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Đukić, Marina; Đukić, Marina; Šola, Ivica

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Marina Đukić
Josip Juraj Strossmayer
University of Osijek
Department of Cultural Studies
Trg Svetog Trojstva 3,
31000 Osijek, Croatia
mdjukic@unios.hr
Phone: +385959093088

Ivica Šola
Josip Juraj Strossmayer
University of Osijek
Department of Cultural Studies
Trg Svetog Trojstva 3,
31000 Osijek, Croatia
ivica.sola1@inet.hr
Phone: +38598256665

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PREPARING THE PUBLIC FOR COMMERCIALIZATION AND GUIDANCE OF STRUCTURAL MEDIA SPACE TOWARDS ITS FUSION WITH ADVERTISING SPACE

Abstract

Through genre structure analysis of TV Zagreb's First Channel schedule from the beginning of the 1970´s till the end of the 1980´s accompanied by analysis of advertising in the same period, the paper will examine the ways and intensity of the entry of commercialization intothe Croatian media space dominated then by state media. The television schedule genre change and the broadcasting of the economic propaganda program will point out the different character of the television. It can be said that it will serve for preparing the public for the entry of commercialization and guidance of structural media space towards its fusion with advertisingspace. The assumption is that in spite of the TV schedule change, which was in the economic sense accompanied by economic reforms in order to establish a market economy, the audience wasn´t yet handed over to theadvertisers. One of the explanations lies in the role of the media, which at the time had a revolutionary function with the main purpose of creating patriots and not a generation of voters.

The paper will reproduce a kind of public transformation genesis from latent status in the state guided media system to same status of latent consumers in the dual media model.

Keywords: Public, commercialization, genres, television schedule, advertising

1. Introduction

Many theoreticians agree about the key effects that market-oriented media systemsproduce. The most obvious concerns the media content itself, which increasingly comes down to only those productive genres and forms which don´t need to win the audience over, as they have already proven effective. Even if the audience's wishes are taken into account, it´s done in a quite limited manner, one that can be commercially exploited, and the public "isn´t treated as a single democratic corps, but merely as a pile of consumers" (McChesney, 2008: 89). The current presence of such a trend in the media surroundings implicate key issues which were sought to be

answered within the frame of this paper, primarily ones concerning its entry point. Using genre structure analysis of the television program during the 1970s and the 1980s on TV Zagreb's First Channel and an analysis of the advertising itself , the paper will consider the methods and intensity of the entry of commercialization into the Croatian media space, which was then under state media domination. The basic assumption is that even though certain structural changes were present in the television program (particularly concerning the present genres, the arrival of new genres, as well as the entry of advertising into the program), it can be argued that the audience was still not being handed over to advertisers. One of the explanations certainly lies in the very role of the media which at the time had a revolutionary function, with the sole purpose of creating patriots, not voters. Such state media policy demanded latent patriots from the public – a public that doesn´t get involved, a public that defines a problematic situation solely from the viewpoint of the ruling party's general effort to preserve the status quo (within the tolerances of the actual situation deviating from that projected in the Party's declarations). Even if it is recognized, the participation to resolve the situation remains non-existent. Thus, within the first chapter, the basic media functions are considered, which by their behavior, supported by a certain (de)regulatory agenda, affect the position and the behavior of the public. This is how the different position of the public is distinguished within the framework of the commercial model, in which the media serve to accrue profit and, instead of translating a latent public into an active public (one actively involved in the production and reproduction of society), produce latent consumers. On the other hand, the public service model, whose central idea is public interest, and which is sensitive and open enough for social diversity, even for groups which aren´t attractive to advertisers due to their purchasing power, sees its audience as the public, an active public. By explaining the wider media surroundings during the period encompassed by the research, the paper will endeavor to showcase certain expectations with regard to the changes of the public's position considering the transformation of the state media into public media and the entry of commercial media into the Croatian media market. In order to showcase the genesis of the public's transformation from the government-led media system latent state, into the same latent state in a mixed media model, the paper will analyze the television program genre structure. This will be done bearing in mind the influence of media contents on the ways in which the public (actively or passively) participates in public dialogue, given the basic features of the most typical media models presented. Therefore, the empirical part of the paper seeks to determine: the change in the character of television, the beginning of the public's preparation for the entry of commercialization into the media space and the structural changes that led to the merging of that space with the advertising space. The aforementioned trends will be observed in the expected growth of commercially-oriented genres or genres which will be named as the "announcers" of commercialization within the framework of the paper.

2. The theoretical framework

2.1 From a latent to an active public

The present-day public, the recipients of media content, commonly referred to as media consumers, shouldn´t only be passive receivers of media messages. In democratic societies, the public space within which a public opinion is formed should be a sphere, "space" in which citizens participate in socially relevant topics (Valković, 2009). The difference in the concepts of participation, activity or inaction is crucial when defining the concept of the public, as well as its positioning in media space. In its primary meanings, the public is linked "with things of general interest or more specifically with official and state affairs" (Lamza-Posavec, 1995: 14). Habermas (1969) definesthe public as "a sphere of private people gathered in an audience" which is located in a tension field between the state and society and acts as a self-mediatory organ of the civil society with the state government. Dewey sees the public as an active unit in society comprised of all those who see the common issue for which they can seek a common solution (see Broom, 2010: 201). This represents precisely the aforementioned moment of citizen participation or action regarding socially relevant issues. Considering that the public is the main subject of public opinion, "a 'framework', an environment of public opinion formation in which all citizens should participate in an equal manner" (Valković, 2009: 124), Dewey's definition of the active public unit can be linked to Habermas' (1969) reconstruction of the historical version of the public sphere (elite gatherings in 18th century coffee houses

