Vol. 8 (2017) 15

MEDIJSKE STUDIJE
MEDIA STUDIES

ISSN 1847-9758 (tisak)
e-ISSN 1848-5030 (*online*)
UDK 316.77
DOI 10.20901/ms
Zagreb, lipanj 2017. / *June 2017*

MEDIJSKE STUDIJE / *MEDIA STUDIES*
Izdavač / *Publisher*
Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Fakultet političkih znanosti / *University of Zagreb, Faculty of Political Science*

Za izdavača / *Official Representative*
Lidija Kos-Stanišić

Adresa Uredništva / *Editorial Office*
Medijske studije / *Media Studies*
Lepušićeva 6, 10 000 Zagreb, Hrvatska / *Croatia*
e-mail: ms@fpzg.hr
www.mediastudies.fpzg.hr

Lektorica hrvatskog jezika / *Croatian Language Editor*
Ivana Vrtič

Lektor engleskog jezika / *English Language Editor*
Cody Brown

Dizajn / *Cover and Layout Design*
Davor Šunk

Grafički prijelom / *Layout*
Vanda Čižmek, Artest74

Naklada / *Print Run*
200

Tisak / *Print*
TOP DAN d.o.o.

CONTENTS

DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.1

Čini se kako živimo u vremenu kada lažne, izmišljene vijesti (engl. *fake news*) prestaju biti tek incident u komunikaciji i izvještavanju, posebno kada je riječ o kriznim situacijama. Za vrijeme predsjedničke kampanje u SAD-u Facebook je bio preplavljen izmišljenim vijestima o Donaldu Trumpu čija je svrha bila pomoći ili naštetiti Trumpovoj kampanji. Trumpova savjetnica Kellyanne Conway takve je vijesti nazvala „alternativnim činjenicama" te je i sama kreirala onu o masakru u Bowling Greenu (The Washington Post, 2017), opravdavajući Trumpovu odluko o zabrani ulaska u zemlju građanima iz nekoliko muslimanskih zemalja. Donald Trump izmislio je „napad koji se sinoć dogodio u Švedskoj" i pripisao ga imigrantima (The Guardian, 2017), pokušavajući uvjeriti svoju publiku kako je neoprezna bila odluka Europe o prihvaćanju izbjeglica i migranata iz Sirije i drugih bliskoistočnih zemalja.

Još 2011. godine vijesti američke televizijske mreže Fox, Fox News, izvještavale su o postizbornim „nasilnim prosvjedima koji su izbili u brojnim gradovima u Rusiji protiv Vladimira Putina" koristeći snimke prosvjeda u Ateni (The Telegraph, 2011). Zaista je neobično bilo vidjeti palme u „ruskim gradovima" i ulične natpise na grčkom alfabetu. Ne bih se začudila da su se, primjerice na YouTubeu, već pojavila i videouputstva (engl. *tutorial*) o tome kako kreirati lažne vijesti, a da djeluju čim uvjerljivije.

Nažalost, paralelno s ovim procesima ne povećava se razina medijske pismenosti građana te oni ne postaju kritičniji i nepovjerljiviji prema „vijestima" objavljenima na društvenim mrežama ili u drugim poznatim ili manje poznatim medijima. Postoje novinarske inicijative o promoviranju novinarskih timova ili redakcija koje se bave isključivo provjerom informacija. Nije li to oduvijek trebao biti novinarski posao?

U svjetlu svega navedenog, znanstvena istraživanja koja uključuju analize medijskih tekstova te koja ukazuju na potrebu kritičkog vrednovanja onoga što se naziva novinarstvom u 21. stoljeću potrebna su možda više nego ikada do sada.

Radovi objavljeni u ovom broju *Medijskih studija* upravo su takvi – kritički progovaraju o praksama korisnika društvenih medija te o mogućnostima medijskog konstruiranja stvarnosti koje je posljedica ne samo novinarskog izbora već i komunikacijskih praksi na društvenim mrežama. Takvi procesi za posljedicu imaju vidljive promjene u društvu koje su usmjerene promoviranju ili degradiranju konkretnih društvenih vrijednosti, ali oni kreiraju i neke potpuno nove identitete. Tako i lažne vijesti, one koje nitko javno ne razotkrije, postupno postaju dijelom medijski konstruirane stvarnosti – naša nova realnost.

Viktorija Car
glavna urednica

Izvori

>The Guardian (2017) Alexandra Topping: „'Sweden, who would believe this?': Trump cites non-existent terror atack", 19. veljače 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/feb/19/sweden-trump-cites-non-existent-terror-attack (25.05.2017.).
>The Telegraph (2011) Andrew Osborn: „Fow news uses Athens riots footage for Russian protests", 9. prosinca 2011. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/russia/8947476/Fox-news-uses-Athens-riots-footage-for-Russian-protests.html (25.05.2017.).
>The Washington Post (2017) Samantha Schmidt i Lindsey Bever: „Kellyanne Conway cites 'Bowling Green massacre' that never happened to defend travel ban", 3. veljače 2017. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2017/02/03/kellyanne-conway-cites-bowling-green-massacre-that-never-happened-to-defend-travel-ban/?utm_term=.5e930cfc9ff8 (25.05.2017.).

DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.1

It seems we live in a time when the use of fake news in reporting and in communication is no longer just incidental, especially in crisis situations. During the US 2017 presidential campaign Facebook was flooded with fake news about Donald Trump with the purpose of helping or harming Trump's campaign. Trump's adviser Kellyanne Conway called such news 'alternative facts' and she herself created one, the Bowling Green massacre (The Washington Post, 2017), while defending Trump's travel ban related to a number of majority-Muslim countries. Donald Trump appeared to invent "an attack that happened last night in Sweden" blaming immigrants for it (The Guardian, 2017) when trying to assure his audience how irrational Europe's decision on accepting refugees and immigrants from Syria and other Middle-east countries was.

It was back in 2011 when Fox News, an American cable television network, reported on post-election "violent protests against Vladimir Putin organised in many cities in Russia" while using footage of riots in Athens (The Telegraph, 2011). It was really unusual to see palm trees in 'Russian cities' and street signs written in the Greek alphabet. I would not be surprised if, for instance on YouTube, it is already possible to find tutorials on how to create fake, but convincing news.

Unfortunately, the level of citizens' media literacy does not develop parallel with these processes, and citizens are not becoming more critical or distrustful towards "news" published on social and other, more and less recognized media. Recently, there are some journalist initiatives to introduce teams of journalists or newsrooms focused exclusively on fact checking. Shouldn't that have always been the role of journalism?

Having in mind all of the above mentioned, it can be said that scientific research that includes the analysis of media texts and promotes a critical evaluation of 21st century journalism are more needed than ever before.

The articles published in this issue of *Medijske studije* are just like that – their authors critically argue about social media users' praxis and the possibilities for a media constructed reality as a result of, not only journalists' choices, but of communication praxis on social media as well. The repercussions of such processes are visible social changes directed towards the promotion or demotion of particular social values, and furthermore, they create some completely new identities. Therefore, fake news that are not uncovered, gradually become a part of the media constructed reality – and our new normal.

Viktorija Car
Editor-in-Chief

Sources

>The Guardian (2017) Alexandra Topping: "'Sweden, who would believe this?': Trump cites non-existent terror attack", 19th February 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/feb/19/sweden-trump-cites-non-existent-terror-attack (25.05.2017).

>The Telegraph (2011) Andrew Osborn: "Fox news uses Athens riots footage for Russian protests", 9th December 2011. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/russia/8947476/Fox-news-uses-Athens-riots-footage-for-Russian-protests.html (25.05.2017).

>The Washington Post (2017) Samantha Schmidt and Lindsey Bever: "Kellyanne Conway cites 'Bowling Green massacre' that never happened to defend travel ban", 3rd February 2017. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2017/02/03/kellyanne-conway-cites-bowling-green-massacre-that-never-happened-to-defend-travel-ban/?utm_term=.5e930cfc9ff8 (25.05.2017).

TWEETS AND MOBILISATION: COLLECTIVE ACTION THEORY AND SOCIAL MEDIA

Cody McClain Brown

Izvorni znanstveni rad / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / Primljeno: 03.04.2017.

ABSTRACT *This article examines the relationship between social protest and social media from the theoretical perspective of the Collective Action Research Program. While the literature shows strong empirical evidence for a positive relationship between social media use and incidents of social protest, the theoretical underpinnings of this relationship remain contested and often unspecified. In order to provide a stronger theoretical basis for this relationship this paper explores theories of collective action, focusing on how social media can assist in solving the dissident collective action problem. It argues that using collective action theory to understand social media and protest can better inform our understanding of how and why social media shares a positive relationship with incidents of social protest.*

KEY WORDS

SOCIAL MEDIA, SOCIAL PROTEST, CONTENTIOUS POLITICS, COLLECTIVE ACTION THEORY

Author note

Cody McClain Brown :: University of Zagreb, Faculty of Political Science, Zagreb, Croatia **::** codymcclain@gmail.com

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

INTRODUCTION

In April 2009, 10000 Moldavians, amid allegations of voter fraud, protested the outcome of the parliamentary elections in Chisinau (Barry, 2009). It was reported that the protesters used social media to help mobilise and organise the event (Barry, 2009). A few months later in June 2009, protesters in Iran began a months long campaign against the result of the Iranian presidential elections. Similarly to the protests in Moldova, social media, particularly Twitter, were seen as instrumental in aiding protesters' ability to mobilise. The US State Department even requested that Twitter postpone an update of its network so that it would not conflict with the protesters' ability to tweet (Grossman, 2009). In 2011, protests in Tunisia overthrew the country's dictatorial regime. Once again Twitter was seen as great asset to the country's dissidents (Delany, 2011). These protests were followed by similar protests in Egypt a few months later, which resulted in the resignation of Egypt's long ruling dictator, Hosni Mubarak. Since then, these events have subsequently been included under the title of the 'Twitter Revolutions'.

Within the literature a debate has emerged in which skeptics view online activism as little more than 'feel good' expressions of preference that have little influence on mobilisation or participation in physical protest events (Morozov, 2009; Gladwell, 2010). However, an ample amount of research has offered an alternative perspective, arguing, and demonstrating that online activism shares a positive relationship with mobilisation for the purposes of social protest (Barbera et al., 2015; Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2012; Bastos et al., 2015; Bastos et al., 2014; Tufekci and Wilson, 2012; Segerberg and Bennett 2011; Bennett and Segerberg 2012). For example, Homero Gil de Zúñiga and colleagues find that "frequent users of social media were nearly 11 times more likely to participate in street demonstrations than were nonusers" (2012: 12) during demonstrations in Chile. Marco Bastos and colleagues (2015) equally demonstrate a strong relationship between an increase in online protest activity and a later onsite presence at a protest event for protests in Spain and the Occupy Movement. Zeynep Tufekci and Christopher Wilson's (2012) work on the Arab Spring in Egypt found a statistically significant correlation between an individual's use of social media and attendance at protest events.

Therefore it seems quite clear that social media has become a useful tool for dissidents and protest. While there seems to be a strong consensus within the literature about the presence of a positive relationship between protest and social media use, there does not seem to be a consensus concerning the theoretical underpinnings that support this relationship (Breuer et al., 2015; Wolfsfeld et al., 2013; Tufekci, 2014). Some of the research structures its work around Resource Mobilisation Theory (McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Conover et al., 2013), while other work utilises the concept of Opportunity Structures (McAdam et al., 2001; Bennett and Segerberg 2012), others seem to combine various approaches (Breuer et al., 2015). For example Wolfsfeld and colleagues (2013) offer a very nuanced view in which the political context and contingencies are given priority, while other work focuses more on the relationship between social media and protest, observing and noting its dynamics, while paying less attention to the theoretical aspects of that relationship (Barbera et al., 2015; Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2012). Essentially, there seems to be

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

little agreement on the theoretical underpinnings of how social media helps individuals to collectively act, only that it does. This is not that surprising given how difficult it can be to observe the causal the mechanisms involved, the many factors involved with mobilisation (Barbera et al., 2015), the debate within the protest literature itself (Lichbach, 1998a; Lichbach, 1997), the fact that social media is a relatively new phenomenon, and debates on how to conceptualise what is actually being studied (Theocharis, 2015).

Social media is considered to be such an influential phenomenon in the world of contentious politics that its use in social protest has even been argued to have done away with the collective action problem altogether. Tufekci (2014) expresses this sentiment, "Olson's famous 'free rider' problem is thus largely irrelevant to most modern protests in nontotalitarian states: people who show up for protests are not accepting an onerous burden but rather are attracted by the engaged, powerful effervescence the protests create"(Tufekci, 2014: 207).

At first glance it seems hard to argue with this notion, given the research to date, and the advent of such events as the Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street, protests in Spain, Chile and elsewhere over the last decade. Anita Breuer and colleagues (2015) point out that an emphasis on the collective action problem should indicate that protest is unlikely, and yet protest seems to be occurring regularly.

However, by assuming away the collective action problem we may be losing a potential area of theoretical consensus where the relationship between social media and social protest can be better understood and supported. In this paper I offer that we should not see social media as making the collective action or 'free rider' problem irrelevant, rather by focusing on the ways in which social media facilitates solutions to solving the collective action problem we can better understand and reconcile the relationship between protest and social media. Doing so, could help to further reduced the debate between 'slacktivist' skeptics and non-skeptics by providing a robust, unified theoretical framework through which research can find strong explanations as to why social media can so easily facilitate solutions to the collective action problem.

In this paper I explore the relationship between social media and social protest from the perspective of Mark Lichbach's Collective Action Research Program (CARP) (1998a). For the purposes of this paper I look at CARP's theoretical understanding of how social media helps facilitate mass, social protest. For these purposes I use the following definition of social media: "forms of electronic communication (as websites for social networking and microblogging) through which users create online communities to share information, ideas, personal messages, and other content (as videos)" (Merriam-Webster, 2017).

While I am not the first to explore this area, I do take an approach that differentiates this paper from those found elsewhere in the literature (Bennett and Segerberg, 2012; Gerbaudo, 2012; Tufekci and Wilson, 2012; Wolfsfeld et al., 2013; Tufekci, 2014; Breuer et al., 2015) by using CARP's theoretical framework. CARP has been used in the past to understand the dynamics of dissident and state action in social protest, insurgent participation in

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

rebellion and the dynamics of civil wars (Francisco, 2009; 2010; Weinstein, 2007; Brown, 2013a). The literature on social media, though making mention of the collective action problem has not investigated CARP as means to understand the relationship between social media and social protest. My goal is to examine the way in which collective action theory can present a more robust theoretical understanding of how social media facilitates social protest. In order to do this I spend the next few paragraphs discussing the areas of disagreement between CARP and what Lichbach (1998a) refers to as structural theories of mobilisation, or SPOT.

Collective action theorists assume that individuals, especially when engaging in dissent, are self-interested and strategic (Olson, 1965; Lichbach, 1998b). When it comes to fostering collective action, actors face the problem of public goods and free riding, meaning that an individual's desire for the public good, alone, is insufficient for her to engage in collective action. Most people prefer to remain at home, hoping someone else will attend the protest and attain the public good for them. Thus few attend the protest and the public good remains unattained. Lichbach's five percent rule (Lichbach, 1998b; Ainsworth, 2002), which stipulates that 95 % of the time less than five percent of a public good's supporters will engage in collective action, supports the obstructive nature of self-interest in the creation of mass movements and mass protest. Hence would-be protesters are left facing a collective action problem. The main contribution of CARP towards understanding all forms of collective dissent is in its ability to explain collective action through the solutions dissidents use to overcome their collective action problem (Lichbach, 1998b).

On the other side from this perspective is the structuralist approach (Tilly, 1978; McAdam et al., 1996; McAdam et al., 2001). This approach places an emphasis on the opportunity structures available to would-be dissidents and the mobilising structures within the society. Structurally created stratifications, such as class, gender, ethnic and racial divisions are assumed to allow coordination within the populace. Within those certain groups generated by stratification are cultural frames through which members of the group are assumed to be able to legitimate and motivate collective action (McAdam et al., 1996; Lichbach, 1998a). From this approach, understanding protest and collective action relies on looking at how groups in a society are structured and under what circumstances and for what public goods is collective action deemed legitimate.

In the following section I discuss in further detail why relying on the structuralist approach to explain the importance of social media in facilitating collective action continues to produce an incomplete understanding of social protest. What I show is that the structuralist approach assumes away the collective action problem with the presence of stratifying structures and cultural frames, while CARP, on the other hand, is able to incorporate the importance of community, whether it is based on race, gender, occupation, ethnicity or any other stratifying structures, into the possible solution groups that dissidents use to overcome their collective action problem. Looking at the influence of social media from the perspective of CARP provides us with a more theoretically robust basis to appreciate how social media is able to facilitate mass protest.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

The limitation with structural theories of protest from a CARP based perspective is that they tend to overlook the agency of individual actors in strategically creating, fostering and mobilising protest. At its worst, structural theories regard opportunity and mobilising structures in a manner where certain mobilising structures act as the invisible hand of protest. Social movements, and protest groups based on class, ethnicity or gender are thought to form spontaneously. The limitation in this approach is that in its conceptualisation is the assumption that technology, resources, or mobilising structures are able to create a great concern for the public good, and that this concern alone is capable of mobilising individuals into action. In the case of some of the research on social media the same limitations exist. For example, Lance Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg (2012) introduce the idea of connective action as an explanation for mobilisation. In this concept it is assumed that connectivity itself overcomes the collective action problem. The guiding notion behind connective action is that through social media the cultural and identity frames discussed by McAdam and colleagues (2001) become more personalised to the user. Bennett and Segerberg (2012) offer that two elements constitute connective action. These are: first "political content in easily personalised ideas" that allow individuals to easily understand how they should feel about a common problem (Bennett and Segerberg, 2012: 744). The second involves,

Various personal communication technologies that enable sharing these themes. Whether through texts, tweets, social network sharing, or posting YouTube mashups, the communication process itself often involves further personalisation through the spreading of digital connections among friends or trusted others. Some more sophisticated custom coordinating platforms can resemble organisations that exist more online than off. (Bennett and Segerberg, 2012: 744)

While the first one seems hard to differentiate between the slogans generally used by protesters and dissidents, this second element raises the most pressing question concerning social media and forms of collective dissent, can online networks via social media, like Facebook and Twitter, function as a small group or community does offline?

The reason this is important is given the fact that the collective action problem is less of a problem in small groups. In small groups participation is easier to monitor and thus prevents one's proclivity to free ride. Individuals are less likely to free ride if there is a form of social sanction associated with sitting on the side lines during the action. Related to this idea is that within small groups, or, as Lichbach refers to them (1998b), communities, communication is the antecedent of action. If group members understand what other group members plan to do, that is the action is premeditated, then group members are more likely to act collectively, especially in the case where members are assigned a given role or expectation in that action. From this perspective we see that the very characteristics of mass mobilisation, its large size and the anonymity among the masses, are the very things that prevent it from developing.

One way in which social media may be able to assist in overcoming the collective action problem is if it is able to expand the size of the group through the ease of communication while simultaneously continuing to operate with the same small group dynamics. Much of the literature explores the antecedent use of social media and the development of

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

physical social protest (Barbera et al., 2015; Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2012; Bastos et al., 2015; Bastos et al., 2014; Tufekci and Wilson, 2012), however, the specific question of whether small group dynamics, such as social sanction and commitment are operating as the motivators to participation, as far as I can tell, have not really be explored.

Some may take issue with the need to question the relationship between online groups and small group dynamics, arguing that online forms of collaboration already demonstrate that individuals, through the use of social media and technology, more easily overcome the free rider problem than economists and rational choice theorists observe (or assume) in the offline world. Certainly the evidence shows that online collaboration may not operate within the same logic of free riding. Open source software and websites like Wikipedia are examples; however, it is important to point out that in these cases collaboration can be its own reward, especially when the costs and risks are minuscule. A programmer who enjoys programming and writes open source software should not be readily compared to a protester facing Egypt's riot police just because both of them are now able to coordinate their activities online.

The issue with Bennett and Segerberg's (2012) connective action thesis, and other structural approaches in general, is that it operates on the assumption that caring for the public good will induce one to participate in its acquisition, which counters the premise of Mancur Olson's (1965) theory of collective action and CARP's entire perspective. Moreover, by assuming away the collective action problem we may be missing an area where we can expand the literature's theoretical understanding of the relationship between social media and participation in social protest.

While collective action research acknowledges that you will always have zealots whose commitment, own selective incentives, such as being a full-time activist or would-be leader in the resistance movement, and collective actions operate with small group dynamics, are all capable of pushing these individuals onto the streets, the central question to social protest, both those that use social media, and those that predate social media, is how is that commitment spread and shared in a way that attracts non-zealots to take part in social protest. From this perspective the logic underscoring the concept of connective action seems limited as it assumes connectivity motives action. Moreover, the literature on social media and social protest, for the most part, looks at the possibilities and ease online social media has brought to organising, while overlooking the high costs that remain for collective dissent in many of the places that have witnessed the Twitter Revolutions. After all, Egypt, Tunisia, Syria and Iran are and were some of the most dictatorial and repressive regimes in the world.

INCORPORATING SOCIAL MEDIA INTO COLLECTIVE ACTION THEORY

In theorising about solutions to the dissidents collective action problem, collective action theory (Lichbach, 1998b; Ferrara, 2003; Francisco, 2009; 2010; Brown, 2013a) uses four solution categories and 21 solutions through which dissidents can overcome their

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

dilemma and expand mobilisation for a public good beyond the participation of zealots. These categories are market, community, contract and hierarchy. In Lichbach's game theoretic formulations (Lichbach, 1996), demonstrated empirically by Ferrara (2003) and Brown (2013b), it takes solutions from at least two different categories of solution groups in order to solve the dissident collective action problem. For example, solutions from market solutions work in tandem to hierarchy solutions. That is market solutions can assume a preexisting organisation or a preexisting community. All of this will be further explained and understood as the paper progresses.

In the following sections I identify seven solutions to the collective action problem and discuss how each solution can theoretically interact with social media in solving the dissident collective action problem (see Table 1). These are: lower costs; increase the probability of winning; increase the probability of making a difference; common knowledge; common values; locate principals and patrons; and mutual exchange (Lichbach, 1998b). This is not necessarily an exhaustive use of the CARP's solution categories, rather the solutions discussed are the one's that seem most applicable to orienting our theoretical understanding of collective action and social media. In some cases social media may provide an easier means for dissidents to utilise a solution for mobilising. In other cases it is the solution that can enhance the effects of social media on dissident mobilisation.

Table 1. **Categories and Solutions to the Collective Action Problem**

Solution Categories	Solutions that interact with social media
Market	Lower costs; Increase the probability of winning; Increase the probability of making a difference.
Community	Common knowledge; Common Values
Hierarchy	Locate principals and patrons;
Contract	Mutual exchange

Market solutions

The first category, market, operates on the cost/benefits to participating in collective dissent. Given the collective action problem, or individuals' non contribution towards the public good, market solutions look at how exogenous variables to the equilibrium of the collective action problem can alter an individual's decision calculus to participate. The costs to collective dissent are particularly important in understanding the how and why of mobilisation. Costs help constrain individual's preferences. As costs are altered, preferences and thus the proclivity to act are also adjusted (Lichbach, 1998b).

Social media can help with dissident communication; however, the reasons they wish to communicate have not changed as a result of the Internet age. Market solutions to the dissident collective action problem concern communication outside of the dissident organisation. The already organised dissidents need to inform would-be dissidents about

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

the protest event. Information can change or inform an individual's decision calculus. This is clearly evident in market category solution groups that involve dissidents lowering costs, increasing the probability of winning, and increasing the probability of making a difference, all of which can lead to increased mobilisation.

Social media can facilitate lowering the costs of participating in several ways. Social media and the Internet have lowered the costs of communication. In the past dissidents had to pay for texts, tracts and pamphlets, and organisations had to pay for advertising. This placed at least some form of cost just on entering the marketplace of contentious politics, assuming first a preexisting organisation with some form of financial resources. Blogs, Twitter, Facebook, Instagram and other forms of social media are all free avenues to publicise and share a dissident or dissidents' message. In this way entry level financial costs of communication are nearly nonexistent.

Social media also lowers opportunity costs. Opportunity costs are the time, effort and energy spent on collective dissent that could be spent doing something else. This can range from having to choose to attend a meeting instead of watching your favourite television show, to the time and preparation it takes to avoid state surveillance if you decide to attend a clandestine dissident meeting. With near instantaneous communication, users no longer have to coordinate in person or at meetings.

Dissidents can also communicate with their distant counterparts in ways that were unimaginable a few decades ago. Partaking in an online chat requires less commitment of time and energy than having to physically attend a meeting. Moreover, in authoritarian systems this ability may lower the cost in terms of repression. Dissidents can meet online, often anonymously, without having to risk the danger and surveillance that comes with groups of people meeting in person. For example, organisers involved with the collective Anonymous and its first major campaign, Operation Chanology (a online and offline protest campaign against the Church of Scientology) engaged in lengthy discussions over missions, or Ops, tactics and targets via Internet Relay Chats (Coleman, 2014). Without the Internet and this ease of communication, and its space away from state surveillance, Anonymous would never have been able to coordinate its first protests against the Church of Scientology (Coleman, 2014).

While the Internet has helped dissidents communicate with each other, social media allows dissidents to share their message with a broader world in a way that is low cost, and open. For example, during Operation Chanology, Anonymous posted a video entitled "A Message to Scientology" on Youtube. The video has attracted five million views and helped the overall operation, and Anonymous, attract considerable media attention (Coleman, 2014). Protests all around the world generate hashtags users can follow. Dissidents still face the problem of getting their message beyond their core followers. Barbera and colleagues (2015) find that periphery supporters online are key to disseminating information to a larger audience. Just as the advent of the Internet has lowered costs for businesses and firms by bringing faster and easier forms of communication, so too has social media reduced the costs of engaging collective dissent.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

Secondly, social media helps increase the dissident's belief in the probability of winning by reporting the protest event in real-time to an expanded audience. As events transpire, users are able to react, respond and witness what is happening even without being present at the protest event. Recent research (Barbera et al., 2015) found that during the Gazi park protest in Istanbul in 2013 dissidents at the centre of the protest, at its core, were able diffuse real-time information to a periphery of supporters, whose own engagement worked to disseminate this information further. This was especially important given that the Turkish media was not covering the protests. The researchers empirically observe how social media was able to circumvent the censored Turkish media, through speed and online diffusion, gaining international attention.

The ability to see a protest as it unfolds can greatly increase the chances that nonparticipants will chose to participate. As Lichbach observes: "as a dissident's estimate of the chances of victory increases, his or her participation in collective dissent also increases" (1998b: 62). Social media helps communicate victories quickly through live tweeting, updating posts, or making short videos or live streaming through various social media, assisting the chances of increasing participation.

Of course, this can go the other way. Witnessing repression or failures can have a reverse effect; however, dissidents and dissident leaders want to increase the belief in the probability of winning and therefore will manipulate facts and events to suit their goals. This is often why dissident numbers at protest events are inflated, while the state tries to diminish such numbers. In our contemporary world, a photo tweeted by protesters at an event can help more likely-protesters participate in that event in a time-frame that more quickly reaches the intended audience than was likely the case when the dispersion of visual images was dependent on traditional media.

The next solution is: increase the probability of making a difference. This solution plays to the importance individuals place on their own efficacy. Social psychology has shown that among crowds individuals feel a diffusion of responsibility enabling them to look to someone else to act in the time of a crisis (Darley and Latane, 1968). For this reason, collective action also suffers from large groups as individuals believe someone else will take care of the problem for them. Therefore dissidents and dissident leaders want to convince individuals that their participation is crucial to success. The question here is, how can social media facilitate increasing individuals' efficacy?

So far, I have argued that the value of social media to dissidents is that it provides them with information once impossible to attain during the protest. However, information on social media prior to the protest may also assist in mobilising individuals by accentuating their ability to make a difference. For example, imagine an event organised on social media where users are able to commit to attending visibly, and other users are able to see the number of people who have committed to attend the protest event. Such a situation helps individuals understand that their attendance is crucial to the success of the event. The lower the number, the more an individual can understand the importance of her attendance. She can even be efficacious by inviting others to the event or by spreading

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

the news that the event is happening in the first place. Such actions, and their ease via social media can lead to feelings of individual importance amid the masses that instances of collective dissent try to muster.

One possible problem for dissidents on social media concerns how little or how much individuals must do in order to feel efficacious. Does simply sharing a tweet or liking a post satisfy their feelings of efficacy, thereby lowering the likelihood that an individual may attend a protest after feeling useful simply by sharing and stating an opinion about it online? Evgeny Morozov (2009) argues that such acts are low-cost and low impact, and essentially meaningless, while creating a good feeling for the actors. In this sense social media may increase feelings of efficacy, while also stripping away a would-be dissident's actual effectiveness. If liking the protest satisfies as much as attending the protest, then social media may actually reduce effective efficacy among dissidents.

Yannis Theocharis (2015) parses the debate by offering that liking or retweeting are not sufficient instances of political action, but rather represent aspects of preference sharing. Actions that involve posting symbolic photos, tweeting to politicians and policy makers, or sharing posts can represent actions (Theocharis, 2015), and it could be argued, do increase feelings of efficacy that further dissidents' goals and causes, especially when considering that research shows that users sharing information from the core dissidents concerning an event likely helps dissidents attract more attention and possibly participants (Barbera et al., 2015). Gil de Zúñiga and colleagues' (2012) study of protest in Chile explored which types of online activity shared a strong relationship with protesting, and found that users who used social media for expressing opinions and joining causes were more likely to protest. It seems then that rather than siphon off efficacious feelings, it enhances them, leading towards greater participation both online and offline.

Returning to the access of the actual protest event via social media we see that increasing efficacy too can lead to increases in participation. As Lichbach notes: "as the dissidents and regime move closer to each other in strength the probability of a single dissident making a difference in the conflict increases. Collective dissent thus becomes more likely" (1998b: 84). Sharing with users the confrontational aspects of an event, both in its lead up and as it unfolds, can likely help propel people to participate.

Again, we see how the instantaneousness of social media, coupled with the fact that the dissidents control the message as opposed to the news media, who dissidents used to depend on in order for an event to be reported, helps us understand how an individual's feelings of efficacy can be increased by following events via social media. Even if nonparticipants fail to participate during a live event, witnessing the event, and learning about what transpired during the event can lead to their future participation (Francisco, 2004).

To summarise, the relationship between the market solutions discussed above and social media is one in which we can understand the potential for social media to effectively aid dissidents' efforts to solve the collective action problem through lowering the costs

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

of communication, bettering dissident's ability to communicate an imminent victory, and increase feelings of efficacy. And while the literature offers that online activity seems to increase feelings of efficacy, it would be beneficial if future work dealt with question specifically and further explore the extent to which an individual's efficacy is satisfied by simply engaging with dissident content online or whether the desire to be efficacious is transferable to the offline world.

Community solutions

The next and most likely solution group to aid dissidents on social media is the community solution group. The solutions of common knowledge and communication explore how communication within a given community can alter how members of that community act collectively (Lichbach, 1998b). Communication helps organise and coordinate dissidents by fostering mutual expectations within a certain community. The community category solution groups of common knowledge and common values are likely to be enhanced by the use of social media, while also assisting dissidents in solving their collective action problem.

Clearly, communication among dissidents is essential to mobilising, and the community category of solutions to the dissident collective action problem addresses the impact of communication directly. The first solution, common knowledge, argues that communication concerning protests will assist in aiding protest. The reason for this is the way in which preexisting communication can prepare dissidents for action. Knowing that if an individual acts, she will not act alone is very important for collective action. Moreover, communication prior to an event can tell dissidents the time and place of the event, and what circumstances may trigger a protest (common knowledge). A mutually understood signal concerning not just when to act, but how to act can also serve as the necessary antecedent to action (common values). In the online world this communication can be carried out among members of a group, followers of a particular profile, or users that interact with each other. It is clear that social media and the Internet can assist dissidents in communicating and coming to understand and agreeing on what type of actions or events can trigger a collective response. While dissidents have been able to communicate long before the advent of the Internet, we see that when coupled with the market solution category of lowering costs, communication is facilitated by online means of communication, which in itself, facilitates more communication, thereby increasing the likelihood of protest.

One of the pressing empirical questions for social media and protest is, how cohesive can online groups be? As mentioned in a previous section, the ability of an online community to function like a small group in which the members know and rely on each other, permitting elements of social sanction against members who fail to participate, and a cohesive environment in which communal obligation is shared among members is an empirical question. Evidence shows that in small, in-person groups these norms do develop (Olson, 1965), and can lead dissidents to act collectively (Brown, 2013b; Lichbach, 1998b). If such relationships do exist among online groups, then we can understand how the use of social media is a great boon to dissident communities. The low cost of

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

coordination and the easy means to produce common knowledge, contribute to the likelihood of collective dissent when social media is involved.

The relationship between the community solutions discussed above and social media is one in which we can appreciate the ease at which communities can communicate and share common knowledge and common values online to manifest itself in stronger communities, thereby increasing individuals' chances of knowing when to act and how to act collectively. The question that remains is, are large and small online communities too diffuse to operate and behave with the the same cohesiveness and norms as small, offline communities when it comes to engaging in social protest? Moreover how do the dynamics of social sanction work when group members can be anonymous?

Anecdotally, we can see elements of norms and social sanction at play among the most, no pun intended, anonymous members of the group Anonymous. During Operation Chanology, a subset of Anonymous members, referred to as the marblecake collective, produced propaganda, press releases and facilitated communication between different groups. Among the eight or so members of the collective one member violated a set of norms that existed both within the collective and within the broader populace of Anonymous, namely by trying to force the support of an action that many members seemed opposed to. As a result, the member herself became a target, and other members spread rumours about her and also released her personal information, known as doxing (Coleman, 2014: 72-73).

What this story reveals is that norms or values within online communities develop and violating those norms can have negative repercussions. At the same time, it is curious that one of those repercussions involves removing a user's anonymity by releasing personal, biographical information. Accepting that community solutions are often a necessary way of solving the collective action problem invites researchers to explore the dynamics of online communities, their norms, and boundaries, how their members relate to one another and how these aspects develop into solutions to the dissident's collective action problem.

Hierarchy solutions

The next solution category assumes a preexisting organisation. Just as community solutions assume a community, hierarchy assumes an organised dissident entity, that is more often than not, hierarchical, meaning it has leaders. The hierarchy category of collective action solutions is important as it coincides with both market and community solutions. That is, a preexisting organisation is the 'visible' hand that lowers costs, provides information, and increases efficacy. As it relates to social media and online activism, the preexisting organisation, even if decentralised like the hacker group Anonymous, has more active members that disseminate information online, post photos designed to lower costs, increase efficacy, or share common knowledge. With social media, the issue of leadership remains important, but seems to have been overlooked by the literature. Whether or not the revolution will be tweeted depends on who is doing the tweeting.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

Therefore, we must first recognise that tweets and posts come from someone. The use of social media assumes that there already exists an interested party acting for the public good. Turnout for an event can likely be linked to the size and type of that organisation. For example, imagine the labor union the AFL-CIO tweeting the time, location and cause of a worker's rally versus your local Anarchist collective tweeting the same event. The AFL-CIO has 12 million members, 88 thousand followers on twitter, a SuperPac and allies in the halls of the US Congress. Clearly an event announced on social media by the AFL-CIO will receive more notice than an event from a lesser organisation. The bigger the size of the preexisting organisation, the more likely its message will trend or pick up interest from third parties, as media and other well known profiles, retweet or comment on the original message. Therefore, in focusing on the theoretical understanding of social media and mobilisation it is necessary to note the type and size of the organisation operating on social media. When it comes to empirically testing the influence of social media on protest, an important research question is, does who and how big an online entity is in the real world, likely effect the number of participants on the street?

While Barbera and colleagues (2015) discuss the importance of spreading protest information flows from the core to the periphery, the authors do not explore who or what organisations the core are comprised of. Yet, who is tweeting the tweets might play a important factor in how the information is further disseminated. By understanding the importance of hierarchy solutions to the dissident collective action problem, we can also understand the importance of focusing on who organises, composes and posts the original dissident messages on social media, and its consequences for participation.

At the same time small dissident organisations can likely make use of social media in finding and locating supporters for their cause. This brings us to one of the most important hierarchy solutions to the dissident collective action problem, finding and locating principals and patrons (Walker, 1983; Lichbach, 1998b). In the world of protest, patrons offer material resources to dissident organisations. While, principals offer skills, know how, and other resources to dissident organisations. Francisco (2010) observes that in most cases, dissident leaders come from a higher socio-economic background than their followers, indicating that their education and resources help their efforts at organising and mobilising.

Financing from patrons, wealthier individuals or organisations, helps social movements attain, otherwise, costly resources for dissent. This money can be used to finance full-time activists, help purchase resources that help lower costs, or provide other solutions to the collective action problem. One example of a dissident organisation receiving patronage is the Centre for Peace Studies in Croatia, which is funded by the EU, and even the Croatian state, and yet often engages in dissident and protest activities. On a more negative and violent side, it is well established that wealthy Gulf States have served as patrons to Islamist terror organisations, helping finance Hamas, Al Qaeda, the Islamic State, and the Al Nursa Front, to name a few. Patronage is a tried and true solution to the dissident collective action problem.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

The question here is, who is considered a patron on social media, and how can their patronage help with dissident mobilisation? I explore answers to this question in two ways. The first looks at material and financial contributions. Here we see how the Internet and social media can help individuals and organisations raise money for their cause via crowdfunding services, such as gofundme, Patreon, and kickstarter. For example, in 2016, protesters of the North Dakota Access Pipeline raised over one million dollars via crowdfunding (Associated Press, 2016). The money was used to house and feed 670 protesters as the North Dakota winter took hold on the protesters' camp (Associated Press, 2016).

The ability to crowd source funding via the Internet means that anyone in the world can easily contribute to a cause they care about. Prior to the Internet, dissidents had to organise their own fundraisers, meet in person with benefactors, and provide selective incentives to donors. For example the organisation Green Peace raised funds for its first campaign to the island Amchitka from a concert in 1970 featuring the popular folk artists Joni Mitchell and James Taylor. Now, one can imagine how much more difficult it is to organise a concert than setting up a fundraising campaign on a preexisting online platform. We can also assume then, that online forms of fundraising lead to easier access to material resources, which leads to more easily aiding dissidents' mobilisation efforts.

The second form of patronage is more virtual than material, and that is when prominent organisations or individuals online, those with a strong following, or support, disseminate a dissident group's message, actions or information to their followers via Facebook likes, posts, retweets or other means of online sharing. For example, Leonardo Dicaprio tweeted his support for the protesters in North Dakota to all of his 17 million followers. His tweet received 3524 retweets, 6874 likes, and 337 replies. At the same time his tweet itself became the subject of several news stories, mentioning his and others support for the small group of protesters in North Dakota. Another example involves actress and movie star Shailene Woodley, who visited the protest site in North Dakota and was arrested by police during a two hour livestream to her Facebook followers (she has over one million followers). This event was not only carried live to her followers, but also garnered its own share of news stories.

The question is whether or not this form of virtual or online support contributes to the groups' mobilisation efforts? Publicity of a cause certainly matters to dissidents and therefore this online support via shares, likes, tweets and retweets, has the potential to aid the dissident group. As Lichbach explains, "Potential dissidents, because of imperfect information, might not even know that a dissident group exists. Dissident groups need in the first instance to alert dissidents to the *possibility* of contributing to [collective action], a course of action that might never had occurred to them" (Lichbach, 1998b: 89).

Social media, whether DiCaprio's 17 million followers or the news stories generated by his tweet in support for the North Dakota protesters, circumvents the gatekeeping of traditional media, whose editorial restriction might refrain in promoting the dissidents' cause, while also facilitating easier access to a much wider audience. Moreover, it is

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

essentially cost free to the dissident organisation, whereas before the advent of social media publicity took more time and cost more. In this sense online patronage can certainly, more easily solve the dissident collective action problem. Of course, to make use of this publicity, dissidents must already have a preexisting organisation.

To summarise, the relationship between the hierarchy solutions discussed above and social media is one in which we can understand how the purpose, size and notoriety of preexisting organisations' use of social media influences physical turnout to a protest event. Furthermore the use of patrons on social media and their influence on social protest events should also be further explored. Social media has most certainly eased dissident organisations' means of finding patrons in both a material sense via fundraising, crowdsourcing platforms, and in a virtual sense via publicity from well followed and known online entities.

Contract solutions

Contract solutions involve the evolution of spontaneous acts of dissent into established normative institutions that come to govern dissidents' behaviour amid their collective endeavours. The literature sites peasant communes, Soviets, revolutionary parties, committees, and church groups (Lichbach, 1998b: 129; Wood, 2003). With the Internet serving as a new environment for connectivity, forms of individual and collective action, as well as communication, we can easily see how new norms and institutions not only develop, but are needed to govern behaviour in cyberspace. In terms of online activism, especially among 'Hacktivist' groups like the decentralised Anonymous, institutionalised norms seem to be very important in facilitating collective dissent. As one author describes,

Anonymous is a classic 'do-ocracy', to use a phrase that's popular in the open source movement. As the term implies, that means rule by sheer doing: Individuals propose actions, others join in (or not), and then the Anonymous flag is flown over the result. There's no one to grant permission, no promise of praise or credit, so every action must be its own reward. (Norton, 2011)

As idealistic as this sounds, it is difficult to accept that individuals just act regardless of whether or not they expect others to do the same. While members of Anonymous may not expect material rewards or incentives for their participation, they do not exist in a vacuum. This is where the idea of institutionalised norms seems crucial to the functioning of online dissent, namely an established norm of reciprocity. Lichbach (1998b) offers that dissidents may engage in a regimen of mutual exchange, in which an individual's support for a form of dissent will be reciprocated by others' support for her act of dissent. In the online world, established norms of reciprocity can aid in the exchange of acting collectively in support of certain causes among dissidents. Anonymous' operations in which individuals from all over the Internet engage in hacking certain targets, from the mobile phones of alleged rapists, to Denial of Service Attacks that bring down targeted websites, to the release of a target's personal information to as many locations on the Internet as possible are organised through this corner of the Internet's norms of reciprocity. That is, if one member, or a set of members begin the acts they know others will assist and *visa-versa*.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

In the case of Anonymous, these norms developed not out of collective dissent, but first out of spontaneous acts of pranking, for the 'lulz'. Through the act of pranking, the norms of reciprocity became ingrained within the Anonymous online community and have since led to further, more elaborate, choreographed dissident actions on the Internet (Coleman, 2014).

In this sense we can see how the Internet, as a space for collaboration that is not constrained by geography and one that has become its own virtual world, led to the establishment of norms among certain users. Message boards on the websites 4chan and subreddits on Reddit have often developed their own culture and norms of expected behaviour (Trammel, 2014). Out of such entities, groups like Anonymous have formed and engaged in online and offline collective action.

The question then is, how does this online activity relate to mass protest on the streets and squares of cities? Here we see the evidence of how solving the dissident collective action problem requires at least two solutions from two different solution groups. A group like Anonymous, acting online can both serve as a preexisting organisation or as a patron to other organisations, while at the same time members of Anonymous, whose norms of reciprocity have already been established may form a smaller community in which community solutions work more effectively, and decide to move their online dissent offline and to the streets. Evidence of this already exists as we saw members, or purported members of Anonymous begin a campaign online and then engage in physical protests during Operation Chanology (Coleman, 2014). More recently, events like the Anonymous organised 'Million Mask March' on 5 November, Guy Fawkes Day, in the UK attracted 20 thousand protesters (Gayle, 2016).

To summarise, the relationship between the contract solutions discussed above and social media is one through which we can understand social media's influence in effectively aiding dissidents' efforts to solve the collective action problem through the establishment of norms of mutual exchange between actors online. The question that remains is how easily are norms of online exchange and collaboration transferable to the offline world? And what processes or other collective action solutions are involved in this transfer?

CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to demonstrate how integrating the theoretical framework of the Collective Action Research Program with the research on the link between social media on social protest could provide a useful orientation to better understand the theoretical foundations of this relationship. Out of the 21 solutions to the dissident collective action problem developed by Lichbach (1998b) and used in much of the literature on social protest, I have focused on seven solutions from all four solution groups and attempted to theoretically understand how their relationship with dissidents, would-be dissidents, and dissident organisations can be influenced by social media. Placing the

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

relationship of social media and protest within CARP can offer the literature a theoretical consensus that seems to be currently lacking. At the same time it can offer a more robust and complete theoretical framework by overcoming the shortcomings in the structuralist approach (SPOT).

Online activism and social media offer a very fruitful area of research for contentious politics. With the online presence of such a vast amount of information and the ability to track and observe the audiences' response to that information, incorporating social media into collective action research has the potential to better inform our own understanding of social protest and dissident behaviour in general.

References

>Ainsworth, Scott H. (2002) *Analyzing Interest Groups : Group Influence on People and Policies*. New York: Norton.
>Associated Press (2016) Dakota Access Pipeline Protesters Crowdsource for $5,000, Get $1 Million. *CBS News*. http://www.cbsnews.com/news/dakota-access-pipeline-protesters-crowdsource-5000-get-1-million/ (21.03.2017).
>Barbera, Pablo; Wang, Ning; Bonneau, Richard; Jost, John T.; Nagler, Johnathan and Tucker, Joshua (2015) The Critical Periphery in the Growth of Social Protests. *PLoS ONE* 10 (11). DOI: 10.1371/journal.pone.0143611.
>Barry, Ellen (2009) Protests in Moldova Explode, With Help of Twitter. *The New York Times*. http://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/08/world/europe/08moldova.html (03.03.2017).
>Bastos, Marco T.; Mercea, Dan and Charpentier, Arthur (2015) Tents, Tweets, and Events: The Interplay Between Ongoing Protests and Social Media. *Journal of Communication* 65 (2): 320–350. DOI: 10.1111/jcom.12145.
>Bastos, Marco Toledo; Recuero, Raquel da Cunha and da Silva Zago, Gabriela (2014) Taking Tweets to the Streets: A Spatial Analysis of the Vinegar Protests in Brazil. *First Monday*. http://journals.uic.edu/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/5227 (28.03.2017). DOI: 10.5210/fm.v19i3.5227.
>Bennett, Lance W. and Segerberg, Alexandra (2011) Digital Media and the Personalization of Collective Action: Social Technology and the Organization of Protests against the Global Economic Crisis. *Information, Communication & Society* 14 (6): 770–799. DOI: 10.1080/1369118x.2011.579141.
>Bennett, Lance W. and Segerberg, Alexandra (2012) The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics. *Information, Communication & Society* 15 (5): 739–768. DOI: 10.1080/1369118x.2012.670661.
>Breuer, Anita; Landman, Todd and Farquhar, Dorothea (2015) Social Media and Protest Mobilization: Evidence from the Tunisian Revolution. *Democratization* 22 (4): 764–792. DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2014.885505.
>Brown, Cody McClain (2013a) *Why Do They Fight? Explaining Participation in the War in Croatia*. Doctoral Dissertation. Lawrence: University of Kansas.
>Brown, Cody McClain (2013b) Who Fights First: Greivances, Community and Collective Action. *Politička misao: Croatian Political Science Review* 50 (5): 7-28.
>Coleman, Gabriella (2014) *Hacker, Hoaxer, Whistleblower, Spy: The Many Faces of Anony-mous*. London: Verso books.
>Conover Michael, D.; Ferrara, Emilio; Menczer, Filippo and Flammini, Alessandro (2013) The Digital Evolution of Occupy Wall Street. *PLoS ONE* 8 (5). DOI: 10.1371/journal.pone.0064679.
>Darley, John M. and Latane, Bibb (1968) Bystander Intervention in Emergencies: Diffusion of Responsibility. *Journal of personality and social psychology* 8 (4): 377-383. DOI: 10.1037/h0025589.
>Delany, Colin (2011) *How Social Media Accelerated Tunisia's Revolution: An Inside View*. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/colin-delany/how-social-media-accelera_b_821497.html (28.03.2017).

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

>Ferrara, Federico (2003) Why Regimes Create Disorder: Hobbes's Dilemma during a Rangoon Summer. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47 (3): 302–325. DOI: 10.1177/0022002703252366.
>Francisco, Ronald A. (2010) *Collective Action Theory and Empirical Evidence*. New York: Springer. DOI: 10.1007/978-1-4419-1476-7.
>Francisco, Ronald A. (2009) *Dynamics of Conflict*. New York: Springer. DOI: 10.1007/978-0-387-75242-6.
>Francisco, Ronald (2004) After the Massacre: Mobilization in the Wake of Harsh Repression. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 9 (2): 107–126.
>Gayle, Damien (2016) Million Mask March: Police Curb Protests amid Fears of Violence. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/nov/04/million-mask-march-police-protesters-violence-fears-restrictions (21.03.2017).
>Gerbaudo, Paolo (2012) *Tweets and the Streets: Social Media and Contemporary Activism*. London: Pluto Press.
>Gil de Zúñiga, Homero; Nakwon, Jung and Sebastián, Valenzuela (2012) Social Media Use for News and Individuals' Social Capital, Civic Engagement and Political Participation. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 17 (3): 319–336. DOI: 10.1111/j.1083-6101.2012.01574.x.
>Gladwell, Malcom (2010) SMALL CHANGE Why the Revolution Will Not Be Tweeted. *The New Yorker*. October 4, 2010: 42–49.
>Grossman, Lev (2009) Iran Protests: Twitter, the Medium of the Movement. *Time*. http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1905125,00.html (03.12.2016).
>Lichbach, Mark Irving (1998a) *The Rebel's Dilemma*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. DOI: 10.3998/mpub.13970.
>Lichbach, Mark Irving (1998b) Contending Theories of Contentious Politics and the Structure-Action Problem of Social Order. *Annual Review of Political Science* 1 (1): 401–424. DOI: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.1.1.401.
>Lichbach, Mark Irving (1997) Mobilization Forum: Response to Mcadam, Tarrow, and Tilly. Contentious Maps of Contentious Politics. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 2 (1): 87–98.
>Lichbach, Mark Irving (1996) *The Cooperator's Dilemma*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. DOI: 10.3998/mpub.13808.
>McAdam, Doug; Tarrow, Sidney G. and Tilly, Charles (2001) *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: 10.1017/cbo9780511805431.
>McCarthy, John D. and Zald, Mayer N. (1977) Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory. *American Journal of Sociology* 82 (6): 1212–1241. DOI: 10.1086/226464.
>Morozov, Evgeny (2009) From Slacktivism to Activism. *Foreign Policy*. http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/09/05/from-slacktivism-to-activism/ (28.02.2017).
>Norton, Quinn (2011) Anonymous 101: Introduction to the Lulz. *Wired Magazine*. https://www.wired.com/2011/11/anonymous-101/ (28.02.2017).
>Olson, Mancur (1965) *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
>Segerberg, Alexandra and Bennett, Lance W. (2011) Social Media and the Organization of Collective Action: Using Twitter to Explore the Ecologies of Two Climate Change Protests. *The Communication Review* 14 (3): 197–215. DOI: 10.1080/10714421.2011.597250.
>Merriam-Webster (2017) Social Media. www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/social media. (28.02.2017).
>Theocharis, Yannis (2015) The Conceptualization of Digitally Networked Participation. *Social Media+ Society* 1 (2): 1-14. DOI: 10.1177/2056305115610140.
>Tilly, Charles (1978) *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.
>Trammell, Matthew (2014) User Investment and Behavior Policing on 4chan. *First Monday* 19 (2). http://ojphi.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/4819/3839 (28.02.2017). DOI: 10.5210/fm.v19i2.4819.
>Tufekci, Zeynep and Wilson, Christopher (2012) Social Media and the Decision to Participate in Political Protest: Observations from Tahrir Square. *Journal of Communication* 62 (2): 363–379. DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01629.x.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

>Tufekci, Zeynep (2014) The Medium and the Movement: Digital Tools, Social Movement Politics, and the End of the Free Rider Problem. *Policy & Internet* 6 (2): 202–208. DOI: 10.1002/1944-2866.poi362.
>Walker, Jack L. (1983) The Origins and Maintenance of Interest Groups in America. *The American Political Science Review* 77 (2): 390–406. DOI: 10.2307/1958924.
>Weinstein, Jeremy M. (2007) *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
>Wolfsfeld, Gadi; Segev, Elad and Sheafer, Tamir (2013) Social Media and the Arab Spring. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 18 (2): 115–137. DOI: 10.1177/1940161212471716.
>Wood, Elisabeth Jean (2003) *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: 10.1017/cbo9780511808685.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.2 / PRIMLJENO: 03.04.2017.

