

Denis McQuail

JOURNALISM AND SOCIETY

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Journalism and Society is Professor Denis McQuail's new book with new, comprehensive insights to the social theory of journalism in a context of information society and continuing transformation of media and media systems in democratic, capitalist societies. The aim of the book is to explain and analyze the goals, rights, duties and responsibilities of journalists to the society from a perspective of the social theory of journalism, but also to determine the influences of social structure on media systems and all that in a context of "the exponential rise in the production and transmission of all forms of information" (p. 201). Normative theories of the press touched upon in this book are only democratic ones – nondemocratic theories are left out.

This is primarily a textbook, divided into nine chapters with helpful information boxes to summarize the most important ideas and facts from the text, so it can also be used as a quick reference guide. Each chapter begins with a series of questions and finishes with a concise conclusion and list of books and articles for further reading. The book also has an appendix of law articles concerning the rights and obligations of news media. Chapter One deals with a link between journalism and society conceptualized through the level of society, news organization and individual level. In the final chapter, the author answers a possible critique of such a fractioned approach to the journalism-society relationship by taking together levels of society and the media system. The themes explored in Chapter Two are the concepts of public interest, journalistic responsibility, obligation, freedom, and accountability and challenges and changes in normative theory. In the third chapter, questions about values are answered: What are public communication values? How to achieve the truth in journalism and how it can be recognized in practice? How society benefits from the principle of freedom in and for journalism and what degrees of it are there? The next chapter gives a framework of analysis for journalism. Chapter Five is all about the monitorial role and objective news as the central practice of journalism. Chapters Six and Seven deal with the effects of journalism on society and with issues of accountability from the perspectives of the political system, the public, interested third parties, the media market and industry, as well as editors and journalists. Chapter Eight is about changing media technology and Chapter Nine concludes the principles of journalism and the author's accessible theory, reminding the reader of the importance of journalism for democratic society and argues for a more inclusive form of journalism.

In *Journalism and Society* journalism is treated as one of the autonomous fields of activity that constitute the total social sphere in accordance with Bourdieu's field theory (p. 76). Certainly the key strength of this book is in chapters Four, Five and Six within the theoretical foundations laid in Chapter Two and then built up and theoretically expanded and conceptualized in Chapter Seven, with Chapter Eight being the most interesting because it critically deals with the effects of changes in new media on journalism and society. An interesting aspect is the principle weaved throughout the book in an approach to issues such as journalistic responsibility, obligation, press freedom, and accountability and the problems of framing the journalism occupation in relation to

society from different theoretical variants. Alongside these different theories, the author offers a unified theoretical perspective on the already mentioned issues because “no single coherent message [is] to be derived from these varied theoretical sources” (p. 51) as society is changing over time and with that change communication and means to achieve it are also being advanced and transformed, but also because different theoretical perspectives have a capacity to “uncover some essential aspect of journalism, but on its own each can be limiting in respect of influences dealt with” and conceptualized from only one perspective “the self-defined task of the journalist” remains unfocused (p. 79). An example is found in chapter two where McQuail combines (at least those aspects which are possible to integrate into a coherent analytical structure) two orientations: libertarian, primarily to affirm individual rights to freedom, and democratic, to put public welfare first. From free press theory which in its negative view favors free market conditions, social theory of the press is augmented structurally with (a) market liberalism; (b) professionalism, another part of a structure, that can be traced from the “Fourth Estate” theory, the idea of a “public sphere” and to a lesser extent from social responsibility theory. The last piece of the structure puzzle is (c) democratic theory conceptualized from critical, democratic-participant and internet news theory. The author is aware, that in this way, the structured social theory of the press, lacks coherence, but it is necessary if we want to better understand the “potential responsibilities of journalism to ‘serve the public interest’ from different points of view” (p. 52).

The eighth chapter goes straight to a change brought on by contemporary media technology: While we can force a unifying approach at the level of occupation or profession (pp. 79-84), the digitization and convergence of media production and distribution have undermined the idea of a unified press institution “both in a sense of a set of consistent principles and good practices and in a sense of an institution of society with widely acknowledged roles of wider benefit for public life” (p. 186).

In the text, McQuail often points out what has changed in theory, in practice and what generally remained the same. He maintains a critical approach to topics and acknowledges problems such as fragmentation and the de-professionalization of journalism and press which have lead to less accountability to society without suggesting that journalistic accountability has been living on borrowed time – more interaction between journalists and media and their publics may have supportive and innovative consequences for accountability. Part of the book that falls behind to an extent are the propositions at the end about what can be done: they remain too universal. But given the nature of the book, it is a textbook after all, this isn’t much of a problem.

This book is a great introductory text on the social theory of journalism for all students of journalism and for students of sociology or politics with inclinations to media studies.