and active participation in political life). Thanks to these gatherings, a literary audience was formed and with the spread of political literature a critical attitude began to develop towards the government's political decisions, so that thefree exchange of information and the strengthening of critical thought became the drivers of change (Valković, 2009: 124). From this civil participation phase changes led towards action –the creation of politically active citizens. This idea of an idealized public sphere which kept the government in check with the help of informed and influential public opinion, through direct private conversations, was overcome by the emergence of new corporate interests and the arrival of mass communications which took the place of interpersonal discussions among the elite. The definition of the public sphere as a space which shapes the arena that is more or less autonomous and more or less open for public discussion is better suited in such a new environment (McQuail, 2000). It consists of different networks of public communication which are interconnected by a central compound represented by mass media. The media "make the public communications of smaller arenas available to a broader audience" (Brüggemann, 2010: 7). In doing so they provide the service of informing citizens and ensuring possibilities for their participation, encouraging and forming dialogue, as well as perform the fundamental functions attributed to the public sphere itself, which is why we can discuss the media in terms of public institutions. According to Curran (1996), that is how a model of the public sphere as a neutral zone with wide access to information concerning the public good is formed. Discussion is free, participants are on the same level, and the means of communication make the process easier by creating a single arena for public debate and redefining private civil persons as a public organism in the form of public opinion (see McQuail, 2000). Such action, participation and inclusion without any effect on mutual communication behavior of all participants, is the creation of an ideal communication environment which doesn'texist in a pure form. Jantol talks about an ideally normative public which represents a communication compound in which everyone is equal and has the same communication conditions (2004: 94). Naturally, ideal conditions don´texist and the media, as social institutions, "adopt the form, structures and functions according to the audience's expectations" (McQuail, cited in Valković, 2008: 117). By enabling communication between groups, not only for physical communication channels but the creation of, for example, customs, habits and public opinion, the media intervene into the public sphere. However, the role of media in a public sphere where everyone should participate is different, just as the very notion of the public sphere is different in terms of independence from any form of interest and openness for public debate. By considering the communication conditions specific to certain societies, a different role of the media and thereby the position of the public will be revealed. In order to determine the position of the public, Grunig and Hunt's (1984) public typology will be used. The authors divide the publics into *nonpublics*, *latent publics*, *aware publics* and *active publics*, thus explaining their perception level of connection with the problem situation they are in, and thereby defining their active or passive communication behavior. So, *nonpublics* don´t face the problem or situation they participate in at all. *Latent publics* are immersed into the problem situation, but they don´t recognize it or they don´t see it as problematic "nor are they aware of their connections with other publics and organizations". Whereas *aware publics* realize they are participating in a problem situation, but they don´t share that realization with others. Therefore, the aware public has perceived the faults of the situation, independently or forced under pressure, however, it´s still not prepared to involve itself in order to change the situation; although it participates, it´s not prepared to act. Lastly, *active publics* communicate and organize themselves in order to take action in a certain situation, which means that they´re involved in the effort of changing the situation or resolving the issue – they act. According to Grunig, active communicative behavior is represented in people who seek information regarding the issue at hand, whereas passive behavior is that which is also called information processing because the passive public can, but doesn´t have to, take the message into account (see Broom, 2010: 202). Grunig highlights the factors which are instrumental for the transition of the latent public into an active one. A public will become active when the perception of a clear personal connection with a problematic situation is induced. This is where the public's helm is taken over by the media which enable communication in order to "create focused public opinion" and "assign topics that can become the subject of public debate through a selection of events deemed worthy of publication" (Kunczik and Ziepfel, 1998: 185). In this way the media intervene

into the public sphere, as well as hold a certain monopoly over it, acting on behalf of different interests and individuals but always under the guise of public interest. Then, the question is how public interest is to be defined and who stands behind it? Today media are more directed towards *manipulating* their audience instead of helping it form a rational opinion (McQuail, 2000). Rovigatti (1985) deems that even public opinion "doesn´t deserve such a name for it´s not the fruit of free conversation of the audience about issues of actual interest: all information is manipulated and shaped by those who own the mass media" (cited in Valković, 2009: 129). This manipulation takes place under the veil of secret public relations techniques. Lippmann states that public opinion is susceptible to control, just as behaviors and opinions, by means of propaganda or consent manufacturing (Barsamiam, 2013). Chomsky describes the period of the 1920s (the birth of "opinion control experts") as one which introduced the industry control efficiency methodology by which workers were trained to become robots whose every motion is controlled, which "created an efficient industry with people who become automated". Even though the Bolsheviks tried to apply the same technique, they didn´t realize that you can control not only the time spent at work, but also that outside of work. "Control him by inducing the philosophy of futility, focusing people on insignificant things in life such as fashionable consumption and in principle move them away from yourself. Let people who are supposed to run the show do so without the interference of the masses, who have no business being in the public arena" (Barsamiam, 2013). The gradual entry of commercialization, at least in the genre structure, had the preparation of the public in mind and, considering this transitional aspect, the control of free time as well. Keeping the *status quo* and creating a non-critical and passive public in every way suits the people (interests) who are in the background of the media and who dictate the ways of looking at the society. However, latent publics can be encouraged to activity, and the key factor which Chomsky highlights is cooperation (ibid.). The question raised is to what extent are the media the ones who can encourage the public to participate and what kind of media content is it?

2.2 The historical and social framework of media models and policy development

Due to rapid changes and development of new communication technologies, new attitudes toward the role of media in different media models are being accepted. McQuail (2000) sees media changes as the reason for the printed press theory's inapplicability to other media. Wiio deems that there is no single unique model to act as a framework for the media's communication behavior because mass media aren´t a single entity and don´t function in some idealized social system (Malović, 2003: 15). There are certain particulars which differ from society to society and from medium to medium.

