, that is, links that point to another webpage (or resource) on the same website. The links between articles, i.e. linking logic, is often distant, since articles are generally grouped based on the column they belong to. Although not too many, there are still some direct links to articles which are thematically closely linked. We found such direct links in four columns (all four were sports columns) out of a total of 44 which could be found on the website main page (website analysis conducted on 23 August 2018). Each link pointing to another article contained the title of that article and a photograph or a video that illustrated the topic covered. By clicking on any of these two link elements, the whole article opens. Thus, we can conclude that the RTS provides links in every column; that is, they provide links that point to articles dealing with a certain topic ("Politics", "Region", "World", "Society", "Economy", "Sport" etc.). As we have already noted, some articles have links which point to closely related topics. The common name for such articles is "Povezane vesti" ("Related News").

Digital technology has made the use of multimedia resources such as audio recordings, videos, photos, photo galleries and computer animations in a website easier and allowed for such resources to be used more than in any other traditional media. On the RTS web portal, photographs are required. These photographs can be found in with any article. There is only one photo gallery which contains photos taken by site visitors - "Gledaoci reporteri" (the "Users as Reporters") column, and are arranged from the latest to the earliest photos. The same day we analyzed hypertextuality (23 August 2018), the presence of videos was checked as well. Out of a total of 44 articles which were on the website main page, ten contained video clips. Only one video was not created by the RTS team, but rather copied from YouTube. The RTS web portal uses the benefits provided by their "mother media" - television, by uploading video clips to the website for all the most important events. This

radio-television company has enough both human and technical resources to produce program for its web edition. The RTS web portal enables users to watch and listen to the TV and radio broadcasts of this public broadcaster whenever they want, thanks to the podcast channels pointing to these shows (Image 2. Video podcast to the "Kulturni dnevnik" ("Cultural News"), a TV show on the RTS website). By clicking the button "Emisije" ("Shows") in the top section of the RTS website main page, the list of all RTS radio and television shows is shown and access to their podcast channels given.

Image 2. *Video podcast to the "Kulturni dnevnik" ("Cultural News"), a TV show on the RTS website (24 August 2018)*

The top section of the RTS website main page also provides an option to watch live streaming TV and listen to live radio. It is enough to simply click the live radio button and the user will be able to listen to radio; however, after clicking the live streaming TV button, users are redirected to the Planeta (Planet) internet platform.

The RTS website content is regularly updated, 24 hours a day. The speed at which information is published or posted is an important requirement for this editorial team. However, the most important requirement is information accuracy. Ljubiša Obradović says: "Real-time reporting is the end goal. When we have some of our journalists in the field we manage to report in real time." For several years now, the RTS has used the live blog[4] for the

[4]Live blog is a hybrid genre which can be almost perceived as live broadcasting. Some characteristics specific to live blogging are: summary lead, continuously

most important news under the title "Iz časa u čas" ("Minute by minute"). "That's a standard form of reporting present on the Internet, it's not something that we've invented. We try to meet the standards public broadcasting promotes, we want our news to be accurate, verified and clear – and the audiences are those who assess if we've succeeded in this" (Ljubiša Obradović, interview, 30/08/ 2018). During the time period of the website analysis we conducted (from August 23rd to September 1st), four live blogs were broadcast (three live blogs covered sporting events).

The content posted on the RTS website mostly contains the news made by the RTS reporters who are in the field, or the news articles are taken over from the agencies. The news articles get updated during the day, while some stories are published using live blogs. Ljubiša Obradović says: "Basically, all content is made especially for the website, while some things are taken over from the television. One part of the website called "Magazin" does not appear in any other RTS format, just like a large number of news does not appear in the RTS television programs, because we tend to publish and post much more news than television. One central news bulletin can present between 10 and 15 news, or possibly 20 short news, while our website publishes between 120 and 130 news, sometimes even 200 on a daily basis".

Although the RTS website was launched in 1999, a separate editorial team for the web portal was formed in 2008. Today, this editorial team has 34 full-time employees and four external associates. Most of the employees are journalists – 22 of them, while the team also includes website administrators, comment moderators, web designers and a lector.

The introduction of the RTS online edition has enabled this media company to reach new audiences worldwide. Before this RTS web portal was launched, the RTS could be watched beyond the borders of Serbia thanks to satellite television, but due to high costs, many parts of the world were not covered. Thanks to the Internet, this is now much cheaper. Another change that took place is that now the RTS editorial team tracks the number of visits in real time using a program called Google Analytics. Thanks to this program, the editorial team now knows not only the number of visitors but also what they read, so the stories which attract great interest get the priority. As for the age range of the audience, the data provided by Google Analytics shows that, in August, most of the website visitors (29% of them) were between the ages

updated information and multimedia – and these can be found in live blogs on the RTS.rs website.

of 25 and 34. The majority of website visitors were from Serbia (on 30 August 2018, 1163 out of 2000 visitors were from Serbia), followed by Austria, Germany, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Switzerland.

When asked to assess the web portal development and compare it to others worldwide, Ljubiša Obradović, the RTS web portal editor-in-chief said that all online editions in Serbia are lagging behind with technology, primarily due to financial constraints. Willingness to experiment is also conditioned by money. Whenever some innovation occurs in the world, the RTS implements it depending on money available.

Which changes have taken place during this 3-year period? In the field of technology, IOS application has been introduced, as well as Apple operating system, while the previous Android application has been replaced with the new one. With regards to audiences: 70% of the users visit the website from their smartphones, which was not the case three years ago. More attention is now paid to the audiences using smartphones. "The RTS has developed *push* notifications, making sure not to be boring to the users, but rather to inform them about important news whenever when there are some" (Ljubiša Obradović, interview, 30 August 2018). Editorial team has new 19 full-time employees who used to be external associates. The biggest technology-related change is that this year the new platform, new software and new applications have started being developed.

NEW PLATFORM: RTS PLANETA (RTS PLANET)

In March 2018, the RTS launched the RTS Planeta (the RTS Planet), an internet platform for broadcasting television and radio programs. Access for the users in Serbia is free, only registration is necessary; after that, the users can watch all public television channels (11) live and listen to one of the four public radio programs as well. This platform also provides a delayed viewing and listening program for 72 hours (a service known as *catch up*). In addition, within this platform, it is possible to listen to and watch the huge archive material created in the RTS. According to the Assistant Director of the RTS Development and New Affairs Department, Tatjana Ćitić, platform already allows watching the TV shows that won top honours. "In addition, I would draw attention to the broadcasts in sign language, also to the broadcasts for national minorities and in the languages of national minorities, which can be found in our program archive" (Radulović, 14 March 2018). Assistant

Director of Radio Belgrade and coordinator of the RTS Planet for Radio, Milica Kuburović, said that "the service is stored daily on the content created several decades ago, so users can expect to hear audio materials that Radio Belgrade keeps since the second half of the 19th century" (Radulović, 14 March 2018). On Television Belgrade, they estimate that the archival material will be digitized and archived in 20 years. According to Milica Kuburović from Radio Belgrade, no one dares to estimate how much time it will take to digitize audio material. Four million hours of audio recordings have been stored at Radio Belgrade. In addition to the audio material that emerged during the work of Radio Belgrade since the founding in 1924, there are audio recordings from the earlier period that Radio Beograd received for protection from individuals, institutions and colleagues from other European and world radio stations. The oldest audio recording kept by Radio Belgrade was from the 1890s (Radulović 14 March 2018). Duška Vučinić, the head of the Public Relations Service and corporate image of the RTS, said that the RTS Planet acquired more than 150,000 users several months after its launch. Several thousand spectators followed the World Cup football match broadcast via this internet platform (Interview – Duška Vučinić, 25 July 2018).

CONCLUSION

Although the public media service in the world faces a crisis, the public continues to rightly expect this institution to be completely prepared for the challenges of the digital age.

The Internet portal RTS.rs experienced changes in relation to the period of three years ago when the author performed the analysis of this site with ten indicators. Analyzing the content of the online edition and using the data obtained through an in-depth interview with Ljubiša Obradović, the editor-in-chief of RTS.rs identified the following changes: in the technological field, new application for mobile phones was introduced, a new platform is being prepared, which will, among other things, enable greater participation users and 19 external associates have been admitted to permanent employment. Editorial team follows the site's visit and meets the interests of the audience. The audience has also changed: now it's a mobile majority (70% of visitors to the site access the site from mobile phones). The limiting factor is money and the budgets of leading public media services in the developed world are higher. The strategy of online edition development is not a limiting factor, as Ljubiša Obradović says: "The RTS is applied new

technologies in accordance with the available money. If we had more money, we would like our website to have the same features as the Guardian's site". This strategy of the RTS is embodied in the launch of the new Internet platform of the RTS Planeta (RTS Planet) in March 2018, which, according to the sources from the RTS, has 150 thousand users, and provides them with the possibility of watching TV and listening to the radio program via the Internet and the access to a rich archive of the RTS.

The RTS did not remain immune to the changes brought about by the digital age. First of all, the RTS takes into account the large migration of the audience to the Internet. This is evidenced by the analysis of online editions that are changing to meet the needs of the audience. Another proof is offered by the new RTS Planet platform, which uses its advantages in relation to traditional radio and television - a rich archive: "Videoteka'' and "Slušaonica'' ("Audience room") and contents offered by the correspondent network of the RTS: "Moj grad'' ("My City").

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Tijana Milosevic
Department of Media and Communication
University of Oslo
Oslo, Norway

UDC 316.742.4:004.738.5]:364.636

CYBERBULLYING POLICIES OF SOCIAL MEDIA COMPANIES[1]

This presentation is based on my monograph Protecting Children Online? Cyberbullying Policies of Social Media Companies (MIT Press, 2018)[2] as well as based on my postdoctoral research at the University of Oslo, as a member of the EU Kids Online research network. EU Kids Online is a large research network that exists in 33 European countries studying children and digital media. It is best known for the large survey it conducted in 2010 in 25 European countries on nationally representative samples of 9-16 year-old Internet-using children. The network is currently organizing a new wave or survey data collection in at least 16 European countries. Together with my colleagues from the Institute of Psychology at the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Belgrade, I have been trying to fundraise for this data to be collected in Serbia as well, as this would allow us to have insights on children's digital media use on a nationally representative sample---which has not been previously done. This effort would also allow the country to join a large research network of international importance, allowing cross-country data comparisons and thus making children's experiences with digital media in Serbia more visible at the European level.

OVERVIEW OF BULLYING AND CYBERBULLYING

Defining cyberbullying is problematic and it could be said that scholars from different disciplines have a difficult time agreeing on definitions. Definitions, of course, are important for establishing consistency in measurements and for the process of operationalization of measurement instruments; and especially for comparing prevalence among surveys, for

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[1] The paper is based on plenary presentation at the conference "Bridges of Media Education 2018".

[2] The book is available online in open access: https://mitpress.mit.edu/books/protecting-children-online

instance. A great variety in measurement tools has, to an extent, contributed to such significant differences between prevalence rates in various studies. Following the definition of face-to-face (offline) bullying, cyberbullying involves use of digital technology to intentionally inflict repeated harm (Kowalski et al., 2014; Mishna, 2012; Patchin & Hinduja, 2012; Görzig & Machackova, 2015). Examples of cyberbullying on social media include mean comments or gossip, excluding someone from a group, photos or pages on social media dedicated to mocking someone. The word *repeated* is important here: In order to classify cyberbullying as such and in order to distinguish it from other types of online harassment, the action has to be repeated (it is not enough to have only one incident). The importance of this element of repetition for defining cyberbullying is derived from the definition of face-to-face bullying. Yet, while in the offline realm and analog era, it may have been easy to decide what counts as one incident, with the appearance of digital technology this is not so simple to establish. For instance, if the person who wants to mock or harass someone else (the so-called perpetrator or "bully") posts only one mean comment and yet this comment is shared and copied on various platforms---does this count as repetition? To further compound the situation, some scholars propose that cyberbullying, again, based on definitions of regular bullying involves a form of power imbalance between the perpetrator and the victim (e.g. offline, the perpetrator could be physically stronger or have more social capital—a more popular child in the group). Yet, how this translates into social media experiences is not at all obvious. Take for instance, the situation when the perpetrator is anonymous---how do we establish power imbalance in such cases (even though research shows that in cyberbullying children often know who the perpetrators are, see Mishna, 2012). Research has found a significant overlap between cyberbullying victimization and perpetration (see, e.g. Görzig & Machackova, 2015). This means that those who bully online often find themselves in the role of the victim and vice versa, which is not typical of offline bullying. This suggests that cyberbullying has some distinct characteristics facilitated by the properties of technology. Nonetheless, it is important to point out that scholars contest this point and a great overlap between bullying and cyberbullying (they tend to happen hand in hand), leads some scholars to confirm that cyberbullying is merely an extension of offline bullying (see e.g. Olweus, 2012). What authors tend to point out is that cyberbullying could be more difficult to escape than offline bullying because it follows the child home

from school so to speak. If offline bullying was confined to school environments and the child could escape by going home; with cyberbullying it is more difficult to accomplish this because mean comments and behaviors continue on social media. While adults mistakenly think that telling children to "log off" or stop using social media would remedy the issue, this is not so easy to accomplish---children's social lives unfold on their phones; telling them to switch them off amounts to curbing their social life. Unfortunately, I do not have the time to go further into this issue---volumes have been written about defining the phenomenon, but suffice to say that it is a complex issue.

THE ISSUE OF RESPONSIBILITY: PRIVATIZED PUBLIC SPHERE

Whereas for offline bullying, the question of who is responsible for addressing the problem, for intervening in existing cases and preventing future ones, mostly pertained to schools and families; with the advent of cyberbullying, this question has become more complex. Social media companies such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram or Snapchat, to name just a few among the most famous ones, where these incidents frequently occur, have begun to play an increasingly important role in this process. For instance, just last year, The Guardian reported that Facebook's operational policies for addressing cyberbullying on its platform got leaked,[3] revealing that the company allowed users to post footage of children as they were being bullied. The operational policies refer to the company's instructions to its moderators[4] for managing content that violates the company's policy, such as cyberbullying. Operational policies are not normally shared with general public (at least that did not use to be the case for the majority of the companies). Revealing that policies had loopholes caused quite a stir in the public and negative press for Facebook. Facebook faced similar accusations on another topic that is distinct and yet a in a way similar to cyberbullying---hate speech. Once the policies had been leaked, it was revealed that Facebook

[3] https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/may/22/how-facebook-allows-users-to-post-footage-of-children-being-bullied

[4] Employees who look into reported content in order to determine if the content violates the company's Terms of Service and other corporate documents which state what can and cannot be done on the platform---such as Community Guidelines or Standards.

protected "white men" over "black children" against hate speech.[5] Such outcomes (for both bullying and hate speech), were, in a way, a side effect of complex instructions whereby the company had to streamline the process of content moderation---ensuring that the policies were applied consistently throughout the platform, while protecting from the stated harms. Such moderation where not just Facebook but other social media companies as well need to balance freedom of speech concerns on the one hand and protection of vulnerable groups such as minors on the other; and to do so consistently throughout the globe where the cultural and legal contexts are not at all similar, puts these companies in a very difficult position, as this of course, is not an easy task. One also has to bear in mind that these companies are handling vast amounts of content. For instance, at one point in 2015, 300 hours of video were being uploaded onto YouTube, per minute. Such content is very difficult to moderate: if Facebook has a billion users, even though it employs thousands of moderators with various language expertise throughout the globe---it can still be extremely difficult to manage such vast amounts of content. This is why companies have been developing ways to employ what could be characterized as types of machine learning or artificial intelligence ---in order to streamline the process and make it more efficient (more on that point later). The important point here is that these are companies that have, arguably, acquired the importance and scale of public utilities but they are nonetheless corporations with their private business interests (perhaps best evidenced in the case of fake news and Facebook during the US elections). They have been entrusted with managing an important aspect of the digital public sphere, as well as with well-being of its youngest users. They govern this process via private policies that are often not disclosed (as in the case of the previously mentioned operational policies that had been leaked). This is what is referred to by "privatized digital public sphere". Privatization of digital public sphere (DeNardis, 2014; Gillespie, 2010, 2015;van Dijck, 2013) is also one of the theoretical frameworks that I rely on in my work. Relevant to this framework are the concepts of digital capitalism, platform governance, datafication of childhood (Andrejevic, 2002; 2014; Mascheroni & Holloway, 2017; Schiller, 2000). These refer to the increasing roles of online platforms in the daily management of human lives and societies, whereby users' (and children's data) are becoming an important value currency. Furthermore, I

[5] http://fortune.com/2017/06/28/facebook-hate-speech-censorship-policies/

rely on the EU Kids Online framework of "risk and harm in context" as well as "children's rights" (EU Kids Online, 2014). What I highlight in my research from this theoretical framework and its revised theoretical model (see Livingstone, Mascheroni & Staksrud, 2017), is firstly that risk does not equal to harm---in other words there can be risk but harm can sometimes be minimal. Then, harm vs. well-being is determined by an interplay of a multitude of factors at the child's individual, family, school, social and country levels (e.g. media policies in a given country) and hence not every child will experience the same level of harm stemming from the same risk. Curbing risk entirely, may not be advisory because children need to experience a certain level of risk in order to build resilience. Based on this framework, I emphasize that not every child that is exposed to cyberbullying will experience as grave of an effect as developing suicidal thoughts. This can happen but it is important to understand that a multitude of factors leads to such an outcome; and this will not happen to every child. This is important to bear in mind in order to avoid panicky reactions to high profile cyberbullying cases (which I will discuss next as well as the impulse to restrict access to technology which comes in the aftermath of such cases); and policy recommendations that in fact fail to assist children in need.

HIGH PROFILE CYBERBULLYING CASES AND PRESSURES ON SOCIAL MEDIA COMPANIES

There are, unfortunately, those tragic cases where children die by suicide and cyberbullying is said to have contributed to such deaths in some way (media coverage often leads with simplified and misguided conclusions that "cyberbullying caused suicide" and I explain in the book why this is problematic along with an analysis of several such cases). These cases, often described as "high profile cyberbullying incidents" because they gather a significant amount of media and public attention, can cause grave problems and negative press for social media platforms where the cases that were connected to suicides took place. For instance, in one such case that took place in the UK, even the prime minister at the time gave a statement, saying that the platform where the cyberbullying incident took place was "vile" and that advertisers should withdraw their ads from the platform. A number of companies followed the prime minister's advice, which caused significant financial issues for the company on top of negative press. The company eventually got sold and the new owner revamped the platform's safety tools.

This all goes to show that the companies can face significant pressures not only to have effective cyberbullying policies and tools, but also to show to the public that they are willing to take responsibility when something goes wrong; and to convince the public that the tools are effective.

LIABILITY VS. RESPONSIBILITY

With respect to whether the companies are liable from the legal perspective---the answer is---it depends. Different countries may have distinct legislative provisions. Nonetheless, normally in the United States and the European Union, companies are exempt from liability for content that users post on their platforms because they are "online intermediaries". Online intermediaries allow "the intermediation of user generated content [and] the possibility of interactivity among users and direct engagement with content" (DeNardis & Hackl, 2015, p.761). This means that they are not treated as publishers and are subject to liability exemptions (e.g. US Communications Decency Act, Section 230; safe harbor provisions of the European *e*Commerce Directive). The new revisions to the European Audiovisual Media Services Directive also uphold these liability exemptions.[6] Other countries can have different models. Australia instituted the office of the Child Safety Commissioner to whom one can report a cyberbullying case and if the Commissioner then orders the platform where such content is posted to take it down---the company faces financial penalty if it fails to comply in a certain amount of time.[7]

SELF-REGULATION

Even though companies are not necessarily liable, they still develop extensive policies and tools against cyberbullying through the process of self-regulation. Self-regulation can be characterized as "the creation, implementation and enforcement of rules by a group of actors, industry in particular, with minimal or no intervention by the state" (Lievens, 2016, p.1 cf. Lievens, 2010). Again, I do not have the time to go into the intricacies of self and co-regulation as applied to cyberbullying---I discuss this extensively

[6] http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-18-4093_en.htm

[7] https://www.esafety.gov.au/social-media-regulation

in my book and I specifically compare the European and the US approach to self-regulation in chapter six, for those who are interested. Suffice to say that in Europe, for instance, the European Commission could lead the effort in bringing the companies to the table and asking them to commit to certain standards of effectiveness in how they approach bullying on their platforms.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODS

I therefore examine the following key RQs in my book:

- Which cyberbullying-related provisions exist and how do they differ among the companies?
- What are the tools of enforcing compliance of cyberbullying-related provisions?
- What can be known about relative effectiveness of these mechanisms?

As for the method, I conducted case study analyses of five high profile cyberbullying incidents; I used qualitative analysis techniques: Thematic analysis of companies' corporate documents (14 companies); 30 interviews with company, e-safety NGO representatives and e-safety experts; for my postdoctoral project I conducted a survey and focus groups with school children in Norway. Facebook, Facebook-owned Instagram, Twitter, Snapchat and YouTube are among the companies in my sample; I made sure to include the companies that are older and have significantly more resources, which I call "the more established companies" and the start-ups---newer ones with less resources. The e-safety NGOs and experts were primarily from the US, UK and EU, more broadly.

FINDINGS

In the book, I discuss the differences in policies and enforcement mechanisms between the established companies vs. start-ups —younger, less experienced companies. I highlight limited transparency in terms of moderation practices (operational policies) and enforcement mechanisms. I also demonstrate that the evidence of effectiveness of these policies is limited, especially with respect to evaluation from children's perspective. This means that among the self-regulatory initiatives, reports from companies and research not affiliated to companies (independent academic studies), there is little evidence as to how fast cyberbullying cases are processed by companies;

how effective this processing is and if children are satisfied. Does content deletion work for children in the first place? (see these for more evidence: Staksrud & Lobe, 2010; Donoso, 2011a,b, O'Neill, 2014; Matias et al., 2014; Crawford & Gillespie, 2016; Schneider, Smith & O'Donell, 2015; Van Royen et al., 2016; Van Royen et al., 2017). More established companies tend to cooperate with NGOs that provide them with e-safety advice and have more developed policies; and they are also more adept at communicating their efforts to the public. The more established companies also exhibit a move towards what I call advanced policies (including user empowerment and delegation). This point relates to what I had mentioned earlier---that the companies have a limited capacity for human monitoring of the vast amounts of content that are being shared on their platforms. This is why they are looking for ways to empower users by giving them the tools to help themselves in such situations. This way they also delegate part of the responsibility for conflict resolution onto their users. A good example of an enforcement mechanism that attempts to accomplish this is Facebook's "social reporting." Developed after extensive research with neuroscientists from the leading US universities, the tool allows children to send pre-made messages to the person who posted some offensive content about them, politely asking them to take it down. The language and wording of these messages are by no means arbitrary, they have been developed so as to trigger an empathetic response from the person who posted the content---allowing them to see that they are hurting someone with their post. There was, however, only a limited amount of evidence available from the company and elsewhere as to how well such tools were working for young people, as I explain in the book. Companies are working extensively on developing artificial intelligence-like tools (various applications of machine learning) so that they can limit the need for human moderation as much as possible. This could involve, for instance, natural language processing of the text on the platforms whereby the algorithm is looking for possible indicators of bullying, flagging such content for moderators' attention. Nonetheless, bullying is context-dependent and understanding nuance can be difficult to accomplish. As an example, a Twitter representative explained how the word "bitch" can be used in an offensive way and that is perhaps the first use that comes to mind; and yet when they were analyzing tweets that used the word "bitch" – they found that few of them were mean in nature. More often, the word "bitch" was used to address someone as "friend" or "mate" therefore in a non-

hostile manner. Developing these tools to be precise enough can be problematic. Furthermore, companies have developed Safety Centers, specially designed sections of the companies' platforms that offer education to children and families on how to stay safe online, including protection from cyberbullying. Therein, they also offer digital citizenship advice (I provide a longer discussion of this concept in the book). It is perhaps difficult to define but it involves educational advice on how to stay safe online (from e.g. sexting, grooming but also standing up for others rather than being passive bystanders); opportunities for civic engagement and ensuring that young people's opinions, voices and critique are heard as their fundamental right; news consumption and analysis (fake news) (see e.g. Choi, 2016; Herrera, 2014; Mihailidis, 2014). Yet, when digital citizenship is applied as an educational tool, there have been few pieces of evaluation of effectiveness of this type of advice to children, especially with respect to promoting socially responsible behaviors online (see Jones & Mitchell, 2015).

When doing my research on a very small sample (N=152) of children age 11-19 in Norway, I wanted to know whether children were aware of the mechanisms that companies provided for children in order to help them address bullying on their platforms (e.g. reporting, social reporting, safety centers); and whether they thought that these were helpful and if, in their view, the companies were able to help children. I found that a limited number of children had seen Safety Centers (26%) and 13% reported being aware of "social reporting." When asked if platforms were able to help children with cyberbullying, 48% said they were able to help "a little." Eleven percent said they were able to help "a lot" and 23% said they were not able to help children; while 17% percent said they did not know.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Overall, the issue of cyberbullying and especially platform responsibility is a complex one, and the intricacies thereof are unfortunately rarely communicated in media coverage, especially in the aftermath of high profile cyberbullying incidents. Many platforms struggle to do their best and to ensure that their efforts are visible to the public, and yet catering to such vast amounts of users and toeing the line between protection and free speech is not easy. Having in mind that there is a limited amount of evidence regarding how effective companies' policies are, I recommend that policy

makers conduct regular independent assessments of the effectiveness of these tools from the perspective of children.

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Irina Milutinović
Institut za evropske studije
Beograd, Srbija

UDC 316.774:336
316.774:32

AKTUELNI IZAZOVI JAVNOG MEDIJSKOG SERVISA – KOMPARATIVNA PERSPEKTIVA[1]

Apstrakt: Polazeći od uloge i funkcija javnog medijskog servisa, prema određenju Uneska i preporukama Saveta Evrope i Evropske unije, studija komparativnim i analitičkim metodom razmatra aktuelne performanse reprezentativnih evropskih javnih medijskih servisa. Cilj rada je da identifikuje i sistematizuje ključne izazove sa kojima se u savremeno doba suočava ovaj medijski model u Evropi. Studija razmatra različite aspekte krize medijskog modela javne službe, koja ima svoje izvorište u njegovom vrednosnom i konceptualnom preispitivanju u kontekstu snažne deregulacije medijskog sektora (Peters, 2008: 186). Naime, proponenti tržišnog liberalizma potkopavaju legitimitet javnih servisa tvrdnjom da su njegove usluge suvišne i štetne jer proizvode efekat deformacije slobodnog medijskog tržišta, budući da im države omogućuju privilegovanu poziciju. Suprotna grupa argumenata proizlazi iz uverenja da model javnog medijskog servisa neguje koncept društvene odgovornosti medija, pri čemu vlade imaju kapacitet da garantuju kontinuitet finansiranja i nezavisnost javnih medija. Između naznačenih narativa, rad komparativnom metodom diskutuje sledeće indikatore posmatrane u javnim medijskim servisima evropskih zemalja u toku poslednjih nekoliko godina: 1) budžet i modeli finansiranja; 2) (ne)zavisnost od političke vlasti; 3) konkurentnost na digitalnim platformama. U praksi se uočava razuđenost, koliko modela finansiranja i budžeta, toliko i upravljačkih i uređivačkih politika javnih medija u evropskim nacionalnim okvirima. Zaključak je da finansijski, politički i tehnološki izazovi zahtevaju snažnije poziciniranje ovog medijskog modela u skladu sa matricom „osnovan, finansiran i kontrolisan od javnosti“ (Veljanovski, 2005: 24–25), sa naročitim fokusom na formulisanje strategija za prisustvo na internetu.

Ključne reči: javni medijski servis (JMS), finansiranje, nezavisnost, digitalizacija, Evropska unija

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[1] Rad predstavlja deo istraživanja u okviru projekta Instituta za evropske studije „Srbija u procesima evropskih integracija: globalni kontekst, institucije, identitet“ (ev. br. 179014), koji finansira Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja Republike Srbije.

1. UVODNE NAPOMENE

Od osnivanja *BBC*-ja dvadesetih godina prošlog veka sve do početka liberalizacije medijske politike osamdesetih godina, javna radio-difuzija u Evropi nije imala ozbiljnu konkurenciju u privatnom sektoru. Sa trendom deregulacije u medijskom sektoru koja je tada inicirana, i model javnog medijskog servisa (JMS) postepeno se udaljavao od snažnog državnog intervencionizma i krute regulacije (Milutinović, 2017: 83–86). U savremenoj evropskoj regulativi JMS se promoviše kao model koji treba na optimalan način da zadovoljava potrebe javnog interesa, u skladu sa matricom: osnovan, finansiran i kontrolisan od javnosti (Veljanovski, 2005: 24–25). Ovim se potencira nezavisnost ovog medijskog modela od političkih i ekonomskih centara moći, pri čemu država ima značajnu ulogu da garantuje uslove za samostalnost samoregulatorih tela kojima je poveren nadzor nad njegovim funkcijama.

Mediji javnog servisa u savremeno doba deluju u medijskim pejzažima koji se karakterišu tehnološkom konvergencijom i globalnom konkurencijom. Diskusije o ulozi i nadležnostima JMS poslednjih godina podstiče i medijska digitalizacija. Upravo pojam *javni medijski servis* (Public Service Media – PSM) koji je smenio pojam *javna radio-difuzija* (Public Broadcasting Service – PBS), odražava težnju ovih organizacija da rade na više tehnoloških platformi, boreći se za konkurentnost u digitalnom medijskom okruženju.

U ovom radu se diskutuje o savremenim izazovima funkcionisanja JMS, kroz komparativni pregled budžeta i modela finansiranja; zatim indikatora (ne)zavisnosti od političke vlasti i strategija koje pojedine organizacije preduzimaju na digitalnim platformama. Studija je ograničena na javne televizijske i radijske emitere i njihovo prisustvo na internetu. Upotrebljena su najnovija istraživanja nekoliko referentnih institucija o politikama upravljanja i finansiranja reprezentativnih javnih medijskih servisa za velika (Nemačka, Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo, Francuska, Italija), srednja (Poljska i Rumunija) i mala medijska tržišta (Češka, Portugalija, Finska, Švajcarska, Letonija, Srbija).

2. FINANSIJSKI IZAZOVI I STRATEGIJE

Istraživanje Evropske opservatorije za novinarstvo iz 2017. godine pokazuje da u pogledu strukture i upravljanja institucijama JMS u Evropi

nema zajedničke strategije. Ustanove JMS u nekim državama se sastoje od televizijskih, radio i pridruženih digitalnih platformi (kao što su veb-strane, namenski *YouTube* kanali i strane na društvenim mrežama), dok u pojedinim zemljama ovakvi sistemi uključuju i nacionalnu novinsku agenciju. U nekim državama celinom JMS upravlja jedno telo, a u drugim su njegove organizacione celine odvojene – npr. u Francuskoj, Češkoj, Poljskoj i Rumuniji.

Takođe, u pogledu modela i strukture finansiranja identifikovane su značajne varijacije. Budžeti javnih medijskih servisa kreću se u rasponu od više od šest milijardi evra (nemački *ARD*) do jedva 20 miliona evra godišnje (*TVR* – Rumunska televizija)[2] (tabela 1). Razlike su upečatljive kad se izvrši poređenje visine prihoda po stanovniku (indikator ukupni budžet prema populaciji, tabela 1). Najviši prosečni iznos po stanovniku za finansiranje javnog servisa na godišnjem nivou zabeležen je 2016. u Švajcarskoj – 181 evro (pritom, švajcarski *SRG SSR* ima i veće troškove od ostalih upoređivanih jer produkuje i isporučuje programe na četiri jezika), slede izdvajanja od 87 i 82 evra po stanovniku godišnje u UK i Nemačkoj, a najniže prihode po stanovniku imaju rumunski, letonski i poljski JMS (10–12 evra). U Srbiji je obveznik plaćanja takse svako fizičko i pravno lice koje je korisnik merila električne energije po stambenoj jedinici, a taksa se naplaćuje preko računa za isporučenu električnu energiju. Visina takse za JMS iznosi 150 dinara, od čega se 120 dinara raspodeljuje RTS-u, a 30 RTV-u.[3]

Istraživanja Evropske opservatorije za novinarstvo i Evropske audiovizuelne opservatorije, koja su konsultovana u ovom radu, pokazala su da budžeti javnih servisa zavise od veličine populacije i ekonomske moći društva. Finansijske formule se takođe razlikuju: dok se struktura ukupnog

[2] Nemački *ARD* je vodeći nacionalni konglomerat regionalnih emitera, čiji se visoki prihodi zasnivaju pretežno na kombinaciji visoke naknade za licencu i velikog broja domaćinstava koja je disciplinovano plaćaju. Nasuprot tom primeru, Rumunska televizija je u 2016. godini, zahvaljujući intervencijama vlade, jedva spašena od bankrotstva. Naime, vlada je početkom 2017. eliminisala naknadu za licencu i najavila povećanje davanja iz državnog budžeta za rumunski javni radio i televiziju za 7,5 puta više od iznosa u 2016. godini.

[3] Ovaj iznos projektovan je Zakonom o javnim medijskim servisima iz 2014. godine, sa početkom primene od januara 2016, što predstavlja umanjenje u odnosu na iznos od 500 dinara prema Zakonu o izmenama i dopunama Zakona o radiodifuziji iz 2005, koji je imao naplativost samo 30% u 2014. godini (*RTS*, 2015: 83–84).

budžeta najčešće sastoji od miksa direktnog finansiranja iz državnih budžeta, naknade (takse) za licencu i prihoda od oglašavanja, u britanskom nacionalnom zakonodavstvu nije dozvoljeno finansiranje *BBC*-ja putem oglašavanja ili sponzorstva.[4] Udeli od oglašavanja se razlikuju u finansijskim matricama – u najvećoj meri se na komercijalne usluge oslanjaju JMS u Poljskoj (više od 50%) i Italiji (40%) (tabela 1).[5] U periodu od 2012. do 2016. godine, najveći udeo budžeta članica Evropske radiodifuzne unije dolazio je od naknade za licencu (63,3–64,5%), iz državnog budžeta prihodovano između 15,3 i 14,3%, a približno 10% od oglašavanja i 7,5–8% iz drugih komercijalnih aktivnosti (Hartmann, 2018). Poslednji godišnji finansijski izveštaj *RTS*-a svedoči da je udeo takse u strukturi njegovog ostvarenog prihoda znatno manji od evropskog proseka (46%), a udeo iz budžetskih subvencija iznosi dvostruko više u odnosu na evropski prosek (28%), i takođe udeo od marketinškog prihoda (23%), što nagoveštava mogućnost povećane zavisnosti javnog servisa od vlade.

Tabela 1. *Modeli finansiranja reprezentativnih javnih medijskih servisa u 2016.*

	Ukupni budžet (EUR)	Udeo finansiranja iz javnih sredstava (država i taksa)	Naknada (taksa) za licencu po domaćinstvu godišnje (EUR)	Iznos po stanovniku (EUR) (ukupni budžet prema populaciji)
Nemačka	6,9 milijardi *ARD* 2,25 milijarde *ZDF*	85–86	210	82 98*
Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo	5,69 milijardi *BBC* 5,96 milijardi*	82	177	87 76*
Francuska	3,02 milijarde	82	137	46

[4] Međutim, ova korporacija zarađuje čak jednu četvrtinu prihoda od svojih programa i usluga koje prodaje na međunarodnom tržištu, preko svojih podružnica *BBC Worldwide Ltd.*, *BBC World News* i *BBC.com*.

[5] Zanimljivo je da visok šer švajcarske javne televizije otežava komercijalne emitere u zemlji, budući da se oni suočavaju i sa snažnom konkurencijom komercijalnih i javnih emitera koji deluju iz pravca susedne Nemačke, Italije i Francuske, i stoga se praktikuje neuobičajeni pravac subvencionisanja – 4% prihoda od naknada za licence javni servis preusmerava ka nacionalnim komercijalnim komanijama u Švajcarskoj, kako bi nadoknadili nedostatke.

	France Télévisions' 688 miliona Radio Francea*			
Italija	2,6 milijarde *RAI*	60	100	26*
Švajcarska	1,5 milijarda *SRGSSR*		413	181
Finska	476 miliona **Yle**	97	70–143 lični iznos** 140–3000 kompanije	85
Poljska	460 miliona *TVP*, *PR*	31 TVP 61 Polskie Radio	62,44	10–12
Češka	250 miliona *ČT*		79,9	
Portugalija	210 miliona *RTP*		33,71	
Letonija	20 miliona *LRV*, *LR*	60		10–12
Rumunija	19–20 miliona *TVR*, *SRR*		17,31	10–12
Srbija	10,6 milijardi dinara ili 89,8 miliona evra *RTS*, *RTV*	78	14,62	12,75

* Podatak se odnosi se na 2014. godinu.

** Taksa je prilagođena pojedinačnim prihodima korisnika – oni koji zarađuju manje od 7.352 evra godišnje izuzeti su od obaveze plaćanja.

Izvor: Radu, 2017; European Audiovisual Observatory (EAO), 2016; Hartmann, 2018.

Istraživanja Evropske opservatorije za novinarstvo i Evropske audiovizuelne opservatorije pokazala su da su posledice globalne finansijske krize 2008–2009. godine primorale mnoge evropske JMS da prilagode strategije poslovanja usled opadanja prihoda od oglašavanja i takse (Radu, 2017; EAO, 2016). Vladine mere fokusirane su na primenu raznolikih instrumenata: uvođenje fiksne naknade za licencu po domaćinstvu, koja je zamenila naknadu po uređaju; smanjenje iznosa takse za licencu i vezivanje ove naknade za račune za električnu energiju, kako bi se otežalo rastuće izbegavanje obaveze; organizaciono restrukturiranje i smanjenje broja radnih mesta; restrikcije programske produkcije i ukidanje pojedinih kanala; prodaja

imovine i, konačno, uvećano izdvajanje iz državnog budžeta. Finska je uvela individualni porez na medije koji ubira poreski organ, i ovaj model se trenutno razmatra u Švedskoj, Norveškoj i Danskoj (tabela 1). U inače uspešnim modelima, u Finskoj, Nemačkoj i još nekoliko zemalja, porodice sa nižim primanjima i studenti su oslobođeni obaveze plaćanja takse. Pod uticajem finansijske krize ili usled pritiska deficita i javnog duga, pojedine vlade su u određenim momentima bile prinuđene da najpre drastično redukuju budžetska izdvajanja za javni servis (npr. Letonija 2008, Portugalija 2013, Holandija 2013–2015. i 2016–2017) (Radu, 2017; Studer, 2018). U periodu od 2011. do 2016, gledano kumulativno u članicama EPRA, prihodi javnih medijskih servisa su povećani samo za 0,4%, a pojedinačno Portugalija, Španija, Rumunija i Poljska doživele su značajan pad prihoda (Studer, 2018: 8–9).

Prosečan iznos budžetskog finansiranja javnog servisa iznosi 0,18% nacionalnog BDP-a u Evropi, odnosno 3,08 evra po građaninu mesečno. Premda zvanična politika EU promoviše posebnu ulogu javnog servisa za održanje pluralizma (Broadcast Communication 2009, čl. 2), u Evropi se uvećava pritisak na koncept javnog finansiranja medija. Prvi prigovori na finansiranje javnih servisa evidentirani su u Francuskoj, Italiji, Portugaliji, Grčkoj i Španiji, devedesetih godina prošlog veka, kada su se komercijalni emiteri žalili zbog dvostrukog finansiranja javnih emitera (iz budžeta i oglašavanja). Usledile su istrage u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu (2001) u vezi sa digitalnim uslugama i Danskoj (2004) u vezi sa viškom naknada za javni servis. Ovde su se pritužbe zasnivale na spekulaciji da su države omogućile javnim emiterima da steknu snažnu tržišnu poziciju i vodeću ulogu u procesu digitalizacije i razvoja novih medijskih tehnologija, što, navodno, proizvodi efekat deformacije tržišta (Milutinović, 2017: 85–86). U Švajcarskoj je marta 2018. godine održan referendum o budućnosti subvencija za radio i televiziju na osnovu No Billag Initiative, i tom prilikom se nedovoljnih 30% građana izjasnilo za ukidanje subvencija. U Francuskoj se raspravlja o predlogu da se značajno smanji budžet, dok u Austriji, Danskoj i Velikoj Britaniji ukidanje taksi zahtevaju neki predstavnici političke desnice (Studer, 2018: 8). U Danskoj je vlada sklopila novi ugovor sa JMS koji će stupiti na snagu početkom 2019. godine i predviđa uštedu od 20% u budžetu, pri čemu je najavljeno ukidanje obaveznog plaćanja naknade za licencu u ovoj zemlji na pet godina, dok će radio i televizija biti finansirani putem plaćanja poreza (Studer, 2018: 8). Stav Evropske komisije i njenih direktorata zaduženih za

konkurencijsko pravo je da licencne naknade predstavljaju vid državne pomoći, ali da su ove mere kompatibilne sa propisanim režimom antimonopolske politke EU (Broadcast Communication 2009, čl. 4).[6] U tom cilju, Evropska komisija postavila je striktne uslove koje javni emiteri moraju ispunjavati i propisala da sredstva iz državne pomoći ne smeju biti veća od neto troškova JMS, uvažavajući i druge prihode (kao što su oglašavanje, prodaja, sponzorstvo) (Peters, 2008: 186). Revidirani dokument Broadcast Communication iz 2009. predviđa strože definicije javnog emitovanja u nacionalnim zakonodavstvima i uvođenje *ex ante* testova (test javne vrednosti) za nove javne medijske usluge, kao adekvatnu evaluaciju pre aplikacije nove usluge i njenog potencijalnog uticaja na tržište.[7]

Organizacije JMS uživaju visok kredibilitet među većinom stanovništva. O tome svedoči činjenica da, uprkos finansijskim teškoćama i pritiscima konkurencije, JMS u Evropi i dalje registruju značajan tržišni udeo, istina, sa velikim razlikama među državama. Svake sedmice javni TV servis članica Evropske radio-difuzne unije gleda 60% stanovništva i okupi više od 24% svih gledalaca televizije, dok radio javnog servisa sluša 46% stanovništva i više od 40% svih radio slušalaca (Hartmann, 2018). Navedena istraživanja u ovom poglavlju pokazala su dve ključne zakonomernosti: 1) što je veći budžet organizacije JMS odnosno njegovi finansijski kapaciteti, utoliko je veće i njegovo tržišno učešće (Radu, 2018), i 2) modeli finansiranja JMS prave malu razliku u pogledu njegove nezavisnosti od političke vlasti (Radu, 2017).

