

# THE DEPENDENCE ON GLOBAL MEDIA OF FOREIGN POLICY REPORTING OF THE YUGOSLAV DAILY NEWSPAPERS (SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER 1983)<sup>1</sup>

**Bojan BLAZHEVSKI**

PhD in Political Science, Journalist

E-mail: bojanblazevski@gmail.com

## **Abstract**

This paper aims to discover the dependence on global media of foreign policy reporting of the Yugoslav daily newspapers in the period when Yugoslavia was a member of the Non-Aligned Movement and gave support to the attempt to reduce the influence of international news agencies around the world. The research is founded on the assumption that the reporting of international events by the Macedonian newspaper *Nova Makedonija*, the Slovenian newspaper *Delo*, and the Serbian newspaper *Politika* in the 1983 print editions, is insignificantly influenced by the global media. Empirical results were obtained using the method of quantitative content analysis. The data were gathered over a four-month period, using the issues printed from the year of 1983. Research results show that global media had insignificant direct influence on international reporting of all Yugoslav newspapers. At the same time, heavy, but indirect influence of global media is present in the newspapers *Nova Makedonija* and *Politika*. Media representation of international actualities in all newspapers was mostly geared toward information about actual events that had happened on the northern continents and regions of the earth. Military and political conflicts were the main topics of interest for covering the southern parts of the world. However, empirical results also revealed some surprising contrasts on these issues among the Yugoslav daily newspapers in 1983.

**Keywords:** *global media, international flow of information, agenda setting, daily newspapers, the SFR Yugoslavia*

## **1. Introduction**

Together with the massive process of decolonization and independence of the former colonies in the southern continents of the world, the critique of global media was formed in the second half of the twentieth century (Rantanen, 2009). According to Sean MacBride and Colleen Roach, the major Western international

---

<sup>1</sup> This article is part of my PhD thesis defended at the Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research, Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje, Macedonia on 9 November 2016

news services – *Associated Press, United Press International, Agence France Presse* and *Reuters* were constantly described as having a monopoly control over the flow of news to and from developing countries (MacBride & Roach, 1993). “In 1900 and before, the location of major agencies represented the world’s wealthiest nations: Britain, France and Germany, together with the United States” (Boyd-Barrett, 1998, p. 22). Ulla Carlsson argues that global flows of news and information were the subject of intense debate in the period of dramatic changes in world politics that took place in the 1960s (Carlsson, 2003). “...the concept of a ‘new world information and communication order,’ known as NWICO, became a leading theme in global media policy debates from the 1970s until the 1990s...” (Nordenstreng, 2003, p. 1). Hamid Mowlana in the paper “International Flow of Information: A Global Report and Analysis” gave a presentation of conducted reports on this topic through 1985. At least 150 research papers with obtained empirical results had examined the flow of international news between 1970 and 1986 (Hanusch & Obijiofor, 2008). Mowlana argues that there is supremacy of information from the global media present in national and local printed media worldwide (Mowlana, 1985).

Immanuel Wallerstein and Raúl Prebisch described the division of the world in center and on the periphery even before Johan Galtung (Wallerstein, 1986; Dosman, 2006). However, his structural theory of imperialism is the main inspiration for scholars in researching the concepts of center and periphery in the international flow of information (Galtung, 1971). In its essence, such a division of the information world stems from the overall inequality. With it, the economic, political, cultural and media most developed parts of the world have the opportunity to disseminate information about the events of their region (center), versus those parts of the world in which many things happen, but they are not covered by global media (periphery) (McChesney, 2008; McNair, 2011). As a result of significant empirical research on this topic, UNESCO decided to form the MacBride Commission and in this way to respond to the main communication problems of the world. The final report “Many voices, One World” was published by UNESCO in 1980. According to Bogdan Osolnik, this report draws attention to the fact that the abundance of information and the diversity of sources do not ensure excellence of the information (Osolnik, 2005). The split of the world on communication center and periphery was also connected with the problem of reporting on negative topics for the southern continents and regions of the earth. “Expressions such as ‘coups and earthquakes’ were frequently used to describe reporting of Third World events” (MacBride & Roach, 1993: 6). The MacBride Commission concluded that the flow of information, messages, media programs and cultural products was mostly directed by developed and bigger countries in the world (UNESCO, The MacBride Commission, 1980). “More than 80% of the material in newspapers and other media worldwide emanates from global news agencies based in four of the world’s major capitals – all of them in the West” (Hatschen, 1993, p. 165 in Horvit, 2010, p. 73).

“The unanswered question remains: Why do Western media present proportionately higher negative news about Africa than they do in their reporting of Western countries?” (Obijiofor, 2008, p. 41). In the 70’s and 80’s of the XX century, the non-aligned countries played the main role in raising this issue. Hence, the Yugoslav national news agency *Tanjug* had a considerable role in the attempt to reduce the influence of international news agencies around the world. With the main support given by *Tanjug*, the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool was initiated in 1975 (Shafer, 1997). This initiative came after the Fourth Summit Conference of Heads of State or Governments of Non-Aligned Countries was held in September 1973 (Topuz, 1977, p. 1). In that period of time, Yugoslav foreign policy was based on the policy of nonalignment and coexistence in international relations, but also with clear statements against the politics of neocolonialism in the world (Djunov, 1989; Kardelj, 1986; Mojsov, 1981; Stojkovic, 1979). *Tanjug* as a centralized news agency had the opportunity to become one of the leading international agencies (Shafer, 1997). At the same time, Yugoslav print media were decentralized, which means that every republic and autonomous province had their own publishing houses that printed national daily newspapers (Radeljic, 2012).

On the basis of this theoretical background, the main question raised by this paper is the dependence on global media of foreign policy reporting of the Yugoslav daily newspapers in the period from September to December 1983.

## 2. Methodology

This paper aims to receive empirical results about the dependence on global media of international reporting of the Yugoslav daily newspapers in 1983. This research starts from the assumption that reporting on international events in the daily newspapers *Nova Makedonija*, *Delo* and *Politika* in 1983 was under insignificant dependence from the international news agencies *Reuters*, *United Press International*, *Associated Press*, *Agence France Presse* and *Tyelyegrafnoye agyentstvo Sovyetskovo Soyuza (TASS)*. For the purposes of this research, we claim that this dependence can be separated on direct and indirect influence. Direct influence of global media can be revealed by the sources of information used in the published media content in the newspapers. Indirect influence of global media can be determined through the following indicators: continents and regions reported in the texts for international events and topics covered in the texts for the southern continents and regions of the globe.