Marko Šašić

Peter Dahlgren

The Political Web: Media, Participation and Alternative Democracy

Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2013, 195 pp

ISBN 978-1-137-32637-9

The Political Web, written by Swedish professor emeritus, Peter Dahlgren, from the Department of Communication and Media at Lund University, is an attempt to offer an insight to citizen engagement thanks to web-possibilities in current times. It connects new media approaches to socio-political activities, which are due to the mass development of the modern media more and more part of our everyday lives. The book is divided into three parts which are interconnected by the main topic of democratic participation and the Web. The Internet is perceived as a source of value that presently adds to the possibilities of social engagement.

The first part "Politics and the Participation in the Web" describes democracy and the basic problems directly related to it. Counter-democracy, the problem of subjectivity in civic engagement, or outline of media representing the will of the people in democracies are the main topics that introduce us to the overall theme of the book. On the examples of Google or Facebook, brought in as the platforms providing information as well as possibilities to political online engagement, the author shows the risk of one-sided surveillance of user data as well as possibility of biased self-presentation through modern social media.

The second and the most extensive part called "Evolving Forms and Practices" is devoted to practical overview of online social engagement and its consequences. The Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement that arose in the US serves as an example of applying discourse theory in reality. The OWS gained great media coverage in 2011 and since it was formulated as a non-specific all-inclusive social movement it also gained support and spread world-wide. The social media sites and mainstream media were crucial for OWS' popularity. Therefore the phenomenon of transmedia mobilization can be seen as a model representing the possibility to express the dissatisfaction with politics through new media.

Another phenomenon discussed in the book is the significance of public intellectuals who are still an important part of democratic systems. Specifically, the author elaborates on the factors that determine, alter or enable this phenomenon. Public Intellectuals are no longer just personalities dealing with national problems, but also have to face global and more general challenges. According to Dahlgren, they should not be perceived just as representing career models, but more as role-players in society. In the 21st century, Public Intellectuals can communicate to their 'audiences' not only through books, but also through mass media means or social media platforms. The environment of journalism has been changed and now it does not serve just as a source of information or as the channel for PI's expression, but the output is much more focused on the 'media audiences'. The role of any Public Intellectual is, thanks to the Web, ever more visible with easier access for 'readers'.

In studying new media and democratic participation we have to bear in mind that the engagement is mostly related to younger generation with great representation of the middle class who compose these web intellectuals in concern. Participatory journalism

becomes today more open to collaboration from citizens and the overall participation gains the stamp of cosmopolitan characteristics. Actors in civil society or political movements thus have to respond to more general issues and become more inclusive in order to gain support. These cosmopolitan connections can serve as a natural critique of globalization and therefore media coverage can become more skeptical, searching for the validity of capitalism. However, as the author suggests, cosmopolitanism cannot be taken for granted and in the whole book he tries to provide us with a consistent skeptical overview. This skepticism is open to the various versions of phenomena taking place in today's society. Another vivid concept of mediapolis introduced by Dahlgren is seen rather as "cacophonous, with multiple voices" than as a rational term. It is developed through the prism of possible civic participation. The journalism within mediapolis differs in its forms. It can be high-modern journalism with roots in mass media and late-modernist journalism that is perceived as form of interactive media. In this environment the author challenges the possibilities of media's impartiality, which according to him is difficult to achieve.

The third part of the book is characteristically called "Critical Approaches" and provides us with a critical full-stop at the end of the overview of our journey through civic engagement via modern media. It describes how any of the research approaches is not the only and ultimately true. Moreover, we should always bear in mind that we are formed through the rationality which is then reflexed in reaction to our conception of transparency and consequently evolving in various contingencies. Our rational perception of issues like relationships or gender are largely influenced by the media and thanks to our ability to learn reflexivity we are able to change our preferences, but we have to be careful with all the symbols, ideologies or arguments that are beyond our rational perception, because they influence us unconsciously. The approach of the Critical Discourse Analysis is thus attempting to "retain obvious links with the critique of ideology tradition" and therefore should be the manifestation of collective social practice.

In sum, the author's point of view is focused on the recent phase of history that has allowed broad civic participation through the invention and accessibility of the Web. Even though there are modern means which could contribute to social participation in democratic systems, we can see the declining character of political engagement. This kind of democratic participation, through its very cosmopolitan and global character, stresses the importance of everybody's civic responsibility to each other. The fact is that the ways of civic political engagement have been altered via the web invention and we should be aware of the full scale of the possibilities that they provide, not forgetting their pitfalls. The new inventions of possible (non-journalistic) social media platforms or various forms of participative journalism are now mixed together and broaden democratic participation overall. However, we have to mind the slippery road which these new possibilities, without rules, offer. Professor Dahlgren tries to shed light on all the phenomena concerning electronic media and their potential for shaping civic engagement, thus letting us understand the most up-to-date shaping of civic participation.