3. (NE)ZAVISNOST OD POLITIČKE VLASTI

S obzirom na specifične osnivačke, finansijske i upravljačke veze javnih medijskih servisa sa državom, postoji rizik od njihove izloženosti uticajima vladajućih političkih faktora i njihovim parcijalnim interesima. Savremeni koncept javne medijske službe legitimitet crpe od javnosti, koja – u normativnom smislu – u odnosu na medij ima vlasnička prava, u čije ime medij deluje i kojoj je medij odgovoran. S obzirom na činjenicu da se JMS odlikuju nacionalnom pokrivenošću i obavezom da proizvode sadržaj za sve

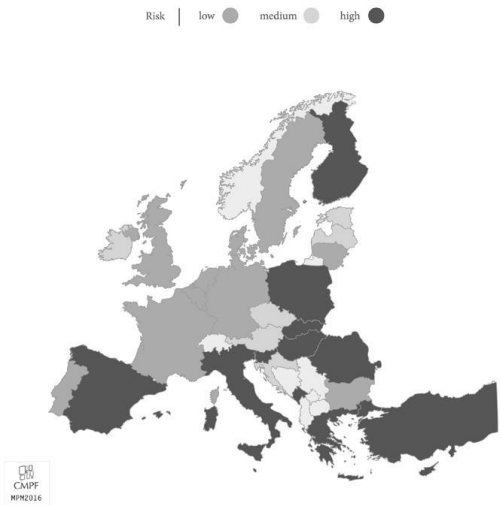
[6] Communication from the Commission on the application of State aid rules to public service broadcasting, *Official Journal of the European Union* 2009/C 257/01.

[7] Ovaj test javne vrednosti nastao je u Velikoj Britaniji i podrazumeva evaluaciju nove usluge i njenog potencijalnog uticaja na tržište, pre njene aplikacije.

zajednice, svaka politička instrumentalizacija ovog medija ugrozila bi njegove fundamentalne javne funkcije. Kako bi osigurala političku, finansijsku i operativnu nezavisnost JMS, evropska regulative podstiče redukciju intervencije državnih organa u postupku imenovanja lica koja upravljaju radom javnog servisa i regulatornih tela. Indikatori koji proizlaze iz finansiranja javnog servisa i imenovanja članova njegovih upravnih, nadzornih tela i generalnog direktora, ocenjeni su kao ključni nosioci rizika. Pri tome, većina zemalja koje imaju visok rizik od politizacije procedure imenovanja menadžmenta, pokazuju takođe visok ili srednji rizik prema indikatoru koji razmatra adekvatnost i transparentnost finansiranja javnih medijskih servisa, pokazalo je istraživanje Centra za medijski pluralizam i slobodu Evropskog univerzitetskog instituta, sprovedeno 2016. godine (Centre for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom, 2017).

Navedeno istraživanje, na uzorku u koji su, osim država-članica Evropske unije, bile uključene i dve zemlje kandidatkinje za članstvo – Turska i Crna Gora, procenjuje visok rizik za političku nezavisnost JMS u 13 i srednji rizik u šest zemalja obuhvaćenih monitoringom (slika 1).

Slika 1. *Nezavisnost upravljanja i finansiranja – mapa rizika po zemlji*



Izvor: Centre for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom, 2017: 49.

Istraživanje je pokazalo da su u zoni visokog rizika pretežno mediteranske zemlje i neke države bivšeg socijalističkog bloka, a najviše su ugroženi Kipar, Mađarska i Rumunija, pored Crne Gore i Turske. Uočeno je da nestabilnost JMS najčešće proizlazi iz politizacije procedure imenovanja

rukovodstva na Kipru, u Mađarskoj, Rumuniji, Italiji, Češkoj i Poljskoj. U ovim zemljama je zakonima obezbeđena neposredna veza između političke vlasti i organa upravljanja JMS, tako da se sve promene u političkim koalicijama kao i prisustvo parcijalnih stranačkih interesa snažno reflektuje na rad i programski sadržaj JMS (Centre for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom, 2017: 49–50).

Ako analiziramo slučaj Poljske kao paradigmatičan, zanimljivo je da, uprkos izrečenim protestima povodom Zakona o javnim medijima koji je usvojen decembra 2015, Evropska unija nije izvršila pritisak na poljsku vladu kako je to učinjeno 2011. godine prema mađarskim vlastima, uslovivši ih da izmene restriktivne odredbe Zakona o medijima koje su propisivale obavezu „ujednačenog praćenja“ čak i za blogere, dezavuisale domicilno pravo medija i omogućile imenovanje ličnosti bliskih vlasti za članstvo u telu za nadzor medija. Ovoga puta, predsednik Mađarske najavio je veto u Savetu EU u slučaju da se predlože kaznene mere prema Poljskoj (Milutinović, 2018: 121). Reformske mere poljske vlade uticale su na zaokret programske politike i o njihovim efektima na demokratski pluralizam biće moguće suditi na osnovu budućih izveštaja, ali ono što je do sada izvesno, jeste da u finansijskom smislu nisu dovele do boniteta. Naprotiv, u godišnjem izveštaju *TVP* za 2016. godinu zabeležen je gubitak od čak 45 miliona evra (Radu, 2017).

Kao pozitivna paradigma po različitim parametrima funkcionisanja JMS, izdvaja se Nemačka. Na primer, rastuća zabrinutost zbog uticaja političkih partija na *ZDF* (*Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen*) dovela je do odluke Federalnog ustavnog suda 2014. godine, kojom su predstavnici vlasti ograničeni na jednu trećinu ukupnog članstva u svakom od nadzornih organa ovog javnog emitera. Pritom, nemački javni emiteri kumulativno raspolažu najvećim budžetom (tabela 1) i ostvaruju najveći tržišni udeo. Poređenja radi, svi nemački javni televizijski kanali u 2016. godini zajedno su pokrivali približno 45 odsto medijskog tržišta, dok javne televizije Češke i Poljske dopiru do 23 i 29 procenata publike, a rumunska televizija je dostigla najnižu istorijsku vrednost od 3,5 posto tržišnog udela (Radu, 2018).

Prethodni primeri ilustruju da je celovitost evropskog pristupa javnom medijskom servisu poslednjih godina narušena inicijativama pojedinih članica EU da usvajaju restriktivnije medijske propise nego što je to preporučeno shodno tzv. evropskim standardima i percepcijom JMS kao profesionalnog, nepristrasnog i kvalitetnog medija koji služi javnosti, a ne vladi. Kada je reč o tranzicionim zemljama, relevantni izveštaji svedoče o zavisnom položaju javnog servisa od nosilaca političke vlasti u zemljama kandidatima za

članstvo u EU. Kritička ocena položaja javnih medijskih servisa u Srbiji takođe je predmet godišnjih izveštaja Evropske komisije: „Javni servis treba da bude više angažovan na otvaranju svog programa za pluralizam mišljenja i na promociji javnog dijaloga (…)“ (EC, 2018: 63). Izveštaj skreće pažnju i na neefikasnost Regulatornog tela za elektronske medije (REM) i problem njegove politizacije putem imenovanja članova Saveta ovog nezavisnog regulatora (EC, 2018: 26).

4. TEHNOLOŠKI IZAZOVI – KONKURENTNOST NA DIGITALNIM PLATFORMAMA

Medijska digitizacija je znatno promenila tehničke uslove funkcionisanja JMS: prevaziđen je problem smanjivanja terestrijalnih frekvencija; distribucija preko privatnih kablovskih, satelitskih i internetskih posrednika internacionalizovala je tržišta JMS; pristupanje programskom sadržaju JMS preko različitih konvergiranih uređaja postalo je prostorno i vremenski fleksibilnije. Ove performanse učinile su javne medijske servise sa najboljim strategijama prilagođavanja konkurentnijim prema privatnim nacionalnim i međunarodnim provajderima medijskog sadržaja, sa kojima uspostavljaju različite odnose konkurencije i saradnje.

Organizacije JMS su u defanzivnom položaju, o čemu svedoče sledeći podaci. Operativni prihod svih 64 članova Evropske radiodifuzne unije (EBU) u 2016. godini iznosio je 35,8 milijardi evra, što je 1,8 puta manje od onog koji je ostvarilo 10 najvećih evropskih komercijalnih emitera i približno 12 puta manje od ukupne zarade (432,21 milijardi evra) pet najvećih internet giganata (Apple, Facebook, Amazon Prime, Alphabet i Netflik) (Studer, 2018: 9–10; Hartmann, 2018). U tom smislu, ključno pitanje za održivi razvoj JMS može biti priroda saradnje sa finansijski moćnim globalnim SVOD igračima (SVOD – Subscription Video on Demand)[8], koji i imaju mnogo puta veći budžet za kvalitetne audio-vizuelne produkcije (Studer, 2018: 9).

Digitalizacija je dovela i do promene ponašanja televizijske i radijske publike. Mlađa populacija sve više pristupa vestima putem mobilnih telefona i društvenih mreža (*Facebook* je za ovo glavna platforma a sledi *Youtube*), što podstiče strategije redizajniranja i prilagođavanja JMS novim platformama. Stoga je sve zastupljenija saradnja JMS sa *YouTube*-om (što je otpočeo *RAI*)

[8] Pretplatnički video na zahtev.

ili udruživanje radio i TV kanala i formiranje zajedničkih veb-platformi (npr. *YouView* u Velikoj Britaniji i Hbbtv u Nemačkoj i Francuskoj). Visoka reputacija i lojalna publika predstavljaju komparativne prednosti javnog servisa u odnosu na vodeće kompanije digitalnog novinarstva, servise videa na zahtev i velike digitalne posrednike poput pretraživača, video hosting sajtova i sajtova društvenih mreža.

Pametni telefoni i društveni mediji identifikovani su kao platforme putem kojih sve više ljudi pristupa vestima (The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2016). Ovaj izveštaj analizirao je šest najvećih evropskih tržišta i pokazao da samo organizacije javnih servisa u Finskoj (*Yle*) i Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu (*BBC*) imaju visoku dostupnost za vesti onlajn, a da u ostalim zemljama znatno više ljudi pristupa vestima onlajn putem društvenih medija (tabela 2). Izdvojile su se sledeće komparativne prednosti ove dve organizacije JMS koje nastupaju kao vodeći digitalni inovatori: (1) posluju na tehnološki naprednim medijskim tržištima; (2) dobro su finansirani; (3) imaju viši stepen nezavisnosti od direktnog političkog uticaja; (4) njihove organizacije su jedinstvene i integrisane za sve platforme; (4) njihova prodigitalna kultura nove medije posmatra kao prilike a ne kao pretnje; (5) urednici stalno podstiču menjanje organizacije kako bi se prilagodila medijskom okruženju. Dok su u većini JMS ove inovacije prepuštene ad hoc intervencijama, *Yle* i *BBC* imaju specijalizovane timove zadužene za inovacije u proizvodnji i distribuciji vesti onlajn. Ove dve najuspešnije organizacije razvile su nove uređivačke proizvode koji su posebno dizajnirani za distribuciju na društvenim medijima – *Kioski* i *BBC Trending*[9], i stalno ih redizajniraju kako bi unapredile njihovu funkcionalnost na personalnim računarima, tabletima i pametnim telefonima. Aplikacije za vesti poboljšavaju uvođenjem personalizovanog odeljka, gde se opšte vesti generišu i selektuju za pojedinačne korisnike prema prethodnim pretragama. Ipak, čak i ove vodeće organizacije javnog servisa na digitalnim platformama, i dalje najveći deo svog budžeta ulažu u linearnu televiziju (50%), u radio (40%) i samo 7% u onlajn produkciju.

[9] *BBC* je pokrenuo svoju aplikaciju za vesti na mobilnom uređaju još 2010. godine, dopunivši veb-stranicu koju je korporacija pokrenula 1997, a potom su obe platforme redizajnirane 2015.

Tabela 2. *Oflajn i onlajn pristupanje vestima javnog medijskog servisa*

Country	Public service news offline reach (TV) (%)	Public service news online reach (%)	Social media usage specifically as a source of news (%)
Finland	61	39	40
France	34	16	34
Germany (ARD/ZDF)	ARD 58 ZDF 49	ARD 8 ZDF 7	25
Italy	56	15	46
Poland	58	20	52
United Kingdom	72	48	36

Izvor: The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2016.

U 2018. godini *RTS* je pokrenuo *OTT* platformu, na kojoj publika putem interneta uživo prati sve televizijske i radijske kanale *RTS*, uključujući i digitalizovani video i audio arhiv *RTS*-a na zahtev. Ova platforma pristupačna je za smart televizore i mobilne telefone, i za korisnike iz Srbije usluga je besplatna. Mediji javnog servisa primenjuju različite modele da organizuju produkciju i distribuciju onlajn vesti. Osnovna dilema JMS je kako se efikasno pozicionirati između sopstvenog okruženja kao kontaktne tačke sa vernom tradicionalnom publikom i najvećim stepenom kontrole nad sadržajem, i velikih međunarodnih platformi kakve su *Facebook*, *Google* i *Twitter* (The Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2016).

5. ZAKLJUČAK

U poslednjih nekoliko godina u praksi je vidljiva ambivalentnost pojedinačnih nacionalnih agenasa kao i evropskih autoriteta u pogledu koncepta javne medijske službe. Finansiranje medija javnog servisa opada u više zemalja. Istovremeno, vlade na normativan način u mnogim evropskim zemljama izlažu medije javnog servisa sve većem pritisku i u pojedinim slučajevima značajno smanjuju njihovu nezavisnost. Veliki medijski džinovi i drugi predstavnici korporativnog kapitala u medijima zahtevaju uže definisane uloge i nadležnosti JMS, tvrdeći da slobodno medijsko tržište već obezbeđuje celovitu ponudu za svoje potrošače.

Koliko ekonomski i politički faktori, toliko i unutrašnje organizacione barijere, determinišu različit stepen uspešnosti javnih medijskih servisa da se prilagođavaju narastajućim izazovima digitalnog pejzaža i da optimizuju performanse na internetu u susret prilikama kad potrošnja na zahtev bude prevazišla tradicionalnu televizijsku matricu linearnog programa. Moguće je da će ova perspektiva još snažnije uzdrmati ulogu JMS u formulisanju javne agende i artikulaciji javnog interesa u skoroj budućnosti.

Pregled i analiza podataka nekoliko referentnih empirijskih istraživanja koja su konsultovana u ovoj studiji, upućuje na argumentovan zaključak: veći budžet + više političke nezavisnosti + veća kompetitivnost onlajn = veći tržišni udeo JMS. A kako bi mediji javnog servisa bili u stanju da adekvatno odgovore svojim izvornim funkcijama u kontekstu aktuelnih finansijskih, političkih i tehnoloških izazova, potrebno je snažnije pozicinirnje ovog medijskog modela u skladu sa reafirmacijom vrednosne matrice *osnovan, finansiran i kontrolisan od javnosti*.

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Nikos Panagiotou[1]
Google Research Scholar
School of Journalism and Mass Media Communication
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
Thessaloniki, Greece

UDC 654.172

RE-READING TELEVISION: A CRITICAL APPROACH

Abstract: The aim of the paper is to discuss the necessity to re-examine current approaches in television studies. Changes in the audience, in the culture of television as well as in viewership patterns are critical issues in order to reconsider existing approaches. Re-reading television requires to innovate and adapt to digital and disruptive technologies, through questioning and challenging existing assumptions and organisational models.

Key words: Television studies, audience, television content, new platforms

Television studies grew out of existing branches of social theory, social science, psychology and other academic disciplines. Its immediate purpose was not to understand television but to form a distinct "discipline", to examine what television "*tells us and how its messages are conveyed. What the viewer finds so satisfying in the format of television police series, or in quiz or sports programs that actually enforce the viewer to watch them again and again"(Fiske 1998: 224).* These topics are illustrated with references to specific TV formats, such as news, soap operas, shows, etc. *"The era of popular broadcast television which lasted for more than fifty years from the mid-1950s was also the period when television studies budded from an already hybrid knowledge tree. Television, treated as a part of mass society was routinely analysed for outcomes that were known in advance to be negative. It was a bad object... that it attracted very little progressive optimism in formal academic, intellectual and critical writing"* (Fiske 1998: xi). The need to re-examine television studies comes in a period of critical challenges for the medium, but also for the studies that are mainly concentrated on issues such as agenda setting, influence, etc. Television

[1] e-mail: npanagiotou@jour.auth.gr

producers, in particular, have faced this challenge by progressively extending "the repertoire of audience participation options" and outsourcing many participation channels to the Internet and social media, starting an "internetization" process (Nightingale 2007). What it is important, I argue, is to focus in issues such as the culture of television, the messages portrayed and produced, that were ignored or underplayed by other studies and on changes in the audiences. Through their approach aimed to heighten viewers' awareness and provide methods for deconstructing television 'reality'. Their discussion of the philosophical and practical notions of 'reality', provide the infrastructure for their book. Building upon structural and post-structural conventions, they highlighted issues such as the construction of the social viewer, culture of television etc. Authors provide much of the necessary theory in order to understand and challenge the role of Television as a medium.

DECODING TELEVISION

Current approaches of TV studies attempt to "decode television 'text' as if it were a literary text' because their departing point was false, since they were evaluating the medium *"based on its inability to do a job for which it is, in fact, fundamentally unsuited".* These attempts *"will not only be doomed to failure, but will also likely result in a negative evaluation of the medium*" because they do not take into account that "*every medium has its own unique set of characteristics, but the codes which structure the language of television are much more like those of speech than of writing." (Fiske 1998: p.15)*. The tendency to judge all media including television by the prescriptions of literacy reflects dominant cultural values, instilled during five hundred years of print-literacy.

Fiske and Hartley argue that until now criticism against television has ignored television strengths as a medium and, most importantly, that television and print media are interdependent and complementary. This criticism manipulates TV studies into a form that best suits literate definitions of the situation. As they suggest, there are contradictions inherent to television's handling of reality that are present not only in handling news but also in sports, series, etc. Our approach aims to overcome the negative criticism against TV that is on the wrong basis and does not take into account the nature of the medium, which is the language-mediated reality. In order to

understand television, we have to have in mind that television *"is ephemeral, episodic, specific, concrete and dramatic in mode, while its meanings are arrived at by contrast and by juxtaposition of seemingly contradictory signs and its logic is oral and visual"* in contrast with the "*written word that works through and so promotes consistency, narrative development from cause to effect and abstraction, clarity and a single tone of voice". (Fiske 1998: 17)*

Re-reading television should aim to analyse it within its own terms, since *"taking television as we find it, we, the audience are spontaneously and continuously confronted with this framework and must negotiate a stance towards it in order to decode and thus enjoy the entertainment in which it is embodied" (Fiske 1998: 18).* This is why the starting point of any study of television must be with what is actually there on the screen. In order to do so, we have to have in mind an important element of television, which is "active contradictions" *(Fiske 1998)*, which describes the way that television messages compete with and are seen in the context of other possible ways of seeing. *"Television message is forced by its own constraints and internal contradictions to accord just this freedom of perception to all its viewers"* in this case and in order to produce defamiliarization "*we should learn to understand what it is that the language of television is saying to us" (Fiske 1998: 19)*. This social function is a distinct characteristic of television, especially nowadays, as it competes with other platforms. The way that the content of television is presented depends upon its cultural function. A very useful example is news reporting which "*operates with a limited number of known elite people.. .where the way they are presented provides a syntagmatic structuring into which the paradigmatic unpredictable events of each day are slotted and so given meaning" (Fiske, Hartley 1998: 189).*

THE MESSAGE

When we watch a show, a film, news, etc, a cultural experience is produced, where all elements, such as the behavior of watching it and the place where we watched it, mobilize to produce social identities and social relations, which are controlled by the audience, as opposed to, and in emancipation from those institutionalized for them from other forms of social institutions. Socio-cultural contexts are produced and disseminated through television, sometimes contradicting each other, since social circulation of meanings is always a maelstrom, full of conflicting currents, whirlpools and eddies. Popular culture has specific codes and conventions of representations,

while television messages contain *"preferred meanings inherent in every message." (Fiske, Hartley 1998: 18)*. The role of the analyst is to select sites of analysis such as the ones that Fiske and Hartley propose, "*when this circulation of meanings becomes accessible and use them as points from which to theorize the inaccessible undercurrents" (Fiske, 1992: 353).*

Social meaning from television and its content is produced at a variety of intersections, both at a macro social level as well as at the micro level of particular viewings (Fiske, 1992). As a result, a struggle over the meanings is inevitable due to the central role of television in our culture. What is important, however, and present in their analysis, in contrast to wide circulated beliefs, is that TV content approaching audience and the meanings that we make of the program are "*an effect of our social behavior rather than the social behavior being an effect of the program". (Fiske, 1989: 111)*

Television has codes of realism, that are functioning on the same way as a director of the film has conventions to heighten the reality of a scene in a dramatic narrative and make the audience forget the camera. News is a constructed reality of an authentic event. What is important with television is that events (sports, news, etc.) when presented from television are invested with other values – "*games become part of a narrative sequence... and hence there is sport and there is television sport"* (*Fiske, Hartley 1998: 192*). "*Television does not merely bring raw sport into our home; it uses sport as a code to converse with us about aspects of our individual/cultural values*" *(Fiske, Hartley 1998: 144)*, but in this case, and at the same time, the viewer does not only "participate by proxy" but a "*crucial shift*" takes place "*in his viewpoint to that of an evaluator of a judge... a shift that is crucial in the cultural role of the programs*" *(Fiske, Hartley 1998: 144). "Television mediation of sports becomes most intrusive when it foregrounds the non-partisan, evaluative aspects of the game, inviting us, especially through the mediating commentary, to perceive it 'objectively'*" *(Fiske, Hartley 1998: 145).* Through the coverage of sports, television proposes *"a preferred meaning for its subject, one which happens to coincide with... the dominant meaning system" (Fiske, Hartley 1998: 145).* As a result, *"There is a broader audience for the television program than for the actual activity itself, and the difference is reflected in the 'distortion' of the subject-matter" (Fiske, Hartley 1998: 145).* In this case, there is a difference in the way that audience experiences sport, since **television sport** is experienced by a different wider section of population, to which television imposes a literacy on games that is

not experienced "*by the fans on the terraces, whose view of it tends to be collective, locality-based and class-conscious" (Fiske, Hartley 1998: 192).* According to Fiske and Hartley in decoding television, there are three orders of signification: i) myth, ii) connotation and iii) intersubjectivity. Another important thing of how television works is through the dynamism of the myths that it projects through series, news, etc. In this case, television "*constantly tests the myths against reality and thus shows when their (myths') explanatory power has decreased and the need for change becomes more pressing" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:43).*

Television *"is dependent upon more general cultural processes for its messages, modes and meanings" (Fiske, Hartley 1998: 193).* Meaning is connoted through television by the methods such as camera angle, lighting and background. Intersubjectivity, the area of subjective responses which are shared to a degree by all members of a culture, *"is culturally determined and is one of the ways in which cultural influences affect the individuals in any culture and through which cultural membership is expressed" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:46).* Signs convey meaning and it is through these signs that we make meaning and we read television, as an *"iconic representation of reality...a metaphorical reconstruction of that reality in terms of the television medium...the metaphoric real world shown on television does not display the actual real world but displaces it" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:48).* Signs are organised into meaningful system or codes where it is "*more important the social function of the sign rather on its structure" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:59).* The importance of these elements can be clearly seen in television advertisement where "*advertisers are particularly adept at exploiting both metaphoric and metonymic modes in order to cram as much meaning as possible into a thirty-second slot" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:50).*

Television is a dynamic system that continually evolves in order to meet the changing needs of its viewer and the technological developments and challenges. *"As a medium* [it] *is particularly well suited to taking a specific iconic sign like a photograph and generalizing it into a broader sign, which means giving the original sign a new level of culturally determined meaning" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:52)*. In order to decode this dynamic system, we have to understand both meanings that are conveyed and through which a culture establishes and maintains its identity. It is important to take into account the technical needs and the medium itself in general, in order to understand television. The viewer is constantly engaged in a dynamic situation, a constant process of codification and decodification of the signs. "*The frequent use of*

sign makes it more conventional and extends the number of users who agree on its meaning... [it] *increases the probability that it will be decoded similarly by different users" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:63).* Signs, however, can become a cliché and lose their effectiveness; this happens when a sign "*becomes overused and then its receivers see its signifier as determined entirely by convention and not at all by reality... the white hat gradually became codified into the signifier of a good cowboy, but then became a cliché and lost its power" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:63).* With television, there are constraints by the conventional nature of the medium, the expectations of the audience, and the norms already established by the medium.

FUNCTIONS OF TELEVISION

In order to understand the ways that audience consume TV content, we have to take into account that "*the awareness that we bring to the television screen is a precondition for making sense of what we see, but that awareness is itself produced in us by what we have experienced hitherto" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:69).* It is important to understand that *"television medium is not a closed system, obeying its own internal rules and relatively uninfluenced by 'external' conditions… Television communicates a message that is very close the culture's collective centre, one which people can accept in the knowledge that it derives from deeply held and widely diffused ways of interpreting the world" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:80).* It imposes a discipline on the encoders (viewers), as the writers argue, "*which ensures that their messages are in touch with the central meaning systems of the culture, and that the codes in which the message is transmitted are widely available" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:81).* Television should be approached as a semiotic system that goes beyond mere words, its visual content "*takes the form of 'paralinguistic' signs derived ultimately from real life linguistic codes" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:83). "The 'bargaining, interaction and exchange' of the communication process itself functions as part of the entertainment, bonding us as viewers via the message, to the reality of our culture and thus lifting the burden of an isolating individualism from our shoulders" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:80).* Television is characterised by the contradictions that are inherent to its function. *"Television restores much of the personal autonomy to the viewer in the sense that he supplies the conditions both semiotic and social under which any specific message becomes meaningful." (Fiske, Hartley 1998:126)*. Even inconsistencies or lapses in logic

are not necessarily faults in television discourse; they are rather aspects of a different kind of logic, one that aims to *"produce full satisfactory and plausible meaning" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:112).* Television representations are derived from both dominant and subordinate codes, where the tensions between different sectors of society are enacted more from the way those messages are presented than by the denotative content of the messages itself.

The dominant meanings in our culture governs to a large extent the socio-centrality of television and its messages by promoting the preferred meanings of news, series, etc. "*In television news the mechanism employed is that of equivalent way of seeing "that enables us not merely to understand the events but we are also offered an orientation towards them, a way of judging them" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:80).* In other words, in television news the viewers are offered evidence for a change in their attitudes, but at the same time a preferred direction in which the change should occur. However, it is not in the power of the presenter to enforce its acceptance *"the individual viewer, usually under the powerful influence of his or her domestic environment, negotiates a response to the proffered message, testing it against his or her total cultural experience." (Fiske, Hartley 1998:116).* In other words, whether or not will the proposed approach will be accepted or not it is *"decided by a much larger and more diffuse cultural process,"* that is described as a kind *"of collective bargaining whereby dominant definitions of the situation are negotiated and established".* This process, *"includes the mass audience's response to messages, while the messages themselves constitute a valuable indication of the state of that collective bargaining at any one time" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:116.* However, we have to have in mind that although the *"verbal content of the news messages are encoded according to the dominant definition of the situation"* that does not mean that *"those who are dominant must dominate",* but rather that the medium *"responds to and even embodies a contradictory set of ways of seeing" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:116). "Television is not a simple medium and its meanings are not communicated simply" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:116).* Fiske and Hartley attribute the hostility of certain critics towards television to the medium characteristic of non-literacy, and more specifically *"to the differences in the esteem which our culture traditionally accords to oral and literate discourse respectively" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:116).* This approach *"is not easily employed in the encoding of television messages, precisely because it derives from literate discourse and shares many of its characteristics, i.e. tendency to abstraction, etc." (Fiske, Hartley 1998:116).* An important effect that the writers bring up is that television through the

combination of distinct cultures might lead to a restructuring in the modes of perception of reality for the culture as a whole.

AUDIENCES

Television is fully incorporated into the processes of society as a whole, "*when we watch a popular television program we are among other things asserting our common-ality with the others members of our culture" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:116).* Television culture, function and mode communicate a metonymic contact. In this frame, television signs are like words in a language, and have the same role; "*in that, they can be members of a variety of sub-codes ore registers, which indicate the breadth of their usefulness to the culture... they reassure us that our ways of seeing and structuring reality actually work and that other members of the culture share our ways of seeing... and encoding reality" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:116); e.g. when the television screen gives a sign of three judges each showing a numbered card indicating his evaluation... this simple and instantly decodable sign is part of a complex cultural process... for television provides ample evidence that our culture feels a need to rank people in order... in this television is doing no more than reflecting the competitive, hierarchical structure of our culture and the extent to which we use quantitive codes to evaluate, assess and describe our social activities" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:130).* In the way that people perceive media, there are substantial and identifiable differences, and those differences, according to the writers, are to a large extent class-based. What is unique with television, compared to other media, is that *"the oral perception and the dominant literate modes are for the first time caused to interact in one medium on a mass or even a global scale" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:122).*

According to our approach, people should be perceived as active, rather than passive agents in the circulation of meanings. It is necessary in order to deconstruct the approaches that present the viewer and TV audience in general as a disempowered empty receptacle waiting for the message. With television, audiences, especially nowadays, have more freedom to decode as they collectively choose something that is inherent according to the writers in the media structure.

Regarding the audiences, television's mass mode starting-point "*is merely a recognition of the basically similar social conditions of existence that obtain among apparently widely disparate groups" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:103).*

The procedure of decoding television message by the viewer in order to become meaningful *"is a moment when the semiotic codes interlock with the cultural awareness supplied by the viewer, whose own context will play a part in shaping that cultural awareness" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:124).* Audience is drawn to a popular culture that appeals to it through the 'anticipatory socialization' "*whereby people use the mediated view of status groups higher than their own (which they see on television) as models they can emulate" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:106).* TV series in this case build a metonymic relationship with the viewers, " *that share the culture that values this lifestyle and even possess some of the objects and attributes that such a series celebrates" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:108).* However, it would be a mistake to regard "*the mass medium of television as undifferentiated for all users" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:109).* In order to overcome the paradox of an audience that is not mass and, by the same time, that the medium would not succeed a communicative success unless it responds to the actuality of the viewer's situation, we have to point out the differences between the positivist approach and the cultural-studies approach. In the prior, the dominant claim is that audience uses media to gratify needs, while in the latter, it underlines the consumption on *"a more material or symbolic resources for more power and control can be met only by social action" (Fiske,1992:357).* What actually makes television central in our culture is the interaction with its audience through the use of codes which are closely related to those by which we perceive reality itself. "*The medium is to some extent self-critical, and is prepared to share its jaundiced view of itself with its audience."* These developments in the medium have allowed us to understand and challenge "*the role that television has hitherto established in society" (Fiske, Hartley 1998:192).*

Today, television is changing on several levels: it is transitioning from analogue to digital, from scheduled broadcasts to on-demand TV on the internet, from lean-back (passive) to lean-forward (active) media, from straight watching to consumption of content connected to additional services, from the solitary TV viewer to the viewer who is part of social networks and communities related to TV content, from single-screening to multi-screening, etc. The effects of digital transformation have become highly visible in TV broadcasting. The successful launch of digital television services, the widespread diffusion of mobile screens, and the looming disruption of online TV services have created a "sense of urgency" among incumbents in TV broadcasting to reform existing models. Re-reading television requires innovating and adapting to digital and disruptive technologies, as Kachaner and

Deimler (2008) suggest that organizations need to stretch their strategic thinking by questioning and challenging existing assumptions and business models.

The growing consumer preference for different services and video-on-demand (instead of appointment viewing) is having a disruptive effect on traditional television scheduling, ratings, advertising, and cable subscriptions. Through my analysis, I aim to underline the importance of re-reading television studies in order to adjust to these changes.

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Dragana Pavlović
Filozofski fakultet
Univerzitet u Nišu
Niš, Srbija

Dina Petrović
Filološki fakultet
Univerzitet u Beogradu
Beograd, Srbija

TEORIJA KONEKTIVIZMA I UČENJE STRANIH JEZIKA

Apstrakt: Razvoj digitalnih tehnologija uslovio je promene u strukturi, izvorima i načinima sticanja znanja, što je dovelo do kreiranja novih pristupa u usvajanju stranih jezika. Shodno tome, razvija se nova kultura razvoja jezičkih kompetencija koja je zasnovana na teoriji konektivizma. Konektivistička teorija bazirana je na principima modernog digitalnog okruženja, koje je informativno i podsticajno za učenje. Sa intenzivnim razvojem digitalnih alata i njihovom sve većom primenom u učenju stranih jezika, raste i aktuelnost teorije konektivizma, a time i interesovanje istraživača za proučavanje njenih ishoda. Osnovni cilj ovog rada je da se ukaže na značaj primene teorije konektivizma u učenju stranih jezika. U skladu sa tim, u radu je dat pregled većeg broja istraživanja u kojima se ukazuje na implikacije koje nastaju primenom savremenih digitalnih alata u razvoju jezičkih kompetencija. Poseban značaj posvećen je određenim vrstama internet alata poput društvenih mreža, blogova, *Twitter*-a, *Youtube*-a, podkasta, elektronske pošte, mobilnih foruma, diskusionih grupa i drugih platformi. Na osnovu pregleda istraživanja o primeni različitih digitalnih alata, u zaključnom delu rada ukazuje se na neke od značajnih ishoda koje se odnose na korišćenje raznovrsnih izvora saznanja, veće mogućnosti za kolaborativno učenje, razvoj autonomije u učenju, samostalnost u donošenju odluka, veću otvorenost i interaktivnost. U radu se zaključuje da je primena teorije konektivizma u usvajanju stranih jezika na našim prostorima još uvek nedovoljno istražena tema, koja će u budućnosti dobijati na aktuelnosti, posebno ako se ima u vidu sve ubrzaniji razvoj digitalnih tehnologija.

Ključne reči: konektivizam, učenje, strani jezici, digitalni alati, ishodi

1. UVOD

Sve veća primena novih digitalnih tehnologija uslovila je značajne promene u oblasti obrazovanja, a pojava interneta, kao globalne svetske mreže, bitno je uticala na proces sticanja znanja u svim oblastima, uključujući i učenje stranih jezika.

Značajni potencijali digitalnih tehnologija u procesu učenja prepoznati su u dokumentima međunarodnih organizacija, kao što je Evropska komisija (European Commission, 2014). U dokumentu objavljenom 2018 godine (European Commission, 2018: 14) objedinjeni su predlozi koji se odnose na ključne kompetencije za doživotno učenje. U preporukama se ističe potreba za novim načinima učenja u društvu koje sve više postaje digitalno i mobilno, jer digitalne tehnologije imaju uticaj na obrazovanje, obuku i učenje, razvijajući fleksibilnija okruženja za učenje prilagođena potrebama visoko mobilnog društva. U skladu sa tim, dokument kojim se planira razvoj obrazovnog sistema u Srbiji naglašava potrebu za modernizacijom učenja korišćenjem digitalnih alata, kao što su elektronske konferencije, blogovi, diskusione tribine, razmena informacija, elektronska testiranja (Strategija razvoja obrazovanja u Srbiji do 2020. godine, 2012: 85). Za ostvarenje ciljeva postavljenih u Strategiji razvoja obrazovanja neophodno je povećanje udela internet tehnologija u procesu učenja kako u školskoj praksi, na formalnom nivou, tako i u procesu neformalnog učenja.

Predmet ovog rada je ispitivanje ishoda koje uslovljava primena teorije konektivizma na usvajanje stranih jezika. Opšta polazna hipoteza je da postoje značajne implikacije konektivističke teorije na oblast učenja stranih jezika. Posebne hipoteze odnose se ka konkretne ishode i glase: (1) Primena digitalnih alata na kojima se zasniva teorija konketivizma u učenju stranih jezika, čini osnovu korišćenja različitih izvora znanja; (2) Primena digitalnih alata obezbeđuje veće mogućnosti za kolaborativno učenje; (3) Primena digitalnih alata, nudi više prilika za razvoj autonomije u učenju; (4) Primena digitalnih alata pruža mogućnosti za samostalno odlučivanje; (5) Digitalni alati obezbeđuju učenje kroz deljenje i razmenu znanja, što je jedna od odrednica teorije konektivizma.

2. TEORIJA KONEKTIVIZMA – OSNOVNE ODREDNICE

Pod uticajem razvoja digitalnih tehnologija u savremenom obrazovanju dolazi do promena koje uslovljavaju menjanje strukture, načina i izvora sticanja znanja. Kako je dolaženje do novih informacija, u vremenu u kome živimo, uglavnom determinisano sredstvima savremenih informaciono-komunikacionih tehnologija, može se naslutiti njihov značaj i uticaj na kreiranje novih modela učenja, poput učenja podržanog računarima i

mobilnog učenja (Kukulska-Hulme, Viberg, 2018; Shadiev, Hwang, Huang, 2017).

Primena digitalnih alata u procesu učenja svoje teorijsko utemeljenje nalazi u novoj teoriji učenja – konektivizmu. Konektivizam kao teoriju koja se bavi proučavanjem načina na koje ljudi stiču znanja u digitalnom dobu, ustanovio je Džordž Simens (George Siemens, 2005). Osnovno polazište ove teorije je da se učenje zasniva na neprekidnom prikupljanju novih informacija i preispitivanju postojećeg znanja, pri čemu izuzetan značaj imaju veze pojedinca sa okolinom. Pored Simensa, važno je pomenuti i Stivena Daunsa (Stephen Downes, 2009; 2007), koji ukazuje na bitne karakteristike učenja u društvu znanja: raznovrsnost (razmatranje različitih gledišta kroz interakciju sa drugim ljudima i izvorima znanja); autonomija (doprinos zajednici učenja kroz sopstvenu aktivnost u skladu sa ličnim znanjima, vrednostima i odlukama); interaktivnost (učenje i znanje je proizvod interakcije između umereženih članova); otvorenost (znanje je dostupno jer postoje alati koji omogućavaju unošenje sadržaja u umreženi sistem i deljenja kroz interakciju sa drugima).

Konektivisti su prepoznali potencijale novih tehnologija u domenu učenja i znanja i u skladu sa tim zastupaju stav da „tehnologija preoblikuje načine na koje ljudi kreiraju, čuvaju i distribuiraju znanje“ (Bulatović, Bulatović, Arsenijević, 2012: 707), u svim oblastima, uključujući i oblast učenja jezika. Osnovni principi konketivizma su bazirani na sledećim pretpostavkama:

- učenje i znanje se zasniva na različitosti mišljenja,
- učenje je proces povezivanja više izvora informacija,
- održavanje veza potrebno je za nastavak učenja,
- osnovna veština je uočiti povezanost između različitih domena, ideja i koncepata,
- mogućnost za usvajanje novih znanja važnija je od trenutnog znanja,
- obrazovne aktivnosti namenjene su usvajanju tačnih i ažurnih informacija,
- proces učenja podrazumeva donošenje odluka – zbog stalnih promena važno je znati odabrati šta učiti kao i razlikovati važne informacije od nevažnih (Glušac, 2012: 21–22).

Navedeni principi teorije konektivizma ukazuju na drugačije sagledavanje procesa učenja u odnosu na ranije pristupe. Učenje koje počiva na različitosti mišljenja može biti polazište za korišćenje aktivnih metoda, posebno diskusije i debate u kojima je prisutno sučeljavanje stavova i

mišljenja, pri čemu se kao argumenti mogu koristiti informacije iz različitih izvora, pre svega sa interneta (Bessenyei, 2008). Važnost kapaciteta za učenje, negovanje i održavanje veza su neophodni u procesu učenja, kao i sposobnosti i veštine vezane za informatičku pismenost (Dunaway, 2011). Posebno je značajno da se u navedenim principima ukazuje na značaj donošenja odluka, što podrazumeva autonomiju u odabiru sadržaja i procesu učenja i naglašava kritički odnos prema informacijama. Razvoj kritičkog odnosa je svakako jedan od najznačajnijih zadataka u obrazovanju mladih koji uče i žive u digitalnom dobu.

Prema teoriji konektivizma razvoj novih digitalnih alata je uslovio promene u strukturi znanja, tako da se u mnogim područjima upotrebljivost postojećeg znanja bitno smanjila. U savremenom društvu pamćenje činjenica više nema centralnu ulogu, jer se stalno javljaju nove informacije (Bell, 2010). U eri velike dostupnosti informacija na internetu učenje napamet i pamćenje ustupaju mesto drugim sposobnostima, pre svega razvoju kritičkog odnosa prema informacijama koje se nude (Kop, Hill, 2008). U tom kontekstu od suštinskog značaja su pitanja vezana za razvoj kritičkog pristupa kako bi se postojeća znanja stalno preispitivala. Kritički odnos u preispitivanju znanja zahteva aktivnost svakog pojedinca koji uči u smislu provere postojećeg znanja i redefinisanju osnove na kojoj se mogu kreirati refleksije za promene i usvajanje novih znanja.