The relevant literature for the division of the world on communication center and periphery was used in the methodological framework. In the global ‘North’ of the world the following continents and regions were included: Europe (including USSR), Balkan Peninsula (including Turkey), Middle East, North America (USA, Canada, and Mexico) and Asia. In the global ‘South’ of the earth the following continents regions were considered: Africa, Central America (including the Caribbean), South America and Australia (including New Zealand and Oceania).

This division of the world was mainly based on the previous studies carried out by UNESCO in the second half of the twentieth century, such as the report “Foreign News in the Media: International Reporting in 29 countries” (Mohammadi et al., 1982). However, some of the changes made in this research should also be noted. As already mentioned, the empirical results in this paper are part of a broader thirty-year research of international reporting. Therefore, for the purposes of the whole research, it was necessary to include the Middle East as a region in the global ‘North’. In fact, the implications of international events from this region were directly connected to the world’s communication center in the 2013 research period. However, Algeria, Libya and other Arab countries of the Mediterranean were included under Africa’s continent in this research. This means that the geographical location of all countries was also taken in consideration. The research included a special class for those international events for which information had arrived from different parts of the world, forming the so-called global events. It should be noted that the foreign visits of the Yugoslav officials were not considered as international events in this research. The official meetings with foreign officials in the Yugoslav capital were also not considered as international events.

Previous studies published by UNESCO have also been used to define what can be considered as positive and negative topics in those reporting in relation to the southern continents and regions of the earth (Mohammadi et al., 1982). In this case, additional topics were defined in the groups of positive and negative topics. Here, one should note the separation of terrorism from military and political conflicts in the group of negative topics. Also, in the group of positive topics were included many new issues, such as the work of the NGO sector, the respect of human rights, ecology, alternative sources of energy and energy efficiency. In this case, through a specific example, we should explain what is positive and what negative topic is. If the text concerns an earthquake in Chile, this is certainly a negative topic. If the article informs about the reconstruction of the Chilean cities after the earthquake, then this is a positive topic. Additionally, a special class in this research includes those journalistic articles that treat two or more topics within one single text.

Regarding the research sample, it should be mentioned that this research included the following newspapers: *Nova Makedonija* (the Socialist Republic of Macedonia), *Delo* (the Socialist Republic of Slovenia) and *Politika* (the Socialist Republic of Serbia). During the research period of 1983, they were the leading daily newspapers in all three Yugoslav republics and as influential media they had a key role in the formation of public opinion. (This period was chosen for the research because, especially among the Macedonian libraries, some of the printed editions of newspapers from older date were damaged or more difficult to get access.) Within the doctoral dissertation, it was decided to conduct research from a historical perspective on the chosen topic. The year of 1983 was also chosen as a period of close relations among the republics within the SFR Yugoslavia. It was also a period of stable support to the main Yugoslav foreign policy priorities. On the other hand,

the policy of nonalignment was still reasonable. International conflicts between the Eastern and Western bloc countries occurred on several spots in the world, such as Lebanon. In the middle of this conflict, Yugoslavia and other non-aligned countries were still trying to stop further escalation of the Cold War. However, the most important thing for this research was to provide reliable access to data on the international reporting of these newspapers.

The main criteria for the selection of newspapers was impartiality. All three newspapers had to be published on a national level constantly in all three research periods of 1983, 1989 and 2013, a criterion that originates from the research methodology of my doctoral dissertation. In order to obtain empirical results in this research, the method of quantitative content analysis was introduced, along with semi-structured interviews and critical discourse analysis. However, this paper presents only those results of the quantitative content analysis for the 1983 printed editions of the newspapers. The analysis was conducted on all printed editions of the newspapers in the following period: from 1 to 7 September (the first week of September), from 8 to 14 October (the second week of October), from 15 to 21 November (the third week of November), and from 22 to 28 December 1983 (the fourth week of December). This period of research was chosen as an effort to obtain reliable results. Identical dates gave the possibility to make effective comparison from historical and regional perspective. The four-month research period excludes the possibility for key impact of some major international events on the received empirical results.

The research carried out within this methodological framework lead to results, which are shown in the tables that follow. In the subheading 'Research results' are also placed graphs for comparing the results among the different Yugoslav daily newspapers:

2.1 Research results

Table 1. Sources of information on media content for international events published in the newspaper Nova Makedonija in 1983

Source of information on media content placed in foreign policy section of the newspaper Nova Makedonija	Text		Photography		Other media content	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Global media						
<b>Reuters</b>	31	6.6%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>Agence France Presse</b>	22	4.7%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>Associated Press</b>	18	3.8%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>United Press International</b>	18	3.8%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>TASS</b>	3	0.6%	0	0%	0	0%
Total:	<b>92</b>	<b>19.5%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
Foreign national and regional media						
<b>Other foreign national media</b>	41	8.7%	0	0%	1	10%
<b>Xinhua</b>	4	0.9%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>The New York Times</b>	1	0.2%	0	0%	0	0%
Total:	<b>46</b>	<b>9.8%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
Editorial staff of the Nova Makedonija newspaper						
<b>Correspondent, reporter or contributor from abroad of the Nova Makedonija newspaper</b>	38	8.1%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>Journalist, editor and contributor of the newspaper from Yugoslavia</b>	23	4.9%	0	0%	4	40%
Total:	<b>61</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
Yugoslav national media						
<b>Tanjug</b>	231	49.2%	0	0%	0	0%
Total:	<b>231</b>	<b>49.2%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Unstated source of information</b>	26	5.5%	47	100%	0	0%
<b>More than one source of information</b>	14	3%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>Other source of information</b>	0	0%	0	0%	5	50%
Total:	<b>470</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 2. *Continents or regions which are a subject of interest in published articles for international events in the newspaper Nova Makedonija in 1983*

<i>Continent or region which is a subject of interest in the published article</i>	<b>Text</b>	
	N	%
Northern continents and regions of the earth		
<b>Europe (including Soviet Union)</b>	135	28..%
<b>Asia</b>	76	16%
<b>Middle East</b>	64	13.6%
<b>Balkan Peninsula (including Turkey)</b>	54	11.5%
<b>North America (USA, Canada, Mexico)</b>	53	11.3%
Total:	<b>382</b>	<b>81.3%</b>
Southern continents and regions of the earth		
<b>Africa</b>	32	6..%
<b>South America</b>	24	5.1%
<b>Central America and the Caribbean</b>	12	2.6%
<b>Australia, Oceania and New Zealand</b>	4	0..%
Total:	<b>72</b>	<b>15.3%</b>
<b>More than one continent or region</b>	16	3.4%
Total:	<b>470</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3. *Topics of articles related with the southern continents and regions of the Earth, published in the newspaper Nova Makedonija in 1983*