Barbora Maťašová

Nico Carpentier, Richard Kilborn, Hannu Nieminen, Tobias Olsson, Pille Pruulmann-Venerfeldt, Ebba Sundin and Ilija Tomanić Trivundža (eds)

PAST, FUTURE AND CHANGE: CONTEMPORARY ANALYSIS OF EVOLVING MEDIA SCAPES

Faculty of Social Sciences, Ljubljana, 2013, 394 pp

ISBN 978-961-235-640-8

Past, future and change: Contemporary analysis of evolving media scapes is a book created by multiple authors, professors and students. They divided it into two parts. The first one contains four sections about the crisis, journalism, time, memory, and politics. The second includes texts written by students from a summer school that was held in 2012 at the Department of Media and Communication Studies of the University of Ljubljana.

This book is addressed to people who are interested in media, their evaluation, and factors that affect their change, including globalization, crises and customer needs. This position is a product of an ongoing intellectual ferment aimed to grasp not only processes of changing within media, but also the role of media in act of social changes.

This applies also to the analysis of the situation and transformation of media in Central and Eastern Europe and the merging of social, political and media dimensions in the formatting of post-communist transitional societies. Moreover, the arguments in this section support the view that transnational society in Central and Eastern Europe is seen as the area where controversy and contemporary challenges can be tested. It emphasizes that political liberalization has also affected media and journalists.

Another thesis contained in the book relates to digitization start up period, since TV has become a networked digital technology, featuring personalization, where viewers can organize their own TV schedules. This means a shift from traditional television as a one-way mass media model, to an interactive model and self-communication medium and emphasizes the role of the user/customer in the whole process.

The authors recognize the tendency which accompanies the new media. They do not occupy space in previously existing media and in addition they do not stimulate a discussion with the authors of articles on the Internet. The audience is not very engaged in the medium as it interacts with itself and only within a very small group. By the fact that people are free to express and share their opinions, media organizations want to show that they are accessible and open. This indicates taking their audience seriously, which affects viewer satisfaction.

The authors have shown in an interesting way the relationship between journalistic analysis, made relatively quickly, and the important events of the world, using the example of the Arab revolutions. They can relay their research on various channels of media, including the Internet. Journalists encouraged the spread of information among users, that certainly had massive impact on the course of these events.

Following the new media technology we could confirm that it gave us the tools to cross national borders and communicate in a completely new way in post-modern society, sometimes called the network society that highlights Web 2.0, which changes the paradigm of interaction between the owners of the site and its users, giving the formation of most of the content in the hands of users.

The challenge for media researchers is to bridge the gap between the paradox of an individual and his national identity. Emphasizing the subtle interplays between normative

values, material interests and cognitive assumptions, and their structural, cultural and international contexts, the framework prevents simplistic explanations.

Summing up, I really recommend this book especially for the people who are interested in media and their impact on the creation of reality, since there are many topics which raise such issues. The book highlights the significance of media studies. Because it is quite an interdisciplinary area with many important aspects worth analyzing, the authors are particularly interested in media because they play a pivotal role in the bearing of discourse. It is clearly visible that the majority of topics brought up in the news reports are concerned with political and economic issues. It becomes obvious that the spheres mentioned have the greatest impact on the world's recent events and that they constitute a major field of interest for the researchers to focus on.

Finally, media reflects and to some extent forms the elements of culture, politics and social life. That is why the book perfectly shows the impact of media on the contemporary world. The fact that the book was written by many authors makes it even better since we can see the multiple perspectives on particular topics. Thanks to this, it is easier to evaluate certain issues and to make our own well thought out judgments.

Engaging students into the process of creating the book adds another interesting component. They add a fresh and interesting critical look at the contemporary processes that take place in the area of media, politics and sociology.

The thing that I like best in the book was its diversity and in-depth analyses of a multitude of topics such as globalization and media transformation, which make it even more interesting. The authors are not afraid of talking openly about issues raised by the contemporary media and the problems media cause nowadays.

The media evolution is presented in an interesting and in-depth way by recommending an extensive bibliography, at the end of each chapter. Moreover the technological innovations have changed in the way people perceive the reality and shape their view of the world.

All in all, the book is best for the fans of media development and transformation, politic science and their influence on modern media discourse, as well as for those, whose field of interest is connected with the implementation of new technologies and solutions, such as communication platforms on the Internet. That is why I strongly recommend this book not only for people interested in the topics mentioned, but also for laymen because it is written in a simple, straightforward way. Also, the style of the writing is very lucid and understandable even for non experts. It is an enriching book and makes for good reading for everyone interested in socio-political transformations, the media and their mutual influences.

This position is worth recommending because it shows the direction of media development, as well as an indication of the factors that affect our perception of society. In addition, the simple language helps to understand the issues developed in the book.

Olga Kawczyńska

Laura J. Shepherd

GENDER, VIOLENCE AND POPULAR CULTURE: TELLING STORIES

Routledge, London and New York, 2013, 168 pp
ISBN 9780415517959

The book *Gender, Violence and Popular Culture: Telling Stories* by Laura J. Shepherd tackles the media portrayal of violence through context and rationale, themes, theoretical interventions and methodological strategies. In this text, Shepherd explains how and why these depictions of violence and even 'gendered violence' have come about and the pervasiveness of the issue. To illustrate this, Shepherd uses concrete examples, significantly from American television shows such as *Angel*, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, *Firefly*, *Generation Kill*, *The Corner*, *Oz* and *The West Wing*, some of which will be mentioned in this review. Drawing on her experiences, the book investigates how the links between gender and violence are now increasingly part of the global power relations that come alive through the stories we tell. It forces the reader to think critically about how the repetitive programs on television impact each generation, reinforcing the understanding of our identity, placement and gender role in the society that we live in.