3. PRIMENA DIGITALNIH ALATA U UČENJU STRANOG JEZIKA

Tokom poslednje decenije konektivizam predstavlja vodeću teoriju učenja koje je bazirano na računarima, mobilnim uređajima i internetu. Kao teorija učenja za digitalno doba, konektivizam može pružiti praktičnu paradigmu koja ima uticaja na učenje jezika na mreži uz podršku mobilnih telefona i društvenih mreža (Al-Shehri, 2011). Istraživanja novijeg datuma ukazuju da konektivistička teorija učenja, čini dobru polaznu osnovu za učenje stranih jezika, jer omogućava saradnju, interakciju, deljenje i razmenu znanja. Digitalni alati i internet mogu biti platforma za promovisanje saradničkog učenja i razmenu znanja i iskustava u usvajanju stranih jezika. Smatra se da su suštinski elementi teorije konektivizma primenljivi u učenju stranih jezika jer omogućavaju raznolikost izvora informacija, povezivanje sa izvornim govornicima, saradnju i razmenu u interkulturalnim kontekstima, aktivnosti za upravljanje znanjem i odlučivanje. Primena osnovnih principa

konketivističke teorije je najočiglednija kada se za učenje stranog jezika koriste određene vrste digitalnih alata kao što su društvene mreže (blogovi, *Wikipedia*, *Twitter*, *Youtube*), podkast, elektronska pošta, mobilni forumi, diskusione grupe i razne platfome (Keskin, Metcalf, 2011).

U svrhe preispitivanja postavljenih hipoteza, u tekstu koji sledi dat je prikaz istraživačkih radova u kojima su primenjeni pomenuti digitalni alati, sa konkretnim primerima. Na osnovu analize ovih radova, moguće je izvesti konstatacije o ishodima konektivističke teorije u učenju stranih jezika.

Poznato je da se društvene mreže mogu koristiti kao alati za učenje stranih jezika. U prilog takvom stavu govore rezultati studije koja je sprovedena u Velikoj Britaniji u cilju ispitivanja korišćenja društvenih mreža u nastavi stranih jezika. Istraživanje je posebno bilo fokusirano na proučavanje neformalne jezičke prakse prilikom upotrebe društvenih mreža. Dobijeni rezultati su istakli pozitivne efekte korišćenja društvenih mreža u domenu saradnje i interakcije između studenata. Osim toga, utvrđeno je da učešće na društvenim mrežama doprinosi jačanju kohezije grupe i poboljšanju usvajanja stranog jezika kroz međusobno povezivanje i razmenu (Toetenel, 2014).

Na visoku vrednost upotrebe blogova u učenju stranih jezika ukazala je studija koja je sprovedena sa studentima japanskog univerziteta. Utvrđeno je da korišćenje blogova pruža izuzetan doprinos autonomiji u učenju stranih jezika. Podaci istraživanja prikupljeni od studenata putem upitnika i intervjua sugerišu da su studenti koji su pisali blogove pokazali povećano interesovanje i motivaciju za korišćenje engleskog jezika. Smatra se da razlog tome leži u permanentnoj interakciji sa kolegama i nastavnicima koji su davali povratne informacije. Nalazi ukazuju da pisanje blogova razvija bolju komunikaciju i saradnju među studentima, a da samostalnost u kreiranju bloga pruža podršku autonomiji u učenju. U istraživanju se konstatuje da postojanje indikacija da je projekat pomogao u poboljšanju veština čitanja i pisanja na engleskom jeziku, kao i većoj motivaciji studenata da nastave pisanje blogova i nakon završetka semestra (Pinkman, 2005).

Slično tome, u istraživanju koje je realizovano sa 16 američkih studenata, potvrđeno je da pisanje blogova u saradnji sa izvornim govornicima pruža podršku razvoju jezičkih kompetencija i razvija autonomiju u učenju. Studenti koji su učestvovali u pisanju blogova imali su više mogućnosti za razvoj interkulturalnih komunikativnih kompetencija. Rezultati studije pokazali su da blogovi studentima pružaju priliku da samostalno rade i stvaraju sadržaje koji podstiču na razmišljanje o

interkulturalnosti. U zaključku je ukazano na značaj dobro osmišljenih zadataka, efikasnih kognitivnih veština i dostupnost Interneta kao ključnih preduslova za maksimalizovanje potencijala blogova u domenu razvoja autonomije studenata i interkulturalne komunikacije (Harrison, Thomas, 2009).

Za usvajanje stranih jezika kroz razmenu i saradnju sve više se koriste mikroblogovi, među kojima je *Twitter* jedan od najpopularnijih. Premda je poznato da usluga mikroblogovanja nudi nastavnicima brojne mogućnosti za učenje, smatra se da potencijali ovog digitalnog alata još uvek nisu u dovoljnoj meri iskorišćeni. Istraživanje sprovedeno na uzorku od 755 nastavnika dalo je sveobuhvatniji uvid u načine upotrebe i benefite *Twitter*-a u formalnom obrazovanju. Kao prednost, navedena je personalizovana, neposredna priroda *Twitter*-a koja potpomaže postojanje pozitivne veze i saradnju između nastavnika i studenta. Ispitanici su isticali pozitivnu ulogu *Twitter*-a, zbog podsticanja kolaboracije i razmene mišljenja, što je u saglasnosti sa principima teorije konektivizma (Carpenter, Krutka, 2014).

Multimedijsko učenje uz korišćenje raznovrsnih snimaka i video klipova svoju polaznu osnovu ima u teoriji konketivizma. U opsežnoj studiji Berka (Berk, 2009) navodi se da primena video-klipova, može biti i glavni resurs za učenje stranog jezika, jer doprinosi motivaciji, pamćenju i boljem razumevanju sadržaja. U skladu sa postavkama konekstivističke teorije primena raznovrsnih video klipova između ostalog, pruža podršku razvoju kolaborativnog učenja, jer se snimci mogu koristiti za vežbe i rad u grupi. U tom kontekstu ukazuje se na značaj implementacije video klipova: TV-a, filmova, *YouTube*-a u cilju ostvarivanja bolje saradnje u procesu učenja stranih jezika.

U novije vreme prisutan je stav da *YouTube*, kao internet izvor, predstavlja dragoceni resurs za nastavnike koji omogućava ispunjavanje određenih obrazovnih potreba studenata i ostvarivanje ciljeva u učenju stranih jezika. Naime, ovaj digitalni alat omogućuje studentima da kreiraju video-klipove koji su zasnovani na jeziku koji uče, što podrazumeva mogućnost da više studenata sarađuje na projektu. Smatra se da ovakvi kolaborativni projekti pružaju mogućnost studentima da zajednički rade na stvaranju finalnog jezičkog proizvoda, da u tom procesu razmenjuju i dele znanja, što je jedan od značajnih elementa konektivističke teorije. Postavljeni video-snimak omogućava drugima da daju video odgovore, na osnovu čega se dobija povratna informacija. Autori smatraju da korišćenje *YouTube*-a predstavlja

radikalno novi pristup u pružanju lingvističkog odgovora i ohrabruje studente da se više angažuju u razmeni informacija i obrazovnog iskustva u učenju stranih jezika (Kabooha, Elyas, 2018; Terantino, 2011).

Rezultati projekta realizovanog u Portugalu sa učenicima srednjih škola ukazuju da *YouTube* predstavlja kognitivni alat koji podstiče razmišljanje, razvija kritičko mišljenje, učenje putem rešavanje problema i pruža podršku u procesu odlučivanja u usvajanju stranog jezika (Bastos, Ramos, 2017). Uz pomoć raznovrsnih video-zapisa učenici postižu bolja obrazovna postignuća, lakše ostvaruju transfer znanja, prenos stečenih znanja i drugačiji kontekst učenja, pokazuju bolje snalaženje u svakodnevnim životnim situacijama i donose samostalne inteligentne odluke, što je u skladu sa principima konektivizma. U zaključku istraživanja se konstatuje da primena video snimaka obezbeđuje napredovanje svih učenika, doprinosi izgradnji mentalnih procesa i učenju stranog jezika u kontekstu (Bastos, Ramos, 2017).

Korišćenje ostalih internet alata – online foruma, blogova, *Skype*-a i elektronske pošte u učenju stranih jezika doprinosi međukulturnoj razmeni koja se odvija kroz proces kolaboracije. Deljenje znanja, što čini suštinski element teorije konektivizma, i razmena obrazovnog iskustva sa maternjim govornicima, pruža mogućnosti za unapređivanje jezičkih kompetencija i razvoj interkulturalnosti, pokazuju rezultati studije koja je realizovana na Tajvanu (Chen, Yang, 2014). Tokom jednogodišnjeg akcionog istraživanja uz primenu digitalnih alata sprovedena su tri interkulturna projekta, bazirana na kolaborativnim aktivnostima. Rezultati studije ukazuju da primena internet alata omogućava kontekstualizaciju učenja stranog jezika, što učenici doživljavaju kao autentično učenje jezika koje osnažuje njihove jezičke kompetencije. Značajan aspekt ovih projekta je proces kolaboracije koji, uz pomoć internet alata, razvija nove puteve učenja stranih jezika.

Novija istraživanja ukazuju na značaj primene podkasta kao sredstva za podsticanje kompetencija u oblasti stranih jezika (Hatfield, 2018; Phillips, 2017). Podkast može biti bogat izvor za razvoj jezičkih kompetencija i može se koristiti u svrhe slušanja i negovanja nezavisnih stilova učenja studenta. Autonomija, kao i saradnja u procesu učenja su važni prediktori koje naglašava konektivistička teorija, te se s toga i preporučuje integrisanje podkasta u učenju stranog jezika. Rezultati studije koja je realizovana na Tajvanu ukazuju da je učenje stranog jezika uz primenu podkasta adekvatan i veoma koristan način za razvoj jezičkih veština i samostalnosti u učenju studenata (Chun-Chun, 2017). Prednosti primene podkasta se odnose na

postojanje slobode izbora u učenju i smislenih aktivnosti koje podržavaju zahteve nastavnog programa. U praksi učenja stranih jezika podkast se može koristiti za obuku u specifičnim jezičkim veštinama, poput izgovora, ali i govora i veština slušanja.

Pored autonomije u učenju podkast pruža priliku za razvoj kolaboracije, što je svakako jedan od najznačajnijih benefita u primeni ovog internet alata. U istraživačkom projektu koji je sproveden u javnoj školi u Kolumbiji ispitivana je korelacija korišćenja podkasta u strategijama učenja i kolaborativnog rada za razvoj usmenih veština učenika (Grisales, García, 2017). Rezultati istraživanja su ukazali da je primena ovog alata bila efikasna, da je doprinela poboljšanju usmenih veština kroz proces stvaranja. Podkast je omogućio da studenti sami prate u regulišu svoj govor, jer su mogli da slušaju snimke više puta, da naprave korekcije i poboljšaju izgovor, fluentnost i gramatička znanja. Poseban značaj ima kolaboracija, koja je studentima omogućila da se oslobode straha i stresa, da se osećaju sigurno da samouvereno rešavaju zadatke. Rad u grupama i međusobna saradnja uticali su na razvoj kreativnosti, organizaciju ideja i dizajniranje zadataka. Kroz zajednički rad i razmenu učenici su razvijali bolje razumevanje, povećali kvalitet svoga rada, što je doprinelo razvoju jezičkih kompetencija i učenju u celini.

Bitna obeležja konektivizma, kao što su raznolikost, otvorenost i interaktivnost, svoju praktičnu primenu mogu naći u otvorenim masovnim onlajn kursevima – MOOCs-u (*Massive Open Online Courses*) kao jednom od oblika mobilnog učenja. Ovi kursevi predstavljaju dinamične modele učenja koji nude mogućnosti za uspostavljanje saradnje i razmene tokom učenja stranih jezika. Autori ih smatraju izuzetnim mehanizmom za celoživotno obrazovanje u kome ključnu ulogu ima autonomija, raznovrsnost, otvorenost i interaktivnost (Skiba, 2012; Mackness et all. 2010).

4. ZAKLJUČAK

Na osnovu pregleda istraživačkih radova došlo se do saznanja koja potvrđuju posebne hipoteze, odnosno ukazuju na konkretne ishode teorije konektivizma na učenje stranih jezika.

- Korišćenje raznovrsnih izvora znanja: Nastavnik i udžbenik više nisu jedini izvori znanja u usvajanju stranih jezika. Nasuprot tome, može se koristiti veći broj internet izvora i digitalnih alata koji doprinose

razvoju jezičkih kompetencija. U oblasti učenja stranih jezika posebno se izdvajaju potencijali društvenih mreža, blogova, a visoke vrednosti imaju i *Twitter*, *Youtube*, podkast, elektronska pošta, druge platforme.

- Veće mogućnosti za kolaborativno učenje: Savremeno učenje stranih jezika nije izolovana individualna aktivnost, već se odvija kroz saradnju sa drugima (kolegama, nastavnicima i ostalim zainteresovanim članovima). Za razvoj kolaborativnog učenja stranih jezika izuzetno je značajan doprinos društvenih mreža, podkasta, mobilnih foruma i diskusionih grupa, raznovrsnih snimaka i video klipova, *Twitter*-a, otvorenih masovnih onlajn kurseva – MOOCs-u i projekata telekolaboracije.
- Više prilika za razvoj autonomije u učenju: U pregledu istraživačkih radova ukazuje se na korišćenje blogova u cilju razvoja samostalnosti u učenju stranih jezika. U novije vreme, osim blogova, značajnu ulogu ima podkast kao alat koji se koristi u svrhe slušanja i negovanja nezavisnih stilova učenja studenta.
- Mogućnosti za samostalno donošenje odluka: Korišćenje *Youtube*-a, u učenju stranih jezika pokazuje benefite u delu boljeg snalaženja studenata u svakodnevnim životnim situacijama i sposobnost da donose samostalne inteligentne odluke. *Youtube* se smatra alatom koji podstiče razmišljanje, razvija kritičko mišljenje, učenje putem rešavanje problema, što je u uskoj vezi sa procesom odlučivanja.
- Učenje kroz deljenje i razmenu znanja: Premda su gotovo svi digitalni alati novije generacije namenjeni deljenju znanja, za učenje stranih jezika u istraživanjima se naglašava uloga onlajn foruma, blogova, *Skype*-a i elektronske pošte.

Mada je tokom prethodne decenije teorija konektivizma, kao nova teorija učenja, izazvala pažnju većeg broja autora u svetskim okvirima, na našim prostorima ona nije dovoljno zastupljena. U tom kontekstu, doprinos ovog rada je ukazivanje na značaj i neke posledice teorije konektivizma kao teorijske osnove za savremeno učenje stranih jezika. Osim toga, rad pruža uvid u digitalne alate koji daju efikasne rezultate u usvajanju stranih jezika, što može biti korisna informacija za nastavnike koji žele da obogate i inoviraju nastavnu praksu. Imajući u vidu intenzivni razvoj digitalnih tehnologija, kao i njihovu sve veću zastupljenost u učenju stranih jezika, ovaj

rad može biti polazište za nova istraživanja različitih aspekata konektivističke teorije u usvajanju stranih jezika.

CONNECTIVISM THEORY AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING

Summary

The development of digital technologies led to changes in the structure, sources and methods of acquiring knowledge, which led to the creation of new approaches in the adoption of foreign languages. Consequently, a new culture of language competence development is being developed, which is based on the theory of connectivism. Connectivism as a learning theory is based on the principles of a modern digital environment, which is informative and incentive for learning. With the intensive development of digital tools and their increasing application in foreign language learning, the current nature of Connectivism theory is growing, and therefore the interest of researchers in studying its implications. The main goal of this paper is to point out the importance and implications of the use of the theory of Connectivism in the learning of foreign languages. In accordance with this, the paper presents an overview of a number of research that points to the implications of using modern digital tools in the development of language competencies. Special significance is dedicated to certain types of Internet tools such as social networks, blogs, Twitter, Youtube, podcasts, e-mails, mobile forums, discussion groups and other platforms. Based on a research on the application of different digital tools review, the final part of the paper points to some of the important implications of using diverse sources of knowledge, greater opportunities for collaborative learning, development of autonomy in learning, decision-making independence, greater openness and interactivity. The paper concludes that the application of the theory of Connectivism in the foreign languages learning in our region is still underdeveloped, but will gain actuality in the future, especially given the ever-accelerated development of digital technologies.

Key words: connectivism, learning, foreign languages, digital tools, implications

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Marija Horvat
Nova TV
Zagreb, Hrvatska
Tena Perišin
Fakultet političkih znanosti
Sveučilište u Zagrebu
Zagreb, Hrvatska

UDC 070-051 HRT
070-051 NOVA TV

NOVINAR KAO INTERPRETATOR VIJESTI I DOGAĐAJA: USPOREDBA IZVJEŠTAVANJA U SREDIŠNJIM DNEVNICIMA *HRT*-A I *NOVE* TV

Apstrakt: U ovom radu nastoji se odgovoriti na pitanje što je interpretativno novinarstvo i kako se primjenjuje u praksi. Interpretativno novinarstvo često se poistovjećuje s narativnim novinarstvom odnosno izvještavanjem (pripovijedanjem) o nekoj temi ili događaju na gledatelju lako razumljiv način. No, pretjerivanje i pojednostavljivanje dovodi do interpretacije u kojoj više nije najvažnije što se dogodilo i zašto se nešto dogodilo, već prevladava novinarska interpretacija događaja. Pojedini autori interpretaciju smatraju nužnom, korisnom i analitičkim pristupom u svijetu prezasićenom informacijama. Kritičari je s druge strane prozivaju zbog subjektivnosti i vođenosti novinarom, umjesto informacijom. U radu je provedena studija slučaja analize korištenja interpretativnih novinarskih praksi prilikom izvještavanja o aferi 'Hotmail' u središnjim informativnim emisijama u Hrvatskoj – u Dnevnicima *Hrvatske radiotelevizije* i komercijalne televizije *Nova TV*. Analiza je provedena prema interpretativnim kriterijima dekontekstualizacije autora Ekstörm (2001) i Eriksson (2011). Utvrđeno je dominantno korištenje interpretativne forme izvještaja s prevladavajućim novinarskim tekstom *(off-om)* i kratkim tonskim isječcima sugovornika *(soundbite)* koji su odmaknuti od izvornog konteksta i smješteni u novi kontekst koji postavlja novinar. Informacije prezentirane u televizijskim prilozima obje informativne emisije umjesto na sam događaj fokusiraju se na mišljenja, izjave i ponašanja aktera. Analizom je utvrđeno kako su se interpretativne prakse primijenjene prilikom izvještavanja o aferi 'Hotmail' odmaknule od korisne uloge interpretacije radi gledateljevog lakšeg razumijevanja informacija prema zloupotrebi samog pristupa, odnosno novinarskoj manipulaciji i nametanju zaključaka i mišljenja.

Ključne riječi: interpretativno novinarstvo, interpretacija, tonski isječci, televizijske vijesti, izvještavanje, Hrvatska

1. UVOD

Televizijske vijesti, unatoč sve većem utjecaju interneta i novih medija, za mnoge su ljude glavni izvor informacija o najvažnijim događanjima u Hrvatskoj i svijetu. Negativne promjene u novinarstvu česta su tema mnogih autora. S jedne se strane govori o tabloidizaciji, senzacionalizmu, padu standarda i profesionalnih kriterija, a s druge o sve težim uvjetima rada u pogledu vremena, plaće i količine posla. Autori Dinan i Miller (2009: 252) kažu kako novinari danas, u odnosu na šezdesete godine nemaju vremena izaći iz redakcije, skupljaju informacije putem telefona, iz objava drugih medija ili agencija. Digitalizacija proizvodnje vijesti i pritisak konkurentnih televizijskih postaja omogućile su brzu montažu materijala te korištenje većeg broja kratkih, brzih i isprekidanih isječaka izjava sugovornika (engl. *soundbite*) u televizijskim vijestima (Patterson, 1993, prema Rinke, 2016). Posljedica toga je, kako kažu, da su gledatelji skraćivanjem izjava umjesto akterima priče i njihovim stavovima, postali daleko izloženiji novinarovom viđenju stvarnosti, odnosno novinarskoj interpretaciji u kojoj novinar na temelju odabranih kratkih tonskih isječaka konstruira novinarsku priču. Izvještavanje utemeljeno na informacijama transformira se u tzv. interpretativno novinarstvo pomoću raznih tehnika uređivanja poput dekontekstualizacije i rekontekstualizacije. Bull et al (2014: 215, prema Ekstörm, 2001) dekontekstualizaciju opisuje kao postupak u kojem se dio video sadržaja odvaja iz originalnog konteksta (najčešće intervjua) prilikom pisanja i montaže informativnog TV priloga. Odvojeni segment obično ne sadrži pitanje koje je novinar postavio i kojim se potaknuo odgovor na njega. Tako izdvojen odnosno dekotekstualizirani tonski isječak (izjavu) novinar zatim koristi u svojoj priči smještajući ga u novi kontekst raznim tehnikama rekontekstualizacije.

Interpretativno novinarstvo kao dominantan novinarski oblik vidljivo je prema načinu izvještavanja o važnim temama u kojem umjesto odgovara na pitanja što se dogodilo i zašto se nešto dogodilo prevladava interpretacija događaja. U ovom radu, namjera je pokazati što različiti autori podrazumijevaju pod pojmom interpretativno novinarstvo, te pokazati novinarsku praksu interpretacije događaja u televizijskim vijestima. Kao studiju slučaja odabrali smo primjer izvještavanja o „aferi Hotmail“ u središnjim informativnim emisijama u Hrvatskoj (Dnevnik *HRT*-a i Dnevnik *Nove TV*) detektirajući tehnike odvajanja dijelova izjava iz originalnog

konteksta 'dekontekstualizaciju' i njihovo postavljanje u novi novinarski kontekst 'rekontekstualizaciju'. Afera 'Hotmail' naziv je koji su mediji nadjenuli situaciji nastaloj nakon objave privatne elektroničke pošte koju je potpredsjednica Vlade RH i ministrica gospodarstva Martina Dalić izmjenjivala sa savjetnicima koji će kasnije raditi na *Lex Agrokoru*. 'Hotmail' je pružatelj usluga elektroničke pošte kojeg je u ovom slučaju za privatnu korespondenciju koristila Martina Dalić.

U ovom radu polazimo od pretpostavki da je:

a) interpretativno novinarstvo dominantan novinarski oblik kojim su se novinari koristili prilikom prezentiranja informacija o afreri 'Hotmail';

b) interpretativno novinarstvo vidljivo u velikom broju izvještaja koji su strukturirani od novinarskog teksta *(off-a) i* tonskih isječaka.

2. TEORIJSKI OKVIR

Kao najznačajniju promjenu u posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća, mnogi autori navode upravo porast korištenja interpretativnog novinarskog stila. Rječnik masovnih medija iz 1992. interpretativno izvještavanje definira kao „izvještavanje pomoću činjenica koje, bez komentara, osvjetljava, pojašnjava događaj“ (R.T. Ellmore, 1992, 303). Djerf-Pierre i Weibull (2008: 209) interpretativno novinarstvo smatraju najznačajnijom promjenom u političkom novinarstvu. McNair (2000) smatra da je interpretativni element u novinarstvu potreban kako bi važna informacija u prezasićenom okruženju uspješno došla do svijesti publike. „Svijet je previše složen, protok informacija je prebrz da bi ih mogli samostalno razumjeti. Interpretacija je postala ključni element za funkcioniranje novinarstva i to nigdje više nego u pokrivanju političkih tema“ (McNair, 2000: 82). U knjizi 'Interpretativno i istraživačko novinarstvo' zagovarateljica interpretacije kao kritičkog i dubinskog načina obrade vijesti Todorović (2002) objašnjava da informativne emisije vijesti nisu podoban prostor za interpretaciju zbog ograničenog trajanja i obilja informacija, te da televizijsko novinarstvo mora biti jezgrovito, efikasno i precizno. U kontekstu interpretativnog novinarstva, Djerf-Pierre and Weibull (2008) govore o komentatorima koji za televizijske gledatelje interpretiraju političku stvarnost, preuzimaju ulogu pučkog pravobranitelja javnosti, te zagovaraju potrebe javnosti/publike (2008: 209). Očito je da postoji različito shvaćanje interpretativnog novinarstva. Mnogi ga autori povezuju s porastom negativnosti u medijima ili cinizma prema političarima, kažu Salgado i Strömbäck (2012), a sam pojam interpretativnog novinarstva autori uvode kao

složen i važan, te ga opisuju kao novinarstvo vođeno novinarom, a ne njegovim izvorom. Tuggle i Huffman (2001) o rastućem trendu interpretativnih vijesti govore kao o novinarstvu u kojem reporteri služe kako bi uveli dodatni element uzbuđenja ili drame u priču, odnosno da vijesti u manjoj mjeri određuje sam izvor informacija, a više novinarska interpretacija što na kraju rezultira proizvodnjom trivijalnog, umjesto informativnog sadržaja. Thomas Patterson interpretaciju smatra problematičnom jer se prvo postavlja tema, a činjenice služe kako bi objasnile, dočarale temu. „Tema je primarna; činjenice su sekundarne“ (Patterson, 1993: 67). Autor interpretativno novinarstvo kritizira te tumači kao nametanje većeg naglaska na značenje vijesti umjesto na činjenice i izjave aktera (Patterson, 2000: 250). Osim suprotstavljenih stajališta o vrijednosti interpretativnog novinarstva često se radi se o neslaganju različitih definicija istog pojma. Interpretativno novinarstvo također može označavati više tipova novinarstva te ga se zato ne može generalizirati. Kao što tvrde Esser i Umbricht (2014), treba ga procijeniti uzimajući u obzir specifičan format vijesti i informativnu vrijednost koja se može znatno razlikovati među medijskim sustavima i platformama.

Količina novinarske intervencije raste, događa se pomak prema uzbudljivijem, bržem stilu izvještavanja u kojem nema mjesta dubljoj razradi složenih ili kompliciranih tema (Patterson, 1993 prema Rinke, 2016). Publika je i u vijestima koje su značajne za njihov život i život njihove zajednice preplavljena zabavom i trivijalnostima. Neil Postman upotrebljava naziv „Show now“ stil televizijskog izvještavanja za stil u kojem su „dnevna događanja reducirana na tridesetminutno pakiranje nepovezanih 45 sekundnih (ili još kraćih) zvučnih efekata“ (prema Todorović, 2002: 36). Postman naglašava da nismo samo „izloženi fragmentima vijesti nego i vijestima izvan konteksta, posljedica, bez vrijednosti pa samim time često i bez elementarne ozbiljnosti, što znači da se danas televizijska vijest često doslovno izjednačena sa zabavnom“ (1985: 100). Gledatelj se mora osloniti na tekst koji čita novinar tzv. novinarski off *(„voiceover“)* koji stavlja u kontekst izjavu političara unutar novinarske priče.

Kraćenje izjava sugovornika može lako rezultirati netočno prenesenom informacijom bez konteksta. Upravo su kratke i upečatljive izjave novinarima najpogodnije za korištenje u pričanju i montažnom uređivanju novinarske priče. Mnogi autori govore o porastu novinarstva koje se temelji na kratkim isječcima izjava tzv 'sound bite' novinarstvu (Perišin 2016).

Eriksson (2011) je razvio koncept prenošenja vijesti kao narativa, koja ima sastavne elemente: naratora, koji je obično voditelj ili novinar i razne likove poput političara ili drugih sugovornika. Voditelj daje kontekst priči najavljivanjem novinarovog priloga. U prilogu novinar objašnjava o čemu se radi, daje prostorni i vremenski kontekst, opisuje aktere priče i pomiče zaplet unaprijed povezivanjem dijelova u slijed. Takav stil pričanja priče, odnosno narativa osim korištenja činjenica daje novinaru veliku slobodu interpretacije u pričanju i sastavljanju priče.

Ekstörm (2001) i Eriksson (2011) u svojoj analizi vijesti švedskih televizijskih programa identificiraju metode dekontekstualizacije i rekontekstualizacije kojima se novinarski stil mijenja iz onog utemeljenog na činjenicama u interpretativni. Erikson (2011) je istraživanje proveo nad informativnim televizijskim emisijama Rapport i Aktuellt švedske javne televizije *SVT1* i *SVT2* te emisije Nyheterna švedske komercijalne televizije *TV4* emitiranim 1978, 1993. i 2003. godine. Ekstorm (2001) u istraživanju analizira iste televizijske emisije emitirane u razdoblju od 1998–1999. godine, te u istom prepoznaje četiri novinarske strategije rekontekstualizacije.

1. Novinar preformulira originalno pitanje u novinarskom tekstu koji televizijski novinari nazivaju u žargonu off *(eng. voiceover)* prije nego je političareva izjava prenesena. Utvrđivanjem pozadine priče i preoblikovanjem pitanja, komentari koje daje intervjuirana osoba koriste se kako bi poduprli novinarove ciljeve u priči. „Rijetko čujemo novinara koji tijekom najave intervjua koristi rečenice poput: 'Kad smo jučer intervjuirali ministra, pitali smo ga…“ (Ekstorm, 2001: 573).

2. Novinar osim rekontekstualizacije sadržaja izjave može također pripisati političaru implicirane misli ili osjećaje. Ekstorm navodi primjer rečenice iz novinarskog offa: „Ministar financija Bosse Ringholm pod jakim je pritiskom nakon bombardiranja kritikama koje prima zadnjih par dana“ (Ekstorm, 2015: 573–574), nakon koje slijedi tonski isječak ministra financija. Na taj način, tekst kojim novinar uvodi izjavu nije fokusiran na ono što Ringholm govori, nego na ono što Ringholm jest, 'pod pritiskom'.

3. Novinari previše pojednostavljuju i generaliziraju kako bi priča išla naprijed. To se događa kod prepričavanja događaja, ali također i kod prepričavanja političarevih postupaka ili misli. Takvo postupanje može pridonijeti priči, a informacija je nepotpuna ili krivo interpretirana.

4. Odgovori različitih sugovornika stavljaju se u formu 'zamišljenog' dijaloga (Ekstrom, 2001). To može uključivati više političara, no da bi strategija bila uspješna sugovornici moraju govoriti o istoj temi i mora

postojati gramatička podudarnost u njihovim odgovorima. Zamišljeni dijalog može biti stvoren samo s jednom osobom i to kompilacijom raznih isječaka intervjua za formiranje jednog odgovora. Ako se uređivanje, odnosno montaža odradi učinkovito, gledatelju će taj odgovor djelovati neprekinuto, kao poduži odgovor umjesto kratke izjave.

Na temelju radova i elemenata rekontekstualizacije autora Ekstorm (2001) i Eriksson (2011) Bull, Ralph Negrine i Katie Haw proveli su analizu izvještavanja o skandalu vezano za troškove Britanskih parlamentarnih izbora 2009. Autori su uspoređivali priloge iz 53 emisije vijesti kanala *BBC*, *Sky*, i *Channel 4*, u razdoblju od 11. svibnja do 3. lipnja 2009, koji su obrađivali tu temu te tako analizirali različite novinarske interpretacije istog materijala. Izvještaje su usporedili s audio-vizualnim snimkama parlamentarnih debata. U svojem radu Bull, Negrine i Haw izvode četiri glavne tehnike rekontekstualizacije u emitiranju televizijskih vijesti.

1. Kontekstualizacija prije i nakon izjave. Novinar ili voditelj postavlja kontekst naracijom prije tonskog isječka. Nakon toga novinar daje sažetak događaja, interpretaciju ili predstavlja novu priču.

2. Umetanje – narator ima ulogu onoga koji priča priču kroz umetanje na raznim točkama u obliku novinarskog off-a kako bi objasnio ili interpretirao što se događa na ekranu.

3. Eliminacija dijela izjave. Izbacivanjem dijela izvorne izjave, stvara se nova izjava. Zbog neprimjetnosti obrade, gledatelju je nemoguće prepoznati uređivanje materijala.

4. Uređivanje redoslijeda izjave. Izvadci tri različita političara mogu se pojaviti u jednom redoslijedu na jednom programu, a u drugačijem na drugom programu i tako stvoriti zamišljeni dijalog.

3. ANALIZA

Za potrebe ovog rada, uspoređivali smo izvještavanje o aferi 'Hotmail' u središnjoj informativnoj emisiji javnog servisa (*HRT*) te u Dnevniku *Nove TV*, koja je prema ispitivanju gledanosti najgledanija informativna emisija u Hrvatskoj. Za potrebe ove studije slučaja, pratili smo vrste, količinu i način novinarskog izvještavanja o aferi 'Hotmail', odnosno aferi koja je izbila kada je hrvatski portal *Index.hr* u nekoliko navrata objavio sadržaj privatne elektroničke pošte Martine Dalić u kojoj je komunicirala s financijskim i pravnim savjetnicima o sastavljanju zakona o poduzeću Agrokor. Objavljeni

e-mailovi otkrili su privatnu prepisku između sad već bivše potpredsjednice Vlade i ministrice gospodarstva, poduzetništva i obrta Martine Dalić i neformalne ekspertne skupine odvjetnika, konzultanata i brokera koje je Martina Dalić okupila i uključila u proces stvaranja *Lex Agrokor*. Sudionici su kasnije kao savjetnici dobivati honorare u velikim novčanim iznosima. Okupljeni u proces stvaranja *Lex Agrokora* poznatiji su po nadimku 'Grupa Borg' koji su si sami nadjenuli. U grupu 'Borg' spadaju tvrtke Texo Managment, Altera, Intercapital i odvjetničko društvo Šavorić i partneri. Zadatak te skupine bio je napisati zakon kojim bi država mogla intervenirati zbog krize u Agrokoru koji će kasnije biti predstavljen i izglasan u Saboru. U aferu i kreiranje zakona bio je uključen Ante Ramljak tada zaposlen u Texo managementu. Sudjelovao je u kreiranju zakona koji ga je kasnije doveo do mjesta glavnog čovjeka izvanredne uprave Agrokora. Ante Ramljak je vladinim povjerenikom za Agrokor imenovan u travnju 2017, te je na toj poziciji ostao do veljače 2018. kada je dao neopozivu ostavku zbog kritike javnosti o sklapanja ugovora s konzultantskim kućama, među kojima i njegovom bivšom tvrtkom Texo Management.

Studija obuhvaća televizijske priloge iz središnjih informativnih emisija Dnevnik *HRT*-a i Dnevnik *Nove TV* od datuma objave prvih e-mailova Martine Dalić, do dana predaje njezine neopozive ostavke s pozicije ministrice i potpredsjednice Vlade Republike Hrvatske. Istraživanje je provedeno kombinacijom kvalitativne istraživačke metode analize narativa i analize diskursa s obzirom na elemente koje analiza obuhvaća (slika, ton, sadržaj poruka), prema postupcima rekontekstualizacije u emitiranju vijesti korištenih kod istraživača Bull, Negrine, Haw u analizi televizijskog izvještavanja u Velikoj Britaniji o izborima 2009. godine zajedno s praksama identificiranim u Ekstörmovom istraživanju 2001 godine.

1. Kontekstualizacija prije i nakon izjave – novinar ili voditelj postavlja kontekst naracijom prije tonskog isječka (video-isječka izjave). Nakon toga narator daje sažetak događaja, interpretaciju ili predstavlja novu priču.

2. Umetanje – narator ima ulogu onog koji priča priču kroz umetanje na raznim točkama u obliku novinarskog *off*-a kako bi objasnio ili interpretirao što se događa na ekranu.

3. Eliminacija teksta iz izjave - izbacivanjem teksta iz izvorne izjave, stvara se nova izjava. Zbog neprimjetnosti obrade, gledatelju je nemoguće prepoznati uređivanje materijala.

4. Uređivanje redoslijeda izjave – izvadci tri različita političara mogu se pojaviti u jednom redoslijedu na jednom programu, a u drugačijem na drugom programu i tako mogu stvoriti zamišljeni dijalog.

5. Novinar preformulira originalno pitanje u novinarskom *off*-u prije nego je političareva izjava prenesena. Preoblikovanjem pitanja, komentari koje daje intervjuirana osoba koriste se kako bi poduprli novinarove ciljeve u priči.

6. Novinar osim rekontekstualizacije sadržaja izjave može također pripisati političaru implicirane misli ili osjećaje

7. Novinari previše pojednostavljuju i generaliziraju kako bi priča išla naprijed. To se događa kod prepričavanja događaja, ali također kod prepričavanja političarevih postupaka ili misli. Takvo postupanje može pridonijeti pričanju priče. Situacije koje se generalizira mogu ostati nepotpune ili krivo interpretirane.

8. Odgovori različitih sugovornika stavljaju se u formu 'zamišljenog' dijaloga (Ekström, 2001). To može uključivati više političara, no da bi strategija bila uspješna, sugovornici moraju govoriti o istoj temi i mora postojati gramatička podudarnost u njihovim odgovorima. Zamišljeni dijalog može biti stvoren samo s jednom osobom i to kompilacijom raznih dijelova intervjua za formiranje jednog odgovora. Ako se uređivanje, odnosno montaža odradi učinkovito gledatelju će taj odgovor djelovati neprekinuto, kao poduži odgovor.

3. 1. Kontekstualiziranje afere 'Hotmail'

Hrvatska radiotelevizija se u razdoblju od 9. svibnja 2018. do 14. svibnja 2018. u središnjim informativnim emisijama vijesti aferom 'Hotmail' bavila 39 minuta od ukupno 280 minuta Dnevnika, kroz razne novinarske forme. Komercijalna *Nova TV* u istom je razdoblju istoj temi u Dnevniku posvetila 58 minuta sadržaja od ukupno 364 minuta informativnog sadržaja emitiranog u središnjem informativnom programu.

Afera 'Hotmail' prvi se put u vijestima *HRT*-a i *Nova TV* pojavila 9. svibnja, stoga je važno promotriti na koji je način tema prvi put predstavljena u Dnevnicima.

> *HRT* Najava 9. 5. 2018.
> *„Burno je na političkoj sceni nakon što je privatna korespondencija ministrice gospodarstva Martine Dalić s odvjetnicima i*

konzultantima koji su radili na Lex Agrokor dospjela u javnost. Ministrica poručuje da nije radila ništa nedopušteno te da se smatra odgovornom za radna mjesta. Oporba ju je očekivano žestoko napala i ponovno zatražila njezinu smjenu."

U *HRT*-ovoj najavi očituje se postavljanje dramatičnog konteksta afere 'Hotmail' naglašeno pridjevom 'burno'. Složena situacija oko *Lex Agrokora* sažeta je u nekoliko rečenica. Korištenjem indirektne reprezentaciju diskursa miješa se perspektiva voditelja i davatelja izjave koja je odabrana kao najrelevantnija za gledatelja.

Najava *Nova TV* 9. 5. 2018.
„Slučaj Agrokor doveo je do još jedne neugodnosti za Vladu. Zbog e-mail prepiske Martine Dalić s ljudima iz konzultantskih tvrtki, odvjetničkih ureda i brokerskih kuća, a čiji je sadržaj objavio portal index.hr pljušte reakcije. Dalić je s njima bila u kontaktu za vrijeme pisanja Lex Agrokora. Oporba poziva na ostavke, Ivica Todorić prijeti još jednom kaznenom prijavom.“

Najava odražava narativni karakter sapunice i ostavlja dojam da se radi o novom nastavku 'iste priče'. Izrazom 'Još jedna neugodnost za Vladu' stvara se dojam da učestalosti neugodnih pojava za Vladu, njezine nekompetentnosti i disfunkcionalnosti. No, sam izraz neugodnost ovdje je upotrijebljen u srhu umanjivanja značaja situacije. Situacija otkrivena prepiskom privatne elektroničke pošte Martine Dalić objašnjena je jednom rečenicom. Fokus najave ne postavlja se na nastalu situaciju, već na reakcije aktera priče na tu situaciju.

3. 2. Usporedba intrerpretacijskog stila HRT-a i Nove TV

Na primjeru dvaju priloga različitih televizijskih kuća s najvećim brojem zajedničkih elemenata provedena je komparacija interpretativnih stilova. U televizijskom prilogu *HRT*-a vidljiva je snažnija kontekstualizacija na početku priloga gdje novinar gledatelju daje 'uvod' u situaciju koju će gledati. Novinar gledatelju prenosi premijerove osjećaje i misli opisujući ga kao 'opuštenog' i 'u laganom' ritmu. Razlog tome može biti stvaranje određenog negativnog dojma o premijeru kao osobi koja zanemaruje ili izbjegava svoje dužnosti. Novinarka *Nove TV* odabrala je postupak interpolacije. Uspoređuje premijera Plenkovića koji šeće gradom u

obiteljskom okruženju s predsjednikom koalicijske stranke Ivanom Vrdoljakom koji, za razliku od premijera, 'sjedi' u Vladi.