<i>Topics of the published articles that are related with the southern continents and regions of the earth</i>	<b>Text</b>	
	N	%
Positive topics		
<b>Bilateral and multilateral agreements, meetings and conferences, establishing and further development of regional and international organizations</b>	7	9.4%
<b>Other positive topics</b>	7	9.4%
<b>Development of democratic political system and respecting human rights</b>	4	5.4%
<b>Economic, political and cultural development of society</b>	2	2.7%
<b>Technical, technological, scientific and other development</b>	1	1.4%
<b>Ecology and environmental protection</b>	1	1.4%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>29.7%</b>
Negative topics		
<b>Military and political conflicts (international military conflict, civil wars, political conflict)</b>	34	45..%
<b>Other negative topics</b>	9	12.2%
<b>Organized crime</b>	2	2..%
<b>Natural disasters (floods, earthquakes, etc.)</b>	2	2.7%
<b>Economic and financial crises</b>	1	1.4%
<b>Religious, ethnic and racial antagonism</b>	1	1.4%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>66.3%</b>



Table 4. Sources of information on media content for international events published in the newspaper Delo in 1983

<i>Source of information on media content placed in foreign policy section of the newspaper Delo</i>	<b>Text</b>		<b>Photography</b>		<b>Other media content</b>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Global media						
<b>Agence France Presse</b>	54	5.7%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>United Press International</b>	40	4.2%	11	45.8%	0	0%
<b>Reuters</b>	37	3.9%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>Associated Press</b>	30	3.2%	2	8.3%	0	0%
<b>TASS</b>	3	0.3%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>17.3%</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>54.1%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
Foreign national and regional media						
<b>Other foreign national media</b>	87	9.2%	0	0%	5	71.4%
<b>Xinhua</b>	3	0.3%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>The Washington Post</b>	1	0.1%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>9.6%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>71.4%</b>
Editorial staff of the Delo newspaper						
<b>Correspondent, reporter or contributor from abroad of the Delo newspaper</b>	158	16.7%	8	33.3%	0	0%
<b>Journalist, editor and contributor</b>	7	0.7%	1	4.2%	1	14.3%

<b>of the newspaper from Yugoslavia</b>						
<b>Total:</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>17.4%</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>37.5%</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>14.3%</b>
Yugoslav national media						
<b>Tanjug</b>	446	47%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>Oslobodenje</b>	5	0.5%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>451</b>	<b>47.5%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
Alternative media						
<b>The NAM News Network</b>	2	0.2%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>Inter Press Service</b>	1	0.1%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0.3%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>More than one source of information</b>	41	4.3%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>Unstated source of information</b>	30	3.2%	1	4.2%	1	14.3%
<b>Other source of information</b>	4	0.4%	1	4.2%	0	0%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>949</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 5. *Continents or regions which are a subject of interest in published articles for international events in the newspaper Delo in 1983*

<i>Continent or region which is a subject of interest in the published article</i>	<b>Text</b>	
	N	%
Northern continents and regions of the earth		
<b>Europe (including USSR)</b>	368	38.8%
<b>Asia</b>	144	15.2%
<b>Middle East</b>	98	10.3%
<b>North America (USA, Canada, Mexico)</b>	86	9%
<b>Balkan Peninsula (including Turkey)</b>	34	3.6%
Total:	<b>730</b>	<b>76.9%</b>
Southern continents and regions of the earth		
<b>Africa</b>	87	9.2%
<b>South America</b>	58	6.1%
<b>Central America and the Caribbean</b>	23	2.4%
<b>Australia, Oceania and New Zealand</b>	13	1.4%
Total:	<b>181</b>	<b>19.1%</b>
<b>More than one continent or region</b>	38	4%
Total:	<b>949</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 6. *Topics of articles related with the southern continents and regions of the Earth, published in the newspaper Delo in 1983*

<i>Topics of the published articles that are related with the southern continents and regions of the Earth</i>	<b>Text</b>	
	N	%
Positive topics		
<b>Bilateral and multilateral agreements, meetings and conferences, establishing and further development of regional and international organizations</b>	50	26.7%
<b>Development of democratic political system and respecting human rights</b>	14	7.5%
<b>Economic, political and cultural development of society</b>	9	4.8%
<b>Other positive topics</b>	8	4.3%
<b>Technical, technological, scientific and other development</b>	4	2.2%
<b>Independence, establishing sovereignty, struggle against neocolonialism and imperialism</b>	4	2.2%
<b>International aid</b>	2	1.1%
Total:	<b>91</b>	<b>48.8%</b>
Negative topics		
<b>Military and political conflicts (international military conflict, civil wars, political conflict)</b>	60	32%
<b>Other negative topics</b>	15	8%
<b>Natural disasters (floods, earthquakes, etc.)</b>	7	3.7%
<b>Economic and financial crises</b>	6	3.2%
<b>Organized crime</b>	2	1.1%
<b>Religious, ethnic and racial antagonism</b>	2	1.1%
<b>Terrorism</b>	1	0.5%
<b>Economic, political, social, information and other forms of inequality</b>	1	0.5%
Total:	<b>94</b>	<b>50.1%</b>
<b>Two or more topics</b>	2	1.1%
Total:	<b>187</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 7. Sources of information on media content for international events published in the newspaper Politika in 1983

<i>Source of information on media content placed in foreign policy section of the newspaper Politika</i>	<b>Text</b>		<b>Photography</b>		<b>Other media content</b>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Global media						
<b>Agence France Presse</b>	36	3.8%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>Associated Press</b>	34	3.6%	0	0%	1	2.4%
<b>Reuters</b>	34	3.6%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>United Press International</b>	27	2.9%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>TASS</b>	4	0.4%	0	0%	1	2.4%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>14.3%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4.8%</b>
Foreign national and regional media						
<b>Other foreign national media</b>	56	5.9%	0	0%	14	34.2%
<b>Xinhua</b>	5	0.5%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>The New York Times</b>	1	0.1%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>6.5%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>34.2%</b>
Editorial staff of the Politika newspaper						
<b>Correspondent, reporter or contributor from abroad of the Politika newspaper</b>	179	19%	0	0%	0	0%