Since media systems are created within a process of continual stimulation or suppression of a certain type of media, communication structures and communication behaviors, and in that sense they can be more or less democratic, or more or less in the function of public interest (Kurtić, 2014: 136), certain activity models can still be identified. Cuilenburg and McQuail (2003) investigate the development of three types of media policies. The first one is the "communication industry support policy", which in reality closely resembles a commercial media model typical for the USA. It produces "the stimulation of growth of the free media market and commercial media model by deregulatory cession of the mass media and communication sphere and infrastructure to economic interests of transnational and national commercial media corporations" (Kurtić, 2014: 137). Present from the beginning in the USA, the idea of ensuring the industry's profitability took hold before public service demands were set; "such dynamics meant that the demand of serving the public is by definition limited" (McChesney, 2008: 79). Except in terms of market efficiency, the media are almost entirely supervision-free. Decentralized control rules out influence by any political or interest group in the creation of programs whereas private property directs the media towards news commercialization (Tomašić and Bijelić, 2008: 185). Albeit theoretically, this media model belongs to decentralized media systems, but taking into consideration the dominant economic interests which run the media (read: owners), one can point to traces of a hidden centralized private model, if we take Wiio's theory of society's openness and the level of supervision over the media into account (Malović, 2003: 17). In such systems, it is an individual's nominal

right to send and receive messages, but also to question themand the way they are controlled. Control is regarded not as censorship but rather as news selection criteria in accordance with production costs and profitability criteria. That a handful of wealthy individuals is "within the means to assert its market power in order to act as an influential cultural gatekeeper" (Freedman, 2008: 106). Led by profit as the supreme principle in production and media content broadcasting, these companies have interests that largely differ from the interests of the major part of the humanity, which then consequently has negative effects on media contents and the public's position in the public arena mediated by media reports. One of the most visible trends is the one by which the media product is subjected to increasing commercialization seeing as how dominant companies use their market power to extract the biggest possible profit from their product (McChesney, 2008: 33). The media take away the ability and possibility to favor impartial dialogue from public communication. In doing so, "access of private interests into the public sphere opens wide with the danger for that same public sphere to become someone's 'property'" (Valković, 2009: 129). Therefore, both the audience and the public are viewed solely as consumers, which means they are valued by how much information they consume, rather than how informed they are, which also promptly points to their communication behavior. Guided by Grunig's classification, it can be argued that media commercialization leads to the creation of latent consumers or a passive audience. McChesney sees these effects particularly in the media's hyper commercialization of culture and abandonment of public servitude as well as increasing citizen depoliticization. The public is present, but it is completely demoralized and resigned, and "accepts the state of things as natural" (2008: 73/4). For the hyper-commercialization of the culture, Habermas (1969) calls out the media as the ones who in a commercialized world become the means in the service of "consumer culture". That signifies the transition from an audience that was critical towards culture to an audience that becomes a culture consumer (Valković, 2009: 125). Acting as a"cultural gatekeeper",commercial media promote values such as "consumerism, materialism, hedonism, passive society, and the contents lose their value in order to attract an audience and please advertisers" (McQuail, 1998: 110). Consumer latency is guided by psychological gratification, entertainment and illusion of its own position in the world. Such an ideological process happens mostly due to the public's dependency on commercial mass media in whose optics the content is focused more on a standardized form of entertainment and superficial, conformist and harmless idleness rather than originality (McQuail, 2000).

The opposite model is one connected to "public service policy" (Cuilenburg and McQuail, 2003) that predominantly deals more in sociopolitical strategy than economic or national and has in its foundations the ideal of a public service in the domain of radiotelevision communication from which a public service media model typical for European countries has developed. Since the very beginnings in Europe, a strategic importance of the media for the state, nation and industry was noticed, and under the strong influence of the largest European countries' political traditions, media policy have focused on public monopoly, starting from telegraphs. Here the public interest was the central idea which created the need for a media system that would be *sensitive and open enoughfor social diversity and stratification*, even for groups who, due to their purchasing power, weren't attractive to advertisers (Kurtić, 2014). The general goal was the stimulation of public media services in the function of all citizens and public interests, with an agenda dominated by the political and cultural dimensions (Kurtić, 2014: 137/8). Such media models reject centralized control and the mass media (as well as communication itself and the news system) and the audiences are open to different opinions (Malović, 2003: 17). Unlike centralized models, as was the communist one, the individual, not the society, is the one with the right to receive the message and the society has the right to send it. So, society achieves certain supervision over the reception of the message, using this to protect its members from harmful contents and unwanted advertising (Bijelić and Tomašić, 2008: 184). Broadly speaking, an emphasis on citizen participation and involvement is visible in the fundamental features and functions of public services. "It organizes its audience as the *public*, as citizens with different interests and tastes, with a common need for information, education and entertainment" (Car, 2007: 118). Features like the supply of a *universal service*, financing from *all citizens* (not only customers), *public control* over broadcasting, *democratic* responsibility to society (or nation) and achieving different targets of *quality* towards cultural and social priorities of the location (McQuail, 2000) point to public services as a public

forum which "provides citizens with the possibility of an open and plural public debate, free of political and economic interests, regarding the issues and problems of public interest" (Car, 2007: 116). An active citizen's role is at its core; therefore it needs to "enable citizens to suggest, participate in shaping and evaluating programs" (*ibid.).*