12. 5. *HRT* „ HOTMAIL“	12. 5. *NOVA* „ AFERA MAILOVI“
OFF: *Nakon što je, barem zasad, primirio situaciju i sačuvao poziciju svoje ministrice i potpredsjednice Vlade, premijer Plenković danas lagano i opušteno... Na Europskom trgu na još jednoj proslavi Dana Europe.* *Andrej Plenković na štandu* *"Dobar dan, bok! Jeste dobro? Bok! Kako ide? Dobro?"* *"Dobar dan, kako ste, drago mi je da ste tu."* *OFF: O aferi s mailovima ne želi.* ***TON: ANDREJ PLENKOVIĆ*** ***"Nećemo, danas se šetamo s malim, morate me malo pustiti da se i ja odmorim. Je l' to pošteno?!"*** *OFF:Predsjednik Sabora se ne odmara, ali na Bleiburgu o Agrokoru ne bi.* ***TON GORDAN JANDROKOVIĆ*** ***"Nemojte se ljutiti, ali u ovom trenutku ovdje na Bleiburgu ne bih sada govorio o tome, bit će vremena*** *o tome govoriti."*	*OFF:* *Premijer obilazi štandove na europskom tjednu.* *IT TON ples* *OFF: Ali, izjave danas ne daje.* ***TON ANDREJ PLENKOVIĆ*** ***„Ma nećemo. Danas se šetamo s malim, morate malo pustiti i da se ja odmorim. Je l' to pošteno?“*** *Vrdoljak it: „Gdje ja sjedim?“* *OFF: HNS i dalje sjedi u vladi. Nagodba im je, kažu, prioritet. O Dalić će razmišljati poslije.* *TON: IVAN VRDOLJAK, predsjednik HNS-a* *„Ne trebaju nam nikakvi udari i politička nestabilnost u trenutku kada Hrvatska ima gospodarski rast, rast zaposlenih, i kada je reforma obrazovanja.“* *OFF: Je li Martina Dalić uteg za stranku i vladu – u HDZ-u se javno ne izjašnjavaju. Mimo kamera neki priznaju - politički im šteti.* ***TON GORDAN JANDROKOVIĆ*** ***„Nemojte se ljutiti, ali s Bleiburga o tome sad ne bi. Bit će vremena.“***

Upotrijebljena je ista izjava predsjednika Sabora RH Gordana Jandrokovića koja gledatelju ne pruža novu korisnu informaciju. Novinar *HRT*-a nastavio je s interpretacijom premijera kao bezbrižnog i opuštenog. Novinarka *Nove TV* postavila je drugačiji kontekst prije izjave Gordana Jandrokovića insinuirajući da je upravo on 'netko' tko 'priznaje' da im (*HDZ*-u) Martina Dalić politički šteti. Novinarka odabire 'suptilni' način prozivanja

predsjednika Sabora RH Gordana Jandrokovića za izjavu koju ne može emitirati jer nije bila službena.

3. 3. Strategija postavljanja konteksta naracijom prije tonskog isječka, davanje sažetka događaja, interpretacija ili predstavljanja nove priče

Primjer Dnevnik *Nova TV*, 9. 5.

U novinarskom tekstu se postavlja kontekst izjava koja slijede te se gledatelju najavljuje što će čuti/vidjeti. Pojednostavljivanje i generalizacija mišljenja oporbe. Odabrani ton prati slijed novinarske priče. Također, u novinarskom tekstu *(offu)* se ne otkriva pitanje na koje odgovara Božo Petrov, već novinar prepričava situaciju. Pitanje je u tekstu obuhvaćeno kroz vrlo široki pojma ' poruke iz Vlade'.

> (…)
> *OFF: Oporba proziva za sukob interesa i pogodovanja, poziva na ostavke.*
> *TON: GORDAN MARAS, SDP*
> *"Razriješiti gospođu Martinu Dalić, novi državni odvjetnik mora odmah otvoriti istragu oko ove situacije, a i mi u hrvatskom Saboru ćemo političku istragu otvoriti."*
> *TON: IVAN VILIBOR SINČIĆ, Živi zid*
> *"Premijer Plenković sa svojom ministricom Dalić sudjelovao u nekim krčmarskim dogovorima, kako će ekipa oko Škegre oko tog njihovog kruga dobiti posao od 500 milijuna kuna*
>
> *OFF: Na poruke iz Vlade da su oni tad tražili angažiranje nezavisnih stručnjaka, iz Mosta odgovaraju:*
> *TON: BOŽO PETROV, Most*
> *"Ono što je točno jest da je Most tražio da se ispita financijsko stanje, a kako je došlo do kreiranja tima u kojem se nalazi gospodin Šavorić – to je već pitanje za Martinu Dalić."*

3. 4. Strategija umetanje/interpolacije, strategija kontekstualizacije

U prilogu Dnevnik *HRT*-a 11. 5. 'SOA provjerava mailove', kontekstualizacija je vidljiva prije prve izjave, odnosno prije tonskog isječka premijera Andreja Plenkovića. Stav premijera se tumači prije nego gledatelj uspije čuti izjavu.

OFF: Ne stišava se bura izazvana spornim mailovima koji već tri dana izlaze u javnost. Premijer smatra da trenutak njihova objavljivanja nije izabran slučajno.
TON: ANDREJ PLENKOVIĆ, Premijer RH
"Danas se događa da moramo finalizirati nagodbu u Agrokoru u 60 dana. Zašto su baš tada mailovi izašli kad ja dajem veliki intervju i veliku nagradu, što ih nisu pustili prije nego su do sada čekali dakle sve je orkestar sve je tajming, sve je drama."

Slijedi interpolacija, odnosno umetanje novinarskog teksta između tonskih isječaka sugovornika u kojima novinar prepričava izjavu premijera i time prilogu daje željeni smjer kretanja priče.

OFF:
Gospodarstvenici su, dodaje, prepoznali koliku je Lex Agrokor spriječio štetu.
ANDREJ PRELNKOVIĆ TON:
"Sada se bavimo greškama koje su nastale u procesu, ako su namjerne netko će odgovarat, a ako nisu..."

3. 5. Strategija eliminacije dijela izjave

Dnevnik *HRT*-a 11. 5. „Skupljaju se potpisi“

Novinarka umjesto postavljanja pitanja svoje pitanje temelji na navodnim jučerašnjim izjavama, koje ne postoje u službenim zapisima nego su, ukoliko postoje, prikupljene u neformalnom *off record* konverzaciji. Takvim postupanjem nastoji izazvat televizijski atraktivnu reakciju poput negiranja, konflikta, sukoba.

(…)
NOVINARKA: "Navodno je jučer bilo – ako su mailovi autentični, Martina Dalić mora otići“
MILORAD BATINIĆ TON
"Ja to nisam izjavio, niti je itko od HNS-a na takav način dao izjavu, ja je makar nisam pročitao, službenu izjavu. /NEPRIMJETAN rez/

Znači, cilj je i nama u fokusu da se završi nagodba uspješno da Agrokor dalje posluje normalno."
….
MIRO BULJ: „Vrijeme je za izbore."
ARSEN BAUK: „Da!"

Odgovor Milorada Batinića slijedi odmah nakon pitanja, bez reza što pokazuje da nije riječ o preformuliranom pitanju u *off*-u nego u direktnom odgovoru. Međutim, novinarka montažnim postupkom nastoji spojiti dvije različite izjave u jedan odgovor. Da je bilo riječ o transparentnom odvajanju odgovora, koristio bi se tzv. blic ili bljesak postupak, kojim se jasno bijelim bljeskom vizualno odjeljuju jedan od drugog odgovora. U nastavku se unutar jedne cjeline koriste dva odgovora prikupljena u različito vrijeme, vjerojatno pomoću različitih pitanja. Korištenjem kratkih i dekontekstualiziranih tonskih isječaka „Vrijeme je za izbore", „Da!' 'uspješno je stvorena željena interpretaciju.

3. 6. Strategija kontekstualizacije, pojednostavljivanja i eliminacije dijelova tonskih isječaka iz cjelovitog odgovora/izjave

Nova TV 11. 5. „Ne stišava se afera s mailovima"

Afera 'Hotmail' u ovom je prilogu predstavljena kroz konfliktan odnos tvrdnji novinarke i tvrdnji koje iznosi Martina Dalić. Sudionike u prepisci novinarka je oslovila kolokvijalnim izrazom „ekipa s mailing liste" što odaje sarkastičan prizvuk situaciji. Na taj se način može osvojiti pažnja gledatelja. Odabrani dijelovi iz objavljene elektroničke pošte Martine Dalić iskorišteni su na način na koji se inače u prilozima umeću tonski inserti. Citirani dijelovi mailova iskorišteni su kao potvrda ili odgovor na novinarske tvrdnje izrečen u *off*-u. Praksa uzimanja dijelova razgovora iz elektroničke pošto upotrebljavala se često prilikom izvještavanja o aferi 'Hotmail'.

OFF: Martina Dalić uporno ponavlja:
MARTINA DALIĆ TON
Moja veza sa Šavorićem je nikakva!
OFF: No, baš sa Šavorićem usko je surađivala u pripremi Lex Agrokor. Za nju i ekipu s mailing liste bio je to Šavorićev zakon.
TELOP: TONĆI KORUNIĆ
Pročitao!
Jesi napisao Šavorićev zakon :-)

TELOP: MARTINA DALIĆ
Dobra večer dragi svi! Ja sam se danas bavila neporeznim nametima u pokušaju da dokažem kako Ministarstvo gospodarstva ima smisla. Ali nisam Vas zaboravila. Na našoj strani ništa novo. Šavorićev zakon, mašala. Staljinizam je dobar kome ga je Bog dao."

3. 7. Strategija novinarskog opisivanja i impliciranja što političar osjeća, misli i radi prilikom davanja odgovora

Nova TV 13. 5.18. „Kritike iz HDZ-a na račun ministrice Dalić“

Indirektnim diskursom novinarka prepričava riječi i stavove predsjednika SDSS-a Milorada Pupovca prije njegove izjave, te je zbog toga gledatelju teško razlučiti komentar novinarke i stav sugovornika.

OFF: Milorad Pupovac podupire premijera i vladu. Ali i zahtijeva:
MILORAD PUPOVAC TON:
Teret koji se natovario propustima, ozbiljnim greškama ne smije koalicija i vlada više
nositi. Mora se vlada rasteretiti toga tereta.

Posljednji novinarkin *off* završava prilog na izrazito interpretativnom način.

OFF: Tereta bi moglo biti i više, nastave li mejlovi curiti u javnost. Iako javno tvrde – prvo nagodba, a onda odluka o Dalić, u HDZ-u mimo kamera dvoje je li to uopće realan scenarij. Već sad je gotovo nitko javno ne brani.

Novinarka iznosi subjektivni dojam situacije koju gledatelj sam ne može procijeniti pošto je zabilježeno 'mimo kamera'. Rečenicom „Već je sad nitko javno ne brani“ upotrebljava interpretativni postupak generalizacije za čitavu političku stranku te implicira njihove stavove i mišljenja.

3. 8. Strategija kontekstualizacije i prepričavanja onoga što se događa, implikacija i opisivanje misli i ponašanja aktera

12. 5. *Nova TV* „Afera mailovi“

OFF:
Je li Martina Dalić uteg za stranku i vladu – u HDZ-u se javno ne izjašnjavaju. Mimo
kamera neki priznaju - politički im šteti.
GORDAN JANDROKOVIĆ TON:
Nemojte se ljutiti, ali s Bleiburga o tome sad ne bi. Bit će vremena.

Redoslijedom pojavljivanja Gordana Jandrokovića nakon novinarkine konstatacije „Mimo kamere neki priznaju, politički im šteti“ implicira se da Gordan Jandroković smatra da Martina Dalić politički šteti HDZ-u. Novinarskim postupcima ovdje je vidljivo nametanje stajališta i mišljenja sugovorniku čiji je tonski insert umetnut u prilog. Informativne vrijednosti izjave Gordana Jandrokovića nema.

3. 9. strategija stvaranja zamišljenih dijaloga. odgovori različitih sugovornika stavljaju se u formu 'zamišljenog' dijaloga

HRT 11. 5. „SOA provjerava mailove“

OFF:
Predsjednik Sabora oprezan. Smatra da se možda podmeće kako bi se ugrozila buduća nagodba o Agrokoru.
GORDAN JANDROKOVIĆ TON
Puno je toga očito što se koristi kako bi se zamutila voda. I trebamo svi biti jako oprezni i voditi računa o tome da ne udaramo na prvu loptu nego da vidimo što je ustvari istina.
BOŽO PETROV TON
Ajmo pričekati, neka odgovorne službe definiraju je li to zaista autentično ili je to krivotvoreno, pa nakon toga se može bilo što komentirati.
(...)

Tonskim isječcima koji se nadovezuju tematikom stvoren je navodni dijalog između dva aktera televizijskog priloga, iako akteri nisu zaista međusobno razgovarali.

HRT 9. 5. 2018 „Oporba opet traži smjenu Martine Dalić“

OFF: SDP traži da državni odvjetnik odmah pokrene istragu o ulozi Martine Dalić, a predsjednika Vlade pozivaju da je ekspresno smijeni.
GORDAN MARAS TON:
„Znači danas, ukoliko on bude i dalje tolerirao gospođu Dalić znači da je i on ruku pod ruku sa njom. Ukoliko to riješi, sa sebe može sprati eventualno mali dio odgovornosti."
IVAN VILIBOR SINČIĆ TON:
Ova korumpirana Vlada mora pasti i ova korumpirana većina i najpoštenije je sutra ići na parlamentarne izbore.
BOŽO PETROV TON:
Vlada nije koja može napraviti promjene pogotovo ne one koje su transparentne, zbog toga ne samo Martina Dalić nego i drugi ministri i predsjednik Vlade trebaju otići(...).

Novinar u tekstu objašnjava stav i mišljenje stranke SDP. Generalizacija i pojednostavljivanje ostvaruje se tako da novinar ne imenuje nikog od članova poimence, te odabire izjavu Gordana Marasa kao potvrdu svoje tvrdnje. Izjave Ivana Vilibora Sinčića i Bože Petrova ostvaruju dojam zamišljenog razgovora između trojice, bez naznake na koje pitanje sugovornici zapravo odgovaraju.

3. 10. Strategija kontekstualizacije, interpretacija misli i osjećaja u novinarskom tekstu

Nova TV 14. 5. „Dalić odlazi iz Banskih dvora“

OFF:
Kamenog lica Martina Dalić u društvu premijera presijeca krizu vlade.
MARTINA DALIĆ PRESS KONFERENCIJA TON
Dajem ostavku jer ne želim biti uteg niti predsjedniku ni Vladi, ni HDZ-u

Martina Dalić s ozbiljnim izrazom lica koji je novinarka dramatično proglasila kamenim. Odabirom takvog izraza novinarka gledatelju prenosi

određeni subjektivni dojam Martine Dalić. Bez novinarkine napomene gledatelj vjerojatno ne bi stekao takav dojam.

Nova TV 11. 5. „Komunikacija premijera Plenkovića“

Interpretacija premijerovih postupaka, odgovora i misli u ovom je prilogu išla korak dalje od samo novinarske interpretacije. Tonski isječci korišteni u tom prilogu ne sadrže pitanje na koje premijer odgovara, vrlo su kratki i gledatelju nejasni. Odgovori premijera Plenkovića generalizirani su pod kategorijom 'neugodna pitanja'. Za analizu premijerove komunikacije uvedena je komunikološka stručnjakinja koja objašnjava gledatelju kako shvatiti prikazano.

OFF
Premijer neugodna pitanja nije mogao izbjeći.
TON ANDREJ PLENKOVIĆ
Što se danas događa?
TON ANDREJ PLENKOVIĆ
Nije, rekli su vama da vi kažete meni
TON ANDREJ PLENKOVIĆ
Ma dajte molim vas, pa ajde budite ozbiljni.
(…)
OFF
Plenković se, kaže, često obraća s visine...
TON ANDREJ PLENKOVIĆ
Mislim da je cijela javnost totalno zaboravila kontekst.
OFF
...ali danas posebno.
TON GABRIJELA KIŠIČEK KOMUNIKOLOGINJA:
Ovaj put čini se kao da je dosegao vrhunac. On se zaista sada obraća s najviših visina mogućih. Način na koji on se odnosi prema tom problemu pokazuje jednu visoku razinu arogancije, bahatosti i zapravo u njegovom komuniciranju ovdje mogli smo vidjeti i da je njegov problem taština.
(…)

4. RASPRAVA

Rezultati provedene analize pokazuju da je interpretativni pristup bio zastupljen kao dominantan pristup novinara prilikom izvještavanju o aferi 'Hotmail', odnosno da su interpretativne tehnike ranije identificirane kod istraživača Ekstorm (2001), Eriksson (2011) i Bull et all (2014) bile upotrijebljene kao novinarske tehnike u odabranom vremenskom razdoblju. Interpretativni stil bio je vidljiviji u velikom broju priloga u kojima je dominantni element novinarski tekst *(off)*.

U slučaju novinarskih izvještaja o aferi 'Hotmail', novinari/ke su koristili različite kombinacije interpretativnih strategija i tehnika, odnosno jedan prilog sadržava veći broj interpretativnih elemenata. Tehnike i strategije koje su novinari/ke najviše upotrebljavali prilikom izvještavanja o aferi 'Hotmail' su kontekstualizacija prije i nakon tonskog isječka /izjave i interpolacija, odnosno umetanje novinarskog teksta između tonskih isječaka. Novinari/ke nisu nastojali samo promijeniti odnosno preformulirati originalno pitanje u novinarskom tekstu, kao što to u svom radu opisuje Ekstörm (2001), već su u novinarskom tekstu potpuno izostavljali pitanje i postavili kontekst izjavi koja prethodi ili slijedi. Novinarski tekst je umjesto informacija o tome na što točno akter odgovara bio opisnog karaktera koji gledatelju daje pozadinu priče, određeni željeni dojam, u koji se jako dobro uklapa i izjava na koju se veže. Tonski isječci su ponekad bili vrlo kratki, čak i od samo jedne riječi te su na taj način potpuno odvojeni od originalnog konteksta, odnosno dekontekstualizirani i zatim umetnuti tj. rekontekstualizirani u novi kontekst koji novinar postavlja na način koji najbolje odgovara za razvoj priče u željenom smjeru.

Tehnika interpolacije, odnosno umetanja bila je druga najčešće korištena interpretativna tehnika. Kod primjene tehnike umetanja narator priče, u našem slučaju novinar, ima ulogu onoga tko priča priču kroz umetanje u obliku novinarskog teksta u raznim momentima priloga,s namjerom pojašnjavanja što se događa na ekranu. Strategija impliciranja odnosno interpretacije što određeni akter u novinarskom prilogu misli ili osjeća bila je također često upotrijebljena interpretativna tehnika od strane novinara/ki na obje analizirane televizije. Najčešće je riječ bila o pretjeranim novinarskim opisima osjećaja i stavova, ili o interpretaciji koji osjećaj, motiv ili stav stoji iza izgovorenih riječi iz tonskog isječka. *Nova TV* je u takvom interpretativnom pristupu tumačenja misli, stavova i ponašanja prednjačila

nad *HRT*-ovim Dnevnikom, posebice posvetivši cijeli prilog analizi ponašanja i komunikacije premijera Andreja Plenkovića. Analiza pokazuje da su novinari komercijalne *Nove TV* skloniji intervenciji kratkim, efektnim interpretativnim rečenicama između tonskih isječaka jedne ili više osoba u kojima objašnjavaju stanje situacije i stavove i mišljenja aktera.

5. ZAKLJUČAK

Interpretativno novinarstvo odnosno interpretativni novinarski stil pojedini autori navode kao najznačajniju promjenu u novinarstvu posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća. Interpretativno novinarstvo za novinare i medijske stručnjake nosi različita značenja. Ne postoji konsenzus oko njegove učinkovitosti odnosno negativnosti tog pristupa. Neki autori interpretaciju smatraju nužnom, korisnim i potrebnom u novinarstvu, dok je kritičari opisuju kao novinarstvo predvođeno novinarom, a ne izvorom, u kojem činjenice dolaze kao sekundarni element vijesti. U ovom radu istražena je upotreba interpretativnog novinarskog pristupa prema interpretativnim kriterijima i tehnikama koje su identificirali Ekstorm (2001) i Eriksson (2011), te Bull et all (2014) koji govore o interpretativnom pristupu kao onom koji naglašava novinarski stav i njihovu interpretaciju događaja umjesto činjenica. Takav pristup pokazao se kao dominantan prilikom izvještavanja o aferi 'Hotmail' u središnjim informativnim emisijama *HRT*-a i *Nove TV*. Fokus izvještaja odmaknuo se od činjenica o događaju prema novinarskom tumačenju događaja i davanju objašnjena gledatelju što treba shvatiti o tome što se s dogodilo.

Svrha ovog rada je pokazati da novinarska interpretacija događaja i situacija sama po sebi ne mora biti loša ili negativna pojava, te zapravo može doprinijeti lakšem i boljem razumijevanju složene svakodnevice i raznih političkih ili ekonomskih pitanja. No, svjesnom ili nesvjesnom zloupotrebom takvog pristupa, interpretacija kao sredstvo boljeg razumijevanja informacija prerasta u subjektivno sredstvo zavaravanja, manipulacije publikom ili navođenja na pogrešne zaključke. Kao rezultat takve primjene interpretativnog pristupa i svakodnevnih životnih uvjeta, gledatelj pružene informacije prihvaća kao činjenice, ne razmatrajući kritički njihovu vrijednost te često puta ostaje zbunjen odabirom istih dramatičnih kadrova iz dana u dan. Zaključci i rezultati studije slučaja provedene u ovom radu zbog obuhvaćanja kratkog vremenskog razdoblja te fokusa na specifičnu tematiku nisu primjenjivi na općeniti način i pristup izvještavanja *HRT*-a i *Nove TV* u

središnjim informativnim emisijama. Rad može poslužiti tek kao indikacija sve većem naginjanju prema interpretativnom novinarskom pristupu te kao poticaj na daljnja istraživanja ove značajne i relevantne pojave u akademskim i novinarskim krugovima.

JOURNALIST AS AN INTERPRETATOR OF NEWS AND EVENTS: COMPARISON OF REPORTS IN CENTRAL NEWS PROGRAMME OF HRT AND NOVA TV

Summary

This article tends to answer the queston – what is interpretative journalism and how it is applied in the practice. Interpretation is an extension of a narrative storytelling approach in which the journalist tells a story in an easy, comprehensive way. Exaggeration and oversimplification of narration has led to the point in which the focus of the story is not what happened and why, but how does a journalist interpret it to the public. Some scholars define interpretation as a necessary approach, offering better understanding of a complicated world, while the critics depict it as overly subjective and led dominantly by the journalist. The paper focuses on a case study analysing journalistic techniques used by journalists while reporting about so called, Hotmail scandal, which includes private email correspondence among Deputy Prime Minister on the destiny of Agrokor, one of the biggest companies in Croatia. The study was based on analysing reports in the prime time newscasts in Croatia – on public service HRT and the commercial television Nova TV. The analysis was used by using methodology identified by two scholars Ekstörm (2001) and Eriksson (2011). The results show constant use of an interpretative television package form with short soundbites. The soundbites are decontextualised and then later recontextualised by the reporter. The report focuses on reactions, opinions, and the behaviour of the story characters, instead of focusing on the facts. The paper shows that the interpretative journalistic practices used while reporting about the 'Hotmail' scandal have sliped away from explaining and helping the public understand the information to a much more subjective, manipulative, imposing and deceiving approach.

Key words: interpretative journalism, interpretation, soundbites, television news, reporting, Croatia

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Jelena Petrović
Sanja Domazet
Faculty of Political Sciences
University of Belgrade
Belgrade, Serbia

UDC 070 POLITIKA
070 NOVOSTI

JOURNALISTIC PRACTICES IN DIGITAL AND PRINT EDITIONS OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS *POLITIKA* AND *NOVOSTI*

Abstract: The past three decades have been marked by two parallel processes - the expansion of the Internet and the spread of the general information that emerged from it. At the beginning of the 1990s, millions of people have adopted the Internet as the source of information. Authors like Manuel Castells call this phenomenon a revolution in communication. Technology and media have significantly improved over a short period of time, thus having changed not only the everyday lives of people, but also the professions like journalism. The main goal of this paper is to investigate and describe how journalist practices in the daily newspaper in Serbia are changing. This paper analyzes possible ways in which the Internet and social networks transform journalist practices. Preliminary results indicate that the daily newspaper in Serbia did not remain immune to the influence of the Internet. Moreover, the authors of this paper detected the so-called "new practices" in the oldest media in Serbia.

Key words: digital age, press, journalist practices, challenges.

1. INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

When Marshall McLuhan foretold that the world would become a global village – having said that the communication systems will diminish the sense of time and space as well as relativize the concept of borders, the newest discoveries such as Internet were not made yet. However, his claims turned out to be true. That is why the expansion of the Internet and getting information online marked these last three decades of our lives. Digitalisation of the communication process happened in two phases. “The first phase relates to the 1990s when Internet first appeared, thus changing various spheres – from social life, economy, education, to politics and culture. The second phase began during the 2000s and it dealt with the Internet modification from version 1.0 to 2.0 as well as with the “big bang” of new media machines, smartphones, and tablets.” (Scolari et al, 2012:1). The author Giovanni Gocini called Internet ‘the fourth wave of journalism’, naming it the generation of the free journalism and

world communication, while Manuel Castells wrote about communication revolution (Gocini, 2001, Castells, 2014). Transformation of journalism and its practice is, first of all, chained to the new technologies. Those technologies are so important that Pavlik classifies them, after the penny press, as the most relevant changes, and firmly believes in the future of the new media (Pavlik, 2001). "The technological aspect comes into the sheer midst of the media communication transformation, shaping social relations and giving the new historical flow to journalism." (Zelizer, 2011:3). Allan claims that many people found the idea to abandon printed media and publish the news solely on Internet impossible, because that would mean that there would be no control of what people want to know (Allan, 2006). However, during the first half of the 1990s, millions of people adopted the Internet as their source of information. For many of them, it turned out to be the only channel through which they can get the information they need. "Even though the schemes of individual behaviour and media differ between and among different generations, one aspect of the modern life seems to be the same for employed people, house dwellers, or students, and that is the loss of time." (Fiddler, 2004:157). This loss of time is one of the constant things in life of the new generations, or the "Internet natives", as Prenski calls them, who cannot even remember the time when journalism meant that only tomorrow you can read the breaking news for today. "Those who nowadays use the web regularly to receive the news and information, have a hard time believing that the online newspapers were a rare commodity during the beginning of the 1990s." (Kawamoto, 2003:7). Giovanni Gocini, in his book "The History of Journalism", shows how rare the online editions were, and adds that the Internet expansion is one of the most important symbols of the globalization process in the modern world. "In the spring of 1992, *Chicago Tribune* was the first to publish the online edition of its journal. Seven years later, there were 3.600 magazines on the web, offering more than 35.000 articles on average. At the beginning of 1999 there were 2.059 online magazines in USA only, which was 43% of the whole number of online newspapers in the whole world." (Gocini, 2001:414,415). This interlacing of the possibilities to get the information online and the speed of technological advancement changed what is, in Anglo-Saxon journalist culture, called news production. "The changes in journalism over the last one hundred years are as fast and vigorous as the changes in other spheres of life. Today, journalists are using techniques and means that were unimaginable at the beginning of the 20th century." (Craig, 2005:19). Posing as the paradox to the technological

advancement and the new achievements that would make the job for the journalists easy, there are authors who often quote this age as "The death of journalism". James Gleick, in his book "Faster – the acceleration of everything in the world", said that the web turned into the universal publishing media, threatening to "suck into itself the newspaper agencies, publishing houses, radio and TV stations, producers and their agencies, caricaturists, software distributors, and literally all other sources of information." (Gleick, 2003:74). So far, Internet has not suppressed either of those media, including the oldest one, but it did change them. Journalism still has its own laws according to which it functions, but they have changed a bit over time. "All around the world, Internet users younger than 30 read newspapers online. This is the change of the platform, with newspapers still being the mass media." (Castells, 2014:93). The goal of this work is to explore the influence of the new platform on the well-established journalist practices in printed media. "Many changes were detected, with two of them being common for all pieces of news – the changes in the language of the news, and the changes in getting the new audiences". (Zelizer, 2009, Castells, 2014, Allan, 2006). This paper defines the practices of journalism the way they were defined by Shoemaker and Reese, as "caused, routinized, repeated ways and shapes which media workers use to do their work" (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996:12). These journalist practices are becoming fully operational through variables, which partially coincide with what Bantz had set up in his paper "News Factory", in which he talked about the gathering, selection, modification, and the distribution of information. Those variables are:

1) Sources for the press story
2) Gathering and the selection of the information
3) Ways of working on the actual article
4) News branding, or the information distribution

The concept of the digital age, along with the journalist practices, where the notion of digital press coexists, is very hard to define. Difficulties often come from the point of view that defines it as the "moving target". Since technology is rapidly changing, the concept of digital journalism is getting redefined as well. However, in this paper, the notion of digital journalism was marked as "the use of digital technologies for researching, production, and the distribution of the news and information to the more and more computer literate general public" (Kawamoto, 2003:4).

2. METHODOLOGY

One of the main rules of the modern journalism is that the "media products are being sold twice: once to the general public itself, and the second time to the market distributors" (Rus Mol, 2005:35). Even though this is completely true, we can claim otherwise. In contemporary world, a daily newspaper is also being sold twice: once in its printed edition, and once online. The main goal of this paper is to search and describe if, and in which way, the new journalist practices, which are conditioned by online editions and social networks of the same newspaper, can be identified in daily newspapers in Serbia. New practices in print media are being characterized as the new working methods that were not used before the emergence of digital journalism. In addition to that, the goal of this paper is to go through the practical examples from the daily newspapers; the unit of analysis is the text itself. The original working assumption is that not all segments of journalist work are equally susceptible to the influence of the online spheres. There are two daily newspapers that were analysed – *Politika* and *Novosti*. The reason why these editions were chosen coincides with the purpose of the paper – to check how the practices of the oldest daily newspapers in Serbia are adapting to the new technological advancements. *Politika* is the oldest daily newspaper in Serbia, founded in 1904, while the first edition of *Novosti* came out almost half a century later, in 1953. The methodology used was the qualitative approach – the content analysis. This analysis of the media, the daily editions of *Politika* and *Novosti*, was conducted over the period from 10 – 20 July 2018. While observing the editions used, the authors were looking into both print and online versions, using the matrix partially similar to the one used by Bantz, through the following parameters –

1) Models of the distribution of the texts
2) Articles with the special reference to the information sources
3) Photographs

3. ANALYSIS

Excluding the agency and column articles, there was, on average, about 50 signed articles in *Politika*, while the front page showed four key titles along with the subheadings. Over the mentioned period, there were about 40 articles present in one edition of *Novosti*, along with seven key titles.

3.1. Models of the distribution of the texts

At the very beginning of the analysis, the authors of this paper found the core difference between these two newspapers – *Politika* remained true to the printed edition, presenting the most exclusive content there, while digital journalism tipped the scales with *Novosti*. In the following example, it can be seen that the article published on the front page has already been published the day before on the website. Zelizer's premise that new technologies are entering the centre of the transformation of media communication has proved true in this particular case.

Image 1: The article about Srebrenica published on the *Novosti* website, and the print edition.

Only a few years ago, this was inconceivable, but modality of publishing articles first on the online platform, followed by printed edition comes as rather practical because its position online shows how many people have read it, and which position should it get in the printed edition. These photos were chosen because they can be used to identify the differences between the titles of print and online media. It is common for both *Politika* and *Novosti* to have the key topic of the day present on the front page, positioned

highly on the top, like the online version. On the other hand, *Politika* protects its exclusive material by using different ways. The authors detected two of them: the first way is to post the so-called "bait" articles with some of the information with the remark: "You can see the complete story in our printed edition". At this stage, the analysis identified the ideas of authors such as Allan, Zelizer and Castells, who had written about encouraging audiences. This process changed the appearance of digital editions. It has become rare for readers to buy printed editions because of television commercials, which was common practice a few years earlier. Readers are more gaining on their own websites or social network profiles, less that advertisements on television or billboards. What is interesting is that the opposite way is not present: readers of the print media are not advised to find more information on the website. The second way of content protection is that *Politika* posts only agency news about the daily events, while keeping the commentary and the full analysis for its printed edition. The image below (Image 2) precisely illustrates the given situation, when the current events are reported with the help of two elements - short agency news and analytical authorial text.

Image 2: An example of agency news and the article signed by its author.

Politika is also protecting its extra material which is published alongside the printed editions, and which cannot be usually found online. Novosti, on the other hand, publish these extra materials online from time to time.

3.2. Information sources

Apart from the placement of the article, the influence of the digital journalism, or social networks, is present in other segments of the journalist practices in the sphere of the print media. For example, there is no more doubt that Twitter has become the main channel of information where world politicians post their opinions. The popularity of Twitter has been decreasing, as showed by the data of the Pew Research Center, and many would ironically say that only politicians and journalists are on this social network, as it has become common practice to take this social network as a relevant source of information. *Novosti* uses this feature extensively, and its readers can easily identify quotes from Facebook or Twitter. They are usually present in the columns dedicated to foreign and domestic political issues, with quotes from people such as EU officials, the president of the USA, all the way down to the ministers of foreign affairs. *Politika* rarely uses social networks as a source, but they are usually used as the source of information and the basis for the story plot itself. Social networks are a meeting place for civic and professional journalism, so often, debates, citizens' initiatives or citizens' problems are found in newspaper columns. It can be easily noticed that social media dictate the agenda of the printed media. Online polls, readers' comments on the website, and their reactions on social networks cause the more detailed analysis in the printed media. The analysis showed that both media try to listen to the pulse of the public thanks to their online editions. Image 3 indicates how the text was created after the preliminary examination of the public opinion. During the period of the analysis, the main economical issue in Serbia was the introduction of a national payment card, and these examples were selected because they clearly indicate that the text will be adjusted according to the results of the survey. And in this segment of the analysis precisely, Allan's ungrounded claim that online editions are now one of the best ways to test readers' preference.

It is encouraging to know that, at the time when fake news are the burning issue of journalism, in the analyzed period, such news were not detected in the mentioned editions and no unnamed sources were identified either. Content analysis, also, did not identify the changes in the length of the

title blocks in print media, nor was it identified that the online practice has changed the length of the articles in the printed editions. While the titles in online spheres are growing longer and more explanatory, the printed editions analyzed still use the old rule that the titles should have between three and seven words.

Image 3: The example of the online poll about "DINA" credit card, and the printed edition.

3.3. Photographs

One of the practical changes detected is the use of photographs. *Politika* often does not provide the source of the photographs, so it is unclear if the photographs are from the personal archive of the person in question, or from their social network profile. This daily newspaper "protects" their photographs, and they also keep their caricatures. They collaborate with numerous agencies and use all the photographs they get, while only rarely using the photographs from social networks. With *Novosti*, this is not the case, since they use the photographs from all the social networks they can get to find the most adequate photograph to pair the article with. More often than

not, they also take screen shoots of the TV video-materials. *Novosti* has its Twitter account since 2009, while *Politika* has been present on this network since 2011. So, Gleick's idea that the network becomes the universal publishing medium in this segment of the analysis gets a confirmation. In addition to Facebook, where they can usually get the photos they need, *Novosti* use Twitter, and also Instagram, which is gaining its popularity through the whole stories they can take, which is illustrated by Image 4.

Image 4: Examples of using photos from Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter.

Image 6 shows a story about a city transport driver who was using his telephone while driving; the image was taken from Twitter, which was also the basis for the story.

For the story in image 5, the main source was the Instagram profile of Novak Đoković, which is public and in image 4, Facebook was the source of the information for the text about a school in Belgrade. It is almost impossible to find the biggest stories in printed editions without photographs, and for extensive analytical texts, the illustrations are used by both media. The issue of copyright of photographs on the Internet could be a topic of a separate paper.

4. CONCLUSION

In digital era, competition is only a few mouse clicks away. The market is dictating the new conditions of the media almost daily. "With the growth of technology, our expectations also grew. It is no longer enough just to go to the scene, take a few photos, a few remarks, and make a story. The audience wanted the images first, then the video materials, and in the end, live reporting." (Craig, 2005:23). Because of all of this, printed media are now in a specific position – on one hand, journalist practices need to reshape and

respond to the demands of the digital era by following the social networks and the web, while fighting furiously to preserve the rules of the industry and the traditional morals of the journalists. The research showed that the two analyzed media are going their separate ways when it comes to responding to these demands. If we take *Novosti* for an example, it is evident that the "new practices" are being made when it comes to news distribution, sources, but also the policies about using photographs. Following the Bantz's matrix, the results show that in all three segments, new ways in which the reporters are doing their job are becoming more and more dependent on their online editions. Reading the news is online and then positioning the text in the printed edition, online is also a valuable source for the story, quotes, and the practice of taking photos has become everyday routine. Online edition of the newspaper is accurate and it correlates with the printed edition. *Novosti* are using the good sides of the digital era by using the offline and online spheres on a satisfying level. *Politika*, on the other hand, is probably the last fortress of defence of the well-established journalist practices against the tendencies of the digital era. They almost never use social networks as their sources, as well as the photos. The word "exclusive" in their edition means exactly that, because the information presented in the print media is published there first. *Politika* remains more stubborn than *Novosti* and more resistant to the influences of online journalism. They fight for their printed edition by making the quality content, making it educational, and interpretative. These newspapers point to the two ways of fight for survival in the age of financial and creative crisis. The common denominator for both of them, over the period when they were analyzed, was that there were no changes in the way of work on the text itself – about titles and the articles themselves. Having said this, the basic assumption about the unequal influence of the digital sphere on all journalist practices turned out to be true. This paper identified changes in the way that daily newspaper are encouraging the public - authors such as Allan, Castels or Zelizer wrote about it. However, the content analysis does not indicate a significant change in the language of news in the press. The journalistic practices of print media and their online releases are inextricably linked and in constant change. The results given do not guarantee that, with new social networks and technological advancement, it would not be possible to discover the new, hidden ways of the use of online journalism in printed media. That is why the goal for the future researches could be to identify new

journalist practices in daily newspaper where the digital spheres can spread their influence.

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Dejan Pralica[1]
Smiljana Milinkov[2]
Filozofski fakultet
Univerzitet u Novom Sadu
Novi Sad, Srbija

UDC. 654.195(100.497.11)

DIGITALIZACIJA RADIJA U SVETU I SRBIJI[3]

Apstrakt: Cilj ovog rada jeste da ukaže na problematiku digitalizacije radija u svetu i Srbiji. Norveška je u decembru 2017. okončala digitalizaciju radija na svojoj teritoriji i tako postala prva zemlja u svetu koja je ugasila nacionalno emitovanje signala putem FM mreže. Primer Norveške do 2020. slediće još Danska, Švajcarska i Velika Britanija. U susednoj Hrvatskoj, u novembru 2017, pokrenuto je testno emitovanje u digitalnoj radiodifuziji koje ima za cilj popularizaciju nove digitalne radijske platforme. U Srbiji je tek u jesen 2017. Regulatorna agencija za elektronske komunikacije i poštanske usluge (RATEL) objavila poziv za učešće u javnim konsultacijama na predlog Nacrta *Pravilnika o utvrđivanju Plana raspodele frekvencija/lokacija/oblasti za terestričke digitalne zvučne radiodifuzne stanice u delu VHF opsega (216-230 MHz) za teritoriju Republike Srbije*. Formalno, prijem digitalnog radio-signala u Srbiji već je moguć putem: zemaljskog sistema predajnika za emitovanje digitalnog radija, satelitskog sistema i interneta. Još 2015. u Ministarstvu telekomunikacija, bez preciznijih rokova, najavljeno je sprovođenje pilot-projekta kojim će se najpre digitalizovati radio-stanice pored auto-puta. Prema podacima (za period 2013-2019) portala Svetskog industrijskog foruma za digitalizaciju radija (*WorldDAB*), pet evropskih zemalja gotovo su u potpunosti digitalizovale radio: Norveška 99,7%, Švajcarska 99,5%, Danska i Nemačka po 98% i Velika Britanija 97,3%. Problematika sporog prelaska sa analognog na digitalni radio, u odnosu na identičan proces kod televizije koji je okončan, jeste da je zbog novog plana frekvencija potrebna kupovina potpuno novih (skupih) radio-aparata, nepotpuna kompatibilnost sa radijskim uređajima u automobilskoj industriji, kao i nespremnost, odnosno finansijska nemogućnost, izuzetno velikog broja lokalnih radio-stanica da pređu na digitalno emitovanje programa.

Ključne reči: digitalizacija, frekvencije, digitalni radio, analogni radio, nacionalni radio, lokalni radio.

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[1] Kontakt s autorom: pralica@ff.uns.ac.rs

[2] Kontakt s autorkom: smilinkova@ff.uns.ac.rs

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Kada slušate radio, svedok ste večnog rata između ideje i pojave,
između vremena i večnosti, ljudskog i božanskog.
Herman Hese[4]

1. RADIO U NOVOM BEŽIČNOM DOBU

Iako je popularnost radija, kao medija, daleko manja u odnosu na internet i televiziju, on i dalje zauzima važno mesto u medijskom sistemu gotovo svake države. Nadležna regulatorna tela, agencije, državni organi sa velikom pažnjom i dalje prate i nadziru radiofrekvencijski spektar širom planete.

Kontrola se ranije odnosila samo na radijske i televizijske programe i njihovu slušanost, odnosno gledanost. No, danas je situacija znatno drugačija. „Uz postojanje digitalnih sistema, to obuhvata i komunikacione veze sa *em-pe 3* plejerima i *ajpodima*, uređaje za preuzimanje sadržaja i mobilne telefone s mogućnošću prijema audio i vizuelnih signala i fotografisanja, video-klipove i *lajv striming*. Sve to danas čini deo onoga što bi se moglo nazvati *novim bežičnim dobom* (*vaj-faj dobom*) (...) Novi digitalni radio-prijemnici i veća dostupnost radio-veza omogućava ostvarivanje znatnih prihoda.

