

In spite of that, this text shows the meaning of Croatia's accession to the EU at least through the perspective that the way we are perceived can be changed to a point where that perception becomes partly acceptable, or at least more than it would be if we were outside the EU.

This compendium is undoubtedly a contribution to our knowledge of the fundamental concerns and doubts of the Croatian public in the final years of Croatia's EU accession negotiations. I would particularly like to point to the diversity of research conducted, and its complementarity in obtaining a full understanding of the issues surrounding Croatia's EU accession. It has identified the citizens' perception, their fears and hopes, but it has also depicted and critically evaluated the elites' communication strategies in informing the citizens about the opportunities that EU accession brings. All articles it contains are valuable both individually for the insights they offer and jointly for the comprehensive picture they paint of the analysed Croatia's EU accession process and elements comprised in that process. Standing out is the final chapter of this book, which has a fantastic way of demystifying and stripping bare the Western, primarily British, (distorted) perception of the Balkans and the Orient as rudimentary and post-feudal areas, fraught with danger rather than seen as places of possibilities or opportunities. The book as a whole is a valuable historical overview of Croatian public opinion faced with the challenge of EU membership, and of the media approach to Croatia's accession to the European community of peoples.

Blagoja Mirčevski
(translated into English
by Elvira Mulić)

Review

Zrinjka Peruško, Tena Perišin,
Martina Topić, Gordana Vilović,
Nada Zgrabljic Rotar
**Hrvatski medijski sustav prema
UNESCO-ovim indikatorima
medijskog razvoja (Croatian Media
System according to the UNESCO
Media Development Indicators)**

Fakultet političkih znanosti Sveučilišta
u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 2011, 191 pp.

The book *Croatian Media System according to the UNESCO Media Development Indicators* presents the results of a two-year (2008-2009) research project and efforts to explain, analyze and assess media development in Croatia based on UNESCO media development indicators as methodological tools. The Croatian project was one of the first independent implementations of UNESCO media development indicators (which were adopted by the UNESCO International Program for Development of Communication in 2008). Research and evaluation were conducted as part of the project *Monitoring media development – implementing UNESCO media development indicators* at the Centre for Media and Communication Research (Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb). The project was led by Zrinjka Peruško, chair of the Centre, and conducted in cooperation with the Communication Development Division of UNESCO. This was the first extensive scientific team ef-

fort analysis of the Croatian media system since 1999, when the recommendations from the first project that assessed democratic and market deficits of the Croatian media system (Peruško Čulek: *The new media agenda: towards the European media policy in Croatia*) contributed to the changes in media policies after 2000.

The book contains seven chapters. In the introductory chapter, Zrinjka Peruško analyzes theoretical and empirical models for media system analysis, including the UNESCO indicators of media development, and highlights that they all include similar categories which make up the basis for comparison, i.e. the relationship between the media and the state, the character of the media market, the relationship of the media to the political realm and the public sphere, and the characteristics of journalism as a profession. Croatian media landscape is analyzed through five categories that constitute every media system, and these are the following: (1) a system of regulation and control conducive to freedom of expression, pluralism and diversity of the media; (2) media pluralism and diversity, a level economic playing field, and transparency of ownership; (3) the media as a platform for democratic discourse; (4) professional capacity building and supporting institutions that underpin freedom of expression, pluralism and diversity; (5) infrastructural capacity sufficient to support independent and pluralistic media. Through each of these categories, the Croatian media system was systematically analyzed, interpreted and evaluated by five authors, and this is the basis of the next five chapters of the book. The last, seventh chapter summarizes the findings and draws interesting conclusions.

The first category is explored by Martina Topić in the chapter *The Freedom of Expression* that deals with legal and practical aspects of media system regulation in Croatia. Although she lacked the empirical data for practical aspects of media system regulation, Martina Topić emphasized the continuity of the worrying problems of censorship, pressures on journalists and editors, and the opaque connections between media owners and politics. Furthermore, she recognized the trend in the legal framework toward increased control over the media and even citizens (i.e. through the new Criminal Process Law that allows wiretapping in cases of suspicion of breaking copyright on the Internet). Another law that indirectly encourages self-censorship and pressures on journalists is the Labor Law that permits owners to lay off journalists and editors without proper justification. The poor regulation in this area results in many journalists working for the same company for years without being permanently employed. The author concludes that the Croatian legal framework regarding the media system has been substantially improved, but the problems of realization of that framework in practical terms have remained rather unchanged since the 1990s.

She proposes the development of the statutes, universal for all media, and strict regulations of conflict of interest and ownership impact on journalists and editors.