TVITOVI I MOBILIZACIJA: TEORIJA KOLEKTIVNOG DJELOVANJA I DRUŠTVENI MEDIJI

Cody McClain Brown

SAŽETAK *Ovaj rad ispituje odnos između građanskih prosvjeda i društvenih medija iz perspektive istraživačkog programa kolektivnog djelovanja. Dok literatura ukazuje na snažne empirijske dokaze o pozitivnom odnosu između upotrebe društvenih medija i pojave građanskih prosvjeda, teorijsko je podupiranje ovog odnosa osporavano i često neodređeno. Nastojeći pružiti snažniju teorijsku osnovu za taj odnos, ovaj rad istražuje teorije kolektivnog djelovanja fokusirajući se na društvene medije i njihovu ulogu u rješavanju problema kolektivnog djelovanja onih koji se suprotstavljaju službenoj politici. Rad promišlja kako upotreba teorije kolektivnog djelovanja za razumijevanje društvenih medija i prosvjeda može poslužiti boljem razumijevanju pozitivnog odnosa između društvenih medija i pojave građanskih prosvjeda.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

DRUŠTVENI MEDIJI, GRAĐANSKI PROSVJEDI, PROSVJEDNA POLITIKA, TEORIJA KOLEKTIVNOG DJELOVANJA

Bilješka o autoru

Cody McClain Brown :: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Fakultet političkih znanosti, Zagreb **::** codymcclain@gmail.com

EUens – THE RISE OF A NEW IDENTITY DRIVEN BY SOCIAL MEDIA

Domagoj Bebić :: Dijana Eraković :: Milica Vučković

Prethodno priopćenje / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.3 / Primljeno: 29.11.2016.

ABSTRACT *The goal of this study is twofold: firstly, we want to explore specific identity that has been emerging as a consequence of many EU-related changes (e.g. development of transport, ICT, increasing number of different EU programs and new EU policies); secondly, we want to test the role of social media in building this new identity that we call EUens (European Union citizens). Conducting in-depth interviews with 25 EUens we find that some issues which are commonly seen as important factors in European identity construction, such as class and political attitudes, do not play any significant role in constructing European identity for members of our group. Secondly, our analysis suggests that social media have potential of becoming important driver of European identity.*

KEYWORDS

EUROPEAN IDENTITY, EUens, EUROPEAN UNION, NATIONAL IDENTITY, SOCIAL MEDIA

Authors Note

Domagoj Bebić :: University of Zagreb, Faculty of Political Science, Zagreb, Croatia **::** domagoj@edemokracija.hr

Dijana Eraković :: PhD student in Political Philosophy at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of the University of Rijeka, Croatia **::** dijana.erakovic@windowslive.com

Milica Vučković :: University of Zagreb, Faculty of Political Science, Zagreb, Croatia **::** milica.vuckovic@fpzg.hr

PRETHODNO PRIOPĆENJE / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.3 / PRIMLJENO: 29.11.2016.

INTRODUCTION

European identity as a concept, designed and decided at the Copenhagen European Communities summit (Commission, 1974), has been widely studied and examined in several disciplines (political science, anthropology, history, sociology) (Habermas, 2001), and from many different aspects, including studies in which authors tried to reveal what motivates citizens from different European countries to support idea of European integration (Eichenberg and Dalton, 1993; Gabel, 1998).

Neil Fligstein (2008) and Fligstein and Alina Polyakova and Wayne Sandholtz (2012) in their work find that people who are likely to adopt European identity are those who speak second languages, report having traveled to another member state in the past 12 months, and who have joined European wide organizations. Author also finds evidence that these groups tend to come from the most privileged strata of society and are managers, educated people, young people, professionals, white collar workers. Relying on the Fligstein's (2008) definition of European identity and his arguments explaining how it happens that some people adopt a European identity and some do not, the intention of this paper is twofold. Firstly, using qualitative research method (in-depth interviews) we want to examine what impacts on constructing European identity certain factors have. These factors are already recognized as important constructors of European identity in Fligstein's studies (2008). Secondly, we question if ICT and social media have any role in building European identity. Bearing in mind Fligstein's finding (*Ibid.*) that interaction among people from different European countries is crucial in explaining why some people adopt European identity, we believe that social media as a mean for interaction can be recognized as important factor in building and maintaining European identity. Following Mark Granovetter's (1973; 1982) theory about strong and weak ties, we tried to examine if EUens (short for European Union citizens) who we define as a specific population of European Union citizens who adopt European identity, connect with alike-minded people abroad via social media and if yes, how does it influence their sense of the European identity. Furthermore, in the European Commission Policy Review it is explicitly stated that more research should be done on a project centered on the "effects upon European identity of the new digital communication media" (2012: 8).

While most of the studies about the European identity use quantitative research methods, we decided to conduct in-depth interviews with 25 persons selected with an assumption to have strong European identity in order to illustrate what role social media play in constructing their European identity.

EUROPEAN IDENTITY – A MYTH OR A REALITY?

Treaty of Maastricht from 1992 is seen as a benchmark in achieving European Union citizenship (Maas, 2007). The idea of European Union citizenship has been seen as a way of combating democratic deficit on the one hand and as an opportunity for open labor market on the other (*Ibid.*). Treaty of Maastricht granted four benefits:

PRETHODNO PRIOPĆENJE / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.3 / PRIMLJENO: 29.11.2016.

the freedom to move and reside anywhere in European Union; the right of all EU citizens to vote and to be candidate in all European elections; the right of EU citizens to enjoy consular and diplomatic protection by the foreign services of other member states; and the right of EU citizens to write petition to European Parliament. (Ibid.)

Since then, many institutions of European Union have been established. According to neofunctionalist strategy, institutions were one of the ways in promoting the development of shared identities, and reducing exclusionary commitment to nation state (Risse, 2010; Risse et al., 2004). Moreover, as Chris Rumford finds, since then, EC has been trying systematically to give a substance to the idea of European citizenship (Rumford, 2007: 4). In the EC's Policy Review (2012) two models of European identity formation are proposed: "a 'culturalist' model in which an orientation to Europe derives fundamentally from core, established European values and their expression in public practices, most notably in governance and the operation of the legal system" and "in which identity is internalized and comes about through the exposure to influential discourses and symbols" while a 'structuralist' model understands that "an orientation to Europe derives fundamentally from association with other Europeans" (European Comission, 2012: 33). In congruence with structuralist model, "identity arises from interacting with others" and coming to the realization that one has much in common with them (*Ibid.*).

ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN BUILDING AND MAINTAINING EUROPEAN IDENTITY

Social media are most often defined as Web 2.0 platforms that enable social interactions among users; content (co)creation, including text, videos, or pictures; and the sharing of status updates and news (Mergel and Bretschneider, 2013: 390). Danah M. boyd and Nicole B. Ellison define these platforms as "web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system" (boyd and Ellison, 2007: 211). In their study about the youth participation and use of technologies, Shelley Goldman, Angela Booker, and Meghan McDermott define technologies as communicative vehicles that serve as platforms for dialogue, discourse, and connection (Goldman et al., 2008: 202-203). Furthermore they explore the role of technologies on different levels: digital, social and cultural, and find that combination of technologies play a vital role in identity building experiences (*Ibid.*). Relying on these definitions and specific (unmediated, interactive, without time and space limits) nature of social media, we wanted to explore if social media have any role in building and maintaining European identity.

Generally, many scholars tried to examine which factors and in what way form and influence European identity (Bruter, 2003; Carey, 2002; Eder, 2009; Kantner, 2006; Risse, 2010; Vidmar Horvat, 2012). Research on European bi-national relationships (Van Mol et al., 2015), the effectiveness of intergroup contact during ERASMUS year abroad (Sigalas, 2010; Kuhn, 2012; Mitchell, 2015; Oborune, 2013), study about the role of EU institutions'

PRETHODNO PRIOPĆENJE / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.3 / PRIMLJENO: 29.11.2016.

communication on new media platforms with young European citizens and reinforcement of their European identity (Karantzeni and Gouscos, 2013) are only a few attempts that shed some light on the understanding of European identity.

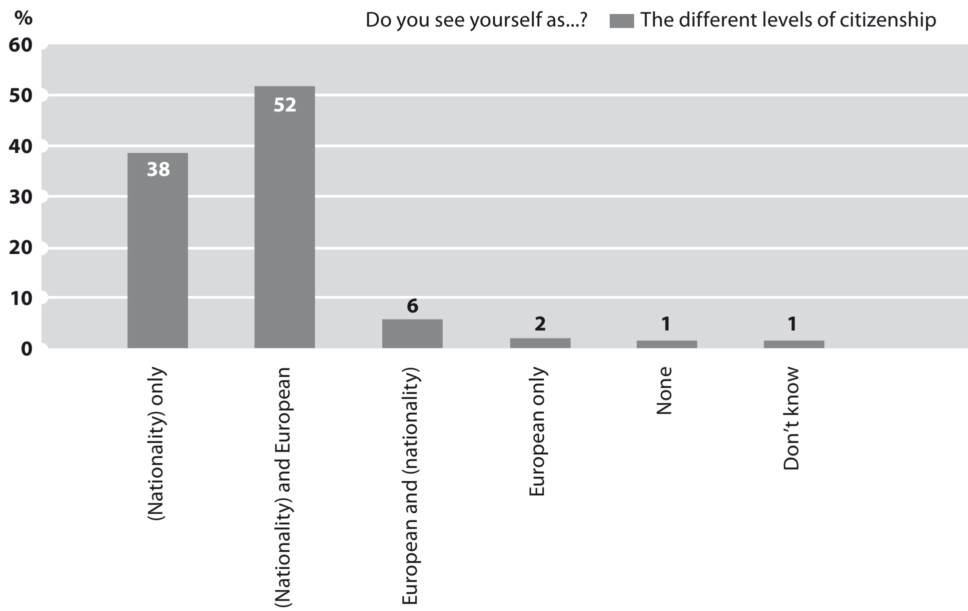
Conclusions from the Open Forum Discussion at Utrecht University about the ‘bEUcitizen’ (Wetzer, 2013), a multinational research-project on European citizenship, say that the idea of European citizenship faces many shortcomings and challenges, and that there is still no agreement on the concept of European citizenship. Yet, it is noted that future projects concerning European citizenship will depend on exchange of different perspectives (*Ibid.*). In the EC Policy Review (European Commission, 2012: 8) further research within the structuralist paradigm on the effects of popular culture on identification with Europe (e.g. on the effects of new digital communication media upon European identity) has been recommended. Also, Sandra Weber and Claudia Mitchell find it is important to examine and reflect on technologies now, because “technologies are becoming more deeply integrated into ever widening areas of our lives, while at the same time their roles as mediators of identities and learning are likely to be taken for granted, perhaps becoming almost invisible.” (2008: 44) This was one of the reasons why we especially focused on the role of social media in constructing European identity in our research hoping that our study could be one small part of this complex puzzle with uncountable pieces.

In this context, through insights in social interactions of our interviewees, identified as EUens and strength of their ties with social media contacts, we wanted to assess the role of social media in creating and sustaining European identity. Applying Granovetter’s (1973; 1982) theory about strong and weak ties, which suggests that among strong ties – our close friends and family, there is a willingness to collaborate together and to share all information, resources and contacts, while weak ties – acquaintances with whom we are rarely in touch, are valuable because they have access to different social circles, information, resources and contacts, we believe that weak ties especially, but also strong ties have great role in creating European identity.

CITIZENS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION IN NUMBERS

According to the most recent available data from Standard Eurobarometer Report conducted in spring 2015, 67 % of Europeans feel that they are citizens of the European Union (Eurobarometer, 2015). The proportion of Europeans who consider that they are “definitely” citizens of the EU is 27 %, while the proportion of those who see themselves as EU citizens “to some extent” is 40 % (*Ibid.*: 19). Yet, when it comes to defining different levels of citizenship, 38 % of respondents say that they feel only national identity, while only 2 % feel only European identity (Graph 1). In the focus of our research will be European Union citizens who feel European identity in the first place, whether they feel or not their national identity too. We aim to disclose what factors make them feel European identity stronger than their national identity.

PRETHODNO PRIOPĆENJE / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.3 / PRIMLJENO: 29.11.2016.

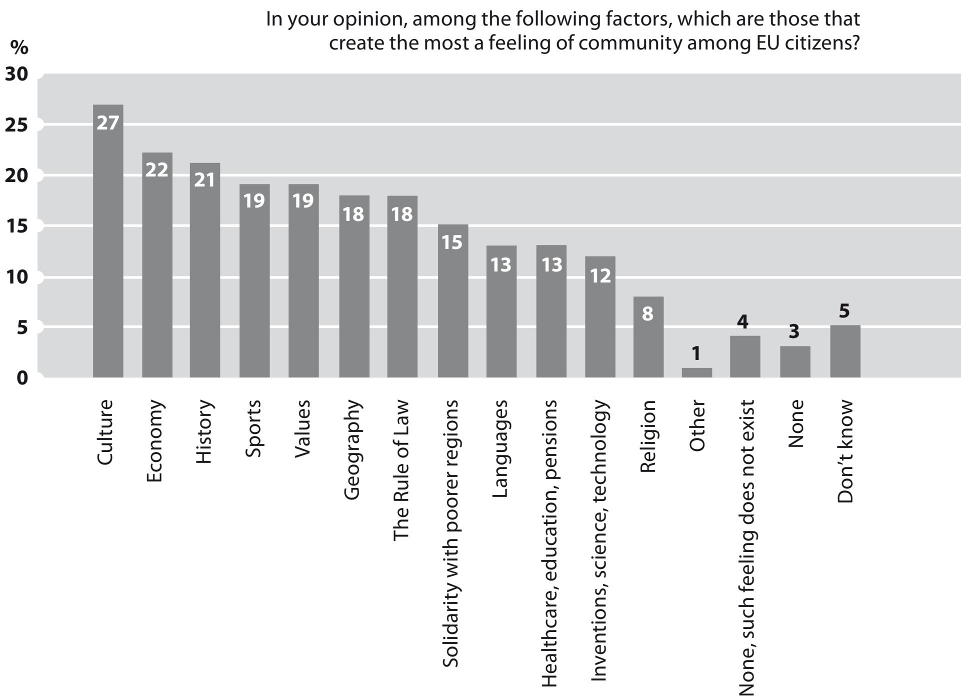


▲ *Graph 1*
The different levels of citizenship
Source: Eurobarometer, 2015: 21.

Eurobarometer Report (2015) brings data on the most important issues in creating a feeling of community. Culture, economy, history, values, geography and the rule of law are just some of them that are believed to have influence on creating a feeling of community among EU citizens (Graph 2). Following these results, in our research we wanted to reveal how EU citizens who feel European identity in the first place recognize and define some of the issues which have been stressed as important in creating a feeling of community. For instance, even 27 % of respondents think that culture contributes the most to creating a feeling of community among European Union citizens (Graph 2).

Yet, it is rather vague and not clear what does culture mean for the European Union citizens, especially as a factor in this context. For this reason, in our research we examined general cultural interests of our interviewees in order to see what culture is for them. Furthermore, category "Inventions, science and technology" is recognized from 12 % of respondents as important component in creating a feeling of community. Although information and communication technology (ICT) is not specified in Eurobarometer Report (2015) as an independent category, we believe that social media can have important role in creating European identity, for which reason we explore this component in depth.

PRETHODNO PRIOPĆENJE / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.3 / PRIMLJENO: 29.11.2016.



▲*Graph 2*
The factors which do the most to create a feeling of community
Source: Eurobarometer, 2015: 27.

METHODOLOGY

Research questions and method

Relying on previous quantitative studies and results of Eurobarometer Report (2015), in our study we want to imply qualitative analysis in order to try to reveal which values are recognized and associated to the European identity by the specific group of people that we call EUens. The goal of our study is twofold. Firstly, we want to examine if certain factors have any role (RQ1) and if they have some, what role they have in constructing European identity among this specific group of interviewees (RQ2). These factors are already recognized as important constructors of European identity in Fligstein's study (2008). Secondly, we explore if social media have any role in building and maintaining European identity (RQ3) and if they have, what kind of role they have among our specific group of Europeans (RQ4).

PRETHODNO PRIOPĆENJE / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.3 / PRIMLJENO: 29.11.2016.

As European and national identities are a part of complex and diverse self-identity of our targeted group, in-depth interview appeared to be the most effective form of research that may result in valuable insights on our topic. “In-depth interviews are used to discover shared understandings of a particular group” (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006: 317). The in-depth interviews that we conducted in the research included closed-ended questions (personal information questions, dichotomous/two-point questions and scaled questions) and open-ended questions (completely unstructured question and word association questions) (more in Edwards and Holland, 2013; Arksey and Knight, 1999; Kvale, 1983; Mann and Stewart, 2000; McCracken, 1988). Interviews were conducted online via Skype, telephone or e-mails. Due to the distance, face-to-face interviews were not conceivable in most of the cases. Interview is divided into three sections. First section asks personal information about respondents, including many factors and characteristics that are recognized in previous studies as important in constructing European identity. Second set of questions looks for information on the direct connections and identifications with the European identity. Third set of questions deals with the role of social media in identity creation and maintenance within group of participants.

Sample

In order to find appropriate sample, we used a method of criteria selection (Brajdić Vuković et al., 2012: 139). Main criteria for their selection was a list of characteristics that Fligstein (2008) and Fligstein et al. (2012) identified in their studies as main features among people with strong European identity. As this group makes a small proportion of the EU population, it was not an easy task to spot people with all characteristics that Fligstein (2008) lists in his work for those who are likely to adopt European identity. They speak foreign languages, travel to another member states in the past 12 months, join European wide organizations, and come from the most privileged strata of society. Their main profiles are managers, educated people, young people, professionals, white collar workers. We succeeded to select 25 candidates, students and young professionals in the age range of 20 to 44, for our interviews that in a great respect correspond with many of these characteristics, but we also observed that his list of characteristics cannot be taken for granted.

Thirteen out of 25 of our respondent come from EU member states which entered EU before 2000 (three respondents from Italy, two from France, one form Belgium, one from Netherland, one from Finland, two from United Kingdom, one from Austria and one from Greece) and EU member states which entered EU after 2000 (one from Slovenia, four from Croatia, one from Lithuania, one from Latvia, three from Hungary, one from Bulgaria and one respondent from Romania) because we intended to examine if this feature influences a sense of European identity in selected group of interviewees. Interviewees in the first group were born or at least live most of their lives in the European Union, while the former group is more aware of political and historical events in their countries during the pre-EU period (communism/socialism, national independence, etc.). Yet, this analysis did not show any difference between these two groups of our respondents.

PRETHODNO PRIOPĆENJE / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.3 / PRIMLJENO: 29.11.2016.

Limitations

Before moving to the discussion and results of this study, it is important to stress limitations of the sample and research. First of all, study is limited with the possibility of generalization. Although, we believe it could serve as important base for further research on this very important topic, it has to be stated that this study cannot give wider picture about the role of social media in building and maintaining European identity. Main shortcoming of the sample is that majority (23 out of 25) of respondents are educated in social sciences, political science and humanities, while students and young professionals whose fields of expertise are science and engineering technologies were not included. One of respondents was student of medicine, and one studied geology. In this respect our findings should be taken with cautiousness and rather as illustration of what role social media maybe have in creating European identity and not as evidence.

RESULTS

First set of question – personal information

First set of questions was dedicated to unveil personal information of interviewees. Most of them speak English and one more European language, besides their mother tongue. For instance, Daiva from Lithuania speaks English, German, Russian, Hebrew, Japanese and Swedish. Furthermore, they travel a lot. Question about travelling was important to us because many author stress that travels as a transnational social interaction have a great influence on building an integrated community of Europeans (Mau and Verwiebe, 2010; Recchi and Favell, 2009; Rother and Nebe, 2009). For instance, Karina from Latvia visited eight countries in last twelve months.

We were very interested to see answers on cultural interests of the respondents as by purpose we did not define what we mean by culture, while as reported by Eurobarometer (2015) – culture is the most significant factor for creation of communal feeling (Graph 2). These answers we divided into two groups, among some belong to both groups at once. First group relates cultural interest to exploring new, different cultures, other than their own, and second group related cultural interest to enjoying activities among own European culture (Berting, 2006) such as film, art, political values, historical heritage and so on. It is worth to mention that the respondents have strong cultural interests, and some developed very specific ones. Zoi from Greece named politics and social interests – environmentalism, social injustice, charity work, human rights, social justice, activism, as her cultural interests.

One of our main thesis that we aimed to test through the research is that socializing and intensive interactions (direct or via social media) with people other than compatriots greatly influences a sense of European identity. Respondents answered that most of their friends come from all around Europe and the world. To give one exemplary answer, Ioana from Romania said that her friends come from all around the world. According

PRETHODNO PRIOPĆENJE / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.3 / PRIMLJENO: 29.11.2016.

to the relevant studies on European identities such as from Jeffrey Checkel and Peter Katzestein (2009: 141), young people who are left-wing politically tend to embrace their European identity stronger than right-wing who prefer nation and national discourse. It is very interesting that most of our respondents (21 out of 25) refused to place themselves within left-right wing constellation, and explained their position through political values, doctrines and prominent political philosophers. They also stressed that their approach to politics is more complex and deliberative why the given political orientation cannot truly catch their stands and believes. This attitude we would label as a genuine indicator for further research on identifying EUens. Dino from Croatia provided a thought-provoking explanation for his difficulty to specify political orientation:

If I had to choose, I would go with being a liberal and left-wing-oriented but I feel like neither one of those options are able to fully describe and encompass my personal believes and blindly supporting just one cause would be against what I stand for.

According to EU Research on Social Sciences and Humanities (European Commission, 2005), young people who have European identity are likely to pursue career beyond their national borders and are oriented toward Europe. Following most of our respondents already had an experience of participation in an EU program/institution/organization or European wider association/firm and are interested in further involvement within EU related jobs and careers. Alexandra (France) as her first association on the European identity recalled her experience as an Erasmus student. Anita from Hungary said she considers the whole EU to be her labor market where she can pursue her career.

When we posted a substantial question on their career goals, we received an interesting feedback. For instance, Rita from Hungary said that her main career goal is life-long learning. Daiva from Lithuania expressed the following:

To make a living by using my best skills and working up to 6 hours a day only.

This discovery was interesting for us because it shows that some of our respondents do not want to fit in within the given bureaucracy and working conditions, but want to work as freelancers and according to their personal dynamics.

Second set of questions – European identity

In the second set of questions we directly asked the interviewees about their attitudes, emotions and deliberation on Europe, European Union and national identity. To get this valuable insight in interviewees' personal understanding of fundamental topics related to their self-identity, in-depth interview yield the most precious output. We started with a question on Europe and find out that most of the respondents defined Europe emotionally as their homeland. They described it as a community of nations with common culture, history and values. Furthermore, all of 25 of respondents differentiate Europe from the European Union, first defining in geographical and cultural terms, while the former one in political, institutional and economic terms.

PRETHODNO PRIOPĆENJE / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.3 / PRIMLJENO: 29.11.2016.

We also tried to determinate strength of the respondents' European identity in relation to their national identity. Answers of the participants support Peter Golding's notion that "nationalism could be a symptom of rather than obstacle to a common European empathy." (Golding, 2007: 725) It also follows the definition in EC Policy Review that identity has an individual as well as collective component, where individual component is a result of active choice while collective component is driven with the context and can be multiple, which is why it could be more accurate to speak of "a mosaic of situation-specific identity rather than identities being nested one within another." (European Commission, 2012) In order to detect how the respondents see and define their European identity, we posted more substantive questions on first associations and what makes them feel belonging to the European identity and to the national identity. Two groups of answers dominated which are both in coherence with the Eurobarometer study (Graph 2), but there is a subtle difference. First group enthusiastically choses more sentimental, colored terms such as Erasmus program in which they participated, plurality, diversity, unity, feeling of commonness and unity, while the second one has more rational approach and lists associations such as Schengen, opposition to American, Christianity, civilization. Alexandra's (France) answer illustrates the first group:

Identifying to Europe is the awareness of a greater collective culture that my country tied itself and its destiny to, historically and geographically.

Contrary to Alexandra, Ana from Croatia gives a rational second group-style answer which expresses neither EU-patriotism, nor nationalism saying that her first association on the European identity is opposition to American identity.

As a final question in this set of questions we asked the respondents to stipulate pros and cons of being European. As main pros of being European, respondents pointed out having benefits given by the EU (free movement of people, services, goods and capital), being stronger together on the global scene, economic prosperity, diversity of cultures and languages, traffic of one currency, euro. According to the answers of 25 participants cons include a rise of new fascism, disability of the European identity to replace national identity, xenophobia, new conflicts between countries, negative image after the financial crisis in Greece which showed that some countries are way too dominant in comparison to others, complex EU bureaucracy, and so on. To illustrate some of sharp answers, according to Stefan from Austria, pros and cons of being European are the following:

Pros: culturally and historically diverse; economically prosperous (if one is lucky to be in the right part of Europe). Cons: European civilization is in a phase of decay and pessimism; Police states are being built. Discrimination and exclusion of ethnic minorities rise. The political union falls apart.

The feedback reveals that the respondents carry their European identity with a full awareness of benefits and difficulties that come out from it, lacking ideological and one-sided views.

PRETHODNO PRIOPĆENJE / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.3 / PRIMLJENO: 29.11.2016.

Third set of questions – role of social media in building and maintaining European identity

This set of questions was constructed to test if social media platforms have any role in creating European identity among the respondents and if they have, what role they have. We assumed that the use of these platforms for communication with friends abroad, active usage of foreign languages through social media and informing on the state of affairs in the EU and other member states could influence a sense of belonging to the European identity.

We revealed that main online activities of the respondents include news reading, communication, leisure time, studying, job-related researches and social networking. Great majority of respondents read besides domestic, international and other EU member states' news. Most of them have two and more profiles on different social media, mainly on Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn and most of them use social media in the first place for keeping in touch with friends abroad, with whom they communicate mostly on a daily or weekly basis.

Furthermore, although most of the answers about the connection between social media and European identity were straight saying that there is rather weak connection or that there is no connection at all, several interviewees contacted us after interviews were conducted due to this question and gave a higher value to the connection between European identity and activities on social media than the one they gave during the interview. One of them was Ivor from Croatia who firstly said that there is no connection between his usage of social media and his European identity. After certain considerations, he said that there is a great connection, stressing that without activities on social media, especially when in his homeland, not much was left to tie him intensively to the European identity. Cornelia from Austria said that social media have impact on her European identity because she does not have it as long as her national identity. These and several alike answers led us to further investigate the nature of relationships among the participants maintained through social media. Moreover, we wanted to verify if strong and weak ties among them maintained through social media play an important role in creating their European identity.

We asked them about a shared history between them and their friends/acquaintances with who they maintain relations through social media, if it is a strong or a weak relationship in terms of communicational intensity, intimacy, number of common friends, common interests, common groups of interests on social media, collaboration on a certain project or similar, where and how often do they meet these people face-to-face. Most of these ties from abroad the interviewees have met during their studies, internships, certain shorter business meetings or academic events. With some of them, they maintain a strong tie, and with some of them a weak tie. They usually have a lot of common friends and they are often members of the same groups of interests on social media related to their field of expertise and career goals. With strong ties, they collaborate on the same projects, or are on disposal to help each other for giving feedback on their projects, applications and similar. Related to both weak and strong ties, they also share important information and

PRETHODNO PRIOPĆENJE / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.3 / PRIMLJENO: 29.11.2016.

invite each other to events that may be relevant for their career or gaining a valuable social capital. They usually meet face-to-face once in two years on events such as conferences, summer schools, certain meetings which are organized by institutions, institutes, or other organizations that are related to their field of expertise, though with strong ties they try to meet more often and in private arrangements too.

Most of them (23 out of 25) answered positively that they use different means of social media communication for interaction with close friends and acquaintances. One of the most typical answers that we received come from Cecilia (Italy):

With those who I have a strong tie, I communicate more often, mainly through e-mails, Skype, Viber or Messenger (Facebook). On the other side, with those who I have a weak tie, I communicate through following their news feed on Facebook, sometimes liking it and commenting it. For their birthday, I send them on Facebook a birthday message, or for Christmas – a Christmas message.

Relying on these answers, we find that our group of interviewees maintain strong and weak ties with other alike-minded young people abroad through social media. This informal mode of connectivity via social media supports and plays a crucial role in maintaining European identity among our participants, whom we call EUens.

Lastly, although conclusions from this part of the research are derived from rather small sample, we have strong beliefs that these findings may be crucial for further researches on related topics, because they support the idea of the significant role of social media in building European identity.

CONCLUSION

Widely discussed and researched, European identity has been drawing attention of many scholars for many years. Identity itself is a complex concept or "ambiguous and slippery term" (Buckingham, 2008: 1) which is studied in many disciplines (sociology, psychology, political science). Adding to the concept of identity prefix European, although dozens of studies are dedicated to clarification of what makes European identity, we get even more complex concept which lacks unique definition. However, it is clear from previous studies and Eurobarometer (2015) results that some individuals feel as Europeans while others do not. Literature suggests that these individuals who feel European identity have many features in common. Intention of this study was to reveal what role certain factors have in creating European identity among one specific group of 25 interviewees (RQ1 and RQ2) and secondly to find out if social media have some role in building European identity and if it does what kind of role they play (RQ3 and RQ4).

Conclusion of the analysis of 25 in-depth interviews conducted with respondents that we identified as EUens (European Union citizens) has four main points which due to the shortcomings and size of the sample in this research cannot be generalized and serve more as illustration, and could be further researched. Firstly, although most of the categories that we questioned support existing literature (Carey, 2002; Eder, 2009; Fligstein, 2008;

PRETHODNO PRIOPĆENJE / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.3 / PRIMLJENO: 29.11.2016.

Kantner, 2006; Risse, 2010) identifying features like other languages, education, travels, participating in different EU programs, culture, etc. as important factors that construct European identity, we find that some factors which are commonly seen as important in European identity construction, such as social class, political attitudes, country of origin, do not play any significant role in constructing European identity for the specific group of respondents that we call EUens. We believe that this notion should be further researched because we think that reason for this could be an achievement of EU's aim to provide equal opportunity for all.

Secondly, we find that participants in this study have rational and deliberative attitudes towards Europe and European identity. Although some of the respondents have romantic views on European identity, most of them think that the identity is constructed with a help of many directives, institutions and programs. They are well aware of all pros and cons that European Union brings, and despite that, they claim to have strong European identity.

Thirdly, moved by ideas that "the creation of permanent networks brings ordinary people together in a multitude of ways is important for the emergence of a shared identity" (Deutsch et al., 1967 in Mitchell, 2012: 504) and that "friendship ties in particular help to build a common identity" (Fligstein, 2008: 13), we tested how important is the role of social media in constructing European identity for the interviewees. As they maintain strong and weak ties with other alike-minded young people abroad, through social media on daily or weekly basis, we claim that this informal mode of connectivity via social media often supports and plays an important role in creating and maintaining European identity among the group of participants in this study.

Finally, we believe that our findings could serve as a base for further research on a specific group of Europeans. Relying on answers of 25 respondents, we call this group of participants EUens and we describe them as following – they are citizens of European Union who feel European identity stronger than their national identity, they come from different class backgrounds, are well educated, travel extensively, speak other languages and have strong cultural interests. Their political attitudes very often cannot fit in any traditional category, although many of them tend to be left-wing oriented. They have usually taken advantage of at least one EU program and are willing to work and study abroad. Finally, our respondents' best friends (strong ties) and acquaintances (weak ties) that are alike-minded people mainly live abroad and they keep in touch with them mostly via social media. Moreover, social media is sometimes the only tie that keeps our respondents connected with the "Europe."

References

>Arksey, Hilary and Knight, Peter T. (1999) *Interviewing for Social Scientists: An Introductory Resource with Examples*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE. DOI: 10.4135/9781849209335.
>Berting, Jan (2006) *Europe: A Heritage, a Challenge, a Promise*. Delft: Eburon Uitgeverij B.V.
boyd, danah M. and Ellison, Nicole B. (2007) Social Network Sites: Definition, History, and Scholarship. *Journal of Computer-mediated Communication* 13 (1): 210–230. DOI:10.1111/j.1083-6101.2007.00393.x.

PRETHODNO PRIOPĆENJE / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.3 / PRIMLJENO: 29.11.2016.

>Brajdić Vuković, Marija; Došen, Karmen; Ghazzawi, Lejla and Tarokić, Sonja (2012) Može li pornografija pozitivno utjecati na žensku seksualnost?: utjecaj učestalog konzumiranja pornografije na spolni život mladih obrazovanih žena: kvalitativno istraživanje (Can Pornography have a Positive Influence on Female Sexuality?: Influence of Frequent Pornography Consumption on the Sexual Lives of Women: a Qualitative Study). *Revija za sociologiju* 43 (2): 133-158. DOI: 10.5613/rzs.43.2.2.
>Bruter, Michael (2003) Winning Hearts and Minds for Europe. The Impact of News and Symbols on Civic and Cultural European Identity. *Comparative Political Studies* 36 (10): 1148-1179. DOI: 10.1177/0010414003257609.
>Buckingham, David (2008) Introducing Identity, pp. 1–24 in Buckingham, David (ed.) *Youth, Identity, and Digital Media*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
>Carey, Sean (2002) Undivided Loyalties. Is National Identity an Obstacle to European Integration?. *European Union Politics* 3 (4): 387–413. DOI: 10.1177/1465116502003004001.
>Checkel, Jeffrey T. and Katzenstein, Peter J. (2009) *European identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: 10.1017/cbo9780511806247.
>Commission (1974) 'Concerning European Identity', in Seventh General Report on the Activities of the European Communities in 1973. Brussels-Luxemburg: European Union Commission.
>Dicicco-Bloom, Barbara and Crabtree, Benjamin F. (2006) The Qualitative Research Interview. *Medical Education* 40, 314-321. http://ltc-ead.nutes.ufrj.br/constructore/objetos/qualitative%20research%20interview.pdf (20.02.2017). DOI: 10.1111/j.1365-2929.2006.02418.x.
>Eder, Klaus (2009) A Theory of Collective Identity Making Sense of the Debate on a 'European Identity'. *European Journal of Social Theory* 12 (4): 427–447. DOI: 10.1177/1368431009345050.
>Edwards, Rosalind and Holland, Janet (2013) *What is Qualitative Interviewing?* London: A&C Black.
>Eichenberg, Richard C. and Dalton, Russell (1993) Europeans and the European Community: The Dynamics of Public Support for European Integration. *International Organization* 47 (4): 507-534. DOI: 10.1017/s0020818300028083.
>Eurobarometer (2015) "European citizenship" No. 83, Spring 2015. http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb83/eb83_first_en.pdf (06.02.2016). DOI: 10.2775/534854.
>European Commission (2012) *The Development of European Identity/Identities: Unfinished Business*. Policy Review. https://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/pdf/policy_reviews/development-of-european-identity-identities_en.pdf (02.02.2016).
>European Commission (2005) *Orientations of Young Men and Women to Citizenship and European Identity*. EU Research on Social Sciences and Humanities. DG for Research. http://cordis.europa.eu/docs/publications/1001/100123871-6_en.pdf (05.02.2016).
>Fligstein, Neil (2008) *Euroclash: The EU, European Identity, and the Future of Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199580859.001.0001.
>Fligstein, Neil; Polyakova, Alina and Sandholtz, Wayne (2012) European Integration, Nationalism, and European Identity. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50 (1): 106-122. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-5965.2011.02230.x.
>Gabel, Matthew (1998) *Interests and Integration: Market Liberalization, Public Opinion and European Union*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. DOI: 10.3998/mpub.15828.
>Golding, Peter (2007) Eurocrats, Technocrats, and Democrats. *European Societies* 9 (5): 719-734. DOI: 10.1080/14616690701412897.
>Goldman, Shelley; Booker, Angela and McDermott, Meghan (2008) Mixing the Digital, Social, and Cultural: Learning, Identity, and Agency in Youth Participation, pp. 185–206 in Buckingham, David (ed.) *Youth, Identity, and Digital Media*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
>Granovetter, Mark (1982) The Strength of Weak Ties: a Network Theory Revisited, pp. 105-130 in Marsden, Peter V. and Lin, Nan (ed.) *Social Structure and Network Analysis*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
>Granovetter, Mark (1973) The Strength of Weak Ties. *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (6): 1360–1380. DOI: 10.1086/225469.
>Habermas, Jürgen (2001) Why Europe Needs a Constitution. *New Left Review* September-October (11): 5–26. https://newleftreview.org/II/11/jurgen-habermas-why-europe-needs-a-constitution (06.02.2016).

PRETHODNO PRIOPĆENJE / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.3 / PRIMLJENO: 29.11.2016.

>Kantner, Cathleen (2006) Collective Identity as Shared Ethical Self-Understanding: The Case of the Emerging European Identity. *European Journal of Social Theory* 9 (4): 501-523. DOI: 10.1177/1368431006073016.
>Karantzeni, Dimitra and Gouscos, Dimitris G. (2013) eParticipation in the EU. *Transforming Government: People, Process and Policy* 7 (4): 477 – 500. DOI: 10.1108/tg-01-2013-0003.
>Kuhn, Theresa (2012) Why Educational Exchange Programmes Miss Their Mark: Cross-Border Mobility, Education and European Identity. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50 (6): 994–1010. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-5965.2012.02286.x.
>Kvale, Steinar (1983) The Qualitative Research Interview: A Phenomenological and a Hermeneutical Mode of Understanding. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology* 14 (1): 171-196. DOI: 10.1163/156916283x00090.
>Maas, Willem (2007) *Creating European Citizens*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
>Mann, Chris and Stewart, Fiona (2000) *Internet Communication and Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage. DOI: 10.4135/9781849209281.
>Mau, Steffen and Verwiebe, Roland (2010) *European Societies. Mapping Structure and Change*. Bristol: Policy Press. DOI: 10.2307/j.ctt1t89j6j.
>McCracken, Grant (1988) *The Long Interview*. Thousand Oaks: Sage. DOI: 10.4135/9781412986229.
>Mergel, Ines and Bretschneider, Stuart I. (2013) A Three-Stage Adoption Process for Social Media Use in Government. *Public Administration Review* 73 (3): 390–400. DOI: 10.1111/puar.12021.
>Mitchell, Kristine (2015) Rethinking the 'Erasmus Effect' on European identity. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53 (2): 330–348. DOI: 10.1111/jcms.12152.
>Mitchell, Kristine (2012) Student Mobility and European Identity: Erasmus Study as a Civic Experience? *Journal of Contemporary European Research* 8 (4): 490-518.
>Oborune, Karina (2013) Becoming more European after ERASMUS? Impact of the ERASMUS Programme on Political and Cultural Identity. *Epiphany (Journal of Transdisciplinary Studies)* 6 (1): 182-202. DOI: 10.21533/epiphany.v6i1.60.
>Recchi, Ettore and Favell, Adrian (2009) *Pioneers of European Integration. Citizenship and Mobility in the EU*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. DOI: 10.4337/9781849802314.
>Risse, Thomas (2010) *A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
>Risse, Thomas; Herrmann, Richard and Brewer Marilynn (eds) (2004) *Transnational Identities. Becoming European in the European Union*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
>Rother, Nina and Nebe, Tina M. (2009) More Mobile, More European? Free Movement and EU Identity, pp. 120-155 in Recchi, Ettore and Favell, Adrian (eds) *Pioneers of European Integration. Citizenship and Mobility in the EU*. Cheltenham: Elgar. DOI: 10.4337/9781849802314.00011.
>Rumford, Chris (2007) Introduction: Cosmopolitanism and Europe, pp. 1–15 in Rumford, Chris (ed.) *Cosmopolitanism and Europe*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
>Sigalas, Emmanuel (2010) Cross-Border Mobility and European Identity: The Effectiveness of Intergroup Contact during the ERASMUS Year Abroad. *European Union Politics* 11 (2): 241–265. DOI: 10.1177/1465116510363656.
>Van Mol, Christof; de Valk, Helga A. G. and van Wissen, Leo (2015) Falling in Love with(in) Europe: European Bi-National Love Relationships, European Identification and Transnational Solidarity. *European Union Politics* 16 (4): 469-489. DOI: 10.1177/1465116515588621.
>Vidmar Horvat, Ksenija (2012) *The Predicament of Intercultural Dialogue: Reconsidering the Politics of Culture and Identity in the EU*. Thousand Oaks: Sage. DOI: 10.1177/1749975511401280.
>Weber, Sandra and Mitchell, Claudia (2008) Imagining, Keyboarding, and Posting Identities: Young People and New Media Technologies, pp. 25–48 in Buckingham, David (ed.) *Youth, Identity, and Digital Media*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
>Wetzer, Thom (2013) EU Citizenship – Many Pieces, But What Should The Puzzle Look Like? http://beucitizen.eu/theme/categories-of-citizenship-2/page/7/ (15.01.2016).

PRETHODNO PRIOPĆENJE / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.3 / PRIMLJENO: 29.11.2016.

EUens: RAST NOVOG IDENTITETA POTAKNUT DRUŠTVENIM MEDIJIMA

Domagoj Bebić :: Dijana Eraković :: Milica Vučković

SAŽETAK *Cilj je ove studije dvostruk: prvo, želimo istražiti poseban identitet koji se pojavio kao posljedica mnogih promjena povezanih s Europskom unijom (mobilnost, IKT, rastući broj različitih EU programa i novih EU politika); drugo, želimo testirati ulogu društvenih medija u građenju ovog novog identiteta koji mi nazivamo* EUens. *Provodeći dubinske intervjue s 25* EUensa, *pronašli smo kako pojedine kategorije koje su obično smatrane važnim faktorima u građenju europskog identiteta, kao što su klasa i politički stavovi, ne igraju važnu ulogu u građenju europskog identiteta među pripadnicima naše grupe. Drugo, rezultati našeg istraživanja pokazuju kako društveni mediji imaju potencijal da postanu važan pokretač europskog identiteta.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

EUROPSKI IDENTITET, *EUENS*, EUROPSKA UNIJA, NACIONALNI IDENTITET, DRUŠTVENI MEDIJI

Bilješka o autorima

Domagoj Bebić :: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Fakultet političkih znanosti, Zagreb **::** domagoj@edemokracija.hr

Dijana Eraković :: doktorandica na Poslijediplomskom sveučilišnom studiju Filozofija i suvremenost na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Rijeci **::** dijana.erakovic@windowslive.com

Milica Vučković :: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Fakultet političkih znanosti, Zagreb **::** milica.vuckovic@fpzg.hr

(R)EVOLUTION OF PERSPECTIVES ON INTERACTIVITY: FROM A MEDIA-CENTERED TO A JOURNALIST-CENTERED APPROACH

Tanja Oblak Črnič :: Dejan Jontes

Pregledni rad / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.4 / Primljeno: 27.10.2016.

ABSTRACT *The proliferation of new media since the late 1990s has launched a new period of revitalising the concept of interactivity but from very different angles and with several empirical research perspectives. The article's main aim is to show the variety of ways in which researchers have conceptualised, examined and analysed interactivity within media and journalism studies. The paper provides insights into the various readings of the changes within the field and offers a cautious view of the concept's potential. Based on a selective meta-analysis of different approaches, we propose to distinguish three perspectives on interactivity: communication- and media-centred perspectives, audience- or user-centred perspectives, and production- or journalist-centred perspectives. This distinction enables us to differentiate between what is considered interactive, and who this interaction involves according to several scholars within media and journalism studies.*

KEY WORDS

INTERACTIVITY, DIGITAL MEDIA, ONLINE JOURNALISM, ONLINE NEWS, AUDIENCES

Authors note

Tanja Oblak Črnič :: University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences, Ljubljana, Slovenia **::** tanja.oblak@fdv.uni-lj.si

Dejan Jontes :: University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences, Ljubljana, Slovenia **::** dejan.jontes@fdv.uni-lj.si

PREGLEDNI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.4 / PRIMLJENO: 27.10.2016.

INTRODUCTION

Despite being one of the most important concepts in media and communication studies, interactivity remains also one of the murkiest and most elusive. What is more, the rise of algorithms in online communication and social media challenges the notion of interactivity altogether. Since interactivity was mainly perceived as a notion that enforces *reciprocity* as an attribute closely tied to technological affordances that allow more interactive message exchanges between actors engaged in communicative process, the recently revealed power of algorithms challenged these social aspects of mediated interactions. That produced the platformed sociality, as José Van Dijck calls it, which "at the same time becomes part of society's institutional fabric" (Van Dijck, 2013: 5), changing also the ecosystem of recent connective media.

According to Mark Deuze, interactivity was one of the three most important keywords in the debate about the differences between traditional media and online media (Deuze, 1999: 377-379). Interactivity enables the more direct inclusion of the reader (or Internet user) in the journalistic experience: either through computer-mediated interaction with the journalists and editors in news media online forums or through the posting of personal comments in direct response to published news and media content. These responses of the audience and the interaction with the readers are the crucial elements of the news environment, and they have brought about a cultural transformation in journalism. The implications of this core feature of online or digital journalism reach far and wide: online interactivity is argued to challenge the most rudimentary journalistic practices (Boczkowski and Mitchelstein, 2012; Hermida, 2010; Domingo and Paterson, 2011; Singer et al., 2011; Larsson, 2012; Ramirez et al., 2016). The process of news production, the selection of news issues and news sources, and the active response to media contents are increasingly structured around audience behaviour and their personalised preferences. Some very recent studies empirically reaffirm the old thesis that the future of journalism in the eyes of professional journalists remains in constant contacts with the news receivers, namely, in its interactivity (Ramirez et al., 2016: 83). On the other hand, studies like Ester Appelgren's (2017) use the example of data journalism to show how the illusion of interactivity replaces real interactivity.

In this paper, this polysemic nature of interactivity will be acknowledged, and the differentiation between several dimensions – variously called "typologies of interactivity" (Domingo, 2008), "levels of interactivity" (Jensen, 2002), or "dimensions of interactivity" (Förnas, 2002; Chung, 2008) – will be established. All such conceptualisations evolve around the assumption that interactivity is a multidimensional construct.[1]

Many authors (Jensen, 1998; Fortunati et al., 2010; Domingo, 2008; Stromer-Galley, 2004) still agree there is a huge confusion in relation to the conceptual specifics of the term interactivity, and also in relation to its (empirical) operationalisation, especially within complementary disciplinary fields like media studies and journalism. The aim

[1] In addition, it is important to recognise that there are two different but inter-related discourses in which interactivity is conceptualised – there are not only scholarly conceptualisations, but also those of practitioners.

PREGLEDNI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.4 / PRIMLJENO: 27.10.2016.

of this study is thus to provide a systematic “cross-disciplinary map” of interactivity by focusing on some of the most paradigmatic scholars and studies within those fields that addressed the changes in communication, media and journalism, accompanied with the rise of new Internet technologies and recent platforms of social media. The article’s main objective is to provide a rereading of selected paradigmatic studies on interactivity within media and journalism research, and to compare the vast empirical approaches to their measurements of interactivity.

With this broad aim in mind, this study follows a conceptual comparative approach in a form of meta-analysis that includes a detailed comprehension of the most prominent readings published through a longer period of time and in different contexts, bearing in mind also the changing phases of the Internet development, and the emergence of recent mobile media platforms. Based on their high citation status, the selection of included studies that were popular from early 1990s on was made (see for example Loosen and Schmidt, 2012).

The structure of the paper is thus threefold. First, a short overview of different contexts within selected disciplines is presented, especially with the relevance to the emergence of the Internet as a new communication and media technology, challenging the idea that the interactivity is a multi-dimensional concept. In the next part, the proposal of a new typology of perspectives on interactivity in relation to three separate questions is generated: what interactivity means, how it should be measured and what is its relevance today. Looking at some of the most cited and mostly referred to studies on interactivity within the media and internet studies from early 1990s on, we suggest a typology of three analytical approaches that seem to prevail within this field. The studies on interactivity can be grouped in the communication and media perspectives, the perspectives on ‘audience turn’ focusing on interactivity as an aspect of audience (re)actions to media platforms, and finally in the production and journalist perspectives that have strongly influenced the most current field of online journalism. This distinction between different definitions and their dimensions enables us to delineate *what* is considered interactive, and *who* this interaction involves or is aimed at, according to prominent scholars within each perspective. In the analysis, seminal studies from different periods with some of the most cited authors in the interactivity research were included (for instance Rafaeli and Sudweeks, 1997; Chung, 2008; McMillan, 2002a; Domingo, 2008; Deuze, 2007; Heeter, 1989). Such literature overview also shows how different disciplines have proposed and/or challenged the use of empirical methods for measuring the concept of interactivity and for the different conceptualisations of interactivity that lie beneath them. The article closes with a short synthesis highlighting the similarities and differences among the three main (r)evolutionary perspectives of interactivity, considering in particular the methods that are used in empirical examinations and research approaches used to address the core concept.

Instead of simply celebrating the potential of interactivity, we provide insights into the various readings of the changes in the field of media and journalism, and offer a less optimistic view of the concept’s potential. In addition, we argue that the recent

PREGLEDNI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.4 / PRIMLJENO: 27.10.2016.

emergence of hybrid digital media platforms and converged communicative practices within a diverse "media ecology" (Jenkins, 2006) imply the rise of a "new conceptual turn" in which interactivity seems to be replaced with a variety of new phenomena, such as "user participation", "audience engagement", "creative co-production", or "produsage". Such change might open up not only new theoretical challenges but also a question of the empirical shift to new research dilemmas that might represent a revival of qualitative or mixed research methods. The paper thus contributes to the ongoing debate in the rapidly changing field, and proposes some useful strands for future research. No matter how conceptually separate different scholars investigating interactivity within the last three decades remained, they seem to share a permanent belief in the power and relevance of interactivity as either social and cultural phenomena, or only as a changeable but sustainable technical affordance.

HISTORICAL CONTEXTS, DISCIPLINARY DIFFERENCES, AND MULTI-DIMENSIONAL ASPECTS OF INTERACTIVITY

Interactivity has been considered an important feature of computer-mediated communication from the outset of Internet research. Cees Koolstra and Mark Bos (2009) generated a meta-analysis of several studies on interactivity, and showed how the concept of interactivity is not addressed only in studies on media and communication, but also in disciplines like marketing, information science, computer science, and education sciences (Koolstra and Bos, 2009: 373).[2] While the term was initially primarily understood as a specific characteristic of a communication process between audiences and the media, and mostly examined within media studies (Rafaeli and Sudweeks, 1998; Jensen, 2002), the expansion of online news, the blogosphere, social media platforms, and of new forms of "citizen journalism" (Domingo, 2008) or "ambient journalism" (Hermida, 2010) has brought a specific attention to its meaning and effects also within journalism (Deuze, 2007). The proliferation of digitalisation and online journalism since the late 1990s has thus revitalised the concept of interactivity, which has become nothing less than a metaphor for online news (Fortunati et al., 2010), and one of the most frequently used *buzzwords* (Jensen, 1998: 185).