Poređenja radi, u izveštaju britanske *Kancelarije za komunikacije* (*Ofcom*, 2006) predviđaju se veliki prihodi radija na globalnom nivou u iznosu od 21,2 milijarde funti, dok bi prihodi od televizije iznosili 104,3 milijarde funti, a prihodi od telekomunikacija 256 milijardi. Iako manja od ove dve druge kategorije, oblast radija ipak omogućava znatan priliv prihoda pojedinim nacionalnim državama u okviru Evropske unije, kao što je to slučaj sa Nemačkom, Francuskom i Velikom Britanijom“ (Ruk 2011:482).

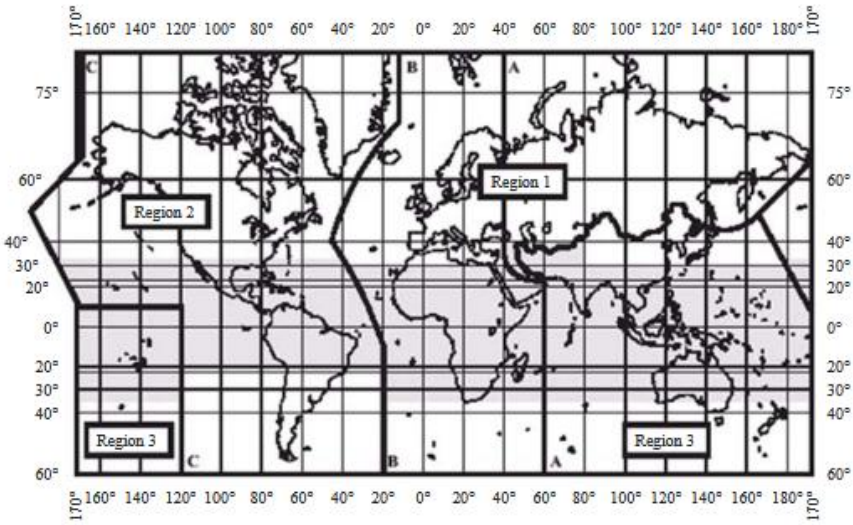
2. ZAŠTO DIGITALIZACIJA RADIJA

Brzina razvoja tehnologija uticala je na to da se mediji svakodnevno usavršavaju. U većini industrijski razvijenih zemalja sveta digitalizacija televizije već je završena (prema Pralica 2012a: 92-92). Još je 2006. *Regionalna konferencija o radio-vezama* u Ženevi (*GE06*) za planiranje digitalnog zemaljskog radiodifuznog servisa u delovima regija 1 (Evropa i

[4] Izvor: https://yourstory.com/2017/02/world-radio-day-quotes (posećeno: 12.12.2018).

Azija) i 3 (Okeanija), u frekvencijskom opsegu 174-230 MHz i 470-862 MHz, odlučila da će analogna tehnologija morati da se zameni digitalnom (prema Isakov 2006: 38-39) – vidi Grafikon 1:

Grafikon 1: *Podela sveta na regione za digitalizaciju: Region 1: Evropa, Azija i Afrika; Region 2: Serverna Amerika i Južna Amerika; Region 3: Okeanija.*



Izvor: https://www.itu.int/dms_pub/itu-r/opb/rep/R-REP-BT.2140-3-2011-PDF-E.pdf

Svaka država – potpisnica *Sporazuma Ženeva 06 (GE06)* bila je dužna da donese propise koji će omogućiti prelazak sa jednog na drugi signal, najpre za televiziju, a potom i za radio. O tome da li je moguće izvesno vreme i paralelno funkcionisanje oba signala, odnosno da li *stari* ometa *novi*, bilo je polemike još pre 10-ak godina (prema Valić Nedeljković 2011:9; prema Pralica 2012a: 91).

Prednosti digitalnog radija u odnosu na analogni su višestruke: vrlo visok kvalitet zvuka (kao na kompakt disku), bez šuštanja i smetnji; veći broj radijskih kanala – podrazumeva i veći broj radijskih programa; interaktivni *vizeulni radio* – mogućnost pristupa multimedijanim servisima (programska šema, nazivi pesama i izvođača, vremenska prognoza, sport, servisne informacije, kratke vesti, stanje na putevima – na zahtev); čuvanje podataka, odloženo praćenje sadržaja; nove mogućnosti za reklamiranje; veći stepen povezanosti sa uređajima u digitalnom okruženju (radio aparat, mobilni telefon, računar).

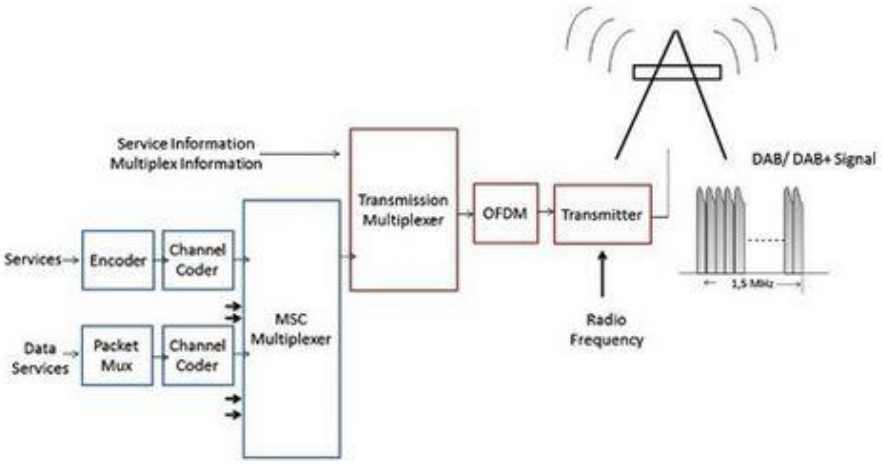
Postoji i nekoliko manjkavosti digitalnog radija. Da bi slušali takav radio građani moraju da poseduju novi, digitalni radio aparat koji je prilično skup i čija se cena kreće od 100 evra; i dalje nekompatibilna automobilska industrija – nemaju svi automobili ugrađen digitani radio aparat; signala ili ima, pa je savršen, ili ga uopšte nema, pa se program nikako ne može pratiti; veliki broj lokalnih radio-stanica nema finansijsku mogućnost za digitalizaciju.

3. NASTANAK I PRIJEM DIGITALNOG SIGNALA

3.1. Nastanak signala

Svaki servisni signal kodira se pojedinačno na nivou izvora, zaštićen od greške i sa utisnutim vremenom u koder kanala. Servisi/ usluge se zatim istovremeno prenose kroz glavni uslužni kanal (*MSC*), u skladu sa unapred određenom, ali prilagodljivom multipleks konfiguracijom. Izlaz multipleksera je kombinovan sa multipleks kontrolom i servisnim informacijama, koje putuju u brzom informacionom kanalu (FIC) da bi formirale transmisijske okvire u multiplekseru prenosa. Konačno, *ortogonalno frekvencijsko multipleksiranje* (*OFDM*) se primenjuje za oblikovanje *DAB signala*, koji se sastoji od velikog broja prenosnika. Signal se zatim prebacuje na odgovarajući radiofrekventni opseg, pojačava i odašilje – *Grafikon 2:*

Grafikon 2: *Nastanak digitalnog signala.*

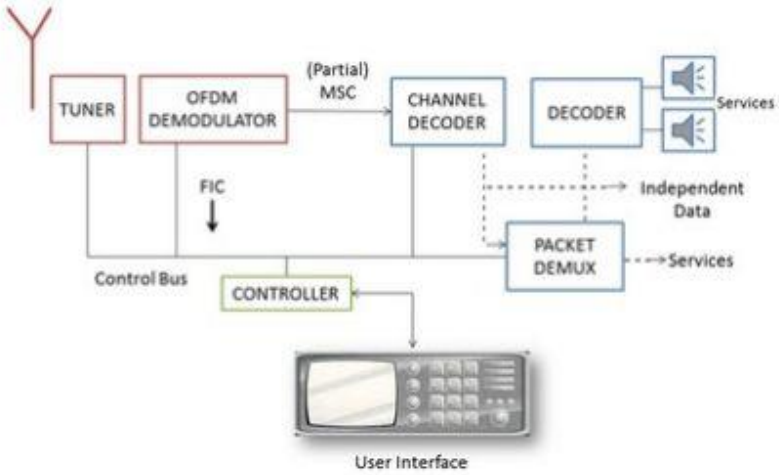


Izvor: https://www.worlddab.org/dab/how-dab-works

3.2 Prijem signala

DAB paket je izabran u analognom prijemniku, digitalizovani signal šalje se na *OFDM* detektor i kanalski dekoder kako bi se eliminisale greške u prenosu. Informacije sadržane u brzom informacionom kanalu (*FIC*) prosleđuju se korisničkom interfejsu za izbor usluga i koristi se za podešavanje prijemnika na odgovarajući način. *MSC* podaci se dalje obrađuju u audio dekoderu da bi se proizveli levi i desni audio signali ili, ako je neophodno, u dekoderu podataka (*Packet Demuk*) – *Grafikon 3*:

Grafikon 3: *Prijem digitalnog signala.*



Izvor: https://www.worlddab.org/dab/how-dab-works

4. DIGITALNI RADIO U SVETU[5]

Digitalni radio postoji već skoro pola veka. Kreirali su ga stručnjaci britanskog javnog servisa Bi-Bi-Si krajem sedamdesetih godina XX veka. Međutim, primena digitalnog radija počela je pre dvadesetak godina.

Digitalni radio jeste program koji koristi *DAB tehnologiju* (*Digital Audio Broadcasting*), ali i svaki radio koji svoje sadržaje prenosi uz pomoć neke digitalne platforme. Pored *DAB-a*, to mogu biti još i digitalna televizija, internet i mobilni telefoni. Sve češći naziv za digitalni radio jeste *multiplatform radio* (prema Martinoli 2006). „Platforme za digitalni radio

[5] Podaci za pojedinačne zemlje: Norveška, Danska, Nemačka, Velika Britanija i Hrvatska dostupni su na engleskom i jezicima zemalja na portalu *WorldDAB*-a.

možemo da svrstamo u tri grupe: zemaljski, satelitski i veb radio (...) Ono što je zajedničko svim platformama jeste nedovršenost njihovog tehnološkog razvoja“ (Baraković, Mahmutović 2013:27-28), što predstavlja svojevrsnu prednost s obzirom na to da su digitalne tehnologije u permanentnom napretku. U svetu se, dakle, koriste različiti digitalni sistemi za emitovanje radijskog signala. Neki od popularnijih su sledeći: *DRM – Digital Radio Mondiale, IBOC – In Band On Channel, ISDB-T_{SB} – Integrated Services Digital Broadcasting Terrestrial* i *T-DAB – Terrestrial Digital Audio Broadcasting* (prema Telekomunikacije.net, 2017)[6]. Istraživači *Svetskog industrijskog foruma za digitalizaciju radija* (*WorldDAB*-a) podelili su države na tri grupe u zavisnosti od stepena digitalizacije radija: u prvoj su one države u kojima je digitalni radio u upotrebi, u drugoj grupi zemalja u je toku eksperimentalna faza upotrebe digitalnog radija, a treća grupa zemalja se tek interesuje za digitalizaciju radija, ali još bez konkretnih poduhvata – Tabela 1[7]:

Tabela 1: Zainteresovanost država za digitalizaciju radija

zemlje u kojima se koristi digitalni radio	zemlje u kojima se sprovodi eksperimentalna faza upotrebe digitalnog radija	zemlje koje se potencijalno zainteresovane za digitalizaciju
Austrija	Belorusija	Bahrein
Belgija	Brunej	Bosna i Hercegovina
Holandija	Estonija	Crna Gora
Australija	Alžir	Jermenija
Češka	Bugarska	Letonija
Vatikan	Južna Afrika	Litvanija
Irska	Grčka	Makedonija
Francuska	Hrvatska	Moldavija
Danska	Kina	Rusija

[6] Izvor: http://www.telekomunikacije.net/digitalizacija-radija-u-srbiji/ (posećeno: 12.12.2018).

[7] Podaci se odnose za države van Severne i Južne Amerike, za koje ne postoje podaci.

Južna Koreja	Indonezija	Singapur
Švajcarska	Katar	Sudan
Kuvajt	Izrael	Šri Lanka
Malta	Luksemburg	
Italija	Mađarska	
Monako	Malezija	
Poljska	Mjanmar	
Norveška	Mongolija	
Slovenija	Novi Zeland	
Španija	Oman	
Švedska	Rumunija	
Ukrajina	Slovačka	
Tunis	Srbija	
Velika Britanija	Tajland	
	Turska	
	Ujedinjeni Arapski Emirati	
	Vijetnam	

U nastavku rada daćemo sažet prikaz aktuelne situacije u vezi sa digitalizacijom radija u nekoliko vodećih zemalja: Norveškoj, Danskoj, Nemačkoj i Velikoj Britaniji. Osvrnućemo se i na zemlju u okruženju koja je najdalje otišla u procesu digitalizacije radija – Hrvatsku, a posebno ćemo predstaviti šta se poslednjih godina u Srbiji radi na procesu digitalizacije radija.

4.1. Primer Norveška

Prema podacima *WorldDAB*-a, Norveška je prva zemlja koja je (na nivou nacionalnih radio-stanica) u potpunosti primenila digitalno emitovanje programa. Taj posao završen je u decembru 2017. Ipak, nisu sve radio-stanice digitalizovane u potpunosti.

U medijima u Srbiji o ovome se veoma skromno pisalo. List *Danas* tako je preneo informaciju britanskog *Gardijana,* uz naslov *Norveška prva u svetu ugasila FM signal* i tekst u kome je pisalo da *će (...) Digitalizacija koja*

je počela 11. januara (2018)[8] *omogućiti bolji kvalitet zvuka, više stanica i funkcija. Međutim, 'Gardijan' piše da su se slušaoci radija bunili pošto su morali da kupuju nove uređaje koji koštaju između 100 i 200 evra. Takođe, digitalni radio moći će da sluša u vozilima manje od 50% vozača. Proces digitalizacije odnosi se samo na nacionalne radio stanice, dok će većina lokalnih radio emitera nastaviti rad putem FM mreže (...)* (*Danas*, 13.12.2017)[9].

U Norveškoj gotovo 100% stanovništva ima pristup *DAB plus* prijemu radijskog signala sa blizu šest miliona prodatih radio prijemnika. Proces prebacivanja sa analognog na digitalni signal počeo je u januaru 2017. i trajao je do kraja te godine. Obuhvatio je sve nacionalne radio-stanice i komercijalne lokalne radio-stanice koje program emituju u većim gradovima. Plan je da lokalne radio-stanice zajednica (*community radio*) i manje lokalne stanice iz unutrašnjosti zemlje narednih pet godina (do kraja 2022) nastave emitovanja putem analognih *FM* talasa, nakon čega će regulatorno telo ponovo proceniti stanje na terenu, odnosno da li će i te stanice moći da se digitalizuju u potpunosti.

Norveška vlada godinama je predano radila na afirmaciji digitalizacije radija u domenu informisanja građana, sa automobilskom industrijom i tržištem elektronskih uređaja (novih radio-aparata). U ovoj skandinavskoj zemlji nova automobilska industrija gotovo je u potpunosti kompatibilna sa digitalnom tehnologijom radija (98%), a digitalni radio ima učešće u čak 83% domaćinstava.

4.2. Primer Danska

Danska vlada predvidela je isključivanje analognog *FM* signala dve godine nakon što je na tamošnjem tržištu utvrđeno da više od polovine stanovništva sluša digitalni radio, a Ministarstvo kulture i medija je još 2015. preciziralo plan prelaska sa analogno na digitalno emitovanje radijskih programa. Prognoze pokazuju da će se isključenje analognog signala desiti najkasnije do kraja 2021. Gotovo celokupna populacija Danske (98%) ima mogućnost da prati digitalni radio.

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[8] Prim. aut.

[9] Izvor: https://www.danas.rs/svet/norveska-prva-u-svetu-ugasila-fm-radio/ (posećeno: 15.12.2017).

Iako je Danska među državama koje imaju jedan od najvećih procenata korisnika *DAB* radija po glavi stanovnika u svetu, učešće u digitalizaciji radija na nivo domaćinstava duplo je niža u odnosu na Norvešku i iznosi 46%. Trenutno najveći problem predstavlja relativno mali udeo novog radija u automobilskoj industriji. Nešto manje od trećine (24%) novih automobila ima ugrađenu *DAB* ili *DAB plus* standardnu opremu.

4.3. Primer Nemačka

Nemačka, uz Norvešku, Dansku i Veliku Britaniju, pripada grupi zemalja koje razvijaju digitalni radio kao standard na svom tržištu. Skoro celokupna populacija Nemačke (97%) pokrivena je digitalnim signalom radija (*DAB plus*), dok nešto manje od petine domaćinstava (17%) ima učešća u upotrebi digitalnog radija. U 2018. u Nemačkoj je prodato za 10% više digitalnih radio-aparata nego godinu dana ranije. Digitalni multipleks može se pratiti preko četiri nacionalna (javna) programa: *Nemački radio*, *Nemački radio – kultura*, *Nemački radio – nova*, *Debatni radio*, kao i preko devet privatnih radio-stanica. Krajem 2019. planirano je pokretanje i drugog nacionalnog multipleksa koji bi se mogao pratiti preko 16 radijskih programa. To praktično znači da bi dva multipleksa sa 29 radijskih programa pokrivalo čitavu teritoriju Nemačke.

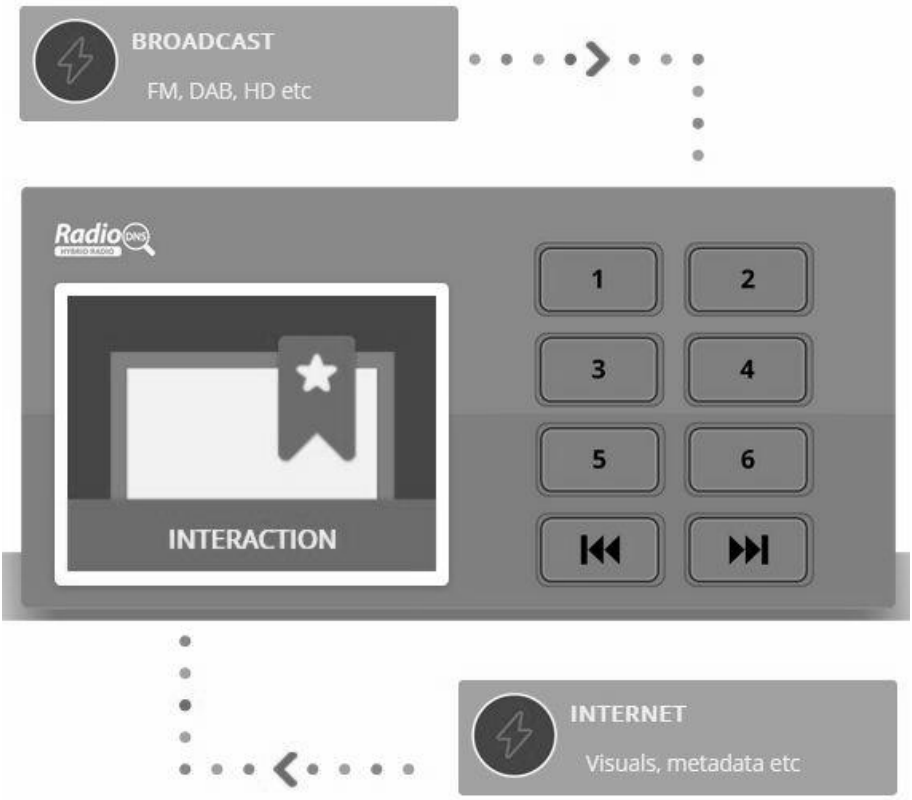
S obzirom na to da Nemačka ima jednu od najvećih automobilskih industrija, podaci pokazuju da 40% novih automobila ima najsavremenije radio-aparate kao standardnu opremu. Kompanija *Audi* je prva koja je u svoju standardnu ponudu opreme za automobile uvela tzv. *hibridni radio*[10] (slika 1):

4.4 Primer Velika Britanija

Velika Britanija, kao zemlja u kojoj je otkriven digitalni radio, vrlo je posvećena procesu transformacije ovog medija. Britansko *Nezavisno regulatorno telo za elektronske medije* (*Ofcom*) redovno objavljuje izveštaje o stanju digitalizacije medija u toj zemlji. Preko 330 radijskih programa u ovom trenutnu emituje program u *DAB* tehnologiji, a popularnost digitalnog radija u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu u stalnom je porastu. Povećanje slušanosti digitanog radija na godišnjem nivou je u porastu za 10% u odnosu na prethodnu godinu.

[10] Kombinacija klasičnog i digitalnog radija – FM emitovanja i internetske tehnologije (povezuje *FM*, *DAB* i *HD* radio u celinu) (prema Radiodns.org, 2018).

Slika 1. Ilustracija *Audijevog hibridnog radija.*



Izvor: https://radiodns.org/

Skoro svi stanovnici u Velikoj Britaniji i Severnoj Irskoj (97,3%) imaju mogućnost da prate digitalne radijske programe, dok je učešće domaćinstava u digitalnom radiju među najvišima u Evropi (64%), što je odmah posle Norveške. Industrija radio-aparata posvećena je novim tehnologijama. Automobilska indurstija, takođe, vrlo je kompatibilna u odnosu na nove tehnologije – preko 93% novih automobila isporučuje se tržište Velike Britanije sa *DAB* i *DAB plus* opremom kao standardnom. Ispunjena su dva osnovna kriterijuma koje je vlada u Londonu zacrtala kao uslov za isključenje analognog signala – udeo slušanja digitalnog radija premašio je 50% i digitalni lokalni komercijalni i nacionalni *DAB* emiteri premašili su *FM* pokrivenost signala širom Ostrva. Treći kriterijum (prema Whidborne (n.d.)) jeste da lokalni digitalni radio mora da bude dostupan za

oko 90% stanovništva i da se čuje oko svih glavnih saobraćajnica. Ispunjenje tog poslednjeg kriterijuma je pri kraju.

Iako je *Bi-Bi-Si* daleko više od drugi javnih servisa uradio na digitalizaciji radija, direktor Radija *Bi-Bi-Si* Bob Šenan izjavio je u martu 2018. da taj medij želi da što duže zadrži i *FM* radio, kao opciju uz digitalni radio, kako bi se publici pružila mogućnost izbora (*Bi-Bi-Si*, 19. 03. 2018). Početak potpunog gašenja analognog signala u Velikoj Britaniji predviđen je za sredinu 2020.

4.5 Primer Hrvatska

Hrvatska je od zemalja u regionu Zapadnog Balkana i među zemljama bivše Jugoslavije najviše uradila kada je u pitanju proces digitalizacije radija. Testiranje emitovanja digitalnog signala radija započeto je u novembru 2017.

Savet za elektronske medije (Vijeće za elektroničke medije) odabrao je 16 *FM* radio-stanica širom Hrvatske da eksperimentalno emituju *DAB* program. Sa pet predajnika u okolini pet najvećih gradova u Hrvatskoj, digitalni radijski signal dostupan je populaciji od oko 70% stanovništva. Rukovodilac projekta *Digitalni radio* i direktor Preduzeća *Odašiljači i veze* Mate Botica kaže da sve više građana u Hrvatskoj sluša digitalni radio. Nakon eksperimentalne faze u tom preduzeću očekuju da će nastaviti s potpunom produkcijom digitalnog radija, najavljujući još jednu mrežu multipleksa koja će biti namenjena „domaćim javnim servisima, jer su u postojećem multipleksu popunjeni kapaciteti“ (prema Vranković, 2018). U Preduzeću *Odašiljači i veze* smatraju da će se u Hrvatskoj još godinama slušati i *FM* radio.

5. DIGITALNI RADIO U SRBIJI

Srbija se, kao potpisnica plana *Ženeva 06 (GE06),* obavezala da će preći na digitalno emitovanja radijskog i televizijskog programa. Tek u junu 2015. u Srbiji je u potpunosti digitalizovan samo televizijski signal. Država će, nakon kompletne digitalizacije medija, moći mnogo efikasnije da koristi radio-televizijski spektar „za nove usluge“ (prema Surčulija 2009: 19-20). U *Medijskoj studiji*, koju su izradili međunarodni stručnjaci 2010. (prema Pralica 2011: 37-39) za transformaciju radija su priznali da je nejasno kada će biti moguća digitalizacija signala, odnosno da će lokalni radio, najverovatnije, moći da nastavi emitovanje na *FM* frekvenciji ili da počne distribuciju programa preko kablovske mreže ili interneta. U susret digitalizaciji radija u

budućnosti, najveći broj radio-stanica u Srbiji uveliko je počeo transformaciju svojih programa i distribuciju sadržaja i preko interneta (prema Pralica, Milinkov 2012: 199-209; prema Pralica 2012b: 45-54). Formalno, prijem digitalnog radio-signala u Srbiji već je moguć putem: zemaljskog sistema predajnika za emitovanje digitalnog radija, satelitskog sistema i interneta.

Godine 2015, pozivajući se na šest godina ranije usvojenu *Strategiju za prelazak sa analognog na digitalno emitovanje radio i televizijskog programa u Republici Srbiji,* ministar za telekomunikacije Rasim Ljajić izjavio je da digitalizacija radija nije obavezna, ali da se „radi studija izvodljivosti kako bismo videli koliko bi to koštalo“ (*Blic*, 02.06.2015). Ljajić je tada najavio sprovođenje pilot-projekta kojim će se digitalizovati radio-stanice pored auto-puta. U decembru 2016. na javnoj raspravi u vezi sa Nacrtom zakona o elektronskim komunikacijama „govorilo se o tome da nadležno ministarstvo treba da donese *akt o prelasku sa analognog na digitalno emitovanje medijske usluge radija i pristupu multipleksu* u saradnji sa Regulatornom agencijom za elektronske komunikacije i poštanske usluge (RATEL) i Regulatornim telom za elektronske medije (REM). Ovaj pravilnik bi naročito trebalo da uredi: način i vremenski raspored prelaska; zahteve i dinamiku koja se odnosi na uspostavljanje mreže za digitalno emitovanje; zahteve za formiranje multipleksa; obim korišćenja frekvencija u meri u kojoj je to neophodno za uspešno obavljanje prelaska na digitalno emitovanje“ (Telekomunikacije.net, 10. 10. 2017). Tek u jesen 2017. RATEL objavljuje poziv za učešće u javnim konsultacijama na predlog Nacrta *Pravilnika o utvrđivanju Plana raspodele frekvencija/lokacija/oblasti za terestričke digitalne zvučne radiodifuzne stanice u delu VHF opsega (216-230 MHz) za teritoriju Republike Srbije*. Godinu dana kasnije Javno preduzeće *Emisiona tehnika i veze*, na lokaciji Avala, počelo je sa eksperimentalnim digitalnim emitovanjem radijskog programa u *DAB plus* tehnologiji za tri programa *Radio Beograda*, što praktično pokriva 35% stanovništva Srbije. Za 2019. to preduzeće predvidelo je tzv. *simultkast* – paraleleni rad nove digitalne i stare analogne mreže, kao i pokrivenost digitalnim signalom stanovništva (97%), auto-puteva (100%) i regionalnih puteva (98%) (prema *Emisiona tehnika i veze*, 29.10.2018).

Početkom 2019. državna sekretarka u Ministarstvu telekomunikacija Tatjana Matić najavila je da država „priprema *Strategiju za prelazak na digitalno emitovanje radijskog programa*, čime će biti definisan standard za digitalizaciju radija *DAB plus* (...) i omogućeno emitovanje 16 radijskih

programa na jednoj frekvenciji, sa jednim predajnikom. Ona je najavila da se do kraja 2019. planira puštanje u rad još sedam predajnika čime bi se realizovala pokrivenost digitalnim radijskim signalom 80% stanovništva i skoro potpuna pokrivenost auto-puteva“ (Ministarstvo trgovine, turizma i telekomunikacija, 13.02.2019).

6. UMESTO ZAKLJUČKA

Digitalni radio i u svetu i u Srbiji je neminovnost. Budući da je problematika prelaska sa analognog na digitalni sistem emitovanja programa drugačija u odnosu na televiziju, svaka zemlja ponaosob sa velikom pažnjom pristupa tom procesu. Za razliku od digitalizacije televizijskog signala koji je kompletiran, u ovom slučaju prelazak na *DAB* i *DAB plus* tehnologiju emitovanja radija može da se odvija i sa paralelnim prijemom *FM* signala, bez mešanja frekvencija radio-stanica.

Iako postoje (okvirni) planovi za novi, digitalni radio, gotovo nijedna zemlja, pa ni Srbija sa sigurnošću ne može u ovom trenutku da tvrdi kada će taj proces biti završen. Kako se ne bi ugrozilo samo postojanje radija kao medija, vrlo važno je da vlade, ministarstva i nadležna regulatorna tela sinhrono deluju i prema potrebama građana/ publike, ali i prema automobilskoj industriji i industriji proizvodnje novih generacija radio-aparata, bez čije podrške je proces digitalizacije osuđen na propast.

THE DIGITIZATION OF RADIO IN THE WORLD AND IN SERBIA

Summary

The aim of this paper is to show the problems of the radio digitization in the world and in Serbia. In December 2017, Norway ended the digitization of radio on its territory, becoming the first country in the world which switched off nationwide FM broadcasting. By 2020, the same will be done in Denmark, Switzerland and Great Britain. Test digital broadcasting started in Croatia in November 2017, in order to make popular new digital radio platforms. In the autumn of 2017, Serbian RATEL (Regulatory Agency for Electronic Communications and Postal Services) announced a call for public consultations for the *Rulebook on Radio Frequency/Location Allotment Plan for Terrestrial Digital FM Broadcasting Stations for the Territory of the Republic of Serbia*. Formally, it is possible to receive digital radio signal in Serbia via: terrestrial system of transmitters for digital radio broadcasting, satelite system and the Internet. In 2015 the Ministry of telecommunications announced the pilot

project which would first digitized the radio stations by the motorway. According to the *WorldDAB* data, four European countries almost entirely digitized radio: Norway 99,7%, Switzerland 99,5%, Denmark and Germany 98% and United Kingdom 97,3%. The problem of the slow transfer from the analogue to the digital radio, compared to the same process in TV broadcasting which has been completed, is that the new plan of frequencies requires buying new (expensive) radio sets, incompatibility with the radio sets in automotive industry, as well as the financial capacity of a large number od radio stations to transfer to the digital broadcasting.

Key words: digitization, frequency, digital radio, analog radio, national radio, local radio.

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Biljana Radić-Bojanić
Gordana Lalić-Krstin
Faculty of Philosophy
University of Novi Sad
Novi Sad, Serbia

UDC 371.694:004.738.5

BLENDED LEARNING WITH EDMODO: POTENTIALS AND DRAWBACKS[1]

Summary: In the digital world of the 21st century, learners seem to live a great part of their life online, so it is only natural to use these habits for the benefit of the learning process. However, several research studies have established that for many learners the digital world seems to be merely a source of entertainment and they are, therefore, not prone to utilizing it for the learning purposes. On the other hand, many educators increasingly rely on the digital world as an aid, resource, or learning environment, trying to "piggyback" on the learners' digital habits. However, it seems that the best results are actually achieved through the blended approach, where part of the teaching process is done face-to-face and part of it is conducted via an online platform. To illustrate this, the paper presents a case of blended learning with the Edmodo learning platform, which is currently being used as part of the teaching process at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad in the preparatory classes for the entrance exam at the Department of English Studies. Namely, this department organizes classes where candidates who want to study English are prepared for the entrance exam, but due to heavy workload and not enough face-to-face hours, part of teaching and practice is done online. The authors of the paper have done extensive critical analysis of this platform, its potentials as well as drawbacks, which will be described in the paper alongside suggestions for improvement and ideas for a more efficient teaching process.

Key words: blended learning, Edmodo, entrance exam, preparatory classes, potentials, drawbacks.

1. INTRODUCTION

The educators of the 21st century are constantly on the look-out for platforms, tools, apps, networks and gadgets which will both facilitate their

[1] The paper is the result of research conducted within project III47020 "Digital Media Technologies and Socioeducational Changes" funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

work in the classroom and beyond and which will appeal to learners who are by and large digital natives, nowadays even of the second generation. This is sometimes enforced by school administration, but there are also situations when teachers decide on their own to improve and innovate their teaching. In both cases, the tendency to digitalize the teaching process to a certain extent relies on the learners' consumption of the Internet, their constant online presence and user habits. In Serbia, the educational setting under scrutiny here, there is still no systematic institutionalized distance learning which is based entirely online, so the application of digital tools, apps and platforms is better achieved through the blended approach, where part of the teaching process is done face-to-face and part of it is conducted online. One such situation is analyzed in this paper, which focuses on the social learning platform Edmodo, its strengths and weaknesses, as well as suggestions for improvement and ideas for a more efficient teaching process.

2. BLENDED LEARNING

Authors who have tackled various aspects and angles of blended learning (e.g. Garrison & Kanuka 2004, Graham 2005, Hick, Reid & George 2001, Marjanovic 1999, Singh 2003) agree that the very term 'blended' can have a wide variety of meanings and applications, whereby we can blend instructional modalities, instructional methods and online and face-to-face instruction (Graham 2005). The problem with the first two views is "that they define BL[2] so broadly that they encompass virtually all learning systems. One would be hard pressed to find any learning system that did not involve multiple instructional methods and multiple delivery media" (Graham 2005: 4). However, the third position is more accurately tied to what educators nowadays see as blended learning systems, i.e. the combination of face-to-face teaching and computer-based technologies. It is no surprise that the 21st century education has brought about this kind of a change, especially if we have in mind the words of the president of Pennsylvania State University, who said that the convergence between online and residential instruction was "the single-greatest unrecognized trend in higher education today" (Young 2002: A33).

[2] Blended learning.

The question that springs to mind is what preceded this convergence and the answer lies in the development, rise and spread of information and communication technologies (henceforth ICT), which have found a natural path into the traditional classroom. As Singh (2003: 51) says, "the first generation of e-learning or Web-based learning programs focused on presenting physical classroom-based instructional content over the Internet. Furthermore, first generation e-learning (digitally delivered learning) programs tended to be a repetition or compilation of online versions of classroom-based courses." Later, the advent of Web 2.0 and 3.0, which led to a seamless connection of ICT and everyday life, was definitely reflected in the changes that took place in the educational system, which no longer emulated offline classroom behaviour in an online setting, but became creative, experimental and, ultimately, more effective as it took the best of both worlds.

Today the concept of blended learning plays an important role in a gradual connection of the traditional classroom and online learning, which is truly beneficial for digital immigrants, who still prevail in some instructional settings. This gradual transition means that learners have the opportunity to slowly develop digital skills necessary for working in an online setting getting accustomed to both the new media and new approaches in the learning process. Garrison & Kanuka (2004: 96) add that "there is considerable intuitive appeal to the concept of integrating the strengths of synchronous (face-to-face) and asynchronous (text-based Internet) learning activities", but educators have to be careful not to overburden learners with overly complex designs.

It is also interesting to observe why teachers and educational institutions increasingly opt for the blended approach to the learning process. Namely, besides the aforementioned technological pressure, there are also demands for universities to "provide for a larger and more diverse cross-section of the population, to cater for emerging patterns on educational involvement which facilitate lifelong learning and to include technology-based practices in the curriculum" (Hicks, Reid & George 2001: 143). This in reality opens up two different, yet equally important pedagogical issues: individualization and equality. The first one emphasizes the positive sides of blended learning, which inherently caters for a whole variety of learning styles, personalities, learning paces and approaches, allowing learners so far disadvantaged by the traditional classroom setting (because of their high anxiety, different learning style, some form of disability, etc.) to reach their full potential in an online setting. On the other hand, the second issue, one of

equality, where educators have to wonder if all students have equal access to information and communication technologies and if they have the financial means to support blended learning is a possible downside of the introduction of blended learning in the process of education (Radić-Bojanić 2015).

Finally, we should also address different models of blended learning which can exist depending on the needs of learners and the organization of the teaching process. For instance, Graham (2005) proposes four types of blending: activity-level blending, course-level blending, programme-level blending and institutional-level blending. The first type of blending occurs at the activity level "when a learning activity contains both face-to-face and CM[3] elements" (Graham 2005: 11). The second type, course-level blending, is the most common one (and is described and analyzed in this paper) and it comprises a combination of different activities, some of which are delivered face-to-face while others are done in an online setting. These activities may overlap or complement one another, depending on the purpose and organization. The third type is programme-level blending, where the learner chooses either face-to-face or online courses as part of their degree programme, while institutional-level blending refers to the situations in which educational and corporative institutions blend face-to-face and online instruction at the level of an entire institution.

In this paper, we will describe and analyze a type of blended learning that involves digital natives (18- and 19-year olds) and that relies on blending at the level of an entire course. More precisely, we will focus on the Edmodo platform, which we have used as part of the teaching process at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad in the preparatory classes for the entrance exam at the Department of English Studies. Namely, this department organizes classes where candidates who want to study English are prepared for the entrance exam, but due to heavy workload and not enough of face-to-face hours, part of teaching and practice is done online. After several years of collaboration via the Edmodo platform we have gained enough experience to take a critical stance towards it and analyze its advantages and disadvantages, which are presented in the second part of the paper.

[3] Computer-mediated.

3. EDMODO

Founded in 2008, Edmodo is a social learning platform which currently boasts 85 million users in 190 countries (Edmodo 2018). It offers three basic types of user accounts: teacher, student and parent, but also enables school and district administrators, IT administrators and principals to have special, administrative accounts. This openness to different participants in the educational process encourages communication and cooperation between teachers, students, parents and administrators, facilitates easier access to performance-related data, enabling both the teachers and administrators to detect problems and intervene if necessary, and through the involvement of IT administrators potentially reduces teacher workload as well.

We will first give an overview of the structure of the Edmodo platform and then focus on the teaching/learning tools in the more narrow sense. The macrostructure of the platform combines features of a typical learning management system with those of social networks, instant messaging, micro-blogging and cloud storage systems. From a teacher's perspective, this means that apart from the tools available for the delivery, presentation and collection of learning material to and from students, it also offers opportunities for communication with students, parents and administrators, facilitates professional networking with other teachers and sharing of classes, materials and/or ideas, easy access to stored content and the possibility to re-use the same resources. For instance, by joining various virtual communities on the platform, the teacher can benefit in various ways. Subject communities are centred around a particular school subject and provide opportunities for the exchange of opinions, ideas and materials. School communities include all those that are affiliated with the same institution and enable quick dissemination of information but also help develop team spirit. In professional development communities teachers become students, pursuing their own professional development in collaboration with other community members. Apart from these, there are certified courses on how to use Edmodo more effectively, commonly supplemented with instructional videos.

The messaging service, very similar to those of popular social networking sites such as Facebook or Twitter, facilitates real-time communication between members, including teacher-student and student-student interaction. It eliminates the need to use email or other mediums of

communication and thus potentially speeds up the exchange of information. The file attachment option works with both stored and offline files.

After setting up a profile, the teacher logs into his/her account. From the home page, which strongly resembles that of Facebook in layout and design,[4] it is possible to create and manage Classes (see Figure 1). The students are invited to join a class either by being sent a direct link or through the use of a group-specific code, which prevents unsolicited members from joining. Teachers can also set up Groups that are grade- or subject-related and make them private to group members or public to district staff, school staff or all teachers. Within a class, it is possible to create so-called Small Groups, which can be used for various goals, from facilitating communication for collaborative students' tasks to assigning different tasks to different small groups in the same class.

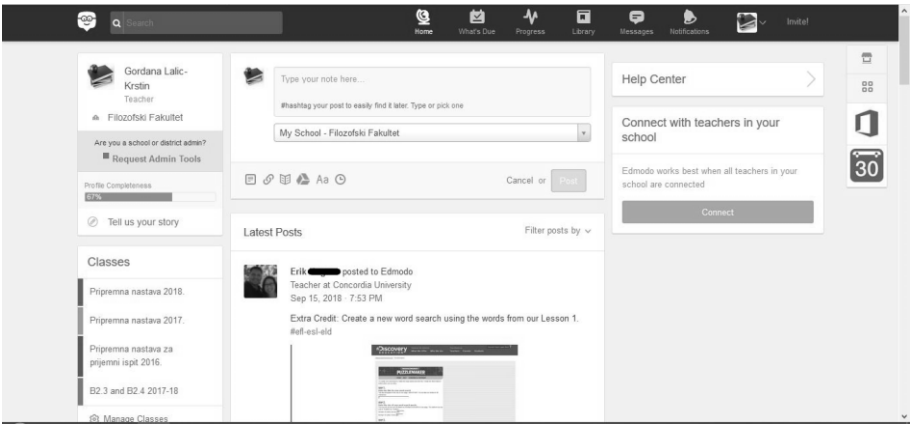

Figure 1. *Teacher home page*

For each class, group or small group, the teacher can post different types of content: Notes, Assignments, Quizzes or Polls. Notes are intended for notices, reminders, discussions or similar free-form types of content. File attachments are enabled from Edmodo library, Google Drive and from offline storage, with support for various type of content, such as text, image, audio and video files. Some text-formatting options are available as is the possibility to schedule a post. Assignments are loaded from the teacher's Edmodo library

[4] According to Balasubramanian, V & Fukey (2014: 417), Edmodo is commonly called "Facebook" for the higher education.

and can be locked after their due date. The results can be added automatically to the gradebook. The Quizzes tab offers several types of tasks which can be created anew or loaded from previously assigned ones. Like assignments, they can be locked after due date and they can be timed, with the teacher setting the time students have for doing each individual quiz. The available quiz formats are: multiple choice, true/false, short answer, fill in the blank and matching tasks. One of the most useful and time-saving options that Edmodo offers is undoubtedly the automatic checking and grading of the students' answers to quiz questions. The teacher can opt for the grades to be automatically added to the gradebook or they can be added manually. Finally, Polls can be used for various voting processes.