<b>Journalist, editor and contributor of the newspaper from Yugoslavia</b>	64	6.8%	0	0%	12	29.3%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>243</b>	<b>25.8%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>29.3%</b>
Yugoslav national media						
<b>Tanjug</b>	365	38.6%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>365</b>	<b>38.6%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
Alternative media						
<b>Inter Press Service</b>	2	0.2%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>Other foreign alternative media</b>	1	0.1%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0.3%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>
<b>Unstated source of information</b>	112	11.9%	103	100%	13	31.7%
<b>More than one source of information</b>	25	2.6%	0	0%	0	0%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>945</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 8. *Continents or regions which are a subject of interest in published articles for international events in the newspaper Politika in 1983*

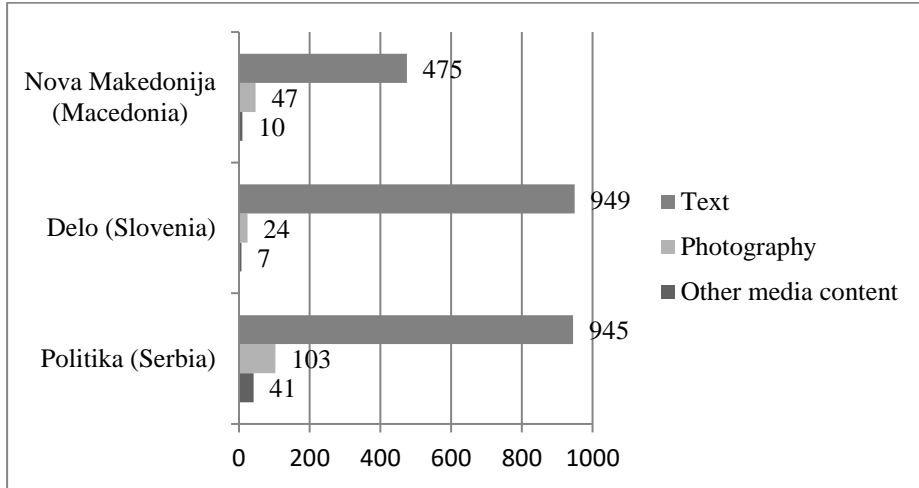
<i>Continent or region which is a subject of interest in the published articles</i>	<b>Text</b>	
	N	%
Northern continents and regions of the earth		
<b>Europe (including USSR)</b>	288	30.5%
<b>Balkan Peninsula (including Turkey)</b>	138	14.6%
<b>Asia</b>	117	12.3%
<b>Middle East</b>	107	11.3%
<b>North America (USA, Canada, Mexico)</b>	65	6.9%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>715</b>	<b>75.6%</b>
Southern continents and regions of the earth		
<b>Africa</b>	50	5.3%
<b>South America</b>	41	4.3%
<b>Central America and the Caribbean</b>	29	3.1%
<b>Australia, Oceania and New Zealand</b>	11	1.2%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>13.9%</b>
<b>More than one continent or region</b>	99	10.5%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>945</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 9. *Topics of articles related with the southern continents and regions of the earth, published in the newspaper Politika in 1983*

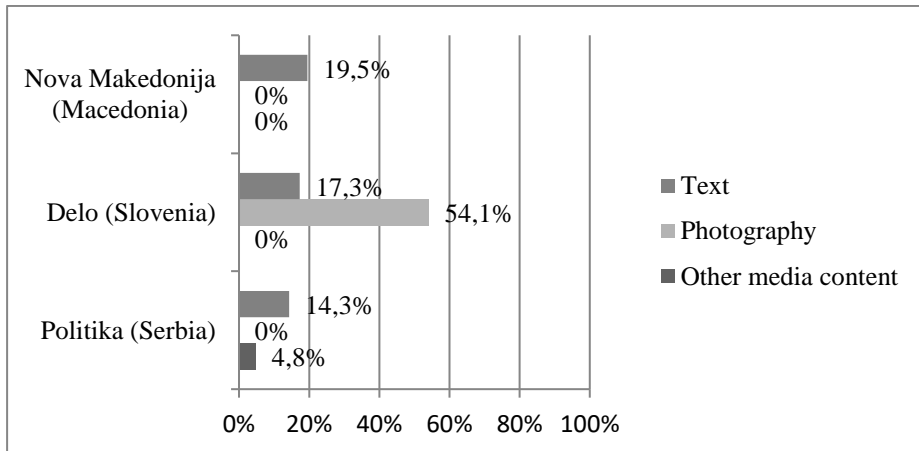
<i>Topics of the published articles that are related with the southern continents and regions of the earth</i>	<b>Text</b>	
	N	%
Positive topics		
<b>Bilateral and multilateral agreements, meetings and conferences, establishing and further development of regional and international organizations</b>	23	16.8%
<b>Development of democratic political system and respecting human rights</b>	10	7.3%
<b>Other positive topics</b>	5	3.7%
<b>Economic, political and cultural development of society</b>	3	2.2%
<b>International aid</b>	3	2.2%
<b>Technical, technological, scientific and other development</b>	2	1.5%
<b>Independence, establishing sovereignty, struggle against neocolonialism and imperialism</b>	2	1.5%
<b>Development of NGO sector</b>	1	0.7%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>35.9%</b>
Negative topics		
<b>Military and political conflicts (international military conflict, civil wars, political conflict)</b>	44	32.1%
<b>Other negative topics</b>	19	13.9%
<b>Economic and financial crisis</b>	6	4.4%
<b>Poverty and diseases</b>	4	2.9%
<b>Natural disasters (floods, earthquakes, etc.)</b>	3	2.2%
<b>Economic, political, social, information and other forms of inequality</b>	2	1.4%
<b>Terrorism</b>	1	0.7%
<b>Organized crime</b>	1	0.7%
<b>Religious, ethnic and racial antagonism</b>	1	0.7%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>59%</b>
<b>Two or more topics</b>	7	5.1%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100%</b>