The preceding overview of the essentially opposite media models with different respective media roles as well as different positions of the public whose behavior such media shape, is a useful foundation for explaining the media model present during the period of the 1970s and 1980s in the former SFRY (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). The media model in communist states also is called the negative reflection of the public service model. A similarity is visible with the public service model in the monopoly over media services or television control by the state and the complete exclusion of any form of market activity in the media system. The key difference lies in the fact that in the communist model, the media, television especially, were controlled by the Party and used as means of manipulation. In Western democracies, on the other hand, the state or public control didn´t signify state access to media content before its broadcasting, "censorship was forbidden and access to information free" (Car, 2007: 117). In the one-party system of the SFRY, the state media were in public ownership, under the Party's domination, and in accordance to Wiio's typology belonged to the model of controlled media and mass communication in general (zone of high supervision) (Malović, 2003: 17). The news system was relatively closed (Bijelić and Tomašić, 2008: 182-183), which means that it was politically (or otherwise) restricted, controlled, and the news selection was limited. News did not have a market function, nor was it familiar with the category of exclusivity. News was news when the Party deemed it relevant to the public. Seeing as how "the state monitored access to information, filtering it and changing it depending on the Party's interests" (Car, 2007: 117), it is then clear that the public interest was also the Party's interest.The latter illustrated the revolutionary role of the media that didn't criticize the regime through controlled reporting, but glorified it and painted the picture of an ideal state. Just as media corporations in the USA set the boundaries of legitimate discussion, in this case those boundaries were set by the Party, which doesn´t mean that criticism was forbidden, but that the regime and the Party weren´t allowed to be criticized as that was considered harmful for the state and population. The public "was open, as much as it was possible" (Malović, 2003: 17), but under the dominant influence of media-controlled propaganda messages in order to maintain the *status quo*. The public's presence and activity was left to a single institution (state television), which "always causes exposure to manipulation" (Valković, 2009: 142). Therefore, the public was manipulated with the intent of creating a latent public, a public which doesn´t recognize the problematic situation it is in. At the time the public space didn´t even function because there remained a constant latent expectation that someone else (some other institutions) will act instead of people (Valković, 2009: 142). Jukić doesn´t even talk about a latent public, but confronts the term of the contemporary public with another term – secrecy (Valković, 2009). With Grunig and Hunt's classification in mind, we can say that for them this "secrecy" would constitute a non-public (those who don´t face the situation they are participating in at all, because that which is relevant is also secret).

This all still doesn´t mean that the public, although threatened, cannot be active. The key drivers for this activity, along with the social framework, are certainly the media themselves. Insight into the television broadcast structure, particularly into genres typical for commercialization trends, and having in mind the public's behavior in the media models characterized by a high level of media content commercialization, it will be possible to answer the questions regarding what sort of public we are talking about and whether it has in any given moment been handed over to advertisers through broadcasted media content.

3. Empirical research methodology

With the goal of identifying the changes in the character of television and the beginning of preparing the public for the entrance of commercialization into the media space as well as the structural changes which led towards the merging of that space with the advertising space, an analysis was carried out in order to review TV Zagreb's First Channel TV program during the 1970s and 1980s. The research source was a digitalized collection of the *Glas Podravine* newspaper, which contained a

clear weekly television program. The analysis covers weekly television programs from 1975 to 1987. By the end of the 1980s, TV Zagreb already faced its first competition in the form of local private TV stations which began broadcasting and marked the transition from a single state or public media system into a dual state– the mixed public and commercial media model present today. Therefore it is assumed that in the mid-1990s the initial contours of the mostly commercially structured TV broadcasting of today were visible. Considering that the transition from the 1980s into the 1990s was followed by great social change, i.e. a certain social breakdown which completely redefined the role of the media, that period wasn´t researched within the framework of this paper.

Each television unit (show) listed in the TV program with a clear beginning and end of duration served as the analysis unit, which means every television genre represented in the period of the analysis. Some genres, which would be classified today as sub-genres, in the analysis were placed in their parent groups, in accordance with the theoretical framework presented in this chapter in which genres are classified. For example, in the analysis, animation appears in the form of a series, film serial or film and is accordingly categorized. Therefore, the television genres which were clearly indicated in the TV program of the analyzed period on TV Zagreb's First Channel were: talk show, film, film serial or TV drama series, sitcom, soap operas and telenovelas, game shows and documentaries, which can be in the form of film, series or show, then talent show, sports contents, TV magazines and news.

Considering that the goal was to ensure an equal representation of each period within the research intervals, a systematic two-stage sample was used. In the first stage, every third year during the 1970s and 1980s was selected (1975, 1978, 1981, 1984, 1987). In the second stage, also due to the possibility of unequal representation of certain interval parts (months), instead of a random selection, one winter month, one spring, one summer and one autumn month were systematically selected (January, April, July and November). The research analyzed 3456 television units in total (distributed over the intervals shown in Table 1).

Table 1 Distribution of analyzed television units of the TV program over analyzed years

	1975	1978	1981	1984	1987
Analyzed units	603	860	664	609	720

Source: Own research (2014)

Since an ultimate system and map by which all genres would be classified within the framework of different media don´t exist (Chandler, 2000) – which means that one author will consider something a genre, while another as a sub-genre – for the genre classification within this analysis, the starting point was Neale's stance, describing genre as "always historically relative and therefore historically specific" (Chandler, 2000) – that means "always correct only for a specific moment in history" (Tomashevsky, cited in Chandler 2000). Therefore, some genres can be defined only in retrospect, but they weren´t recognized as such among their original audience and producers. Evidence of this lies in the difficulties which appeared during the analysis, where, for example, series in the analyzed TV program weren´t separated from shows, just as a film serial wasn´t separated from soap operas during a specific period. Specific changes in the genre structure, as well as the entry of new genres such as talk shows and game shows, will point to Chandler's stance that television genres "reflect values which were dominant in that period" (2000), or, according to Fisk (1987), that genre standards embody key ideological worries of the times they were popular in. The change in the TV program was accompanied by economic reforms (1964) with the goal of establishing a market economy, which in a certain segment affected the ideological shift from the dominant concept of a socialist-led economy. The influences weren´t one-way, genre transformation goes hand in hand with social conditions, but they too can encourage change. In order to confirm the change in the character of television regarding genre structure with a special emphasis on the so-called "commercial" genres (genres which are here called "announcers" of program content commercialization), the paper used a comparison between Williams' (1973) genre and a modern content classification (Creeber et al., 2008) taken from Helena Popović (2012). She concludes that the position of public television changed since the 1970s because of the growing commercial