The gradebook can be customized to suit the grading system of each individual programme, allowing for the teacher to enter grades manually and to add different grading periods (e.g. per semester). The grades are expressed as fractions (e.g. 7 out of 12) for each graded task whereas the total grade is expressed as a percentage (see Figure 2). The gradebook is exportable as a Microsoft Excel workbook. Apart from the grades, it also contains an overview of the badges that students have earned. The badges are small graphics that the teacher can award to students for their accomplishments. They can be uploaded just like any other file or chosen from stock collections. Students (and teachers) also get badges for active participation in the Edmodo community.

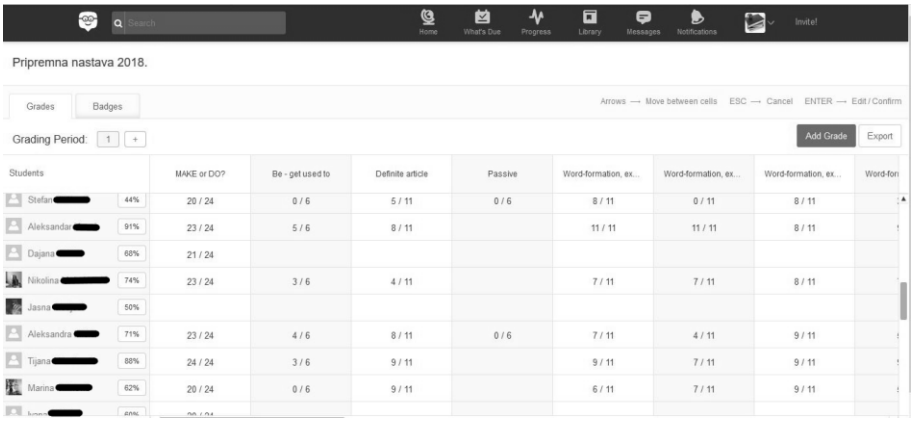

Figure 2. *The gradebook*

Finally, Edmodo offers teachers some basic statistics on their students' progress and achievements, which makes it possible to detect

problematic areas of study or students that are having difficulty with different assignments. For each assignment that is entered in the gradebook, the teacher can see the number of students who have turned it in, as well as the average score. Furthermore, the statistical breakdown can be obtained for both individual questions in a quiz or assignment, which can help identify questions that were either too easy or too difficult, and for individual students, which can help identify students who are struggling to meet the performance goals as well as those that can be given more challenging tasks (see Figure 3). This feature of Edmodo facilitates individualization and thus caters for various students' competences that they bring into the classroom.

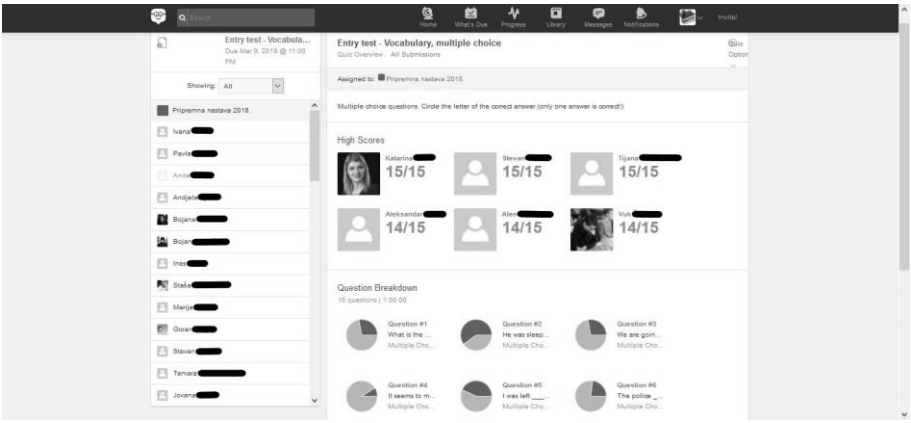

Figure 3. *Question breakdown*

After this brief description of the Edmodo platform and some of its options, we turn to its assessment from the teacher's perspective, focusing on both its general advantages and its downsides.

When the positive sides of the Edmodo platform are concerned, we can first note its visual appeal which probably stems from a similarity to a very popular social network, Facebook. The similarity can be found in the layout of the page (left-hand side used for various subcategories such as groups and classes that the platform offers, the central part of the page used for building the community of teachers/learners, right-hand side used for embedded external apps). Even the placement of notification bubbles (new messages, other types of new events in a group, etc.) is very similar to the one on Facebook. In addition, the previous users' experience with micro-blogging on social networks makes sharing texts and information with other users an

already familiar practice, as is the case with liking posts in classes or sending direct messages to both teachers and other students.

The teacher's job is made easier by the fact that Edmodo offers the possibility of making quizzes and storing them in a library, which teachers can then use as many times as they want in any future class that they organize online. These quizzes provide instant feedback to students thus saving time in face-to-face class as teachers do not have to go through all the right and wrong answers. Furthermore, teachers can also reduce workload because they do not have to check all the homework or quizzes manually and because all the points are automatically uploaded to each student's gradebook.

In cases of underage students or in cases of high-stake situations like the one we are analyzing in this paper (enrolling at university), parents' participation can be of great importance. That is another advantage of the Edmodo platform since it allows the creation of parent accounts, who can observe the progress of the students. This increases the collaboration between teachers and parents, ideally creating a partnership which can only benefit the students involved.

The grading system is created automatically and serves as a basis for statistical data available to the teacher. It offers a breakdown of all the results which can be cross-sectioned according to the student, task, entire quiz, etc. thus enabling the teacher to identify weak areas (e.g. a task in the passive voice in our case proved to be either very poorly done or not done at all, as opposed to an exercise in *make/do* expressions, which was done by the majority of students and with very high scores; see Figures 2 and 3).

Finally, Edmodo's teaching community provides fertile ground for professional growth. With its social networking potential, it creates new connections and opens up possibilities for personal and professional development. In an active virtual community teachers can share ideas and resources, ask questions, discuss different issues and offer advice. Furthermore, it is possible to collaborate with other teachers in various other ways, either by sharing a class or by joining school/subject communities, which further enhances the collaborative potential of this e-learning platform.

Turning now to some of the drawbacks of Edmodo, it encounters some of the same problems that all e-learning platforms have. Perhaps the most important and most difficult of these is the necessity for the users to have access to technology, both in terms of hardware availability and a broadband internet connection. This inevitably leads us to the issue of the digital divide and equal socioeconomic opportunities, which may not be the

same for all the students. A number of students in our class had no computer from which they could participate in the virtual Edmodo classroom but this problem was somewhat mitigated by the fact that Edmodo is also found as a mobile app, for which the hardware prerequisites were not a hindrance.

Besides suggestions already found in literature (e.g. Thien, Phan, Loi, Tho, Suhonen & Sutinen 2013, Alvarez & Olivera-Smith 2013, Eraković & Lazović 2017), we find that most room for improvement is found in the way that file management system is structured on Edmodo, which strikes us as slightly counterintuitive and not particularly user-friendly. Also, the platform is occasionally slow and unresponsive, which can be frustrating for a multi-tasking teacher in a hurry.

4. CONCLUSION

Judging from our experience described in the paper and judging from the experiences of other researchers and educators, Edmodo is overall a useful platform for educational purposes, very convenient in certain aspects. It allows users to do a lot of exercises (quizzes) and immediately get feedback, while right/wrong answers can be discussed either online or in class. It allows teachers to prepare a lot of material and recycle it when the need arises. It helps parents keep track of their children's activities and progress in the virtual classroom. Its few weaknesses are mainly of technical nature (e.g. occasional slowness of the platform). We can, therefore, say that Edmodo could benefit from improvements made in the weak areas through cooperation with users, who would be able to define flaws and weaknesses and test the improved versions. All in all, however, it has proven to be a useful and relatively flexible platform which has helped students learn more and benefit both from face-to-face and online learning.

Generally speaking, this strand of thinking and manner of organizing classes is a thing of the future. As Garrison & Kanuka (2004: 96) say, "institutions of higher education need to discover their transformative potential" and employ internet resources to keep up with wider changes in the world of technology. Fears that this will lead to the death of the traditional classroom are unfounded albeit often heard, especially in popular press, because nothing can really replace the teacher, but a lot can enhance and enrich the teaching process. "The core issue and argument is such that, when we have solid understandings of the properties of the Internet, as well as

knowledge of how to effectively integrate Internet technology with the most desirable and valued characteristics of face-to-face learning experiences, a quantum shift occurs in terms of the nature and quality of the educational experience" (Garrison & Kanuka 2004: 96). This shift will ultimately make the teachers' job easier and the learners, who are digital natives, more interested and motivated to learn and grow.

HIBRIDNA NASTAVA SA EDMODOM: PREDNOSTI I NEDOSTACI

Apstrakt

U digitalnom svetu XXI veka učenici provode dosta vremena onlajn, pa nije nimalo čudno što nastavnici žele da iskoriste ove korisničke navike svojih učenika u obrazovne svrhe. Međutim, nekoliko studija je ustanovilo da mnogi učenici smatraju da je digitalni svet mahom izvor zabave i stoga nisu skloni korišćenju interneta u svrhe učenja. S druge strane, mnogi nastavnici se sve više okreću digitalnom svetu kao izvoru podataka ili čak mestu za učenje pokušavajući da iskoriste korisničke navike svojih učenika. No, zbog pomenutog otpora koji učenici imaju prema upotrebi interneta u obrazovne svrhe, čini se da se najbolji rezultati postižu kroz hibridni pristup, u kome se deo obrazovnog procesa odvija uživo, licem u lice, a drugi deo se organizuje na nekoj onlajn platformi. Kao ilustraciju ovakvog pristupa, u ovom radu se bavimo hibridnim učenjem organizovanim putem obrazovne platforme Edmodo, koju trenutno koristimo u okviru pripremnih časova za prijemni ispit na Odseku za anglistiku Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu. Naime, ovaj odsek svake godine organizuje časove na kojima se budući kandidati pripremaju za polaganje prijemnog ispita, ali zbog velikog obima gradiva i nedovoljno časova deo nastave i vežbanja se odvija onlajn. Autorke ovog rada su obavile opsežnu kritičku analizu ove platforme, kako prednosti tako i nedostataka, što se opisuje u radu.

Ključne reči: hibridno učenje, Edmodo, prijemni ispit, pripremni časovi, prednosti, nedostaci.

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Nataša Ružić
Faculty of Political Sciences
University of Montenegro
Podgorica, Montenegro

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THE ROLE OF MEDIA LITERACY IN PROTECTION AGAINST FAKE NEWS

Abstract: With the development of technology and emergence of new media, citizens gained access to a large amount of information on the one hand, but on the other, the Internet proved to be an excellent distribution channel for publishing unreliable information, waging information wars, spreading rumours and conspiracy theories. Since the establishment of the first electronic outlets, theoreticians have constantly been warning Internet users not to be misled by thinking that the quantity of information would contribute to better social awareness, but that this rather represents the easiest way to misguide the public.

This claim is becoming more evident because the problems brought by new media are growing. In recent years, the public's focus has been on fake news that flooded the Internet as an epidemic. The gravity of the problem is confirmed by the fact that the European Commission has recently started to take action against fake news on the Internet. Having regard to all the mentioned problems, in this paper we will analyze the role of media literacy in protection of citizens from modern and more perfidious methods of manipulation such as fake news and post-truths.

Key words: media literacy, fake news, post-truth, protection of citizens, Montenegro

INTRODUCTION

New media has brought new issues and opened numerous discussions in society. There was a belief that society finally acquired the most democratic tool that would manage to overcome all obstacles in terms of political and economic pressure and to improve the citizens' awareness regarding various topics of public interest. And while some theoreticians tirelessly pointed out the benefits of the Internet in regard to the access to an enormous amount of information, others, such as Stephan Russ-Mohl, expressed concerns that the Internet, as a channel of media distribution, was a fertile ground for spreading half-truths that would be picked up by other media in their desire not to lag behind the competition (Mohl, 2005:159). The negative aspects of the effect of the Internet on journalism are becoming more

and more evident as time goes by. Theoreticians and journalists have been constantly warning the media about the new trends that lead to a decline of professional standards, above all, truthfulness and accuracy, the emergence of copy-paste journalism as well as the increase of plagiarism. Of course, this does not mean that journalists have not been or are not violating professional standards in the traditional media, but the Internet made the life of unethical journalists a lot easier. It all started with mistakes made in a rush, which resulted in spreading unverified information and fake news. With development of information and communication technology, the situation only took a turn for the worse because the journalists started looking for news in the newsroom by relying on search engines such as Google, various social networks or online encyclopaedias such as Wikipedia. The traditional methods of obtaining information outside the newsroom are slowly forgotten because the new way is cheaper for the owners and easier for the journalists. Such an approach resulted in the rise of copy-paste journalism and more frequent publishing of unverified information and fake news.

Today, the online space is a platform for outright information wars and for forming the public opinion with the help of fake news, post-truth, trolls and bots. This is why in 2009 many European countries started working on a legislative framework to suppress this.

FAKE NEWS: AN IMPORTANT OBSTACLE IN THE PROCESS OF INFORMING CITIZENS

Fake news was not created with the emergence of the Internet – this phenomenon has its roots deep in the past. In the history of journalism, there are well-known cases of unintentional mistakes that were made due to a lack of time for carefully selecting and verifying information. In the 17th century, Théophraste Renaudot explained to his readers that due to a lack of time there might be some omissions, but that he would persist in the pursuit of the truth. It is clear that these are unintentional errors that can occur. However, in the past, there were well-known cases when editors deliberately published lies with the aim of manipulating the public. For example, fake news appeared in the political weekly magazine *Mercurius Aulicus* that was published in England in 1643. In this magazine, journalists often attacked the leaders of the British Parliament through defamation (Gocini, 2001:52). In the 19th century, the media magnate and father of yellow journalism, William Randolph Hearst,

advised and encouraged his employees to publish fake news by declaring the rule: "Each day a new sensation, and if there is none, it should be made up" (Bjelica, Jevtović, 2006: 88). The Internet only made the spreading of fake news faster through the sharing of content. Fake news on the deaths of famous people had already started spreading with the speed of light ten years earlier. For example, the media have announced on several occasions that the actor Patrick Swayze, who had suffered from cancer, had died. One of the most recent victims of false rumours on the Internet was the actor Sylvester Stallone.

Phenomenon of fake news started getting more public attention during the US presidential campaign, while said term was selected as the word of the year by the Collins Dictionary in 2017 (www.theguardian.com, 2017). The very term – fake news – made ethicists confused, because it is not in accordance with the professional standards of reporting. The question arises – how can a lie be news if truthfulness is the first professional and ethical standard of reporting? Does fake news represent some sort of black propaganda or a new manipulation technique used in the information war? What especially intrigued researches was the audience itself. Does the new audience, i.e. the digital generation, want different news and has there been a change in the criteria for selecting news? Tony Harcup and Deirdre O'Neill studied the changes in the criteria for selecting news on the example of 711 stories published in 10 different media: *The Sun*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Mirror*, *Daily Express*, *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *Metro*, and London's *Evening Standards*. They reached the conclusion that people still show interest in exclusive stories, bad news, conflicts, surprises, good audio-visual equipment, sharing options, entertainment, drama, stories about powerful people, public figures and good news (Harcup, O'Neill, 2017). Therefore, based on the results of this research, we cannot say that the criteria for selecting news underwent a significant transformation. The public has always preferred exclusive stories, bad news, conflicts, but under the influence of new media, new criteria have arisen, such as sharing and audio-visual equipment.

A new trend on the media market is the emergence of the media that exclusively publish fake news in which they ridicule public figures and politicians in a satirical manner. However, if the public prefers such information, then the main function of media is slowly lost – and that is informing. It is obvious that the modern audience is not satisfied anymore with just reading the news, but rather wants to participate in the news in some

way. The audience gets the opportunity to have its voice heard through citizen journalism, alternative media, but also through online comments. In such manner, citizens may assist journalists and provide important information on various events, but they can also found their own media through which they will broadcast and promote whatever they wish. This can be alternative media as a type of an alternative voice dealing with serious social issues because mainstream media are not able to publish such type of information due to political pressures, or media publishing fake information as a type of fun or sarcastic comments regarding real life.

Fake news spread through both mainstream and alternative media due to the speed as technological constraint, and certain blame lies with citizens as well. In her paper "How the Mainstream Media Opened the Door to Alternative Facts", Iva Nenadić quotes Adam Kuchaski, who claims that fake news is spreading on the Internet as a disease. He explains: just as infections are spread through social contact, so has the Internet enabled citizens to get involved in public communication and share contents with hundreds and thousands of their friends through social networks. (Nenadić, 2017: 18). Jennifer Snelling quotes a Pew Research study that showed that 62 percent of adults are increasingly using social networks for obtaining information. Paradoxically, this way of looking for information makes the spreading of fake news easier. Nenadić explains that fake news is spread because people believe their friends who share the content, which has been confirmed by a study done by the American Press Institute and Associated Press NORC Center. People focus more on the person who spreads the news, without verifying the reliability of the media source.

Fake news can be harmless, unethical, and may result in conflicts or deterioration of relations between certain countries. In December 2016, for example, the site *AWD News* published the fake news that Israel had threatened Pakistan with nuclear weapons if the latter sent its troops to Syria. The Pakistani minister of defence reacted immediately by tweeting that his country also possessed nuclear weapons. And while the conflict on the social network became more intense, it turned out that *AWD News*, which first published this news, exclusively publishes made-up news. (www.theguardian.com, 2016). Of course, this news could have far-reaching consequences for the diplomatic relations of the two countries, but also for the global security. Presidential elections in the USA showed all the danger

brought by fake news, so numerous international organizations, companies and media took action to solve this issue.

In the report on online platforms and the digital market of 2017 states that the European Commission is obliged to analyse the current situation and the legal framework regarding fake news and to discuss the possibilities of legal intervention with the aim of limiting the spreading of disinformation and fake news. In addition, the Commission "stresses the importance of taking action against the dissemination of fake news; calls on the online platforms to provide users with tools to denounce fake news in such a way that other users can be informed that the veracity of the content has been contested" (www.europarl.europa.eu, 2017). In January 2018, the European Commission formed the High Level Group (HLG), which consists of 39 experts and representatives of the civil society, social platforms, media and journalists (ww.ec.europa.eu, 2018). Their task is to study the phenomenon of fake news, define the role and responsibility of relevant actors, and prepare recommendations.

Social networks also joined this fight. Together with the International Fact Checking Network, Google has initiated cooperation with the aim of suppressing fake news by organising joint conferences, trainings and workshops for organisations that can recognise fake news (www.engadget.com, 2017). In addition, there has been the emergence of organisations that deal with fact-checking such as Politfact, The Washington Post Fact Checker, factcheck.org, etc. Technology went a step further, so Duck Reporters Lab developed the Factstream application, which enables live fact-checking. In many countries, numerous websites have been launched to expose fake news published in various media, such as www.raskrinkavanje.rs or www.raskrinkavanje.ba. The latter website provides a list of media publishing fake news.

Apart from the new media and international organisation, which sought a solution to this problem through concrete technological measures or recommendations, theoreticians believed that an end could be put to this phenomenon by: adopting an appropriate legal framework, strengthening the position and role of public broadcasters and increasing the level of the media and information literacy of the citizens.

European countries have initiated the adoption of a law which would punish media for the dissemination of fake news. In 2018, Germany adopted a law which will impose high monetary sanctions of 50 million Euros on the media if they publish fake news, hate speech or incite illegal actions. The

French president, Emmanuel Macron, has also announced the adoption of a law against fake news that can cause harm during pre-election campaigns. This will not be new to the French legislature, since a law against fake news was already adopted in 1981, prescribing sanctions in the amount of 45,000 euros (www.slobodnaevropa.org, 2018). Of course, strict laws bring into question the degree of media freedoms, but what is the way to combat this phenomenon and at the same time not endanger the citizens' level of awareness? After the adoption of this law in Germany, Facebook warned that the adoption of strict sanctions against fake news would motivate many to remove some contents that are not in question, so they would not have to face a monetary penalty. Can this problem be solved within a legal framework if information wars are lead in the cyberspace? Additionally, many countries will misuse this law for further limiting media freedoms.

Does this mean that media literacy is the only solution in the fight against new manipulation techniques?

MEDIA LITERACY AS THE BEST MECHANISM OF PROTECTION AGAINST MANIPULATING THE PUBLIC

The first country to introduce the subject Media literacy was Finland in 1970, while the Declaration on Media Education was signed in 1982. Today, in addition to UNESCO, the European Commission is also fighting for media literacy in the digital world. In its recommendation on media literacy in a digital environment of 2009, the European Commission explains that the importance of media literacy is reflected by the following: "a media literate society would be at the same time a stimulus and a precondition for pluralism and independence in the media. The expression of diverse opinions and ideas, in different languages, representing different groups, in and across societies has a positive impact on the values of diversity, tolerance, transparency, equity and dialogue…" (eur-lex.europa.eu, 2009). The European Commission points out that democracy depends on the active participation of citizens in the life of their community, and that media literacy would help develop the skills necessary to cope with an abundance of information. James Potter in his book "Media Literacy" also warns citizens about the necessity of a critical approach to messages in the media, because only in that way they would not drown in a sea of media messages and would be able to distinguish between the real world and the world created by the media (Poter, 2011: 32).

Attempts of manipulating public run deep into history when rulers used media to control society. Understanding the power and influence of media on society, political and economic elite developed techniques and methods of manipulation as early as the 19th century, which the majority of audience could not recognize. The development of media, as well as the increase in the citizens' level of education, lead to the manipulation techniques becoming more deceitful. Open techniques recognised by the public are no longer used, but instead there are concealed methods such as fake news, post-truth, storytelling, advertorials, agenda setting, pseudo-events, media framing, etc. Most of these techniques can be recognised easily by media literate people thanks to their critical approach while consuming media, but what poses a problem are techniques aimed at emotions, such as post-truth or storytelling.

Necessity for media literacy grew proportionally with the growth of quantity of time the people spend with media. Some ten years ago, people consumed media five hours a day, while this figure amounts to eight hours among adults today, and nine hours among teenagers per day. In 2012, citizens around the world spend 90 minutes per day on social media, while this figure amounted to 135 minutes per day in 2017 (www.statista.com, 2017). Psychologists and media theoreticians tried to explain why citizens were so attracted to the media. Canadian theoretician Marshall McLuhan tried to explain the behaviour of people in the following way: "We are no more prepared to encounter radio and TV in our literate milieu than the native of Ghana is able to cope with the literacy that takes him out of his collective tribal world and beaches him in individual isolation. We are as numb in our new electric world as the native involved in our literate and mechanical culture" (Bake, 2013:38). Indeed, the emergence of new media always arouses curiosity in people along with the desire to get familiar with the new technological innovation.

With development of technology, media literacy was transformed. Media literacy, Information literacy, Freedom of expression and information literacy, Library literacy, News literacy, Computer literacy, Internet literacy, Digital literacy, Cinema literacy, Games literacy, Television literacy, Advertising literacy are only some of the courses within educational system with the purpose of providing literacy to citizens. However, the media literacy that consists of the ability to critically analyse messages is no longer sufficient for protection against the media, and there is a growing need for information literacy, i.e. for the recognition of reliable sources of information. This is why

the term MIL (media and information literacy) is used more and more today. Although the two concepts are inextricably connected, many researchers voice their concern over experiments which showed a low level of information literacy. Experiments conducted by Sophie Nightingale, Kimberley Wade and Derrick Watson have shown that for now people have extremely limited abilities to recognised manipulated pictures. How to teach citizens to recognise edited pictures having in mind that on Facebook only, 4000 photos are published each second, i.e. 14 million photos per hour? It means that it is necessary to give more attention to information literacy that is to teach citizens which programs to use with the purpose of verifying identity of graphic equipment.

If we compare recommendations and advice of international organizations and social networks with the purpose of protection of internet users from different techniques of manipulation, we will see that they represent a compound of media and information literacy. For example, Facebook also gave its contribution to the media literacy of the society by providing the following recommendations for recognising fake news: be sceptical of the titles which sound unbelievable and contain exclamation marks; pay attention to the URL or a link that is partially different from the authentic source; check the source and whether the story originates from a reliable site; pay attention to the formatting, since fake news contain grammatical mistakes; check the photos because fake news often contain edited images; check the dates because they often contain timelines that make no sense; check the sources because unnamed experts appear as sources in fake news stories; check whether other media reported on the same event; check whether the story is a joke or whether it originates from a site that is known for parodying or ridiculing events; think critically about the stories that you read and only share those which you know are true (www.telegraph.co.uk, 2018). The executive director of the National Association for Media Literacy, Michelle Lipkin, advises people to look for two additional reputable sources to verify a story, and if they are not sure about its truthfulness, then they should not share it (www.attn.com, 2016). It means that citizens took upon themselves a journalist's job and the question arises – which is the purpose of media if journalists do not verify the information they broadcast to their audience?

In addition to the efforts and endeavours made to provide media literacy to society, research shows a number of issues in this process. For

example, a research of Stanford University established that high-school students are still not able to differentiate between promotional content and news on news sites, but international organizations do not give up on this goal – creation of media literate society. By its recommendation from 2009, the European Commission obligates member states to follow the criteria of the European Commission with regard to media literacy in Europe; promote research and projects on different aspects of media literacy; open public debates on the inclusion of media literacy in the education curriculum, etc. The media industry, on its part, shall be obliged to spread knowledge through campaigns on how information is produced, edited and distributed in the digital world; raise the citizens' awareness about techniques used for commercial purposes in the contents in order to better identify the boundaries between marketing and content, etc (eur-lex.europa.eu, 2009).

Around the world there are campaigns aimed at raising the level of media literacy, while the countries of South-East Europe were late to join this process, which has not produced specific results so far. In 2007 in Montenegro, as a pilot project, media literacy started to be taught in gymnasiums in Kotor and Budva, where it was an elective subject. The curriculum was designed by Prof. Božena Jelušić and a professor of philosophy from Zagreb, Tomislav Reškovac. Later on, this subject was introduced only in gymnasiums across Montenegro, whereas other secondary schools have been completely left out of this process. Such an approach to media literacy of pupils has not yielded fruitful results. Although media literacy is discussed more and more frequently in Montenegro and some campaigns have taken place, no one has seriously dealt with this issue yet. The most recent report of the Open Society Institute in Sofia confirms the issues in media literacy of citizens as well as the media literacy index, according to which Montenegro is ranked 31st among 35. Actually, the research has shown that the countries of Western Balkans are most susceptible to fake news and that the citizens are media illiterate (www.media.ba, 2018). Such situation in Montenegro can be explained by mistakes created during the implementation of this course within the educational system. The course was introduced exclusively in gymnasiums as an elective subject; it was not quite popular among high-school students, which is confirmed by the fact that in the period from 2011 to 2015 this course was chosen by 900 gymnasium students. (Ružić, 2016: 87). In the school year of 2011/12, there were 257 students attending this course, in 2014/15 this number dropped to 170, and in 2017/18 only 62 students expressed their interest in the course (Svrkota,

2018:36). Gymnasium students do not choose this course for rational reasons, because it does not carry points for the graduation standard, and some of the students are not satisfied with the quality of lectures. The lecturers themselves are not media literate, nor have they received proper training, so they can hardly educate younger generations.

Media experts in Montenegro have been warning that it is necessary to introduce media literacy as a compulsory subject in schools from the earliest age. In 2014/15, the project "Information and Media Literacy – Strategy and Training" was implemented by the National Library "Đurađ Crnojević" and the National Commission for UNESCO. At the start of this year, the Agency for Electronic Media and UNICEF started the campaign "Let's Choose What We Watch" which is aimed at promoting media literacy among parents and children. (www.cdm.me, 2018) A website medijskapismenost.me been launched, while the NGO sector organizes one-day and two-day workshops for instructors from this field, but it is clear that this is not the training that will produce results in the process of media literacy. We should not forget that the media literacy represents not only the "protection" against the negative impact of media on an individual, but also the fight for a better informed society and development of democracy, and therefore a complex approach to this issue is necessary.

CONCLUSION

After *fake news* was selected as the word of the year in 2017, the National Telemedia Council named 2018 as "The Year of Media Literacy". Fake news has not only confirmed the importance of media and information literacy, because it is not enough anymore for us to learn how to read between the lines of the messages sent by media, but we also need to learn how and where we can verify the information presented by the media. This means that precisely the combination of media and information literacy can help us protect ourselves from fake news. The critical analysis of messages teaches us how to detect hidden messages that are being sent by the media, illogical points in the text that make us wonder and develop scepticism, but without information literacy, we cannot be completely sure whether a story is fake news. The Center for Media Literacy (USA) is telling citizens that they should not forget they are living in a time when we have all become citizen journalists with the collective and individual responsibility to be careful and

critical when consuming media. It claims that, by living in a sea of information, we have to develop scepticism and keep in mind that we cannot rely on anyone, not even fact-checkers, apart from our own resources. "Whom do we trust, about what, and why? Who decides? Who checks the checkers?"(www.medialit.org, 2018) All these questions make it clear that people who find themselves in a supermarket of media messages can only count on their own strengths and learn how to manage the media through media and information literacy, because only a media literate person will not allow the media to assume control over their life. That investment in the process of media literacy produces results is best illustrated by the example of Finland, which introduced the course in its educational system as far as the 1970s, and in 2018, according to the research carried out by the Open Society Institute, citizens of Finland were ranked first for recognizing different techniques of manipulation. Based on the overall situation it is clear that the level of media literacy of citizens depends on the state of the educational system and the campaigns through which a society and each individual citizen would recognize the importance of media literacy.

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Joan Soler-Adillon
Media Arts - Royal Holloway
University of London
London, United Kingdom

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ON THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING IMMERSIVE[1]

I've divided this talk in two parts. Firstly, I want to introduce the idea of immersion as part of the big discourses in digital media, looking at it as a context in which we have a series of central ideas. I will argue that interactivity, participation and immersion form a triad that is key to understand both the discourses and practices on the field of digital communication. Secondly, I will talk about a project of my own that does connect quite well, one could argue, with the ideas of journalism and of politics in digital media, as it quite a politically charged project, and it does exemplify part of the understanding of the medium that will be explained in the first part of the talk.

One way to think about immersion is as it being one of three key ideas in digital media, along with interactivity and participation (Soler-Adillon, 2017). The point here is that these are ideas that are non-exclusive; when we discuss a particular project or aspect of digital media it's not either one or the other, they are all interrelated. Quite usually at least two of these will be present, but one tends to be predominant.

To some extent, we can look at three concepts as ideas that align with three historical moments. Arguably, the digital media context of the early PCs in the late 80s and the early internet era, a lot of what we did with digital communication was, most of all, about interactivity: how we interact with the system, how we deal with the interface, what we can do with it, etc. This is back when computers were isolated objects, which were not yet, or were just starting to be, connected among them through a network.

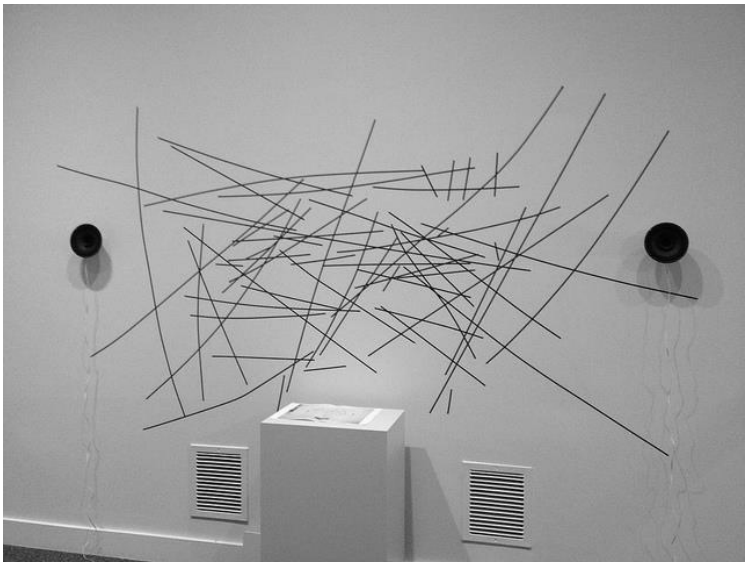
Then, in the mid 2000s we have the web 2.0 coming, and later social networks would build on top of that. This is the moment of participation, understanding it as contribution of content. Here we go from users accessing the internet to get information that was already there, to users being able to easily upload their own content: the sharing parading was inaugurated. The content that the average computer users were already able to create, now became increasingly

[1] The paper is based on plenary presentation at the conference "Bridges of Media Education 2018".

easy to be uploaded and shared in simple and free to use platforms. Participation is, thus, understood here as a different type of activity –and indeed appearing in a different moment– than interactivity. The argument is that content contribution, in either of its many forms, is something different than the interface-mediated dialog with a digital system.

Thirdly, from about three years ago we can argue that we are in a moment in which immersion is gaining a lot of interest. And I want to look at both how this is happening in journalism, because of the context of the talk, but also in the digital arts because, arguably, it is quite often this latter context that which is at the forefront of experimentation on how we can creatively use technology. This is why I'll use mostly artistic projects to articulate my argument in this first part of the talk.

Nam June Paik's Random Access is an installation piece from 1963 that exemplifies very well the idea of non-linearity. It presented the visitor with a cassette tape literally ripped apart and stuck on a wall, and the possibility to use a cassette head to read, in any order or direction, the contents of the stripped tape. So what the piece created was a system for non-linear access to the sound information, which would have normally only been accessed linearly with a cassette player.



Random Access
(Smithsonian American Art Museum CC BY-NC-ND 2.0)

With non-linear access, another basic element for interactivity is the interface. Technically the point of contact between two systems, here is the set of physical and digital input and output mechanisms that mediated the relationship between user and digital system. And here we look again at an artistic example, a very radical approach to it at the time –1989– in which Jeffrey Shaw presented a bicycle as the means to interact with his 3D modelled Legible City. The radical element here is that, in a moment in digital history where intuition and interaction where still far from going hand, the piece presented an incredibly easy to use system: an immediately intuitive interface (for anyone who knew how to ride a bicycle, that is). Nowadays, intuitive interfaces are the common language of digital media, but advancing in a 3D word by pedalling and turning around by moving the handlebar was not near any experience that most of the users or Shaw's piece would have experienced.

Similarly, real-time, which is now commonplace, was only an aspiration in the early days of computers. The basic idea is that the response from the system is fast enough to be perceived as immediate, and thus reinforce the idea of the dialogue between the user and the system. Real-time is very well exemplified by another installation: Boundary Functions by Scott Snibbe (1999). This piece would, quite simply, draw lines between the people in this interactive floor. The immediacy of the response is key in generated a seamless interaction, and in creating all sorts of patterns and opportunities for play amongst the visitors of the installation. It is a good example, too, of a system that not only interacts with the users but that also affords interaction among them. It also exemplifies a step forward in the intuitiveness of interaction mentioned above. Here there is no interface whatsoever in the form of a control element –the bicycle was, after all, a means of controlling navigation. It is an example of full-body interaction. The visitor to the installation simply needs to step into the space and the system recognizes her. There are no instructions to follow, no controls to master.

In these examples we can see an approach to interactivity that we can explain with concepts such as the aesthetics of interactivity or aesthetic performativity (Penny, 2011). It is obviously not an approach that we want in all interactive experiences, as usually in an interactive system one wants the interactions to be very simple and straightforward. But there are contexts in which our interest could be in generating that the user needs to navigate explore find things out, play a little game, etc. And here how we deal with constructing interactivity and making a core part of the experience is a very important aspect.

As mentioned above, participation is understood here as the contribution of content by the audience of a piece. It is a different kind of agency than that of

interactivity, and it has to do not with how we enter into a dialogue with the system but with how we can become a part of the work, through our words, our media, actions, image, etc. Looking again for an early example, we find John Cage's 4'33'' (first performed in 1952), to be a perfect one: a radical experiment of inclusion of audience participation, in which this participation becomes everything during the 4 minutes and 33 seconds of silence by the musician.

Fast forward to the early Internet age, and we find one of the first flash mobs, organized by the net artist Heath Bunting in 1994. He used the net to put out a call for people to do one of two things: the first option was to call the numbers of the phone booths at King's Cross train station in London, randomly or making up a pattern, and chat to whomever picked up; the second, be at the station at the specific time this was going to happen, to either answer the phones, or just watch for people's reactions. In this case the artist set up the rules of the game, and again all control was given to the participants to create the actual performance entirely on their terms. Adapted to a later Internet era, the group Improv Everywhere has reproduced this idea in videos such as Frozen Grand Central, in which 400 people organized to be absolutely still for about 4 minutes in the station, creating a performance joined by the rest of the passengers passing along the station hall.

By **Blind Wiki** CC license

But participation is not only about the inclusion of an audience that didn't intend to participate. There are of course many projects in which the participators

very consciously take part in. A recent example is by the Catalan artist Antoni Abad and his BlindWiki, presented at the last Venice Biennalle. In this work, visually impaired people recorded a series of audio pieces in different parts of the city narrating their experience of them. The audience could then download an app and run through Venice while listening to the city as it was portrayed by people who couldn't see it. Once more, an example of a work that would be inexistent without the contribution of several users to it, in this case all of them aware of the final aim to create, in the age of the obsessive image, an alternative map of a city based entirely on sound.

Finally, immersion is here understood as the third of this triad of concepts. We are now in a moment in which it is certainly reclaiming its status among the important ideas that shape digital media. From this point of view, it is interesting to look at how immersive technologies are offering new (or renewed) possibilities in areas such as journalism, education, and storytelling in general.

This technological immersion is often understood as the disconnect from one's surroundings: this is now most typically exemplified with a VR headset, which blocks your side view, so you only see the screen that is a few inches from your eyes. This is how the fundamental trick of VR is created, creating a very strong sense of place by psychologically taking you into the VR environment. However, immersive technologies include also Augmented Reality and Mixed Reality experience, among other hybrid forms. Additionally, immersion itself is a much broader concept that this simple isolation from the physical environment (see e.g. Moeller, 2012; Zhang et al., 2017).

It is common knowledge that VR had a first big moment in the 1990s. Today's VR is, in fact, still deeply rooted in the discourses from this first moment (Soler-Adillon and Sora, 2018), but the technology of the time didn't allow for it to become anything close to mainstream. The equipment was in general too expensive and too awkward to use, and gradually suffered from a general loss of interested, albeit with notable exceptions in some specific research contexts. What is less well known is that this technologically-constructed immersion comes from long before VR; at least, from Robert Baker's panoramas: a series of paintings around the inside of a specially designed building, which was built in London in the late eighteenth century.

In the 1960s, we find a couple of very nice examples of these moments in which ideas appear in a moment when technology is just not quite ready yet. The Sensorama is one of these. Morton Heilig built this machine as an arcade of immersive experiences. He filmed with two cameras to create a stereoscopic effect, and then created a system that, along with it, would afford simulated

movement vibrations on the seat, wind and even smells. The second example is Ivan Sutherland's Ultimate Display. A stereoscopic display that was placed extremely close to the viewers eyes, just like todays VR headsets do. As said, these are examples in which the ideas were already there, but there was still a long way to go until the appearance of VR systems that could put them to practice.

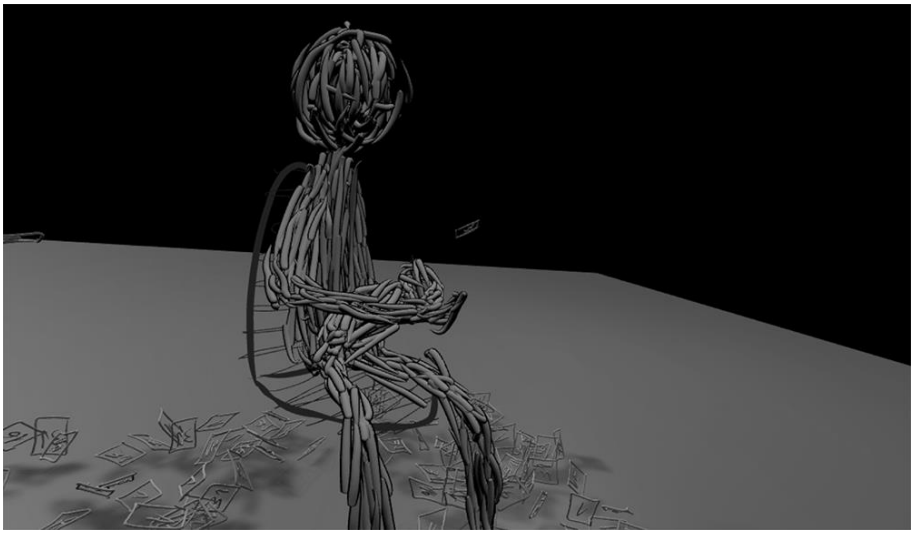
The Sensorama (source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Sensorama-morton-heilig-virtual-reality-headset.jpg#file)

But as said the interest for VR started to fade in the mid-1990s, and it wasn't until quite recently that a second age of VR started to shape up, with new

headsets that, while not cheap, are far from the prices they had twenty years earlier. This, and the appearance of 360 video, has facilitated the appearance of new practices such as immersive journalism (De la Peña, 2010), and many examples of new creative work and research that, while still conceptually linked to the first VR era, at least to some degree, is also offering many new possibilities to strengthen the the discourse and practices that place immersion in the centre (see e.g. Uricchio et al., 2015; Watson, 2017; Soler-Adillon & Sora, 2018).