In the first chapter, Shepherd makes it clear that the personal is political and vice versa. These two spheres continuously shape and affect each other. It is through the telling of personal stories that we uncover what kind of cognitive frameworks are produced and reproduced. We gain ideas and ideals about the world and our place in it. It is through this process that we understand the social and political contexts of the reality of these stories. For example, the categories of what constitutes a 'white' person, a 'female' or a 'homosexual'. These connotations are always arbitrary and normative and given by members of a particular society. Roland Barthes is then used as an example in the book to illustrate the importance of providing narratives as they are used to recount social reality. Thus, this book draws us back to investigate not only how we (think we) know what we (think we) know – and mostly take for granted – but also what this means for who 'we' are (Shepherd, pp.2-3). While narratives are meant to suspend disbelief to entertain the viewer, they are also meant to alert the viewer to the discourse the narrative is raising and the individual's part in it. In *Angel*, Shepherd argues that the character Buffy was created to challenge gender norms as she turned out to be a heroine instead someone who was inherently feminine. However, she also theorizes gender with its violent reproduction. She believes that the social understanding of gender is never fixed and must therefore be constantly reproduced, even if it is violent. This supports the way women are represented in the series; such as females being the gender of rape victims. On the other hand, characters that assume the role of the 'oppressor', continuously use lines that point to the 'victims' weakness that are usually sexual in nature such as something as simple as "I'm a man" during a fight sequence. Even vulnerability has links to femininity, equating the female to the weaker sex. The performance of masculinity also has its relations to power as the character Gunn who is a young black man is interpolated by an older white upper-class man. These portrayals represent the cultural and historical specific notions of violence, gender and power and therefore reproduce specific gender identities.

In *Generation Kill*, the series is based on the United States Marines during the military intervention in Iraq. Shepherd argues that the production of war films as a genre in

America has been highly politicized and highly problematic. This is because these films are representative of an emblem of war today and moves away from a simple illustration of war as spectacle, but pulls the viewer into a narrative participation and causes the viewer to empathize for modern warfare. Also, *Generation Kill* misrepresents the masculinization of an ethic of care in war. In specific episodes that Shepherd uses, she draws upon the condemnation for overt displays of emotion in men. However, the script is gender-subversive. While the men make clear racist and sexist talk, the men are able to recognize these and there is a self-consciousness that informs the real articulation of gender and sexuality. Therefore the television show complicates any concrete reading of sex, gender and sexuality. However, Shepherd is certain that there are profound implications for the structure of political community in the periods of war.

In *Oz*, the HBO series surrounds the lives of prisoners and officers at Oswalk State penitentiary. There are explicit and implicit representations of gender and violence – specifically acts of rape. Shepherd also argues in her book that *Oz* did not represent gendered violence based on theoretical or empirical evidence, but on pure gendering and this is a heavy responsibility on TV producers as they provide a representation of social reality that could result in serious repercussions. She argues that because men have been too often labeled as the main aggressors in the construction of violent crimes – whether on screen or in reality – while women are often the victims – where even in the UK, women have been legally precluded from the list of aggressors – it weakens the reportage of male victims as they feel stigmatized and ‘weak’. This also at the same time, closes women off to be agents of rape. She draws parallels to the contemporary treatment of rape by international governance institutions to argue that rape in war should no longer be normalized and, in part due to the innovative narrative production of shows like *Oz*, nor should prison rape.

In short, Shepherd tries to explore the potential significance of the analysis beyond particular contexts. She debates the meta-level substantive issues such as the politics of aesthetics and the exploration of ethics. She provides an overview of the discourses of gender and violence in the way she understands best – and that is what it means to be human. In the literature, she questions discourses of sexuality, security, family and community, taking into consideration the ramifications it might have on its audience.

Amanda Foo

Petr Žantovský

Česká politika a média po roce 1989

Institut Václava Klause, Praha, 2013, 175 pp

ISBN 978-80-87806-02-9

Petr Žantovský, in his book *Czech Politics and Media since 1989*, is mainly engaged in the touching of two worlds, politics and journalism. He describes the last 20 years of modern history of the Czech Republic. The author does not seek only to describe how the media should or should not look, but describes what the media really are and are not. On the background of specific events, he shows how the manipulation of the media looks, how

the media followed the order of power and interest and how policies chased superficial and fickle favor of the media at the expense of their principles. With the passage of time, we can say that the work is quite objective. Petr Žantovský divided the book into chapters according to different time periods and major events, especially from the perspective of the role of media in them.