role of television which predominantly offers entertainment contents. The battle for media audiences as well as advertisers, changes both the content and activity of public television (Helena Popović, 2012: 27). Certain categories have remained the same (news, documentaries, drama and children's programs), but the proliferation of new genres typical for modern television is visible in Creeber's classification. Among them are soap operas and comedies (above all sitcoms), then reality television and game shows. In the differences and new genres she observes the propagation of entertainment contents, both in terms "of older genres such as soap operas, situational comedies and talk shows as well as new entertainment genres such as reality television" (2012: 29). Referring to the aforementioned genres, Miller asserts that they are frequently degraded as being of lesser value in the taste hierarchy context, that they are criticized due to populism and commercial aspirations (Creeber et al., 2008: 159). Therefore, we can talk about those forms which are better accepted and viewed by the audience, among which Dahlgren (2002) also highlights soap operas, game shows, popular documentary series and, lately, reality shows (Car, 2007). Popović (2012: 13) thus, for example, counts soap operas, situational comedies, talk shows, game shows and reality television among popular television genres.

Aiming to herald the entry of such programs "as a form of catering to the audience in order to increase viewership", the paper took the following genres as the "announcers" of commercialization and changes: the talk show, film serial, American film, game show, sitcom / comedy series, series / telenovela / soap opera.

4. Research results and discussion

Every historical period carries with it certain particularities which manifest themselves on the character of televisionas well. That is why during its beginnings television was considered as a status symbol, a symbol of prestige because owning a TV set was proof of a good financial situation. Vončina describes TV Zagreb's program during the 1970s as structured in a way to please different social spheres, and highlights the broadcasting of 144 shows of different character and purpose. Those were "entertainment and music shows, drama programs, daily news, children's programs, direct broadcasts of sports and concerts, documentary programs, shows dedicated to issues in agriculture and rural areas, as well as debates regarding current social and political themes" (Vončina, 1999: 320). Television sets becoming cheaper didn´t change the television's status, but by becoming an integral part of the family's daily agenda, that public-private nature of television affected the nature of programs (Turković, 2008: 269). The 1964 economy reform led to a proper revolution in the attitude of the economy towards consumers when "at the same time people started to pay attention to their reputation and image in both business and general public" (Lakićević, 2013: 4). It was then that the growth of the Yugoslav consumer society became an unstoppable process, begetting a more intense following of consumer trends and seeking role models in Western Europe and the USA, where the imitation went so far as to fully assume the "capitalist" advertising model (Vučetić, 2012: 281). Because of these changes, the TV program analysis begins precisely during the 1970s.

Table 2 Representation of genres – "announcers" of the 1970s and the 1980s commercialization in TV Zagreb's Channel 1 TV schedule

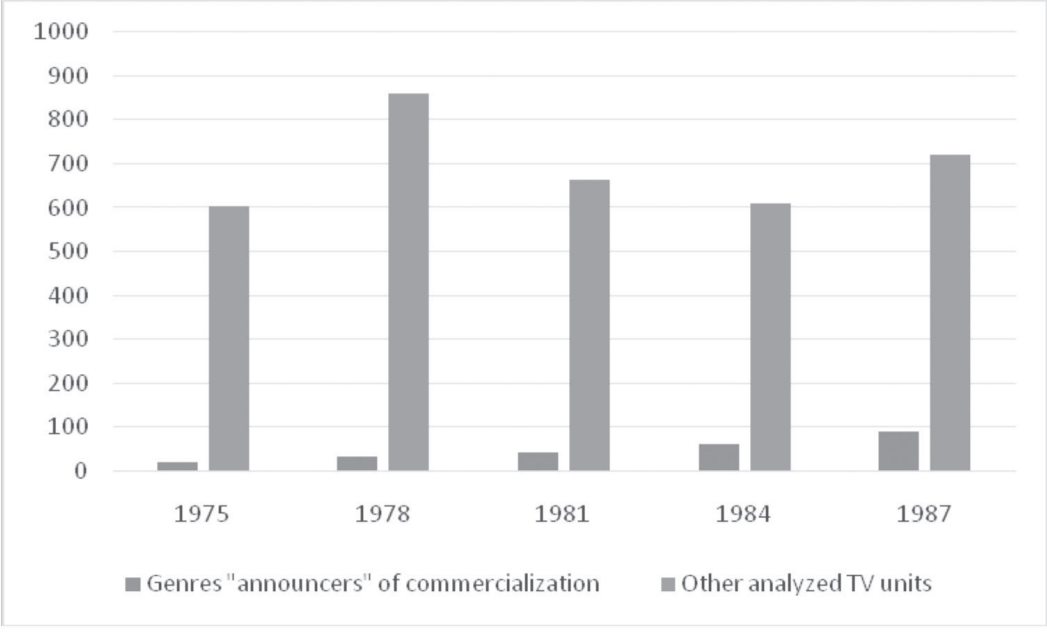
Genres "announcers" of commercialization	1975	1978	1981	1984	1987
Talk show	0	2	5	7	4
Film serial	6	10	8	17	26
American film	3	6	9	5	9
Sitcom/humor series	0	2	1	1	2
Series/soap operas/telenovelas	9	9	17	26	25
Quiz/game shows	0	3	0	1	21
Talk shows	0	0	0	4	3
Total	**18**	**32**	**40**	**61**	**90**

Source: Own research (2014)

Time frames as well as the representation of each of the analyzed genres are presented in Table 2, whereas the collective and individual intensity of genre penetration is depicted by Graph 1 and Graph 2. The second part of the analysis refers to spotting the intensity and development of advertising or EPPon TV Zagreb's First Channel. Namely, the term EPP is associated exclusively with former Yugoslavia. At this time there was a massive presence of television in rural and urban areas in which commercials were seen as part of the program and often rated as being of higher quality than the rest of the program. The process of setting up a market economy spawned a new aesthetic in commercials, and, as Čeh notes, gave new wings to the advertising profession (2013: 17). This is also visible in the analysis of the *Ekonomska politika* weekly's adverts between 1969 and 1980, published in *Polet* magazine.