I'd like to close this talk presenting a project that is still a work-in-progress: In Pieces. Sketches of a Dystopian Present is an experimental VR based documentary –not 360 video– and will also be an interactive installation. It is about the personal impact of political imprisonment, and it focuses on the current Catalan political prisoners, imprisoned in Spain for 11 months at the date of this conference (September 14th, 2018). The first instantiation of the project, In Pieces VR, will be presented in October at Gazelli Art House, in London.

The piece presents a micro narrative approach: little bits and pieces that people will patch together. On its final form (VR piece and interactive installation) it will work in two different spaces and two different scales. The virtual space and the physical space will share the figures (virtual and real sculptures) but will have two different narrative levels. More intimate on the virtual, more social on the physical installation.



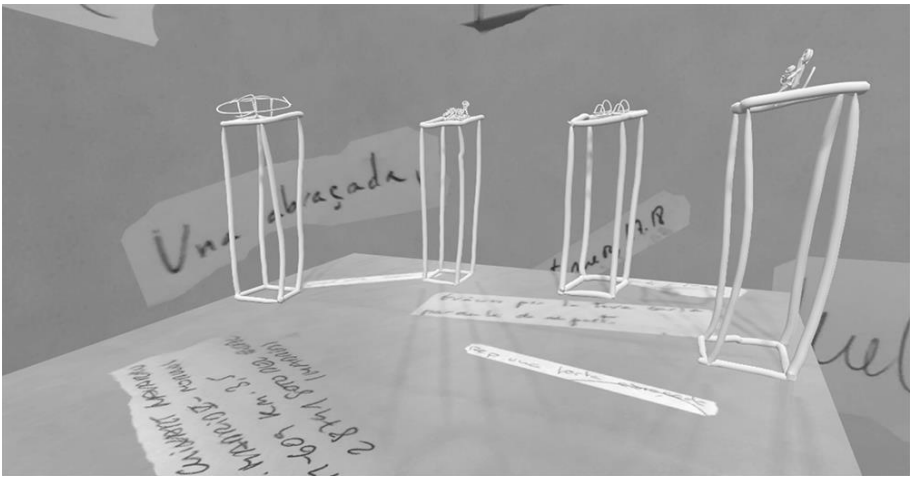
One of the scenes of *In Pieces VR*

In addition, it is an artwork that departs from the simulation based VR experience. In Pieces situates the viewer in abstract virtual spaces, and

presents to her sculptural figures that are not visually associated with the actual persons they portray. This is, however, balanced in terms of the experience by two factors: first, since this is a room-scale VR piece, the viewer will be able to move within the confinement of the system, but move nonetheless and get very close to the figures, see them from different angles, etc. Secondly, a voiceover will offer the narrative element. This is done none linearly, as it is with her actions that the viewer will decide in which order the different scenes are experienced.

This is obviously a politically charged project, set in a context that we could define with the word post-democracy (for it is a place where a certain degree of democracy and freedom of speech was assumed; now lost; and also with the parallel perversion of the actual meaning of the word as in the case of post-truth). However, in this experimental documentary I want to focus on the more personal side of the story: how does it feel to travel each year to prison with your infant son, who can only see his father there and through a glass; how is it to be in your 20s and have your father in prison because we was in the Catalan government who organized the referendum, etc.

This approach based on the personal story, along with the abstract nature of the images and the micro-narrative approach, are presented with the intent that they will help provoke a stronger emotional and intellectual link with the piece, as the viewer will be forced to fill in the gaps that In Pieces leaves intentionally open.



Central space and navigation interface in *In Pieces VR*

This first version, In Pieces VR, is a 10 to 12-minute experience which presents a concentric narrative. It starts with a central space with four navigation options that the user can trigger any order. After each scene, the visitor will be taken back to the start, but the corresponding navigation device (a plinth that the user has to know out) will have disappeared, thus forcing her to choose a new option. Only after the four scenes have been viewed, the visitor will be taken to a final space that shows contextual information and credits. The four scenes portray the traveling of the families to Madrid during the first 9 months of imprisonment, in which the jailed politicians and activists were kept 650kms away from home; one of the visits to the prison, in which mother, father and son get to do the closest thing they get to a family life; and the explanation of the walks around the prison yard by one of the political prisoners.

The communication with the prisoners has only been possible so far by letter, and not without problems of repeatedly undelivered mail. In any case, very much in the spirit of these communications when they have been possible, I would like to end on an optimistic note, with a quote by Pablo Neruda, as cited by Jordi Cuixart on one of the letters he sent me: “They might cut all the flowers, but they cannot stop Spring from coming”.

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Zorica Stanisavljević Petrović
Anastasija Mamutović
Filzofski fakultet
Univerzitet u Nišu
Niš, Srbija

UDC 316.472.4:004.738.5]-057.87

STAVOVI STUDENATA O UPOTREBI DRUŠTVENE MREŽE *FACEBOOK*

Apstrakt: Rad je deo obimnijeg istraživanja koje je ispitivalo obrasce upotrebe društvene mreže *Facebook* među studentskom populacijom Filozofskog Fakulteta u Nišu. U istraživanju je učestovovalo 130 studenata novinarstva i 141 student pedagogije. Cilj sprovedenog istraživanja odnosio se na utvrđivanje stavova studenata o lakoći/jednostavnosti upotrebe društvene mreže *Facebook* i socijalnim faktorima koji upotrebu pomenute društvene mreže determinišu. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da studenti smatraju da je odluku o pravljenju profila na *Facebook*-u veoma lako doneti (63,8%); da je jednostavno samostalno ovladati funkcijama koje *Facebook* nudi (76,1%), kao i da je generalno upotreba društvene mreže *Facebook* jednostavna (88,2%). Suprotno očekivanjima, rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da tendencija uklapanja u društvo i ispunjavanja očekivanja drugih nije primarni motiv za donošenje odluke o kreiranju profila na društvenoj mreži *Facebook* (samo 15,9% studenata je napravilo profil zbog očekivanja drugih osoba, a 13,7% zbog uklapanja u društvo). Nasuprot tome, težnja za komunikacijom i razmenom informacija priznata je od strane 81,6% studenata kao motiv upotrebe *Facebook*-a.

Ključne reči: stavovi, studenti, društvena mreža, *Facebook*, obrazovanje

1. UVOD

Društvena mreža *Facebook* omogućava svojim korisnicima brojne benefite poput pronalaženja novih prijatelja, predstavljanja sopstvene ličnosti, priključivanja grupama na bazi zajedničkih interesa i upoznavanja hobija, muzičkog ukusa i preferencija osoba za koje smo zainteresovani (Ellison, Steinfield & Lampe, 2007: 1143). Takođe, društvena mreža *Facebook* predstavlja pogodnu plaformu za pružanje savetodavnih akademskih usluga na relaciji student–profesor (Amador & Amador, 2014: 10). U obrazovnom aspektu, *Facebook* nudi korisnicima ove društvene mreže mogućnost da informišu zainteresovane o svojim akademskim postignućima postavljajući na svoj profil podatke o završenoj osnovnoj, srednjoj školi ili fakultetu (Selwyn, 2007: 3). Bowman i Akcaoglu (2014: 2) ističu da sami studenti prepoznaju

Facebook kao alat za unapređivanje akademskog uspeha. Međutim, istraživanja pokazuju da studenti upotrebljavaju društvenu mrežu *Facebook* prvenstveno zbog druženja, (Madge, Meek, Wellens & Hooley, 2009) te možemo reći da socijalni faktori imaju najsnažniji uticaj na nameru upotrebe *Facebok*-a (Cheung, Chiu & Lee, 2011: 1337). Nasuprot tome, upotreba u akademske svrhe znatno manje zastupljen motiv (Sarapin & Morris, 2015: 16). Uprkos činjenici da najveći procenat studenata koristi *Facebook* za komunikaciju unutar grupe poznanika, ne možemo ignorisati ovu društvenu mrežu kao potencijalni obrazovni alat (Bosch, 2009: 190). Autor Bahar Baran (2010: 146) ističe da upotreba *Facebook*-a u svakodnevnom životu omogućava studentima lakše prihvatanje digitalnog učenja u formalnom obrazovanju.

Snažan uticaj društvene mreže *Facebook* ogleda se u činjenici da ona predstavlja središte formiranja opšteprihvaćenih stavova i mišljenja, planiranja masovnih akcija, širenja ideja i tema koje mogu izazvati burne reakcije o kojima će se diskutovati u dužem vremenskom periodu (Kekić, 2015: 60). Jedan od potencijalnih razloga koji se nalazi u osnovi masovne upotrebe društvene mreže *Facebook* može se tražiti u lakoći/jednostavnosti pristupanja zajednici konzumenata. Posedovanje računara/mobilnog telefona i internet konekcije, kao i minimalna tehnološka pismenost jedini su preduslovi koji se moraju zadovoljiti. Nakon kreiranja profila na društvenoj mreži *Facebook* korisnicima se pruža mogućnost komunikacije, razmenjivanja instant poruka, dodavanja prijatelja, deljenja fotografija, informisanja o događajima i aktivnostima i pridruživanja grupama na bazi zajedničkih interesa (Čičević, Čubranić-Dobrodolac & Nešić, 2013: 154). Takođe, *Facebook* pruža veliki broj raznovrsnih aplikacija koje služe za razmenu slika, poruka, informacija, kao i učestvovanje u smislenoj interakciji uz razmenu originalnih informacija o najrazličitijim temama (Violić-Koprivec & Dubčić, 2018: 76). Činjenica da se mladi ne mogu nikako sprečiti i odvratiti od masovne upotrebe pomenute društvene mreže nameće potrebu za pokušajima korišćenja *Facebook*-a u svrhu unapređivanja obrazovnog postignuća u akademskom kontekstu (Vučetić & Filipović, 2014: 323).

Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da studenti prosečno na društvenoj mreži *Facebook* provode 101 minut dnevno, kao i da proveravaju svoj profil prosečno 5,75 puta na dan (Junco, 2012: 166). Kada govorimo o studentskoj populaciji, najzastupljeniji motiv upotrebe *Facebok*-a jeste ostajanje u kontaktu sa prijateljima (92,5%), informisanje okoline o događajima u

svakodnevnom životu (40,0%) i kontaktiranje prijatelja sa kojima nisu u dodiru (60,0%). Znatno manji procenat studenata *Facebook* koristi u svrhu napredovanja u profesionalnom životu (10,8%) i komunikacije o grupnim zadacima (4,2%) (Roblyer, McDaniel, Webb, Herman & Witty, 2010: 138).

Nešto drugačiji podaci dobijeni su u istraživanju nad studentskom populacijom univerziteta Maharishi Dazanand, u Indiji. Studenti na ovom univerzitetu *Facebook* najčešće koriste za prikupljanje informacija i novosti (15%), dopisivanje sa prijateljima (12,50%), zbog komentarisanja i lajkovanja objava (13.75%), kao i za pronalaženje prijatelja (06,25%) i „popunjavanje“ vremena (05,00%). Učestalost upotrebe društvene mreže *Facebook* je sledeća: 23,75% studenata koristi *Facebook* manje od jednog časa dnevno; 26,25% studenta više od tri časa dnevno, 32,50% pet časova dnevno i 17,50% studenata više od pet časova dnevno. Čak 83,75% studenata u Indiji smatra da je *Facebook* pomaže u obrazovanju, dok 16,25% smatra da ova društvena mreža nije pogodna za obrazovne svrhe (INDU, 2018: 51, 52).

Upotreba *Facebook*-a među studentskom populacijom ispitivana je i na Univerzitetu Fort Hejz (Fort Hays State University), u gradu Kanzas (SAD). Rezultati istraživanja ukazuju na polne razlike u pogledu učestalosti prijavljivanja na društvenu mrežu *Facebook* na dnevnom nivou (ispitanici muškog pola se prosečno „uloguju“ pet, a ispitanice ženskog pola 3,45 puta dnevno na društvenu mrežu) i u pogledu broja prijatelja na *Facebook*-u (pri čemu su ispitanici muškog pola imali prosečno 280,02, a ispitanice ženskog pola 193,28 prijatelja) (Raacke & Bonds-Raacke, 2008: 172). Rezultati istraživanja koje je sproveo Kitinger je u istraživanju koje je sproveo sa saradnicima (Kittinger, Correia & Irons, 2012: 326) utvrdio da 38,7% studenata koristi *Facebook* više od jednog puta na dan, kao i da se studentkinje ženskog pola prijavljuju više puta dnevno na društvenu mrežu (3,7) u odnosu na studente muškog pola (3,0). Istraživanje je takođe pokazalo da studentkinje vremenski provode više vremena dnevno koristeći društvenu mrežu *Facebook* (63,39 min.) u odnosu na studente muškog pola (35,1 min.).

Studenti Univerziteta Selčuk (Selçuk University) u Turskoj *Facebook* koriste najčešće za komunikaciju sa prijateljima (M-4,11), da bi se informisali o osobama i dešavanjima (M-3,58), za relaksaciju (M-3.46) i dopisivanje (M-3.44). Daleko manje zastupljeni razlozi upotrebe su procena drugih osoba (M-2,55) i personalna prezentacija (M-2.70). Istraživanje je takođe pokazalo da studentkinje ženskog pola češće koriste *Facebook* za komunikaciju, informisanje o osobama i događajima i čitanje obaveštenja na profilu, u odnosu na studente muškog pola (Balci & Gölcü, 2013: 265, 266).

2. METODOLOŠKI OKVIR ISTRAŽIVANJA

Predmet istraživanja jesu obrasci ponašanja studenata prilikom upotrebe društvene mreže *Facebook*. Imajući u vidu aktuelnost ispitivane tematike i veliki broj sprovedenih studija u ovom domenu, možemo reći da se originalnost istraživanja ogleda u postavljenom cilju koji se odnosi na ispitivanje stavova studenata o:

1) lakoći/jednostavnosti upotrebe društvene mreže *Facebook*
2) socijalnim faktorima koji determinišu upotrebu *Facebook*-a.

U istaživanju je postavljena opšta hipoteza koja se odnosi na pozitivne stavove studenata o upotrebi društvene mreže *Facebook*. Specifične hipoteze koje su postavljene u istraživanju jesu: 1) pretpostavlja se da studenti smatraju da je veoma lako/jednostavno koristiti društvenu mrežu *Facebook*; 2) pretpostavlja se da studenti smatraju da socijalni faktori snažno utiču na upotrebu *Facebook*-a među studentskom populacijom.

U istraživanju je učestvovao 271 student Filozofskog Fakulteta u Nišu. Struktura uzorka u odnosu na departman studija operacionalizovana je na dve kategorije: studenti novinarstva (130) i studenti pedagogije (141).

U istraživanju je primenjena deskriptivna metoda i tehnike skaliranja i anketiranja. Autori instrumenta koji je primenjen u istraživanju (upitnik-skaler FBSS) jesu R. Arteaga Sánchez (University of Huelva, Spain) , V. Cortijo (Stonehill College, USA) i U. Javed (COMSATS Institute of Information Technology, Pakistan). Nakon stupanja u kontakt sa autorima elektronskim putem i dobijanja pozitivne povratne informacije o mogućnostima korišćenja instrumenta za potrebe našeg istraživanja, pristupilo se terenskom radu koji se ogledao distribuiranju skale procene i prikupljanju popunjenih instrumenata. U cilju analize isključivo relevantnih podataka, skaleri koje su popunjavali studenti koji su se izjasnili kao nekorisnici društvene mreže *Facebook* nisu obrađeni niti prikazani u interpretaciji rezultata istraživanja.

Za obradu rezultata istraživanja korišćen je program za statističku obradu podataka – SPSS.25. U analizi podataka korišćena je deskriptivna statistika i statistika zaključivanja. Od statističkih parametara korišćeni su: frekvencije i procenti, aritmetička sredina (M) i standardna devijacija (sd). Za utvrđivanje statistički značajne razlike u odgovorima ispitanika u odnosu na departman studija korišćen je T-test. Rezultati istraživanja prikazani su tabelarnim i grafičkim putem.

3. REZULTATI ISTRAŽIVANJA SA DISKUSIJOM

U tabeli 1 jedan prikazani su stavovi studenata pedagogije (N-141) i novinarstva (N-130) o lakoći/jednostavnosti upotrebe društvene mreže *Facebook*. Najveći procenat studenata jeste u potpunosti (34,3%) ili delimično saglasan (29,5%) sa tvrdnjom da je lako doneo odluku o kreiranju profila na društvenoj mreži *Facebook*. Studenti koji smatraju da odluku o pravljenju profila nisu doneli lako su u manjini (4,4% u potpunosti, a 14,4% delimično). Sa tvrdnjom *Upotreba Facebook-a je jasna i razumljiva* polovina ispitanih studenata jeste u potpunosti saglasna (49,8%), dok je skoro trećina delimično saglasna (28,8%). Studenti koji sa pomenutom tvrdnjom nisu u potpunosti (3,7%) ili delimično (4,8%) saglasni su u manjini. Na osnovu rezultata prikazanih u tabeli 1 možemo uočiti da izuzetno mali procenat studenata ima problema prilikom samostalnog ovladavanja funkcijama koje društvena mreža *Facebook* nudi (2,6% u potpunosti, a 4,1% delimično). Za razliku od njih čak 48,7% studenata je u potpunosti, a 28,4% delimično saglasno sa tvrdnjom *Nemam nikakvih problema da sam/ma stičem znanja o funkcijama na Facebook-u.* Ukoliko uzmemo u obzir umereni i jači stepen saglasnosti/nesaglasnosti zaključićemo da 88,2% studenata smatra da je lako koristiti društvenu mrežu *Facebook*, dok 5,6% studenata nije pomenutog stava.

Tabela 1. Stavovi studenata o lakoći/jednostavnosti upotrebe *Facebook*-a

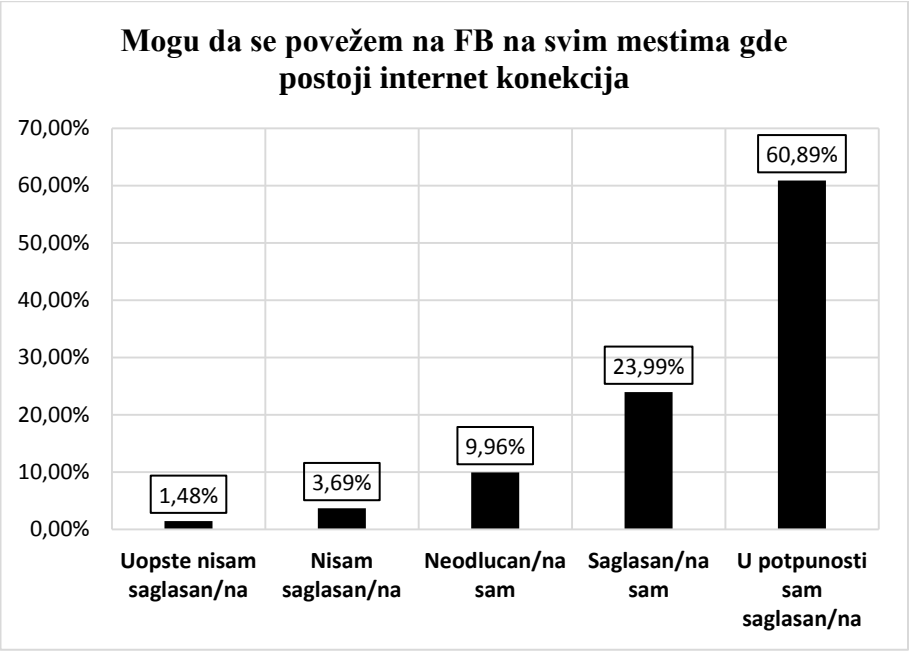
Tvrdnje	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Lako sam odlučio/la da napravim profil na *Facebook*-u	4,4%	14,4%	17,3%	29,5%	34,3%
Upotreba *Facebook*-a je jasna i razumljiva	3,7%	4,8%	12,9%	28,8%	49,8%
Nemam nikakvih problema da sam/ma stičem znanja o funkcijma na *Facebook*-u	2,6%	4,1%	16,2%	28,4%	48,7%
Smatram da je lako koristiti funkcije koje Facebook nudi	2,6%	2,2%	6,3%	29,9%	59,0%
Generalno, smatram da je lako koristiti *Facebook*	2,6%	3,0%	6,3%	24,0%	64,2%

U istraživanju univerziteta Lankaster u Engleskoj (Lancaster University, England) ispitanici koji su činili uzorak istraživanja (85% studenata) takođe su procenjivali jednostavnost upotrebe *Facebook*-a na

petostepenoj skali (od broja 1 – veoma jednostavno, do broja 5 – veoma komplikovano). Rezultati istraživanja su takođe pokazali da 85% ispitanika smatra jednostavnom upotrebu društvene mreže *Facebook*, preostali su odgovorili da je upotreba prosečno jednostavna, a nijedan ispitanik je nije ocenio veoma ili delimično komplikovanom (Hart, Ridley, Taher, Sas & Dix, 2008: 472). Povezanost između korišćenja *Facebook*-a i percepcije lakoće/jednostavnosti upotrebe potvrđena je i rezultatima drugih istraživanja (Mazman & Usluel, 2010: 449).

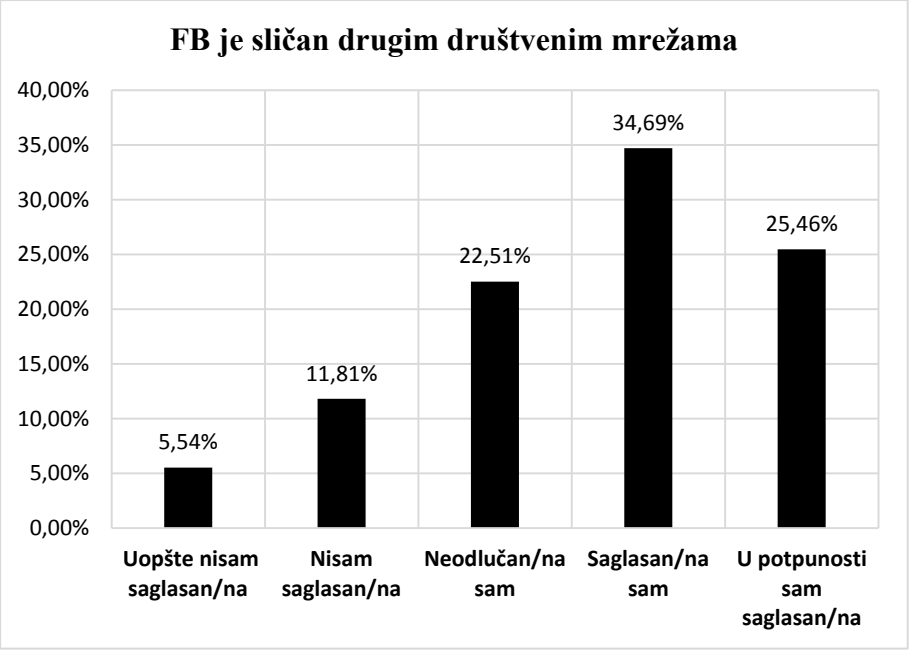
Grafikon 1 prikazuje procenat ispitanih studenata koji su ispoljili saglasnost (delimičnu ili potpunu), neodlučnost ili nesaglasnost (delimičnu ili potpunu) sa tvrdnjom *Mogu da se povežem na Facebook na svim mestima gde postoji internet konekcija.* Rezultati pokazuju da 84,9% studenata smatra da je posedovanje internet konekcije dovoljan preduslov za pristupanje društvenoj mreži *Facebook* (60,9% u potpunosti i 24% delimično); 10% studenata jeste neodlučno pri proceni, dok je 5,2% stava da internet konekcija nije dovoljna za povezivanje na *Facebok* (1,5% u potpunosti i 3,7% delimično).

Grafikon 1. Stavovi studenata o preduslovima povezivanja na *Facebook*



Grafikon 2 prikazuje procenat ispitanih studenata koji su ispoljili saglasnost (delimičnu ili potpunu), neodlučnost ili nesaglasnost (delimičnu ili potpunu) sa tvrdnjom *Facebook je sličan drugim društvenim mrežama koje koristim (Msn, Instragram, Veber i slično)*. Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da najveći procenat studenata pedagogije i novinarstva smatra *Facebook* sličnim ostalim društvenim mrežama (34,7 delimično i 25,5 u potpunosti); procentualno slede ispitanici koji su neodlučni u proceni (22,5%), a najmanji procenat studenata ne uočava značajne sličnosti između *Facebook*-a i ostalih društvenih mreža (5,5% u potpunosti i 11,8 delimično).

Grafikon 2. Stavovi studenata o sličnosti *Facebook*-a i drugih društvenih mreža



U tabeli 2 prikazani su stavovi studenata pedagogije i novinarstva o socijalnim faktorima koji determinišu upotrebu društvene mreže *Facebook*. Na osnovu rezultata možemo zaključiti da je preporuka prijatelja motivisala samo 27% studenata (10,0% u potpunosti, a 17,0% delimično) da napravi profil na *Facebook*-u. Znatno veći procenat ispitanika jeste neodlučan (24,4%) ili nesaglasan (48,7%) sa tvrdnjom *Facebook koristim zato što su mi moji prijatelji preporučili da to učinim.* Samim tim, logičnim nam se čine rezultati koji pokazuju da manji procenat studenata smatra da više pažnje poklanja *Facebook* opcijama koje koriste bliski prijatelji (10,3% delimično i

6,3% u potpunosti), u odnosu na one studente koji koriste funkcije koje su u skladu sa njihovim interesovanjima, nezavisno od upotrebe prijatelja na *Facebook*-u (33,2% u potpunosti, a 28,4% delimično).

Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da je 44,3% studenata u potpunosti, a 37,3% delimično saglasno sa tvrdnjom da *Facebook* koristi za komunikaciju i razmenu informacija sa ljudima u okolini. Za razliku od njih, 3,7 % studenata je u potpunosti nesaglasno, a 5,9% je delimično nesaglasno sa tvrdnjom o upotrebi *Facebook*-a u svrhu razmene informacija i komunikacije.

Uklapanje u društvo i ispunjavanje očekivanja okoline razlog su za pravljenje profila na društvenoj mreži *Facebook* neznatnom procentu studenata (15,9% studenata je napravilo profil zbog očekivanja drugih, a 13,7% zbog uklapanja u društvo). Daleko veći procenat ispitanih studenata ne smatra da je prilikom donošenja odluke o pridruživanju korisnicima *Facebook* zajednice potrebno rukovoditi se očekivanjima drugih (66,8%) ili željom za uklapanjem u društvo (72,7%). Za razliku od navedenih rezultata, istraživanje koje je sprovedeno na univerzitetu Huelva (University of Huelva, Spain) jeste pokazalo da je društveni uticaj najsnažniji prediktor upotrebe društvene mreže *Facebook* (Sancez, Cortijo & Javed, 2014: 144).

Tabela 2. Stavovi studenata o socijalnim faktorima koji determinišu upotrebu *Facebook*-a

Tvrdnje	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Facebook koristim zato što su mi moji prijatelji preporučili da to učinim	27,3%	21,4%	24,4%	17,0%	10.0%
Više pažnje poklanjam *Facebook* opcijama koje koriste moji prijatelji	33,2%	28,4%	21,4%	10,7%	6,3%
Facebook koristim za komunikaciju i razmenu informacija sa ljudima u okolini	3,7%	5,9%	8,9%	37,3%	44,3%
Facebook koristim zato što mnogi ljudi koje znam očekuju da ga koristim	41,0%	25,8%	17,3%	12,2%	3,7%
Facebook koristim da bih se uklopio u društvo jer ga mnogi koje znam koriste	46,9%	25,8%	13,7%	11,1%	2,6%

U tabeli 3 prikazane su razlike u stavovima studenata pedagogije i novinarstva o lakoći/jednostavnosti upotrebe društvene mreže *Facebook*. Možemo zaključiti da odluku o otvaranju profila na društvenoj mreži

Facebook nešto lakše donose studenti pedagogije (AS-3.88) u odnosu na studente novinarstva (AS-3.60). Pomenuti zaključak donet je na osnovu proseka odgovora studenata pedagogije koji se numerički približava broju 4 koji na petostepenoj skali FBSS simbolizuje delimičnu saglasnost. Za razliku od studenata pedagogije, prosek odgovora studenata novinarstva koncentrisan je oko broja 3 koji simbolizuje stav neodlučan/na sam.

Sa tvrdnjom *Upotreba Facebook-a je jasna i razumljiva* studenti pedagogije su delimično saglasni (AS-4.32), dok su studenti novinarstva ispoljili nešto niži stepen saglasnosti, tj. neodlučnost u proceni (AS-3.98). Slična tendencija (nešto pozitivnija procena tvrdnje studenata pedagogije u odnosu na studente novinarstva) uočena je i kod tvrdnje *Mogu dobiti tehničku podršku putem e-pošte ukoliko imam problema sa korišćenjem Facebook-a* pri čemu su studenti obeju kategorija ispoljili neodlučnost (AS-3.75 i AS-3.36).

Tabela 3. Razlike u stavovima studenata u odnosu na departman o lakoći/jednostavnosti upotrebe *Facebook*-a

Tvrdnje	**Departman**	**AS**	**SD**	**t-test**	**p**	**Df**
Lako sam odlučio/la da otvorim profil na *Facebook*-u	Pedagogija	3.88	1.12	1.97	0.00	269
	Novinarstvo	3.60	1.26			
Upotreba *Facebook*-a je jasna i razumljiva	Pedagogija	4.32	0.89	2.67	0.05	269
	Novinarstvo	3.98	1.20			
Mogu dobiti tehničku podršku putem e-pošte ukoliko imam problema sa korišćenjem *FB*-a	Pedagogija	3.75	1.01	2.99	0.00	269
	Novinarstvo	3.36	1.12			
FB je sličan drugim društvenim mrežama koje koristim	Pedagogija	3.79	1.13	2.52	0.01	269
	Novinarstvo	3.44	1.14			

Na osnovu rezultata prikazanih u tabeli 3 možemo zaključiti da studenti pedagogije u nešto većem stepenu smatraju *Facebook* sličnim ostalim društvenim mrežama (AS-3.79), odnosu na studente novinarstva (AS-3.44).

4. ZAKLJUČAK

Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da se masovna upotreba *Facebook*-a delimično može povezati sa činjenicom da je pomenutu društvenu mrežu

veoma jednostavno koristiti. Studenti koji su činili uzorak u istraživanju smatraju da je odluku o pravljenju profila na *Facebook*-u veoma lako doneti (63,8%); da je jednostavno samostalno ovladati funkcijama koje *Facebook* nudi (76,1%), kao i da je generalno upotreba društvene mreže *Facebook* jednostavna (88,2%). Na osnovu navedenih rezultata istraživanja možemo doneti zaključak o potvrđenosti prve hipoteze koju smo postavili u istraživanju *Pretpostavlja se da studenti smatraju da je veoma lako/jednostavno koristiti društvenu mrežu Facebook.* Percepcija studenata o lakoći/jednostavnosti upotrebe potvrđena je i rezultatima drugih istraživanja (Hart, Ridley, Taher, Sas, Dix 2008; Mazman, Usluel, 2010).

Suprotno očekivanjima, rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da tendencija uklapanja u društvo i ispunjavanja očekivanja drugih nije primarni motiv za donošenje odluke o kreiranju profila na društvenoj mreži *Facebook* (samo 15,9% studenata je napravilo profil zbog očekivanja drugih, a 13,7% zbog uklapanja u društvo). Nasuprot tome, težnja za komunikacijom i razmenom informacija priznata je od strane 81,6% kao motiv upotrebe *Facebook*-a. Na osnovu navedenih podataka možemo zaključiti da druga istraživačka hipoteza *Pretpostavlja se da studenti smatraju da socijalni faktori snažno utiču na upotrebu Facebook-a među studentskom populacijom* da nije potvrđena.

Kada su u pitanju razlike u stavovima studenata u odnosu na departman, rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da studenti pedagogije lakše donose odluku o pravljenju profila na *Facebook*-u; da smatraju u većem stepenu upotrebu *Facebook*-a jednostavnom i razumljivom, kao i da *Facebook* smatraju sličnim ostalim društvenim mrežama za razliku od studenata novinarstva.

Ograničenja sprovedenog istraživanja ogledaju se u činjenici da se dobijeni rezultati ne mogu generalizovati na celokupnu populaciju *Facebook* korisnika budući da su u istraživanju učestvovali isključivo studenti Filozofskog Fakulteta u Nišu. Pored toga, u istraživanju su učestvovali isključivo studenti novinarstva i pedagogije, uprkos velikom broja departmana na fakultetu. Samim tim, predlozi za istraživanja koja će se u budućnosti bavi tematikom upotrebe društvene mreže *Facebook* u akademskom kontekstu jeste ispitivanje stavova profesora fakulteta o upotrebi (pored stavova studenata), utvrđivanje stavova o upotrebi *Facebook*-a kao obrazovnog alata, ispitivanje negativnih efekata i svrhe upotrebe i slično.

STUDENTS' STANCE ON THE USE OF THE SOCIAL NETWORK FACEBOOK

Summary

The social network *Facebook* enables its users to find new friends, present their own personality, join groups based on common interests and learn about hobbies, musical tastes and other preferences. In addition, *Facebook* provides a suitable platform for academic needs, as it provides the opportunity for students to be informed in an adequate way about the requirements of studying.

The aim of the research, which involved 130 journalism students and 141 pedagogy students at the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš, was to determine the students' attitudes about the ease/simplicity of Facebook use and the social factors that determine the use of this social network. The results of the survey show that students feel that the decision to create profile on *Facebook* came with ease, that it is easy to master the features that *Facebook* offers, and that the general use of *Facebook's* social network is simple. Contrary to expectations, the results of the survey show that the tendency to fit into society and meet the expectations of others was not the primary motive for making a decision on creating a profile on the social network *Facebook* (only 15.9% of students created a profile due to expectations of others and 13.7% for joining the society). In contrast, the desire for communication and information exchange has been identified by 81.6% of students as a motive for using Facebook.

Key words: attitudes, students, social network, *Facebook*, education

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Mira Vidaković[1]
Fakultet za menadžment
Univerzitet „Union-Nikola Tesla“
Sremski Karlovci, Srbija

Dario Vidaković

Ekonomski fakultet
Univerzitet u Novom Sadu
Subotica, Srbija

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ETIČKE IMPLIKACIJE LAŽNIH VESTI I NOVINARSTVO U NOVIM DIGITALNIM MEDIJIMA[2]

Apstrakt: Društvena dimenzija novih digitalnih medija omogućila je brzu razmenu informacija, nezamislivu putem bilo kojeg ranije postojećeg informacionog medija. Medijski sadržaj se kreira i deli od strane brojnih zajednica, putem različitih medijskih platformi, i u različitim oblicima. Ovaj oblik razmene informacija transformiše sve aspekte savremenog sveta, uključujući i novinarstvo. Doseg i neposrednost novih digitalnih medija omogućuje komunikaciju gde novinarski sadržaji postaju deo opšteg društvenog iskustva na različitim virtuelnim platformama. To dalje povećava broj novih informativnih izvora u digitalnim medijima, što je dovelo do pojave „društvenih vesti“. Putem platformi društvenih medija, novinari imaju mogućnost da rade nezavisno, deleći svoje sadržaje sa obimnijom publikom, uz manje troškove. Dok ovo može voditi do svestranijeg i objektivnijeg izveštavanja, pitanje koje predstavlja jedan od važnijih problema odnosi se na kvalitet i istinitost ovako nastalih medijskih sadržaja. Etičko novinarstvo u novim digitalnim medijima je došlo u žižu javnosti za vreme američkih predsedničkih izbora 2016. godine, sa naglašavanjem termina „lažne vesti“, koji označava naizgled informativne i objektivne sadržaje, ali čija je glavna namena bila politički marketing, te nisu imali stvarnu, informativnu vrednost, i koje su, u većoj ili manjoj meri, bile neistinite. Ovaj rad detaljno ispituje pojavu lažnih vesti, njihovu poziciju u društvenim medijima, te kako se iste koriste kao alat u savremenom političkom marketingu. Rad takođe analizira različite etičke probleme ovakvih sadržaja, kao i etičke implikacije, te obaveze i odgovornost novinarstva u eri novih digitalnih medija.

Ključne reči: etika, lažne vesti, društveni mediji, novinarstvo, politički marketing, društvene vesti

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[1] mira.vidakovic@yahoo.com.

[2] Rad je nastao kao rezultat istraživanja u okviru Republičkog projekta *Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene* (Projekat br. III 47020) koji se realizuje uz finansijsku podršku Ministarstva za nauku i tehnološki razvoj Republike Srbije, za period 2011–2018.

1. UVOD

Američki predsednički izbori iz 2016. godine su u nizu kontroverznih i diskutabilnih tema, u prvi plan društvenog dijaloga unele i jednu, ne taku novu, ali novim digitalnim medijima svakako mnogo rasprostranjeniju pojavu. Ova pojava, popularno uprošćena terminom *lažne vesti*, dovodi u pitanje etičke aspekte savremene informacione komunikacije, ulogu novih digitalnih medija u savremenoj žurnalistici, kao i u srži same javne interakcije u današnjem društvu.

Najznačajnija dimenzija savremenog interneta jeste društveno umrežavanje, odnosno interakcija pojedinaca putem društvenih mreža, koje im omogućavaju kontinuiranu komunikaciju sa velikim brojem ljudi. Ova komunikacija se ogleda, ne samo u razmeni ličnih informacija, već i zajedničko deljenje i konzumiranje medijskih sadržaja. Na takav način, pojedinac definiše i predstavlja sebe uz pomoć medijskih sadržaja koje konzumira i deli sa drugima, te se uz pomoć njih upoznaje i umrežava sa ljudima sličnih interesa. Upravo u takvim uslovima se stvara klima koja je pogodna za nastanak i širenje lažnih vesti.

Ovaj rad pokušava da postavi jasno određenje toga šta se tačno podrazumeva pod lažnim vestima, te kako novi digitalni mediji, u prvom redu društveni mediji, utiču na njihovo širenje i prihvatanje. Kako bi se razumelo zbog čega su lažne vesti postale tako veliki problem, neophodno je razmotriti i to zbog čega one nastaju, te će u radu biti razmatrana i njihova komercijalna svrha, pre svega u kontekstu političkog marketinga. Takođe, biće postavljeno i pitanje o položaju žurnalistike u svetu novih digitalnih medija i novog načina konzumiranja informativnih sadržaja..

2. LAŽNE VESTI KAO PROIZVOD SAVREMENE MEDIJSKE KULTURE

U savremenom svetu, termin lažne vesti nije specifičan, odnosno, koristi se veoma ležerno, te njegovo nestandardizovano korišćenje često može dovesti do određenih dvosmislenosti. Ipak, za potrebe ovog rada, potrebno je tačno odrediti na šta se pod time terminom misli, kako bi bilo moguće dalje etičko preispitivanje ove pojave. Za tu svrhu, lažne vesti se mogu odrediti prema definiciji koju su pružili Allcott i Gentzkow (2017: 213), a koja kaže da su to „... informativni članci koji su namerno i izričito neistiniti, te koji imaju mogućnost da dezinformišu osobe koje ih čitaju“. Naravno, lažne vesti ne

uzimaju samo oblik pisane reči. Kako se njihova prominentnost pojačala usled uticaja novih digitalnih medija, stvaraoci lažnih vesti koriste sve dostupne alate i različite medijume kako bi širili svoju poruku. Pisani članci uzimaju se kao primarni izvor dezinformisanja zbog načina na koji ovaj oblik medijskih sadržaja podleže brzom širenju putem društvenih medija, te načina na koji se sa lakoćom, te niskim finansijskim troškovima, uklapa sa legitimnim izvorima informacija. Naime, kada se nekada govorilo o prepoznavanju lažnih izvora informisanja, jedna od naznaka jeste bila prepoznatljivost istih usled neprofesionalne prezentacije i jeftinog izgleda njihovih veb-prezentacija. Međutim, savremeni digitalni mediji pružaju niz načina na koji se lako, jeftino, i bez previše znanja mogu kreirati veb-prezentacije i sadržaji koji izgledaju potpuno profesionalno, te nerazvrstljivo od legitimnih informacionih izvora (Gottfried & Shearer, 2017: 3).

Dakle, iz takvog određenja, svrha i izvor lažne vesti se mogu razmatrati kroz dva osnovna elementa: fabrikaciju i obmanu. U relevantnoj literaturi, primeri lažnih vesti kroz koji se ovi elementi mogu studirati su uglavnom vezani za američke predsednička izbore 2016, što i ne čudi jer je upravo korišćenje ovog termina i dobilo na popularnosti u okviru kampanje, gde su predsednički kandidati, kao njihove stranke, pobornici, te mediji koji su im naklonjeni, koristili ovaj termin kako bi diskreditovali protivnički tabor. Međutim, stvaran termin se pre svega posmatra kroz naslove plasirane kroz društvene medije, poput onih kao što su „Papa podržava Donalda Trampa“ ili „Irska prihvata ’izbeglice’ iz Sjedinjenih Američkih država“ nakon što je Tramp izabran za predsednika (NMA, 2017: 4). Ovakve vesti očigledno sadrže element neistine, s obzirom na to da nisu potkovane stvarnosnim činjenicama. One čak nisu preuveličani izveštaji o realnim događajima, već su potpuno netačne, odnosno fabrikovane, te osobe koje su ih pisale ne mogu imati nikakvu osnovu da i sami misle da u njima ima makar deo istine.