In the opening chapter *Media and Journalism*, we learn that journalism is a specific area of mass communication, which is a subset of social and interpersonal communication. Journalism is an instrument of communication and media are the environment in which it occurs. The author mentions that its main task is to inform the society. The main reason why the history of journalism and the media should be studied is their social importance. It is an expression and reflection of the ideological balance of power in the society. To the media is attributed the power, the ability to formulate and shape political history, to be a direct and inseparable actor. Journalists are seen as political exponents that can cause, regulate and promote a specific political action.

The following chapter *Epoch turn (1989-1992)* concentrates mainly on the year 1989, which was a historical, dramatic turning point, when there was the transformation of society and totalitarian power to parliamentary democracy. For the society in this period was the most difficult task to deal with the communist past. The current trends in journalism were radically changed after 1989. There were changes in the ownership structure of the media, the development of technology, changes in the distribution, legislative changes and generational change in the sector of journalism, when many young people without education became journalists.

In the next chapter *Politics and Media in New State (1993-1996)* the most important event is considered the disintegration of the Federation and the subsequent building of an independent state. Many processes in the political arena, which had just been started during this time, had an impact on the media field until now. The key process for the development of the Republic was the privatization of state property, which began in 1991. Privatization has affected not only the economics of future generations, but also the legal, legislative, political, but also social and ethical framework for the coming years. The author tries to point out the problems, which in this period originated in journalism and continue to this day.

The chapter *Epoch awakening (1996-2002)* summarizes the biggest political issues of the second half of the 90s, which culminated in the privatization and transformation processes to stabilize the structure of political parties. The author draws attention to the arrangement of the Czech political scene assuming the creation of governing coalitions, which had not been easy since the 1996 elections. This trend has emerged as a crucial issue for Czech policy in the coming years. The specific phenomenon of this period is the shift of many journalists into politics and vice versa. There was a conflict of interest between the functions in a political party and professional journalists as representatives of the public interest. Here there appeared two roots of the phenomena typical of Czech journalism for the last decade: the pursuit of investigative journalism and the phenomenon of tabloid of media content and forms.

In the next part *The Maturing of Journalism (2003-2006)* the author concludes that this era was very restless, accompanied by scandals, impassioned social discussions and life-

changing milestones in the domestic and foreign policy arena. The big change was the accession of the Czech Republic into the EU. Yet, we can talk about this era as the beginning of the standard of living in a pluralistic democratic society. The structure of the media in this period was fully comparable with the standards in Western European countries. There were only a few journalists, who worked even in the times of communism. The media had become an exhibition of entertainment and their informational functions receded into the background.

The chapter *New Challenges (2006-2010)* points to the fact that the proportional electoral system in the Czech Republic created a very unstable government, which was also true for this period. Czech journalism was a reflection of the difficult internal political situation in the state. Opinions and political preferences of journalists and media were polarized. There started a major development of the electronic media. An act was passed to digitization of broadcasting and it introduced television market liberalization, on the basis of which two new TV channels started broadcasting.

The last chapter *No Future* is focused on the period 2010-2013 for which the most characteristic feature of the Euro-Atlantic countries fall into the debt trap. This crisis has also hit the Czech Republic. Among the key events of this period, the author ranks the loss of ideologies, the political parties postponed their ideology and replaced it with pragmatic political management. Czech society went through a major crisis of democratic politics. The rule of law and parliamentary democracy begin to lose to the mafias and corruption, thereby paralyzing political life and the functioning of state institutions. The next key event was direct presidential election, during which the long-term media presented themselves as impartial and independent, given the direct path of political promotion. The author points out that flexibility in the changing views and affinities in many parts of Czech journalists have become one of the typical dimensions of Czech media practice after 1989.

The author tries to point out a key event in the political and media environment. Czech society in that period developed from a post-totalitarian society into a standard society of political pluralism with a liberal economy. This transformation is a large theme of the book and also a major determinant of the development of Czech journalism and media. Along with the transformation of Czech society was the changing media environment, structures and institutions, but also journalists themselves or the standards by which they exercise their profession. Czech media in this period of transformation in many cases was very actively involved in the transformation of society, it entered into the political reality and in different ways formed and deformed it. Journalism is shown here as one of the most important indicators of the balance of social forces.

Petra Hudečková

Dubravka Valić Nedeljković i Dejan Pralica (ur.)

DIGITALNE MEDIJSKE TEHNOLOGIJE I DRUŠTVENO-OBRAZOVNE PROMENE 3

Filozofski fakultet, Novi Sad, 2013., 369 str.

ISBN: 978-86-6065-203-6

*Digitalne medijske tehnologije i društveno-obrazovne promene 3*¹ međunarodni je tematski zbornik recenziranih radova u nakladi znanstvenog časopisa *Medijska istraživanja* Odsjeka za medijske studije Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Novom Sadu. Glavni su urednici zbornika Dubravka Valić Nedeljković i Dejan Pralica, dok recenzenti dolaze iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Crne Gore, Hrvatske i Srbije. Objavljeni radovi izloženi su na petoj međunarodnoj znanstvenoj konferenciji *Mostovi medijskog obrazovanja* koja se održala 4. i 5. listopada 2013. godine na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Novom Sadu. Autori tekstova, ujedno i sudionici konferencije, dolaze iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Crne Gore, Češke, Hrvatske, Makedonije, Slovačke i Srbije. Zbornik je podijeljen u četiri poglavlja koja sadrže 32 znanstvena i stručna rada.