Not only in Internet studies, yet strongly related to the fast changes in Internet technologies, interactivity has been a popular research phenomenon within several fields: besides media and communication studies, journalism and social psychology, also in informatics, education, and marketing literature. To provide an insight into the growing popularity of the concept of interactivity, Koolstra and Bos (2009) counted the number of publications in Web of Science mentioning the key words "interactivity" or "interactive" since 1976. The results showed that in the late 1970s about 970 articles were published, in the late 1980s this number already reached 1969, and in the late 1990s the figure grew to over 10,000 articles.

[2] They do not explicitly mention journalism, but also in this field, the concept of interactivity is still of very prominent scientific relevance.

PREGLEDNI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.4 / PRIMLJENO: 27.10.2016.

However, different disciplines approached interactivity in a specific way, providing multiple variations of its definitions, explanation of its main characteristics, and several visions of its potential social and cultural impacts. In the late 1990s, some authors approached interactivity from the more subjective view of participants, users, or Internet audiences. For instance, John Pavlik (1996) stressed that interactive communication is a process of reciprocal influence or control; later, Louisa Ha and Lincoln James described interactivity as "the extent to which the communicator and the audience respond, or are willing to facilitate each other's communication needs" (Ha and James, 1998: 461). Since then the concept evolved around several meanings, but for Vincent Miller its general definitional strengths remain in "responsiveness" (Miller, 2011: 16). However, not all studies were focused on the audience role; instead, some were more inclined to perceive the interactivity as a matter of technological fact related to a specific media form, what Jeniffer Stromer-Galley nicely pointed out by distinguishing between interactivity as a process and interactivity as a product, reminding that interactivity between persons is a different phenomenon from interactivity between people and computers, or networks (Stromer-Galley, 2004: 391). Such distinctions actually derive not just from definitional specifics but generally refer to two separate perspectives of scholars: one supports a computer-mediated communication approach (CMC), and the other is more consistent with a human-computer interaction (HCI) approach (Stromer-Galley, 2004: 393). The first perspective was popular within the media studies, at least in the early research of the Internet, while the second remained more powerful among social informatics and psychology.

It is obvious that the concept of interactivity has become an established research topic in several disciplines. A clear definition of the concept is nevertheless missing and, as noticed by Deborah Chung (2008), interactivity has been discussed through various definitional models. Or as Eric Bucy critically noted: "we scarcely know what interactivity *is*, let alone what it *does*, and have scant insight into the conditions in which interactive processes are likely to be consequential for members of a social system" (Bucy, 2004: 372). These conceptual multiplicity and empirical broadness of the term make the nature of interactive media, as well as their potential impact on the production and consumption of new media content, and their broader social and cultural contexts, even more difficult to grasp. And when David Domingo argued that the concept is "too elastic" he pointed directly to the "wide range of options referred to under the label of interactivity" (Domingo, 2008: 686).

MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES ON INTERACTIVITY WITHIN MEDIA AND JOURNALISM STUDIES

We see that already in the 1980s the focus was on the characteristics of interactivity as a process within media and/or communication interaction. In the 1990s, this focus was still widely accepted. But we can identify a change at the beginning of the 2000s with the rapid development of new web applications that gave much more power to the individual user for synchronic communication, and for self-publishing (Koolstra and Bos, 2009: 377),

PREGLEDNI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.4 / PRIMLJENO: 27.10.2016.

leading to a change in the focus on the interactivity of the user and/or audiences (Chung, 2008), and on the potential of online media as generators of new user-producer relations, arguably prompting the convergence of consumption and production, and inspiring terms signifying these practices such as "produsage" (Bruns, 2008) and "prosumers" (also see Miller, 2011).

Following several theoretical discussions in the early phases (Heeter, 1989; McMillan, 2002b; Kiousis, 2002), and more recent debates on interactivity potentials within online journalism (Chung, 2008; Deuze, 2007; Domingo, 2008; Hermida, 2010) and digital media in particular (Miller, 2011; Jenkins, 2006), we propose a distinction between three perspectives on interactivity:[3]

1) Communication- and media-centred perspectives. This refers to the analysis of technique, and research in these approaches chiefly focuses on the importance of the technical or technological platforms employed for interactivity, asking how interactivity is dependent on the technology used in communication interactions. Or as Vincent Miller argued, here interactivity is a deterministic structure of the technology which enables the affordances of interactivity (2011: 16).
2) Audience- and user-centred perspectives. This focuses on users' perceptions of interactivity as a personal ability to perceive or actualise the experience as a simulation of interpersonal communication, asking if (and when) interactivity is a perception in users' minds or its actual realisation of the interactive potential and usage. This approach is more "socially oriented" aiming to evaluate the audience "state of mind" (Miller, 2011).
3) Production- and journalist-centred perspectives mainly consider the relevance of the contexts of communication settings by asking if interactivity is a characteristic of the context in which messages or news, and media contents are generally exchanged, primarily analysing the interactivity on the textual level of exchange. In contrast to the first two approaches, here interactivity is seen more as a result of the content producers' aims and their decisions, and not simply as a technologically determined factor.

This proposed distinction focuses primarily on the level of different actors – medium/ technology, audience, and producers – and the interactive practices within each of the perspectives, instead on the "views of interactivity" as exemplified in Olof Larsson, who distinguished between functional, perceived, and process view of interactivity (Larsson, 2012: 198). Such distinctions differ also from those typologies which limit the focus to observational context and different loci of interactivity, excluding thus the role and influence of producers, for instance Bucy (2004) or Stromer-Galley (2004). Our typology shows how specific focus of interests in scholarly literature has changed over time, and what solutions for empirical research were offered. A careful reading of how the concept has been examined since its early stages within media and journalism studies allows us to distinguish between several conceptual perspectives on interactivity, and also on

[3] The overview of selected studies and publications of primarily previous research on interactivity is limited only to some of the most prominent authors within media and journalism studies. However, such an overview, which deliberately focuses on the early studies, may provide a starting point for literature review of more recent findings, as well as a resource for new empirical projects about interactive media and digital communication.

PREGLEDNI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.4 / PRIMLJENO: 27.10.2016.

different dimensions, that were popular within them over time. In this sense, a descriptive meta-analysis of the most prominent studies from early 1990s on was made, in order to provide a more detailed overview of single perspectives, and of their contribution to the specific understanding of interactivity and its measurement. The relevance for such a descriptive approach lies in the observation made more than a decade ago, namely that interactivity was "often mentioned, but seldom operationalized" (McMillan and Hwang, 2002: 29).

COMMUNICATION- AND MEDIA-CENTRED PERSPECTIVES

Positioning interactivity from communication and/or media perspective implies a rather deterministic role of technology, enforcing interactive exchange, either between data, computer files or Facebook posts, or enabling the interactive network of the composed messages or mediated content. As such, it is mostly understood as a positive affordance that generates the interactive communication, which is primarily limited to technologically mediated spheres, but in practice referring to numerous technological appliances: from hyperlinked web systems or email services, up to the recently more prominent social network sites like Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, etc. Viewing from a longer historical perspective, the first conceptual definition of interactivity seems to arise from such a technologically driven approach.

One of the first and perhaps most influential explanations of the concept of interactivity was provided by the communication scholar Sheizaf Rafaeli in the late 1980s, who defined interactivity as "an expression of the extent that, in a given series of communication exchanges, any third (or later) transmission (or message) is related to the degree to which previous exchanges referred to even earlier transmissions" (Rafaeli, 1988: 111). This early defining statement has led to divergent reactions, with a number of scholars finding the definition too narrow. Rafaeli's point that interactivity as a widely used but not properly defined concept is, however, not contested: "is a highly relevant term, in relation to which there has been made no consensus as to what it actually means" (Rafaeli, 1988: 10). This loose definition opened methodological dilemmas and operational problems: how to measure interactivity, and how to conclude what is an interactive communication (or not). In this early phase, Sheizaf Rafaeli and Fay Sudweeks (1997) investigated the degree of interaction between participants in computer-mediated newsgroups by analysing interactivity as the dependency among sent messages in threads. With this conceptualisation, they established an important shift from an emphasis on the channel – through which messages are distributed – towards the relationships among messages (Kiousis, 2002: 359). Such a focus remained popular in communication research on interactive media (CMC – computer-mediated communication research) for almost a decade (see Kenney et al., 2000; Förnas et al., 2002; Stromer-Galley, 2004; Jenkins, 2006). In addition, with the rise of new devices and interfaces many scholars assumed them to be implicitly interactive.

PREGLEDNI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.4 / PRIMLJENO: 27.10.2016.

In a similar period, Carrie Heeter (1989) identified interactivity in a more complex way, and differentiated several dimensions of interactivity that refer to the process of message exchange: the complexity of choice available, the level of effort users have to exert, the responsiveness to users, the monitoring of information use, the ease of adding information, and the facilitation of interpersonal communication (Heeter, 1989; Kenney et al., 2000). From Heeter's standpoint, interactivity is not only viewed as a question of the technical implementation of specific interactive mechanisms (for instance, in an online discussion forum or on one website). The concept implies important effects on more general communication aims, first on the side of the producers of websites, and/or on the communication goals between the users themselves. Different aims and different goals demand different communication platforms and differences on the interactivity level (Höflich, 1996 in Schultz, 1999: 3). These contextual dimensions therefore play an important part in constructing the interactive image of the Web, meaning that communication setting is not only technologically driven, but it is also a result of structural factors that determine the level of interactivity.

Following this structure developed by Heeter (1989), most empirically-driven studies in that period tried to explore differences in the degree of interactivity, what Stromer-Galley (2004) labels as a trend to "ordinalisation of interactivity". Viewing interactivity as an ordinal variable was a logical result of definitional constrains, which on the one hand "enabled precise measures, but tend to rarify the concept" (Bucy, 2004: 376) on the other. In a more practical sense, the focus of such research was mostly given to the analyses of news websites by showing the trends, limitations, and availability of their interactive potential. Already in the late 1990s, when Internet websites were quite rarely used as relevant side-products of news production, for instance, Keith Kenney and his research group (2000) aimed to explain in what sense the degree of media interactivity depends on three factors: financial motives (i.e. commercial vs non-profit media), the type of media (i.e. online only or also an offline platform), and the national location (from the USA or elsewhere).[4] The work of Kenney et al. was instructive also as an attempt for measuring diverse levels of interactivity in their analysis of 100 online newspapers: "Complexity of choice", for instance, was constructed as an index measure of the choice of language, the choice of frames on the websites, search engines, news stories placed on the home page, links within news stories and hyperlinks. "Responsiveness to the user" was a result of available email addresses of reporters and webmasters' e-mails. "Facilitation of interpersonal communication" was composed of available chat rooms, discussion groups, feedback mechanisms and at least one e-mail address on the news media home page.

Having all these different points in mind, it seems that the communication and media perspectives to interactivity still maintained some common grounds: the interactivity in this early stage was largely analysed as a *quantity*, either as a degree of interactive communication between participants or message exchangers, on one hand, or as a quantitative measure of the medium's or websites' potential through which interaction might occur. Consequently, in a methodological sense the prominent empirical studies

[4] The study for instance revealed that commercial media are not more interactive than non-profit ones, that online media are more interactive than those online media which also have offline editions and, lastly, that American online media offer more interactivity than those published outside the USA (Kenney et al., 2000).

PREGLEDNI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.4 / PRIMLJENO: 27.10.2016.

in this perspective have primarily focused on quantitative research methods that were mostly based on content analysis. But as Bucy noticed, such studies were generally biased with the problematic assumption that "two way communication is uniformly desirable and predominantly associated with positive outcomes" (2004: 377), mistakenly thinking that more is necessarily also the better.

AUDIENCE- AND USER-CENTRED PERSPECTIVES

The focus in interactivity research changed significantly from 2000 onwards - as the users' perception of interactivity in different communication settings became the central interest of most studies (Stromer-Galley, 2000; McMillan, 2002a; Bucy, 2004; Chung, 2008). In these approaches, the effects of interactivity on the users were questioned, and the circumstances in which users have a feeling of control over the information exchange were identified. Such a turn from a medium to "human interactivity" (Chung, 2008) meant that the focus changed from technical patterns within certain news sites to the facilitation of communication between the users.

Sally McMillan (2002a) is probably one of the most prominent representatives of this audience-centred perspective. She offered a typology of the multidimensional nature of interactivity that can be useful for explaining the shift of focus from media to the users.[5] McMillan developed her own model of interactivity with two main dimensions: users/receivers' control over communication, and the direction of communication stating that the "directionality of communication and level of control over communication environments are central to interactivity in CMC environments" (McMillan, 2002a: 10).

McMillan wanted to provide "a media-neutral" analysis of interactivity but her ideas remained mostly on the level of conceptualisation, giving little further guidance on how to approach them empirically (2002a). Some contributions made by McMillan in the field of empirical research of interactivity should nevertheless be addressed. In her exploratory study (McMillan, 2002a: 279-280) designed to evaluate a four-part model of cyber-interactivity, she examined more than 100 websites related to health through two separate research methods: in the first part, undergraduate students reviewed the selected websites and rated them based on their perceptions of their interactivity. At the end, these same students were asked to complete the scales measuring their attitude to the site – the relevance of the site topic, and their behavioural intentions related to the website. In addition, separate coders rated each website on selected dimensions of interactivity. The second part of the analysis entailed trained coders identifying the interactive features of websites. The aim was therefore to compare the perception of the websites' interactivity from a user perspective with the presence of interactive features in the same sample of websites, what Bucy (2004) labelled as a pattern of "interactivity paradox". McMillan and Hwang (2002) developed also a scale for measuring perceived

[5] Her contribution is also relevant in a broader sense, as she distinguishes three main traditions of interactivity: a) user-to-user; b) user-to-documents; and c) user-to-systems. These three traditions have been evolving for decades, McMillan argues, but in many ways the distinctions between them are arbitrary: "despite the relatively arbitrary nature of the distinctions, these three research traditions do provide a basic framework for investigation of the past, present and future of interactivity" (McMillan, 2002a: 6).

PREGLEDNI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.4 / PRIMLJENO: 27.10.2016.

interactivity by letting participants review websites that were designed to induce low or high interactivity.

In a similar way, Koolstra and Bos (2009) tried to develop a multi-dimensional model for measuring interactivity. They conceived an instrument based on several criteria for observing interactivity (Koolstra and Bos, 2009: 380-383): synchronicity, time flexibility, control over content, the number of additional participants, the physical presence of additional participants, use of sights, use of hearing, and use of other senses. For each of these elements their instruments include three possible levels of interactivity: the highest score is assigned when the element is present for at least two parties; the middle score is assigned if an element is present for one of the parties, while the lowest level is assigned when an element is missing (Koolstra and Bos, 2009: 380).

The model presupposes that the users are active and wish to be interactive. However, due to the exclusion of the direction of communication as an element of the investigation, the model seems more appropriate for analysing interactivity in specific communication settings, such as in discussion forums, and less in online news media where the direction and power of communication is determined by the media itself. In addition, on an analytical level their model is directed to users who are equal. But in the case of online news media the journalist is not necessarily in an equal position to the reader, for the readers can react to the article or statements through their comments.

However, according to Bucy (2004: 379), such approaches missed the orientation towards the *consequences* of varying degrees and types of interactivity in society. His call to address the societal relevance of interactivity implies three concrete propositions (Bucy, 2004: 380): first, that interactivity is desirable only up to a point, after which has negative consequences; second, its effects may occur at an individual and social level and third, effects at the individual can influence outcomes at the social level. Such "curvilinear model of interactivity" (Bucy, 2004: 376) locates the potential in users experiences with technology, but imply interactivity as primarily a perceptual variable that resides within individuals.

Despite the methodological limitations of the above mentioned models, which all were generously more in favour of quantitative research designs, since they all agree that interactivity "in the hands of users" is a variable that can be measured, the turn to audience perspective seems to be given much credit for the latest developments within the field. Nevertheless, it remains very limited when it ignores the important social factors between the users, either in relation to their age, status, gender, education, ethnicity, etc. Users are not a unified mass, and their perception of interactivity varies according to their needs, expectations, tastes and ambitions, especially in relation to new media and recently popular social platforms. Users as audiences seem to gain a new "powerful" position, since much media content is now consumed not directly from the media, but via social platforms and search engines, at least among the digital newcomers who drastically changed previously stable media habits, challenging also the way media content is produced and distributed.

PREGLEDNI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.4 / PRIMLJENO: 27.10.2016.

PRODUCTION- AND JOURNALIST-CENTRED PERSPECTIVES

If journalists spent the first decade online realising that the Internet is digital, as Jane Singer eloquently puts it (2012: 277), in the 2000s the fact that the Web is also a network became central. And this connectedness of all communicators and all communication holds profound professional and cultural consequences also for journalism (*Ibid.*). Soon after the early stage of interactivity analysis, empirical studies of interactive features of online news developed extensively in a dynamic field of research. The main difference between traditional journalism and journalism in an online or digital environment can be characterised by the loss of a clear demarcation between journalists and their audiences, as the interactive nature of online media blurs the distinction between producers and consumers (Karlsson and Strömbäck, 2010: 2). One of the core questions is thus to what extent news websites provide interactive features for audiences, and how these features are articulated in the production of websites' respective online news.

Leopoldina Fortunati et al. (2010) examined a sample of online publication from four European countries, in order to establish the implementation of interactive features in practice. When discussing the structure of the interactivity of online editions, their result showed that e-mail as a form of general contact with the newspapers is the only element present in all the analysed cases, while only one analysed example offered a full range of interactive elements on its website (Fortunati et al., 2010: 53). Similarly, only in half of the examples, the technical possibilities offered by the Web were exploited in the case of forums. The study concluded that the analysed newspapers are still in a stage of pre-interactivity (Fortunati et al., 2010: 58), showing again a major gap between interactivity as a potential and its spread in practice. Another more recent study (Larsson, 2012) – although limited only to Swedish newspaper venue – provides a deeper insight in the structural factors that either limit or stimulate the interactive features of online news websites. His findings suggest that the most interactive newspaper websites within Swedish context belong to large, national companies with younger staff (Larsson, 2012: 206).

Michael Karlsson and Jesper Strömbäck (2010) are nevertheless critical of such approaches, highlighting the lack of research on the level of a news story. According to them, most studies on interactivity and immediacy focus on the producers or users of online news, employing methods such as ethnographic studies and surveys, and have, consequently, produced less knowledge about how interactivity and immediacy shape the content of online news stories:

Avoiding analyses of the content of online news stories or disregarding the special characteristics of online news on the news story-level of analysis, instead extrapolating how online news ought to unfold on the basis of the medium's characteristic or journalists' and citizens' attitudes, can never be a viable strategy in a situation where more and more people turn their attention to the Internet in pursuit of information on societal matters. (Karlsson and Strömbäck, 2010: 15)

They proposed three "strategies for freezing the flow of online news" and thus enabling content analysis on a story level (Karlsson and Strömbäck, 2010). This would

PREGLEDNI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.4 / PRIMLJENO: 27.10.2016.

enable systematic analyses, either of the special characteristics of online news themselves, or in general.

One of the rare studies to combine the general question of the change brought to journalism by interactivity with a detailed analysis on the level of news stories can be found in Fenton (2010), and especially in Redden and Witschge (2010). Their results show that new media technologies have changed how the news is presented on traditional news sites, but not dramatically. As Redden and Witschge (2010: 183) emphasised, for the most part the public is only able to participate in the last phase of the 'traditional' news production process by interpreting texts and commenting upon them. In their research of five different types of stories, they found "no evidence of individuals involved in any of the decision-making stages in news production" (*Ibid*.:183). They only found a blurring of the content producer and reader/viewer on YouTube and alternative news sites. There is an emphasis on images, but the recycling of images between mainstream news sites contributes to content homogeneity, and, more importantly, mainstream sites offer little opportunity for the public to participate beyond interpreting and responding to stories (*Ibid*.: 185).

But as some of the empirical studies have indicated, forms of interactivity in news are merely a 'quasi-phenomenon', where the one-way communication culture is continued alongside fragmented voices of anonymous masses, instead of suggesting a communicative dialogue, and a creative content within the critical publics (for instance, Nip, 2010), although some other suggestions imply that social media technologies, like Facebook or Twitter, and more recently Instagram or Snapchat, facilitate the immediate dissemination of digital fragments of news, creating new kinds of interactions around the news giving rise to so called "ambient journalism" (Hermida, 2010: 298).

CONCLUSION: A TURN FROM SINGULAR PERSPECTIVES TO A GROUNDED CROSS-LEVEL APPROACH

What lesson can be learned from this overview of three main perspectives on interactivity? The early studies on interactivity seem to largely depend on quantitative analysis that was either conducted for specific websites, or special communicative settings, such as discussion forums, chat-rooms, etc. At the same time, the websites became an important starting point for journalism studies, which tried to combine the realisation of interactive potential within online news within specific production, and cultural or economic contexts; thereby, the large popularisation of the qualitative interview came to the fore, which also led to a turn to ethnography and other qualitative methods (such as observation) in journalism. Combined with the quantitative knowledge on 'how interactive the medium is', with the qualitative understanding of the circumstances, main obstacles and advantages in relation to the question of 'why the medium is interactive (or not)', the field of journalism was probably the most important for generating a new, multi-method, empirical approach to interactivity.

PREGLEDNI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.4 / PRIMLJENO: 27.10.2016.

However, we strongly agree with those scholars who critically stress the lack of a coherent theory of interactivity (e.g. Bucy, 2004; McMillan, 2002b) but without limiting to its psychological aspects, where interactivity is defined only as "perceptual variable that involves communication mediated by technology" (Bucy, 2004: 377). Instead, we are more inclined to those calls who argue for the need of a cross-level and multivalent research approach to interactivity. A point made by McMillan seems equally relevant: "Now it is time for researchers to examine how cyber-interactivity can be understood within the context of existing theory, and within new theories, that help to explain why some cyber-places seem to be more interactive than the others" (2002b: 272). This call for theory reflects a new and difficult challenge that might also importantly rejuvenate the field as such.

Such theoretically grounded approach inevitably needs a historical positioning as well. When studying the interactivity of recent new media and social or cultural aspects of online contexts some other aspects have to be taken into account. Technologically speaking, the online context is a changing variable. Early work on interactivity conducted by pioneers like Rafaeli (1988) and Heeter (1989) came well before the widespread adoption of personal computers and the Internet, and well before the expansion of today's popular social media and mobile smartphones. These technological changes are still very relevant and should not be ignored, especially in relation to mediatised interactions and the presupposed interactivity of new media. However, greater attention should be paid to analysis on the news story level, as virtually no studies have simultaneously investigated how interactivity and immediacy affect the content of online news (Karlsson and Strömbäck, 2010: 6).

Such transformations are expressed in a new conceptual turn, especially within the new media and journalism studies, which seem to substitute once popular phenomena of interactive media and interactivity with challenging concepts such as "spreadable" (Jenkins et al., 2013), "converged" (Miller, 2011), or even "personal media" (Rasmussen, 2014). A more detailed analysis would be needed to reveal to what extent such conceptual turn brings new meanings, and is not just a period of additional popular buzzwords.

Together with reconceptualization of digital media as socially widely shared platforms, which are seen as a form of participatory or citizen journalism, also the understandings of audiences is redefined. New social media are changing not only the technological platforms of services and news distribution, but are vulnerable also for ever-changing social and cultural habits of the audiences (Hermida, 2010). The digital experiences of such heterogenic and widely spread digital audiences exceed once popular multidimensional aspects of interactivity, as the users evolve as important content providers, in some occasions even as powerful content gatekeepers, if they know how to actively respond to "noisy environments" of new social media. Consequently, journalists also need to acknowledge additional responsibility in their changeable profession: as Hermida puts it, "a future direction of journalism may be to develop approaches and systems that help the public negotiate and regulate the flow of awareness information, providing tools that take account of this new mode for the circulation of news" (Hermida, 2010: 304). Or

PREGLEDNI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.4 / PRIMLJENO: 27.10.2016.

as some other studies suggest, the journalist will acquire additional editorial functions, highlighting that also participation of users in social media will serve to give added value to journalistic work (Ramirez et al., 2016: 74).

References

>Appelgren, Ester (2017) An Illusion of Interactivity: The Paternalistic Side of Data Journalism. *Journalism practice,* online first, 1-18. DOI: 10.1080/17512786.2017.1299032.
>Boczkowski, Pablo J. and Mitchelstein, Eugenia (2012) How Users Take Advantage of Different Forms of Interactivity on Online News Sites: Clicking, E-Mailing, and Commenting. *Human Communication Research* 38 (1): 1–22. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2958.2011.01418.x.
>Bruns, Axel (2008) *Blogs, Wikipedia, Second Life and Beyond: From Production to Produsage*. New York: Peter Lang.
>Bucy, Eric P. (2004) Interactivity in Society: Locating an Elusive Concept. *The Information Society* 20 (5): 373-383. DOI: 10.1080/01972240490508063.
>Chung, Deborah S. (2008) Interactive Features of Online Newspapers: Identifying Patterns and Predicting Use of Engaged Readers. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 13 (3): 658-679. DOI: 10.1111/j.1083-6101.2008.00414.x.
>Deuze, Mark (2007) *Media Work*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
>Deuze, Mark (1999) Journalism and the Web: An Analysis of Skills and Standards in Online Environment. *International Communication Gazette* 61 (5): 373-390. DOI: 10.1177/0016549299061005002.
>Domingo, David (2008) Interactivity in Daily Routines of Online Newsrooms: Dealing with an Uncomfortable Myth. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 13 (3): 680-704. DOI: 10.1111/j.1083-6101.2008.00415.x.
>Domingo, David and Chris, Paterson (2011) *Making Online News – Volume 2: Newsroom Ethnographies in the Second Decade of Internet Journalism*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
>Fenton, Natalie (ed.) (2010) *New Media, Old News: Journalism & Democracy in the Digital Age*. London: Sage. DOI: doi.org/10.4135/9781446280010.
>Förnas, Johan; Klein, Kajsa; Ladendorf, Martina; Sunden, Jenny and Sveningsson, Malin (2002) *Digital Borderlands: Cultural Studies of Identity and Interactivity on the Internet*. New York: Lang.
>Fortunati, Leopoldina; O'Sullivan, John; Raycheva, Lilia and Harro-Loit, Halliki (2010) Interactivity as a Metaphor for Online News. *Javnost/The Public* 17 (4): 43-62. DOI: 10.1080/13183222.2010.11009040.
>Ha, Louisa and James, Lincoln (1998) Interactivity Re-Examined: A Baseline Analysis of Early Business Websites. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 42 (4): 457-474. DOI: 0.1080/08838159809364462.
>Heeter, Carrie (1989) Implication of New Interactive Technologies for Conceptualizing Communication, pp. 217-235 in Salvaggio, L. Jerry and Bryant, Jennings (eds) *Media Use in the Information Age*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
>Hermida, Alfred (2010) Twittering the News: The Emergence of Ambient Journalism. *Journalism Practice* 4 (3): 297-308. DOI: 10.1080/17512781003640703.
>Jenkins, Henry (2006) *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*. New York: New York University Press.
>Jenkins, Henry; Ford, Sam and Green, Joshua (2013) *Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture*. New York: New York University Press.
>Jensen, Jens F. (1998) Interactivity: Tracing a New Concept in Media and Communication Studies. *Nordicom Review* 12 (1): 185-204.
>Jensen, Klaus Bruhn (2002) *A Handbook of Media and Communication Research*. London: Routledge. DOI: 10.4324/9780203465103.

PREGLEDNI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.4 / PRIMLJENO: 27.10.2016.

>Karlsson, Michael and Strömbäck, Jesper (2010) Freezing the Flow of Online News: Exploring Approaches to the Study of Liquidity of Online News. *Journalism Studies* 11 (1): 2–19. DOI: 10.1080/14616700903119784.
>Kenney, Keith; Gorelik, Alexander and Mwangi, Sam (2000) Interactive Features of Online Newspapers. *First Monday* 5 (1). http://firstmonday.org/htbin/cgiwrap/bin/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/720/629 (28.06.2017). DOI: 10.5210/fm.v5i1.720.
>Kiousis, Spiro (2002) Interactivity: A Concept Explication. *New Media and Society* 4 (3): 355-383. DOI: 10.1177/146144480200400303.
>Koolstra, M. Cees and Bos, Mark J. W. (2009) The Development of an Instrument To Determine Different Levels of Interactivity. *The International Communication Gazette* 71 (5): 373-391. DOI: 10.1177/1748048509104980.
>Larsson, Anders Olof (2012) Interactivity on Swedish Newspaper Websites: What kind, how much and why? *Convergence*: *The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 18 (2): 195-213. DOI: 10.1177/1354856511430184.
>Loosen, Wiebke and Schmidt, Jan-Hinrik (2012) (Re-)discovering the Audience. *Information*, *Communication & Society* 15 (6): 867–887. DOI: 10.1080/1369118x.2012.665467.
>McMillan, Sally J. (2002a) Exploring Models of Interactivity from Multiple Research Traditions: Users, Documents and Systems, pp. 163-182 in Lievrouw, Leah and Livingstone, Sonia (eds) *The Handbook of New Media*. Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage. DOI: 10.4135/9781446206904.n13.
>McMillan, Sally J. (2002b) A Four-Part Model of Cyber-Interactivity: Some Cyber-Places are more Interactive than Others. *New Media and Society* 4 (2): 271-291.
>McMillan, Sally J. and Hwang, Jang Sun (2002) Measures of Perceived Interactivity: An Exploration of the Role of Direction of Communication, User Control, and Time in Shaping Perceptions of Interactivity. *Journal of Advertising* 31 (3): 29-42. DOI: 10.1080/00913367.2002.10673674.
>Miller, Vincent (2011) *Understanding Digital Culture*. London: Sage.
>Nip, Joyce (2010) Routinization of Charisma, pp. 135-148 in Rossenbery, Jack and St John III, Burton (eds) *Public Journalism 2.0*. London, Routledge.
>Pavlik, John V. (1996) *New Media Technology: Cultural and Commercial Perspectives*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
>Rafaeli, Sheizaf (1988) Interactivity: From New Media to Communication, pp. 100-134 in Hawkins, Robert P., Wiemann, John M. and Pingree, Suzanne (eds) *Advancing Communication Science: Merging Mass and Interpersonal Process*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
>Rafaeli, Sheizaf and Sudweeks, Fay (1997) Networked Interactivity. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 2 (4). http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1083-6101.1997.tb00201.x/full (23.06.2017). DOI: 10.1111/j.1083-6101.1997.tb00201.x.
>Ramirez de la Piscina, Txema; Zabalondo, Beatriz; Aiestaran, Alazne and Agirre, Antxoka (2016) The Future of Journalism – Who to Believe?. *Journalism Practice* 10 (1): 71-92. DOI: 10.1080/17512786.2015.1006932.
>Rasmussen Terje (2014) *Personal Media and Everyday Life*. Hampshire: Palgrave McMillan. DOI: 10.1057/9781137446466.
>Redden, Joana and Witschge, Tamara (2010) A New News Order? Online News Content Examined, pp. 171–186 in Fenton, Natalie (ed.) *New Media, Old News: Journalism & Democracy in the Digital Age*. London: Sage. DOI: 10.4135/9781446280010.n11.
>Schultz, Tanjev (1999) Interactive Options in Online Journalism: A Content Analysis of 100 US Newspapers. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 5 (1). DOI: 10.1111/j.1083-6101.1999.tb00331.x.
>Singer, Jane B. (2012) Journalism in the Network, pp. 277–286 in Stuart, Allan (ed.) *The Routledge Companion to News and Journalism*. London: Routledge.
>Singer, Jane B., Hermida, Alfred, Domingo, David, Heinonen, Ari, Paulussen, Steve, Quandt, Thorsten, Reich, Zvi and Vujnovic, Marina (2011) *Participatory Journalism: Guarding Open Gates at Online Newspapers*. West-Sussex, England: Wiley-Blackwell. DOI: 10.1002/9781444340747.

PREGLEDNI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.4 / PRIMLJENO: 27.10.2016.

>Stromer-Galley, Jeniffer (2004) Interactivity-as-Product and Interactivity-as-Process. *The Information Society* 20 (5): 391-394. DOI: 10.1080/01972240490508081.

>Stromer-Galley, Jeniffer (2000) Online Interaction and Why Candidates Avoid it. *Journal of Communication* 50 (4): 111-132. DOI: 10.1093/joc/50.4.111.

>Van Dijck, José (2013) *The Culture of Connectivity: A Critical History of Social Media*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199970773.001.0001.

PREGLEDNI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.4 / PRIMLJENO: 27.10.2016.

(R)EVOLUCIJA PERSPEKTIVA O INTERAKTIVNOSTI: OD PRISTUPA ORIJENTIRANOG NA MEDIJE DO PRISTUPA ORIJENTIRANOG NA NOVINARE

Tanja Oblak Črnič :: Dejan Jontes

SAŽETAK *Proliferacija novih medija od kasnih 90-ih pokrenula je novi period revitaliziranja koncepta interaktivnosti, ali iz prilično različitih kutova i iz nekoliko perspektiva u empirijskom istraživanju. Glavni je cilj ovog rada pokazati različite pristupe kojima istraživači konceptualiziraju, ispituju i analiziraju interaktivnost u području medijskih studija i novinarstva. Rad pruža uvid u različita tumačenja promjena unutar polja i kritički gleda na potencijal toga koncepta. Mi predlažemo razlikovanje triju perspektiva o interaktivnosti na temelju selektivne metaanalize različitih pristupa: perspektive orijentirane na komunikaciju i medije, perspektive orijentirane na publiku ili korisnike i perspektive orijentirane na produkciju ili novinare. Ta distinkcija, prema nekoliko autora iz područja medijskih studija i novinarstva, omogućuje nam da razlikujemo ono što se smatra interaktivnim od onoga koga ta interakcija uključuje.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

INTERAKTIVNOST, DIGITALNI MEDIJI, *ONLINE* NOVINARSTVO, *ONLINE* VIJESTI, PUBLIKE

Bilješka o autorima

Tanja Oblak Črnič :: Sveučilište u Ljubljani, Fakultet za društvene znanosti, Slovenija **::** tanja.oblak@fdv.uni-lj.si

Dejan Jontes :: Sveučilište u Ljubljani, Fakultet za društvene znanosti, Slovenija **::** dejan.jontes@fdv.uni-lj.si

THE CORRELATION OF USABILITY, FAMILIARITY, SATISFACTION AND REPUTATION WITH THE LOYALTY OF STUDENT USERS OF NEWS WEBSITES

Ján Hacek

Izvorni znanstveni rad / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.5 / Primljeno: 06.09.2016.

ABSTRACT *In a time of increasing competition in online news, it is important for the publishers of news websites to retain loyal users. This paper contributes to the study of loyalty through an investigation of the factors that affect the loyalty of young users of news websites and motivate them to return there. The research sample in this study was made up of students (N=408) at universities in Slovakia who use news websites to search for information every day. Correlation and regression analyses have been used to test the hypotheses. The results of this research confirm that usability, familiarity, satisfaction and reputation have a direct and positive relationship to the users' loyalty as reflected in daily use of a news website. The correlation shows that loyalty is associated particularly closely with reputation and satisfaction with a selected news website. Regression analysis shows that there are also other variables that affect users' loyalty.*

KEY WORDS

LOYALTY, CORRELATION, NEWS WEBSITE, STUDENT USER, LOYAL USER

Author note

Ján Hacek :: Comenius University, Faculty of Arts, Department of Journalism, Bratislava, Slovakia **::** jan.hacek@uniba.sk

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.5 / PRIMLJENO: 06.09.2016.

INTRODUCTION: DIGITAL NEWS CONSUMPTION

A survey of the media market in the Europe shows that many websites are naturally dedicating their efforts to stabilising their position (Reuters Institute, 2016). This is especially true for news websites which are in some measure an extension or alternative to the print editions of daily newspapers. There is still much that is unknown about the new digital media and they are frequently less than clearly defined in the theory of modern journalism. The area in question is nevertheless one in which academic and commercial researches are keen to map the behaviour and consumption patterns of the online public. The digital editions of newspapers are amongst the most frequently visited of websites, not least because they provide regular updates on current events. As competition between news websites increases, they are making noticeable efforts to increase their readership. It is important to remain aware, however, that a website's success depends on more than just the number of visits. Its stability and competitiveness depend on having a loyal readership that returns to the pages of the website regularly. Journalists must deal with the complicated relationship between clicks and users' interest on a daily basis. Although there is still an effort to produce quality content, it is not easy to stay out of current trends in online marketing. We can see that the editorial offices are driven to follow daily quantitative targets, especially on news websites. Researchers and news professionals have tended to assume a close correspondence between clicks and audience interests (Kormelink and Meijer, 2017: 2). Other research shows that journalists select as the most newsworthy articles substantially more public-affair stories than their readership does (Boczkowski and Mitchelstein, 2013: 45). Research has shown that four fifths of Europeans used the internet in 2016 (Eurostat, 2017). The Digital Single Market (2016a) also offers the percentage of all consumers who use the internet for reading online newspapers and magazines. According to research the European Union (EU) reached on average 70.2 % (Digital Single Market, 2016a) and in comparison with all consumers, we can see differences in the case of student users. Other research has looked at the readership for online newspapers in the 16 – 24 age group. The mentioned group reached in EU 68.1 % (Digital Single Market, 2016b). Survey data shows the percentage of the Slovak population reached via different media – print newspaper reading (29 %), radio listening (65 %) and television watching (83 %) (Median SK, 2016). The reach of (general) internet usage is now 80.5% of individuals in Slovakia (Digital Single Market, 2016c). We can see that all university students (research population) use the internet every day. The quantitative numbers show that print, radio and TV content has been replaced by online content (Reuters Institute, 2016: 14).

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

Although several studies have contributed to the understanding of online audiences (Aranyi and van Schaik, 2015; Boczkowski and Mitchelstein, 2013; Cockburn and McKenzie, 2000), there is relatively little information on users' loyalty to specific news media. It is, however, possible to identify several studies that touch on this area in the current literature. The most relevant are those that discuss the loyalty of online readers to news

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.5 / PRIMLJENO: 06.09.2016.

sites (Flavián et al., 2006b) or to websites in general (Toufaily et al., 2013; Ribbink et al., 2004; Flavián and Gurrea, 2008). This study concerns the student users' loyalty to news websites in Slovakia and sets out the factors that motivate users to return to selected news websites. We classify them as usability, familiarity, satisfaction and reputation. These are variables that we hypothesise have a direct and positive relationship with the loyalty of the users of Slovak news websites.

Loyalty

The study of loyalty in online behaviour has developed gradually in line with interest in Internet shopping, but its fundamental characteristics remain the same in respect of online media. In response to the increasing importance of Internet services, some researchers have begun to search for ways to increase customers' loyalty to a website and to attract potential customers on the Internet. One finding is that loyalty on the web depends on a consumer's experience of navigating and controlling a given site (Flavián et al., 2006b). Marketing professionals and academics have both emphasised that one of the main objectives of marketing is to create a clientele who come back – in other words, to build customer loyalty. Loyalty on the Internet has been described by several authors, who have tried to arrive at a definition. It has been called the probability that the same user will make a return visit to a given website (Srinivasan et al., 2002; Toufaily et al., 2013). It is a long-term effect that is influenced by many direct and indirect factors. For news websites, it is important to know who their readers are and how loyal they are to the website.

Usability

As the number of daily visitors to news websites increases, their operators are seeking ways to make their services more broadly accessible. We hypothesise that this is directly linked to the navigability, clear organisation and functionality of the website concerned. Consumer behaviour and loyalty are also positively affected by the design of a website, its graphical elements and the ease of use of its functions (Cockburn and McKenzie, 2000). The usability of a website is one of the conditions for building customer loyalty, including acquiring loyal users of a news website. The concept of usability refers to the benefits that consumers experience when it is easy to navigate through the content of a website. The definition of website usability may also include an attribute of quality in terms of the ease with which users can access the standard features of the website. This includes the question of how easy it is to understand the structure of the system, its functions, the web interface and the content available to users. The presentation of text and its organisation into paragraphs play a role in this (Horváth, 2016: 141).

Familiarity

Familiarity is a well-established element of Internet research and is a key factor affecting users' decisions on whether or not to read a site's content (Flavián and Gurrea, 2006; Flavián et al., 2006b). This means that there are grounds to believe that familiarity is the factor that gradually changes a user's sporadic, vague interactions with a website into deliberate, regular use. It gradually becomes easier for the user to decide which website to visit (Flavián and Gurrea, 2008: 32) and reduces the time necessary for initial

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.5 / PRIMLJENO: 06.09.2016.

orientation. Familiarity can be understood as the impression that people have of a given product or service based on their prior contact with it (Flavián et al., 2006b: 364). It is also the means by which a user's initial uncertainty about a product is overcome (Casaló et al., 2015: 1831), which in the present paper means the initial uncertainty about using a news website. Familiarity makes the user feel that the given news website is important for them. It also reduces indecisiveness and simplifies relations for both sides – the news website and the user.

Satisfaction

Several authors have observed that consumers' loyalty to a website is influenced by their satisfaction with the site (Toufaily et al., 2013: 1441; Ribbink et al., 2004: 446; Horppu et al., 2008: 403). This can be defined in general terms as the emotional state that results from an overall assessment of all the important factors contributing to the consumer's relationship with the site (Casaló et al., 2008: 327). Satisfaction can also be linked to a consumer or user's subjective attitude to a news website (Toufaily et al., 2013: 1441). It can be understood in general from two points of view. The first view is of satisfaction as a permanent emotional predisposition based on economic factors such as quantities sold or profits earned. The other viewpoint relates to non-economic satisfaction, which includes psychological factors such as the fulfilment of mutual promises or the trouble-free functioning of the relevant relationships (Casaló et al., 2008: 327). This indicates that satisfaction is closely related to trust (Ribbink et al., 2004: 448) even in online marketing. In online news, this relationship begins from the launch of a news website and the way in which it initially distinguishes itself from its competitors.

Reputation

The concept of reputation has been addressed in numerous studies (Horppu et al., 2008: 404; Flavián and Guerrea, 2008: 30) of websites (Flavián and Guerrea, 2008; Casaló et al., 2008) and users' relationship to them (Flavián et al., 2006b). Web site reputation reflects the company's correct, fair and honourable behaviour to its customers (Flavián and Guerrea, 2008: 29). In the case of news websites, it comes from the effort not to disappoint users' trust in any way. As competition between online media increases, this is the only way to create a loyal group that can be defined, with reference to the concept of reputation, as a group that uses the offered services and also promotes the good name of a given news website. Reputation and the effort to build it can also be a motivating factor that increases the loyalty of a news website's users. Links to content on social media promote that content and help the brand stand out from competitors amongst competing websites.

AIM OF THE STUDY

The study focuses on users' loyalty to news websites and the aim of the study is to test the correlation of usability, familiarity, satisfaction and reputation with the users' loyalty to news websites by using correlation analysis. This paper develops a scale for

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.5 / PRIMLJENO: 06.09.2016.

measuring variables of loyalty, usability, familiarity, satisfaction and reputation (Table 2). The other variables are tested with respect to loyalty. We assume that there are positive relationships between the mentioned variables. Another primary aim of the study presented in this article is to identify the variables which influence users' loyalty to news websites. Building on the theoretical background given for the listed variables, we raise four research questions (RQ):

RQ1: Is there any relationship between a news website's usability and the loyalty of its student users?
RQ2: Is there any relationship between a news website's familiarity and the loyalty of its student users?
RQ3: Is there any relationship between a news website's satisfaction and the loyalty of its student users?
RQ4: Is there any relationship between a news website's reputation and the loyalty of its student users?

This research is focused on young people studying for bachelor's and master's degrees at universities in Slovakia. Students were chosen because they prefer digital news (Reuters Institute, 2016: 27). As a follow-up, students were asked to choose one news website which they visit most frequently for digital news. It is assumed that consumers of news actively select news sources, and that certain sources or devices are preferred over others to follow world events (Picone, 2016: 130). A final assumption is that university students represent a research population in which it is possible to test the variables defined below.

Formulation and reasoning of hypotheses

Our hypotheses (H1, H2, H3, H4), as we listed below, are based not only on the aforementioned research but also on a three-year observation of the habits of university students' use of news websites to obtain information.[1] The process of formulating the hypotheses also included a series of qualitative interviews. In our view, the aforementioned theoretical material and the findings of our qualitative research suggested that users' loyalty to a news website was based on multiple factors.

The layout of components and the design used by a website would appear to play an important role in motivating users to return to a website. This is also related to the site's overall adaptation to users' standards and habits (Flavián et al., 2006a; Flavián et al., 2006b: 367; Casaló et al., 2008: 329). The first variable we consider is usability. The assumptions and theoretical basis for formulating a hypothesis about this variable are supported by the results of research into its association with loyalty in the online space (Flavián et al., 2006b: 371; Casaló et al., 2008: 339). It has also been noticed that users of news websites state that their perception of the usability of a website has an effect on their satisfaction and trust in relation to the website and their choice of which news website to use (Flavián and Guerrea, 2008: 36). This factor was also correlated with the use

1 The survey was carried out from 2013 to 2015 (N=122). It was designed to test a specific hypothesis and therefore care must be taken not to over-generalise from its conclusions. We were interested in the daily habits of university students related to the use of news websites.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.5 / PRIMLJENO: 06.09.2016.

of particular web applications (Matera et al., 2006: 2). Our research therefore suggests that there is a direct relationship between usability and users' loyalty to news websites and we therefore propose the following hypothesis:

H1: There is a direct positive relationship between a news website's usability and the level of loyalty.

Empirical analyses indicate that usability and familiarity influence user's choice of which news website to read for information on current affairs (Flavián and Guerrea, 2008: 38). It is expected that when a user selects a news website, they will repeatedly return to the site and become part of its loyal group. Our research also covers the relationship between familiarity and loyalty, with the concept of familiarity being of key importance in the relationship between a user's loyalty and their experience of a website. In our view, familiarity is positively correlated with a user's individual loyalty to a news website. A user who reports greater familiarity will also be more loyal to a news website (Flavián et al., 2006b: 366). Furthermore, it has been found that there is a stronger relationship between familiarity and loyalty the more experience users have of using a website's services (Flavián et al., 2006b: 371). There are thus grounds to believe that loyalty to a website also depends on its familiarity and therefore the following hypothesis is proposed:

H2: There is a direct positive relationship between a news website's familiarity and the level of loyalty.

In our view satisfaction will also be correlated with the other studied variables, especially loyalty. When we examine the relationship between satisfaction and loyalty, we expect to find a relationship between the two variables (Picón et al., 2014: 747) because a high level of satisfaction leads to a greater level of individual loyalty (Casaló et al., 2008: 329; Flavián et al., 2006a: 8), also in combination with the user's level of trust in the website (Flavián et al., 2006a: 8; Flavián and Guinalíu, 2006: 602). This expectation is based primarily on the results of studies of the relationship between satisfaction and loyalty on the Internet (Horppu et al., 2008: 403). Our aim is to investigate satisfaction in the context of news websites and to highlight the role that users play in this, building upon the work of Carlos Flavián and Raquel Gurrea (2008: 39). We assume that young people's loyalty to a news website is particularly dependent on their overall satisfaction with their first use of it. Satisfaction can result from, amongst other things, the pleasure of using an easily navigated website (Matera et al., 2006: 5-6). In order to determine whether the variables of satisfaction and loyalty are related to each other, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H3: There is a direct positive relationship between a news website's satisfaction and the level of loyalty.

There is also thought to be a relationship between the reputation of a news website and the loyalty of its users. Reputation is expected to have a direct, positive effect on the size of a site's readership (Flavián and Gurrea, 2008: 32). It may influence the spread of awareness of a product via the Internet and can help increase the loyalty of users of a given

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.5 / PRIMLJENO: 06.09.2016.

website (Casaló et al., 2008: 329). There are grounds to expect that a strong reputation will motivate users to recommend a website to other readers of online newspapers (Casaló et al., 2015: 1831). It is likely that in the given sample of university students, reputation and the related recommendation of news to others will be manifested mainly on social networks. The reputation of a website is most relevant when a new website is launched for a newspaper that was previously published in print. To test whether the described relationship between reputation and loyalty exists, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H4: There is a direct positive relationship between a news website's reputation and the level of loyalty.

METHODOLOGY

The given hypotheses were tested by using correlation analysis. The correlation analysis helps us to reveal relationships between researched variables and predict how variables affect other variables. We used the Pearson Correlation to measure the strengths of association between the variables. The variables of usability, familiarity, satisfaction, reputation were tested against the variable of loyalty. The statistical term for correlation – Pearson Correlation coefficient is (r). Correlations (r) range from -1.00 to + 1.00 – no relationship between the variables (0.00 correlation); weak correlation (.00 to .25); moderate correlation (.26 to .50); strong correlation (.51 and above) (Croucher, Cronn-Mills, 2015, 276). We also carried out a Student t-test[2] to test the differences between the group of male and female participants. There were no significant differences between them and we carried out the rest of the correlation analysis with a single group. Gender bias has not influenced the result.

Measuring scales

In developing scales on which to measure the studied variables, we drew inspiration from multi-item scales which have been used several times in multiple research studies (Table 1). The studies from which the individual measurement scales were taken were also of assistance in the definition of the studied variables as they relate to the users of news websites.

Table1. **Scale for measuring variables**

Variable/Scale	Adapted from
Usability	Casaló et al., 2008; Flavián and Gurrea, 2006; Flavián et al., 2006a; Flavián et al., 2006b; Roy et al., 2001
Familiarity	Casaló et al., 2008; Flavián and Gurrea, 2006; Flavián et al., 2006b

[2] loyalty: t-test: t (408) = 1,11; p > 0,05 (p = ,0,262); usability: t-test: t (408) = 0,233; p > 0,05 (p = ,0,815); familiarity: t-test: t (408) = 0,381; p > 0,05 (p = ,0,381); satisfaction: t-test: t (408) = 1,12; p > 0,05 (p = , 0,262); reputation: t-test: t (408) = 1,31; p > 0,05 (p = ,0,196).

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.5 / PRIMLJENO: 06.09.2016.