Drugi element, odnosno obmana, prisutna je u činjenici da su ovakvi medijski sadržaji plasirani putem novih digitalnih medija tako da izgledaju kao autentično, istinito izveštavanje. One se ne predstavljaju kao nečije mišljenje ili satira, kao što bi to bilo u slučaju nečijeg ličnog bloga, već kao izveštavanje nezavisnog izvora medijskog informisanja. to se postiže tako što su veb-prezentacija (sajtovi, portali) na kojima se ovakve vesti prezentuju dizajnirani da liče na prezentaciju vodećih medijskih izvora. Prema jednom izveštaju (Figueira, Oliveira, 2017: 819), preko stotinu ovakvih sajtova, koji poseduju takav dizajn, plasiraju date sadržaje i imaju imena domena koja zvuče kao da su bazirana u SAD, nastalo je i kontroliše se na teritoriji Bivše

Jugoslovenske Republike Makedonije. Sadržaji na ovim sajtovima su uglavnom kreirani putem kontent-farmi, gde se ilegalno piraterizuju istiniti i legitimni medijski sadržaji, te se oni obrađuju i transformišu u lažne vesti (Vidaković, Vidaković, 2015: 313).

Dakle, termin lažne vesti u raspravi o etičkoj problematici medijskih sadržaja u novim digitalnim medijima, pre svega treba koristiti kako bi okarakterisala fiktivni, izmišljeni sadržaji koji su predstavljeni kao legitimni izvori informacija, ali koji su namenski kreirani kako bi obmanuli opšte mnjenje, u svrhu ostvarenja određenih ličnih, političkih ili finansijskih ciljeva. Međutim, termin lažne vesti koristi se u širokom opsegu, te je zbog toga potrebno identifikovati najčešće modalitete lažnih vesti, a oni uključuju vrste koej navodimo u nastavku (Tambini, 2017: 3).

1. *Lažne vesti kao faktori političkog opredeljenja* – ovde su dezinformacije politička propaganda, koja, kao takva, ne zavisi od istine. Lažne vesti služe kao politički alat, kojim je moguće opštoj, najširoj javnosti, putem društvenih medija i drugih platformi novih digitalnih medija, slati poruke koje će ih ubediti u ispravnost određene političke demagogije, predstavljajući aspekte iste kao činjenice, iako one to nisu.

2. *Finansijski motivisane lažne vesti* – novinarstvo je oduvek zavisilo od finansijskih sredstava ostvarenih putem marketinga, odnosno oglašavanja. Međutim, dok se to u tradicionalnim sredstvima informisanja zasnivalo na tome da će veća i bolja zarada od oglašavanja nastati kao posledica kvalitetnog i priznatog (samim time naširoko popularnog) žurnalističkog rada i integriteta, savremeni informacioni tokovi novih digitalnih medija zavise od oglašavanja na dosta drugačiji i izraženiji način, nego što je to ranije bio slučaj. Činjenica je da onlajn novinarstvo zavisi od oglašivača, te da su napredni sistemi oglasa takvi da će novinari videti zaradu samo onda kada čitaoci njihovih sadržaja vide oglas oglašivača. U takvoj situaciji, stvara se zavisnost od toga kojom brzinom se medijski sadržaje šire, te neophodnost za stvaranje atraktivnih i bombastičnih vesti, koji će prouzrokovati emotivnu reakciju kod čitalaca, te u njima stvoriti potrebu da istu dele sa ostalima u svojoj mreži. Kompanije koje kontrolišu platforme društvenih medija trebalo bi da budu te koje bi regulisale ovaj vid širenja lažnih vesti, pošto se radi o dubinski neetičkom ponašanju. Međutim, njihova pozicija nije nimalo

jednoobrazna: oni žele da se ograde od bilo kakvog uredničkog delovanja, pošto je njihov zadatak da samo pružaju efikasnu platformu za umrežavanje i komunikaciju pojedinaca, te bi lako mogli da budu optuženi za cenzurisanje.

3. *Parodija/satira* – kada se posmatra stručna literatura objavljena do pre nekoliko godina, većinska upotreba termina lažne vesti se upravo upotrebljavala za ovaj modalitet. To se pre svega odnosilo na humorističke televizijske programe, koji bi poprimale izgled dobro poznatih informativnih emisija, te pružali satiričan pogled, odnosno izveštaje, o aktuelnim političkim zbivanjima. Najpoznatiji primeri ovog vide lažnih vesti su *Today Show with John Stewart* i *Colbert Report*, koje su čak veoma popularan izvor informisanja mladim ljudima, jer i pored satire, uglavnom imaju i tu informacionu vrednost.

4. *Nekvalitetno novinarstvo* – u istoriji medijske profesije, postoje brojni neslavni primeri novinarske fabrikacije, poput žute štampe, gde su novinari vođeni željom da zadovolje potrebe publike koja proždire priče o poznatim ličnostima i ne mare previše za istinitost ovakvih sadržaja. Usled nedovoljne regulisanosti ovakve, „zabavne“ žurnalistike, na udaru se našla sama medijska pismenost, te čitaoci više nisu bili u mogućnosti da sami razlože istinu od izmišljotina.

Kada se sagledaju različiti modaliteti onoga što potpada pod termin *lažne vesti*, uočavaju se dve osnovne karakteristike, po kojima se one mogu razložiti: po tome da li je njihova namera da obmanjuju javnost, te da li je njihov plasman motivisan određenim finansijskim interesima. „Parodija ili satira kao oblik lažnih vesti nema nameru da obmanjuje – već otvoreno nastupaju kao satirične, u cilju skretanja pažnje i kritikovanja aktuelnih dešavanja, zbog čega su prva dva navedena oblika znatno problematičnija, sa etičkog stanovišta“ (Collins et al, 2018: 8). Izolovanje namere da se obmane publika pruža način za razgraničavanje lažnih vesti prema moralnim načelima, od kojih je jedno od osnovnih u novinarstvu da svaki pokušaj obmane mora naići na osudu. Identifikacija različitih karakteristika lažnih vesti takođe predstavlja i prvi korak ka iznalaženju rešenja za njihovo suzbijanje.

Lažne vesti često sadrže neku dimenziju istinitosti, te na taj način postaju još teže uočljive. Propaganda meša istinu i neistinu kako bi stvorila medijsku naraciju koja ima moć da duže ostane relevantna, upravo zbog toga

što su određeni narativni elementi istiniti, međutim, sama priča je predstavljena na način koji je neistinit i dovodi u zabludu.

3. DRUŠTVENA DIMENZIJA LAŽNIH VESTI

Prema teoriji društvenog identiteta: „... pojedinac u donošenju odluka, između ostalog, biva motivisan i time koliko će ta odluka doprineti unapređenju njegovog položaja u društvu, odnosno načinu na koji ga posmatraju drugi pojedinci u okviru njegove neposredne društvene sredine“ (Weeks, Holbert, 2013: 217). Potreba za društvenim prihvatanjem i afirmacijom jeste osnova identiteta i samopouzdanja pojedinca, što će ih češće motivisati da biraju društveno prihvatljive opcije, pri konzumiranju i širenju informativnih sadržaja, tako sledeći norme koje je njegova zajednica postavila, čak i onda kada su sadržaji koji se dele – lažne vesti. Zbog toga ne treba da čudi da je problematika lažnih vesti svoj vrhunac dosegla u vreme revolucionarnog razvoja novih digitalnih medija.

Niski troškovi kreiranja i plasmana sadržaja putem društvenih medija, čine ih optimalnim alatom za lak izvor dezinformisanja. Niski troškovi povećavaju relativno kratkoročnu profitabilnost, što odgovara kratkoročnim strategijama koje producenti lažnih vesti obično koriste. Zatim format društvenih medija – kratki i koncizni sadržaji koji staju na ekran telefona i uklapaju se u onlajn interakcije publike – čini da su lažne vesti skoro neuočive. Tu je, zatim, i ideološka segregacija, odnosno obrazovanje svojevrsnih „eho komora“.

Akcenat veb 2.0 je na kreiranju i razmeni informacija, te i ne čudi da su alati za to takvi da uz minimalno učenje, omogućuju korisnicima da budu produktivni učesnici virtuelne razmene. Kreiranje, distribucija i pristupačnost medijskih sadržaja time postaju ne samo efikasni, već i veoma jeftini. Ovo je omogućilo da dođe do procvata građanskog novinarstva, te publici da se informiše iz najrazličitijih izvora, da bude izložena celom spektru različitih mišljenja o aktuelnim, društveno relevantnim dešavanjima. Međutim, veća dostupnost različitih izvora, te mogućnost selektivnog odabira istih, omogućuje pojedincu da se usredsredi samo na one izvore koji se slažu sa njegovim, već ustanovljenim pogledima i verovanjima. Pojedinac sada ima mnogo veći broj izvora koji dodatno potvrđuju njegovo stanovište, te njegova potreba za informisanjem može biti zadovoljena, a da pri tome nema niti uvid, a ni interesovanje za sadržaje koji predstavljaju suprotstavljeno mišljenje. Taj

pojedinac, dalje, postaje član virtuelnih društvenih mreža sačinjenih od svojih istomišljenika, koji u nedogled ponavljaju iste stavove, te se njihovim kontinuiranim potvrđivanjem stiče pogrešna perspektiva o apsolutnoj ispravnosti ličnog stava, iako nipošto ne treba da znači da je on takav. Geretovo (Garrett, 2009: 272) istraživanje potvrdilo je tendenciju ispitanika da biraju one informativne izvore za koje važi da se naginju ka ispitanikovom političkom opredeljenju.

Ovakav vid selektivne izloženosti deluje kao nameran, međutim, ljudska potreba za potvrđivanjem ličnih stavova nije jedini uzrok efekta eho sobe. Naime, platforme društvenih medija, Internet pretraživači, te agregatori vesti (specijalizovane aplikacije i platforme koje sakupljaju vesti iz različitih izvora, te ih onda prezentuju korisnicima i omogućavaju njihovo konzumiranje, deljenje i komentarisanje) koriste „algoritme koji na principu mašinskog učenja selektuju sadržaje koji najviše odgovaraju profilu korisnika“ (Flaxman, Goel, Rao, 2016: 299). Kako korisnik nije taj koji svesno bira izvor informacija, on dobija pogrešan dojam da je njegovo mišljenje opšteprihvaćen stav javnosti i društvene zajednice, iako to, još jednom, uopšte ne mora biti slučaj.

Ako se uzme da je za funkcionisanje demokratskog uređenja neophodno da pojedinci imaju uvid u različita politička i društvena stanovišta, širenje ovakvog etički negativnog ponašanja može predstavljati ozbiljan društveni problem. Benkler (Benkler), između ostalih, pak, zagovara da „veći izbor i proširenje društvenih mreža dovode do veće izloženosti različitijim idejama, što pojedinca oslobađa od izolovanog i šablonskog korišćenja medija, koje bi za njega bilo karakteristično kroz tradicionalne medijske kanale“ (Flaxman, Goel, Rao, 2016: 299). Ono što može dovesti do heterogenizacije izloženosti jesu društvene preporuke. Kako se društvene mreže formiraju iz najrazličitijih razloga, odnosno interesa, dva pojedinca koja dele jedno zajedničko interesovanje mogu biti u potpunosti suprotstavljeni po nekom drugom, društveno manje ili više relevantnom pitanju, te oni bivaju izloženi suprotstavljenom mišljenju (Barbera, Jost, Nagler, Tucker, Bonneau, 2015: 1540).

Platforme novih digitalnih medija potpomažu mešanju istine sa neistinom i na taj način što svojom infrastrukturom mešaju sadržaje različitog kredibiliteta i namene u jedan, neprekinut tok informacija. Mešaju se propagandne, pristrasne, i objektivne informacije, te postaje sve teže kritički sagledati koje vesti su istinski izveštaji o nekom događaju, a koji pristrasne i neobjektivne interpretacije, koje imaju lične ciljeve i obmanjuju publiku.

4. LAŽNE VESTI KAO ETIČKI PROBLEM SAVREMENOG MEDIJSKOG INFORMISANJA

Odgovornost za nekritično konzumiranje lažnih vesti može se podeliti na sve učesnike ovog vida medijske interakcije: autore – čija je namera da obmanjuju javnost, platforme putem kojih se ovakvi sadržaji plasiraju i koje su optimizovane da promovišu i nagrađuju površnu interakciju sa korisnicima, te, konačno na samu publiku – koja u najvećem broju slučajeva medijskim sadržajima prilazi veoma ležerno, bez pravog kritičkog pristupa, kako medijska pismenost nalaže. „Publika je deo ekosistema novih digitalnih medija, koji promovišu površnu interakciju sa medijskim sadržajima, te su alati digitalnih medija izrazito bitni u cirkulaciji namenskih, lažnih vesti" (Karlsen, 2015: 306). Medijsko obrazovanje publike da sofisticiranije pristupa konzumiranju informativnih sadržaja predstavlja jedno od početnih rešenja problematike lažnih vesti, međutim ono će imati samo marginalne rezultate, u koliko se ne bude pokušalo uticati na autore ove vrste sadržaja, te na platforme digitalnih medija.

Varstraete i saradnici (Verstraete, Bambauer, Bambauer, 2017: 14) problematici lažnih vesti kao neetičkog ponašanja i suzbijanju istih prilaze na četiri nivoa. Prvo, i najproblematičnije jeste zakonsko regulisanje lažnih vesti. Kako je zakonska regulacija pod okriljem državnih organa, dovodi se u pitanje kako bi ovakav sistem objektivno funkcionisao, bez narušavanja osnovnih prava slobodnog medijskog izražavanja, te je sasvim izvesno da ovakav vid regulacije ostaje veoma podložan uticaju političkih organa moći. Tu treba napomenuti i specifičnosti interneta i novih digitalnih platformi, kao prostora slobodne i dinamične društvene interakcije i razmene mišljenja, te bi preterana zakonska i birokratska umešanost najverovatnije imala negativnije posledice po tok informisanja nego što je to slučaj sa lažnim vestima.

Čak i kada bi se došlo do zakonskih rešenja koja bi izgledala kao efektan alat za borbu protiv lažnih vesti, primena ovakvih zakonskih regulativa u sferi novih medija i dalje je dosta ograničena. Konačno, propaganda se oslanja na mešanje istine sa neistinom kako bi ostvarila svoje ciljeve, te je malo verovatno da zakonska rešenja, koja se oslanjaju na pretpostavku da će biti moguće određeni medijski sadržaj nedvojbeno proglasiti za neistinit, biti efikasna u ograničavanju i sputavanju širenja propagande.

Sledeći nivo na kojem je moguće suprotstaviti se lažnim vestima jeste regulisanje tržišta. Tržišta se regulišu kroz promene u cenama, koje upravljaju

ponašanjem potrošača, odnosno učesnika na datom tržištu. Tržišna rešenja se mogu pojaviti prirodno, kao rezultat promena u ponudi i potražnji, ili mogu biti namenski kreirani, kada organi vlasti intervenišu kako bi se promovisali ili suzbijali određeni ekonomski trendovi. Nakon već pomenute medijske krize nakon izbora iz 2016. godine, Google je objavio da će ubuduće zabraniti sajtovima koji objavljuju lažne vesti da učestvuju njihove reklamne platforme, time im uskraćujući jedan od najbitnijih izvora prihoda. Ukidajući im određeni finansijski podsticaj, Google je pokušao da direktno utiče na smanjenje internet sajtova koji se bave kreiranjem i plasmanom lažnih vesti.

Jedan od problema ovog pristupa leži u određenju onoga šta su tačno lažne vesti, te velika mogućnost toga da će žrtve ove vrste sankcije biti i satirični sadržaji, koji se ne mogu posmatrati kao podjednako etički neprimereni poput stvarnih lažnih vesti i propagande. Dodatni problem predstavlja i to što ovakva vrsta sankcija ne utiče na one lažne vesti koje nisu direktno motivisane finansijskim ciljevima, kao što je slučaj sa političkom propagandom.

Sledeći nivo suzbijanja problema lažnih vesti tiče se samih digitalnih medija, odnosno strukture novog digitalnog okruženja. Digitalno medijsko okruženje jasno je izgrađeno da promoviše određene vrednosti, poput slobode govora i privatnosti, ali se ne sme smaknuti sa uma da je ovo okruženje veoma dinamično i podložno promenama, kako pod uticajem digitalnih inovacija, tako i interesima izvora moći. Slika interneta kao mesta gde je sloboda govora zagarantovana je veoma površna, te daje ljudima lažnu sliku o istom kao okruženju koje garantuje slobodu izražavanja. Dobar primer strukture koja ograničava tok informacija jeste i najpopularnija platforma digitalnih medija – Fejsbuk (Facebook). Ova platforma koristi algoritam kako bi birala koje će sadržaje promovisati, a koje ne, čime značajno utiče na to šta publika čita i koji sadržaji se dele među korisnicima mreže. Međutim, ovakav pristup selekciji vesti daje značajan prostor za plasman lažnih vesti. Fejsbukova digitalna arhitektura je takva da promoviše one sadržaje koji će najverovatnije ostvariti značajan doseg i biti najviše čitani i deljeni. Lažne vesti su takve da će najverovatnije biti deljene od strane korisnika, često usled „eho“ efekta. Čak i kada bi se algoritam usmerio ka otkrivanju lažnih vesti, raspoznavanje satire od lažnih vesti je i dalje veoma teško bez ljudskog rasuđivanja. Sama struktura digitalnih medija, dakle, nije dovoljna za borbu protiv lažnih vesti i propagande, te je trenutna struktura veoma podložna zloupotrebi.

Najzad, društvene norme mogu igrati veoma važnu ulogu u suzbijanju lažnih vesti. One suzbijaju društveno nepoželjna ponašanja time što utiču na pojedinca da se uklopi u određene standarde ponašanja. Društvene norme unose strukturu u proces društvene interakcije i komunikacije, te bi trebala da bude početna tačka neformalne regulacije lažnih vesti. Društvene norme nastaju prirodno, te najčešće nisu rezultat planiranja, poput zakonskih regulativa, te ih je gotovo nemoguće donositi, samo tako, iz vedra neba. Jedno je reći da treba imati određene norme a sasvim drugo uticati da te društvene norme zažive, što predstavlja i glavno ograničenje implementacije normi u svrhu upravljanja ponašanjem.

5. ZAKLJUČAK

Lažne vesti su kompleksan medijski fenomen koji odoleva bilo kojem jednostavnom pokušaj rešavanja. Svaka eventualna intervencija mora da sadrži delikatan balans, time što će predstavljati oštar atak na lažne vesti, istovremeno ne nanoseći negativne posledice na medijsku komunikaciju koje će biti gore od samog neistinitog informisanja javnosti. Zakonske intervencije su ograničene samim zakonima. Problem propagande jeste da je i ona, kao sloboda političkog izražavanja, deo slobodnog govora. Zakonska ograničenja treba, pre svega, da budu usmerena na platforme na kojima se plasiraju i šire medijski sadržaji, kako bi one same više računa vodile o tome kako se njihovi alati koriste, što će biti realna posledica povećanja zakonskih rizika.

Rešenja zasnovana na tržišnoj ekonomiji pokazala su se kao učinkovita kada su u pitanju one lažne vesti koje nastaju prevashodno u svrhu finansijske dobiti, poput senzacionalizovanih vesti koje izazivaju pažnju publike, bez uzimanja u obzir istinitosti informacija koje plasiraju. Svaka intervencija koja bi uticala na profitabilnost lažnih vesti bi rezultirala u proizvodnji ovakvih sadržaja. Treba u vidu imati i to da autori nisu jedini koji su finansijski motivisani u širenju lažnih vesti. Same platforme su optimizovane da dele neetičke sadržaje u svrhu finansijske dobiti. Neophodno je razumeti da su lažne vesti samo simptom jedne šire, ekonomske problematike koju sa sobom donose društveni mediji. Naime, platforme društvenih medija zarađuju tako što podatke o navikama i karakteristikama svojih korisnika „prodaju“ u svrhu oglašavanja. Što više korisnik biva aktivan na platformi, njegov profil postaje detaljniji, te omogućuje preciznije ciljanje putem reklamnih sadržaja. Zbog toga je platformama bitno da njihovi

korisnici budu što aktivniji u medijskoj komunikaciji i razmeni informacija. Jedan od predložaka jeste kreiranje platformi koje neće biti tržišno zavisne, odnosno koje će stremiti ka očuvanju privatnosti korisnika, mada u praksi to još nije zaživelo, pre svega zbog izrazite popularnosti postojećih, komercijalnih platformi.

Korišćenje strukturne arhitekture digitalnih medija u svrhu suzbijanja lažnih vesti predstavlja legitiman korak, te su mnoge platforme počele probnu implementaciju softverskih rešenja. Tako, Tviter (Twitter) razvija algoritam koji bi trebalo da identifikuje karakteristike lažnih vesti, Fejsbuk je počeo da etiketira sadržaje koji se smatraju lažnim vestima, oslanjajući se na same korisnike da ih prijavljuju, a nezavisna tela pak da donesu konačnu odluku o tome da li sadržaj treba označiti kao lažna vest. Jedan od dodatnih načina za pospešenje suzbijanja lažnih vesti bi mogao i biti pristup u kojem će sajtovi nagrađivati legitimne i kvalitetne medijske sadržaje tako što će im pružati veću vidljivost, dok će korisnike koji kreiraju lažne vesti i sadržaje niskog kvaliteta kažnjavati, time što će zabraniti njihovo prisustvo na svojoj platformi.

Potrebno je naglasiti važnost koju društvene norme mogu i treba da igraju u ograničavanju uticaja i zastupljenosti lažnih vesti. One predstavljaju ekonomičan alat regulisanja, uživaju široku rasprostranjenost kroz mehanizme društvenog delanja, te mogu biti internalizovane od strane pojedinaca na koje se želi delovati, usled čega dolazi do samostalnog regulisanja ličnog ponašanja. Međutim, kreiranje normi je veoma težak i dugotrajan proces, te zavisi koliko je društvena sredina spremna da neko ponašanje većinski prihvati kao nepoželjno. Problem predstavlja što veliki broj pojedinaca i dalje prihvata lažne vesti i uživa u konzumiranju ovih sadržaja, naročito kada potvrđuju njihova postojeća mišljenja i uverenja. Norma kritičke interpretacije činjenica dolazi u konflikt sa psihološkom tendencijom ka validaciji potvrdnih informacija te diskreditaciji onih suprotstavljenih. Jedan vid ove vrste pozitivnog uticaja bi bio da platforme koriste sopstvenu reputaciju u borbi protiv lažnih vesti. One bi trebalo da direktno i otvoreno zauzmu poziciju po pitanju lažnih vesti, da aktivno upozoravaju svoje korisnike da su izloženi riziku neistinitih informacija, te da im pruže alternativni put ka saznanju koje je verifikovano kao tačno. Korisnici bi potencijalno obraćali više pažnje ako bi neko poput samog Fejsbuka javno osudio neki medij, čime bi se imidž platforme direktno sukobio sa lažnim vestima.

ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF FAKE NEWS AND JOURNALISM IN NEW DIGITAL MEDIA

Summary

The social dimension of new digital media has enabled rapid information exchange. Media content is created and shared by numerous communities, through various media platforms, and in various forms. This form of information exchange transforms all aspects of the modern world, including journalism. The reach of new digital media enables communication where journalistic content becomes a part of the general social experience. Through social media platforms, journalists have the ability to work independently, sharing their content with a wider audience, with lower costs. This paper examines in details the appearance of fake news, their position in social media, and how they are used as a tool in contemporary political marketing. The paper also analyzes various ethical problems of such content, as well as ethical implications, and the obligations and responsibilities of journalism in the era of new digital media.

Key words: ethics, false news, social media, journalism, political marketing, social news

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Bissera Zankova
Media 21 Foundation
Sofia, Bulgaria

UDC 316.774.22/.23

FIGHTING FAKE NEWS AND HOAXES IN THE AGE OF CONVERGENCE: EVALUATION OF FACT-CHECKING AND DEBUNKING ORGANIZATIONS' PERFORMANCE[1]

Abstract: The successful fight against fake news and hoaxes requires not only a careful study of the nature and impact of these phenomena but identifying the possible paths and instruments for combating them as well. Against the background of the measures taken on a European level, the article will discuss the activities of the fact-checking and debunking organizations with a particular focus on the evaluation of their performance.

Key words: fake news, information disorder, fact-checking and debunking organizations's performance.

1. INTRODUCTION: THE MODERN TERM OF TERMS

Journalists, politicians and scientists have agreed with the real news that fake news is the Word of the Year for 2017. Defined as “false, often sensational, information disseminated under the guise of news reporting”, “fake news” will now be added to the next print edition of Collins Dictionary (The Independent 2017).

False news has changed our understanding of the information society we are immersed in and more particularly of the role of the media as opinion makers. Therefore, it is not about a popular term only, but about an issue people have to deal seriously with. Media messages that carry misleading information usually accompany stories and events that considerably affect our lives (Rannard 2017). Moreover, the trust of society in the new media is severely undermined.[2] Social media is not the only that can be blamed for

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[1] This paper is a side-result of the activities within the COMPACT EC Project - “Compact from research to policy through raising awareness of the state of the art on social media and convergence”, project number 762128 call: H2020-ICT-2016-2017 topic: ICT-19-2017.

[2] The Flash Eurobarometer on Fake News and Online Disinformation measured the perceptions of 26.576 European citizens around fake news. The results show that fake

spreading false stories. The traditional media, relying on cozy relationships with political parties or uncritically grabbing news from the networks, are also agents (wittingly or unwittingly) of their dissemination. Although all media pursue a public function and are accountable for their presentation, the public service media are obliged by their mission to provide diverse, accurate and unbiased information. This media can be "a bulwark against fake news". (Morgan 2018).

Fake news and hoaxes require complex responses, but the measures should not imperil the free Internet and free communication. As Vertesi (2016:7 - 8) argues, "a novel set of challenges evolves as our community addresses the production of knowledge in the contemporary context and these challenges require us to revisit, interrogate, and expand our theoretical, methodological, and practical toolkits." The solutions policymakers could come up with are not easy and must rely on the people's will to react against lies in the media vigorously. To do so users have to be digitally empowered and the process should be ongoing.

The European Commission (EC) and the social networks companies themselves have made the first steps against fake news and hoaxes online. Facebook (FB) is trying users to potential misinformation by displaying fact-checked articles next to disputed stories and Twitter has expanded its rules to cover what is classed as hateful or harmful behaviour on the platform. Google has invested 300 million dollars to elevate quality journalism and has started pursuing projects on media literacy.

However, the attempts made by private entities do not always unconditionally coincide with the public interest. That is why the efforts to include new stakeholders in the fight against disinformation represent a positive move towards broadening the ground of this struggle. Now fact-checking and debunking organizations comprise a promising party in the battle with fake news and hoaxes. Before concentrating on their performance, it is important to elucidate fake news as a phenomenon in the modern world in order to react adequately to its consequences. The next section will discuss how deviations from normal communication in the form of false and

news are proliferating across the EU with 83% of respondents saying that fake news represent a danger to democracy. Only 2% of the interviewed trust social networks. (European Commission 2018a)

misleading information through the media result in a wider phenomenon – information disorder.

2. THE BROADER PERSPECTIVE: INFORMATION DISORDER

In the digital world, we come across a variety of communications problems, each of different scope and impact. False content and hoaxes are not isolated messages and generate wide and diverse repercussions – social, political, economic, and digital. Bounegru et al. (2017: 6) argue that "the significance of fake news cannot be fully understood apart from its circulation online". Therefore, in order to identify the possible measures against fake news, we have to take into account their reach and all the negative implications in the media environment. The Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee (DCMSC) in Britain, investigating disinformation as a result of the Cambridge Analytica data scandal, has produced a report which confirms the frailty of the term 'fake news' referring to a variety of practices. According to Des Freedman (2018), fake news stretches "from falsehoods deliberately concocted to undermine elections and referenda through to perspectives that are simply seen as unwelcome and controversial, and the government should, from now on, refer to misinformation instead" (Des Freedman, 2018). In the same vein, Wardle & Derakhshan (2017) call these negative phenomena "information pollution" or "information disorder" and suggest scientists and policymakers to examine them and the related challenges comprehensively. They introduce a more elaborate conceptual framework for examining information disorder, distinguishing between three different types: mis-, dis- and mal-information, each of them characterized by a certain degree of falseness and dangerousness. Mis-information is the case when false information is shared, but no harm is meant; dis-information is when false information is knowingly shared to cause harm; mal-information is when genuine information is shared to cause harm, often by moving information designed to stay private into the public sphere. Defined as a "multidisciplinary framework for research and policy-making", the report goes beyond simple checking or blatant censorship, and aims to lay down a new methodology (Wardle & Derakhshan, 2017).

Such approach proves fruitful, firstly, because it goes beyond the incidental fake news distribution and draws public attention to its broader effects. Secondly, it allows other information failures, sometimes interrelated, to be explored. Thirdly, it points to the necessity of taking a range of measures

at different levels to combat negative effects. Fourthly, it serves as a signal to stakeholders that all of them have to participate if they wish the fight against the different forms of information disorder to bring tangible results. In the next section, I am going to explore the measures against fake news and information disorder taken at a European level.

3. EUROPEAN EFFORTS AGAINST INFORMATION DISORDER

Disinformation can have immediate perilous consequences and can make the public policy implementation much harder. The interplay of rights is essential with regard to the formulated measures – on the one hand, the freedom of speech and pluralism should be respected, and on the other, limitations should be imposed on the dissemination of certain types of content that are false and misleading.

Realizing this complexity the European Union (EU) undertook a political intervention through the European External Action Service East Stratcom Task Force that ran the 'EU vs Disinformation' campaign which had identified and debunked over 3.500 disinformation cases between September 2015 and November 2017. Despite these concrete outcomes, Nyhan and Reifle (2015) argue that misinformation (even being the mildest form of information disorder - B.Z.) may have lasting effects after it is discredited. Therefore, only debunking is not sufficient, but it must be complemented by an alternative explanation.

This reasoning and the quick spread of fabricated stories across Europe led to the establishment of a dedicated expert group in 2018 with the task to formulate solid policy proposals. The high-level group of experts ("the HLEG") had to discard simplistic solutions and avoid any form of censorship either public or private. Based on the independent HLEG report (European Commission 2018b) as well as wider consultations, the EC defines disinformation as "verifiably false or misleading information that is created, presented and disseminated for economic gain or to intentionally deceive the public, and may cause public harm" (European Commission Press release 2018).

The aim of the HLEG's recommendations was to ensure the effectiveness of the longer-term responses and their continuous evaluation. Fake news and disinformation were considered a "moving target" that required constant checking whether measures taken were efficient from a

human rights perspective. The central goal of the report was to reinforce the transparency of the combating activities in all its dimensions. Transparency was considered essential with respect to maintaining the sustainability of the media ecosystem as well as to strengthening the position of the newly emerging group of fact checkers.

The involvement of the fact-checking and debunking organizations in the battle against disinformation merits a particular focus, because in practice it represents the recognition of a new stakeholders' group among others. The HLEG set a high-profile task on it, suggesting using its capacity to increase the transparency and efficiency of the overall fact-checking practices. The idea is based on the multi-stakeholders' approach premised on cross-sector and cross-border cooperation. Having in mind the role they are assigned to play, the main issue here is about the efficiency of the organizations themselves, which may contribute to the improvement of the whole process of combating fake news and hoaxes or downgrade it. The next section will focus on the performance of the fact-checking and debunking organizations and the need for its regular assessment.

4. THE PERFORMANCE OF THE FACT-CHECKING AND DEBUNKING ORGANIZATIONS

The role of platforms, news media and fact-checking organisations in the fight against disinformation is crucial as they stay most closely to the production and distribution of messages. The European Commission, together with the Member States, "should support cooperation between media organisations, platforms, academic researchers, fact-and source checkers, advertising industry and civil society organisations to ensure the necessary level of public scrutiny and balance in the definition of transparency standards." (European Commission 2018b: 22). These conclusions are very general and do not provide what kinds of transparency standards are specifically needed. It is also striking that the performance of the fact checkers in the EU is still relatively fragmented and, respectively, the knowledge about it. That is why more collaborative work should be done, either at the media level or with other stakeholders within the Member States and across Europe. Such joint activities could reassure a large society that fact-checkers continuously improve their working methods. Adjusting to the changes in the environment, they should advance their journalistic approaches, too. The higher quality of journalistic work can stem from the

cooperation with the public service media and the adoption of their standards, for instance. These relationships are not easy, because, as Graves & Cherubini (2016) conclude: "Whatever their organisational form, research practices, and funding model, all fact-checking outlets still largely rely on the existing news media to publicise their work. All have a digital presence across their own website and various social media channels, but also work in a sometimes uneasy relation with the existing media that they aim to influence or provide an alternative to." (Graves & Cherubini 2016: 30).

The EC (European Commission Press release 2018) formulates two proposals with respect to fact checkers related to their organization and methods:

- To establish an independent European network of fact-checkers with common working methods to exchange best practices, and work to achieve the broadest possible coverage of factual corrections across the EU and
- To create a secure European online platform on disinformation to support the network of fact-checkers and relevant academic researchers with cross-border data collection and analysis, as well as access to the EU-wide data.

However, the accomplishment of these objectives depends on the evidence that these organizations have the potential to fulfill them. The efficiency of their activities merits equal attention as their transparency and openness of action.

Difficulties to trace the quality of the fact-checking and debunking organizations performance may stem from the lack of a common definition as scientists generally apply a variety of methods to describe them. A recent study by Bae Brandtzaeg & Føolstad (2017), for instance, divides fact-checking services into three general categories based on their areas of concern: 1) political and public statements in general; 2) online rumors and hoaxes and 3) specific topics, controversies, particular conflicts or narrowly scoped issues and events (Bae Brandtzaeg & Føolstad 2017). Graves & Cherubini speak of two models of fact-checking organizations - the journalistic newsroom model and the NGO model (Graves & Cherubini 2016: 8 - 10). None of the authors cited, however, have delved into their internal structure and management of resources.

The International Fact-Checking Network (IFCN) launched in September 2015 to support fact-checking initiatives by promoting best

practices and exchanges among organizations adopted a Code of Principles in 2016 representing a range of professional standards similar to the media codes. However, neither the network, nor the organizations themselves have passed clear and publicly announced criteria for the assessment of their performance so far.

Obviously developing a workable methodology for a performance analysis of fact-checking and debunking organizations is an important goal having in mind the higher expectations for the results accomplished by these organizations. In a recent study Pavleska, Školkay, Zankova, Ribeiro & Bechmann (2018) deal in depth with these problems in their manuscript "Performance analysis of fact-checking organizations and initiatives in Europe: a critical overview of online platforms fighting fake news". The authors use the Wardle and Derakhshan's conceptual scheme and extract the basis of their methodology from the existing frameworks and reports on the performance issues of two sectors: governmental and non-governmental. Such approach allows complementing the efforts in both sectors and counting on their interaction. The study of the real performance of fact-checking and debunking organizations is premised on an initial survey designed and carried out through a set of questions based on the identified indicators. It approached 50 European organizations located in 27 countries.

The purpose here is not to repeat the analysis and arguments in the quoted article, but to build on the idea of performance evaluation to move towards a discussion of the necessary measures that can make fact-checking and debunking organizations really effective and efficient. The formulation and deployment of an array of performance indicators is the first step in achieving this goal. In addition, based on the data collected in the survey and recent developments, interesting insights concerning the problems of fact-checking and debunking organizations can be summarized. In the next section, the problems of the fact-checking and debunking organizations will be examined.

5. THE FACT-CHECKING AND DEBUNKING ORGANIZATIONS' PROBLEMS

The biggest reported challenge for these organizations relates to the insufficient stakeholders' awareness of the issues concerning information disorder and the lack of adequate resources for their counteracting. Fact-checkers should be encouraged to publicise widely information about their

methods and the outcomes accomplished. Factually, articles concerning their work are increasing particularly on the Poynter's International Fact-Checking Network site, where materials presenting local themes can also be found. However, specific information about the management and staff as well as about financing of projects and campaigns are missing. Graves and Cherubini (2016: 28 - 29) underline that the "budgets for these efforts span a wide range, but remain quite low for the typical outlet." In practice, there are two main sources of funding known – by the media industry and through donations – each carrying risks for the independence of these entities. Greater transparency of financial resources would contribute to their better using and controlling, to finding more donors and new channels of funding, which eventually may enhance performance and ultimately strengthen the independence of these organizations.

Another problem is the lack of clarity in the objectives which concern the internal divisions, procedures, staff management and operation processes, as required for non-governmental organizations notwithstanding the fact that they can operate as journalistic organizations or as typical NGOs (Governance and internal control). Reforms that can be implemented to discharge their broader functions properly demand considerable improvement of the organizational culture and internal practices about which there is not sufficient information (at least at the moment). Such re-organizational steps can help fact-checking organizations to connect to new audiences. As reported, a large number of readers and viewers have not been reached - not only the partisan voters who are skeptical about media, but also the non-voters who are not engaging fully in civic life. (Greenblatt 2017)

The majority of fact-checking and debunking organizations are 'specialized' in one type of content only. Specific visual content (photos, YouTube), although known to have far greater impact on the proliferation of fake news and hoaxes than text, is checked to a lesser extent. However, as Greenblatt (2017) states, fact-checking organizations are prone to finding new formats, including better use of graphics and visual aids to make their information more accessible. Optimistically, this can be considered a good move towards the control of a new content and its better presentation, but has to be traced and explored further.

With respect to the working methods of the fact-checking and debunking organizations, most of them strive to embrace innovative methods, but there is still a significant number of those who have not yet considered

this option, which is possibly due to financial reasons or lack of skills. The IT companies can help them by providing advice and technical support and social media giants can consider the opportunity of investing in such empowering projects. However, the new methods may generate new challenges. As reported at the Summit of the fact-checking organizations organized by the American Press Institute in 2017, it became clear that fact-checks had among the highest engagement of any of the news organization's offerings on Snapchat. This non-traditional tool was used as a way of presenting information where readers and viewers live, not waiting for them to navigate their way through a website. However, fact-checks that are presented primarily on visual platforms like Snapchat may be limited to topics that are already fairly well-known and thus don't require much in the way of explanation and an in-depth discussion about claims, counterclaims and sources. GIFs, Instagram Stories and Twitter Moments are other ways of presenting information through new channels. Digital-only fact checks on platforms such as Facebook have become more common. Other efforts are already underway, such as "Share the Facts" app for Alexa, Amazon's home assistant device, that can answer questions about some claims; and ClaimBuster, a tool developed at the University of Texas at Arlington, designed to quickly call out falsehoods on Twitter. There should be better understanding of these apps and opportunities among the audience, which is also an element of the transparency policy of the fact-checking organizations.

Generally, the transparency of the majority of fact-checkers (in terms of methodology, funding and operation) in Europe remains blurred. This fact demands more intense civil society and public involvement.In the same vein are the recommendations of the HLEG and the EC - "transparency is a key element in the response to digital disinformation". (European Commission 2018b: 22). Fact-checkers should do their best to accomplish a high-quality job and gain the trust of the public through better communication policies. The latter should make clear why certain claims are subject to checks, why some sources of information, such as statistics from government agencies, are seen more reliable than others, they should provide sufficient proof that a variety of fact-checkers agree on the substance behind a controversial topic and that a publicly available database of verified facts is created. In the digital age, trust manifested through various forms of communication and interaction becomes a central category. As Pavleska and Jerman-Blazic argue, the current systems do not account for important factors when calculating trust and system design should be changed as to allow improving both user-experience

and system-performance. Taking this into account, fact-checking organizations can be shaped organizationally and functionally in a manner that supports trustful behavior. This also may lead to limiting the three types of information disorder: disinformation, misinformation and malinformation (Pavleska & Jerman-Blazic, 2013).

These inferences can serve as a ground for more diverse and nuanced policy initiatives aiming at promoting better performance and encouraging a high-quality contribution on the part of the fact-checking and debunking organizations to the fight against information disorder. The general conclusion is that notwithstanding shortcomings and deficits, their activities comprise grass root initiatives that should be given a chance to develop.

6. THE WAY FORWARD: PERFORMANCE IMPROVEMENT AND EFFECTIVE COOPERATION POLICIES

Fact-checking and debunking organizations, in order to be effective and efficient, should improve their journalistic and organizational performance including the changes in their management and culture. Clear-cut criteria for the evaluation of their performance should be designed in this respect. The article referred to in this publication is only the beginning of the process, which we believe will accelerate (Pavleska et al. 2018). The academic community can engage more thoroughly with the exploration of the issues regarding the analysis, formulation and testing of a set of adequate performance indicators. Solutions may combine both technical and human characteristics. The big problem that appears, however, is who will monitor and evaluate the performance of these organizations, summarize and publish the results or “who will check the fact-checkers”.

Fact-checking activities should not remain confined to debunking and correction of disinformation only. They are of importance to the implementation of other projects in the digital environment related to better digital literacy, ethical civic and professional journalism. Therefore, in evaluation it is necessary to follow the diversified inputs of fact-checking organizations as well.

Realistically speaking, fact-checkers could not solve the problems with fake news and hoaxes alone and their collaboration with other stakeholders is mostly needed. More allies should support and promote the work of the fact-checking and debunking organizations. The media is not a

unified group and despite social media, public media can be considered another relevant partner to fact-checkers. However, politicization or the poor financial condition of public service media can complicate these relationships, which, presently, remain underdeveloped. There is no interaction with the media regulators and the media accountability bodies, too.

The adoption of new communication and regulatory policies and a consistent digital information literacy strategy becomes more and more urgent in Europe. These long-awaited documents could also benefit from the experiences of the fact-checking and debunking -organizations.

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UNIVERZITET U NOVOM SADU,
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