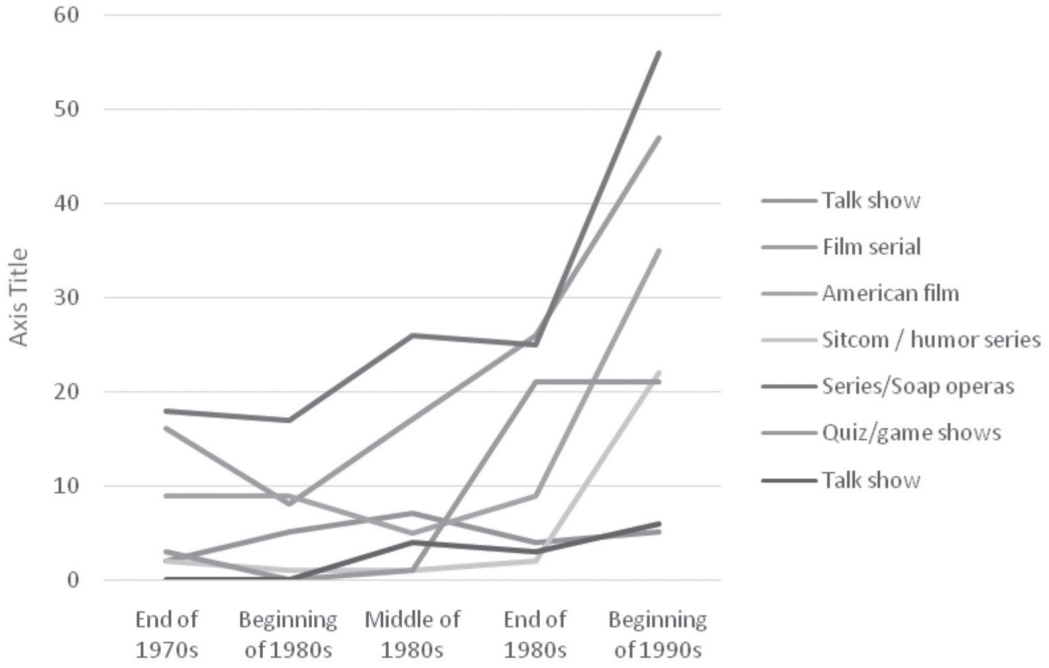
It is an anthology of that time of sorts, which by a visual narrative depicts the relationship of market and economy, the need for getting closer to customers and expanding marketing rules and philosophy. As the authors noted, it was an unusual mix of Western advertising valuesand socialist aestheticism. Even though the EPP content itself wasn´t considered within the framework of this analysis, considering the data from Table 3, which indicates moments of entry, intensity change and duration of commercials, and Table 4 which shows a notable ratio growth of TV Zagreb's self-produced marketing program, it can be concluded that advertising at that point became a significant portion of the TV program and as such affected the change in the character of television.

Graph 1 Total representation of the commercial program according to the analyzed time period



Source: Own research (2014)

Graph 2 Entrance and representation intensity of "commercial" genres according to the analyzed time period



Source: Own research (2014)

Television TV Zagreb's character during the 1970's

Out of 1463 analyzed TV program units in the 1970s, 3% carried the markings of commercialization in 1975 and 3.7% in 1978 (Table 2 and Graph 2). The unwritten rule during this period was that once per week the TV program presented one cultural and artistic society, most often from Zagreb or Belgrade. A music block was broadcasted on an almost daily basis, most often folk music, a broadcast of some concert or puppet show. By the end of the 1970s, various travel shows and sports matches started to be broadcasted. Delving deeper into the structure of "commercial" genres (Graph 2), it can be noted that the largest share among the analyzed TV program units is taken by series (37 %), film serial (33 %) and American film (18 %).

The significance of films is especially important considering that the 1970s and 1980s were also fruitful periods in the history of Yugoslav film production, but also the spread of American culture throughout the world. Therefore, the share of American film, as a special genre significant as a commercialization "announcer", points to a change in the character of televisionwhich takes place with the start of broadcasting Westerns as a particular type of film typical for the USA. The film serial genre is also a distinctive category considering that it is a term mostly abandoned today in favor of TV drama series. It is a complete film made of multiple physically or temporally separated parts and every episode has its own story. The distinction of drama series in former SFRY is that they were usually expanded versions of feature films in cinema distribution because of which they generally had a format corresponding to that of a mini-series. In the television program the genre "film serial" was often attributed next to the film title, but frequently the listed film didn´t have a sequel so we cannot consider it a genuine film serial.

Table 3 EPP structure analysis in Glas Podravine´s TV schedule

Year				
April 28th 1970	THE FIRST APPEARANCE in the TV program schedule "PROPAGANDA INTERMEZZO" – the first listed term for a commercial (20:30 -20:35h)			
January 15th 1975	EPP – the first appearance using that terminology (5 minutes), before and after the central evening news(19:21 - 19:27h and 19:55 - 20:00h)			
	ADVERTISING MIMICRY	**COMMERCIAL DURATION (minutes)**	**SPECIFICS**	**DESCRIPTION**
1975	EP REPORT or EPP	5-10	Regular advertising: "Small Secrets of Great Chefs" and "News from Gorenje"	Advertising of events (Fair of Flowers and Beauty) and companies (Željezara Jasenice, Lek etc.)
1978	Cartoon (EPP) Feature film (EPP) Film serial (EPP)	Undefined	EPP starts broadcasting on TV Zagreb's Second Channel	EPP is, for example, broadcasted after or before the cartoon "19:15 - 19:27 Hipo and Čipo, cartoon"
1981	Economic-propaganda messages	15-30	Regular Thursday advertising: "Small Secrets of Great Chefs"	Only 6 listings of economic propaganda messages
1984	EPP or Small Secrets of Great Chefs	5-15	Either EPP is listed or only "Small Secrets of Great Chefs" is listed, without indication that it is an EPP report	
1987	EPP	5-15	Almost disappears from the TV schedule which doesn´t mean it disappears from TV screens	Only 3 listings were found
1990 - 1991	Not a single listing for EPP or another term for a commercial is found			