Prvo poglavlje nosi naslov *Medijska praksa*, a u njemu su zastupljene ove teme: digitalizacija, javni medijski servis, medijsko obrazovanje i pismenost, medijizacija politike, alternativni mediji, Web 2.0 s naglaskom na društvene mreže i druge teme. Tri članka bave se temom javnog medijskog servisa. Viktorija Car smatra kako je u Hrvatskoj nužna nacionalna medijska strategija bez koje nema mogućnosti razvoja medijskog sektora. Javni medijski servis treba biti pluralistički, a mediji trebaju djelovati društveno odgovorno. Maja Dimić i Andrea Boršo te Dijana Subotički govore o financijskom aspektu javnog medijskog servisa u Srbiji koji je zbog svjetske ekonomske krize doveden do stanja upitne ekonomske održivosti. Država je voljna biti ulagač, no to rješenje nije najsretnije jer bi se time povećavala mogućnost širenja utjecaja na urednike od strane vlasti, što izravno utječe na slobodu medija. Troje autora dotiču se važnosti medijskog obrazovanja i pismenosti koja je rezultat takvog obrazovanja. Vuk Kešelj i Nikola Marković istražili su medijsku pismenost novosadskih gimnazijalaca. Istraživanje je pokazalo kako je medijska pismenost novosadskih gimnazijalaca na izuzetno niskoj razini.

Drugo poglavlje pod nazivom *Medijska pismenost* primarno se bavi, kako naslov i otkriva, medijskom pismošću. Da bi se pripadnici društva mogli snaći i djelovati u današnjem složenom medijskom okruženju, trebaju prvo razumjeti funkciju medija i znati kako kritički analizirati i evaluirati medijske sadržaje. Medijsko je obrazovanje jednako važno jer nas uči vještinama pretraživanja relevantnih akademskih izvora (o čemu pišu Biljana Radić-Bojanić i Jasmina Đorđević), ali nas osposobljava i za sve popularnije e-učenje. Istraživanje o kompetencijama za multimedijisku pismenost Milice Andevski i Jasmine Arsenijević pokazalo je kako su pripadnici obrazovne zajednice Srbije izloženi medijima (i to najviše novim) gotovo sedam sati dnevno, dok su na društvenim mrežama aktivni preko četiri sata dnevno (ponajviše na *Facebooku* i *YouTubeu*). Zanimljiv je podatak koji govori kako su ispitanici manje od jednom mjesečno aktivni sudionici na internetu, dok su najizraženije kompetencije sposobnost vizualizacije i prosuđivanja, a najmanje perspektiva i stimulacija. Bojana Karanović piše o sve aktualnijoj temi društvenog aktivizma građana koji danas imaju mogućnost putem digitalnih medija biti društveno aktivni više nego ikada prije. Istraživanje Dubravke Valić Nedeljković, Karla Bale i Zoltana Gelera pokazalo je kako

¹ http://odsek.medijskestudije.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/Dig_med_tehno-kraj-PRINT.pdf

se učenici više zanimaju za računalne igre i rješavanje zadataka u *online* nego u *offline* okruženju. Autori zaključuju kako u Srbiji odrastanje polagano prelazi u digitalnu sferu. Treći dio zbornika, pod naslovom *Rodne studije*, objedinjuje radove okupljene oko problematike tretmana žene u medijima. Autorice radova objavljenih u ovom poglavlju istraživa- le su rodne stereotipe, uloge i predrasude na televizijskim reklamama te u novinskim tek- stovima u aspektu rodno osjetljivoga izvještavanja. Zorana Joksimović provela je istraži- vanje o rodnim stereotipima u dnevnim novinama koje je pokazalo kako ih društvo i dalje njeguje. Autorica zaključuje da se žena, bez obzira na autonomnost koju danas posjeduje, u medijima najčešće pojavljuje iz komercijalnih razloga ili zbog nužde – pod utjecajem aktualnih promjena ili događaja.

Posljednje poglavlje zbornika, *Teorijsko-metodološki pristupi u medijskim studijama*, daje kratak uvid (kroz dva rada) u visokoškolsko obrazovanje za novinare koje bi trebalo biti u skladu s razvojem medijske tehnologije. Rade Veljanovski piše o utjecaju tehnološkog determinizma na medije. Ističe kako se bez obzira na napredak tehnologije ne smiju zabo- raviti profesionalni i etički standardi važni za kvalitetan medijski sadržaj.

Ovaj zbornik radova može biti vrlo korisna podloga za različita interdisciplinarna istraži- vanja u medijima jer je bogat recentnim rezultatima istraživanja o stanju medija u regiji.