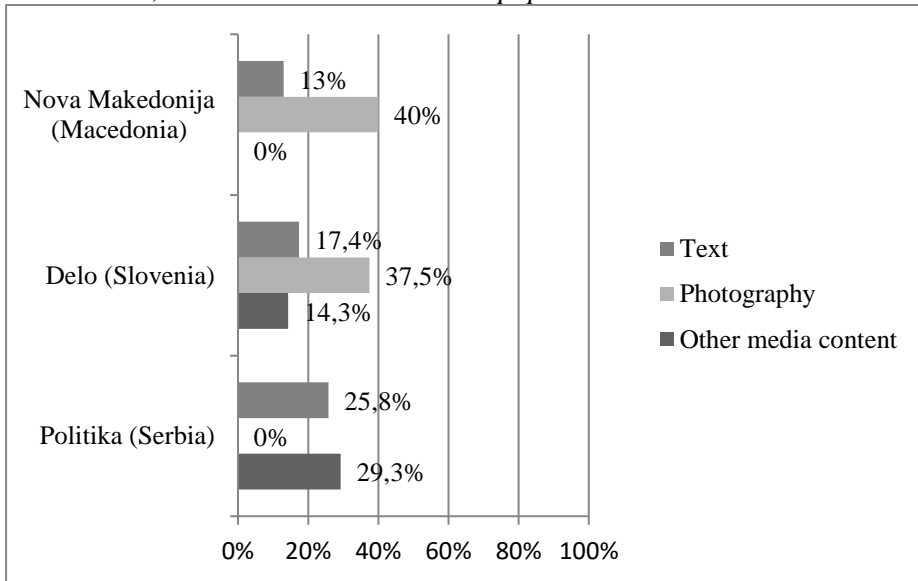
Graph 1. Number of published media content for international events in the 1983 printed editions of the Macedonian, Slovenian and Serbian newspapers



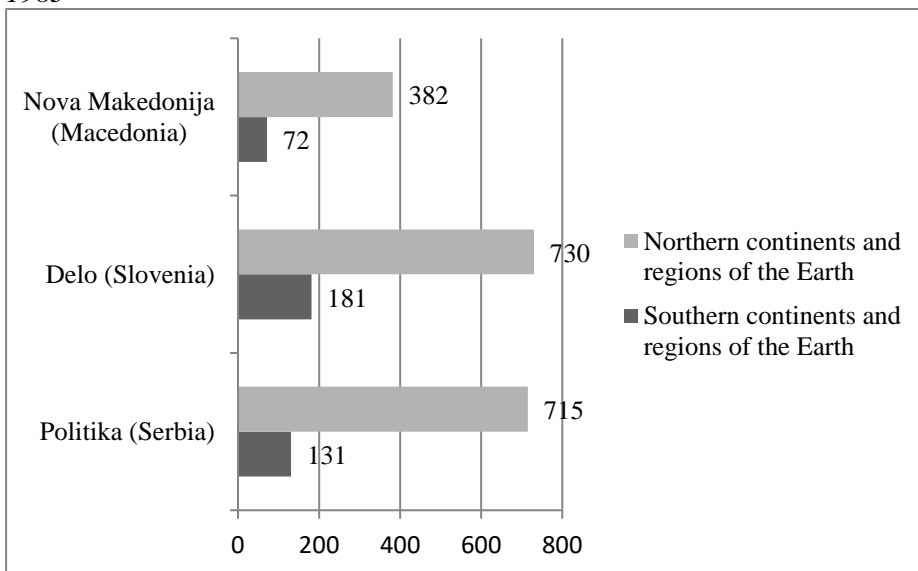
Graph 2. Global media as a source of information in international reporting of the Macedonian, Slovenian and Serbian newspapers in 1983



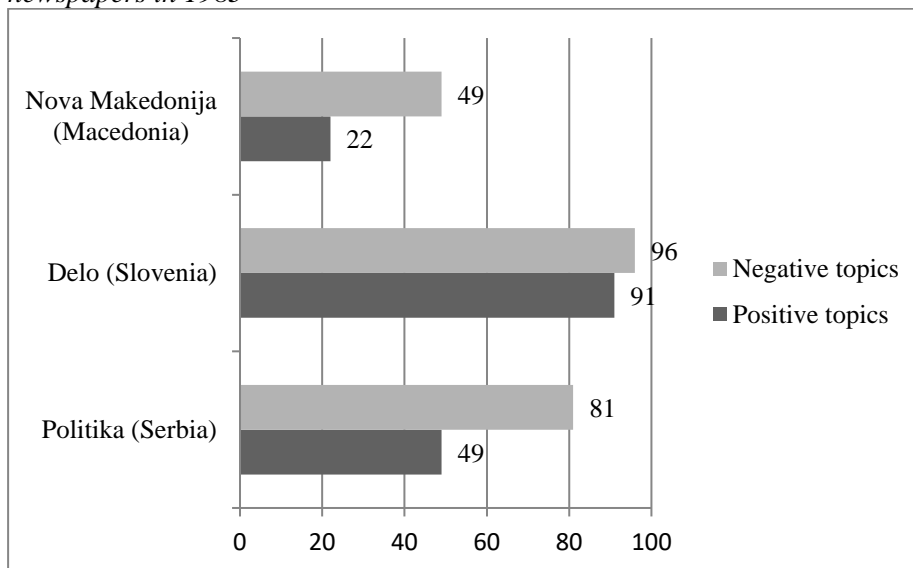
Graph 3. *Editorial staff as a source of information in international reporting of the Macedonian, Slovenian and Serbian newspapers in 1983*



Graph 4. *Continents and regions which are subject of interest in published articles for international events in the Macedonian, Slovenian and Serbian newspapers in 1983*



Graph 5. *Topics of interest in those articles related with the southern continents and regions of the world published in the Macedonian, Slovenian and Serbian newspapers in 1983*



### 3. The dependence on global media of international reporting of the Macedonian newspaper *Nova Makedonija*

During the research period of 1983, in the leading Macedonian daily newspaper *Nova Makedonija* were published 470 texts, 47 photographs and 10 units of other media content (graphs, tables, maps, caricatures, etc.) for international events.

The most used source of information on textual content was the Yugoslav national news agency *Tanjug*, from which were taken 231 articles, or 49.2% of the textual material. Global news agencies *Reuters*, *Associated Press*, *United Press International*, *Agence France Presse* and *TASS* were employed as sources of information in 92 texts, which is 19.5% of their total number. Editorial staff of the newspaper *Nova Makedonija* prepared 61 articles, or 13% of the textual content published in foreign policy section. This analysis reveals that all photographs for international events were published with unstated source of information, which means that the basic journalistic rules were not respected by Macedonian editors and journalists. Journalistic theory says that all sources of information have to be declared in the media content, but in practice, this was not the case with the newspaper *Nova Makedonija*.

At the beginning of 1980's, the Macedonian newspaper *Nova Makedonija* was geared toward reporting events from the northern continents and regions of the earth. As many as 382 articles, or 81.3% of the total number, refer to international

events that occurred within Europe, Asia, Balkan Peninsula, Middle East or North America. In actuality 72 articles, which is 15.3% of the textual content were from the developing countries or the Third World countries, which are situated mostly on the southern parts of the earth. During the research period of 1983, only 15 articles were placed in foreign policy section for covering events that took place within the neighboring Balkan countries, which is 11.5% of the written material.