Source: Own research (2014)

Table 4 Structure, duration and production of TV Zagreb´s television schedule

Year	Self-produced shows in hours	Foreign TV program in hours	Total number of broadcast hours	Average daily broadcast in hours	Foreign TV program share	Self-produced marketing shows share
1975	2227	213	2440,00	6	10 %	4 %
1978	2162	231	2393,00	6	10 %	6 %
1981	2217	171	2388,00	6	7 %	4 %
1984	2644	211	2855,00	8	7 %	5 %
1987	4047	203	4250,00	11	5 %	-
1990	9996	2819	12815,00	35	22 %	-

Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics, Statistical reports for years 1975, 1978, 1981, 1984, 1987, 1991

In the analysis, a film serial was considered every film which was accompanied by the description of "film serial" regardless if its sequel was broadcasted or not. Most problems appeared with the serial program category which included TV series, soap operas and telenovelas. A series is a type of show that is partly autonomous, but partly continuous from episode to episode. "The most familiar series are soap operas, continuous series, TV series (limited number of episodes), but also various continuous show programs (entertainment, variety, plays), and often even news have features of a series (when consecutively following the development of an event)" (Turković, 2008: 275). Such a genre will greatly attach certain viewers to it and the recurrence of the show opens the possibility of creating television viewing habits, strongly attaching viewers to a certain program over longer periods of time. Even though there is a significant difference between what is considered a series and present-day regard of soap operas and telenovelas, the listed genres are placed in the same category considering there were no terminology differences between them in the TV program. The arrival of soap operas and telenovelas in the Yugoslav media space is linked with TV sets getting cheaper at the start of the 1960s when popular American soap operas *The Long, Hot Summer*, *Peyton Place*, and subsequently various Czech, Polish, German and Italian series began broadcasting (Oršolić, 2013). However, the TV program listed *Dallas* in the "series" genre, as well as *America's Funniest Home Videos*, which actually belongs in the show genre. Also, domestic production series, such as *Slanko*, a children's series, and *Odbornici*, were listed as domestic series, but were more of an educational character rather than commercial.

The 1970s genre shift is followed by an increase in self-produced marketing shows (Table 4) as well as the start of the EPP era (Table 3). Considering the content and small number of such media forms, it could rightly be argued that at the time, as well as in the early 1980s, the audience was still not being handed overto advertisers. It also may not be possible to argue that the audience was active and that it was participating, but it was certainly not reduced to mere latent consumers, at least not in the same sense as today. Some authors, such as Dimitrijević, claim that advertising a certain product in socialism was intended as the sole act of rational introduction with the characteristics and method of use (2013: 13), i.e. that the economic propaganda in SFRY was never solely in the function of product promotion, but rather in the service of a general idea "'coming from above' regarding the stimulation of production and consumption as part of a plan to build a socialist society" (Čeh, 2013: 14). That plan is also visible in the types of advertising messages and companies that were being advertised. Even though almost all market participants in the field of marketing and promotion already existed in the 1970s (advertising agencies such as Vjesnik's agency and market research agency), marketing was also becoming an almost autonomous function in companies. This means that, as is the case today, marketing and advertising were first and foremost business functions which were perhaps only indirectly ideological.

TV Zagreb's character during the 1980s

A significant ratio increase of commercialization "announcer" genres is visible in the 1980s, an increase from 6% in 1981 to 12% in 1987 (Table 2). 1802 units of titles were analyzed during that period and a deeper insight into the program genre structure reveals the changes that characterized this period. In the beginning of the 1980s, an overview of the program was broadcasted on a daily basis, news several times a day, central evening news, various music shows, sports block, TV calendar, cartoons, morning and evening announcements and the program ran from 18:00 to 22:00 on First Channel, which makes a small difference when compared to the 1970s. The distinction of these years is a greater representation of sport and genre distribution adjustment in regards to a successful period of Yugoslav film production. The result is a smaller ratio of American film (8%) and the increase of domestic film serial (28%). Also talk shows arrived on TV screens, which although not considered as a commercial genre, implicated a greater role in creating public opinion. They were a novelty in the TV program (new genre) and in accordance to the genre classification back then could be considered as a political show. The significance is even greater considering that the separation of serial genres occurred at the time, thus creating educational, documentary, drama and ordinary series which were as such still listed just as "series" in the TV program.

The end of the 1980s indicated the stabilization of the television program since a cartoon for children

was broadcasted every evening at around 19:00 and the game show *Brojke i slova* ("*Numbers and Letters*") at 18:40. The 23% game show ratio indicates a growth of their popularity. Some of the most famous were *Kviskoteka*, *Poznajete li Jugoslaviju* ("*Do You Know Yugoslavia*") and *Kolo sreće* "*The Wheel of Fortune*". In these stages of game show growth, different types of knowledge were sought. Later on, as noted by Fiske (1987), apart from factual knowledge which for the most part was acquired by academic capital, game shows that required "human knowledge" became increasingly popular, which involves being familiar with a certain individual or requires some form of social intelligence. The growth of popularity of the latter indicates the democratization of knowledge, inviting a wider population to participate in the competition. The fact that changes in society affect program structure and lead to changes within genres themselves is indicated by the game show change, because a game show carries within it elements of capitalist ideology where the idea of equal opportunities is promoted as real, just as the idea that certain individuals are simply more capable and should be awarded material benefits (Popović, 2012: 36).