Marin Bukvić

Luke Harding

Snowden: Dosjei

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Mogli bismo reći kako je Edward Snowden osoba koja je obilježila 2013. godinu. Svojim je javnim istupom protiv američkih obavještajnih organizacija izazvao neviđene reakcije na vanjskopolitičkom planu, ali i divljenje među narodima svijeta koji ga vide kao Davida koji se bori protiv moćnog Golijata, odnosno Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Luke Harding, no- vinar časopisa *Guardian*, koji je odigrao ključnu ulogu u informiranju javnosti o Snowdeno- vim otkrićima, piše o iskustvima svojih američkih kolega u procesu razotkrivanja nedjela američke obavještajne scene, ali nas upoznaje i s Edwardom Snowdenom kao idealistom. „Radim na visokom položaju u obavještajnoj zajednici.“ Bila je to prva rečenica izuzetno kriptičnog *e-maila* koji je novinar i kolumnist Glenn Greenwald primio. Ono što se doimalo kao neslana šala, postaje izuzetno opasna situacija jer su daljnji *mailovi* sadržavali tajne podatke Nacionalne sigurnosne agencije (NSA).

Prvo nas poglavlje knjige upoznaje sa Snowdenom prije novostečene „slave“. Edward Snowden oduvijek je pokazivao interes prema novim tehnologijama. O tim je temama redovito raspravljao na forumu Ars Technice, internetske stranice posvećene ljubiteljima tehnologije, pod nadimkom TheTrueHOOHA. TheTrueHOOHA je bio izuzetno svadljive prirode, volio se obračunavati s neistomišljenicima i vrlo je rado širio svoje libertarijanske ideje koje će ga kasnije lišiti slobode. Zanimljivo je napomenuti kako je Snowden na Ars Technici izražavao veliko nezadovoljstvo Wikileaksom navodeći kako curenjem dokume- nata u pitanje dolazi sigurnost Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, čime je pokazivao određene

nu proturječnost s obzirom na spomenute libertarijanske ideje. Međutim, s vremenom se Snowdenove aktivnosti na Ars Technici smanjuju, sve dok se konačno nije prestao javljati. Usprkos tome što nije završio srednju školu, a zahvaljujući svojoj inteligenciji, Snowden postaje zaposlenik Nacionalne sigurnosne agencije prolazeći kroz zahtjevne testove. Za njega je zaposlenje u toj agenciji u početku predstavljalo čisto zadovoljstvo; proputovao je svijet, živio je u Japanu, Švicarskoj, na Havajima, imao je iznadprosječnu zaradu i upoznao je ljubav svog života.

No odgovornosti su rasle, a također je rastao i Snowdenov uvid u sve tajnije podatke. Počeo je shvaćati kako aktivnosti Nacionalne sigurnosne agencije prelaze ustavna ograničenja, zbog čega se ustavna prava građana sustavno krše. Znao je kako sam ne može promijeniti sustav, stoga je odlučio potražiti pomoć izvana. Djelujući pod nadimkom Verax (lat. onaj koji govori istinu) odlučio je stupiti u kontakt s novinarom Glennom Greenwaldom. Glenn Greenwald, poznati kritičar Bushove politike, bio je na glasu kao čovjek bez dlake na jeziku, što je Snowdenu odgovaralo. Prvotni pokušaji kontakta između Snowdena i Greenwalda neslavno su završili zbog Greenwaldove skeptičnosti prema nepoznatom izvoru. No, zahvaljujući Greenwaldovoj prijateljici Lauri Poitras, novinarki *Guardiana*, kontakt se konačno ostvaruje.

Usprkos tome što je, općenito gledajući, Snowden unutar Nacionalne sigurnosne agencije bio poprilično beznačajna osoba, itekako je znao za trikove i sigurne načine slanja i primanja raznih informacija putem interneta. Laura Poitras, zahvaljujući svojoj računalnoj pismenosti, odigrala je veliku ulogu u provođenju tajnog sastanka u djelo. O svemu su naknadno bili obaviješteni Janine Gibson, urednica američkog *Guardiana* i njezin zamjenik Stuart Millar. Američki *Guardian* do tada nije imao jednaku težinu kao britanski, stoga je Gibson ovo vidjela kao idealnu priliku za proboj na američko tržište i postavljanje *Guardiana* u jednaki rang s velikanima američkog novinskog prostora, kao što su *New York Times* i *Washington Post*. Kako bi se sastanak s tajnim izvorom što uspješnije proveo u djelo, Janine je zahtijevala da se timu pridruži i veteran britanskog *Guardiana* Ewan MacAskill. Usprkos prvotnom negodovanju od strane Laure Poitras, ta se odluka pokazala ključnom zbog MacAskillova pristupa intervjuiranju sugovornika.