Research results demonstrate that the majority of journalistic articles covered the negative events from the southern continents and regions of the world, creating a specific media reality for the actual situation in Africa, Central America, South America, Australia, Oceania and New Zealand. In 1983, gatekeeping, as a process through which information is filtered by editorial board, had been constantly feeding the newspaper *Nova Makedonija* with negative topics, which were covered in 49 published texts for the southern continents and regions of the earth, or 66.3% of the total number of articles for these parts of the world. Political conflicts, civil wars and international military conflicts were presented as such in 34 texts, which is 45.9% of the written material. Contrary to this, *Nova Makedonija* published 21 articles, or 29.7% of the textual content, that elaborated some positive topic for the southern continents and regions of the globe.

#### **4. The dependence on global media of international reporting of the Slovenian newspaper *Delo***

In the research period of 1983, the Slovenian newspaper *Delo* published 949 texts, 24 photographs and 7 units of other media content (graphs, tables, maps, caricatures, etc.) for international events.

The most employed source of information on textual content is the Yugoslav national news agency *Tanjug*, from which were taken 446 articles, or 47% of the textual content. The second most used source of information were global news agencies. *Reuters*, *United Press International*, *Associated Press*, *Agence France Presse* and *TASS* were named as sources of information in 164 texts, or 17.3% of their total number. Correspondents, reporters and contributors of the newspaper *Delo* prepared 158 articles, or 16.7% of the textual content. When it comes to the photographic content, global media have a major role in international reporting of the leading Slovenian newspaper. American news agencies *United Press International* and *Associated Press* were used as sources of information in 13 photographs, or 54.1% of their total number. In addition,, the editorial staff of the newspaper *Delo* produced 8 photographs, or 33.3% of the material. As a result of this, heavy direct influence of global media exists only on published photographic content for international events.

During the period of existence of the SFR Yugoslavia, the newspaper *Delo* was oriented toward reporting events from the northern continents and regions of the earth. As much as 730 articles, or 76.9% of the total number, refer to international events that took place within Europe, Asia, Balkan Peninsula, Middle East or North

America. Although the SFR Yugoslavia had aspirations for closer relations with the non-aligned countries in the world, research results of this paper demonstrate that international reporting of the newspaper *Delo* was oriented in different direction. Only 181, or 19.1%, of the journalistic texts published concerned events from the southern continents and regions of the earth.

In the matter of topics of articles related with the southern parts of the globe, empirical results revealed that equal number of articles with positive and negative themes could be found in the Slovenian newspaper *Delo*. During the research period of 1983, negative topics were covered in 50.1% of the textual content for international events related with the southern continents and regions of the world. Positive themes for actualities that originate from Africa, Central America, South America, Australia, Oceania and New Zealand were covered in 91 articles, or 48.8% of their total number. According to these results, the editorial staff achieved a balanced reporting for different parts of the world.

##### **5. The dependence on global media of international reporting of the Serbian newspaper *Politika***

During the research period of 1983, the Serbian daily newspaper *Politika* published 945 texts, 103 photographs and 41 units of other media content (graphs, tables, maps, caricatures, etc.) for international events.

When it comes to the sources of information, this research proved that the Yugoslav news agency *Tanjug* was the major source of information in foreign policy section at the beginning of 80's. It was employed as source of information in 365 articles, or 38.6% of the textual material for actualities from abroad. Editorial staff of the newspaper *Politika* had an important role in reporting international events. Correspondents, reporters and contributors of the newspaper *Politika* from abroad created 179 articles, which is 19% of the textual content. Journalists, editors and contributors of the newspaper *Politika* in the SFR Yugoslavia produced 64 articles and 12 units of other media content for international events, which is 6.8% of the textual material and 29.3% of the other media content. The newspaper *Politika* had 14 correspondents from Bonn, Washington, Beijing, Cairo, Moscow, Prague, New York, Rome, London, Melbourne, Mexico City, Warsaw, Paris and Geneva. At the same time, there were three reporters that occasionally sent journalistic reports from Santiago de Chile, La Paz, Oslo and Stockholm. The newspaper *Politika* had 11 journalists, editors and other contributors located in its newsroom in Belgrade and all of them worked on covering international events. Global media were the third most used source of information in foreign policy section, which can be seen from the fact that their content was used in 135 articles (14.3% of the total number) and 2 units of other media content (4.8% of the total number). A vast majority of media materials were published with unnamed source of information – journalist who created it or other media from which these materials were provided. The foreign policy section was made up of 112 articles (11.9% of their total amount), 103

photographs (100% of their total number) and 13 units of other media content (31.7% of the other media content) published with unstated source of information.

When it comes to the continents and or regions, which are a subject of interest, different research results appeared. A significant majority of the textual content in the Serbian newspaper *Politika* tells the story of events from the countries of the northern continents and regions of the earth. These parts of the world were covered in 715 journalistic texts, or in 75.6% of the textual content. In actuality, 131 articles, or 13.9% of the textual content were published from the southern continents and regions of the world. Moreover, the main focus of reporting was on events from Europe (288 articles or 30.5% of the total number) and Balkan Peninsula (138 texts or 14.6% of the textual content).

Empirical results demonstrate that the majority of journalistic texts for the southern parts of the world covered negative events. In this way, they created a specific media reality for the actual situation in Africa, Central America, South America, Australia, Oceania and New Zealand. During the research period of 1983, negative topics were covered in 81 articles, or 59% of the textual content. In that period of time, positive themes for the southern continents and regions of the world were presented as such in 49 articles, which is 35.9% of the textual content.

## **6. Comparison of research results for Yugoslav newspapers**

The Yugoslav daily newspapers gave different attention to international events during the research period of 1983. International reporting of the newspapers *Nova Makedonija*, *Delo* and *Politika* had several dissimilarities, although Macedonia, Slovenia and Serbia in that period were part of the Yugoslav federation. Here, we should stress that the research was conducted for a specific period of strong support from the Yugoslav leadership for the politics of nonalignment and close bilateral relations of the SFR Yugoslavia with the developing and undeveloped countries in the world.

The Slovenian newspaper *Delo* and the Serbian newspaper *Politika* had much more open coverage of international events than the Macedonian newspaper *Nova Makedonija*. The leading Slovenian and Serbian print media published two times more textual content for international events than in the newspaper *Nova Makedonija*. This openness to the world was in line with the proactive foreign policy of the SFR Yugoslavia on the international political scene. The international activity in different parts of the world was followed by extensive reporting for international events in the Yugoslav daily newspapers. The Macedonian newspaper *Nova Makedonija* was an exception in this media landscape, because their editors and journalists gave dramatically less space for actualities from abroad.