Variable/Scale	Adapted from
Satisfaction	Casaló et al., 2008; Flavián et al., 2006a; Picón et al., 2014; Ribbink et al., 2004
Reputation	Casaló et al., 2008; Flavián and Gurrea, 2006; Ganesan, 1994
Loyalty	Casaló et al., 2008; Flavián et al., 2006a; Flavián et al., 2006b; Flavián and Guinalíu, 2006; Picón et al., 2014; Ribbink et al., 2004; Yoon and Kim, 2000

It was important to study the work of authors who had already carried out research in similar areas using the same multi-item scales. Our research concerned the variables of loyalty, usability, familiarity, satisfaction and reputation. The works from which the questions concerning the variables were taken are listed in Table 1 and the questions themselves are listed in Table 2. The content of the questions was adapted from a general online orientation to focus specifically on news websites. The questions in Table 2 were adapted from research papers where the mentioned variables were tested. Each scale for measuring variables is based on a number of questions – 3 for loyalty, 5 for usability, 3 for familiarity, 4 for satisfaction and 4 for reputation. These numbers come from previous testing as Table 1 shows. The research questions listed in Table 2 were modified and updated during the past years. The respondents answered them in the questionnaire with reference to the news website which they selected. The questions had to be translated into Slovak and the translations were tested for comprehensibility with a small group of respondents (N=15). We did not find any incomprehensible phrasings resulting from the translation of individual items. The questionnaire was created in digital form on Google's systems and was completed online. It was distributed to respondents through email addresses at particular universities, faculties and departments and was shared on social networks. The questionnaire was sent to 14 universities in Slovakia. Respondents came from 52 departments (social sciences, natural sciences, humanities and arts). The universities and the departments were selected by a random selection from a list on the website. Data was collected in the period from May 2015 to March 2016. The respondents were asked to respond to 26 questions in a questionnaire. The variables were measured using a 7-point Likert scale (Flavián et al., 2006b) on a one-dimensional model. The respondents were asked to choose one news website which they visit most frequently for information on domestic and foreign events. They then answered the subsequent questions in the questionnaire with reference to this site. Following the recommendations of authors who had conducted similar research, respondents were given a free choice of one of the sites for testing (Casaló et al., 2008: 332; Flavián et al., 2006b). The test questions included socio-demographic characteristics and questions on the variables under consideration, in the form of 19 items scored on a 7-point Likert scale[3] giving a potential range of 19 to 133 points.

[3] All questions were measured on a seven-point Likert scale. The respondents can score from 1 – strongly agree to 7 –strongly disagree (from questionnaire: *Strongly agree* – 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. – *Strongly disagree*).

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.5 / PRIMLJENO: 06.09.2016.

Table 2. **Scales of loyalty, usability, familiarity, satisfaction and reputation**

Scale measuring loyalty to a news website	
LOYALTY 1	I visit this news website most often out of all news websites.
LOYALTY 2	I spend the most time on this news website compared to other news websites.
LOYALTY 3	This is my favourite news website.
Scale measuring usability of a news website	
USABILITY 1	This news website is quite easy to use, even the first-time.
USABILITY 2	It is easy to find the information that I need on this news website.
USABILITY 3	Everything is easy to understand on this news website.
USABILITY 4	The contents of this news website are organised, that I never get lost in it.
USABILITY 5	When I look at the content of this news website, I know what to expect from it.
Scale measuring familiarity of a news website	
FAMILIARITY 1	I am quite familiar with this news website.
FAMILIARITY 2	I am quite familiar with the services offered by this news website.
FAMILIARITY 3	Compared to other readers of this news website, I believe I am quite familiar with it.
Scale measuring satisfaction with a news website	
SATISFACTION 1	I think I made the right choice when I chose this news website.
SATISFACTION 2	Based on my experience so far with this news website, I am satisfied with it
SATISFACTION 3	I can say that I am satisfied.
SATISFACTION 4	I can say that I am satisfied with the services that this news website offers.
Scale measuring reputation of a news website	
REPUTATION 1	This news website has a good reputation.
REPUTATION 2	This news website has a good reputation compared to competing news websites.
REPUTATION 3	This news website is supposed to offer a good news service.
REPUTATION 4	This news website is supposed to be fair in relationships with readers.

Sampling

The research population was young people studying for bachelor's and master's degree at universities in Slovakia. The research sample included students (N=408) at universities in every region of Slovakia. The average age of the respondents was 21.5 years (SD 2.19) with a median of 21.0 years. The participants in the research were 35.05 % male and 64.95 % female. The mean time that university students spent reading content on their selected news websites was 59.4 (SD 92.4) minutes, with a median of 30.0 minutes. As regards the main means used to access new websites, the studies sample of university students most frequently connected using a notebook (72.27 %), followed by a mobile telephone (19.88 %), a PC (6.13 %) and in last place, using a tablet (1.72 %).

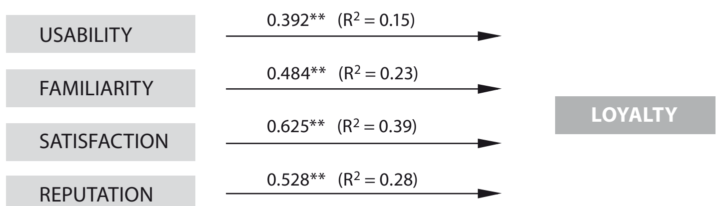
IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.5 / PRIMLJENO: 06.09.2016.

Analysis of reliability

The individual test questions had already been standardised in a number of previous studies which are referred to above. The results of Cronbach's alpha test show an adequate and acceptable level of internal consistency. In all cases the value was above 0.7, which can be considered sufficient (Flavián and Gurrea, 2008). The value of Cronbach's α was 0.755 in the case of usability, 0.843 in the case of familiarity, 0.902 in the case of loyalty, 0.899 in the case of satisfaction and 0.921 in the case of reputation.

Testing of hypotheses

The given hypotheses were tested by calculating the Pearson correlation coefficient (Figure 1). For each hypothesis, there were two interval variables.



▲ *Figure 1.*
Correlation Coefficients (r)
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

In the case of all the tested hypotheses (H1, H2, H3, H4), the null hypothesis was rejected with less than 5% risk and their alternatives were adopted.

H1: The value of the Pearson correlation coefficient is 0.392 and the significance achieved is p = ,001, r = 0.392 p < 0.01 (p = 0.001) There is a statistically significant relationship between the level of usability of a news website and the level of loyalty.

H2: The value of the Pearson correlation coefficient is 0.484 and the significance achieved is p = ,001, r = 0.484 p < 0.01 (p = 0.001) There is a statistically significant relationship between the level of familiarity of a news website and the level of loyalty.

H3: The value of the Pearson correlation coefficient is 0.625 and the significance achieved is p = ,001, r = 0.625 p < 0.01 (p = 0.001) There is a statistically significant relationship between the level of satisfaction with a news website and the level of loyalty.

H4: The value of the Pearson correlation coefficient is 0.528 and the significance achieved is p = ,001, r = 0.528 p < 0.01 (p = 0.001) There is a statistically significant relationship between the level of reputation of a news website and the level of loyalty.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.5 / PRIMLJENO: 06.09.2016.

RESULTS

The results of the testing of our hypotheses show that the studied variables, which we hypothesised would be related to users' loyalty to news websites, show a direct and positive relationship with it. The conclusion is that all the studied hypotheses can be accepted. Our test has identified a strong relationship between loyalty and the studied variables of usability, familiarity, satisfaction and reputation. The strongest relationship was found between news website users' satisfaction and loyalty (H3) and between reputation and loyalty (H4). From this it can be concluded that if users meet the criteria for satisfaction with a selected news website that they use, they will also be loyal to it. At the same time, the strength of the relationship that reputation has been found to have with loyalty suggests that a good name plays an important role in the selection of one news website over its competitors. The test of the relationship between familiarity and loyalty (H2) also indicated a strong relationship. The same applies in the case of usability and loyalty (H1), although in this case the achieved correlation coefficient indicates a more moderate relationship. Although the hypotheses were accepted and there are strong indications of a direct and positive relationship between the studied variables (Figure 1), a regression analysis found a relatively low value of R^2, especially for the relationship between usability and loyalty ($R^2 = 0.15$), but also for those between familiarity and loyalty ($R^2 = 0.23$) and between reputation and loyalty ($R^2 = 0.28$). This finding shows that there are other variables that affect users' loyalty to news websites.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Our research shows that news websites are a major source of information for young people studying at university. The studied variables are important for their decisions on which news websites they return to. Although the assumptions, on which our work is based, including the definitions of the studied variables, were developed in the study of commercial websites, news websites do not operate in a fundamentally different way and the definitions are relevant. The variables that support the existence of a functional and successful website (Table 1) also play an important role in the part of the online space studied in this paper. Our findings highlight the variables that influence and shape the loyalty of users of news websites. They can also be a stimulus for the operators of news websites to intensify their efforts to produce high-quality content or an attractive design which, along with other variables – as our regression analysis shows – influence users' loyalty. Focussing on loyal users is a good strategy in the face of current challenges such as market consolidation, the relatively large amount of competition and site owners' ambitions to charge for content.

The correlations between the studied variables show that the strongest direct and positive relationship is that between satisfaction and loyalty. We have seen that a user's satisfaction with a particular news website and its services is a key factor for developing loyalty to the site, in the same way as other authors (Casaló el al., 2008: 338; Flavián et al., 2006a: 8; Ribbink et al., 2004: 452) have shown satisfaction to affect users' loyalty to

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.5 / PRIMLJENO: 06.09.2016.

websites in general. It should be noted that users participating in the research gave a positive score to satisfaction with the choice of a studied site and its services. Their evaluation depended on prior experience of the site. It would be beneficial for future research to investigate the variables that influence users' satisfaction with the websites that they visit and to determine what events that would cause them to transfer to a competitor.

The results of the testing of the hypotheses in our research for the present paper show that reputation has a direct and positive relationship with loyalty. The reputation of a website is thus one of the most important aspects supporting the loyalty of its users. This variable was also found to have a positive and significant relationship in research where the user of a website is viewed as a consumer and reputation is defined as an intangible matter that is the basis of effective management (Casaló el al., 2008: 338-339). Certain authors who have studied the effect of reputation on the selection of digital daily newspapers say that there is no significant relationship where we can suppose that the selection of this content is based on reputation (Flavián and Gurrea, 2008: 38). Our study did not focus on digital daily newspapers in general but on news websites. The research for this variable also included questions concerning a news website's good name in comparison with competitors in the same area. The findings indicate that the selection of one news website over its competitors does depend on its good name and its declared independence from its owner, which has also been shown to be a not insignificant factor for the retention of loyal users.

The research has also found a statistically significant relationship between users' familiarity with a news website and their loyalty to it. Because the hypothesis regarding these variables was adopted, familiarity can be designated another of the main factors that contribute to the development of a loyal readership for a news website. Site operators should therefore not underestimate the fact that users are more likely to return to their website if they identify with its content or services. The relevance of familiarity for decisions about where to read news online has been indicated in previous research into the reading of newspapers' online editions (Flavián and Gurrea, 2008: 38). It should be noted that it is only meaningful to consider the correlation of familiarity with the loyalty of users of news websites when the users already have experience of reading news on the internet (Flavián et al., 2006b: 371), but this requirement is met in our study, considering the age of the respondents and the time that they spend reading online.

In the results of the research, the relationship between usability and loyalty is statistically significant, even if it is the weakest relationship out of the studied correlations. From this we conclude that the design and typography of news websites, the layouts of their control elements and the overall ease with which they can be used have an important role in building a loyal user base. The authors of related research have also emphasised that usability is a particularly significant factor for the loyalty of users with greater experience of using the Internet (Flavián et al., 2006b: 371). We have found that most news websites are relatively easy to navigate, with straightforward placement of controls and other measures designed to increase usability (Flavián and Gurrea, 2008: 39). The same

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.5 / PRIMLJENO: 06.09.2016.

applies in the case of news applications on smartphones, which 20 % of respondents said that they used for browsing news. In the world of print and broadcast media, the news is largely conceived as a good that is consumed primarily before and after work and outside the workplace (Boczkowski, 2010: 2), but smartphones are changing the way that digital news is consumed. We can suppose the discrepancy between our results and those mentioned above is caused by situation that university students spend so much time using their notebooks, as our result shows (72.2 %). Students may be considered a relatively atypical group and the presented scale needs to be tested on other segments of the population.

There are certain restrictions and limits on the interpretation of the findings of our research. All the respondents were students at universities in Slovakia. Future research into user loyalty would benefit from studying a broader population. This is necessary if more general conclusions are to be drawn from the research. It would also be useful to compare the habits of users in other countries because the websites in the present study were all in Slovak. We suggest the scale could be tested with experienced and novice users as participants and could evaluate different content subsections of the selected site (Aranyi and van Schaik, 2015).

Another area that our findings have shown to need more attention is the interrelationships between the studied variables and other factors that could also help news websites to acquire a loyal readership for their content. A useful next step could be to study users' interactions with such content and the connection to loyalty.

The developed scale for measuring usability, familiarity, satisfaction, reputation and loyalty could be used in future to study existing news sites regarding the political orientation of the editorial board or the users of a selected news site. Digital news is becoming a part of public sphere in which political interests play a crucial role. Therefore, it would also be useful to test a sizeable thematic range in the online news choices of journalists and consumers (Boczkowski and Mitchelstein, 2013: 45). The future work may involve testing different digital platform, such as mobile phones, PCs and tablets.

References

>Aranyi, Gabor and van Schaik, Paul (2015) Testing a Model of User-Experience with News Websites. *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology* 67 (7): 1-21. DOI: 10.1002/asi.23462.
>Boczkowski, Pablo J. (2010) *News at Work: Imitation in an Age of Information Abundance.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. DOI: 10.7208/chicago/9780226062785.001.0001.
>Boczkowski, Pablo J. and Mitchelstein, Eugenia (2013) *The News Gap: When the Information Preferences of the Media and the Public Diverge.* Cambridge: MIT Press. DOI: 10.7551/mitpress/9780262019835.001.0001.
>Casaló, Luis; Flavián, Carlos and Guinalíu, Miguel (2008) The Role of Perceived Usability, Reputation, Satisfaction and Consumer Familiarity on the Website Loyalty Formation Process. *Computers in Human Behavior* 24 (2): 325-345. DOI: 10.1016/j.chb.2007.01.017.
>Casaló, Luis; Flavián, Carlos; Guinalíu, Miguel and Ekincic, Yuksel (2015) Avoiding the Dark Side of Positive Online Consumer Reviews: Enhancing Reviews' Usefulness for High Risk-Averse Travellers. *Journal of Business Research* 68 (9): 1829-1835. DOI: 10.1016/j.jbusres.2015.01.010.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.5 / PRIMLJENO: 06.09.2016.

>Cockburn, Andy and McKenzie, Bruce (2000) What Do Web Users Do? An Empirical Analysis of Web Use. *International Journal of Human-Computer Studies* 54 (6): 903-922. DOI: 10.1006/ijhc.2001.0459.
>Digital Single Market (2016a) Reading Online Newspapers/Magazines. https://goo.gl/a8Wdao (14.05.2017).
>Digital Single Market (2016b) Reading Online Newspapers/Magazines. https://goo.gl/Zr98QK (14.05.2017).
>Digital Single Market (2016c) Reading Online Newspapers/Magazines. https://goo.gl/U0l8tf (14.05.2017).
>Eurostat (2017) Internet Access and Use Statistics – Households and Individuals. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Internet_access_and_use_statistics_-_households_and_individuals (16.05.2017).
>Flavián, Carlos and Guinalíu, Miguel (2006) Consumer Trust, Perceived Security and Privacy Policy: Three Basic Elements of Loyalty to a Web Site. *Industrial Management & Data Systems* 106 (5): 601-620. DOI: 10.1108/02635570610666403.
>Flavián, Carlos and Gurrea, Raquel (2008) Reading Newspapers on the Internet: the Influence of Web Sites' Attributes. *Internet Research* 18 (1): 26-45. DOI: 10.1108/10662240810849577.
>Flavián, Carlos and Gurrea, Raquel (2006) The Choice of Digital Newspapers: Influence of Reader Goals and User Experience. *Internet Research* 16 (3): 231-247. DOI: 10.1108/10662240610673673.
>Flavián, Carlos; Guinalíu, Miguel and Gurrea, Raquel (2006a) The Role Played by Perceived Usability, Satisfaction and Consumer Trust on Website Loyalty. *Information & Management* 43 (1): 1-14. DOI: 10.1016/j.im.2005.01.002.
>Flavián, Carlos; Guinalíu, Miguel and Gurrea, Raquel (2006b) The Influence of Familiarity and Usability on Loyalty to Online Journalistic Services: The Role of User Experience. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services* 13 (5): 363–375. DOI: 10.1016/j.jretconser.2005.11.003.
>Ganesan, Shankar (1994) Determinants of Long-Term Orientation in Buyer-Seller Relationship. *Journal of Marketing* 58 (2): 1-19. DOI: 10.2307/1252265.
>Horppu, Marianne; Kuivalainen, Olli; Tarkiainen, Anssi and Ellonen, Hanna-Kaisa (2008) Online Satisfaction, Trust and Loyalty, and the Impact of the Offline Parent Brand. *Journal of Product & Brand Management* 17 (6): 403-413. DOI: 10.1108/10610420810904149.
>Horváth, Miloš (2016) *Štylistika súčasného slovenského jazyka* (Stylistics of Contemporary Slovak Language). Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského.
>Kormelink, Groot and Meijer, Costera (2017) What Clicks Actually Mean: Exploring Digital News user practices. *Journalism* (January 2017): 1-16. DOI: 10.1177/1464884916688290.
>Matera, Maristella; Rizzo, Francesca and Toffetti Carughi, Giovanni (2006) Web Usability: Principles and Evaluation Methods, pp. 143–180 in Mendes Emilia and Mosley Nile (eds) *Web Engineering*. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer. DOI: 10.1007/3-540-28218-1_5.
>Median SK (2016) Národný prieskum spotreby, médií a životného štýlu (Ongoing Multi-Client Research of Consumer Behaviour, Media Consumption and Lifestyle) http://www.median.sk/pdf/2016/ZS164SR.pdf (14.05.2017).
>Picón, Araceli; Castro, Ignacio and Roldán, José (2014) The Relationship between Satisfaction and Loyalty: A Mediator Analysis. *Journal of Business Research* 67 (5): 746–751. DOI: 10.1016/j.jbusres.2013.11.038.
>Picone, Ike (2016) Grasping the Digital News User: Conceptual and Methodological Advances in News Use Studies. *Digital Journalism* 4 (1): 125-141. DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2015.1096616.
>Reuters Institute (2016) *Reuters Institute Digital News Report*. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Digital-News-Report-2016.pdf?utm_source=digitalnewsreport.org&utm_medium=referral (16.05.2017).
>Ribbink, Dina; Allard, van Riel; Liljander, Veronica and Streukens, Sandra (2004) Comfort your Online Customer: Quality, Trust and Loyalty on the Internet. *Managing Service Quality* 14 (6): 446-456. DOI: 10.1108/09604520410569784.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.5 / PRIMLJENO: 06.09.2016.

>Roy, Marie; Dewit, Oliver and Aubert, Benoit (2001) The Impact of Interface Usability on Trust in Web Retailers. *Internet Research: Electronic Networking Applications and Policy* 11 (5): 388-398. DOI: 10.1108/10662240110410165.
>Srinivasan, Srini; Andersona, Rolph and Ponnavolub, Kishore (2002) Customer Loyalty in E-Commerce: an Exploration of its Antecedents and Consequences. *Journal of Retailing* 78 (1): 41-50. DOI: 10.1016/S0022-4359(01)00065-3.
>Toufaily, Elissar; Ricard, Line and Perrien, Jean (2013) Customer Loyalty to a Commercial Website: Descriptive Meta-Analysis of the Empirical Literature and Proposal of an Integrative Model. *Journal of Business Research* 66 (9): 1436-1447. DOI: 10.1016/j.jbusres.2012.05.011.
>Yoon, Sung-Joon and Kim, Joo-Ho (2000) An Empirical Validation of a Loyalty Model Based on Expectation Disconfirmation. *Journal of Consumer Marketing* 17 (2): 120–126. DOI: 10.1108/07363760010317196.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.5 / PRIMLJENO: 06.09.2016.

STUDENTI KAO LOJALNI KORISNICI INFORMATIVNIH MREŽNIH STRANICA: KAKO FAKTORI UPOTREBLJIVOSTI, POZNATOSTI, ZADOVOLJSTVA I REPUTACIJE KORELIRAJU S LOJALNOSTI KORISNIKA

Ján Hacek

SAŽETAK *Izdavačima informativnih mrežnih stranica važno je u vrijeme rastuće konkurencije u* online *vijestima zadržati lojalne korisnike. Ovaj rad doprinosi proučavanju lojalnosti istraživanjem faktora koji djeluju na lojalnost mladih korisnika informativnih mrežnih stranica i motiviraju ih na ponovno posjećivanje. Uzorak u ovom istraživanju čine studenti (N = 408) sa sveučilišta u Slovačkoj koji svaki dan koriste informativne mrežne stranice u potrazi za informacijama. Korelacijska i regresijska analiza korištene su za testiranje hipoteza. Rezultati istraživanja potvrđuju da su faktori upotrebljivosti, poznatosti, zadovoljstva i reputacije u izravnoj i pozitivnoj vezi s lojalnosti korisnika, što se odražava u svakodnevnom korištenju informativnih mrežnih stranica. Lojalnost je osobito blisko povezana s reputacijom i zadovoljstvom s odabranim informativnim mrežnim stranicama. Regresijska analiza također pokazuje da postoje i druge varijable koje djeluju na lojalnost korisnika.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

LOJALNOST, KORELACIJA, INFORMATIVNE MREŽNE STRANICE, STUDENTI KORISNICI, LOJALNI KORISNICI

Bilješka o autoru

Ján Hacek :: Sveučilište Comenius, Filozofski fakultet, Odsjek za novinarstvo, Bratislava, Slovačka **::** jan.hacek@uniba.sk

THE IMPORTANCE OF VALENCE-FRAMING IN THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: EFFECTS ON THE FORMATION OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES AMONG VIEWERS OF TELEVISION NEWS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Hana Hurtíková

Izvorni znanstveni rad / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / Primljeno: 04.04.2017.

ABSTRACT *This article explores the meaning of valence-framing theory in political communication. It examines the influence of valence frames on the formation of political attitudes among the public. The valence-framing effect is derived from the information context value (positive, negative) and applies if people's attitudes towards a certain subject match the context value of the information received. The article presents a case study of reports during the crisis of Mirek Topolánek's government in the Czech Republic in 2009. It examines to what extent the context of the statements on the Czech news concerning the parliamentary parties Civic Democratic Party (ODS, leader Mirek Topolánek) and the Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD, leader Jiří Paroubek) related to the existing political attitudes of their prospective audiences. The article argues that the valence-framing effect was more evident in the public broadcasting programme* Události ČT *than the commercial programme* Televizní noviny*, a paradox which can be explained by the unique link between the attributes of the Czech media environment and the political opinions of their viewers.*

KEY WORDS

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION, THE VALENCE EFFECT OF FRAMING, CZECH TELEVISION NEWS BROADCASTING, ODS, ČSSD

Author Note

Hana Hurtíkova :: Palacky University in Olomouc, Department of Politics and European Studies, Olomouc, Czech Republic **::** hana.hurtikova@upol.cz

The article was created within the project "Paticipation, media and local politics" (IGA_FF_2015_008).

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

INTRODUCTION

Today's society receives a large amount of information daily. A majority comes from the mass media. A significant amount of society's knowledge is created along with the content distributed by the media (Lapčík, 2012: 13). The media touches on all areas of everyday life with political affairs not being an exception. The process of creating politics can be understood as a communication activity which occurs in an environment with a multi-directional flow of information within the democratic society. The concept of political communication is closely connected with this process. It can be defined as an interactive, multi-layered process, in which a transfer of information between politicians, the news media, and the public occurs (Bradová, 2005: 16).

Valence-framing theory emerges in political communication from the assumption that the news media plays a decisive role in the process of forming the political preferences of citizens (Druckman and Wild, 2009). The testing of valence-framing theory can be quantified by the level of effect the news can have on its recipients (Entman, 1993: 51). This presents valence-framing theory as one of the important concepts for the study of public opinion formation in political communication.

Analysing television broadcasting provides an ideal way of examining the valence-framing effect (Iyengar and Kinder, 1991: 13). Television continues to serve as the most widespread medium today (Marketing charts, 2017) due to the character of news presentation. Television is a visual medium, which unlike press or radio combines picture and sound. It can mediate both the information and emotion, which accompany the events. The viewers receive an entertaining and easy source of information. This article examines the valence-framing effect of *Události České televize* and *Televizní noviny TV Nova*, two popular over the long-term television news programmes in the Czech Republic.

The valence-framing effect is examined in relation to the character and form of information presented by the designated television programmes concerning the Czech parliamentary parties Civic Democratic Party (ODS), Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD) and their chairmen at the time, Mirek Topolánek and Jiří Paroubek, two important figures in the 2009 Czech governmental crisis. The article examines to what extent the context value of the statements concerning specific political subjects presented in the prime-time television news on the TV stations ČT1 and TV Nova is related to the existing political preferences of prospective viewers of the TV shows, *Událostí ČT* and *Televizní noviny*.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Jay G. Blumler and Dennis Kavanagh (1999) argue that political communication has entered its third age, characterised by media abundance. Television has become a key medium of providing 24/7 information about political issues. New communication techniques have enabled the participation of the entire public in the process of political

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

communication and control over political activity occurs in a closed elite space (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999: 213). Media communication has become the primary source of information about political events.

The basis of the media behaviour within the framework of political communication is mediating information among its individual actors (Davis, 2007: 97). Each information mediation is a dynamic interpretative activity. All the mediated information is actually an interpretation of (un)real events, thus their importance is always somehow constructed (McQuail, 2007: 21). Scholars view media as an important source of power and interpretation of social reality, media determine what society considers normal and what the publicly acceptable standards are (Forgette and Morris, 2006; Matthes, 2011).

The theory of valence-framing also stems from the hypothesis that media plays a central role in political communication. It does not, however, perceive media as simply agenda setters in social affairs, but instead emphasises the assertion that the form of media message presentation instantaneously predetermines the interpretation mode among the public. Shanto Iyengar claims that "viewers are influenced not only by the amount of news but also by the kind of news they see."(Iyengar and Kinder, 2010: 34)

In order to understand and study the valence-framing, two basic assumptions need to be made. The first is that the media is the primary source of information from which the society receives news from external events. With these events, ordinary citizens do not have a personal experience. They cannot know their objective value and are essentially completely dependent on the choice, the form and the way the information is passed to them (Iyengar and McGrady, 2007). The second assumption is that the public actively processes the received media information and thus contributes to the formation of views on the events in the political environment (McNair, 2011: 27).

Valence-framing is defined by the qualitative value of the context that can acquire a positive or negative degree. The value of the context is shaped according to the language, signs, visual symbols etc. used in the news report. It defines "the percentage of different but logically equivalent words or phrases" (Druckman, 2004: 671). The proportion expresses whether the thematically same information is presented in positive or negative terms. In the case that the recipient of the framed message generates an opinion (in the form of a strengthening or reduction of the existing opinion preferences), which corresponds to the value of the context of the presented message, the existence of the valence effect of framing is discussed.

A basic attribute of valence-framing is its ability to present an already finalised version of a news report and thus evoke an exact course of thought for its interpretation. Frames can consequently be perceived as templates upon whose basis people process information. The course of thought created by the viewers' contact with the framed testimony evokes in their mind a so-called value frame wherein the context assigned to the critical subject of the message (in this sense the frame) can acquire positive or negative values. All further information about this subject is consequently processed through an

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

evoked value frame (Entman et al., 2009: 177). If the receiver of the framed message forms an opinion (including the form of reinforced existing opinion preference) corresponding with the value meaning of the presented message's context, one can talk about the so-called valence-framing effect (Žeželj et al., 2007: 368). It is declared when the viewpoint of the population of a certain object corresponds to the value of contextual information in which it is received (Chong and Druckman, 2007: 104). Valence-framing effects are derived from the qualitative value of the context presenting the receivers with the formation of a specific message interpretation possibility that is based on the language, signs, visual symbols, etc. used. The same themed message can consequently be presented with a positive or negative meaning and opinion formation can occur in only two logically equivalent modes, that is, a rise or drop in political preferences.

Valence-framing is a product of the heuristic processing of information (Kim et al., 2005: 1), or manifests itself in the form of a decision that is based only on available information. Framed information thus influences in the process of the perception of events, through the activation of an evaluating scheme of the recipient.

In the evaluating process, a whole range of factors are used to filter information. The higher presence of these factors, the lesser is the valence-framing in the formation of an individual's view. Jörg Matthes explains that framed information does not affect all members of the audience equally and can vary in intensity. Thus, the valence-framing effect cannot be generalised, but it is necessary to examine it in a specific case at a certain time (Matthes, 2011: 250). Its intensity decreases in relation to the low level of significance and frequency of the framed report (Iyengar, 1991: 13), the high degree of social identification of the individual (Hänggli and Kriesi, 2012: 262), the increase in personal experience with the presented events (Vliegenthart et al., 2008: 418), the low credibility of the source of framing (Druckman, 2005: 466) or a low level of political knowledge and interest in public events (Druckman, 2004: 673).

On the contrary, the valence-framing of messages can be monitored at a higher rate depending on their increasing frequency, exposure time (Iyengar, 1991: 14), and increasing awareness of the importance of the presented topics by their recipients (Lecheler et al., 2009: 403). The authors explain their findings by finding that "the framed messages from a thematic agenda tends to be more important to individuals, become more accessible to them and they remember them more quickly." (Lecheler et al., 2009: 403) The effect of framing is also manifested at a higher rate in the context of presented topics with which the individual does not have a direct personal experience, but is only mediated through the media (Vliegenthart et al., 2008: 415).

TELEVISION NEWS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Television broadcasting is defined by Czech law (Czech National Council, 1991). The Czech public has a high interest in television broadcasting. Practically each household owns a television set. A number of them even own two (Czech Statistical Office, 2009).

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

A survey from 2009 indicated that 72 % of Czechs learned about political events from their TV screens (European Parliament, 2009: 135).

From the viewpoint of the development of television broadcasting, the key year was 1953, when Czechoslovak television began to broadcast in Prague on 1 May (Štoll, 2011: 117). It existed in the form of state television. After the fall of Communism in November 1989, the Czech Republic joined the process of democratisation, with which the transformation of the media system was closely linked. A centralised state-controlled mass media system shifted to a more decentralised model. Television broadcasting was deprived of state ownership to transform it into a British BBC public television model (Trampota, 2009: 29).

By 1992 it was broadcast at a federal level when there was a common Czechoslovak program and an independent Czech and Slovak television station (Kelly et al., 2004: 34). After the dissolution of the Czechoslovak Republic, the television was divided into two different terrestrial broadcast channels. In the Czech Republic, this was Czech Television, which was established on 1 January 1992 (Parliament of the Czech Republic, 2001) as a public broadcasting television, in the form of a separate legal entity from the state.

In 1991, a dual (mixed) system of broadcasting, or the coexistence of the public and private sectors was created (Bartoň, 2004: 17), which substantially liberalised the subsequent development of television broadcasting in the Czech environment. On 4 February 1994, the first Czech private broadcasting NOVA TV was launched. It has enjoyed a large amount of popularity from the beginning. Approximately 70 % of Czech viewers watched it in its first year of existence (Kelly et al., 2004: 35). In June 1994, the nationwide terrestrial broadcasting launched another private station, the Premiere, which in 1997 was renamed TV Prima (Šmíd, 2005: 24). Nowadays, the traditional position of public television is represented by the TV station Česká televize (Czech Television). The most popular private TV station is Nova TV.

News have a special position in the broadcasting on both of the mentioned stations. Daily, they provide their viewers with news combining audio and visual narratives about events which should be important and interesting to the audience. News provide information about certain realities outside of our knowledge. The important status of news is demonstrated by their assignment to the beginning of prime time, the most watched period set usually between 7 and 11 pm. The potential impact of news reporting is more significant than other types of media content.

The quality of news reporting concerning political affairs depends in the Czech news environment on the focus, ownership and financing mode of the given TV station. Each TV station decides what information to include in its news. The composition of the main news significantly differs between the public and private TV stations. Apart from the choice of events, the arrangement also differs (Lapčík, 2008: 190).

The news on public television is financed from public funds by means of licence fees. The main news in the Czech Republic is *Události ČT* broadcast by the TV station Česká

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

televize. The news activities are governed by the Codex of Czech Television, which defines them as a "provision of important information for general awareness and free opinion formation of the viewers." (Kodex ČT, 2003) The Codex further accentuates the expertise, accuracy and objectivity of the reporters. The media analyses evaluate the news broadcasting of *Události ČT* as relatively balanced and objective (Urban et al., 2011: 90). The potential utilisation for the valence-framing effect is consequently lower than with commercial broadcasting.

Private news broadcasting manifests a preference for entertainment and the sensational character or appeal of events. The criteria for their news production are not publicly known and the expectation of objectivity and impartiality is heavily undermined by using elements of infotainment and tabloid information. *Televizní noviny* is the most popular Czech television news and is broadcast daily on the private TV station TV Nova. In contrast to *Události ČT*, the form and content of the *Televizní noviny* news clearly demonstrate features of commercial television. The elementary value of the constructed TV Nova reality is its appeal to viewers through drawing them emotionally into the presented event. This corresponds with a high number of live broadcasts, an accent on opinion depiction and the testimonies of the 'common man'. The viewer is drawn into the mood of the event not only by means of a detailed and vivid description, an impressive choice of repeated words and phrases, but also by accompanying illustrative personal and emotional stories of the people in question (Schneiderová, 2008: 40). The framework of the *Televizní noviny* agenda can result in a lower impartiality and information value of the presented event which opens space up for a higher rate of the valence-framing effect manifestation on the opinion formation of TV Nova viewers (Urban et al., 2011: 91).

THE CRISIS IN MIREK TOPOLÁNEK'S GOVERNMENT (JANUARY TO MARCH 2009)

Although Czech society celebrated the 20-year anniversary of the fall of Communism in 2009, the year would enter Czech political history as one of intra-party quarrels and instability. The internal political development was affected by a governmental crisis in the first half of the year which led to its fall, the establishment of a caretaker government and later a failed attempt to organise early elections. Unlike previous intra-party disputes, these events were closely followed, relatively, by European representatives since the Czech Republic held the EU presidency in the first half of 2009.

The Czech Republic entered the year 2009 under the second government of Mirek Topolánek, which was appointed under complicated negotiations on 9 January 2007. The opposition parties ČSSD and KSČM called the Topolánek cabinet illegitimate as its emergence and existence were based on the votes of two defectors from ČSSD, Miloš Melčák and Michal Pohanka, who left the Chamber prior to a vote of confidence (Hloušek and Kopeček, 2012: 68).[1]

[1] ČSSD deputy Petr Wolf also helped Topolánek when he did not use the strictly prescribed formula (he said "I am against the proposal" instead of simply "against proposal") and thus following the rules of order the Wolf's vote was counted. All three ČSSD deputies mentioned were subsequently expelled from the party (Hloušek and Kopeček, 2012: 68).

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

The Topolánek cabinet took over the EU presidency on 1 January 2009. The oppositional ČSSD declared its support for the coalition government during the EU presidency under the condition that it would assent to early elections (Balík, 2010: 42). Prime Minister Topolánek immediately found himself in the spotlight of both the national and international media when he conducted diplomatic negotiations during the escalated natural gas supplies dispute between Russia and Ukraine. After long negotiations, all the parties concerned, i.e. Russia, Ukraine and the EU, signed an agreement mediated by PM Topolánek. TV news showed him alongside top European leaders. He presided over the special EU summit in Brussels and negotiated the April visit of the American president Barack Obama in Prague (iDnes.cz, 2009a). His successful activities and reputation building in the international arena was reflected in a popularity hike in the domestic environment (Novinky.cz, 2009).

While PM Topolánek thrived in international politics, the domestic scene began to become unstable. Disputes within the governmental coalition led to the departure of four ministers. There were also disagreements concerning the position of political representatives concerning the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. A distinct rift also arose within ODS, where several deputies led by Vlastimil Tlustý called Topolánek a party rebel (Hloušek and Kopeček, 2012: 69).

The tense domestic political situation culminated on 16 March 2009, when the programme *Reportéři ČT* reported that a lobbyist and a close Topolánek´s friend, Marek Dalík had put pressure on ČT to revise the filming of a piece on suspicious subsidies for a company owned by Petr Wolf a deputy and former member of ČSSD. Wolf was an extremely important for the survival of the government because his vote supported the fragile majority of the government coalition (Reportéři ČT, 2009).

The following day, ČSSD chairman Paroubek demanded an expedited resignation of the government, which he claimed was founded on political corruption. The intended peace between the ČSSD and the government during the EU presidency did not consequently last more than three months. A vote of no confidence was scheduled for 24 March 2009 and passed with 101 votes resulting in a loss of confidence for Topolánek's government (Balík, 2010: 42).

Almost immediately after the vote of no confidence ended, mutual accusations as to who was responsible for the fall of the government began. ČSSD refused to govern for it lacked an electoral mandate. The media described Paroubek's act as a Pyrrhic victory. (iDnes.cz, 2009b).

METHODOLOGY

The current research consists of a case study analysing a series of important social affairs during the crisis of Topolánek's government in the Czech Republic in spring 2009. It attempts to provide empirical verification of the valence-framing effect on the process of forming public political preferences. More specifically, it tests the hypothesis whether and

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

in which form a mutual connection can emerge between the value of the news context of news information about ODS, ČSSD and their leaders at the time presented on *Události ČT* and *Televizní noviny* on the one hand, and the political attitudes of the respective viewers of these programmes on the other hand.

The valence-framing effect derives from the information context value (positive, negative) and arises when the viewpoint of the population of a certain object corresponds to the value of contextual information in which it is received (Chong and Druckman, 2007: 104).[2] The research consequently builds on the assumption that evening news are the main source of information about important political events for specific groups of the population (Žeželj et al., 2007).

The research had three main objectives and related research questions. It first mapped out the medialisation development of the Czech parliamentary parties ODS and ČSSD and their chairmen Mirek Topolánek and Jiří Paroubek during the governmental crisis from 1 January to 31 March 2009. The first research question was:

RQ1: Did the positive and negative value of the context appear in statements about selected subjects in the main TV news of Czech TV and TV Nova?

The measurable variables were the frequency and qualitative context value of the statements concerning the subjects of interest. The objective data and methodology of Media Tenor, an agency that conducts content analyses of Czech news reports, was first used to answer the first research question. The basic unit of the content analysis was a report defined as an information segment, which cites or describes the subject of interest. The subject and context of evaluation consequently determine the report. The subject is the object the inspected information is related to (e.g. politician, political party). The context is defined as a segment of news report, which presented the subject in a positive, negative or neutral light and in relation to broader circumstances.

The second aim was to identify the prospective viewer of *Událostí ČT* and *Televizní noviny* to specify the target population in relation to which the TV news reporting could potentially demonstrate a higher level of valence-framing effect.[3] The research questions related to this aim were:

RQ2: What is the profile of a prospective viewer of the *Události ČT* and *Televizní noviny*?

RQ3: In which socio-demographic characteristics do they differ from each other?

[2] The aim of the article is not to explain the short-term effect of the frames on the individual formation of political opinions. On the contrary, the valence-framing effect is perceived here as the long-term influence of framed news reports on their recipients (Druckman, 2004; de Vreese, 2004).
[3] The target groups mentioned were perceived through the lens of probability because the available quantitative tools which measure the ratings of TV news cannot yet measure with mathematical accuracy the degree of active reception of news content by the recipient. Thus, this article assumes that an individual who met the given criteria would be a potential recipient of the news content over the period examined.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

Identifying the profile of the viewer groups was based on the data available through the ratings database managed in the Czech Republic by the Association of Television Organizations (ATO). They perform electronic ratings surveys by monitoring live television viewing on all television sets in a household. Live television watching is defined as "person's presence in the room where a TV set is turned on showing the live broadcast of a TV channel with this person logged in through a TV meter system." (Ato.cz, 2017) To identify the viewer population groups, the variables age, sex and education were selected. For these specific target groups, the rating, or percentage of people from a given target group, who were following live for an average second of a given period of television broadcasting on a given channel, was observed (Ato.cz, 2017).

The final third research objective was the identification of mutual relations between the context of news reports in selected programmes and the political preferences of viewer groups within the monitored period. The related research question was:

RQ4: Was there a correlation between received news and political attitudes within the target groups of viewers?

Data from the research project Naše společnost (Our society) implemented by Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění (Public Opinion Research Centre, CVVM), which belongs to the Sociological Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, was used for the research. The empirical verification of the assumed valence-framing effect on the formation of TV news viewers' political preferences was carried out on the basis of time aggregated data and primarily focused on examining the degree of probable effect on selected segments of the population over an extended time frame.

Therefore, the research used three types of data, the collection of which depended on the aforementioned three objectives: medialisation data obtained from Media Tenor; *Události ČT* and *Televizní noviny* ratings data from ATO; and the data files of individual opinion polls conducted by CVVM. The data were treated and subsequently analysed by the statistical programme Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). All data, which met the selection criteria of research variables and the time limit of the study, were considered relevant.

The research was based on the empirical-analytical approach. The following hypothesis was tested:

H1: Valence-framing effect exists in a link between the context value of news reports in *Události ČT* or *Televizní noviny* and the political attitudes of their viewers.

The hypothesis was tested by the correlation analysis method which allowed us to learn the association level of the examined variables over time (Hendl, 2012: 240). The aim was to verify the possibility that a link could be observed between the frequency of news reports about selected subjects and the rise or drop in political preferences of the prospective recipients of these news reports over the given period. The medialisation data

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

of the given news were for these purposes always compared with the political preferences of their viewers. They were compared based on the final correlation of coefficients of the three examined groups.

RESULTS AND MAIN FINDINGS

Medialization (presence of positive and negative frames in reports)

The first objective focused on mapping the development of medialisation of the main political actors during the governmental crisis over the given period. Both programmes were broadcast daily during the interval investigated. Each selected TV station presented the main news to their viewers 90 times. Czech Television broadcast a total of 51.72 hours of its evening news. *Události ČT* always began at 18:59:38 and lasted 34.48 min on average. Television Nova broadcast a total of 38.4 hours of its main news. *Televizní noviny* always began at 19:30:00 and lasted every day 25.6 min on average, being on average 8.9 min shorter than the *Události ČT*.

Both television programmes dedicated space to the selected subjects during the period examined. *Události ČT* broadcast entries about the examined parties and politicians on average two times more often than *Televizní noviny*. The news of ČT1 thus provided more space to political events than Televize Nova, which dedicated most of its broadcasting time to other issues. The point of medialisation of the selected subjects (ODS, ČSSD and their leaders) on both stations over the given period demonstrated certain specific trends. In the case of ODS, identical periods of top frequencies presented entries about the party itself and its president Topolánek (from 14 March to 31 March 2009, and from 1 January to 15 January 2009). These periods also coincided for both subjects with the top frequencies of positive (1 January to 15 January 2009) and negative reports (from 14 March to 31 March 2009). It can therefore be assumed that a certain level of news agenda personalisation occurred. In the case of the positive medialisation of Topolánek, the frequency between the testimonies of both stations was almost linear from a time perspective.

The positive medialisation of ODS and its chairman was specifically related to the beginning of the Czech EU Presidency. Topolánek and his team were portrayed in the news as EU leaders, who stand alongside prominent European statesmen. They also positively evaluated his role in the negotiations concerning the suspension of natural gas supplies from Russia. Both TV stations were very close in providing positive medialisation of Topolánek which could be explained by the importance of the Czech EU presidency. In contrast, the most negative reports about Topolánek and ODS appeared during the crisis and the fall of the government. Topolánek was portrayed as an incompetent leader incapable of maintaining party unity. News reports also broadcast his undignified reaction to the fall of his cabinet.

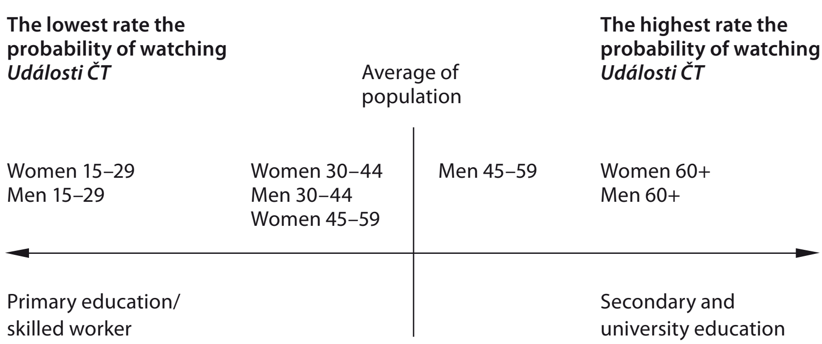
ČSSD and Paroubek displayed in both news programmes a generally lower level of medialisation than the previous two subjects. From the perspective of the qualitative

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

context value, an identical media depiction of the party and its leader was not experienced. The discrepancy occurred in the first two weeks in January and during the governmental crisis in March 2009. In the first case, ČSSD was presented in a more negative light because of their expressed disapproval of the change in the Cabinet in January. In the second case, its chairman was presented in a more negative manner as the media presented him as the initiator of the vote of no confidence, who consequently was unwilling to take responsibility for the outcome of the vote. In the case of ČSSD, specifically Paroubek at the time, the news frequency between both stations did not attain the same level of concurrence as with ODS and Topolánek.

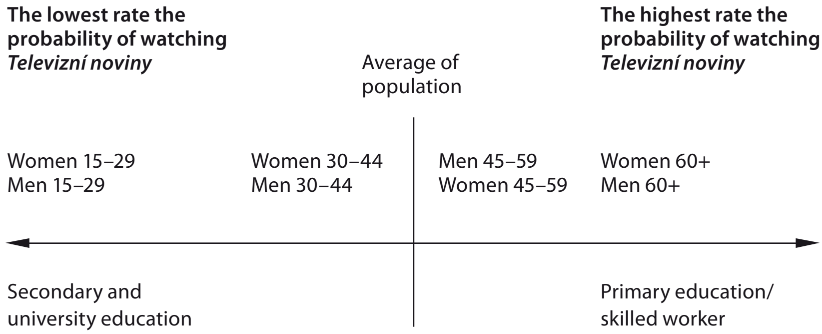
The profile of prospective viewers of Události ČT and Televizní noviny

The second objective of the study focused on identifying the profile of prospective viewers of *Události ČT* and *Televizní noviny*. The aim was to identify those population groups, on which the news reports could have demonstrated the highest level of the valence-framing effect. Figure 1 and 2 present the results. To identify the viewer population groups, the variables age, sex and education were selected. The main news on TV Nova was generally more watched than the news on ČT1. The most prospective viewers of both news were people over 60. The age of 45 was identified as a breaking point between the above and below average viewer rating. Both genders above 45 tend to pay the attention to the evening news on *Události ČT* and *Televizní noviny*. Youngers seek information elsewhere e.g from the Internet.



▲ *Figure 1.*
The profile of prospective viewers of *Události ČT*
(by age and education levels of the population).
Source: Author based on ATO data.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.



▲ *Figure 2.*
The profile of prospective viewers of *Televizní noviny* by age and education levels of the population.
Source: Author based on ATO data.

As regards to the education structure, the news on TV Nova was most often watched by skilled workers and people with a primary education. On the other hand, those with the highest probability of watching *Události ČT* appear to be among the secondary and university educated people.

Is the valence-framing present with prospective viewers of Události ČT and Televizní noviny?

The final objective of this study focused on testing the presence of the valence-framing effect with prospective viewers of *Události ČT* and *Televizní noviny*. This was verified by identifying the links between the qualitative context value (positive, negative) of the *Události ČT* and *Televizní noviny* news reports about the selected subjects on the one hand and the existing political attitudes of the prospective viewers of these programmes on the other hand. Political attitudes were defined with the following variables: current social affairs, party sympathies of selected political parties and trust in selected politicians. Tables 1-3 illustrate the results of the correlation analysis.

Results manifest the presence of the valence-framing effect demonstrated by the link between the news reports of *Události ČT* and their prospective viewers. The hypothesis was verified. It became evident in the case of the higher frequency of positive reports about ODS related to the rise in support for this party among prospective viewers of ČT1. Increasing party support for ODS was also apparent with a higher frequency of negative reports about ČSSD in *Události ČT*. This mutual link was most obvious in the case of positive and negative reports about Topolánek, when the increase in positive medialisation of Topolánek in Události ČT was accompanied by a growing trust in his person among the prospective viewers of the ČT1 news programme.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

Table 1. **Correlation level of between news reports about ODS and ČSSD in *Události ČT* and *Televizní noviny* and party support among selected population groups in selected period.**[4]

	ČT viewers: support ODS	ČT viewers: support ČSSD	Nova viewers: support ODS	Nova viewers: support ČSSD
CT1_Reports about ODS	**0,492**	0,507	0,159	0,654
CT1_Positive reports about ODS	**0,714**	0,493	0,661	**0,499**
CT1_Negative reports about ODS	0,275	-0,065	0,125	0,161
CT1_Reports about CSSD	**0,531**	0,382	0,258	0,562
CT1_Positive reports about CSSD	0,375	0,197	0,158	0,373
CT1_Negative reports about CSSD	**0,611**	0,598	0,346	0,746
NOVA_Reports about ODS	0,230	0,539	-0,111	0,632
NOVA_Positive reports about ODS	0,347	**0,586**	0,377	0,494
NOVA_Negative reports about ODS	-0,202	-0,146	-0,340	0,066
NOVA_Reports about CSSD	0,274	0,093	0,062	0,270
NOVA_Positive reports about CSSD	0,331	0,437	0,113	**0,580**
NOVA_Negative reports about CSSD	0,460	0,461	0,244	0,522

Source: Author based on Media Tenor and CVVM data.

Table 2. **Correlation level between news reports about Mirek Topolánek in *Události ČT* and *Televizní noviny* and the trust in him among selected population groups in selected period.**[5]

	ČT viewers: trust in Topolánek	ČT viewers: distrust in Topolánek	Nova viewers: trust in Topolánek	Nova viewers: distrust in Topolánek
CT1_Reports about Topolánek	**0,434**	**-0,521**	0,279	-0,306
CT1_Positive reports about Topolánek	**0,622**	**-0,787**	0,511	-0,621

[4] Each line indicates in colour the greatest differences between the correlation coefficients between media reports and party support for ODS (ČSSD) among the individual target groups of the public (ČT viewers, Nova viewers). A different colour was selected for each news station. The position of the colour field in the table corresponds with the degree of mutual link between the media reports of a given programme and the party support for ODS (ČSSD) among the public.

[5] Each line indicates in colour the greatest differences between the correlation coefficients between media reports and support for Topolanek among the individual target groups of the public (ČT viewers, Nova viewers).

CT1_Negative reports about Topolánek	**0,417**	**-0,499**	0,287	-0,262
NOVA_Reports about Topolánek	**0,527**	**-0,670**	0,406	-0,490
NOVA_Positive reports about Topolánek	**0,740**	**-0,888**	0,659	-0,747
NOVA_Negative reports about Topolánek	**0,499**	**-0,523**	0,359	-0,312

Source: Author based on Media Tenor and CVVM data.

Table 3. **Correlation level between news reports about Jiří Paroubek in *Události ČT* and *Televizní noviny* and trust in him among the selected population in the selected period.**[6]

	ČT viewers: trust in Paroubek	ČT viewers: distrust in Paroubek	Nova viewers: trust in Paroubek	Nova viewers: distrust in Paroubek
CT1_Reports about Paroubek	0,205	-0,343	**0,348**	-0,494
CT1_Positive reports about Paroubek	0,396	-0,600	**0,549**	**-0,703**
CT1_Negative reports about Paroubek	0,168	-0,341	0,312	-0,466
NOVA_Reports about Paroubek	-0,172	0,074	-0,088	-0,050
NOVA_Positive reports about Paroubek	-0,100	0,044	0,078	-0,153
NOVA_Negative reports about Paroubek	0,064	-0,167	0,214	-0,322

Source: Author based on Media Tenor and CVVM data.