Četvrto nas poglavlje knjige upoznaje s mjestom prvog sastanka. Snowden i Poitras su za prvi susret dogovorili sobu hotela Mire u Hong Kongu. Za Snowdena je to bilo idealno mjesto jer je znao za vanjskopolitičke tenzije Pekinga i Washingtona. Iako je Nacionalna sigurnosna agencija imala svoju podružnicu u Pekingu, nedaleko od spomenutog hotela, lokalne vlasti nisu bile voljne surađivati s njima, što je za Snowdena predstavljalo određenu prednost. Kako Harding piše, prvi susret Laure Poitras i drugih novinara *Guardiana* sa Snowdenom prolazi u nevjerici. Jednostavno nisu mogli vjerovati da je riječ o mladoj osobi, koja je u *mailovima* djelovala izuzetno zrelo. MacAskill i Greenwald provodili su intervjuiranje dok je Poitras snimala. Na uvid su dobili i preko 50 000 dokumenata na USB sticku koje su, iako je Snowden negodovao, odlučili podijeliti s *New York Timesom*.

Poglavlje nazvano *Ekskluziva* opisuje proces objave članaka i videomaterijala. Novinarski bonton nalagao je kako je potrebno obavijestiti i drugu stranu koje se materijali tiču. Janine Gibson tako je odlučila obavijestiti PR službu Bijele kuće koja je bila šokirana. Usprkos molbama, pa čak i prijetnjama, Bijele kuće da se materijal ne objavi, *Guardian* je materijale pustio u javnost, što je odjeknulo diljem svijeta. Programi kao što su PRISM, STELLAR WIND

i BOUNDLESS INFORMANT postali su opće poznati pojmovi. Pokušaji kontroliranja i saniranja štete (*damage control*) od strane Bijele kuće završili su neuspješno. Kako Harding piše, ni Snowden nije mogao predvidjeti takve reakcije, od običnih građana pa sve do državnika koji nisu mogli vjerovati da su ih Amerikanci prisluškivali. Odmah nakon objavljivanja intervjua Snowden je znao da mora pobjeći. Sjedinjene Američke Države izdale su nalog za uhićenje, međutim kineske su vlasti, slučajno ili ne, vrlo sporo reagirale i Snowden je uspio pobjeći u Moskvu. Zanimljivost je kako je Snowden uspješno pobjegao američkim vlastima zahvaljujući Julianu Assangeu kojeg Snowden osobno nije preferirao.

U posljednjim poglavljima knjige saznajemo kakve su bile Putinove reakcije. Naime, Putin, kao bivši agent KGB-a, nije volio izdajice, a Snowden je za njega bio upravo to, pa čak i kad je riječ o građaninu države koju Rusija vidi kao suparnika. Međutim, Putin zaključuje kako je Snowden „uranjeni božićni poklon“ te ga je odlučio iskoristiti za svoje vanjskopolitičke igre dajući mu jednogodišnji azil. Ovakav slijed događaja potaknuo je Amerikance na misao kako je Snowden bio ruski kontrašpijun, no Snowden takve optužbe odlučno odbacuje.

U epilogu knjige postavlja se pitanje kako će izgledati *postsnowdenovski* svijet. Autor navodi kako su se prve promjene već dogodile. Kongres je zadobio veću kontrolu nad obavještajnim agencijama, Europa i Azija stvaraju vlastite intranetske sustave kojima će onemogućiti američka presretanja informacija, a Europski je parlament izglasao zakon prema kojem pretraživači moraju brisati podatke o građanima ako se to zatraži od njih. No, govorimo li o pravim ili samo o kozmetičkim promjenama? Snowden navodi kako ne želi budućim naraštajima ostaviti svijet u kojemu će postojati tzv. ugnjetavanje informacija. Nije htio sudjelovati u stvaranju Velikog Brata – prema čemu se Nacionalna sigurnosna agencija, zajedno s britanskom obavještajnom službom Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), kretala. Kao zagriženi libertarijanac htio je vratiti narodu zajamčena ustavna prava i to je bio jedini način, pa čak i po cijenu vlastite slobode – bilo kao zatvorenik u američkom zatvoru ili u ruskoj zlatnoj palači iz koje ne može pobjeći.

Zaključio bih kako je knjiga *Snowden: Dosjei* izuzetno zanimljivo štivo s detaljnim prikazom Snowdenova kako privatnog tako i profesionalnog života, čime nam se na uvid daju do sada nepoznate činjenice i razlozi njegova djelovanja. Luke Harding ocrtava Snowdena kao idealista koji je spreman ostaviti sve po strani u svrhu ostvarivanja višeg dobra za svoju naciju, ali i svijet općenito. Poglavlja su pisana na zanimljiv način, s povremenim uvidima u djelovanja tajnih obavještajnih agencija, kako američkih tako i britanskih, s ciljem osvještavanja čitatelja. Harding također detaljno piše i o privatnim životima novinara *Guardiana* što izaziva suosjećanje kod čitatelja. Stoga bih *Dosjee* preporučio ne samo ljubiteljima činjenica već i onima koji žude za dobrim romanom s naznakama krimića.

Petar Karabatić