When it comes to the sources of information, two clear distinctions should be taken in consideration. In the first place, the newspaper *Delo* had positive practice for publishing sources of information that were used in foreign policy sections. During the research period of 1983, the basic journalistic standards were respected

only by the Slovenian newspaper *Delo*. Contrary to this professional practice of work, the newspapers *Nova Makedonija* and *Politika* did not publish their own sources of information for photographic content. With these results on board, it is impossible to discuss the direct influence of global media had on international reporting for all daily newspapers. According to the obtained results, heavy direct influence of global media exists only in published photographic content of the Slovenian newspaper *Delo*. In the matter of textual content, international news agencies had very small to small direct influence on international reporting of all three Yugoslav daily newspapers. Empirical results for the newspaper *Nova Makedonija* demonstrate that global media were the second most employed source of information.

During the same period of time, editorial staff of the Yugoslav newspapers had small role in covering international events. Taking into account all those materials that were published with indicated source and signed by the authors, the conclusion is that the Serbian newspaper *Politika* paid the greatest attention to producing original media content. Journalists of the newspaper *Politika* created two times more articles for international events than the editorial staff of the Macedonian newspaper *Nova Makedonija*. In addition, the Slovenian newspaper *Delo* gave larger space for original journalistic work in comparison with the leading Macedonian newspaper. These empirical results can be linked to the official numbers of correspondent staff from abroad who worked for the Yugoslav daily newspapers. At the beginning of 80's of the XX century, the Macedonian newspaper *Nova Makedonija* had five to six journalists that worked in its newsroom in Skopje. The leading Macedonian print media had three correspondents from Moscow, Athens and Sofia and four reporters from Rome, Paris, Warsaw and London. This number of journalists was two times smaller than the number of correspondent staff of the Slovenian newspaper *Delo* and the Serbian newspaper *Politika*. During the research period of 1983, the leading Serbian newspaper had 14 permanent correspondents from abroad, 3 reporters that periodically reported for international events and 11 journalists located in its editor's office in Belgrade. At the same time, the newspaper *Delo* had 15 correspondents and reporters from abroad and 6 journalists that produced media content from Ljubljana. Contrary to the different level of development of their own correspondent staff, in all three Yugoslav newspapers were mainly publishing media materials created by domestic sources of information, primarily, the Yugoslav news agency *Tanjug*.

Besides the direct influence of global media on international reporting, this paper will look at additional results on this research topic. As we have already explained in the methodology, another approach for discovering the indirect influence of global media was introduced. The research on gatekeeping and framing policies in the international reporting was applied.

Empirical results from this research revealed that the editorial attention was directed primarily to reporting events from the northern continents and regions of

the world. Editors of the newspapers *Nova Makedonija*, *Politika* and *Delo* gave priority to the actualities from Europe, Balkan Peninsula, North America, Middle East and Asia. Smaller inequality in media representation of international events exists in the Slovenian newspaper *Delo*. The analysis of media content for international events demonstrates a margin of 4:1 in favor of the northern continents and regions of the world. Almost identical attention to international events was given by the newspapers *Politika* and *Nova Makedonija*. Research results for these two print media demonstrate that the Balkan Peninsula, Europe, Asia, North America and Middle East were the published topics in five times more articles than for actualities from the southern continents and regions of the world. Based on these research results, we can argue that communication periphery for the Yugoslav daily newspapers in the 1983 print editions were the southern parts of the world. Almost all of these countries were part of the Non-Aligned movement. These countries were exactly the ones with which Yugoslavia had close bilateral relations in that period of time. However, international reporting of the leading Yugoslav newspapers was directed to producing media content for Europe, North America, Asia, Balkan Peninsula and Middle East.

Here, results for one more indicator should be included in the discussion. In 1983, only one Yugoslav newspaper gave equal attention to the positive and negative topics covered in those articles for the southern continents and regions of the world. The Slovenian newspaper *Delo* published almost equal number of articles with positive and negative themes for international events that originate from the southern continents and regions of the earth. The southern parts of the world in this newspaper were described as places where military and political conflicts occurred, but at the same time, also as locations where conflicts can be resolved through dialogue between all sides. The different media agenda was evident in foreign policy sections of the Macedonian newspaper *Nova Makedonija* and the Serbian newspaper *Politika*. Their editors chose to publish those topics that negatively represent countries located on the southern continents and regions of the earth. Quantitative content analysis shows a margin of 2:1 in favor of negative topics in the newspaper *Nova Makedonija*. In the identical period of time, the articles with negative topics were 60% more present in comparison with those texts that covered positive themes in foreign policy section of the newspaper *Politika*. Most of the textual content treated civil wars, political crises and international military conflicts when covering the southern parts of the world. Empirical results demonstrate the existence of heavy, but indirect influence of global media on international reporting of the newspapers *Nova Makedonija* and *Politika*. On the other side, we cannot confirm this conclusion for the Slovenian newspaper *Delo* at least for one indicator. During the research period of 1983, this is the most intriguing contrast between the Yugoslav daily newspapers from a regional perspective. Editorial policy of the newspapers *Politika* and *Nova Makedonija* was not adequately coordinated with the Yugoslav foreign policy activities in that period of time. Hence, the negative media representation of the



southern continents and regions of the world was not consistent with the official Yugoslav foreign policy. From a regional perspective, only the Slovenian daily newspaper *Delo* proved that its media agenda was in line with the main foreign policy priorities.

The research results of this paper are no different from the previous research completed on this topic. For example, the report "Foreign News in the Media: International Reporting in 29 countries" concluded that many newspapers from the developing and Third World countries were publishing media content with unnamed sources of information (Mohammadi et al., 1982, p. 49-50). Phil Harris, Harald Malczek and Ertuğrul Özkök in their paper "Flow of news in the Gulf" gave the same results. Many articles and other media content about neighboring countries in the Turkish newspapers were published with unstated sources of information (Harris, Malczek and Özkök, 1982). These two studies, along with dozens of other papers (Mowlana, 1985), demonstrated different empirical results regarding the dependence on global media in daily newspapers. In some cases, the results have shown the heavy influence of global media on international reporting, but there are also studies that have rejected this assumption. Hence, the obtained results for the Yugoslav daily newspapers are not surprising. Even in the case of international reporting on different continents and regions, some previous research has published results similar as this paper. George Gerbner and George Marvanyi in their paper "The Many Worlds of the World's Press" concluded that the newspapers from different countries had different priorities when reporting different continents and regions. Two-thirds of the published news stories in US newspapers were related to the events from Western Europe, South Asia, Far East, North America and Middle East. On the other side, newspapers from Great Britain and West Germany were oriented to the actualities from Western Europe, Latin America and North America (Gerbner & Marvanyi, 1977, p. 60).