The presence of a mutual link can be derived from the character of the news medium and the structure of the prospective viewer population. In the case of *Události ČT*, the link between the news reports and the attitudes of the prospective viewers could be explained, on the one hand, by the greater media space which ČT1 dedicated to political events, and on the other hand, by the fact that its prospective viewers were more right-wing oriented voters with a higher level of trust in quality information provided by ČT1 news broadcasting.

As concerns the mutual correlation between the reports about the examined parties in *Televizní noviny* and party support among its viewers, a weaker correlation relationship than with *Události ČT* was observed. Higher values of the correlation coefficient appeared among TV Nova viewers only in support for ČSSD. A significant link between the news

[6] Each line indicates in colour the greatest differences between the correlation coefficients between media reports and support for Paroubek among the individual target groups of the public (ČT viewers, Nova viewers).

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

report of TV Nova about ČSSD and *Televizní noviny* viewer's support for this party emerged, most visible in the case of positive reports.

The medialisation of Jiří Paroubek and his support among TV Nova viewers showed no mutual link. This could be explained by a generally lower frequency of political events presented on *Televizní noviny* and also a lower interest on the part of its prospective viewers in political affairs. If they take any interest in political affairs, they tend to be more left-wing oriented voters. It can be assumed that the valence-framing effect emerged regarding the viewer connection to the TV Nova news, but to a far lower extent than in the case of *Události ČT*.

CONCLUSION

This study helps to understand the meaning of valence-framing theory on the formation of political attitudes among the public. The first objective mapped out the medialisation development of the Czech parliamentary parties ODS and ČSSD and their chairmen Mirek Topolánek and Jiří Paroubek during the governmental crisis from 1 January to 31 March 2009 (RQ1). According to the analysis, the positive and negative reports about the subjects were presented in broadcasts on both television channels. *Události ČT* broadcast entries about the examined parties and politicians on average two times more often than *Televizní noviny*. The character of public television news coverage of *Události ČT* has proved to be an important factor in the provision of media space to political events. In the case of private *Televizní noviny*, the lower frequency of political denunciations was noticeable, as news items on other topics prevailed in the broadcast.

The point of the medialisation of the selected subjects, on both stations over the given period demonstrated certain specific trends. In the case of ODS, identical periods of top frequencies presented entries about the party itself and its president Topolánek (from 14 March to 31 March 2009, and from 1 January to 15 January 2009). These periods also coincided for both subjects with the top frequencies of positive (1 January to 15 January 2009) and negative reports (from 14 March to 31 March 2009). It can therefore be assumed that a certain level of news agenda personalisation occurred. In the case of the positive medialisation of Topolánek, the frequency between the testimonies of both stations was almost linear from a time perspective. The positive medialisation of ODS and its chairman was specifically related to the beginning of the Czech EU Presidency. In contrast, the most negative reports about Topolánek and ODS appeared during the crisis and fall of the government. ČSSD and Paroubek displayed in both news programmes a generally lower level of medialisation than the previous two subjects. From the perspective of the qualitative context value, an identical media depiction of the party and its leader was not experienced.

The second objective focused on identifying the profile of prospective viewers of *Události ČT* and *Televizní noviny* and mapped out the socio-demographic characteristics (sex, age and education) in which these two groups of viewers differ from each other (RQ2,

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

RQ3). The most prospective viewers of both news programmes were people over 60. The age of 45 was identified as a breaking point between the above and below average viewer rating. The both genders under 45 years tend to find another source of receiving the news (e.g. the Internet). Education was the key variable to distinguish the viewers of *Události ČT* and *Televizní noviny*. The highest probability of watching *Události ČT* tends to appear among people over 45 with a secondary and university education. On the other hand, the viewer of *Televezní noviny* tends to be over 45, but have a primary education or are a skilled worker.

The final objective of this study focused on testing the presence of the valence-framing effect with prospective viewers of *Události ČT* and *Televizní noviny*. In other words, if the correlation can be find between the positive (negative) reports and the viewers of the news and thus form their political attitudes (RQ4, H1). Although both news programmes practically coincided in terms of periods of increased frequency of positive and negative medialisation about the selected subjects, they differed in terms of the degree of the valence-framing effect on their prospective viewers. The findings of the correlations analysis indicated that the public TV news programme *Události ČT* displayed a higher level of valence-framing effect than the commercial *Televizní noviny*, and the same could be said about the medialisation of the government party ODS rather than the opposition party ČSSD. It could be argued that the increase in positive news about ODS and Topolánek in *Události ČT* led among viewers of ČT to an increase in party support for ODS and an increased trust in Topolánek and vice versa. The same trend was not observed among viewers of Czech Television concerning ČSSD. In the case of the mutual correlation between reports about the parties in question in *Televizní noviny* and the attitudes of TV Nova viewers, a correlation link was observed less frequently than in the case of *Události ČT*.

Two factors could explain this paradox. As it concerns the news programmes, the media space dedicated to political events and the subjects under examination could explain this reality. An increase in attention dedicated to political affairs led to a more common presence of a link between the political attitudes of prospective viewers of a given programme and its news reports. This would be the case for *Události ČT*. An opposite trend was observed in the case of *Televizní noviny*. The second explanatory factor was related to the prospective viewers, specifically their structure, wherein a possible prevailing political orientation could be derived. As concerns *Události ČT*, these were the older, more educated viewers, who could probably be labeled as more right-wing than left-wing voters. In the case of *Televizní noviny*, older viewers also prevailed, but with a primary education or among skilled workers, from whom one would more likely expect left-wing rather than right-wing political views.

References

>Ato.cz (2017) Research of Television Broadcasting. http://www.ato.cz/tv-vyzkum/informace-o-projektu (15.02.2017).
>Balík, Stanislav (2010) *Volby do Poslanecké sněmovny v roce 2010* (Elections to the Chamber of Deputies in 2010). Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

>Bartoň, Michal (2004) Postavení a charakteristika Rady pro rozhlasové a televizní vysílání (Status and Characteristics of the Council for Radio and Television Broadcasting). *Správní právo* 37 (1–2): 16-40.
>Blumler, Jay G. and Kavanagh, Dennis (1999) The Third Age of Political Communication: Influences and Features. *Political Communication* 16 (3): 209-230. DOI: 10.1080/105846099198596.
>Bradová, Eva (2005) *Od lokálních mítinků k politickému marketingu: teorie a vývoj politické komunikace a volebních kampaní* (From Local Meetings to Political Marketing: Theory and Development of Political Communication and Election Campaigns). Brno: Mezinárodní politologický ústav Masarykovy univerzity.
>Chong, Dennis and Druckman, James (2007) Framing Theory. *Annual Review of Political Science* 10 (1): 103-126. DOI: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.10.072805.103054.
>Czech National Council (1991) Act No. 483/1991 Coll.7 November 1991. On Czech Television, as amended. https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1991-483 (15.02.2017).
>Czech Statistical Office (2009) Selected Consumer Electronics in the Households of the CR by Selected Socio-Demographic Indicators (1989-2011). https://www.google.cz/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwjnk5aEgYzVAhVnMJoKHR1uBggQFggmMAA&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.czso.cz%2Fdocuments%2F10180%2F23184287%2F2014_hh_slouc.xlsx%2F615057ce-84d4-4630-9623-a0a6e9c65408%3Fversion%3D1.0&usg=AFQjCNFC3-U4sNvrZFeDCCbIjAX7FEmoug&cad=rja (15.05.2017).
>Davis, Aeron (2007) *The Mediation of Power*. New York: Routledge. DOI: 10.4324/9780203945827.
>Druckman, James N. (2005) Media Matter: How Newspapers and Television News Cover Campaigns and Influence Voters. *Political Communication* 22 (1): 463–481. DOI: 10.1080/10584600500311394.
>Druckman, James (2004) Political Preference Formation: Competition, Deliberation, and the (Ir)relevance of Framing Effects. *American Political Science Review* 98 (4): 671–686. DOI: 10.1017/s0003055404041413.
>Druckman, James and Wild, Paysons (2009) What's It All About? Framing in Political Science. http://www.communicationcache.com/uploads/1/0/8/8/10887248/whats_it_all_about-_framing_in_political_science.pdf (15.05.2017).
>Entman, Robert F. (1993) Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication* 43 (4): 51–58. DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x.
>Entman, Robert F.; Matthes, Jörg and Pellicano, Lynn (2009) Nature, sources and effects of News Framing, pp. 175-190 in Wahl-Jorgensen, Karin and Hanitzsch, Thomas (eds) *The Handbook of Jounalism Studies*. New York: Routledge.
>European Parliament (2009) Eurobarometr: The Europeans in 2009. ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_308_en.pdf (15.05.2017).
>Forgette, Richard and Morris, Jonathan (2006) High-Conflict Television News and Public Opinion. *Political Research Quarterly* 59 (3): 447–456. DOI: 10.1177/106591290605900312.
>Hänggli, Regula and Kriesi, Hanspeter (2012) Frame Construction and Frame Promotion (Strategic Framing Choices). *American Behavioral Scientist* 56 (3): 260–278. DOI: 10.1177/0002764211426325.
>Hendl, Jan (2012) *Přehled statistických metod: Analýza a metaanalýza dat* (Overview of Statistical Methods: Analysis and Meta-Analysis of Data). Prague: Portál.
>Hloušek, Vít and Kopeček, Lubomír (2012) *Záchrana státu? Úřednické a polopolitické vlády v České republice a Československu* (State Rescue? Civic and Semi-Political Governments in the Czech Republic and Czechoslovakia). Brno: Barrister & Principal.
>iDnes.cz (2009a) Visiting Barack Obama in Prague. http://zpravy.idnes.cz/special-navsteva-baracka-obamy-v-praze-dhj-/domaci.aspx?c=A090406_134617_prilohy_itu (15.05.2017).
>iDnes.cz (2009b) Paroubek Pyrrhic victory? http://zpravy.idnes.cz/pyrrhovo-paroubkovo-vitezstvi-dnl-/domaci.aspx?c=A090326_160747_nazory_abr (15.05.2017).
>Iyengar, Shanto and Kinder, Donald (2010) *News that matters: Television and American Opinion*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. DOI: 10.7208/chicago/9780226388601.001.0001.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

>Iyengar, Shanto and McGrady, Jennifer (2007) *Media Politics: A Citizen's Guide*. New York: W. W. Bortin.
>Iyengar, Shanto and Kinder, Donald R. (1991) *News that matters: Television and American Opinion*. Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press.
>Kelly, Mary; Gianpietro, Mazzoleni and McQuail, Denis (2004) *Media in Europe: The Euromedia Handbook*. New York: Sage Publications. DOI: 10.4135/9781446215173.
>Kim, Sunghan; Goldstein, David; Hasher, Lynn and Zacks, Rose T. (2005) Framing Effects in Younger and Older Adults. *Journal of Gerontology: Psychological Sciences* 60 (4): 215–218. DOI: 10.1093/geronb/60.4.p215.
>Kodex ČT (2003) Czech Television Code: Principles of Public Service Television Broadcasting. http://img.ceskatelevize.cz/boss/image/contents/kodex-ct/pdf/kodex-ct.pdf (15.05.2017).
>Lapčík, Marek (2012) *Televizní zpravodajství jako paradox: Jak (ne)rozumět zpravodajství* (Television news as a paradox: How (not) understand news). Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci.
>Lapčík, Marek (2008) Diskursivní kontury televizního zpravodajství a možnost jejich analýzy (Discursive Contours of Television News and the Possibility of Their Analysis), pp. 189-214 in Foret, Michal and Lapčík, Marek (eds) *Media dnes: reflexe mediality, médií a mediálních obsahů* (Media Today: Reflection of Media, Media, and Media Content). Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci.
>Lecheler, Sophie; de Vreese, Claes H. and Slothuus, Rune (2009) Issue Importance as a Moderator of Framing Effects. *Communication Research* 36 (3): 400–425. DOI: doi.org/10.1177/0093650209333028.
>Marketing charts (2017) The State of Traditional TV: Updated with Q4 2016. http://www.marketingcharts.com/television-24817 (15.05.2017).
>Matthes, Jörg (2011) Framing Politics: An Integrative Approach. *American Behavioral Scientist* 56 (3): 247–259. DOI: 10.1177/0002764211426324.
>McNair, Brian (2011) *An Introduction to Political Communication*. New York: Routledge. DOI: 10.4324/9780203828694.
>McQuail, Denis (2007) *Úvod do teorie masové komunikace* (Introduction to Mass Communication Theory). Prague: Portál.
>Novinky.cz (2009) Topolanek Credibility is Skyrocketing. http://www.novinky.cz/domaci/160248-topolanek-v-duveryhodnosti-raketove-roste.html (15.05.2017).
>Parliament of the Czech Republic (2001) Act No. 231/2001 Coll. 17 May 2001. On the Operation of Radio and Television Broadcasting, as Amended. https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/2001-231 (15.02.2017).
>Reportéři ČT (2009) Investigation of the Deputy Wolf. http://www.ceskatelevize.cz/ivysilani/1142743803-reporteri-ct/209452801240011/obsah/73671-vysetrovani-poslance-wolfa (15.05.2017).
>Schneiderová, Soňa (2008) *Informace – text – kontext: Nad současnou situací médií* (Information – Text – Context: The current media situation). Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci.
>Šmíd, Milan (2005) Česká média 1995–2005: léta technického pokroku a zrání (Czech Media 1995-2005: Years of Technical Progress), pp. 23-31 in Jirák, Jan (ed.) *Deset let v českých médiích* (Ten Years in the Czech Media). Prague: Karolinum.
>Štoll, Martin (2011) *Zahájení televizního vysílání: Zrození televizního národa* (Launch of Television Broadcast: Birth of a Television Nation). Prague: Havran.
>Trampota, Tomáš (2009) Základní kontury transformace českého mediálního systému po roce 1989 (The Basic Contours of the Transformation of the Czech Media System after 1989), pp. 29-42 in Trampota, Tomáš (ed.) *Česká media a Evropská unie: 20 let smazávání hranic* (Czech Media and the European Union: 20 Years of Clearing the Borders). Prague: Metropolitní univerzita Praha.
>Urban, Lukáš; Dubský, Josef and Murdza, Karol (2011) *Masová komunikace a veřejné mínění* (Mass Communication and Public Opinion). Prague: Grada Publishing.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

>Vliegenthart, Rens; Schuck, Andreas; Boomgaarden, Hajo G. and de Vreese, Claes H. (2008) News Coverage and Support for European Integration, 1990–2006. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 20 (4): 415–439. DOI: 10.1093/ijpor/edn044.
>de Vreese, Claes H. (2004) The Effects of Strategic News on Political Cynicism, Issue Evaluations and Policy Support: A Two-Wave Experiment. *Mass Communication and Society* 7 (2): 191–215. DOI: 10.1207/s15327825mcs0702_4.
>Žeželj, Iris; Škorić, Milan; Bogdanović, Slaven; Hristić, Dejan and Stokić, Dušan (2007) Valence Framing of Political Preferences and Resistance to Persuasion. *Psihologija* 40 (3): 365–383. DOI: 10.2298/psi0703365z.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.6 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

VAŽNOST VRIJEDNOSNOG UOKVIRIVANJA U PROCESU POLITIČKE KOMUNIKACIJE: STUDIJA SLUČAJA O UTJECAJU VRIJEDNOSNOG UOKVIRIVANJA NA FORMIRANJE POLITIČKIH STAVOVA GLEDATELJA TELEVIZIJSKIH VIJESTI U ČEŠKOJ REPUBLICI

Hana Hurtíková

SAŽETAK *Rad istražuje značenje teorije vrijednosnog uokvirivanja u političkoj komunikaciji, odnosno ispituje utjecaj vrijednosnih okvira na formiranje političkih stavova u javnosti. Učinak vrijednosnog uokvirivanja izveden je iz kontekstualne vrijednosti informacije (pozitivno, negativno) i vrijedi ako stavovi ljudi prema određenoj temi odgovaraju kontekstualnoj vrijednosti primljene informacije. Ovaj rad kao studiju slučaja predstavlja izvještavanje za vrijeme krize vlade Mireka Topoláneka u Češkoj Republici 2009. Rad ispituje u kojoj je mjeri kontekst izjava na češkim vijestima o dvjema parlamentarnim strankama – Građanskoj demokratskoj stranci (Občanská demokratická strana, ODS, predsjednik Mirek Topolánek) i Češkoj socijaldemokratskoj stranci (Česká strana sociálně demokratická, ČSSD, predsjednik Jiří Paroubek) – povezan s postojećim političkim stavovima njihove potencijalne publike. U radu se tvrdi kako je učinak vrijednosnog uokvirivanja bio vidljiviji u programu javne televizije* Události ČT *nego u komercijalnom programu* Televizní noviny, *što predstavlja paradoks koji se može objasniti jedinstvenom poveznicom između karakteristika češkog medijskog okruženja i političkih stavova televizijskih gledatelja.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

POLITIČKA KOMUNIKACIJA, VRIJEDNOSNI UČINAK UOKVIRIVANJA, VIJESTI ČEŠKE TELEVIZIJE, ODS, ČSSD

Bilješka o autoru

Hana Hurtíkova :: Sveučilište Palacky u Olomoucu, Odsjek za politiku i europske studije, Olomouc, Češka Republika **::** hana.hurtikova@upol.cz

WHEN SOUND BITES BECOME THE NEWS: A CASE STUDY ON MANUFACTURING NEWS IN CROATIA

Tena Perišin

Izvorni znanstveni rad / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.7 / Primljeno: 01.12.2016.

ABSTRACT *Media environment is rapidly changing and facing a widespread crisis in journalism. It is followed by the decline of audience trust and increasing market pressures. The main goal is to win the audience's attention, very often by creating drama and producing 'conflict'. The news is not based on something that really happened and that is relevant, but it is more often manufactured or artificially produced. In this case study we explore the curious life cycle of a sound bite from a passing remark by the then Croatian Prime Minister Zoran Milanović's to the headlines, discussions and extensive reports which developed over the course of several days. This example shows how news could be manufactured and content blurred when it is built around a fragment without providing the context, in this case a political quote. For several days, politicians, experts, war veterans, but also ordinary citizens were involved in the manufactured news story without making a reference to the context. Consequently, the democratic debate was avoided. Drawing on a discussion of news fragmentation as isolation from context, we show that in this case, news values (what news is) are increasingly blurred, preventing the news from becoming the source of information and discussion of the country's key issues.*

KEY WORDS

TELEVISION NEWS, SOUND BITE, POLITICS, DEMOCRACY, JOURNALISM, POLITICAL QUOTE

Author Note

Tena Perišin :: University of Zagreb, Faculty of Political Science, Zagreb, Croatia **::** tena.perisin@fpzg.hr

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.7 / PRIMLJENO: 01.12.2016.

INTRODUCTION

The multimedia world, in which journalists and producers work today, creates unprecedented pressures in winning the audience attention. One of the criteria of news selection, namely 'who was the first' to report on a particular event becomes more and more difficult to meet: once central, the evening television news broadcast is no longer the first source of news for the savvy media user – they have already heard the latest information via social media, radio, a mobile phone application, or an online portal. In this context, the ongoing battle among different media to keep the audience tuned stretches the definition of 'breaking news' and what makes headlines to the extreme (often without recourse to actual events). It often happens that the leading story is not the most relevant story, but the manufactured news created just to attract the audience (Perišin, 2011). When politicians appear on the news, it is usually in the form of 'short-form interviews' (Eriksson, 2011) or short 'extracts included within the context of a news story' (Ekström, 2001). Furthermore, a sound bite[1] taken out of context can become a lead story and even breaking news. As defined, a sound bite is a segment in the news story that shows someone speak without interruptions (Hallin, 1992) and it is part of the news report. How journalists make the decision on what to include and what to exclude was analysed in the past (Adatto, 1990; Hallin, 1992; Drew et al., 2010; Perišin, 2010) and was put in the context of the news selection and also of the style of reporting. According to Peter Bull, Ralph Negrine and Katie Hawn's study (2014) on British broadcast news during the parliamentary expenses scandal of 2009, there is a clear shift in television news journalism from a fact-based to a more interpretive style. Such a routine in broadcast journalism leads to news stories that are not always true, credible or accurate, nor do they reflect what had actually happened. There exist many external influences that can devalue the ethical bases and values by which a certain medium operates and which can be differentiated depending on the medium (Brighton and Foy, 2007: 163). Such influences are powerful and can vary – depending on the house policy, the source of the story, competition, as well as on any other impulses which can change perception from the background or can impact the understanding of what had gone on.

NEWS VALUES IN QUESTION

Professional criteria of news selection were defined decades ago, but in today's media landscape they are still worth studying. Although journalists in the newsroom define the ability to recognize newsworthiness as 'a gut feeling', it is a task of the media analysts to investigate journalistic practices (Schultz, 2007: 191). As Paul Brighton and Dennis Foy noted, "in the ideal world, the news would be true, valid, accurate and reasoned account of what happened. In the real world it is rarely thus." (2007: 163)

[1] or soundbite: a brief quote lifted out of, or assembled from, the context of a longer statement. Soundbites have become a mainstay of news and current affairs reporting. Those in the public eye (notably politicians) have become adept at tailoring their statements to feature soundbites (*Oxford Dictionary of Media and Communication*, 2016).

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.7 / PRIMLJENO: 01.12.2016.

The most quoted news values theory is the one of Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge (1965: 66) who set the list of twelve news factors that determine how events become the news: 'frequency'; 'threshold (intensity)'; 'unambiguity'; 'meaningfulness (cultural proximity, relevance)'; 'consonance (predictability, demand)'; 'unexpectedness (unpredictability, scarcity)'; 'continuity'; 'composition'; 'reference to elite nations'; 'reference to elite persons'; 'reference to persons (personalization)' and 'reference to something negative'. For the most of researchers Galtung and Ruge selection criteria were a starting point in an attempt to redefine this list of news values in relation to news event, news story, news judgement or types of media. For example, some researchers noticed that Galtung and Ruge did not even mention the visual attractiveness as the news value, which is usually listed as one of the factors in television news and later in the online media (Harcup and O'Neill, 2001; Johnson-Cartee, 2004; Perišin, 2004; Perišin, 2010). Hans Mathias Kepplinger and Christine Simone Ehmig distinguish news values and news factors: news values are regarded as properties of events, news factors are characteristics of journalists, meaning that what will be reported on depends on journalists' judgment (2006: 28). For Tony Harcup and Deirdre O'Neill, news values are "the ground rules that come into operation when journalists select stories" (2001: 261). Among the news factors they gave important place to celebrity and entertainment (Harcup and O'Neill, 2001). Fifteen years later they did another study to evaluate Galtung and Ruge news criteria the news values on social media and to propose a new set of criteria. Looking at the existing news criteria, particularly with regard to social media, they produced an updated list of news values (Harcup and O'Neill, 2016). Harcup and O'Neill recognized them within published stories. Consequently, potential "news stories must generally satisfy one and preferably more of the following criteria to be selected" (Harcup and O'Neill, 2016: 2). The list of news values includes: 'exclusivity'; 'bad news'; 'conflict'; 'surprise'; 'audio-visuals'; 'shareability'; 'entertainment'; 'drama'; 'follow-up'; 'the power elite'; 'relevance'; 'magnitude'; 'celebrity'; good news' and 'news organisation's agenda'.

Harcup and O'Neill created the list according to the existing news values in the British media. One can definitely dispute that giving place to the existing routines brings us far from the reason the news values were meant to be characteristics of the professional journalists' standards, guidance for the journalists and characteristics of newsworthiness. This is the zone where we cross from journalism to tabloid news (Perišin, 2010: 110) or to 'corruption of news values' (Brighton and Foy, 2007: 163).

There exist factors that can influence the non-objective selection of news stories. Ever since the creation of the media, there has existed the suspicion that those who are financially controlling the media are ready to devalue the selection of news and neglect certain information factors in order to protect their own interests (Brighton and Foy 2007: 164). Competition among TV stations, as well as the rise of 24-hour news channels, have had large impact on today's news structure and the content of main TV news shows due to their demand for immediacy and their incessant broadcasting of fresh hard news stories (Cushion, 2015). Nowadays, television newscasts are not competing only among themselves, they are also competing with the online media, and this influences the way TV news is produced today. The characteristic of television news of the present day is

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.7 / PRIMLJENO: 01.12.2016.

dramaticism and the production of endless drama. Information value is being pushed out by 'commercial values' (Cushion, 2012: 3). There is a tendency for hard news stories to become breaking news even when there is nothing really special about them.

The development of the Internet as well as pressures caused by the fast pace of living in these modern times have resulted in extreme urgency of publishing news. Virtually, launching an item of news – as soon as it happens and possibly before your competitors – has become imperative. Due to the necessity of speedy action and time-constraints that have become extremely important, the need for events to be explained appears to be neglected (Perišin, 2010: 106). As Jay Rosen states, the content of the news is arbitrary and it is very much influenced by the production routine not by the news itself (Rosen, 2010). The journalist tasked with producing a news story is facing a huge challenge of reporting a story in such a way that it is as interesting as possible, but at the same time it has to be understandable to the general public.

However, due to the constant need for news to contain something that will attract the attention of a wider scope of people, TV news is attempting to compete with the Internet, so that in a bid to be interesting, incidents, unusual events, particularities are what is being sought after, but the wider story context is often missing. The measurable casualty of this process is a political quote (Fehrman, 2011). The television news reports are becoming less fact-based and more interpretive (Bull et al., 2014). In a research carried out by Bull, Negrine and Hull (2014) based on the analysis of sound bites in political TV news reports, they revealed the storytelling routine. They showed that the audio-visual excerpts were cut and edited and identical audio-visual segments were interpreted and re-interpreted across different newscasts (*Ibid.*). The journalists tend to report news to a smaller extent and care less about the accuracy of their message. In their story politicians are actors and their statements are used to fit the narrative.

SOUND BITE JOURNALISM

The inaccuracy of the information can result from shrinking statements made by an interviewee. A good sound clip that can be made part of a report is referred to as a sound bite in TV journalism and it is interesting to journalists if the statement in question is short and memorable and can be easily used when editing (Perišin, 2010: 98). Michael Dukakis, the US presidential candidate in the 1988 campaign said at the time that messages "you were not able to say in less than 10 seconds, could not even be heard, as if they had not been broadcast." (cf. Hallin, 1992: 34) Numerous authors have spoken about the emergence of the so-called sound bite journalism, or more precisely, of journalism based on sound excerpts. For Kiku Adatto (1990) shrinking of sound bites has an immense effect on discourse of democracy. He raises a question: "What becomes of democracy when political discourse is reduced to sound bites, one-liners and potent visuals?" (Adatto, 1990: 4) Jeffrey Scheuer speaks of a sound bite society, as the one which is overwhelmed with pictures and slogans, just parts of the information and symbolic messages – culture of immediate, but shallow communication (Scheuer, 2001: 8). Julie Drew, William Lyons and

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.7 / PRIMLJENO: 01.12.2016.

Lance Svehla talk about "sound-bite saboteurs" – "the saturation of our communication channels with interesting messages disguised to appear as disinterested public information" (Drew et al., 2010: 1). This is the very reason why broadcasting of sound bites can result in inaccurate transfer of a speaker's message and incomplete information, because oftentimes the context within which a certain sound bite is not provided. This can result in biased reporting (reporting of what a journalist had heard and wanted to hear, rather than what was actually said).

When the news story is built on a sound bite taken out of the context, it is obvious that the real content could be hidden or misunderstood. Shanto Iyengar researched the way in which news stories' framing is formed, coming to the conclusion that most of the news is episodic and not thematic (1991). As Lance Bennett claims "episodic news places the journalist and the news audience into the center of a developed situation and puts emphasis on people who are in conflict or experiencing a problem" (Bennett, 2012: 44). Such news stories are not only personalized, but also fragmented and dramatic (*Ibid*.). Thematic news stories, on the other hand, give an overview of a bigger picture, conditions in which the event took place, avoiding the drama in the process in order to get to the very root of the problem. Episodic news stories are much more common in journalism, particularly TV journalism, resulting in viewers being left uninformed and puzzled, having very little knowledge of what had actually happened. Such stories are the cause of a very low level viewers' engagement in events which they could be a part of and could change certain things.

A CASE STUDY ON MANUFACTURING NEWS IN CROATIA: HOW A 'SHRUNK' SOUND BITE BECOMES A LEADING ITEM OF NEWS IN CROATIA

In Croatia, there are three national TV stations – the public broadcaster Croatian Radiotelevision (HRT), and two commercial broadcast companies – Nova TV and RTL. Until 2010 HRT's primetime newscast *Dnevnik* was the most watched program of that kind in the country. According to the research of the news values (Perišin, 2010) they started losing audience when they undertook to compete with commercial stations with the stories which would be more suitable for commercial television, i.e. insisting on drama and scandals in TV news political reports. As a consequence, both on public television and two commercial channels stories turned out to be structured around politicians' sound bites which are often reactions to earlier statements or interpretations of earlier statements. Similarly as in the previously mentioned research of TV news in the UK, journalists appear as interpretors, politicians as actors and the same audio-visual segments are interpreted and re-interpreted (Bull et al., 2014).

In this case study we explore a curious life cycle of a sound bite within four days (15^{th}-18^{th} March 2013) from a passing remark by the then Croatian Prime Minister Zoran Milanović[2] to headlines, discussions and extensive reports which developed over a course

[2] Zoran Milanović, Croatian PM from 2011 to 2015.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.7 / PRIMLJENO: 01.12.2016.

of several days throughout the Croatian media world. The goal of this small-scale research is to show how a shortened/clipped sound bite taken out of context, with no relevant background provided by the journalist, can be seen as fragmentation, even manipulation, which produces nothing else but pseudonews and non-newsworthy facts.

The research was carried out through a narrative analysis of packages used in the primetime newscasts of the public broadcaster Croatian Radiotelevision (HRT) and commercial Nova TV. We singled out a series of reactions which came about after broadcasting the sound bite by the then Croatian PM Zoran Milanović on March 16th 2013. In the press conference, he commented on Eurosceptic Ruža Tomašić's speech in which she made comments on Serbs living in Croatia.

Things had heated up a day earlier, when the then a leader of the right-wing political party (HSP dr. Ante Starčević) and a candidate on, at that time, the main opposition party's (HDZ) election list, made the following statement at an HDZ election rally during the election campaign for the European Parliament:

Why our war veterans are lying there where they are now (humiliated)? Because of the fact that we are not being able to say that we are Croats, because of the fact that we cannot call a thief a thief, or call a Chetnik a Chetnik. Which country are we living in then? I think that this is Croatia and everyone else is just a guest in this country and if they don't love it, they should leave it, but they need to at least respect it. (Ruža Tomašić's statement, 15th March 2013)[3]

As soon as Tomašić made the above statement, the majority of media condemned it because it was understood that she was, by saying "everyone else is just a guest in this country", referring to the Serbian minority living in Croatia. Even though Tomašić's statement as such can be interpreted as hostile, it is also true the media and journalists did not quote precisely what Tomašić had said and then went on and asked other public figures to comment on her statement, asking them to comment on the twisted part of her statement "Croatia is only for Croats and all the others were guests," which was not exactly what she had said (*Dnevnik.hr*, Nova TV, 16th March 2013). In this paper we are focusing on one of the reactions which led to the misuse of the sound bite in the main TV news, which then led to a series of reactions and interpretations blurring the information, and shifting focus from one issue to another, preventing real political discourse of the country's key issues such as the status of minorities, minorities' rights and citizenship.

At his party's (SDP[4]) gathering, the then Prime Minister Zoran Milanović was asked to comment on the right-wing candidate for the European Parliament and Eurosceptic Ruža Tomašić's statement that "Croatia is for Croats and all the others are guests". Although the quote made by journalists as a part of a question to Milanović, were not exact, Ruža Tomašić's claim, twenty-five years after the war and during a rocky transition to democracy, raises a particularly sensitive issue of minority rights in Croatia. In a longer speech, Milanović denounced Tomašić's claim. Both TV stations, the public broadcaster

[3] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ty5Xo2jnjh0 (28.02.2016).
[4] Social Democratic Party

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.7 / PRIMLJENO: 01.12.2016.

HRT and the commercial broadcaster Nova TV in their main news programs, reported on the socialdemocrats' gathering, but the two TV stations selected different sound bites.

None of the channels aired the package in the first third of the newscast. The commercial broadcaster Nova TV in its primetime news (Nova TV *Dnevnik*) focused on the then Prime Minister's reaction following the statement of Ruža Tomašić. The newscast aired the reporter's package including the sound bite, which was just an excerpt from a longer statement by Zoran Milanović. Milanović denounced Tomašić's claim by making a brief, peripheral reference to the countries like Finland, in which similar claims might still be heard, but which did not have a "civil war" or, as he continued, "a massive destruction and war of terror".

The Nova TV primetime newscast aired a sound bite by Croatian PM Zoran Milanović:

Croatia is not Denmark or Finland, where sometimes you can hear comments that Finland is for Finns only and everyone else is a guest. However, the Finland we are talking about has never ever gone through a civil war. (Nova TV *Dnevnik*, 16th March 2013)

Even though this was just an excerpt from a longer statement, Nova TV reporter picked up just this excerpt. This led to the debate shifting and focusing on Milanović, with the key issue for public debate turning into why the then Prime Minister insinuated that Croatia had gone through a 'civil war', which mainstream politics prefer to refer to as the 'Homeland War' or a 'defense war' caused by the Greater-Serbian aggression.

Airing the then Prime Minister's statement as part of a TV news package during the main evening news, Nova TV's reporter commented on his statement within the news package:

Croatia had not gone through a civil war either, and that's why the Prime Minister's statement is so surprising. The final court verdict on Operation Storm[5] states that a defense war had been waged as the result of aggression. (Nova TV *Dnevnik*, 16th March 2013)

On the same day, the public broadcaster HRT's primetime newscast (also named *Dnevnik*), reported on politicians' reactions to the statement made by Ruža Tomašić, and reported Zoran Milanović's reaction as well. However, the HRT's reporter did not use the same sound bite as Nova TV, the one in which Milanović mentioned the comparison to Finland and the civil war.

The sound segment which was broadcast during the most-watched national TV evening news program, on commercial Nova TV, sparked quite a reaction among the general public and a string of fresh reactions – which in television news then led to new reactions. Due to the chosen sound bite, Milanović came under fire from members of

[5] *Operation Storm* was the last battle of the Croatian War of Independence and a major decisive factor in the outcome of the Bosnian War. The Hague Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia in 2012 passed the acquittal in the case, bringing down the indictment that *Operation Storm* was a joint criminal enterprise whose goal was to forcibly and permanently remove the Serb population from parts of Croatia.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.7 / PRIMLJENO: 01.12.2016.

the opposition, citizens and war veterans who demanded his resignation, as they had understood from the statement and comments made by the journalist that Milanović, by comparing Croatia to Finland, actually portrayed the Homeland War as a civil war. Milanović rejected all accusations and stressed that his statement broadcast on Nova TV had not been aired in its entirety, but had rather been cut-off mid-sentence. What had been omitted was the rest of his statement in which he stated that Croatia was the only country which on its EU path went through a destructive war and suffered aggression (Nova TV's news portal *Dnevnik.hr*, 17th March 2013).

Following Nova TV's primetime newscast other news media also decided to pick up just this excerpt. An army of not only political commentators but also historians were brought into the debate by the media for several days in endless discussions, without ever making a reference to the then Prime Minister's full statement, with most media reporting only on the initial sound bite, just an excerpt from a longer statement. Consequently, the public debate about the status of minorities in Croatia was completely avoided.

The following day, 24 hours later (17th March 2013) the public broadcaster HRT in its primetime newscast *Dnevnik* busied itself with a follow up on Nova TV's coverage, further expanding the news story on Prime Minister Milanović's sound bite as if it were a breaking news story adding further reports and sound bites. So, the public broadcaster's TV news built the story based on the sound bite which was not even aired in their news the day before, when the event actually took place. The same day, the editors of Nova TV's primetime newscast decided to, in addition to furious reactions by politicians and war veterans, air Zoran Milanović's statement in its entirety.

Nova TV news segment:

ANCHOR: *PM Zoran Milanović reacted to the accusations. He said this morning that the statement he made for our main evening news program* Dnevnik*, had been taken out of context.*

SOUND BITE:
Milanović: *I said that Croatia had experienced a destructive war and aggression – is there anyone who does not agree with this or did I describe this wrong? Do I have the right to say that Finland had not had a civil war for the past 150 years?*

Reporter's question: *But it seems like you are at the same time comparing it to Croatia?*

Milanović: *Of course I am comparing it, I am comparing a society which did not have to go through war and war traumas during the past 150 years, a society in which saying that Finland is for Finns only means something completely different than when you say that Croatia is for Croats and I continue to say that we had endured a war of destruction and aggression. Which country should I compare us with, Mongolia? I compare us with Finland and Denmark.*

…

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.7 / PRIMLJENO: 01.12.2016.

ANCHOR: *We broadcast the PM's statements yesterday. We bring you the statement in its entirety today.*

SOUND BITE:
Milanović: *In politics, one has to weigh every single word, not because of calculations, but because one has to be a responsible person. When you, for example, state in Croatia in 2013 that 'Croatia is for Croats only, and everyone else is a guest,' you don't just play with fire but with radioactive material. Because Croatia is not Denmark or Finland, where occasionally one can hear that 'Finland is for the Finns and everyone else is a guest'. However, that same Finland had never gone through a civil war and it had never experienced a situation which could be compared to what Croatia had gone through. Or Denmark, or Germany in a way. Therefore, such things, such irresponsible, evil statements can be heard across Europe. But Croatia today is a different state than other European country. Its history in the past twenty years has been different. We are joining the EU as the 28th member country which had suffered a war of destruction and aggression less than 20 years ago, nobody else has such a situation. And we have to be careful about what we are saying. Who are these guests in Croatia? Who is a Croat to start with? What defines me as a Croat? That I despise a Serb? When this is said by a promoter, it's tolerable in the political sense, not in the human sense, but this is now being stated by people on election lists (note: competing for the EU Parlament).*" (Nova TV *Dnevnik*, 17th March 2013)

It is interesting that, speaking to the press the same day, PM Milanović had brought up the very process of constructing such news stories after a barrage of reactions by holding a tablet in his hand showing the video with the full version of his speech on the screen, and saying:

SOUND BITE:
Milanović: *I would like to call on those responsible (…), that if it's at all possible they refrain from cutting off my sentence half-way. Even the Euro-phobic MEP from the HSP was awarded the privilege for her whole statement to be aired. (…) I see this as a serious manipulation and a deliberate move in order for it to spark this kind of debate.* (Nova TV *Dnevnik*, 17th March 2013)

That same evening, which saw Nova TV shed a different light on Milanović's statement, the public broadcaster HRT, in its primetime newscast (note: HRT on 16th March did not even broadcast Milanović's statement mentioning comparison with Finland and the civil war), decided to carry an extensive report relaying Milanović's statement in the form which was a day earlier aired by Nova TV. HRT dedicated a large part of its main evening news program to the reactions to the very sound bite that was shown on Nova TV the previous day, the part of the sentence on Finland and the civil war. Also, typical for constructing of news that is made up of a string of sound bites, is seeking comments. It is quite common that most of those asked for a reaction had not even heard the statement they were commenting in its entirety. So, the reactions are often reactions to an interpretation presented by the journalist posing the question.

HRT news report:

Reporter: *His statement is being condemned throughout the country. His statement came as a reaction to a statement by the Croatian Party of Rights' leader Ruža Tomašić.*

Milanović: *When you state, for example, in Croatia in 2013 that Croatia is just for Croats and that everyone else is a guest, then you are playing not with fire, but with radioactive material, as Croatia is not Denmark or Finland where sometimes it can be heard that Finland is for Finns and everyone else is a guest. However,*

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.7 / PRIMLJENO: 01.12.2016.

the Finland in question never endured a civil war and never experienced a situation which could be compared to the situation in Croatia.

Reporter: *The PM perceives as malicious all those who had concluded that he considered the war in Croatia a civil war. He is inviting them to listen to the segment which came 17 seconds later.*

Milanović: *We are entering the EU as the 28th member, the only member who had endured a war of destruction and aggression less than 20 years ago.* (HRT *Dnevnik,* 17th March 2013)

It is interesting to note that a day after the Nova TV aired its report and spurred public reactions, the public broadcaster HRT aired a long piece analyzing the statement by the PM which had been taken out of context. Nova TV, which was the place from which the whole thing started, had in the meantime retreated and in its main evening news aired the integral statement by the PM without any additional comment, while HRT relayed the statement in the way it was cut, taken out of context and aired on Nova TV. In the same package, HRT aired the second part of the sentence in which he mentioned that Croatia went through a "destructive war". Despite the fact that this addition threw a different light on the issue, the public broadcaster in that news included also heated reactions of the general public and went as far as to question the PM's communication skills, which were seen as insufficient, as the general public had misunderstood him. The HRT reporter ended her report with a commentary:

Reporter: *How can we accept the fact that the PM's statement had been understood by half of Croatia, as the bending of the truth about the Homeland War. This is surely not a topic which should be used to practice one's rhetorical skills.* (HRT *Dnevnik*, 17th March 2013)

After showing a series of reactions, the same HRT's news, carried an interview with a history teacher at Vukovina Primary School (note: Vukovina is a village in Croatia), being given airtime to teach the PM a lesson on Finnish history and the civil war in Finland. Additionally, the local elementary school history teacher's statement was given even more importance because it was broadcast as a separate news segment after the anchor's intro.

ANCHOR: *Let's add a correction of the PM's statement in which he said 'Finland never had a civil war. Never!'*

SOUND BITE:
Bruno Berger (history teacher at Vukovina elementary school): *Finland went through a civil war and quite a bloody one in the first half of 1918. The supporters of the red and the white had clashed and at the end of the war which ended with approximately 37,000 victims, Finland mourned this tragedy for a long time and it had marked its entire 20th century.* (HRT *Dnevnik*, 17th March 2013)

A day later, on 18th March, the then Prime Minister Zoran Milanović reacted sharply once again and in his speech particularly slammed the public broadcaster, HRT. Nova TV and HRT broadcast the statement in which Milanović condemned the media which had for days been dealing with his statement which had at the very start been taken out of context and then analyzed by experts. At an extraordinary press conference, Milanović said among other things:

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.7 / PRIMLJENO: 01.12.2016.

Experts are being brought into the studio, we are discussing the Finnish war, experts from Spičkovina or Vukovina are explaining to us how many people died in the war, as if they had personally counted the bodies, while communications' specialists are comparing me to Churchil. (Nova TV *Dnevnik*, 18th March 2013)

Following this statement by the then Prime Minister, both Nova TV and the public broadcaster HRT primetime newscast aired the latest reactions and even aired comments by residents of the small villages of Spičkovina and Vukovina, mentioned by Milanović in his comments. The story continued for days and was reheated by sending TV crews to Spičkovina and Vukovina to produce news features from the villages most Croatians had not heard of before. Reacting to the comment by PM Milanović, HRT decided to provide its own comment and explain its stance, also publishing it on its online platform (hrt.hr, 18th March 2013).

ON-SCREEN GRAPHIC:
Today's speech by PM Zoran MIlanović is seen by HRT as intolerable pressure being placed on the independence of the media. HRT is not shying away from its own mistakes, but such messages sent out from a Prime Minister to the media are seen as utterly inappropriate. (HRT *Dnevnik*, 18th March 2013)

It is very rare for a TV station to use a slot within the primetime newscast to express its editorial comment. It is even more unusual when this is done by the public service media. In this case, the editorial comment was inserted within the news as on screen graphics and read by the anchor. The whole cycle of the news sound bite shows the way how news story was manufactured. In this example, the series of interpretations of someone's statement, in this case a statement by the then Prime Minister, led to numerous reactions which had very little to do with newsworthy information. The above example shows a newsroom routine which takes place quite often in the Croatian broadcast newsrooms. News organizations, in an attempt to beat the Internet and to appeal to their audiences, are not making an effort to go in depth and explain relevant topics. Instead, they stay on the surface and fill the news with fragments and episodes whose goal is not to inform but to entertain and provoke the politically divided Croatian society.

Namely, as Bennett says, the dramatization could be a good thing in order for attention to be attracted to certain political, environmental, social, economic or other issues. However, in modern journalism it does not play that kind of role (Bennett, 2012). Drama in news stories is used to underline the crisis before continuity, the present before history and to place personality in the very center of events. A crisis offers perfect material for news stories, as the news fits in perfectly into this dramatization bias. "The crisis circle in the news bears the classical elements of drama, including introduction, plot, sharply outlined characters and several resolution options." (Bennett, 2012: 46)

The life of the sound bite described in the above example, shows another characteristic of news stories: fragmentation. By isolating one story from another and from their wider context, news stories become fragmented and it is hard to make them a part of a wider picture. Fragmentation commences, for example, by isolating a politician from the political context which he or she operates in. The fragmentation is then further intensified

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.7 / PRIMLJENO: 01.12.2016.

by the use of dramatic formats, which turn events into isolated episodes. Fragmentation is further boosted at the end by the usage of limited space (in newspapers or on TV) in order to avoid 'overwhelming' viewers with too much information (Bennett, 2012: 47).

CONCLUSION

This example clearly shows the characteristics of the current news manufacturing. Instead of discussing problems we had a genuine public media drama developing, which could be most clearly seen in the TV broadcasts.

The life of Zoran Milanović's sound bite clearly shows that the notion of fragmentation and dramatization work together and that the whole series of news stories and analyses can be constructed, just starting from a 'well chosen sound bite'. It is a clear example of misuse of sound bites. It shows how choosing a fragment, not a context, can lead to misinterpretation and manipulation instead of information. Such examples also show that such routine may result in serious consequences and deepen the conflict within the society.

As the result of cases such as the one tackled in this study the role of journalists and journalism are being brought into question. The role of media analysts is to warn about and increase awareness of the way news stories are produced. It is no longer clear what a news story is, what actually happened and what the 'very basis' of the news piece is, or the further expansion of the stories. In a sea of information viewers may no longer be able to make a distinction. The deconstruction of the process of news production is extremely important for future media analysts. Journalists have become hostages of deadlines. As production and distribution become cheaper, more and more voices can be heard among media professionals and academics speaking about the need for so-called constructive journalism. Some newsrooms in Denmark and Belgium and even some British universities are offering for the first time courses in constructive journalism (Lawson, 2015) which is an attempt to introduce solutions oriented journalism, instead of conflict stories.

The editor-in-chief of the public television channel in Denmark (DR) Ulrik Haagerup is advocating such an approach and asks if journalists are really acting to the best interest of the society. According to Haagerup, the media is in need of a wakeup call (2014). According to Jay Rosen (2010) the future of journalism lies in giving more context, building trust-based journalism. As the production routine was transformed by web, journalism has a chance to focus on what production of news was supposed to result in and that is an engaged and informed public (Rosen, 2010).

The close analysis of the life of a sound bite and the way how it is handled in the news, also represents a warning sign. The tabloidization has gone too far, so far in fact, that it is no longer possible to make the distinction between breaking news and hard news; between hard news and pseudo-news or between facts and fabrications. The call for constructive journalism, slow journalism or solutions-oriented journalism which can

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.7 / PRIMLJENO: 01.12.2016.

now be heard more and more frequently is, actually, a wake-up call for journalism and the journalists' profession. These calls for certain 'new types' of journalism actually stem from general dissatisfaction with the state of journalism today. So instead of searching for a 'new journalism', why not just go back to the '5W and H' and question the basic rules of the profession.

References

>Adatto, Kiku (1990) *Sound Bite Democracy: Network Evening News Presidential Coverage 1968 and 1988*. Cambridge: Joan Shorenstein Barone Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.
>Bennett, Lance (2012) *Politics of Illusion* (8th edition). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
>Brighton, Paul and Foy, Dennis (2007) *News Values*. London: Sage Publications. DOI: 10.4135/9781446216026.
>Bull, Peter; Negrine, Ralph and Hawn, Katie (2014) Telling it Like it is or Just Telling a Good Story? *Language and Dialogue* 4 (2): 213-233. DOI: 10.1075/ld.4.2.03bul.
>Cushion, Stephen (2015) News and Politics: The Rise of Live and Interpretive Journalism. London: Routledge. DOI: 10.4324/9781315727646.
>Cushion, Stephen (2012) *The Democratic Value of News: Why Public Service Media Matter*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. DOI: 10.1007/978-1-137-27239-3.
>Drew, Julie; Lyons, William and Svehla, Lance (2010) *Sound-bite Saboteurs*. New York: State University of New York Press.
>Ekström, Mats (2001) Politicians Interviewed on Television News. *Discourse and Society* 12 (5): 563–584. DOI: 10.1177/0957926501012005001.
>Eriksson, Göran (2011) Adversarial Moments: A Study of Short-form Interviews in the News *Journalism* 12 (1): 51-69. DOI: 10.1177/1464884910367588.
>Fehrman, Craig (2011) Incredible Shrinking Sound Bite. http://www.boston.com/bostonglobe/ideas/articles/2011/01/02/the_incredible_shrinking_sound_bite/?page=3//www.boston.com/bostonglobe/ideas/articles/2011/01/02/the_incredible_shrinking_sound_bite/ (24.02.2016).
>Galtung, Johan and Ruge, Mari Holmboe (1965) The Structure of Foreign News: The Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in Four Norwegian Newspapers. *Journal of Peace Research* 2 (1): 64-90. DOI: 10.1177/002234336500200104.
>Haagerup, Ulrik (2014) *Constructive News*. Copenhagen: InnoVatio Publishing.
>Hallin, Daniel C. (1992) Sound Bite Democracy. *The Wilson Quarterly* 16 (2): 34-37.
>Harcup, Tony and O'Neill, Deirdre (2016) What is News? News Values Revisited (Again). *Journalism Studies* (published online): 1-19. http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1461670X.2016.1150193 (06.02.2017). DOI: 10.1080/1461670X.2016.1150193.
>Harcup, Tony and O'Neill, Deirdre (2001) What is News? Galtung and Ruge Revisited. *Journalism Studies* 2 (2): 261-280. DOI: 10.1080/14616700118449.
>Iyengar, Shanto (1991) *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. DOI: 10.7208/chicago/9780226388533.001.0001.
>Kepplinger, Hans Mathias and Ehmig, Simone Christine (2006) Predicting News Decisions. An Empirical Test of the Two-Component Theory of News Selection. *Communications: The European Journal of Communication Research* 31 (1): 25-45. DOI: 10.1515/commun.2006.003.
>Johnson-Cartee, Karen S. (2004) *News Narratives and News Framing: Constructing Political Reality*, Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
>Lawson, Tom (2015) Constructive Journalism Taught in UK Universities for the First Time. https://www.positive.news/2015/society/media/17529/constructive-journalism-uk-universities-first-time/ (24.03.2017).

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.7 / PRIMLJENO: 01.12.2016.

>*Oxford Dictionary of Media and Communication* (2016) Oxford University Press, Online edition http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191800986.001.0001/acref-9780191800986 (06.02.2017).
>Perišin, Tena (2011) Media Trends, Digital Journalism and the State of Profession in Croatia, *Otazky Žurnalistiky* (Questions of Journalism) 54 (1-2): 83-93.
>Perišin, Tena (2010) *Televizijske vijesti*. Zagreb: Naklada medijska istraživanja.
>Perišin, Tena (2004) Profesionalni kriteriji selekcije vijesti i utjecaj javnosti. *Politička misao* 41 (2): 85-93.
>Rosen, Jay (2010) *The Future of Context*. http://library.fora.tv/2010/08/13/Jay_Rosen_The_Future_of_Context (24.02.2016).
>Scheuer, Jeffrey (2001) *The Sound Bite Society: How Television Helps the Right and Hurts the Left*. London: Routledge. DOI: 10.4324/9780203952924.
>Schultz, Ida (2007) The Journalist Gut Feeling. *Journalism Practice* 1 (2): 190-207. DOI: 10.1080/17512780701275507.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.7 / PRIMLJENO: 01.12.2016.