Zrinjka Peruško uses the second category to evaluate the market functioning of the media system in the chapter *Media pluralism and diversity*. According to UNESCO indicators, this category comprises five basic areas which are used to assess the media market: media concentration, a di-

verse mix of public, private and community media, licensing and spectrum allocation, taxation and business regulation, and advertising. Croatian media diversity and pluralism are analyzed through structural (diversity of ownership and media outlets) and programmatic media diversity (diversity of media genres). The Law on Media regulates and protects the structural media diversity, but vaguely defined categories and too low limits on concentration allowed some unprecedented media mergers and high concentration in the area of print and electronic media. The new Law on Electronic Media brings hope to improving media diversity by giving greater significance to non-profit media. However, public media are constantly under pressure of private competition. As for program diversity, Zrinjka Peruško points out the imbalance between information and entertainment programs, with entertainment taking a larger share. The author concludes with prediction that media diversity will decline in the future, with losses on the side of public media, and gains on the side of private media.

An evaluation through the third category is presented in the chapter *Media as a Platform for Democratic Discourse*, written by Nada Zgrabljić Rotar. The author explores the reflection of social diversity in the media, particularly in the notion of minority representation in media programs and employment structure in media organizations. The democratic media system is also analyzed through these indicators: public service model, media self-regulation efficiency, requirements for fairness and impartiality, public trust in the media, and safety of journalists. Despite the efforts of Croatian Journalist's Association (HND)

and Croatian Journalists Union to improve journalism ethics and working conditions in media organization, media self-regulation is still unsatisfying in terms of journalist safety and independence. Zrinjka Peruško especially expressed concerns with public trust in the media and institutions in general. Nada Zgrabljić Rotar closed the chapter by pointing out that Croatian media policies and legal framework are compatible with international standards (although she notices trends of increased control over the media), but the practical implementation of laws, as well as the performance of media organizations and professionals do not satisfy requests for freedom, safety and independence of journalists. Finally, the lack of support and positive initiatives from the public and civil society does not contribute to the democratization of the media system in Croatia.

Gordana Vilović engages with the fourth category in the chapter *Journalist Profession*. Currently there are four journalism courses at three universities in Croatia (the oldest was established at the Faculty of Political Science in the 1980s). In spite of the newly-established educational institutions for journalists, the quality of reporting or professionalism has not improved. On the contrary, constant pressures and insecure and unsatisfactory working conditions imposed by media owners are bringing the profession down to even lower levels of quality. The emergence of new educational institutions and alternative educational sites organized by professional groups (workshops, courses, etc.) could be a way to improvement, although, as the author states, the employment structure regarding education is unsatisfactory and progressing very slowly.

In the sixth chapter, *Media Infrastructure*, Tena Perišin presents the findings of the analysis of infrastructural capacity sufficient to support independent and pluralistic media. As for the technical capacity, Croatian commercial and public televisions with national level concessions are on a very high level (which is not the case with local and regional televisions). The fast and efficient process of digitalization contributes to these standards. Coherent government ICT policies and strategies aim to improve informational capacities in marginalized communities. ICT technologies are widely used among different media platforms, and all the traditional media are converging with the new media. However, the legal framework poorly defines the area of new media and the content production on multiple media platforms.

In the conclusion, the authors state that the Croatian media system has been significantly improved since the 1990s, although some areas need to be additionally scrutinized and improved, namely pluralism and diversity, transparency, autonomy and professionalism. In the light of these analyses, they pose a question on the future of the Croatian media landscape, especially considering the approaching accession to the European Union. How will the Croatian media system react to these great changes? Recent events have shown that private and particular interests often outweigh public interests. Will these practices be common in the future? This depends primarily on media laws and policies that should regulate the media system to ensure diversity and pluralism, which are reduced under the fast concentration of media industries.

The authors have submitted a number of arguments and recommendations for im-

provement in the Croatian media system. Their efforts should contribute to greater understanding of both positive and negative aspects of the current system. This should serve as an effective basis for an encouraging public dialogue and for informed rethinking and reevaluation of media policies that ought to be adequate for emerging challenges in the future.

Dina Vozab

Review

Dag Strpić

**Karl Marx i politička ekonomija
Moderne (Karl Marx and The
Political Economy of Modernity)**

Nacionalna zajednica Crnogoraca Hrvatske/
Disput, Zagreb, 2010, 239 pp.

What is the real nature of the contemporary crisis? What is to be done to prevent its continuous disastrous impacts in regard of disabling or slowing down and blocking the social, economic and political development? Why is cycle analysis still important? And, finally, what does it all have to do with classical political scientists such as Hobbes, Hume, Smith, Hegel, and Marx?

In his latest book *Karl Marx and The Political Economy of Modernity*, Dag Strpić, eminent Croatian political scientist and political economist, seeks to answer the above-mentioned questions (and many more). To this purpose, he outlines the methodological framework which en-