Longer TV program broadcasting (Table 4) leads to the broadcasting of the nighttime and satellite program. The unique aspect of republic televisions within JRT (Yugoslav Radio Television) at the time was a serious concern of the ruling structures regarding the types of TV programs. Since the media answer not to the public but to the sociopolitical organizations, and by logic the republic televisions were sociopolitical institutions, they were more directed towards the informative and educational component of the program. This was logical, as the agenda was to resist the penetration of consumer society, American capitalism, advertising and all things Western so that their role, as noted by Grbelja, was reduced to the transmission of leadership's decisions, conclusions and reflections to citizens (1998: 162). That was the role of a mere medium.

So, it's not difficult to understand why advertising wasn´t about handing over the public to advertisers. Commercials mainly promoted a healthier life style (*Small Secrets of Great Chefs* – Table 2) and EPP was certainly not an "aggression" on consumers, which in later years, due to a more intense market orientation, came more prominently to the fore (Ban, 2009: 156). According to Karlović, television "as a decisive medium of the 80s" wasn´t "a metaphysical instance which would rewrite and decide the cultural habits of viewers from above" (cited in Car, 2007: 123), but the entrance into the 1990s was also marked by significant changes – EPP was gone from the TV schedule, entertainment elements were introduced into the program, as well as a change going in the direction of altering viewing habits. This doesn´t mean that entertainment elements hadn´t existed before, the difference was that "TV entertainment" back then "had to fit into the conservative concept of state television" so that any "colorful excess" would be noticed and remembered. All that was intended to be for public appearance, which included artistic work irrespective of genre and medium, was controlled and permeated by strong censorship.

5. Conclusion

The cross section of TV Zagreb's First Channel TV program genre structure and commercials as a media form during the 1970s and the 1980s served as suitable ground for the analysis of social circumstances and characteristics of the particular time and space in which those forms emerged. Having in mind that most values in a society are channeled through television, which processes reality and broadcasts information, and the fact that media contents within the structure of a TV program are in given circumstances broadcasted with the goal of causing a predetermined effect on the audience, this retrospective cross section also served to clearly map the changes in the communication behavior of the audience.

The gradual entrance and continuous growth in the commercialization of "announcer" genres was noted, which, along with the entrance of EPP into television space, points to a change in the character of television at the time. Having in mind the dominant influence of television and the audience which is formed under that influence, an effort was made to establish if there was both a change in the television's character and a change in the audience's status. It was demonstrated that the change of program structure still didn´timply commercialization, at least not in the original sense present in such media models as the American one. That the gradual shift served as a preparation phase for the structural change which prepared the audience for commercialization and by which the media space was guided towards merging with the advertising

space. It was demonstrated that the role of the media (which means the content itself) significantly affects the position of the public in a given media system. Namely, in the communist one-party system the media were under constant supervision of the Party (through direct or indirect information censorship) which reduced them to sociopolitical institutions that transmitted the leadership's official information, conclusions and thoughts to the citizens. Such transmission of information was carried out with the specific goal to influence the audience. That goal came down to the creation of a non-active public, or, as Grunig puts it, *nonpublic* where the media were just a medium which was supposed to create latent patriots, citizens who will believe in the system and will not question its legitimacy. The goal of such a revolutionary role of the media wasn´t to create voters, or a participating public, but a public that doesn´t get involved because it doesn´t need to as it was told how to think. From that perspective it´s not difficult to explain either the direction of the media contents or the very function of EPP at the time. The public wasn´t yet being sold out to advertisers back then, since EPP served to promote the socialist economy idea, stimulate the production and consumptionside-by-side with its business function.

Present-day media owners find themselves in a position to control mass audiences through the media, to bestow information which unequivocally leads to unilateral conclusions. The fact that the public has been transformed from one type of latent state – latent patriots – into another – latent consumers, is reflected in the very role of the media. Viewers are guided, and it is of no importance whether they are guided by a totalitarian regime or entertainment, both turn them into passive consumers, unimmersed in the problem situation.

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Marina Đukić
Ivica Šola

Priprema javnosti za komercijalizaciju i usmjeravanje strukturalnog medijskog prostora za spajanje s oglašivačkim prostorom

Sažetak

Analizom žanrovske strukture televizijskoga programa od početka 1970-ih do sredine 1990-ih na Prvom programu Televizije Zagreb i njegovim položajem oglašavanja,razmatraju se načini i intenzitet ulaska komercijalizacije u hrvatski medijski prostor u tadašnjemu vremenu, pod dominacijom državnih medija. Žanrovsko mijenjanje televizijskoga programa i emitiranje EPP-a (ekonomsko-propagandnoga programa) ukazivat će na drugi karakter kojega televizija dobiva, a može se reći da će i služiti kao priprema javnosti za ulazak komercijalizacije, odnosno usmjeravanje strukturalnoga medijskoga prostora za spajanje s oglašivačkim prostorom. Pretpostavka je da unatoč strukturalnim promjenama televizijskoga programa, koje su u ekonomskome smislu bile praćene privrednim reformama, u cilju uspostavljanja tržišne ekonomije, publika još uvijek nije bila isporučivana oglašivačima. Objašnjenje leži u samoj ulozi medija, koji su tada imali revolucionarnu funkciju nestvaranja glasača, već isključivo patriota.

Analizom medijskoga sadržaja prezentiranoga u okviru televizijskoga programa, rad će prikazati svojevrsnu genezu transformacije javnosti iz stanja latentnosti u državnom vođenom medijskom sustavu, u isto stanje latentnosti u mješovitom modelu medija.

Ključne riječi: javnost, komercijalizacija, žanrovi, televizijski program, oglašavanje