KADA TONSKI ISJEČAK POSTANE VIJEST: PRIMJER FABRICIRANJA VIJESTI U HRVATSKOJ

Tena Perišin

SAŽETAK *Suvremeno novinarstvo mijenja se velikom brzinom i istodobno se suočava s krizom koja se odražava u sve većem nepovjerenju u medije, ali i sve većim pritiscima tržišta. Pažnju publike mediji privlače neprestanim potenciranjem dramatičnosti i proizvođenjem sukoba. Vijest se više ne temelji na nečem što se stvarno dogodilo i što je relevantno, nego na nečemu što je umjetno proizvedeno. U ovom se radu prati geneza jednoga tonskog isječka (engl.* sound bite*), dijela izjave hrvatskog premijera Zorana Milanovića, koji je dospio u udarne vijesti televizijskih informativnih emisija, rasplamsao rasprave i postao glavna tema novinarskih izvještaja. Na primjeru jednog fragmenta, isječka izjave političara, opisuje se kako se, kada se izostavi kontekst, stvara nova medijska priča. Sljedećih nekoliko dana političari, stručnjaci, branitelji, ali i obični građani bili su akteri te priče, a da se ni jednom nije spomenulo u kojem je kontekstu izgovorena ta izjava. Demokratska debata je izostala. Rad se usredotočuje na raspravu o fragmentaciji vijesti i njihovoj izolaciji od konteksta. Na navedenom primjeru pokazuje se kako su informativne vrijednosti (ono što vijest jest) zamagljene, pa stoga vijesti prestaju biti izvor informacija i poticaj za raspravu o bitnim nacionalnim pitanjima.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

TELEVIZIJSKE VIJESTI, TONSKI ISJEČAK, POLITIKA, DEMOKRACIJA, NOVINARSTVO, POLITIČKI CITAT

Bilješka o autorici

Tena Perišin :: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Fakultet političkih znanosti, Zagreb **::** tena.perisin@fpzg.hr

MREŽNA STRANICA ŽUPE SV. FILIPA I JAKOVA U VUKOVARU

Marija Pandžić :: Vine Mihaljević :: Jerko Valković

Izvorni znanstveni rad / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / Primljeno: 04.04.2017.

SAŽETAK *U članku je predstavljena analiza mrežne stranice Župe sv. Filipa i Jakova u Vukovaru s njezinim akterima koje čine župnik, župna zajednica te različite duhovne, pastoralne, društvene i kulturne grupe unutar Župe. Istraživanje je provedeno metodom analize društvenih mreža primjenom teorije grafa u razdoblju od 1. prosinca 2014. do 1. prosinca 2015., a to pak razdoblje odgovara jednoj liturgijskoj godini u kojoj se zrcale sve duhovne, pastoralne, društvene i kulturne aktivnosti pojedine župe, odnosno cjelokupnost odnosā između akterā mrežne stranice Župe sv. Filipa i Jakova. U prvom dijelu članka donosi se teorijski okvir društvenih mreža s posebnim osvrtom na teoriju grafa. U drugom dijelu opisuju se, analiziraju i interpretiraju dobiveni rezultati teorije grafa. Na kraju se ističu neki značajni pokazatelji nastajanja novog komunikacijsko-pastoralnog usmjerenja, obzorja ili se pak naznačuju određeni elementi za primjereni komunikacijsko-pastoralni model koji se razvija na temelju interaktivnosti i cjelokupnosti odnosa svih aktera postojeće društvene mreže u vukovarskoj Župi.*

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

TEORIJA DRUŠTVENIH MREŽA, TEORIJA GRAFA, ŽUPNA MREŽNA STRANICA, ŽUPNA ZAJEDNICA, ŽUPNIK, ŽUPNA GRUPA

Bilješka o autorima

Marija Pandžić :: doktorandica na poslijediplomskom studiju Kroatologija na Hrvatskim studijima Sveučilišta u Zagrebu **::** marija.pandzic@gmail.com
Vine Mihaljević :: Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, Zagreb **::** vine.mihaljevic@pilar.hr
Jerko Valković :: Hrvatsko katoličko sveučilište u Zagrebu **::** jerko.valkovic@gmail.com

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

UVOD

Danas je pojam „mreža" u svakodnevnoj upotrebi, a za to je dovoljno imati u vidu koliko su u upotrebi Google, Facebook i Twitter. Terminom „mreža" općenito se pak označavaju točke koje su međusobno povezane linijama. Na primjer, u sociološkom smislu mreža je cjelokupnost veza, odnosa koji postoje između osoba. U tom kontekstu točke, vrhovi, čvorovi označavaju osobe, grupe, a linije označavaju vezu, povezanost među njima. Metafora „mreže" može označavati način kako se određuje cjelokupna stvarnost određene osobe, njezino djelovanje i njezin odnos prema drugima u društvu. U tom je smislu djelovanje mreže djelovanje koje vrši određeni akter (osoba ili više njih koji se nalaze u odnosu), u povezanosti s već postojećim mrežama ili mogućim vezama u svrhu poboljšavanja njihova uzajamnog djelovanja.

Danas svjedočimo razvitku znanosti o mrežama kao novoj disciplini koja je prema brojnim autorima postala samostalnom disciplinom tek na početku 21. stoljeća (Barabási, 2016). Znanstvena istraživanja pokazuju kako je jedna od prednosti mrežne perspektive u tome da na standardna pitanja, u društvenoj i bihevioralnoj znanosti, nudi primjerene odgovore i točno formalno određuje pitanja koja se odnose na političko, ekonomsko i društveno strukturno okruženje (usp. Wasserman i Faust, 1994: 3).

Metoda analize društvenih mreža (engl. *social network analysis*) znanstvenim pristupom proučava veze, odnosno odnos između osoba u određenoj društvenoj i kulturnoj zbilji (usp. Wasserman i Faust, 1994: 69). Metoda mrežne analize istražuje odnose između ljudi, pri čemu primjenjuje teoriju grafa kojom ćemo se koristiti u ovom istraživanju (usp. Tsetovat i Kouznetsov, 2011: 1). Ta se metoda temelji na središnjem konceptu odnosa (veze, povezanosti). Kada se odnosi promatraju zajedno, oni ne samo da nam pomažu shvatiti tu cjelokupnost odnosa nego na određeni način i određuju tko smo i kako djelujemo. Naša osobnost, odgoj i obrazovanje, obiteljsko podrijetlo, rasa, etnicitet, kultura i religija dimenzije su koje utječu na obrazac odnosa i ostavljaju neizbrisiv trag u životu pojedinca. Na taj način promatrajući osobe i njihove veze možemo uočiti obrasce koji mogu odgovoriti na brojna pitanja o našem društvu (usp. Tsetovat i Kouznetsov, 2011: 2). Kako ističe Albert-László Barabási, svi smo mi dio svjetske društvene mreže u koju su svi uključeni.

Ne poznajemo svakoga na planetu, ali u ovoj mreži ljudi sigurno postoji put između svakoga od nas. Jedan poznanik za svaku osobu, jedna veza prema barem jednom neuronu u mozgu, sposobnost za sudjelovanje u barem jednoj reakciji za svaki kemijski spoj u našem tijelu, trgovanje s bar jednom trgovinom u poslovnom svijetu. Sociolozi procjenjuju da po imenu poznajemo između 200 i 5.000 ljudi (Barabási, 2006: 26).

Kako bi se razumio složeni sustav mreža, ponajprije je potrebno razjasniti interakciju između mrežnih sastavnica, odnosno potreban je prikaz odnosa. Mreža je katalog sastavnica sustava koje se nazivaju čvorovima (engl. *nodes*) ili vrhovima (engl. *vertices*), a izravna interakcija između vrhova naziva se vezom (engl. *link*) ili bridom (engl. *edge*). Taj način prikaza predstavlja zajednički jezik kako bi se istraživalo sustave koji se u mnogočemu razlikuju u svojoj prirodi, pojavi ili djelokrugu (usp. Barabási, 2016). Čvorovi ili vrhovi u mrežnom prikazu predstavljaju aktere (a to mogu biti osobe, grupe ili podgrupe), a u našem

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

istraživanju to će biti župnik, župna zajednica i 38 grupa unutar te župne zajednice koje predstavljaju njezine različite pastoralne, duhovne, kulturne i društvene aktivnosti. Te su grupe: Mješoviti zbor sv. Cecilije, Band „Susreti“, VIS Damjan, Dječji zbor „Glasnik sv. Bone“, Franjevačka mladež (Frama), Biblijska zajednica, Franjevački svjetovni red (FSR), Karitativna zajednica, Misijska zajednica, Molitvena zajednica, Predmolitelji časoslova, Obiteljska zajednica, Zajednica sv. Marte, Zajednica Vjera i svjetlo „Lađica“, Sakupljači milostinje, Suradnici, Dječja likovna radionica, Dječje amatersko kazalište „Bonokaz“, Hodočasnička skupina, Info skupina, Kreativna skupina, Ministranti, Plesna skupina, Skupine čitača, Mali čitači, Prvi razred, Drugi razred, Treći razred, Četvrti razred, Peti razred, Šesti razred, Sedmi razred, Osmi razred, Krizmanici, Katekumeni, Udruga sv. Bone, Hrvatsko katoličko društvo medicinskih sestara i tehničara te Koordinacija udruga proisteklih iz Domovinskog rata.

Za vizualizaciju mreže, njezinih aktera i veza redovito služe grafovi koji se predstavljaju kroz razne sustave, kao što je na primjer sustav Gephi[1] kojim se služimo u našemu istraživanju mrežne stranice Župe sv. Filipa i Jakova u Vukovaru. U istraživanju mrežne stranice Filipjakov-vu.com, kako je gore navedeno, ponajprije smo označili njezine glavne aktere: svećenik ili župnik kojem je povjerena pastoralna skrb nad članovima župne zajednice i upravljanje Župom, potom sama župna zajednica unutar Đakovačko-osječke nadbiskupije te različite duhovne i društveno-kulturne grupe koje djeluju unutar Župe. Akteri su određeni postojanjem rubrika i podrubrika na spomenutoj župnoj mrežnoj stranici, a potom se pristupilo analizi te mrežne stranice, odnosno proučavala se količina linkova na toj mrežnoj stranici. Na taj način utvrđivalo se postojanje veze između aktera. Veze u određenoj društvenoj mreži mogu biti usmjerene ili neusmjerene. Neki sustavi imaju usmjerene veze, kao na primjer www čiji linkovi usmjeruju od jednog mrežnog dokumenta na drugi mrežni dokument, što je obilježje župne mrežne stranice koja je predmet našega istraživanja.

U ovome radu analizirali smo pojedine aktere na mrežnoj stranici Župe sv. Filipa i Jakova u Vukovaru prema vrijednostima ulaznog i izlaznog stupnja, distribucije aktera, distribucije aktera s težinskim vezama, vrijednosti mjera centralnosti (blizine i međupoloženosti), ekscentričnosti te prema vrijednosti distribucije *authority* i *hub* aktera mrežne stranice u teoriji grafa. U daljnjem tekstu bit će kratko predstavljene teorije društvene mreže i teorija grafa.

TEORIJSKI OKVIR

Teorija grafa

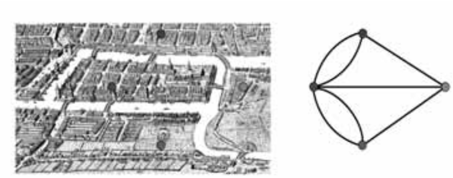
Prema brojim autorima (Barabási, 2016; Scott, 1991; Wassermann i Faust, 1994), pravi početak analize mreža jest početak teorije grafova koji je povezan s problemom „sedam mostova grada Königsberga“, kojim se bavio matematičar Leonhard Euler 1735. godine. U

[1] Riječ je o programu koji su 2008. kreirali Mathieu Bastian, Sebastien Heymann i Mathieu Jacomy, a dopunili su ga Eduardo Ramos Ibanez, Cezary Bartosiak, Julian Bilcke, Patrick McSweeney, Andre Panisson, Jeremy Subtil, Helder Suzuki, Martin Skurla i Antonio Patriarca. Pristupačan je za analizu svih vrsta složenih mreža, iako se najviše koristi za analizu društvenih mreža. To je programska podrška s otvorenim izvornim kodom za vizualno prikazivanje mreža (grafova), gdje se mogu grafički prikazati klasična mjerila poput stupnja aktera ili centralnosti aktera (Heymann i sur., 2009).

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

predstavljanju teorijskog okvira u ovom radu služimo se uglavnom Barabásijevom studijom o mreži (Barabási, 2006).

Grad Königsberg u to doba bio je glavni grad Istočne Pruske, a danas je to ruski grad Kaliningrad. Kroz grad prolazi rijeka Pregel na kojoj se nalaze dva otočića koja su s ostalim dijelovima grada povezani sa sedam mostova. Postavljeno je pitanje može li se krenuti u obilazak grada, prijeći svaki most točno jednom i na koncu završiti obilazak vrativši se na polaznu točku. Euler je taj problem prikazao modelom, jednostavnim grafom s četiri vrha povezana sa sedam veza (vidi sliku 1) te dokazao teorem da je takav obilazak, takozvana Eulerova tura, moguć samo u grafovima koji imaju sve vrhove parnog stupnja. Upravo proučavanje tog problema smatra se početkom razvoja matematičke discipline teorije grafova (usp. Barabási, 2006: 18-20).



Slika 1.
Sedam mostova grada Königsberga

Vrijednost Eulerova uvida sastoji se u tome što je mostove Königsberga vidio kao graf, skup čvorova, vrhova, točaka koje povezuju linije, odnosi, veze. Čvorovima je prikazao četiri kopnena područja koje razdvaja rijeka. Tako Albert-László Barabási (2006) ističe kako se Eulerov dokaz prema kojemu ne postoji put kojim bi se prošlo po svih sedam königsberških mostova samo jedanput zasniva na jednostavnom uvidu. Čvorovi s neparnim brojem veza moraju biti početna ili završna točka putovanja. Neprekinuti put koji prolazi sve mostove može imati samo jednu početnu i jednu završnu točku. Prema tome takav put ne može postojati na grafu koji ima više od dva čvora s neparnim brojem veza. Kako königsberški graf ima četiri takva čvora, traženi put nije moguće pronaći. Za naš uvid najvažniji vid Eulerova dokaza, naime postojanje puta i njegov grafički prikaz, jednostavno su svojstvo grafa što pokazuje kako sa zadanim rasporedom königsberških mostova nećemo uspjeti pronaći traženi put.

U povijesnoj perspektivi metode analize mreže, prema Johnu Scottu (1991), postoje tri glavna smjera: sociometrijski analitičari koji su pridonijeli ostvarenju brojnih tehničkih postignuća koristeći metode teorije grafa, harvardski istraživači koji su 30-ih godina prošloga stoljeća istraživali međuljudske odnose te mančesterski antropolozi koji su nastavili istraživati na tragu oba smjera kako bi proučili strukturu odnosa zajednice u plemenskim i seoskim društvima. Jacob Moreno i Kurt Lewin sociometrijski su analitičari koji su započeli s djelovanjem 30-ih godina prošlog stoljeća u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama. Prema Morenu, društvene konfiguracije imale su određene strukture, a mapiranje tih struktura u sociogram omogućilo je istraživačima da vizualiziraju kanale putem kojih se, primjerice, informacija može kretati od jedne do druge osobe i putem kojih se može utjecati na drugoga. Moreno je naglašavao kako je stvaranje sociograma omogućilo istraživačima da

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

identificiraju vođe i izdvoje pojedince kako bi otkrili asimetriju i reciprocitet te mapirali nizove povezanosti. Jedan od njegovih glavnih sociometrijskih koncepata jest sociometrijska zvijezda (sve prema Scott, 1991).

Lewinov rani rad odnosi se na ponašanja u grupi koje određuje društvo u kojem se grupa nalazi. Strukturna svojstva društvenog područja mogu se analizirati putem matematičkih tehnika topologije i teorije skupova. Cilj je teorije područja u matematičkim terminima istražiti međuovisnost grupe i okruženja u sustavu odnosa, a ta je perspektiva Lewina približila razvoju opće teorije sustava. U topološkom pristupu društveno područje razumije se kao područje koje sadržava točke povezane linijama. Točke predstavljaju pojedinačne osobe, njihove ciljeve ili njihove radnje, a njihovi putovi predstavljaju interakciju ili spontane sekvence koje ih povezuju.

Njihovi nasljednici Dorwin Cartwright i Frank Harary oblikovali su osnovne ideje grupe kao zbroja točaka povezanih linijama, što je pak osnovni Morenov uvid (usp. Scott, 1991). Završni sociogram ili graf koji predstavlja mrežu stvarnih interpersonalnih odnosa između članova grupe može se analizirati pomoću matematičke ideje teorije grafa. Graf je jednostavno zbroj linija koje povezuju točke, a teorija grafa sastoji se od matematičkih aksioma i formula koji opisuju svojstva obrazaca koji formiraju linije.

U sociometrijskoj tradiciji dalje se proučavao način kako se mreže razlažu u svoje sastavne podgrupe. Taj rad povezan je s istraživanjima u kojima su korišteni termini „klika“ ili „podgrupa“ na Sveučilištu Harvard tijekom 30-ih i 40-ih godina prošloga stoljeća. Istraživanje „neformalnih odnosa“ u velikim društvenim sustavima dovelo je do empirijskih otkrića koja potvrđuju kako ti sustavi sadrže kohezivne podgrupe. Alfred Radcliffe-Brown značajno je utjecao na tradiciju tog načina istraživanja, kao i na antropologe u Australiji, poput W. Lloyda Warnera koji se preselio na Harvard 1929. i priključio se svom kolegi psihologu Eltonu Mayou. Warner je smatrao kako društveno oblikovanje moderne zajednice nastaje od raznih podgrupa, kao što su obitelj, Crkva, kružoci i udruge, pri čemu je odredio i podgrupu koja je neformalno udruživanje ljudi s osjećajem grupe i intimnosti te poštivanja obvezujućih normi ponašanja u grupi (sve prema Scott, 1991).

I na kraju, prema navedenom Scottovu udžbeniku o društvenim mrežama (Scott, 1991) škola u Manchesteru analizira strukturu odnosa prvih društava i naselja. Proučava male grupe i zajednice te koncepte konflikta i promjene. Ta škola ne posvećuje pozornost institucionalnim formalnim normama i institucijama određenog društva, nego stvarnom oblikovanju odnosa koji nastaju iz obnašanja vlasti i iz konflikta. U perspektivi te škole analiza mreže ne smatra se samo tehnikom, nego se analiza mreže smatra perspektivom u kojoj se zbilja promatra i interpretira. Nakon kratkog povijesnog osvrta, predstavit će se u osnovnim crtama i neke sastavnice teorije društvenih mreža.

Teorija društvenih mreža

Sam fenomen mreže bio je također predmetom brojnih istraživanja kako ističe Barabási (2006) u svojoj studiji o mreži. Kako bi se sve pojave koje se susreću u prirodi i društvu te kemiji i fizici mogle prikazati putem mreže, potreban je model. Kako različiti sustavi

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

slijede znatno drukčija pravila izgradnje vlastitih mreža, znanstvenici Paul Erdős i Alfréd Rényi zanemarili su tu raznolikost i došli do jednostavnog rješenja: nasumce su povezali čvorove i zastupali su teoriju slučajnih mreža. Godine 1959. pokazali su kako je za stvaranje mreže potrebna samo jedna veza po svakom čvoru. Prvi su utvrdili kako od društvenih mreža do telefonskih linija stvarni grafovi nisu pravilni, nego su krajnje složeni i stoga su pretpostavili kako su te mreže slučajne. Prema teoriji slučajnih grafova svijetom vladaju prosjeci, većina ljudi ima podjednak broj poznanika, većina neurona je povezana s podjednakim brojem drugih neurona, većina tvrtki trguje s podjednakim brojem drugih tvrtki te većina mrežnih stranica ima podjednak broj posjeta (usp. Barabási, 2006: 24-30).

Nadalje, za cjelovito razumijevanje teorije mreže potrebno je, prema Barabásiju, imati u vidu ideju o „šest stupnjeva odvojenosti". Tu je ideju Frigyes Karinthy još davne 1929. godine predstavio u svojoj pripovijetci *Lanci* u kojoj ističe kako su ljudi danas bliži nego ikada prije. S bilo kojom osobom u svijetu pronaći će vezu preko pet poznanika, odnosno preko „pet karika". Ta je ideja prethodila nastajanju teorija o „šest stupnjeva odvojenosti" koju je 1967., gotovo 30 godina nakon pojave te ideje, razvio harvardski profesor Stanley Milgram u svojoj poznatoj studiji o ljudskoj povezanosti „The Small World Problem". Naime, Milgram je eksperimentalno želio pronaći „udaljenost" između bilo koja dva čovjeka u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama (sve prema Barabasi, 2006). Eksperiment je polazio od pitanja koliko je poznanstava potrebno da se povežu dvije nasumično odabrane osobe. Naime, on je slao pisma nasumce odabranim osobama Wichite i Omahe u kojima ih je zamolio da sudjeluju u istraživanju društvenih kontakata u američkom društvu. Rezultati tog eksperimenta pokazali su kako je prosječni broj posrednika bio 5,5 i iznenađujuće blizu Karinthyjevu broju. Kada se pak taj broj zaokruži na 6, dobije se „šest stupnjeva odvojenosti". Socijalni psiholog Thomas Blass, koji se posvetio cjelovitom proučavanju života i djela Stanleyja Milgrama, upozorio je Barabásija da Milgram nije koristio naziv „šest stupnjeva odvojenosti", nego je taj naziv postao popularan nakon istoimenog filma snimljenog prema predstavi Johna Guarea iz 1991., koja je bila uspješna na Broadwayu, po kojoj se i dalje zadržao mit o „šest stupnjeva odvojenosti" (usp. Barabási, 2006: 36-37). „Stanley Milgram nas je suočio s činjenicom da ne samo da smo povezani, nego živimo u svijetu u kojem nas ni od koga ne dijeli više od nekoliko rukovanja. To jest, živimo u malom svijetu, a naš svijet je malen jer je društvo veoma gusta mreža" (Barabási, 2006: 38).

Nakon razvoja računala u drugoj polovini 20. stoljeća, kako objašnjava Barabási (2006: 39-47), san programera Tima Berners-Leeja bio je 1980. stvoriti program koji bi omogućavao prijenos informacija s jednog računala na drugi, odnosno njihovo umrežavanja. Nakon izuma poveznica u manje od deset godina nastala je jedna od najvećih mreža World Wide Web, čija se moć nalazi upravo u poveznicama, uniformnim lokatorima resursa (URL-ovima) koji omogućuju prelazak s jedne na drugu stranicu. Rezultati istraživanja 1998. pokazali su kako je bilo koji dokument na mreži prosječno udaljen od bilo kojeg drugog dokumenta tek 19 klikova, a od prijatelja nas dijeli tek jedan klik. Tako su zapravo "mali svjetovi" generičko svojstvo mreže općenito. Naše veze s drugima sve manje određuje fizički prostor. Slabe pak veze s poznanicima važnije su od veza s prijateljima što je pokazao u svom radu „Snaga slabih spona" Mark Granovetter (usp. Barabási, 2006: 50). Autor ističe kako je struktura društvene mreže oko običnog čovjeka generička, a naziva

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

je Egom. Ego naime ima grupu bliskih prijatelja koji se uglavnom i međusobno druže, i to se naziva gustim tkanjem društvene strukture. Pored toga Ego ima i grupu poznanika koji se uglavnom međusobno ne poznaju, ali će vjerojatno svaki od tih poznanika imati svoje bliske prijatelje koji također stvaraju društvenu strukturu. Prema tome društvo je strukturirano od povezanih grupa ili gusto tkanih krugova prijatelja u kojima se svi međusobno poznaju. Zbog malobrojnih vanjskih veza koje te grupe povezuju s drugim grupama, one nisu izdvojene. Mrežna strukturu društva skup je kompletnih grafova, malih grupa ili klastera u kojima je svaki čvor povezan sa svim drugim čvorovima unutar grupe. Ti kompletni grafovi međusobno su povezani pomoću malobrojnih slabih veza među poznanicima koji pripadaju različitim krugovima prijatelja te upravo slabe veze (poznanici) imaju ključnu ulogu u sposobnosti čovjeka da komunicira s vanjskim svijetom.

Za naše razumijevanje teorije mreže i grafa, potrebno je dalje odrediti snagu grupiranosti ili koeficijent grupiranosti koji su posebice proučavali Duncan Watts i njegov mentor Steven Strogatz. Watts je proučavao mreže postavljajući jednostavno pitanje: kolika je vjerojatnost da se dva njegova prijatelja međusobno poznaju? To je grupa prijatelja u kojoj svatko poznaje svakoga i njegova dva prijatelja sigurno se poznaju. Kako bi se pak to odredilo, potrebno je utvrditi grupiranost te ga potom izmjeriti, a za to su Watts i Strogatz uveli vrijednost koja se zove koeficijent grupiranosti. Koeficijent grupiranosti pokazuje koliko je gusto tkan određeni krug prijatelja, a dobije se kada broj veza između prijatelja podijelite s brojem prijatelja. Vrijednost blizu 1 pokazuje kako se svi prijatelji određene grupe međusobno druže. Kako bi pokazali uopće grupiranu strukturu u većini stvarnih mreža, Watts i Strogatz stvaraju model u kojemu usklađuju grupiranost sa slučajnim grafovima. Naime, prema njihovoj viziji ljudi žive u jednom krugu u kojem svatko poznaje svoje neposredne susjede. Kako bi oblikovali mrežu s visokim stupnjem grupiranosti, Watts i Strogatz krenuli su od kruga čvorova u kojem je svaki čvor povezan svojim prvim i drugim susjedima. Kako bi taj svijet postao mali, dodano je još nekoliko dodatnih veza koje nasumce spajaju izabrane čvorove. Upravo te druge veze postaju ključnim prečicama do udaljenih čvorova i znatno skraćuju prosječan razmak između svih čvorova (usp. Barabási, 2006: 53-59). Svoje rezultate objavili su u članku „Collective dynamics of 'small-world' networks" u časopisu *Nature* 1998. godine.

Osim stupnja integriranosti za mrežu je prema tome važan i koncept „poveznice" koji se odnosi na činjenicu kako u svakoj društvenoj grupi postoje ljudi koji imaju nevjerojatan dar za sklapanje poznanstva. Ti ljudi su „poveznice", zaključuje Malcolm Gladwell u svojoj knjizi *Točka preokreta* (2005). Poveznice imaju važnu ulogu u društvenim mrežama u kojima stvaraju trendove, brendove, sklapaju važne dogovore i stvaraju posebna ozračja. Te su poveznice osnova društva koja utemeljuje druge društvene sastavnice (usp. Gladwell, 2005: 11; Barabási, 2006: 63-64).

U razumijevanju mreže Barabási nadalje ističe pojam „koncentratora" koji zapravo označava kako određeni čvorovi u mreži, poput poveznica u društvu, imaju važno mjesto u cjelokupnosti mreže. To je istražio robotom na mreži koji je mjerio kakva je struktura mreže koja se nalazi na domeni Sveučilišta Notre Dame. Rezultati su pokazali kako arhitekturom mreže vlada nekoliko izrazito jako povezanih čvorova, odnosno koncentratora kao

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

što su Yahoo ili Amazon.com. Barabásijevo istraživanje na mreži pokazalo je kako je robot koji je proučavao mrežnu stranicu predstavio mrežu koja je sadržavala puno čvorova s vrlo malo veza, i nekoliko koncentratora s neobično velikim brojem veza (usp. Barabási, 2006: 65-74).

Histogram, koji je izradio Barabásijev tim na temelju robotova istraživanja, pokazao je da razdioba poveznica na različitim mrežnim stranicama precizno slijedi matematički zakon potencije, a koji je pak različit od poznate tzv. Gaussove krivulje koju najčešće slijede vrijednosti iz prirode koje su karakteristične za slučajne mreže. Gaussova krivulja ima razdiobu s vrhom, a histogram slijedi razdiobu potencije koja je krivulja koja stalno opada. Tako na primjer u slučajnoj mreži vrh distribucije implicira kako većina čvorova ima isti broj veza, a čvorovi koji odstupaju od prosjeka krajnje su rijetki. To označava kako je za slučajnu mrežu karakterističan razmjer (engl. *scale*) povezanosti čvorova. Taj razmjer ostvaruje prosječni čvor, a fiksira vrh distribucije stupnjeva. U distribuciji stupnjeva prema zakonu potencije takvog vrha nema. To znači kako zapravo u stvarnoj mreži ne postoji karakterističan čvor i posljedično, zbog distribucije po zakonu potencije, ne vrijedi ideja o razmjernosti, odnosno postojanje karakterističnog čvora. Stoga se, ističe Barabási, mreže s takvom distribucijom stupnjeva koja slijedi zakon potencije, naziva nerazmjernim (engl. *scale-free*). Kako većina složenih mreža u prirodi ima distribuciju stupnjeva koja slijedi zakon potencije, pojam nerazmjernih mreža preuzela je većina disciplina koje propituju složene mreže (usp., Barabási, 2006: 75-79).

Prema Barabásiju, u stvarnim mrežama vrijedi pravilo da će se novi čvorovi vezati na one popularnije, tj. bolje povezane te tako nastaje preferencijsko vezivanje. Stvarnim mrežama upravljaju dva zakona: rast i preferencijsko vezivanje (usp. Barabási, 2006: 95-96). U posljednje vrijeme nastaje teorija evolucija mreža u kojoj se mreže promatraju kao dinamički sustavi koji se stalno mijenjaju. Na kraju treba istaknuti kako Barabási ističe nastanak i važnost interneta koji stvara svoju mrežu prema zakonima kako priroda plete svoje mreže. Digitalna mreža predstavlja modelski sustav o kojem je moguće saznati sve pojedinosti te kako se nijednoj mreži nismo toliko približili kao *webu* koji ima obilježja slična univerzumu. Razumljivo je kako nastaje i razvija se i poseban jezik znanosti o mrežama i mrežno mišljenje koje se redovito upotrebljava u većini istraživanja. Barabási zaključuje kako je potrebno razumjeti složenost za što treba ići onkraj strukture i tipologije te se usredotočiti na dinamiku događanja između veza. Mreže su samo struktura složenosti, putovi za različite procese koji pokreću naš svijet. I za razumijevanje mreže, interneta, i mnoštvo njegovih poveznica treba unijeti podatke o količini povezanosti (usp. Barabási, 2006: 168-229).

Nakon kratkog pregleda teorije grafa i društvenih mreža, u sljedećem tekstu analizirat ćemo aktere i cjelokupnost njihovih odnosa na mrežnoj stranici Župe sv. Filipa i Jakova u Vukovaru prema vrijednostima stupnja aktera, distribucije aktera, distribucije aktera s težinskim vezama, ekscentričnosti aktera te distribucije *authority* i *hub* aktera u teoriji grafa.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

ANALIZA REZULTATA

Kako smo već naveli, analizirat ćemo službenu mrežnu stranicu franjevačke Župe sv. Filipa i Jakova u Vukovaru u razdoblju od jedne crkvene liturgijske godine koja sadržava došašće, božićno, korizmeno i uskrsno vrijeme te vrijeme kroz godinu sa središnjim događajem Kristove muke, smrti i uskrsnuća. Mrežna stranica navedene Župe jest www.filipjakov-vu.com. Prema metodi analize društvene mreže, odnosno teorije grafa mrežnih stranica vukovarske Župe ima četrdeset aktera i četrdeset dvije veze. Graf je usmjeren jer je riječ o mrežnoj stranici, a veza se ostvaruje pomoću objavljenih linkova na mrežnoj stranici.

Id ; Label
0 ; Župnik
1 ; Mješoviti zbor sv. Cecilije
2 ; Band „Susreti"
3 ; VIS Damjan
4 ; Dječji zbor „Glasnik sv. Bone"
5 ; Franjevačka mladež
6 ; Biblijska zajednica
7 ; Franjevački svjetovni red
8 ; Karitativna zajednica
9 ; Misijska zajednica
10 ; Molitvena zajednica
11 ; Predmolitelji časoslova
12 ; Obiteljska zajednica
13 ; Zajednica sv. Marte
14 ; Zajednica Vjera i svjetlo „Lađica"
15 ; Sakupljači milostinje
16 ; Suradnici
17 ; Dječja likovna radionica
18 ; Dječje amatersko kazalište „Bonokaz"
19 ; Hodočasnička skupina
20 ; Info skupina
21 ; Kreativna skupina
22 ; Ministranti
23 ; Plesna skupina
24 ; Skupine čitača
25 ; Mali čitači
26 ; 1. razred
27 ; 2. razred
28 ; 3. razred
29 ; 4. razred
30 ; 5. razred
31 ; 6. razred
32 ; 7. razred
33 ; 8. razred
34 ; krizmanici
35 ; katekumeni
36 ; Udruga sv. Bone
37 ; Hrv. kat. društvo medicinskih sestara i tehničara
38 ; Koordinacija udruga proisteklih iz Domovinskog rata
39 ; Župna zajednica

Slika 2.
Popis aktera mrežne stranice Župe sv. Filipa i Jakova u Vukovaru

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

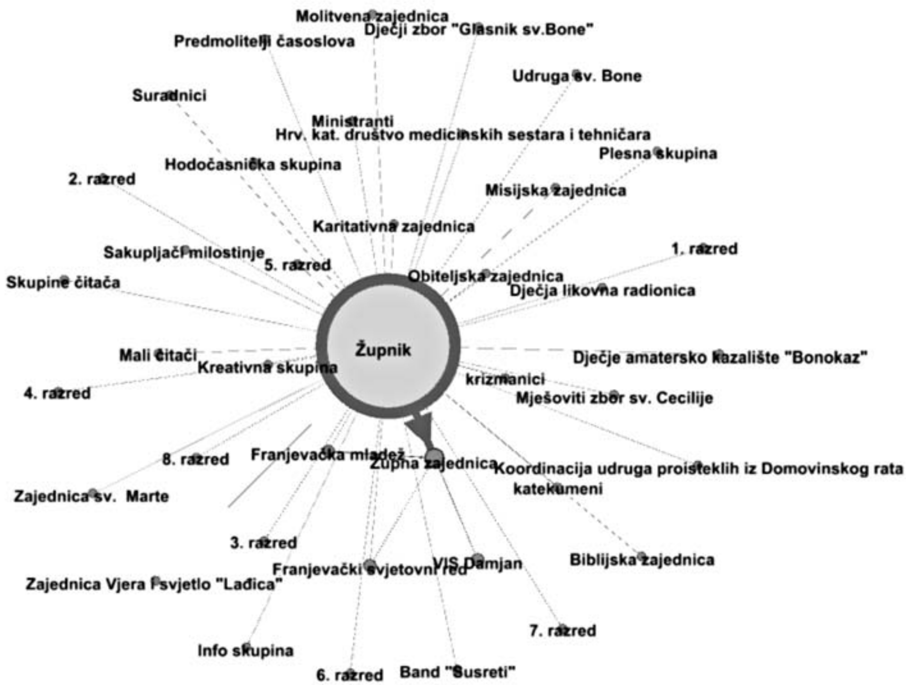
Prije analize dobivenih rezultata teorije grafa mrežne stranice Župe sv. Filipa i Jakova, navodimo sve njezine aktere (što pokazuje slika 2) i cjelokupnost veza između navedenih aktera (što pokazuje slika 3).

Source ; Target ; Id ; Label ; Weight
0 ; 1 ; 0 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 2 ; 1 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 3 ; 2 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 4 ; 3 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 5 ; 4 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 6 ; 5 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 7 ; 6 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 8 ; 7 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 9 ; 8 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 10 ; 9 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 11 ; 10 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 12 ; 11 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 13 ; 12 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 14 ; 13 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 15 ; 14 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 16 ; 15 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 17 ; 16 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 18 ; 17 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 19 ; 18 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 20 ; 19 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 21 ; 20 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 22 ; 21 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 23 ; 22 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 24 ; 23 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 25 ; 24 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 26 ; 25 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 27 ; 26 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 28 ; 27 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 29 ; 28 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 30 ; 29 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 31 ; 30 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 32 ; 31 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 33 ; 32 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 34 ; 33 ; ; 4 ;
0 ; 35 ; 34 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 36 ; 35 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 37 ; 36 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 38 ; 37 ; ; 1 ;
0 ; 39 ; 38 ; ; 69 ;
5 ; 39 ; 39 ; ; 6 ;
3 ; 39 ; 40 ; ; 1 ;
7 ; 39 ; 41 ; ; 1 ;

Slika 3.

Popis veza među svim akterima mrežne stranice Župe sv. Filipa i Jakova u Vukovaru

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

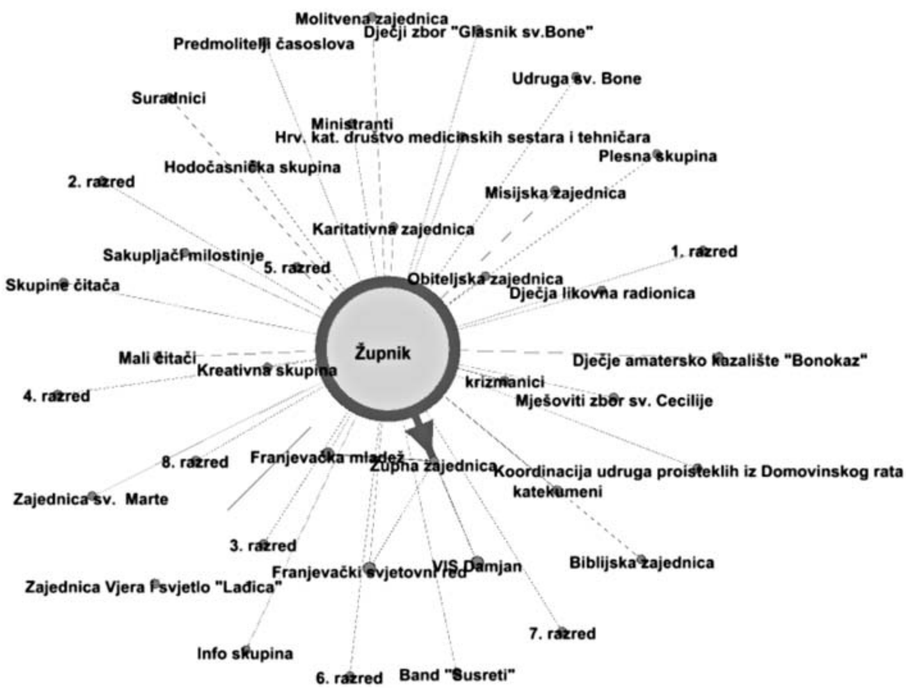


▲*Graf 1.*
Prikaz strukture mrežne stranice Župe sv. Filipa i Jakova u Vukovaru

Graf 1 prikazuje strukturu mrežne stranice Župe sv. Filipa i Jakova koju čine četrdeset aktera i cjelokupnost njihovih veza. Dobiveni rezultat govori kako je riječ o župi s brojnim aktivnim duhovno-pastoralnim i društveno-kulturnim grupama. Kako je gore navedeno, akteri su *župnik* koji administrira Župu i predvodi župnu zajednicu vjernika, *župna zajednica* kao grupa svih vjernika i akteri *trideset i osam grupa* koje djeluju u Župi sv. Filipa i Jakova u Vukovaru: Mješoviti zbor sv. Cecilije, Band „Susreti“, VIS Damjan, Dječji zbor „Glasnik sv. Bone“, Franjevačka mladež, Biblijska zajednica, Franjevački svjetovni red, Karitativna zajednica, Misijska zajednica, Molitvena zajednica, Predmolitelji časoslova, Obiteljska zajednica, Zajednica sv. Marte, Zajednica Vjera i svjetlo „Lađica“, Sakupljači milostinje, Suradnici, Dječja likovna radionica, Dječje amatersko kazalište „Bonokaz“, Hodočasnička skupina, Info skupina, Kreativna skupina, Ministranti, Plesna skupina, Skupine čitača, Mali čitači, Prvi razred, Drugi razred, Treći razred, Četvrti razred, Peti razred, Šesti razred, Sedmi razred, Osmi razred, Krizmanici, Katekumeni, Udruga sv. Bone, Hrvatsko katoličko društvo medicinskih sestara i tehničara te Koordinacija udruga proisteklih iz Domovinskog rata. Vidljivo je kako je župnik centralni lik, odnosno središnji akter koji uspostavlja vezu sa svim drugim akterima i koji koordinira svim pastoralnim, duhovnim i kulturnim aktivnostima u Župi.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

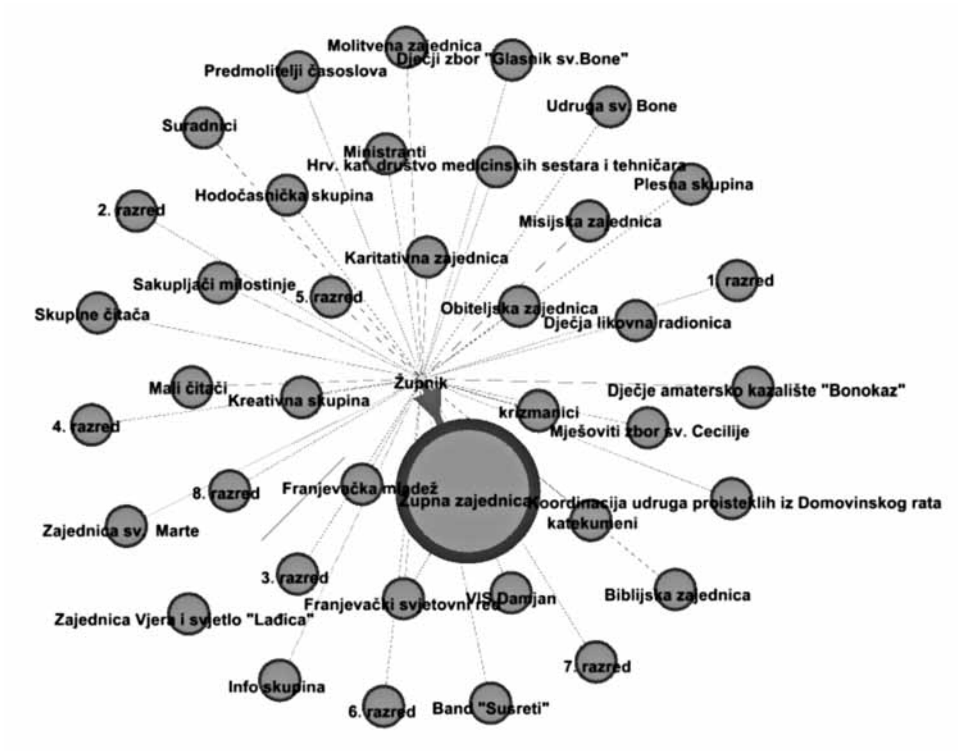
Glavno svojstvo svakog aktera je stupanj koji predstavlja broj veza prema drugim akterima (Barabási, 2016), pri čemu se razlikuju ulazni i izlazni stupanj aktera. Naime, ulazni stupanj aktera jest broj veza koji su usmjereni prema njemu, a izlazni stupanj aktera jest broj veza koji nastaje iz njega, koji polaze iz njega i usmjereni su prema drugom akteru. Akter koji ima ulazni stupanj nula nazivamo izvorom (engl. *source*), a onaj koji ima izlazni stupanj jednak nuli zovemo ponor (engl. *sink*) (FER, n.d.).



▲*Graf 2.*
Akteri prema izlaznim stupnjevima

Graf 2 vidljivo pokazuje kako je na navedenoj župnoj mrežnoj stranici začetnik veze župnik, a ta je pak veza usmjerena prema župnoj zajednici te prema nabrojanih trideset i osam grupa koje djeluju u različitim župnim duhovnim, pastoralnim, društvenim i kulturnim aktivnostima.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.



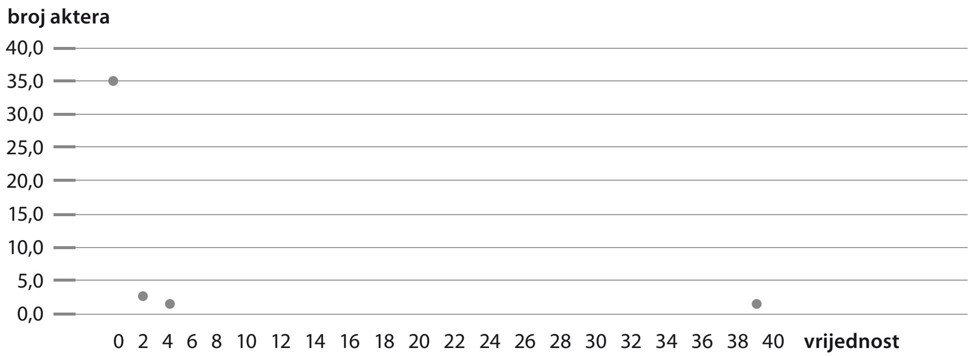
▲*Graf 3.*
Akteri prema ulaznim stupnjevima

Na razini cjelokupne mreže prosječni stupanj mreže (engl. *average degree*) promatrane Župe ima vrijednost 1.05, a ta pak vrijednost pokazuje omjer ukupnog broja stupnjeva mreže i broja aktera, a distribucija stupnjeva opisuje kako se ponašaju stupnjevi aktera u toj mreži.

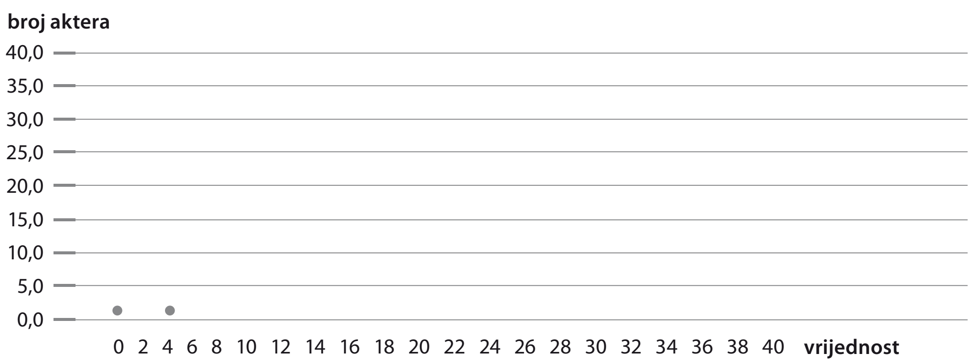
Graf 4 koji prikazuje distribuciju aktera sadrži oznake „broj aktera" i „vrijednost", gdje „vrijednost" označava koliko je aktera povezano s drugim akterima. Prema distribuciji aktera župne mreže koju pokazuje graf 4 vidljivo je kako 35 aktera ima vrijednost 1, tri aktera vrijednost 2, jedan akter vrijednost 4, a jedan pak akter vrijednost 39. To znači da je 35 aktera – grupa (Mješoviti zbor sv. Cecilije, Band „Susreti", Dječji zbor „Glasnik sv. Bone", Biblijska zajednica, Karitativna zajednica, Misijska zajednica, Molitvena zajednica, Predmolitelji časoslova, Obiteljska zajednica, Zajednica sv. Marte, Zajednica Vjera i svjetlo „Lađica", Sakupljači milostinje, Suradnici, Dječja likovna radionica, Dječje amatersko kazalište „Bonokaz", Hodočasnička skupina, Info skupina, Kreativna skupina, Ministranti, Plesna skupina, Skupine čitača, Mali čitači, Prvi razred, Drugi razred, Treći razred, Četvrti razred, Peti razred, Šesti razred, Sedmi razred, Osmi razred, Krizmanici, Katekumeni, Udruga sv. Bone, Hrvatsko katoličko društvo medicinskih sestara i tehničara te Koordinacija udruga

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

proisteklih iz Domovinskog rata) povezano s jednim akterom – župnikom. Akteri Frama, FSR i VIS Damjan povezani su s akterima župnikom i župnom zajednicom. Potom je akter župna zajednica povezana s četiri aktera, odnosno sa župnikom, Framom, FSR-om i VIS-om Damjan.



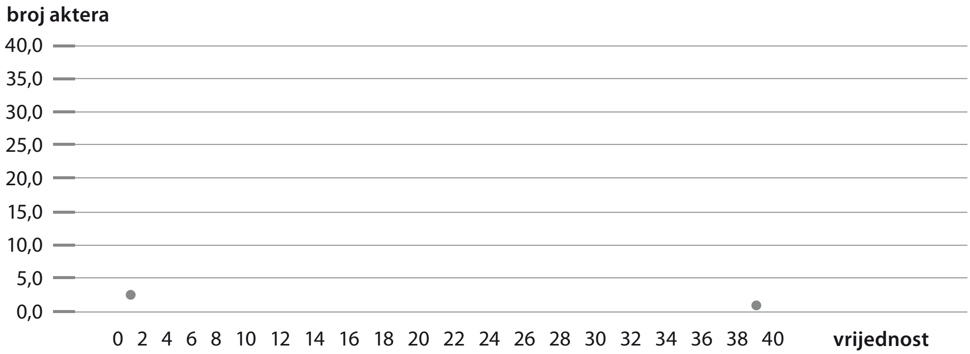
▲*Graf 4.*
Distribucija aktera



▲*Graf 5.*
Distribucija aktera prema ulaznim stupnjevima

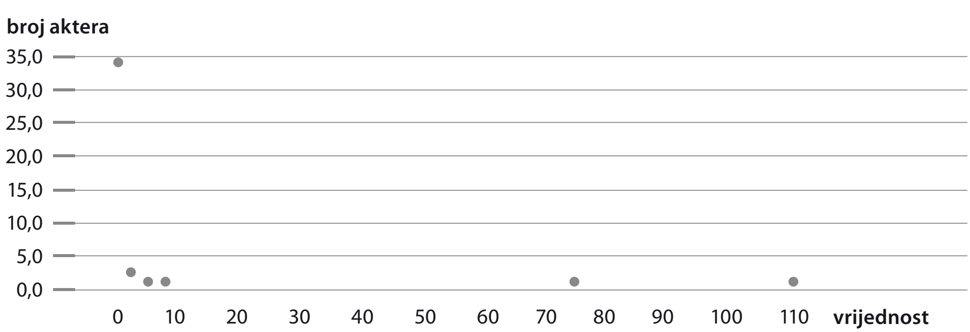
Graf 5 koji prikazuje distribuciju aktera prema ulaznim stupnjevima sadrži oznake „broj aktera" i „vrijednost", gdje „vrijednost" označava koliko veza prima određeni akter. Prema distribuciji aktera koje pokazuje graf 5 uočava se kako jedan akter ima ulazni broj stupnjeva 0, a jedan pak akter ima vrijednost 4. To znači da akter župnik nema nijedan ulazni stupanj, odnosno ne postoji veza usmjerena prema njemu. S druge pak strane, akter župna zajednica ima četiri ulazna stupnja, odnosno postoje 4 usmjerene veze prema župnoj zajednici.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.