However, the most interesting fact received from this research is that the leading daily newspapers in former Yugoslavia had a different media agenda when covering international events. Empirical results demonstrate that the most consistent in support of the Yugoslav foreign policy was the Slovenian newspaper *Delo*. It is this newspaper that has invested the greatest effort to overcome the dependence of global media on international reporting in the research period of 1983.

### Conclusion

To summarize, the research hypothesis was not entirely proved for all Yugoslav newspapers from the research sample. The heavy direct influence of global media was confirmed about the photographic content of the Slovenian newspaper *Delo*. However, in all other cases the direct influence of global news agencies on international reporting was small. This is confirmed with the case of the textual content, for which there are a significant number of domestic sources of information – the news agency *Tanjug* and journalists in the newspapers *Delo*, *Politika* and *Nova Makedonija* who cover foreign policy events. Another important difference between the Yugoslav daily newspapers was the existence of indirect influence of global media on all three newspapers. The Yugoslav newspapers were oriented toward reporting for events that occurred on the northern continents and regions of the world. At the same time, editors of the Macedonian newspaper *Nova Makedonija* and the Serbian newspaper *Politika* were oriented toward creation of negative image for the southern continents and regions of the earth. Because of such empirical results, it can be concluded that there was heavy indirect influence of global media on international reporting of the newspapers *Nova Makedonija* and *Politika*. Of course, this was not expected as a conclusion by the research hypothesis. At the end, it is worth mentioning that these quantitative results cannot entirely describe the dependence of global media. It was additionally confirmed in my doctoral dissertation by the semi-structured interviews with journalists and the critical discourse analysis of reporting on a particular international event. It means that quantitative analysis can only partially provide empirical results on this research topic. However, this paper tried to present the empirical results obtained solely from the quantitative content analysis.

### References

- Boyd-Barrett, O. (1998). 'Global' News Agencies. In Boyd-Barrett O., & Rantanen T. (Eds.) *The Globalization of news*. (pp.19-34). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Dosman, J.E. (ed.) (2010). *Raul Prebisch: Power, Principle and the Ethics of Development*. Buenos Aires: Institute for the Integration of Latin America and the Caribbean. Retrieved from: <http://www.rrojasdatabank.info/prebischethicsdevelopment.pdf>, accessed on 6/12/2018.
- Djunov, T. (1989). *Nadvoreshnata politika na SFRJ i nevrzuvanjeta* [The Foreign Policy of the SFR Yugoslavia and the Non-Alliance]. Skopje: Nasha knjiga.
- Carlsson, U. (2003). The Rise and Fall of NWICO: From a Vision of International Regulation to a Reality of Multilevel Governance. *Nordicom Review*, 24(2), 31-67.

- Galtung, J. (1971). A Structural Theory of Imperialism. *Journal of Peace Research*, 8(2), 81-117.
- Gerbner, G., & Marvanyi, G. (1977). The Many Worlds of the World's Press. *Journal of Communication*, 27, 52-66.
- Hanusch, F., & Obijiofor, L. (2008). Toward a More Holistic Analysis of International News Flows. *Journal of Global Mass Communication*, 1(1/2), 9-21.
- Harris, P., Malczek, H., & Ozkok, E. (1982). *Flow of News in the Gulf*. (New Communication Order). Oslo: Unipub.
- Horvit, B. (2010). Global News Agencies and the Pre-War Debate: A Content Analysis. *Journal of Global Mass Communication*, 3(1/4), 73-83.
- Kardelj, E. (1986). *Istoriski koreni na nevrzuvanjetu [The Historical Roots of the Non-Alignment]*. Skopje: Komunist.
- MacBride, S., & Roach C. (1993). The New International Information Order. in Gerbner, G., Mowlana H., & Nordenstreng K. (eds.) *The Global Media Debate: Its Rise, Fall, and Renewal*. (pp.3-12). Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- McChesney, W.R. (2008). *The Political Economy of Media*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- McNair, B. (2011). *An Introduction to Political Communication (5th Ed.)*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Mohammadi, S.A. et al. (1982). Foreign News in the Media: International Reporting in 29 countries. *Reports and Papers on Mass Communication*, 93, 1-96. Paris: UNESCO.
- Mojsov, L. (1981). *Dimenzii na nevrzanosta [The Dimensions of Non-Alliance]*. Skopje: Misl.
- Mowlana, H. (1985). International Flow of Information: A Global Report and Analysis. *Reports and Papers on Mass Communication*, 99, 9-75. Paris: UNESCO.
- Nordenstreng, K. (2013). Lessons learned from the NWICO process. Retrieved from: [http://www.uta.fi/cmt/en/contact/staff/kaarlenordenstreng/publications/CUC\\_Modern\\_Communication\\_article\\_by\\_Nordenstreng.pdf](http://www.uta.fi/cmt/en/contact/staff/kaarlenordenstreng/publications/CUC_Modern_Communication_article_by_Nordenstreng.pdf), accessed on 6/12/2018.
- Obijiofor, L. (2009). Is Bad News from Africa Good News for Western Media? *Journal of Global Mass Communication*, 2(3/4), 38-54.
- Osolnik, B. (2005). The MacBride Report – 25 years later. *Javnost*, 12(3), 5-12.
- Radeljic, B. (2012). *Europe and the Collapse of Yugoslavia: The Role of Non-State Actors and European Diplomacy*. New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd.
- Rantanen, T. (2009). *When News was New*. Chichester: Wiley - Blackwell.

- Stojkovic, M. (1979). Nesvrstanost i spoljna politika Jugoslavije [The Non-Alliance and Foreign Policy of Yugoslavia]. Beograd: Institut za političke studije, Fakulteta političkih nauka.
- Shafer, R. (1997). The Press and the Preservation of Yugoslavia Before 1990: TANJUG's Leadership of the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool. *The Global Network*, 8, 56-69.
- Topuz, H. (1977). *The News Agencies Pool of Non-Aligned Countries*. Paris: UNESCO.
- The Mac Bride Commission. (1980). *Many Voices, One World: Toward a New, More Just, and More Efficient World Information and Communication Order*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Wallerstein, I. (1986). *Suvremeni svjetski sistem [The Modern World System]*. Zagreb: Centar za kulturnu djelatnost.