▲*Graf 6.*
Distribucija aktera prema izlaznim stupnjevima

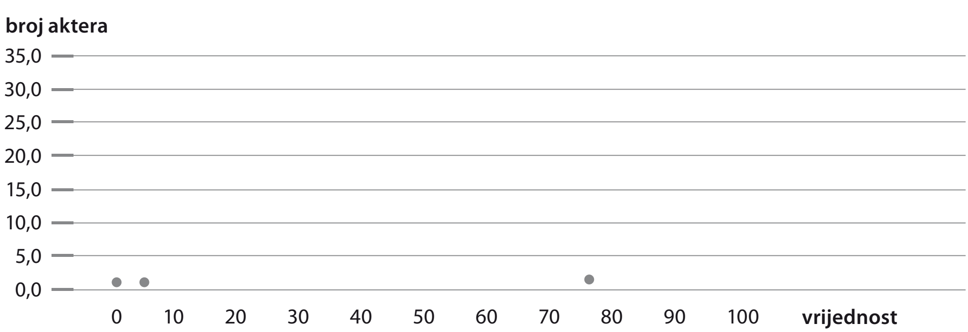
Graf 6 koji prikazuje distribuciju aktera prema izlaznim stupnjevima sadrži oznake „broj aktera" i „vrijednost", gdje „vrijednost" označava koliko veza šalje određeni akter. Prema distribuciji aktera koje pokazuje graf 6 vidljivo je kako tri aktera imaju vrijednost izlaznih stupnjeva 1, a jedan akter ima vrijednost izlaznih stupnjeva 39. To znači da tri aktera usmjeruju svoju vezu prema drugom akteru, a to čine Frama, FSR i VIS Damjan. Akter župnik ima pak 39 izlaznih stupnjeva, odnosno župnik usmjeruje svoju vezu prema 39 aktera, a ti akteri su: župna zajednica i 38 grupa: Mješoviti zbor sv. Cecilije, Band „Susreti", VIS Damjan, Dječji zbor „Glasnik sv. Bone", Franjevačka mladež, Biblijska zajednica, Franjevački svjetovni red, Karitativna zajednica, Misijska zajednica, Molitvena zajednica, Predmolitelji časoslova, Obiteljska zajednica, Zajednica sv. Marte, Zajednica Vjera i svjetlo „Lađica", Sakupljači milostinje, Suradnici, Dječja likovna radionica, Dječje amatersko kazalište „Bonokaz", Hodočasnička skupina, Info skupina, Kreativna skupina, Ministranti, Plesna skupina, Skupine čitača, Mali čitači, Prvi razred, Drugi razred, Treći razred, Četvrti razred, Peti razred, Šesti razred, Sedmi razred, Osmi razred, Krizmanici, Katekumeni, Udruga sv. Bone, Hrvatsko katoličko društvo medicinskih sestara i tehničara te Koordinacija udruga proisteklih iz Domovinskog rata.



▲ *Graf 7.*
Distribucija aktera s težinskim vezama

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

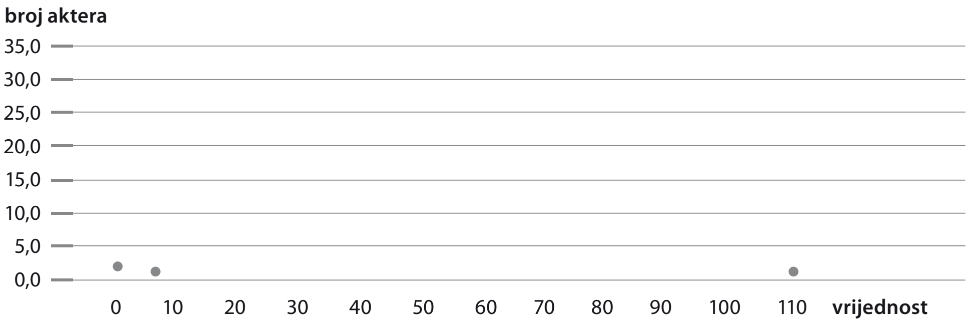
Mreža Župe sv. Filipa i Jakova analizirana u ovom članku sadrži i težinske veze, s obzirom na to da veze koje povezuju aktere također imaju vrijednost (Barabási, 2016). Prema distribuciji aktera s težinskim vezama koje pokazuje graf 7 vidljivo je kako vrijednost 1 imaju 34 aktera, a riječ je o grupama: Mješoviti zbor sv. Cecilije, Band „Susreti", Dječji zbor „Glasnik sv. Bone", Biblijska zajednica, Karitativna zajednica, Misijska zajednica, Molitvena zajednica, Predmolitelji časoslova, Obiteljska zajednica, Zajednica sv. Marte, Zajednica Vjera i svjetlo „Lađica", Sakupljači milostinje, Suradnici, Dječja likovna radionica, Dječje amatersko kazalište „Bonokaz", Hodočasnička skupina, Info skupina, Kreativna skupina, Ministranti, Plesna skupina, Skupine čitača, Mali čitači, Prvi razred, Drugi razred, Treći razred, Četvrti razred, Peti razred, Šesti razred, Sedmi razred, Osmi razred, Krizmanici, Katekumeni, Udruga sv. Bone, Hrvatsko katoličko društvo medicinskih sestara i tehničara te Koordinacija udruga proisteklih iz Domovinskog rata. Navedene župne grupe imaju vrijednost 1 s akterom župnikom. Dva aktera imaju vrijednost 2, odnosno akteri Frama i FSR imaju vezu težine 1 s akterom župnikom te vezu težine 1 s akterom župnom zajednicom. Jedan akter ima vrijednost 4, odnosno akter krizmanici ima vezu s akterom župnikom težine 4. Jedan akter ima vrijednost 7, tj. akter VIS Damjan ima vezu težine 1 s akterom župnik te vezu težine 6 s akterom župna zajednica. Jedan akter ima vrijednost 77, tj. akter župna zajednica ima vezu težine 77: težinu 69 s akterom župnik, težinu 1 s Framom i FSR-om te težinu veze 6 s akterom VIS Damjan. Na kraju akter vrijednosti 110, tj. akter župnik ima vezu težine 69 s akterom župna zajednica, 37 veza težine 1 prema grupama: Mješoviti zbor sv. Cecilije, Band „Susreti", VIS Damjan, Dječji zbor „Glasnik sv. Bone", Frama, Biblijska zajednica, FSR, Karitativna zajednica, Misijska zajednica, Molitvena zajednica, Predmolitelji časoslova, Obiteljska zajednica, Zajednica sv. Marte, Zajednica Vjera i svjetlo „Lađica", Sakupljači milostinje, Suradnici, Dječja likovna radionica, Dječje amatersko kazalište „Bonokaz", Hodočasnička skupina, Info skupina, Kreativna skupina, Ministranti, Plesna skupina, Skupine čitača, Mali čitači, Prvi razred, Drugi razred, Treći razred, Četvrti razred, Peti razred, Šesti razred, Sedmi razred, Osmi razred, Katekumeni, Udruga sv. Bone, Hrvatsko katoličko društvo medicinskih sestara i tehničara te Koordinacija udruga proisteklih iz Domovinskog rata te jednu vezu težine 4 s krizmanicima. Prosječan težinski stupanj iznosi 2,95.



▲ *Graf 8.*
Distribucija aktera s težinskim vezama prema ulaznim stupnjevima

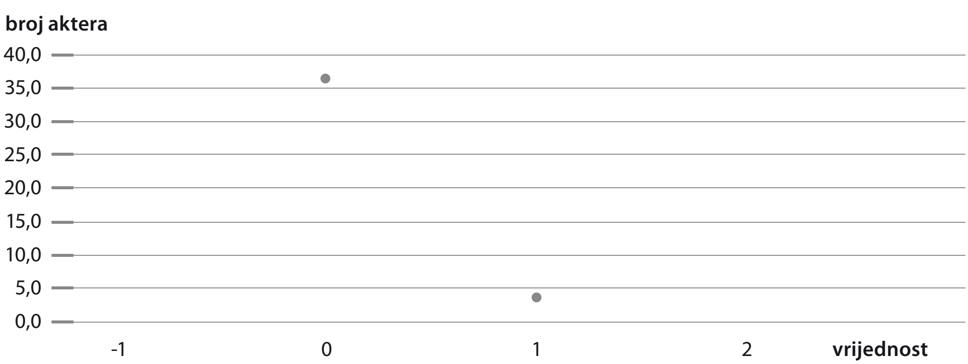
IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

Prema distribuciji aktera s težinskim vezama koje pokazuje graf 8 vidljivo je kako jedan akter ima težinu veza 0 prema ulaznim stupnjevima, a riječ je o akteru župnik. Potom je očito kako jedan akter ima težinu veza 4 prema ulaznim stupnjevima, a riječ je o akteru krizmanici, a te veze pak dolaze od strane aktera župnika. Graf prikazuje i jedan akter s vezom težine 77 prema ulaznim stupnjevima, a riječ je o akteru župna zajednica čije veze dolaze od aktera župnika, Frame, FSR-a i VIS-a Damjan.



▲*Graf 9.*
Distribucija aktera s težinskim vezama prema izlaznim stupnjevima

Prema distribuciji aktera s težinskim vezama prema izlaznim stupnjevima koje pokazuje graf 9 vidljivo je kako akteri Frama i FSR imaju težinu veze 1 prema izlaznim stupnjevima, a veza je usmjerena prema akteru župna zajednica. Akter VIS Damjan ima težinu veze 6 prema izlaznim stupnjevima, a veza je također usmjerena prema župnoj zajednici. Na kraju akter župnik ima težinu veze 110 prema izlaznim stupnjevima, a njegove veze usmjerene su prema župnoj zajednici i prema trideset i osam grupa u Župi.



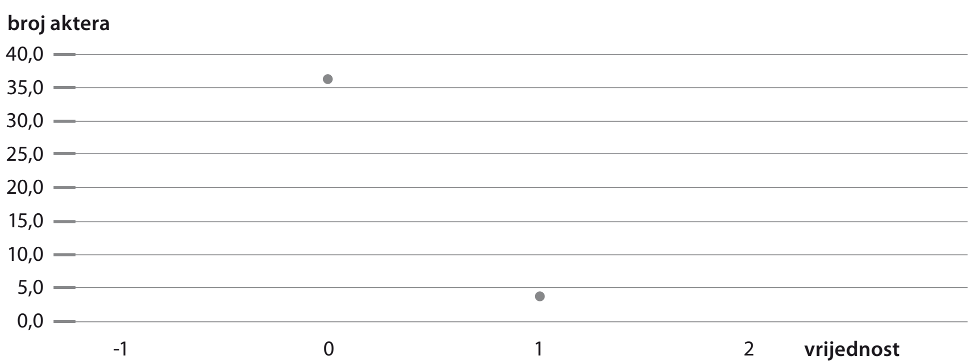
▲*Graf 10.*
Distribucija prema ekscentričnosti aktera

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

Ekscentričnost stupnja aktera (engl. *eccentricity*) govori o tome kolika je najveća udaljenost početnog aktera do bilo kojeg čvora (Wasserman i Faust, 1994: 111).

Kako pokazuje graf 10 vidljivo je kako četiri aktera imaju vrijednost 1, a 36 aktera ima vrijednost 0. Naime akteri župnik, VIS Damjan, Franjevački svjetovni red i Franjevačka mladež imaju vrijednost 1. Budući da su začetnici usmjerene veze, njihova udaljenost je mjerljiva, dok se udaljenost između drugih čvorova računa kao beskonačna, pa je recipročna vrijednost od toga 0, a to znači kako se ona ne može izračunati.

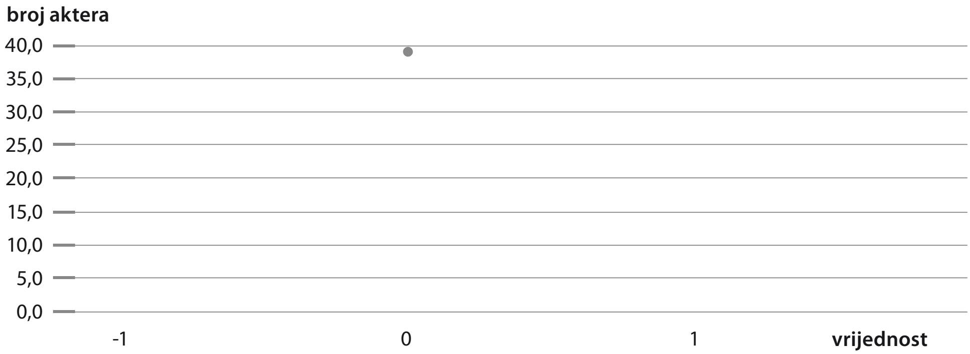
Dobivene vrijednosti pokazuju kako franjevačka duhovnost prožima cjelokupni život i djelovanje Župe i kako ona ima važnu ulogu u duhovnom, društvenom i kulturnom životu vjernika župne zajednice koju, očito, vode franjevci. Druga 36 aktera: Mješoviti zbor sv. Cecilije, Band „Susreti“, Dječji zbor „Glasnik sv. Bone“, Biblijska zajednica, Franjevački svjetovni red, Karitativna zajednica, Misijska zajednica, Molitvena zajednica, Predmolitelji časoslova, Obiteljska zajednica, Zajednica sv. Marte, Zajednica Vjera i svjetlo „Lađica“, Sakupljači milostinje, Suradnici, Dječja likovna radionica, Dječje amatersko kazalište „Bonokaz“, Hodočasnička skupina, Info skupina, Kreativna skupina, Ministranti, Plesna skupina, Skupine čitača, Mali čitači, Prvi razred, Drugi razred, Treći razred, Četvrti razred, Peti razred, Šesti razred, Sedmi razred, Osmi razred, Krizmanici, Katekumeni, Udruga sv. Bone, Hrvatsko katoličko društvo medicinskih sestara i tehničara te Koordinacija udruga proisteklih iz Domovinskog rata i župna zajednica imaju vrijednost 0. Njihova se vrijednost računa kao beskonačna, jer ti akteri uopće nisu začetnici usmjerene veze pa se njihova udaljenost može smatrati beskonačnom, a recipročna vrijednost od toga je 0, kako ističe Ana Meštrović (2016).



▲*Graf 11.*
Distribucija aktera prema centralnosti blizine stupnjeva aktera

Centralnost blizine (engl. *closeness centrality*) određuje koliko brzo akter može dosegnuti bilo koji akter u mreži, tj. koliko u prosjeku iznosi najkraći put do svih ostalih aktera u mreži. Kod mjere centralnosti blizine, kako je vidljivo u grafu 11, isti je slučaj kao kod mjere ekscentričnosti stupnja.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.



▲*Graf 12.*
Distribucija aktera prema centralnosti međupoloženosti aktera

Centralnost međupoloženosti (engl. *betweenness centrality*) govori koliko je vjerojatno da se akter nalazi na putu između neka dva druga aktera. Pokazuje koji su akteri više vjerojatni za prijenos komunikacije između dva druga aktera. Normalizira se tako da je najveća vrijednost 1 koja je jednaka broju najkraćih putova koji prolaze kroz akter u određenoj mreži. Svih 40 aktera na našoj proučavanoj mrežnoj župnoj zajednici imaju vrijednost 0, a budući da je riječ o nepovezanom i usmjerenom grafu, udaljenost između njih računa se kao beskonačna, pa je recipročna vrijednost od toga 0, a to znači kako se ona ne može izračunati.

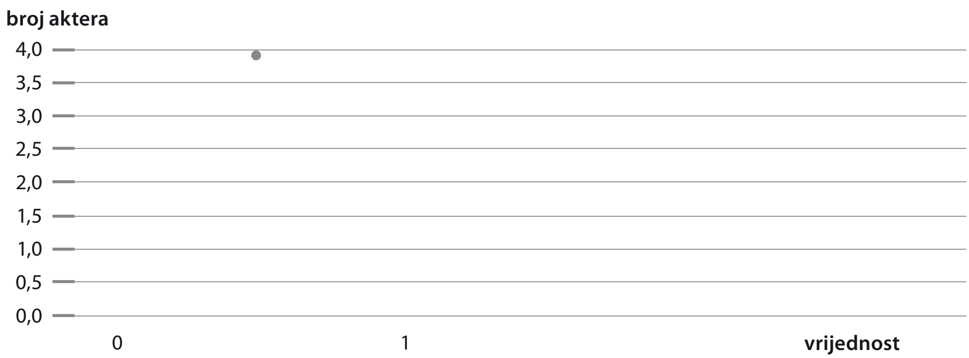
Grafovi u kojima je broj veza puno manji od ukupnog broja mogućih veza nazivaju se raspršeni grafovi (engl. *sparse*). Potpuni graf jest onaj u kojem su svi akteri međusobno izravno povezani te ima gustoću 1, a graf koji prikazuje mrežnu stranicu Župe sv. Filipa i Jakova u Vukovaru ima gustoću 0,027.

Akter prema kojem je usmjereno puno veza naziva se *authority* akter, a na *authority* akter ukazuje *hub* akter (usp. Kleinberg, 1998). *authority* akter je središte koji prima puno informacija, a *hub* akter pruža tu informaciju.

Kako je vidljivo na grafu 13, jedan akter ima veću vrijednost od svih 38 drugih. Riječ je o akteru župna zajednica koja ima najveći broj ulaznih veza i zbog toga se taj akter župna zajednica naziva *authority* akter. Akter župnik ne nalazi se na ovom grafu zato što da on nema ni jednu ulaznu vezu.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

▲*Graf 13.*
Distribucija *authority* aktera



▲*Graf 14.*
Distribucija *hub* aktera

Prema grafu 14 vidljivo je da se četiri od ukupno 40 aktera izdvajaju prema broju izlaznih stupnjeva. Riječ je o akterima župniku, VIS-u Damjan, krizmanicima i Frami koji upućuju na *authority* akter.

Dobiveni rezultati teorije grafa o mrežnoj stranici Župe sv. Filipa i Jakova postaju indikatorima (izazovima) za nastajanje novih odnosa među pojedinim akterima i razvijanje novog primjerenog komunikacijsko-pastoralnog modela u djelovanju aktera.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

Analiza župne mrežne stranice kao doprinos teološko-pastoralnom promišljanju o „virtualnoj" župnoj zajednici

Već od prvih susreta s digitalnim svijetom Crkva uočava ne samo mogućnosti za evangelizacijsko djelovanje već govori i o promjenama, odnosno mogućnostima oblikovanja novih modela komunikacije na osobnoj i društvenoj razini. Papa Benedikt XVI., promišljajući o novim tehnologija, piše: „Nove digitalne tehnologije određuju temeljne promjene u modelima ljudskoga ophođenja i ljudskih odnosa" (Benedikt XVI., 2009). U teološko-pastoralnom promišljanju pozornost treba posvetiti ne samo na sadržaj koji Crkva prenosi nego i na nove komunikacijske procese, odnosno na nove odnose koji se uspostavljaju unutar zajednice vjernika pomoću digitalne tehnologije, interneta i društvenih mreža. Te su promjene veoma važne jer utječu na življenje vjere, na novi način doživljavanja Svetoga, na oblikovanje zajednice vjernika, na odnos i stavove prema autoritetu kao i na istinu/dogmu koja se naviješta (Novak i Valković, 2016: 441-462). Crkva prati složene suvremene tehnološke i medijske promjene, odnosno posvećuje pozornost novim digitalnim medijima i društvenim mrežama te njihovoj ulozi u suvremenoj evangelizaciji, katehezi i u cjelokupnom životu vjernika i Crkve. Predmet našega zanimanja bila je analiza pomoću teorije grafa postojeće mrežne stranice vukovarske Župe sv. Filipa i Jakova i prikazivanje cjelokupne dinamike duhovnog i pastoralnog međusobnog djelovanja i odnosa njezinih definiranih glavnih aktera.

Prema rezultatima analize važnosti pojedinih aktera na mrežnoj stranici Župe sv. Filipa i Jakova u Vukovaru te prema vrijednostima ulaznog i izlaznog stupnja, distribucije aktera, distribucije aktera s težinskim vezama, vrijednosti mjera blizine i međupoloženosti stupnja aktera i ekscentričnosti aktera te prema vrijednosti distribucije *authority* i *hub* aktera, proizlazi da je najvažniji akter na župnoj mrežnoj stranici župnik (vidjeti na primjeru grafa 4). Župnik je naime umrežen s trideset devet različitih aktera u župnoj zajednici. Može izgledati neznatno, ali za nas je važno i indikativno to kako se razvijaju i drugi odnosi među drugim župnim akterima, što pokazuje struktura župne mreže. Tako se razvijaju veze (povezanost) župne zajednice s drugim akterima, grupama, kao između Franjevačke mladeži, VIS-a Damjan i Franjevačkog svjetovnog reda i župne zajednice.

Razvijanje mreže odnosa između navedenih aktera na mrežnoj stranici župne zajednice omogućuje novu dinamiku cjelokupnog života župne zajednice. Nova vrsta komunikacije među pojedinim akterima koja se uspostavlja odnosima, povezanostima pomoću društvene mreže Župe, otvara i novu perspektivu pastoralnog djelovanja u kojemu su uključeni svi akteri Župe s ciljem stvaranja integrativnog pastorala za novu dinamiku pastoralnog, duhovnog, kulturnog i društvenog života u Župi.

Kako je navedeno, prema provedenom istraživanju očito je župnik središnji i glavni akter na mrežnoj stranici Župe sv. Filipa i Jakova u Vukovaru. Imajući u vidu pojam „poveznice" i njihovu ulogu u društvenim mrežama prema Gladwellu (2005), ili pak pojam „koncentratora" koji označava važnost i vrijednost određenog čvora u nekoj mreži, župnik se prepoznaje kao glavna „poveznica" i „koncentrator" mrežne stranice navedene Župe koji kao takav postaje i točkom preferencijskog povezivanja u čitavoj Župi.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

Velik broj grupa (38) koje su prikazane na strukturi mrežne stranice navedene vukovarske Župe svjedoči o aktivnoj ulozi vjernika laika koji se udružuju u male grupe na području Župe i u njima aktivno sudjeluju u cjelokupnom životu vjernika Župe. Pritom takve grupe stvaraju bogatu mrežu odnosa svoje Župe te vrše posebnu funkciju izgrađujući novu mrežnu strukturu župe, odnosno dinamiku mreže odnosa između svojih aktera. Među različitim grupama u Župi, prema dobivenim rezultatima teorije grafa, u interaktivnom djelovanju sa župnikom, s čitavom zajednicom vjernika te međusobnim djelovanjem i odnosima, izdvajaju se grupe koje promiču franjevačku duhovnost i franjevački pastoral, Franjevačka mladež (Frama) i Franjevački svjetovni red (FSR), što zapravo i ne iznenađuje kada imamo u vidu kako Županom sv. Filipa i Jakova u Vukovaru upravljaju franjevci. Premda nije značajnije zastupljena interaktivnost među pojedinim akterima navedene Župe, ipak ovih nekoliko primjera interaktivnog djelovanja njezinih aktera, uglavnom s franjevačkim nazivnikom, pokazuju nastajanje i razvoj dinamike odnosa župne mreže. A posebice je to važno istaknuti kada se ima u vidu kako interaktivnost na nekim drugim mrežnim stranicama u župama nije uopće zabilježena (Skoko i Gusić, 2013: 193-214).

ZAKLJUČAK

Predstavljeni rezultati o akterima mreže Župe sv. Filipa i Jakova u Vukovaru, dobiveni analizom župnih mrežnih stranica, znakoviti su za promišljanje postojećeg pastoralnog djelovanja, odnosno dosadašnje komunikacije unutar Župe. Ponajprije vidljivo je da se komunikacija unutar Župe ne ograničava samo na župnika i njegovu (institucionalnu!) komunikaciju prema povjerenim mu vjernicima. Komunikacija u kontekstu društvenih mreža na određeni način problematizira dosadašnji institucionalni način komuniciranja (koja se obično označavala izrazom *top-down*) te utire put novom modelu (engl. *bottom-up*). Ne radi se, naravno, o jednostavnoj „zamjeni" komunikacijskih strategija, već je riječ o prepoznavanju pojedinih karakteristika novih načina komuniciranja. Tako na primjer odnose, veze između svih aktera Župe – naime, župnika, župne zajednice i različitih duhovnih i pastoralno-kulturnih grupa u Župi – sve manje određuje fizički prostor i vrijeme, a sve više komuniciraju u virtualnom prostoru mreže. Salezijanac Anthony Clifford Lobo taj model komunikacije naziva egzistencijalnim komunikacijskim modelom te ističe kako je on primjeren današnjem digitalnom vremenu jer se kroz njega snažnije izražava: zajednica, kreativnost, povezivanje, suradnja i konvergencija (takozvanih pet „c" na talijanskom: *comunità*, *creattività*, *connettività*, *collaborazione*, *convergenza*) (Lobo, 2015). Analiza mrežne župne stranice pokazuje kako novi digitalni mediji – slikovito rečeno – mogu postati platformom za nove oblike zajedništva, interaktivnosti i suradnje, bez čega je i teško zamisliti život jedne suvremene „virtualne" vjerske zajednice, s obzirom na to da digitalni mediji ne stvaraju samo virtualni svijet nego mijenjaju načine komunikacije kao i samu komunikaciju, kako ističe papa Benedikt XVI. (2009).

Polazeći od činjenice da je ovo početak istraživanja u okviru teorije analize društvene mreže i teorije grafa, te da smo se ovdje ograničili samo na župnu mrežnu stranicu, smatramo kako za cjelovitije razumijevanje interaktivne komunikacije u Crkvi, imajući u vidu ovu metodu, istraživanje treba proširiti na komunikaciju između redovničkih zajednica,

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

između (nad)biskupija, između crkvenih katoličkih udruga, kao i između svih vjernika i Crkve na nacionalnoj razini. Novi mrežni pastoral u Župi obogaćuje i dinamizira dosadašnji župni pastoral, omogućuje zalaganje i sudjelovanje laika vjernika u aktivnom oblikovanju žive zajednice. Novi župni mrežni pastoral, u kojem pored župnika sudjeluju i brojni akteri, vjernici laici, postaje novom platformom za novu komunikaciju Crkve *ad intra* i *ad extra*, novim načinom za komunikaciju Crkve prema društvu i prema svijetu, a time postaje i novim načinom svjedočenja i njezine evangelizacije svijeta.

Literatura

>Barabási, Albert-László (2016) *Network Science*. http://barabasi.com/networksciencebook/chapter/1 (07.10.2016.).

>Barabási, Albert-László (2006) *U mreži: Zašto je sve povezano i kako misliti mrežno u znanosti, poslovanju i svakodnevnom životu*. Zagreb: Jesenski i Turk.

>Benedikt XVI. (2009) *Poruka za 43. svjetski dan društvenih komunikacija (24. svibnja 2009.), Nove tehnologije, novi odnosi. Promicati kulturu poštivanja, dijaloga i prijateljstva*. http://www.ika.hr/index.php?prikaz=vijest&ID=110467 (08.10.2016.).

>FER (n.d.) *Osnovni pojmovi teorija grafova*. Zagreb: Fakultet elektrotehnike i računarstva. https://www.fer.unizg.hr/_download/repository/Osnovni_pojmovi-teorija_grafova.pdf (07.10.2016.).

>Gladwell, Malcolm (2005) *Točka preokreta*. Zagreb: Naklada Jesenski i Turk.

>Heymann, Sebastien; Bastian, Mathieu i Jacomy, Mathieu (2009) *Gephi: An Open Source Software for Exploring and Manipulating Networks*. International AAAI Conference on Weblogs and Social Media. https://gephi.org/publications/gephi-bastian-feb09.pdf (07.10.2016.).

>Kleinberg, Jon (1998) *Authoritative Sources in a Hyperlinked Environment.* Proceedings of the 9th ACM-SIAM Symposium on Discrete Algorithms. https://www.cs.cornell.edu/home/kleinber/auth.pdf (07.10.2016.).

>Lobo, Anthony Clifford (2015) *Media convergenti ed ecosistemi digitali per le reti istituzionali: teorie e modelli Uno studio dei media della Chiesa Italiana*. http://www.aracneeditrice.it/pdf/9788854880689.pdf (08.10.2016.).

>Meštrović, Ana (2016) Nastavni materijal u sklopu kolegija *Upravljanje znanjem* na odjelu za informatiku Sveučilišta u Rijeci. Rijeka: Sveučilište u Rijeci.

>Novak, Krunoslav i Valković, Jerko (2016) Religija i Internet – novi izazovi življenja vjere. *Obnovljeni život* 71 (3): 389-403.

>Scott, John (1991) *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook*. http://www.analytictech.com/mb119/chapt2a.htm (07.10.2016.).

>Skoko, Božo i Gusić, Valentina (2013) Novi mediji u službi evangelizacije i u životu župne zajednice – primjena u župama Zagrebačke nadbiskupije. *Nova prisutnost* 11 (2): 193-214.

>Tsetovat, Maksim i Kouznetsov, Alexander (2011) *Social Network Analysis for Startups*. Sebastopol: O'Reilly Media.

>Wasserman, Stanley i Faust, Katherine (1994) *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: 10.1017/cbo9780511815478.

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD / DOI: 10.20901/ms.8.15.8 / PRIMLJENO: 04.04.2017.

WEBSITE OF THE PARISH OF THE ST. PHILIP AND JACOB IN VUKOVAR

Marija Pandžić :: Vine Mihaljević :: Jerko Valković

ABSTRACT *This article presents an analysis of the website of St. Philip and Jacob parish in Vukovar and the nodes that are identified as: the vicar, parish community and different spiritual, pastoral and cultural groups and their interactivity. The research was conducted for the period from 1 December 2014 to 1 December 2015, which corresponds to a liturgical year in which all the spiritual, pastoral, social and cultural activities of the parish are visible so we could observe the relationships between the identified nodes of the website of St. Philip and Jacob parish using social network analysis and graph theory. The first part of the article introduces the theoretical framework of social networks analysis with special reference to graph theory. The second part describes, analyses and interprets the results from graph theory. Finally, some important indicators of the emergence of a new communication-pastoral orientation, a horizon, or some elements of the appropriate communication-pastoral model, are developed, based on the interactivity between the identified nodes of the existing social network in the Vukovar parish.*

KEY WORDS

SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS, GRAPH THEORY, PARISH WEBSITE, PARISH COMMUNITY, VICAR, PARISH GROUP

Authors note

Marija Pandžić :: PhD student of Croatology at the Center for Croatian Studies of University of Zagreb, Croatia **::** marija.pandzic@gmail.com

Vine Mihaljević :: Institute of Social Sciences Ivo Pilar, Zagreb, Croatia **::** vine.mihaljevic@pilar.hr

Jerko Valković :: Catholic University of Croatia, Zagreb, Croatia **::** jerko.valkovic@gmail.com

PRIKAZI KNJIGA

BOOK REVIEWS

Smiljana Leinert Novosel

KOMUNIKACIJSKI KOMPAS

2. prošireno izdanje, Plejada, Zagreb, 2015., 239 str.
ISBN 978-953-7782-47-4

Budući da na komunikaciju utječu brojni čimbenici, a kvaliteta komunikacije utječe na međuljudske odnose, kreiranje komunikacije i upravljanje komunikacijom nije jednostavan zadatak. Potaknuta pozitivnim reakcijama okoline i spoznajom da je prvo izdanje *Komunikacijskog kompasa* pomoglo brojnim ljudima u rješavanju svakodnevnih komunikacijskih izazova, Smiljana Leinert Novosel u predgovoru drugom, proširenom izdanju ističe kako je priručnik dopunila novim temama vezanim uz poslovnu komunikaciju, komunikaciju u posebnim životnim situacijama te temama vezanim uz učinkovito upravljanje konfliktima. Važnost komunikacije često je marginalizirana jer ljudi zaboravljaju da uspjeh počiva na njoj, ističe se u prvom poglavlju knjige *Zašto još uvijek o komunikaciji...?* Uspješan komunikator može biti samo onaj koji poznaje zakonitosti komunikacije i načine njezine primjene, što je osobito važno u digitalnom dobu u kojem je bit komunikacije marginalizirana. Razlozi zbog kojih komuniciramo jesu višestruki, a oslanjaju se na unutarnju/intrinzičnu i vanjsku/instrumentalnu motivaciju, navodi se u drugom poglavlju *Što je komunikacija?* Za autoricu su „dva temeljna oblika uspjeha – biti prihvaćen, te – imati utjecaj" (18). U trećem poglavlju *Što je komunikacijska znanost/komunikologija?* autorica donosi prikaz razvoja te znanstvene discipline, ali i analizira načela suvremene komunikologije. Promjene u svakodnevnoj komunikaciji potiču nas na aktivno razmišljanje o načinu njezine realizacije, ističe se u četvrtom poglavlju *Je li potrebno učiti komunikaciju?*

Na pitanje što je ključ dobre komunikacije, kako je i naziv petog poglavlja, Leinert Novosel daje jednostavan odgovor – voditi računa o Drugome u komunikaciji te biti na njegovoj strani. A zašto uopće komuniciramo – pita se autorica u šestom poglavlju, donoseći argumente Roberta Balesa o različitim motivacijama i analizirajući teoriju polazišta Erica Bernea prema kojoj ljudi svakodnevno zauzimaju različite uloge u odnosima s drugima. U komunikaciji razlikujemo dva sloja poruka: otvorene/eksponirane i skrivene/implicitne poruke na koje su ljudi ujedno i najosjetljiviji, ističe se u sedmom poglavlju knjige *Tekst i podtekst u komunikaciji ili o porukama*. Temeljni je cilj komunikacijskog uspjeha samouvjerenje primatelja da može ostvariti nešto pozitivno. Kako ostvariti utjecaj, odnosno zahtjev – pita se autorica u osmom poglavlju, naglašavajući važnost povećanja povjerenja u komunikatora, ali i važnost dojma koji ostavljamo na druge tijekom izlaganja. U središtu devetog poglavlja nalaze se glavna načela uspješne komunikacije, pri čemu se naglašava kako karakter odnosa nameću dionici komunikacijskog procesa, ali se i analiziraju čimbenici koji uzrokuju komunikacijske poremećaje.

Razumijevanje komunikacijskog procesa nemoguće je bez poznavanja osnovnih komunikacijskih modela, poput Shannon-Weaverova ili Lasswellova modela kojima je posvećeno deseto poglavlje. Jednako su važne i dimenzije komunikacijskog odnosa koje autorica opisuje u jedanaestom poglavlju, a koje uključuju usmjerenost na zbližavanje osoba (horizontalna), pokazivanje snage i vrijednosti suradnicima (vertikalna) ili pak usmjerenost pojedinca na izvršenje zadaće (dijagonalna) (44-45). Na to svakako utječu i uloge koje preuzimamo u komunikaciji, a koje dovode do slaganja ili sukobljavanja. Pretvaranje poruke u pitanje, utjecanje na raspoloženje primatelja, djelovanje na promjenu kod ljudskog reagiranja te naglašavanje osjećaja vrijednosti kod sugovornika inzistiranjem na dijalogu samo su neke od tehnika oblikovanja komunikacijskih odnosa analiziranih u trinaestom poglavlju. Četrnaesto poglavlje donosi sedam zapovijedi dobrog komuniciranja, koje ističu ulogu primatelja u komunikacijskom procesu, ali istodobno stavljaju naglasak na kvalitetu odnosa u komunikaciji u kojoj nema mjesta za konflikt.

Uloga imidža u komuniciranju iznimno je važna s obzirom na to da pozitivan imidž donosi brojne prednosti u kontekstu poslovnog uspjeha, ističe autorica u petnaestom poglavlju. Kreiranje osobnog imidža zahtijeva aktivno upravljanje imidžom, a ne treba zaboraviti ni utjecaj stereotipa pri pridavanju značenja u komunikaciji i kvalificiranju Drugih. Strategija oblikovanja imidža uključuje i oslanjanje na dominante ili hvatače pažnje. Osim na verbalnu komunikaciju, na koju utječu obrazovno zaleđe i kulturna sredina, u oblikovanju imidža oslanjamo se i na neverbalne poruke koje nam pomažu u analizi stavova i ponašanja.

Autorica nadalje detaljno i iscrpno analizira učinke djelovanja vanjskog izgleda, mikroekspresije, djelovanja mirisima, glasom te predmetima koje posjedujemo, a koji utječu na oblikovanje prvog dojma. Kakvo je značenje gesta koje svakodnevno (ne)svjesno koristimo, znamo li prepoznati barijere u komunikacijskom procesu, što položaj trupa i prostorne zone govore o nama kao komunikatorima, samo su neka od pitanja na koje petnaesto poglavlje nastoji odgovoriti.

Slušanje u komuniciranju naziv je šesnaestog poglavlja u kojem autorica naglašava važnost vještine slušanja, podsjećajući na razlike s obzirom na spol i naglašavajući važnost preispitivanja govornikovih poruka. Preispitivanje govornikovih poruka nerijetko se događa i pri komuniciranju na sastancima čija učinkovitost ovisi o definiranju situacije, ali i pripremi sastanka, ističe Leinert Novosel u sedamnaestom poglavlju knjige. Verbalno ponašanje može ugroziti sugovornika, ali i utjecati na defenzivnu komunikaciju, na što utječu i spolne razlike. Izvori konflikata nalaze se u individualnim osobinama pojedinca, a nerijetko su i posljedica borbe za moć, o čemu govori osamnaesto poglavlje *Komuniciranje u konfliktnim situacijama*. Konflikt može rezultirati koristima, poput mobilizacije energije, poticanja kreativnosti sugovornika, edukacije oko međusobne suradnje i prihvaćanja te otkrivanja slabosti organizacije (140-143). Autorica analizira konfliktne faze, ali i donosi prijedloge konstruktivnog rješavanja konflikata kroz partnerski/suradnički model, oslanjajući se na komunikacijska pravila.

Poznavanje i proučavanje komunikacijskih pravila osobito je važno za komuniciranje u javnom nastupu, o čemu govori devetnaesto poglavlje, posvećeno izgradnji poželjnog imidža, ali i najčešćim greškama u komunikaciji s publikom. Koja je razlika između komuniciranja u raspravama, ali i komuniciranja za medije i u medijima, pitanja su na koja ovo poglavlje također nastoji odgovoriti. Svaki javni nastup treba voditi promišljeno, naglašavajući njegove pojedine elemente, a u osobnoj komunikaciji s Drugima treba poštivati kulturološke obrasce koji se razlikuju s obzirom na individualističke ili kolektivističke kulture, ističe se u dvadesetom poglavlju *Komuniciranje sa strancima*. Posljednje, dvadeset i prvo poglavlje *Komuniciranje u posebnim situacijama* donosi primjere dvadeset komunikacijskih situacija koje autorica temeljito analizira donoseći formule za njihovo uspješno rješavanje.

Komunikacijski kompas priručnik je pisan jednostavnim i nenametljivim stilom kojemu će se čitatelji uvijek rado vraćati. Oslanjajući se na komunikološke teorije, Leinert Novosel nas podsjeća da uspjeh počiva na komunikacijskom stilu, ali i da u komunikaciji s Drugima moramo uzeti u obzir njihove osobine i poštivati sugovornika, jer samo tako doprinosimo samoostvarenju i jačanju dijaloga. Knjiga je namijenjena studentima komunikologije i srodnih znanstvenih disciplina, akademskoj zajednici te svekolikoj zainteresiranoj općoj javnosti kojoj će doista poslužiti kao vrijedan „kompas" za propitivanje vlastitih komunikacijskih vještina na privatnom, ali i poslovnom polju.

Tanja Grmuša

Ana Tkalac Verčič

ODNOSI S JAVNOŠĆU

Hrvatska udruga za odnose s javnošću, Zagreb, 2016., 449 str.
ISBN 978-953-7713-02-7

Sveučilišni udžbenik *Odnosi s javnošću* autorice Ane Tkalac Verčič upotpunjuje dosad objavljenu literaturu iz područja odnosa s javnošću u Hrvatskoj. Predgovor knjizi, koji je napisao *professor emeritus* James E. Grunig, ukazuje na važnost ovog udžbenika za odnose s javnošću, ali i da je riječ o djelu koje bi se vrlo lako moglo primijeniti u bilo kojem dijelu svijeta u svrhu obrazovanja budućih stručnjaka za odnose s javnošću.

Udžbenik je sastavljen od petnaest poglavlja koja pojedinačno čine zasebnu cjelinu i predstavljaju različite segmente discipline i profesije odnosi s javnošću (PR). Na početku knjige određuju se temeljne postavke i svrha odnosa s javnošću tako da se daju objašnjenja i nude definicije, pojašnjavaju funkcije odnosa s javnošću i opisuje profil stručnjaka. U sljedećem se poglavlju opisuje povijesni tijek odnosa s javnošću, uključujući drevno podrijetlo pa sve do razvoja suvremene prakse. Proučava se povijesni put odnosa s javnošću u Hrvatskoj i Europi te stanje struke i perspektiva. Odnosi s javnošću u trećem se poglavlju smještaju u kontekst organizacije pa se razmatra uloga odjela za odnose s javnošću, kao i vanjskih savjetnika, odnosno PR agencija. Time autorica otvara pitanja uloge odnosa s javnošću u strateškom upravljanju te suradnje s ostalim odjelima unutar organizacije.

Teorije komunikacije svojevrsna su jezgra discipline odnosi s javnošću pa je tome posvećeno četvrto poglavlje u kojemu se između ostalog objašnjavaju temeljne teorije i koncepti poput dvostupanjskog tijeka komunikacije, dvosmjerne teorije komunikacije, teorije zlatnog metka i postavljanja dnevnog reda. Autorica Tkalac Verčič sljedeće je poglavlje posvetila definiranju javnosti, njihovim vrstama, obilježjima i kontekstualizaciji kroz situacijsku teoriju.

Poglavlja koja slijede posvećena su planiranju komunikacije i programa odnosa s javnošću. Identificiraju se problemi koje odnosi s javnošću mogu riješiti, a oni su u pravilu komunikacijske naravi. Planiranje odnosa s javnošću opisano je kroz strukturu komunikacijskog plana te uključuje: ciljeve, javnosti, strategije, taktike, vremenski plan, proračun i vrednovanje. Posebna pozornost posvećena je istraživanju, vrednovanju, mjerenju i metodama odnosa s javnošću, temama koje su još uvijek nedovoljno prisutne u praksi, pa se time nastoji doprinijeti rješavanju gorućih problema vezanih za budućnost profesije.

Sljedeća poglavlja bave se određenim specijalizacijama unutar odnosa s javnošću. Prije svega to se odnosi na internu komunikaciju u okviru koje odnosi s javnošću utječu na organizacijsku kulturu, komuniciraju sa zaposlenicima te pritom koriste različite tehnike i medije. Krizna komunikacija također zauzima posebno mjestu u ovom udžbeniku te se

opisuju obilježja kriza i dinamika kriza. Ujedno se predstavljaju komunikacijske smjernice za snalaženje i izlazak iz krize.
Odnosi s javnošću i marketing imaju mnogo dodirnih točaka, a ponajprije slične načine dopiranja do ciljanih javnosti. Autorica Tkalac Verčič donosi konkretne primjere preklapanja i razlikovanja između dviju srodnih profesija – odnosa s javnošću i marketinga. Posvećuje pažnju odnosima s medijima kao jednoj od najznačajnijih funkcija odnosa s javnošću, i to čini dajući pregled različitih medijskih alata. Nadalje, u zasebnom poglavlju ostavlja mjesta za komunikaciju na društvenim medijima i s njima povezanu ulogu odnosa s javnošću. Poglavlje koji se bavi etikom odnosa s javnošću i korporativnom društvenom odgovornošću zaokružuje ovaj sveučilišni udžbenik kao cjelinu koja sadrži sva bitna pitanja i odgovore za suvremene odnose s javnošću.
U udžbenik su uvrštene i mnoge korisne ilustracije, a konkretni ciljevi poglavlja vrijedan su smjerokaz za nastavnike i studente pri savladavanju gradiva i ispunjenju zadataka. Knjiga je stoga vrlo pregledna te se vrlo lako mogu pronaći željene informacije unutar poglavlja. Dodatnu vrijednost čine prikazi konkretnih slučajeva iz hrvatske prakse koji su tematski vezani uz poglavlja kojima pripadaju. Uz to knjiga sadrži intervjue sa stručnjacima za odnose s javnošću, čime se otvara prostor za razmatranje ključnih pitanja za razvoj profesije. Na kraju poglavlja nalaze se pitanja za ponavljanje koja su orijentirana prema ispunjenju ciljeva navedenih na početku svakog poglavlja. Vrijednost i važnost ove knjige prepoznala je i Hrvatska udruga za odnose s javnošću koja je izdavač ovoga sveučilišnog udžbenika.
Sveučilišni udžbenik *Odnosi s javnošću* korisna je literatura na svim razinama studija iz područja odnosa s javnošću, medija i komunikacije upravo zbog raspona i cjelovitosti tema koje su prikazane u poglavljima. Jednako je koristan za stručnjake kao podsjetnik na pravila dobre prakse, kao i za daljnja razmatranja i publikacije usmjerene prema određivanju suvremene uloge odnosa s javnošću.

Hrvoje Jakopović

Zoran Tomić

ODNOSI S JAVNOŠĆU – TEORIJA I PRAKSA

2. prošireno izdanje, Synopsis, Zagreb – Sarajevo, 2016., 1367 str.
ISBN 9789537968304

Rijetki se autori upuštaju u izazov pisanja udžbenika, jer to – osim iznimno dobrog poznavanja teorije i prakse određene discipline – iziskuje i temeljito poznavanje globalnih trendova u svijetu znanosti i obrazovanja, poznavanje potreba tržišta, privlačan stil pisanja, pedagoški pristup u prezentiranju činjenica, ali i iskustvo u radu sa studentima. Prof. dr. sc. Zoran Tomić uspio je objediniti sve kvalitete koje krase dobrog autora te nam podariti prvi cjeloviti udžbenik iz odnosa s javnošću na našim prostorima još 2008., a ovdje je riječ o njegovu drugom, proširenom izdanju. Ova iznimno opsežna knjiga, čiji broj stranica nadmašuje sva slična izdanja u svijetu, obuhvaća sve relevantne sadržaje vezane uz odnose s javnošću. Podijeljena je na dvanaest ključnih poglavlja – od definiranja profesije, preko teorija i modela odnosa s javnošću, upravljanja procesima i prakse u odnosima s javnošću do odnosa s medijima, kao najvažnijeg segmenta u odnosima s javnošću, tehnika i alata te globalnih trendova. Posebni dodatak odnosi se na iznimno koristan rječnik odnosa s javnošću, koji pojašnjava ključne termine ove profesije. Knjiga donosi iscrpan pregled relevantne literature, istraživanja, ali i korisnih primjera dobre prakse s prepoznatljivim autorskim pečatom.

Riječ je o autoru čije je ime nezaobilazno u ispisivanju povijesti odnosa s javnošću u jugoistočnoj Europi te predvodniku znanstvenog proučavanja i podučavanja ove discipline. Kao bivši novinar, glasnogovornik i menadžer za odnose s javnošću godinama je uspješno razvijao tržište odnosa s javnošću u Bosni i Hercegovini, a kao jedan od prvih znanstvenika na ovom području te omiljeni sveučilišni profesor kreirao je prve ozbiljne kolegije iz odnosa s javnošću u Hrvatskoj i BiH te donosio zapadna iskustva i trendove u domaću komunikacijsku znanost, ali i struku odnosa s javnošću (koja još prerasta u ozbiljnu profesiju na našim prostorima). Zahvaljujući tom praktičnom iskustvu i bogatom teorijskom znanju, ali i praćenju suvremenih profesionalnih kretanja u svijetu te odjeka čitateljske publike na prvo izdanje knjige, profesor Tomić podario nam je uistinu cjelovit, praktičan i sadržajan udžbenik za vrijeme u kojem živimo, ali i za generacije koje dolaze. Zahvaljujući ovakvim izdanjima, odnosi s javnošću postaju relevantnija disciplina, a svi koji se njima bave, žele ih bolje upoznati ili požele ući u taj svijet dobivaju uistinu izvrstan alat i priručnik.

Odnosi s javnošću, poznatiji po popularnoj skraćenici PR (nastaloj iz engleskog pojma *public relations*), prilično su se uvriježili u svakodnevnoj komunikaciji te su postali nezaobilazni čimbenik u gospodarstvu, politici, svijetu zabave, neprofitnim organizacijama, međunarodnim odnosima, ali i u svakodnevnom životu. Funkcioniranje korporacija, političkih institucija i suvremenih medija nezamislivo je bez utjecaja odnosa s javnošću. Međutim, iako su odnosi s javnošću postali dijelom naše svakodnevice, pa i sudbine, pojam *odnosi s javnošću* još uvijek izaziva nejasnoće, odnosno pogrešno ga se definira. Nerijetko se zamjenjuje ili poistovjećuje sa srodnim pojmovima kao što su *oglašavanje*, *propaganda*, *publicitet*, *odnosi s medijima*, *promocija*, *marketing* i sl. To se čini donekle razumljivim kad se zna da su odnosi s javnošću produkt suvremenog doba, a u Hrvatskoj su se afirmirali tek posljednja dva desetljeća. Zato nam je potrebna stalna edukacija kako bismo upoznali ovu disciplinu, razumjeli njezine zakonitosti i bili u stanju koristiti njezine spoznaje. A obrazovni sustav još je uvijek ne samo najbolji „ulaz u struku" (kako to godinama zagovaraju američki stručnjaci) već i subjekt koji s najviše kredibiliteta može pridonositi podizanju svijesti o važnosti komunikacije, ne samo na tržištu već u društvu općenito.

Iskreno, još uvijek se nađemo u problemu kad nas netko zamoli da mu jednostavno objasnimo čime se to mi u odnosima s javnošću zapravo bavimo. Mnoštvo je definicija odnosa s javnošću. Najčešće se u tim definicijama spominju: upravljanje komuniciranjem, uspostavljanje i održavanje odnosa između organizacije i javnosti, jačanje međusobnog razumijevanja, upravljanje identitetom i imidžom, izgradnja povjerenja, stvaranje povoljnog okruženja za poslovanje itd. Međutim, odnosi s javnošću su sve to, ali i više od toga, zbog čega ih je teško jednoznačno odrediti. Zato nam je puno jednostavnije govoriti o učincima i rezultatima djelovanja odnosa s javnošću. Oni popravljaju i unapređuju imidž organizacije ili pojedinca, a samim time podižu njihovu vidljivost i vrijednost na tržištu. Oni rješavaju sukobe, pomiruju privatne i javne interese, održavaju dobre odnose s medijima, pomažu nam da živimo i poslujemo u harmoniji s okolinom te razumijemo javnosti koje nas okružuju i među njima stvaramo poklonike, prijatelje, kupce ili barem smanjujemo broj neprijatelja.

Odnosi s javnošću današnjice strateška su aktivnost o kojoj ovisi sudbina organizacije, pojedinca, institucije pa i države. Ako vam to zvuči pretjerano, na trenutak se prisjetite neke od kriznih situacija kojima smo posljednjih godina svjedočili, a koje su niz korporacija dovele na rub ponora. Ili bacimo pogled na pojedine medije kad senzacionalističkim naslovima uništavaju nečiji ugled, pa i sudbinu... Prisjetimo se televizijskih scena kad prosvjednici zbog raznih razloga zaustavljaju realizacije milijunski vrijednih gospodarskih projekata... Na koncu, svakodnevno svjedočimo negodovanju birača zbog različitih nelogičnih poteza naših političara... Nerazumijevanja, sukobi, štete, troškovi, pad popularnosti, pa i propast! Sve su to posljedice lošeg komuniciranja ili općenito izbjegavanja komuniciranja. A očito sve to može biti drukčije, kada bi bilo više međusobnog razumijevanja i uspješnije komunikacije. A upravo se odnosi s javnošću time bave – upravljaju komuniciranjem u svim njegovim oblicima. Baš kao što naše kolege upravljaju financijama, kadrovima, nabavom ili prodajom. Odnosi s javnošću upravljaju, savjetuju, posreduju, zastupaju, educiraju... I što ih bolje upoznajemo, to više shvaćamo koliko su nezamjenjivi u današnjem društvu i na sve izazovnijem i konkurentnijem tržištu.

Često u različitim definicijama odnosa s javnošću čitamo kako, zahvaljujući odnosima s javnošću, organizacija uspostavlja i održava uzajamno korisne odnose i komunikaciju s različitim javnostima. Jasno je da organizacija to čini iz sebičnih interesa jer o kvaliteti tih odnosa ovisi njezin uspjeh na tržištu ili u društvu. Međutim, od odnosa s javnošću koristi ima i javnost koja dobiva kvalitetnog partnera u komunikacijskom procesu, mediji koji u njima imaju saveznika u proizvodnji vijesti, ali i cjelokupni sustav javnog komuniciranja jer stručnjaci za odnose s javnošću pridonose profesionalizaciji i učinkovitosti tog procesa te potiču organizaciju na društveno odgovorno poslovanje i ponašanje. Naime, zahvaljujući kvalitetnom djelovanju odnosa s javnošću, organizacija – ili bilo koji drugi komunikacijski subjekt – uspostavlja učinkovitu (profesionalnu) komunikaciju s okruženjem, što joj omogućava nesmetano funkcioniranje i razvoj u okruženju; mediji kao kreatori i prijenosnici informacija dobivaju kvalitetan izvor informacija i ravnopravnog sugovornika; javnost dobiva zastupnika i promicatelja svojih interesa u i prema organizaciji (pravo na informaciju i javnu raspravu, transparentnost funkcioniranja na tržištu ili u društvu).

Njemački teoretičar Albert Oeckl napisao je kako su odnosi s javnošću „rad u javnosti, rad za javnosti, rad s javnošću", a budući da je javnost jako teško definirati pa i razumjeti, a još teže kontrolirati ili joj nešto nametnuti, onda znamo koliko odnosi s javnošću iziskuju znanja iz različitih disciplina, poznavanja specifičnih tehnika, taktika i alata te koliko se moraju stalno prilagođavati novim okruženjima i situacijama. Budući da su davno prošla vremena tiskovnih agenata, koji su kao bivši novinari stvarali „plaćene" priče i događaje, a istraživačko novinarstvo i prosvijećenost tržišta potisnuli su jednosmjernu komunikaciju još u prošlom stoljeću, odnosi s javnošću pretvorili su se u dvosmjernu komunikacijsku razmjenu, koja podrazumijeva reciprocitet i obostrano razumijevanje. A pritom se oslanjaju na istraživanja te valjanu i etičnu komunikaciju. To znači da se ovoj profesiji ne može pristupati usputno, površno i tehnički. Bavljenje odnosima s javnošću traži specifična znanja, a samim time i kvalitetno obrazovanje, koje je danas dostupno na mnogobrojnim sveučilištima i visokim školama na našim prostorima.

Iako je tradicija odnosa s javnošću u Hrvatskoj i BiH prilično skromna i njezine korijene nalazimo u snažnoj poratnoj oglašivačkoj industriji, nakon dolaska demokracije i otvaranja Zapadu devedesetih godina došlo je do snažnog razvoja ove discipline. Globalizacija tržišta nije nam dopuštala da zaostajemo za zapadnim uzorima. Stoga je došlo do brze implementacije odnosa s javnošću u poslovanje gospodarskih subjekata, razvoja agencijskog tržišta, ali i tržišta obrazovanja za ovu struku, odnosno profesiju. Već je niz generacija mladih stručnjaka za odnose s javnošću stasao uz prvo izdanje ove knjige, a ovo drugo izdanje nudi nam još širi, sadržajniji i aktualniji pogled na sve aspekte djelovanja odnosa s javnošću.

Božo Skoko
(iz recenzije)

Božo Skoko

KAKVI SU HRVATI: OGLEDI O HRVATSKOM IDENTITETU, IMIDŽU I NEISKORIŠTENIM POTENCIJALIMA

Fokus komunikacije, Zagreb, 2016., 264 str.
ISBN 9789533490359

Knjiga *Kakvi su Hrvati – ogledi o hrvatskom identitetu, imidžu i neiskorištenim potencijalima* profesora Bože Skoke, u nakladi Fokus komunikacija, sadrži niz tekstova objavljenih u periodici – u Obzoru *Večernjega lista*, *Vijencu* i *Svjetlu riječi* u razdoblju od 2012. do 2016. godine. Sastoji se od pet tematski podijeljenih cjelina, od kojih svaka ima od pet do devet eseja, kojima prethodi uvodna riječ predsjednika HAZU-a Zvonka Kusića, dok knjiga završava riječima urednika Borisa Becka.

Prvi dio knjige *Identitet i povijest* objedinjuje eseje o stereotipnom razumijevanju Hrvata kroz povijest, o nužnosti imidža u međunarodnim odnosima, problematizira nužnost ljubavi političara prema domovini, prepoznatljivost i važnost državnih praznika u javnosti, pitanje hrvatstva, karakteristike Dubrovačke Republike koje su doprinijele njezinu uspjehu, ulogu Hrvata u kreiranju sudbine Europe te odnos papa i Hrvata. Jedan od najstarijih stereotipa o Hrvatima koji pronalazimo u Europi jest onaj o hrvatskoj ratobornosti, hrabrosti i okrutnosti. Njemačke i švedske majke navodno su u 17. stoljeću prijetile svojoj nestašnoj djeci: „Ako ne budeš dobar, doći će Hrvat i odnijet će te!" (22), a Napoleon je govorio kako nikad hrabrijih i boljih vojnika nije vidio (24). Posljednjih desetljeća ponovno se je pojavio i epitet okrutnosti i genocidnosti, kojim se vješto manipuliralo u bivšoj Jugoslaviji (25). U ratnom je razdoblju tek nakon nekoliko mjeseci hrvatska vlada shvatila kako istodobno, uz bitku na terenu, mora dobiti i bitku za percepciju (29). Međutim, Skoko ističe kako vladajući još uvijek ne razumiju kolika je moć propagande i koliko je važno sustavno razvijati međunarodne odnose s javnošću. A upravo je to dobro znala Dubrovačka Republika. Dok su drugi u Europi ratovali i nestajali s političke scene, Dubrovačka je Republika napredovala i bogatila se, razvijala gospodarstvo, kulturu i znanost, a svoje je područje proširivala na miran i prijateljski način. Uz pomoć komunikacije i uvjeravanja podčinjavala je druge i širila svoj utjecaj u globalnoj politici (66) te je „stoljećima uspijevala očuvati svoju slobodu i neovisnost na vjetrometini geopolitičkih interesa velikih sila" (61). Zahvaljujući dobroj komunikaciji, Dubrovčani su vješto posredovali i prodavali informacije (67), brinući pritom o tome kako ih drugi vide. Skoko također ističe i važnost Hrvata u europskoj povijesti te kao najistaknutiji primjer navodi Sigetsku bitku i zaustavljanje Osmanlija pod vodstvom Nikole IV. Zrinskog, kojega i Mađari i Hrvati smatraju nacionalnim junakom. U stoljećima turskih prodora produbljivali su se i međusobni odnosi papa i Hrvata, kada je Hrvatska stekla epitet *predziđa kršćanstva*, ističe autor u eseju *Stoljetni savez papa i Hrvata: pragmatična ili duhovna povezanost?*

U drugom dijelu knjige, naslova *Umijeće prezentacije*, autor ističe nedostatak planiranja i iskorištavanja identiteta u predstavljanju Europi, nedostatan razvoj javne diplomacije, propuštenu šansu kvalitetne prezentacije koju je Hrvatska imala prilikom ulaska u EU te koncept *male sile*. Hrvatska u odnosu na zemlje iz posljednjeg kruga proširenja Europske unije ima nekoliko prednosti, no prije ulaska u članstvo nije iskoristila svoje potencijale i ponudila dodatne argumente građanima Europe kojima bi istaknula vlastite pozitivne karakteristike i doprinos koji njezino članstvo može donijeti Uniji, navodi Skoko u prvom eseju drugoga dijela knjige. Izuzev relativno dobre turističke promocije te sporadičnih istupa Hrvatske gospodarske komore u promociji hrvatskih proizvoda, nemamo nikakvu strategiju promocije hrvatskih prednosti u Europi, ističe autor koji kao rezultate nesnalaženja navodi relativno neiskorišten identitet, nedovoljno pozitivan imidž i strah da ćemo u Europi zauzeti mjesto niže od onog koje nam objektivno pripada. Esej *Medijatizacija vanjske politike: kolika je stvarna moć hrvatske diplomacije* govori o promjenama tajne diplomacije koja se uglavnom odvijala među čelnicima različitih država. „Radovan Vukadinović, jedan od vodećih hrvatskih stručnjaka za međunarodne odnose, još je 1998. pisao kako je diplomacija od političko-ceremonijalne djelatnosti pretvorena u vrlo angažiranu radnu aktivnost, odnosno kako je moderna diplomacija izgubila na svojoj ‘romantičnosti’ te postala ‘biznis komuniciranja između vlada’, što zahtijeva više stručnjaka za pojedina područja, a manje diplomata opće prakse” (95). Raspravljajući o prednostima i ograničenjima članstva u Europskoj uniji u eseju *Kompleks male zemlje i malog naroda: gdje je stvarno mjesto Hrvatske u EU* autor posebno ističe koncept *meke moći* koju Joseph Nye definira kao sposobnost uvjeravanja drugih da žele što vi želite.

Treći dio knjige, *Između suradnje* i *natjecanja*, sadrži eseje koji se tiču europeizacije i regionalne suradnje, brendiranja važnih Hrvata, odnosa s Bosnom i Hercegovinom te brenda Međugorja. U eseju *Zamke europeizacije: čemu Hrvatska može podučiti Europu* Skoko ističe pozitivan primjer zajamčenih prava manjina u Hrvatskoj te posebno ističe rješavanje pitanja muslimana. Hrvatska ima mnoštvo važnih ličnosti koje su doprinijele različitim sferama društvenoga razvoja, među kojima autor posebno naglašava Nikolu Teslu, u čiju je globalnu promociju Hrvatska puno manje uključena od SAD-a i Srbije.

Četvrti dio knjige, *Izazovi hrvatskog društva*, govori o najznačajnijim hrvatskim velikanima, problematizira odnos države i Crkve i (neisticanje) vjere političara, dosege vlada i politički marketing, djelovanje i nedostatak mecena te odnos s dijasporom i međusobne stereotipe. U eseju *Dosezi hrvatskih vlada*: *od Tuđmanovih standarda do prosječnosti* Skoko problematizira znatno manji broj stručnjaka u Sanaderovoj vladi nego što je to bio slučaj devedesetih godina – jedna od Tuđmanovih vlada uključivala je 21 doktora znanosti, za razliku od tek 4 doktora znanosti za vrijeme Sanaderove vlade. Autor problematizira i postojeći izborni sustav te ističe kako bi nedodirljivost stranačkih elita bila dovedena u pitanje, a građani bi izravnije mogli utjecati na političke procese, ne čekajući sljedeće izbore ili ulične prosvjede, kada bismo na izborima birali pojedince – imenom i prezimenom (187). Prilikom izrade programa važno je voditi računa o racionalnim, ali i emocionalnim razlozima izbora pojedine stranke ili kandidata. Animiranje građana za izlazak na izbore, uz privlačenje neodlučnih i onih koji su skloni drugim političkim opcijama, ključno je za ostvarenje pozitivnog rezultata političke utrke. Promjenom vlade 2000. godine razumijevanje dijaspore postalo je negativno, suprotno stajalištu prisutnom od početaka hrvatske neovisnosti. U posljednja dva eseja ovoga dijela knjige Skoko ističe neiskorištavanje utjecaja dijaspore na stvaranje pozitivnog imidža u međunarodnoj zajednici te negativan učinak na razumijevanje Hrvatske kod iseljenika koji zahvaljujući globalnim komunikacijama često mijenjaju idealiziranu sliku domovine koju su ponijeli sa sobom.

Posljednji, peti dio knjige, naziva *Made in Croatia*, problematizira prepoznatljivost i brendiranje hrvatskih proizvoda, najznačajniji hrvatski (prirodni) kapital, ovisnost o turizmu, mogućnosti iskorištavanja filmske industrije u promociji zemlje, ulogu nogometa u globalnoj prepoznatljivosti Hrvatske te smanjenje važnosti i utjecaja Hrvatske u Europi. Prema *konceptu zemlje podrijetla* kupci su naklonjeniji prema proizvodima iz država s prepoznatljivim i poželjnim imidžom te su za njih nerijetko spremni ponuditi i višu cijenu, bez obzira na stvarnu kvalitetu. Seljenjem proizvodnih pogona u zemlje jeftinije radne snage, od zemlje podrijetla (sjedište kompanije) odvaja se zemlja proizvodnje, no potrošači tada postaju sumnjičaviji i skloniji su kupovati proizvode kojima se zemlja podrijetla i zemlja proizvodnje podudaraju. Anegdotom o konobarici koja autoru preporučuje kvalitetno hrvatsko maslinovo ulje, no nije upoznata s proizvodnjom vina u Hrvatskoj, Skoko ponovno naglašava nedovoljno strateško planiranje pri promociji i prepoznatljivosti proizvoda i brendova koji „s vremenom mogu postati važan kanal komunikacije, ali i simbol identiteta države, odnosno moćni veleposlanici nacionalnog imidža" (219). Unatoč velikim naporima u turističkoj promociji i ostvarenim rezultatima većina hrvatskih regija, što vrijedi za gotovo čitavo područje sjeverno od Velebita, izuzev Zagreba, sa svojim proizvodima, atrakcijama i ponudom još je nedovoljno prepoznata, ističe Skoko u eseju *Krhkost turizma: brendiranje i proaktivnost turističke ponude*. Za privlačnost određenoga područja važni su i politička klima, zastupljeni brendovi, kulturna ponuda, kvaliteta infrastrukture i javnih sadržaja, a Hrvatskoj nedostaju strateški pristup u upravljanju identitetom i imidžom te koordinacija i sinergija djelovanja različitih institucija i organizacija, ističe autor. Imidžu pojedine zemlje u velikoj mjeri mogu doprinijeti i filmska industrija i sport. Snimanje *Gospodara prstenova* donijelo je Novom Zelandu golem porast broja posjetitelja. Osim promicanja političkih stavova, vrijednosti, povijesti i načina života filmovi prenose i snažne političke poruke. Punih je 50 godina zapadna filmska industrija prikazivala SSSR, Kinu, Kubu i Sjevernu Koreju na negativan način ne bi li utjecala na javno mnijenje građana stvarajući pritom ozračje koje je odgovaralo političkom stajalištu vladajućih, dok su filmovi *Hrabro srce* i *Patriot* izazvali oštre reakcije britanske vlade i političkih krugova zbog negativnog prikaza njihove zemlje. Skoko smatra kako Hrvatska ima potencijal ekranizirati brojne legende, vladare i književna djela te se svojim prirodnim ljepotama pozicionirati na produkcijsku kartu globalne filmske industrije čime bi, osim dodatnog izvora zarade, pospješila svoju promotivnu snagu. Nogomet je odigrao značajnu ulogu u mijenjanju ratne slike Hrvatske i oblikovanju novog imidža. Globalnu je prepoznatljivost Hrvatska postigla brončanom medaljom na Svjetskom prvenstvu 1998. godine.

U posljednjem, samostalnom eseju naziva *S centra na periferiju*: *Hrvatska je nekad utjecala na Europu, a danas smo na periferiji događanja* autor ističe kako je Hrvatska ulaskom u Europsku uniju zauzela mjesto na samoj periferiji europskih zbivanja, izgubila natjecateljski duh i posustala u ambiciji, dok je Milanovićeva vlada pokazala nesnalažljivost u „nepoznatom okruženju EU" (252).

Skoko na zanimljiv način progovara o hrvatskom identitetu i imidžu, kombinirajući temeljne pretpostavke stvaranja poželjnoga imidža i brendiranja zemlje s povijesnim činjenicama, ali i mentalitetom hrvatskoga naroda. Kritički progovara o odnosu spram vlastitoga, povijesti i međunarodnih odnosa te ukazuje na nedostatak strateškog planiranja, ali i postojanje prirodnih i društvenih resursa u izgradnji pozitivnog imidža Hrvatske.

Zrinka Viduka

Enes Kulenović (ur.)

GOVOR MRŽNJE U HRVATSKOJ

Fakultet političkih znanosti, Zagreb, 2016., 343 str.
ISBN 9789536457960

Govor mržnje društveni je fenomen koji je ne samo u Hrvatskoj nego i u cijelom svijetu aktualan jednako kao i za vrijeme ratnih zbivanja, postojanja rasističkih ispada i zakona, nacionalističkih pretjerivanja izgovorenih iz usta političkih elita, nesnošljivosti iz zabave usmjerenih prema ženama ili prema pripadnicima LGBTIQ zajednice. U posljednjih 25 godina u Hrvatskoj javni govor koji podržava nesnošljivost i izrugivanje bio je usmjeravan prema pripadnicima različitih manjinskih skupina. Netrpeljivost prema „onima drugima" danas se iskazuje, nažalost, nerijetko i u Saboru, u specijalnim emisijama lokalnih televizijskih kanala, a ponajviše je interaktivnost društvenih medija doprinijela da se sloboda govora pretvara u slobodu govora mržnje. Bio je nužan ovakav znanstveni poduhvat odabira osam tekstova koje nalazimo u knjizi *Govor mržnje u Hrvatskoj*, koju je uredio Enes Kulenović, jer se korisnicima pojašnjavaju pojmovi koje i javne osobe koriste, a da pritom ne žele znati ili nisu svjesne moguće štete koju svojim govorom čine. Govor mržnje ili govor iz mržnje danas je žilav i svaka krizna situacija, osobito u postkonfliktnim područjima, pokazuje da se ne nazire smanjivanje intenziteta. Mijenjaju se samo mediji koji taj govor prenose. Stoga zaključujemo da je izdavanje ovakvog sustavnog djela od iznimne važnosti za Hrvatsku u kojoj se socijalni i ekonomski problemi svakodnevice nerijetko prevaljuju na „manjince" i „one druge", i pritom se ne biraju riječi.

Mada je u Hrvatskoj objavljeno niz pojedinačnih znanstvenih i stručnih tekstova u kojima se govor mržnje sagledava s različitih aspekata (pravnog, politološkog, medijsko-komunikacijskog), ovo je zapravo prva knjiga nastala u Hrvatskoj koja multidisciplinarno određuje sintagmu *govor mržnje* i analizira različite aspekte izričaja mržnje iz prošlosti, i posebice nesnošljivosti kojoj svjedočimo i danas. Objavljeni tekstovi uključuju politološke pregledne znanstvene radove, pravne znanstveno-stručne radove te istraživačke radove u kojima su korištene metode primjerene analizi „tradicionalnih" i „novih" medija poput analiza narativa i analize sadržaja.

Knjiga je sastavljena od *Uvoda* urednika i osam autorskih poglavlja koji imaju zajedničku poveznicu govora isključivosti i netolerancije. Urednik knjige Enes Kulenović otvara knjigu opsežnim i originalnom tekstom pod naslovom *Sloboda govora i govor mržnje* u kojem raspravlja o najvažnijem segmentu slobode govora naspram govora mržnje. Sustavan i analitičan tekst razmatra prednosti i posljedice „za očuvanje slobode govora kada se akteri građanskog društva oslanjaju na samoregulaciju i definiranje vlastitih normi prihvatljivog izražavanja" (13). U nastavku djela slijedi pregledni rad Hrvoja Cvijanovića *Govor kao verbal-*

ni i simbolički prostor slobode i političkog: američki poučak i govor mržnje u EU i Hrvatskoj. Autor polazi od pretpostavke da zakonska regulacija, „izuzev u slučajevima gdje javni govor izravno vodi fizičkom nasilju, sužava prostor političkog" (14), u kojem se moraju propitivati različite vrijednosti u društvu. Autor osvjetljava američki pogled na slobodu izjašnjavanja i okupljanja te suprotstavljanje bilo kakvoj regulaciji. Pravna regulacija i sudska praksa o diskriminatornom govoru na razini Europske unije predmet su analize autorice trećeg teksta, Snježane Vasiljević, pod naslovom *Diskriminatorni govor i govor mržnje u europskom pravnom okviru*. Temeljno pitanje koje u svom radu postavlja autorica jest ovo: nudi li europski pravni sustav na međunarodnoj razini ili na razini nacionalnih država učinkovito rješenje za suzbijanje govora mržnje i diskriminatornih praksi kojima takav govor može rezultirati? Još jedan pogled iz očišta pravnika o govoru mržnje daje Đorđe Gardašević u tekstu pod naslovom *Govor mržnje i hrvatski ustavnopravni okvir*. Autor nastoji rasvijetliti „granice koje govor mržnje stavlja pred temeljnu ustavnu vrijednost slobode izražavanja kroz analizu normativne dimenzije pravne regulacije javnog govora, ali i hrvatske ustavnosudske prakse" (15). Viktorija Car analizu i prijepore govora mržnje iz aspekta studija medija, komunikacijskih znanosti i novinarstva izlaže pod naslovom *Moć medija: između slobode izražavanja i govora mržnje*. Kao autorica nekoliko recentnih istraživanja o govoru mržnje u hrvatskim medijima i naporima civilne scene u mijenjaju neprihvatljivih praksi u medijima, ona se studijom slučaja vraća u kompleksnost događanja u vezi s objavljivanjem karikatura proroka Muhameda u danskim novinama *Jyllands-Posten*. Upečatljiv i zanimljiv jest i šesti tekst ove knjige, autora Nebojše Zeliča, pod naslovom *Dostojanstvo, legitimnost i istina: o zakonskoj regulaciji poricanja holokausta*. U navedenom tekstu zagovara se teza da poricanje holokausta može biti definirano kao govor mržnje. Raznolikosti pristupa istraživanju govora mržnje u javnoj sferi prilog daje i autorica Bojana Klepač Pogrmilović u tekstu *Govor mržnje i politička korektnost – Hrvatski sabor kao „slika društva"*. Izričaj u Hrvatskom saboru postao je i prostorom svakodnevnog neprimjerenoga govora koji može rezultirati govorom mržnje, pa autorica analizira broj stegovnih mjera koje su u posljednja tri saziva Sabora izrečene za neprimjerene izraze zastupnika. Posljednji tekst u ovoj knjizi analizira i istražuje govor mržnje objavljen na društvenim mrežama prema izbjeglicama tijekom 2015. godine. Izbjeglice su manjinska skupina o kojoj se i ranije u većinskim i tradicionalnim medijima pisalo stereotipno i s puno predrasuda, no rezultati analize sadržaja Marina Bukvića u tekstu *Govor mržnje i netolerancije u svjetlu izbjegličko-migrantske krize u Hrvatskoj: studija slučaja Facebook* pokazuju da je većina anonimnih komentara u analiziranim *online* portalima dosegnula neslućene razmjere po snazi promicanja uvreda, nesnošljivosti i govora mržnje.

Ova knjiga daje najbolji prikaz različitih aspekata razumijevanja govora mržnje do sada te krajnje korektno i znanstveno dosljedno objašnjava korijene netrpeljivosti u svijetu i posebnosti izričaja govora mržnje u javnoj sferi u Hrvatskoj. Ovom knjigom hrvatska znanost i javnost dobile su izvrsno referentno djelo.

Knjiga je namijenjena studentima društvenih i humanističkih znanosti, posebice studentima politologije, novinarstva, prava, medija i komunikacijskih znanosti. Premda je knjiga znanstvenog stava, ona je posve razumljiva i korisnicima izvan akademske zajednice, pa je za očekivati da će za njom posegnuti novinari, medijski djelatnici, političari, odvjetnici i drugi koji žele više znati o govoru mržnje i zaštiti ljudskih prava.

Gordana Vilović
(iz recenzije)

Vinka Drezga

POLITIČKA RETORIKA U HRVATSKOJ

Despot Infinitus, Zagreb, 2015., 143 str.
ISBN 978-953-7892-37-1

Politička retorika u Hrvatskoj autorice Vinke Drezga donosi prikaz političke komunikacije u Hrvatskoj, uzimajući u obzir višedesetljetno totalitarističko nasljeđe. Autorica u predgovoru ističe kako je glavni poticaj za njezinu analizu bilo traženje odgovora na pitanje u čemu je razlika između političara u različitim dijelovima Europe (sjever – jug), s obzirom na to da se jedni u svojoj komunikaciji oslanjaju samo na verbalne iskaze, a drugi pritom uključuju i emocije. Njezino istraživanje inspirirano je teorijskim okvirom Chaïma Perelmana koji u retorici vidi potencijal za utjecanje na odnose među ljudima i zajednicama. Perelmanova teorija polazi od činjenice da se čovjek u svom iskazu oslanja na emotivno, ističući kako političar može različito govoriti o istim stvarima, a da pritom ne izgubi vjerodostojnost (8). Autorica je za predmet analize odabrala diskurs bivših političara iz izvršne vlasti kako bi izbjegla pristranost. U *Uvodu* autorica objašnjava pojmove retorike i diskursa koji se često shvaćaju kao sinonimi. Analiza političkih govora provedena je na temelju analize diskursa koji je razlučivan na dijelove te povezivan s govornikovim profilom. Perelmanova teorija korijene crpi i u Nietzscheovu modelu retorike prema kojemu se čovjek u interpretiranju stvarnosti oslanja na vlastito subjektivno iskustvo, ističe Drezga u poglavlju *Nietzsche o retorici*. Oslanjanje na subjektivnost podrazumijeva oslanjanje na različite teorijske perspektive, a Nietzsche je to smatrao doktrinom perspektivizma, navodi se u sljedećem istoimenom poglavlju, budući da se ljudski odnosi promatraju kroz sferu jezika i jezičnih figura kao pokazatelja čovjekova iskustvenoga svijeta. I dok je Nietzscheovo shvaćanje zbilje odvojeno od metasfere te ujedno predstavlja i njezin odraz, Drezga u poglavlju *Teorija argumentacije* (21-22) navodi kako se Perelman zalaže za pristup odozdo, poznatiji i kao koncept nove retorike koja stavlja naglasak na neformalnu komunikaciju, ali i na kreativnost pojedinca.

Perelmanovo shvaćanje retorike usmjereno je k osvajanju publike, navodi se u poglavlju *Nova retorika kao praktični diskurs*. Naime, jezični se iskaz mijenja, ali i oblikuje u (su)odnosu s Drugima, s obzirom na to da na retoričku praksu utječe i govornikov vrijednosni sustav, ali i vrijednosni sustav Drugih. Perelmanova teorija naglašava ulogu razboritosti u svakodnevnoj komunikaciji, pri čemu taj pojam postaje i konstanta u retoričkom modelu, a jednaku važnost dobiva i izvedba govora (30), ističe se u poglavlju *Argumentacijski formalizam*. Postoje četiri modela argumentacije koji se razlikuju ovisno o tipu rasprave, a koje autorica detaljno analizira u sljedećem poglavlju *Modeli argumentacije*.

Okvir za analizu diskursa činile su političke emisije HRT-a (*Otvoreno* i *Nedjeljom u 2*) u periodu od 2005. do 2007. godine, koje su često otvarale teške teme i u kojima su političari iznosili svoje viđenje nekih društveno-povijesnih okolnosti, te dnevne novine (*Večernji list*, *Jutarnji list*, *Vjesnik*). Korištena je kvalitativna metoda argumentacijskog formalizma koju je razvio Perelman. Riječ je o lingvističko-sociološkoj metodi namijenjenoj analizi leksika s ciljem analize pozadine diskursa i njegovih slojeva te proučavanja govornikovih sklonosti, ali i poimanja vlastite uloge u društvu (39). Analiza političkih diskursa razgovornih emisija vođena je kroz deset elemenata: „1. retorička dosljednost ili zaokret, 2. argument pragmatičnosti, 3. epideiktički govor, 4. metafora, 5. disocijacija koncepata, 6. analogija,

7. argument s energijom (obojeni), 8. argument bez energije, 9. argument autoriteta i 10. argument slijeda" (39). Istodobno, analizirane su i objave na YouTubeu prema sljedećim kategorijama: „1. empatije, 2. kritike zloporabe vlasti, 3. kritike neprimjerena, nedostojna ponašanja, 4. trivijalizacije simbola te 5. ridikulizacije" (40).

Politička retorika u praksi: analiza sadržaja HTV-ovih emisija opsežno je poglavlje u kojemu Drezga analizira političke diskurse. Tako za prvu kategoriju retoričke dosljednosti ili zaokreta analizira Ivu Sanadera koji vješto koristi publiku kao objekt za promjenu pozicije, ali i retorički zaokret Stjepana Mesića u objašnjavanju promjene vlastite retorike u ratnim i mirnodopskim uvjetima. Kako koristiti argument pragmatičnosti da bi se posljedice prebacile na drugoga prikazano je na primjeru analize hrvatsko-slovenskih odnosa u percepciji Ivice Račana, ali i Sanaderove vizije pragmatičnog političara. Za državnike i učenjake tipičan je epideiktički govor koji nastoji odobriti pojedino djelo/čin ili ohrabriti nekoga (53). Pritom se govornici služe slikama iz svakodnevice kako bi progovorili o općim pitanjima; primjerice, osvrt Željke Antunović o gradnji maksimirskog stadiona ili mišljenje Josipa Friščića o ulasku Hrvatske u EU. Nadalje, metafora je jedna od najstarijih i najkorištenijih jezičnih figura kojima se prenosi značenje, što autorica vjerno ilustrira na primjeru govora Ante Đapića i Božidara Pankretića koji problematiziraju odnos Hrvatske prema EU. Đapić se kritički osvrće na nacionalnu vanjsku politiku koja je podređena europskoj, što tumači podaničkim balkanskim mentalitetom, a Pankretić komentira kako se rastući euroskepticizam u hrvatskom društvu percipira nazadovanjem na europskom putu. Disocijaciju koncepata s ciljem jačanja učinka izrečenoga često su koristili Ivo Sanader, Ivica Račan i Josip Friščić, a autorica donosi prikaz njihove vizije (demokratskih) političara. Analogija se koristi za komparaciju međuodnosa stvari i pojava, ali i jačanje argumentacije, što je vješto prikazano kroz Friščićev govor o osobnoj odgovornosti, ali i Sanaderovo tumačenje životnog standarda hrvatskih građana uoči početka gospodarske krize. Argument s energijom doprinosi jačanju dojma o govorniku, što su uspješno koristili Friščić i Sanader – prvi oslanjanjem na narodne izreke, a drugi vještim balansiranjem između metajezika i konkretnog jezika. Argument bez energije uspješno se koristi pri pokušaju promjene teme razgovora neugodne za pojedinca ili pri umanjivanju vlastite odgovornosti u pojedinom slučaju, ističe Drezga (69), pri čemu političari rado koriste birokratski jezik. Na primjeru Sanadera, Adlešič i Pankretića prikazano je kako to može biti učinkovito na temama vezanima uz gospodarski rast, nezaposlenost, ali i političke promjene. Argument autoriteta, odnosno pseudoargument koristi se kada sugovornik nastoji prikriti vlastita uvjerenja (75) kako bi učvrstio svoju poziciju, a argument slijeda kada postoji potreba za korištenjem međusobno povezanih argumenata (kronološki ili sadržajno).

Uspon novih medija i naglašavanje važnosti korisničke percepcije političkih zbivanja motivirali su autoricu i za analizu atraktivnih političkih tema objavljenih na YouTubeu u poglavlju *Percepcija političke retorike: pučka politička retorika*. No, osim ironičnih i zabavnih prikaza društvene stvarnosti koji su znatno prerađeni i čiji su autori nepoznati ili se skrivaju iza pseudonima, autorica kao najveći nedostatak ističe nepotpunost informacija u prilozima, što tumači površnom kreativnošću. *Percepcija političke retorike: analiza priloga objavljenih na YouTubeu* odvijala se u pet kategorija: „1. odobravanje/empatija, 2. kritika zloporabe vlasti, 3. kritika neprimjerena, nedostojna ponašanja, 4. trivijalizacija simbola i 5. ridikulizacija" (85). Oslanjajući se na Perelmanovu teoriju argumentacijskog formalizma, autorica u posljednjem poglavlju *Retorički portreti hrvatskih političara* donosi analizu kandidata koji su ostavili značajan trag u hrvatskom političkom životu. Kriteriji odabira bili su: upotreba jezičnih i govornih figura, prepoznatljivost u javnosti, kao i specifične teme (104). U hrvatskoj retorici mogu se naći elementi narodnog stvaralaštva, što Drezga tumači patrijarhalnim ustrojem zajednice i dominacijom muškaraca kao govornika. S druge strane, tu je i nasljeđe totalitarnih sustava vidljivo u naglašavanju unutarnjeg i vanjskog neprijatelja, posebice izraženo uoči ulaska Hrvatske u EU (108). Nadalje, autorica interpretira primjere političke komunikacije objavljene u kolumnama. Retoriku balansiranja tako predstavlja Ivo Josipović, a osobito su zanimljive komparacije retorike dvojice bivših predsjednika države – Franje Tuđmana i Stjepana Mesića. Također, analiza obuhvaća retoričke portrete dvojice kandidata na posljednjim predsjedničkim izborima 2014. godine – Milana Kujundžića i Ivana Sinčića. Nadalje, Ivo Sanader naveden je kao predstavnik retoričkog makijavelizma, kojemu su mediji pomogli u političkom usponu, ali i političkom padu, a Slavko Linić naveden je kao ogledni primjer retoričke transformacije – od eksplozivnosti do staloženoga govora.

Politička retorika u Hrvatskoj donosi vrijednu analizu diskursa odabranih hrvatskih političara, pri čemu se autorica oslanja na Perelmanovu teoriju argumentacijskog formalizma i detaljno raščlanjuje skrivene slojeve diskursa. Mnoštvo primjera govora, od kojih su neki i transkribirani, olakšava razumijevanje kompleksnih retoričkih pojmova. Analiza objava korisnika YouTubea pokazuje kako publika pamti nedosljednost govornika, ali se njime može i oštro poigrati, čime novi mediji postaju „pučka politička kritika" (130), ali i mjesto za razonodu svih koji su nezadovoljni aktualnom političkom situacijom. Knjiga Vinke Drezga pokazala nam je slabo razvijenu kulturu komuniciranja domaćih političara, a zasigurno će poslužiti kao vrijedan priručnik svim studentima informacijsko-komunikacijskih znanosti, ali i analitičarima te teoretičarima političke komunikacije i retorike u prosudbi komunikacije političkih aktera.

Tanja Grmuša

INFORMACIJE

INFORMATION

Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerziteta u Beogradu, organizuje

OSMU REGIONALNU KONFERENCIJU

VERODOSTOJNOST MEDIJA – ODNOS FINANSIRANJA I SADRŽAJA

Konferencija će biti održana na
Fakultetu političkih nauka u Beogradu, 20. – 22. 10. 2017.

Konferencija „Verodostojnost medija" je postala tradicionalna regionana konferencija koja se od 2010. godine održava u regionu. Prva je održana u Zarebu, a druga u Beogradu. Posle nekoliko konferencija, koje su održane i u Sarajevu, Dubrovniku, Mostaru i ponovo u Zagrebu, opet je došao red na FPN u Beogradu.
Konferencija se pokazala kao izvanredan oblik razmene iskustava o razvoju i problemima medija i medijskih sistema u regionu. Svaka konferencija je rezultirala zbornikom koji je postao dodatna literatura za obrazovanje studenata i usavršavanje eksperata, ali i izvorište ideja i predloga za praktično rešavanje pojednih problema u medijskoj sferi, za strateško promišljanje razvoja medijskih sistema i za inoviranje medijskih zakona u ovoj oblasti. Sve države regiona su prošle ili prolaze kroz proces tranzicije pa i medijske tranzicije. U poslednje dve, tri godine, skoro svuda se uočava usporen ravoj medijskih sistema pa i izvesna nazadovanja. Kao izuzetno značajno pitanje u centar pažnje sve više dolazi način finansiranja medija i posledice koje finansiranje ima na sadržaj i time na društvenu ulogu medija. Poseban je problem korišćenje javnih finansija za finansiranje ili sufinansiranje medija, pri čemu se naročito ističu aspekti: propaganda ili javni interes; nedovoljna transparentnost; mogućnosti regulatornog delovanja.
Zasto će ovogodišnja konferencija, koja ima stalni naziv „Verodostojnost medija" imati kao glavnu temu „Odnos finansiranja i sadržaja"

Pošto su sa ovim pitanjem povezana i razna druga, podteme konferencije će biti:
>Javno finansiranje – propaganda ili javni interes
>Transparentnost finansiranja medija iz javnih finansija
>Mogućnost regulatornog delovanja – pomoć države medijima: kako i koliko
>Raznolikost osnivača i finansiranja medija

>Lokalni medji – kako do sadržaja koji ostvaruju javni interes
>Finansiranje javnog medijskog servisa i ostvarivanje programskih funkcija
>Mogućnosti regulatornog podsticanja medijskog pluralizma i ostvarivanja javnog interesa
>Uticaj tržišta na sadržaj
>Uticaj političkih aktera na sadržaj
>Nove tehnologije i njihov uticaj na sadržaj

Cilj konferencije je da se kroz istraživanja, analize i stručnu raspravu jasno predstavi sadašnje stanje u medijima, da se uporede iskustva i da se njihovom razmenom omogući formulisanje stavova i zaključaka koji mogu da pomognu prevazilaženje postojećeg stanja.

Pozivamo naučne radnike, istraživače, eksperte, doktorante, koji se bave medijima, da se prijave za učešće na konferenciji i da odaberu temu koja je saglasna glavnoj temi konferencije ili nekoj od podtema.

Prijave sa sažetkom treba poslati do **15. 09. 2017.** na adresu:
rade.veljanovski@gmail.com
Sažetak treba da sadrži temu, tekst do 200 reči i do 10 ključnih reči.

Program konferencije biće dostavljen naknadno, najkasnije do 1. 10. 2017. godine.

Organizacija konferencije:
>Konferencija će početi u petak 20. 10. u 15,00. Pre toga se očekuje dolazak učesnika i smeštaj u hotel.
>Prvoga dana popodne i drugoga dana u subotu slušaju se izlaganja i vodi rasprava.
>U nedelju 22. 10. pre podne razgovara se o zaključcima konferencije i organizaciji konferencije za narednu godinu.
Precizna satnica biće dostavljena naknadno.
>Svi učesnici biće smešteni u hotel u blizini FPN.
>Za učesdnike je obezbeđena ishrana u restoranu FPN.

Troškove hotela i ishrane snosi organizator konferencije. Troškove puta snose učesnici.

Zbornik radova:
Radovi koji su saopšteni na konferenciji i koji dobiju pozitivne recenzije biće objavljeni u tematskom zborniku sa odgovarajućim UDK brojevima. O detaljima izrade tekstova, učesnici će dobiti uputstvo na konferenciji.

Konferenciju će pomoći misija OEBS-a u Beogradu.

BRAZILIAN JOURNALISM RESEARCH

Call for Papers

V. 14, n. 1, April-July 2018

Journalism and Gender Studies

Editors: Claudia Lago (School of Communications and Arts, University of Sao Paulo - SBPJor) Ana Carolina Temer (Postgraduate Program in Communication, Information and Communication Department, Federal University of Goiás - Alaic); Marli dos Santos (Postgraduate Program in Social Communication, Sao Paulo Methodist University - Alaic) Sadia Jamil (Journalism Research and Education Section of IAMCR

Media is an unparalleled space for the construction and delivery of Gender representation, as well as practice and norms about sexuality. This centrality, all over the world, to a greater or lesser extent, is exercised in order to reinforce gender stereotypes, adopting perspectives that favor male and heteronormativity.

From this assumption, numerous initiatives at a global level have been adopted not only to identify and monitor the diversions operated by media coverage, but also to point out other possibilities and advances, such as the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC) Global Media Monitoring project, or Unesco's Global Alliance on Media and Gender (GAMAP), which aims to promote gender equality in the media

From the point of view of numerous researches, there are also the initiatives and movements that deal with gender issues in the media in general and in Journalism in particular, although it seems that most of the work starts from areas other than Communication. To stimulate and highlight this crucial issue, the Brazilian Association of Journalism Researchers (SBPJor) joins the Journalism Working Group of the Latin American Association of Communication Researchers (Journalism-Alaic WG) and the Journalism Research and Education Section of the International Association for Media and Communication Research (JRE of IAMCR) to promote the Dossier Gender Studies in Journalism.

The proposal is to welcome papers that focus on Gender issues in their complexity, with research that considers the adoption or absence of a gender perspective in journalistic content, and how this contributes to reinforcing gender, racial and ethnic stereotypes in their crisscrossing. Work that focus on how journalism frames, selects, presents, gender violence, feminicide, rape culture, homo and transphobia, as well as texts that reflect the journalism agenda and gender issues and intersectionality and aspects that make it difficult or impossible to see the discussions on gender identities and sexualities are stimulated. Work on the impacts on the underrepresentation of gender diversity in press production, or on gender and sexuality prejudices in professional practice, as well as texts dealing with everyday representations involving gender, is also expected. Finally, work that analyses new forms of representation and journalistic positioning in the face of Gender issues, with initiatives to confront stereotypes and construct an inclusive and nongeneralized journalism is stimulated.

Articles, from 40,000 to 55,000 characters with spaces, must be submitted by November 1st, 2017. As Brazilian Journalism Research publishes two versions of each issue (in Portuguese/Spanish and in English), the authors of the articles accepted in Spanish or Portuguese should provide the English translation. In the same way, the authors of texts accepted in English should send a version in Portuguese or Spanish.

The articles should be sent exclusively through the SEER/OJS electronic system available on the website of the journal: **http://bjr.sbpjor.org.br**
If in doubt, please, send an email to **bjr@gmail.com**.

Guidelines for authors: http://bjr.sbpjor.org.br/bjr/aboutsubmissions#authorGuidelines

Deadline for article submission: **November 1st, 2017**

Notification of acceptance: **December 15th, 2017**

Deadline for submission of the final version in English and Portuguese/Spanish with revision and additional information suggested by the editors: January 30, 2018

Published: April 30th, 2018

Upute suradnicima

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

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

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

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

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

Ćapeta, Tamara i Rodin, Siniša (2011) *Osnove prava Europske unije*. Zagreb: Narodne novine.

Članci u časopisima: autor (godina) naslov. *časopis* godište (broj): stranice.

McQuail, Denis (2003) Public Service Broadcasting: Both Free and Accountable. *The Public/Javnost* 10 (3): 13-28.

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

Tongue, Carole (2002) Public Service Broadcasting: A Study of 8 OECD Countries, str. 107-142, u: Collins, Philip (ur.) *Culture or Anarchy? The Future of Public Service Broadcasting*. London: Social Market Foundation.

Ciboci, Lana, Jakopović, Hrvoje, Opačak, Suzana, Raguž, Anja i Skelin, Petra (2011) Djeca u dnevnim novinama: analiza izvještavanja o djeci u 2010., str. 103-166, u: Ciboci, Lana, Kanižaj, Igor i Labaš, Danijel (ur.) *Djeca medija: od marginalizacije do senzacije*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.

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

Ridgeout, Victoria, Foehr, Ulla i Roberts, Donald (2010) *Generation M^2: Media in the Lives of 8- to 18- Years Olds*. The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation. http://kff.org/other/poll-finding/report-generation-m2-media-in-the-lives/ (28.10.2013.).

Ofcom (2013) *Radio: The Listener's Perspective: A Research Report for Ofcom*. http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/binaries/research/radio-research/ressearch-findings13/listeners-perspective.pdf (20.11.2013.).

UNICEF, Ured za Hrvatsku (2011) *Mišljenja i stavovi djece i mladih u Hrvatskoj*. http://www.unicef.hr/upload/file/351/175805/FILENAME/StavovidjeceimladihuHrvatskoj.pdf (19.11.2013.).

Bilješke se stavljaju na dno stranice, a ne na kraj teksta. Citati do tri reda integriraju se u tekst. Citati od četiri ili više od četiri reda odvajaju se od teksta, uvučeni su samo s lijeve strane, a veličina slova je 10. Sve tablice, grafikone i slike (sve crno-bijelo) treba integrirati u tekst te opremiti naslovom (na vrhu tablice – Tablica 1. Naslov; Grafikon 1. Naslov; Slika 1. Naslov) i izvorom (ispod tablice, font 10 – Izvor: Autor, godina: stranica). Tablice trebaju biti oblikovane u Wordu (ne ih umetati kao sliku). U posebnom dokumentu treba poslati grafikone u izvornoj verziji (Excel), a slike u JPG formatu. Autori se obvezuju od vlasnika autorskih prava prikupiti dozvole za reprodukciju ilustracija, fotografija, tablica, grafikona ili dužih citata te su obvezni dostaviti ih uredništvu *Medijskih studija*.

MEDIJSKE STUDIJE MEDIA STUDIES 2017 • 8 • (15) • 153-154

Notes for Authors

Media Studies is an interdisciplinary journal that provides an international forum for the presentation of research and advancement of discourse concerning media, communications, journalism, and public relations, within each field's cultural, historical, political and/or economic contexts. It welcomes the submission of manuscripts that meet the general criteria of significance and scientific excellence. The articles should not be published before (neither partially nor completely), nor currently be considered for publication by any other journal or book, nor should the submissions be a translation of previously published articles. Authors are responsible for the paper authorship. All manuscripts shall undergo a rigorous international, double-blind peer review in which the identity of both the reviewer and author are respectfully concealed from both parties. Please send an electronic copy (.doc) of the manuscript to ms@fpzg.hr. For the purposes of our blind review, the full name of each author shall be included along with the author's current affiliation, complete mailing and email addresses, and telephone number. A short biographical note shall be supplied by the author in a separate document.

Manuscripts should be written in either Croatian or English, using Times New Roman font; size 12; 1.5 line spacing; all pages should be numbered appropriately. The title page shall consist of the article's full title and abstract, which sufficiently states the purpose, goals, methodologies, and the most important results (100-150 words, noting the 5-6 key words) in both Croatian and English of the submitted piece. In the footnote please add further description of the research, acknowledge contributions from non-authors and/or list funding sources. If the research was conducted under a project, please add a project number and if applicable include a code or identifier of the project. The main text of the article (including notes, references, and illustrations) shall be between 5,000 and 6,000 words. References must be incorporated into the text (not in end note format) and must follow the Harvard Style of Referencing. References should be cited in the text as follows: (author, date: page). An alphabetical references section should follow the text. If there are more references by the same author published in the same year, letters should be added to the citation: a, b, c, etc. (e.g. 2006a; 2006b).

It is important to add DOI number for each reference which has it.

Books: author (year) *title (English translation)*. city of publication: publisher.

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

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

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

McQuail, Denis (2003) Public Service Broadcasting: Both Free and Accountable. *The Public/Javnost* 10 (3): 13-28.

Book Chapter: author (year) title (English translation), pages in editors (ed./eds) *title* [*English translation*]. place: publisher.

Tongue, Carole (2002) Public Service Broadcasting: A Study of 8 OECD Countries, pp. 107-142 in Collins, Philip (ed.) *Culture or Anarchy? The Future of Public Service Broadcasting*. London: Social Market Foundation.

Ciboci, Lana, Jakopović, Hrvoje, Opačak, Suzana, Raguž, Anja and Skelin, Petra (2011) Djeca u dnevnim novinama. Analiza izvještavanja o djeci u 2010. (Children in newspapers. Analysis of Reporting on Children in 2010), pp. 103-166 in Ciboci, Lana, Kanižaj, Igor and Labaš, Danijel (eds) *Djeca medija. Od marginalizacije do senzacije (Children of the Media. From Marginalisation to Sensation)*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.

Internet references: author or institution or webpage name (year) *Title (English translation)*. Project title or document title if exsist. link (DD.MM.YYYY = date when retreived).

Ridgeout, Victoria, Foehr, Ulla and Roberts, Donald (2010) *Generation M^2: Media in the Lives of 8- to 18- Years Olds.* The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation. http://kff.org/other/poll-finding/report-generation-m2-media-in-the-lives/ (28.10.2013).

UNICEF, Croatian Office (2011) *Mišljenja i stavovi djece i mladih u Hrvatskoj (Opinions and Attitudes of Children and Youth in Croatia)*. http://www.unicef.hr/upload/file/351/175805/FILENAME/StavovidjeceimladihuHrvatskoj.pdf (19.11.2013).

Ofcom (2013) *Radio: The Listener's Perspective: A Research Report for Ofcom*. http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/binaries/research/radio-research/ressearch-findings13/listeners-perspective.pdf (20.11.2013).

Footnotes should be used rather than endnotes. Cited texts that are three lines or less should be integrated into the text. Cited text of four or more lines should be separated from the main text using a left indentation (only), and a font size of 10. Tables, graphs, and illustrations (only black and white, no color) should be integrated in the text; each should include a sufficient title (at the top of the table – Table 1. Title; Graph 1. Title; Illustration 1. Title) and provide accurate source information (below the table, font 10 – Source: Author, year: page). Original tables and graphs should be sent in a separate Excel document. Original illustrations should be sent as a .jpg in a separate document. All authors are responsible for obtaining permissions from copyright holders for reproducing any illustrations, tables, figures, or lengthy quotations previously published elsewhere. Permission letters must be supplied to *Media Studies*.

Medijske studije časopis je koji objavljuje recenzirane autorske članke iz područja medija i komunikacijskih znanosti, novinarstva te odnosa s javnošću. Izlaze u lipnju i prosincu svake godine.
Media Studies *is a journal for media, communications, journalism, and public relations. All manuscripts undergo double-blind peer review. The journal is published twice yearly in June and December.*

Članci objavljeni u *Medijskim studijama* indeksiraju se u bazama
Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) – Web of Science (od broja 11, godište 2015.),
Scopus (od broja 9, godište 2014.),
ERIH PLUS i ProQuest,
a otvoreni pristup osiguran je u *online* bazama
HRČAK – Portal znanstvenih časopisa RH (MZOS, Srce i HIDD, hrcak.srce.hr),
DOAJ – Directory of Open Access Books (doaj.org) i
CEEOL – Central and Eastern European Online Library (ceeol.com).
Articles published in Media Studies *are indexed in data bases*
Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) – Web of Science (starting with issue 11, volume 2015),
Scopus (starting with issue 9, volume 2014),
ERIH PLUS and ProQuest,
and are available in the open access data bases
HRČAK – The Portal of Scientific Journals of Croatia (MZOS, Srce & HIDD, hrcak.srce.hr),
DOAJ – the Directory of Open Access Books (doaj.org) and
CEEOL – Central and Eastern European Online Library (ceeol.com).

NARUDŽBA I PRETPLATA / *SUBSCRIPTION*
Medijske studije, Fakultet političkih znanosti, Lepušićeva 6, 10 000 Zagreb, Hrvatska / *Croatia*
IBAN: HR1423600001101217644 (poziv na broj 27)
Godišnja pretplata / *One Year:* 200 kn / 28 Eur
Cijena pojedinačnog primjerka / *One Issue:* 100 kn / 14 Eur
Cijena dvobroja / *Double Issue:* 200 kn / 28 Eur