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# Karol Orban Mass Media Culture in Slovakia (on the Example of Tracking the Value Message of Media Content Flowing to the Public)

#### Abstract

The media inherently reflect the cultural, political and social contexts of a nation through products (audiovisual programmes). Public opinion to some extent participates in the profiling of the programmes broadcast. The thematic concept of media products is marked by the current social current - the mainstream. The paper deals with the state of contemporary Slovak media in terms of value setting, specifically noting the pitfalls related to censorship, i.e. blocking uncomfortable opinions. It gives examples from media practice testifying to the violation of the typical principles of respecting the values of the pluralistic society in which we have been living for more than three decades. The main objective of the paper is to make the public image concerning media freedom (reflecting on problematic social causes) more accessible by presenting the stated facts, comparing them and placing them in a broader substantive context. Freedom of expression (thought) in the media should be maintained to a

healthy degree even at the cost of expressing an opinion that contradicts the rhetoric of those in political power.

## Key words

Balance. Censorship. Commercialization. Media Power. Politics.

## Introduction

The media is an important part of our daily lives. Their main function is to inform, educate, and cultivate public thinking. As a means of information, the media convey a message to society through published information from the creator of the relevant media content (e.g. editor) to the potential recipient (e.g. television viewer, radio listener, reader). Media, politics and culture are competing partners as they fight for the favour of the recipient-audience. The media are part of the social system that reflects the economic, political and cultural problems of the society (Pitoňáková, 2021). The nature of the presented media content is permanently influenced by cultural and political factors, most often by the statements of well-known media personalities, be they actors, singers, politicians or civil activists. These are public and cultural figures who embody all power in their hands. This fact is confirmed in the opinion of university lecturers involved in mass media research: "Today, the role model is a popular influencer, a youtuber, a podcaster, an actor/actress, a presenter, a stand-up comedian, a singer, but it can also be a slightly older popular individual who impresses with his/ her actions or behaviour" (Hudíková & Pravdová, 2022, p. 32). Media patterns find a rich application in the repertoire of certain social groups divided according to demographic criteria (age - programmes for the younger, adult, middle-aged, older generations; gender - men,

women; interest groups - sports and art programmes, etc.). The media industry today faces many challenges, one of which is the adaptation of media content to all age, educational and social categories of the population (Môcik, 2019). The programme mix of the television broadcasts is also adapted to these groups. Media role models often let their specific profession lend itself to other social roles (e.g. an actor fulfils the role of a presenter in a culinary show, a politician can be persuaded to perform hussar stunts in a reality show, etc.). Media individuals thus confuse their positions, which is appreciated by the audience, but in most cases can harm them. The quality of broadcast media products is questionable, practically speaking its nature is influenced by the mainstream. What we are witnessing today is a one-sided pushing of mainstream information. often to the detriment of the quality of the broadcast content. Censorship has taken on a spectacular significance in the commercial media world. We see it most often through the elimination of uncomfortable opinions, so that certain topics cannot be discussed in a substantive or meaningful way, because relevant constructive debate has long since disappeared from television screens. It is therefore necessary to start talking about the restructuring of media services in terms of the programming of audiovisual works, which will respect the elementary principles of news and journalism. According to the newly adopted (with effect from

01.08.2022) Zákon o mediálnych službách č. 264/2022 [Act No. 264/2022 Coll. on media services]. the broadcaster of media content is obliged to "ensure the objectivity and impartiality of news and current affairs programmes, opinions and evaluative commentaries must be separated from information of a news nature" (Ζάκοη č. 264/2022 Ζ. z. o mediálnych službách [Act No. 264/2022 Coll. on media services] 2022, p. 17).<sup>1</sup> Although access to pluralistic information is enshrined in legislation, it is not respected in everyday media practice. If media professionals do nothing about it, then it is logically clear that viewers (recipients of media content) will stop trusting the standard media and move on to the wave of conspiracies.

When researching topics, we work with the method of qualitative content analysis, the purpose of which is to carry out a thematic analysis of media products from a journalistic point of view. The aim of this analytical approach is to define the use of journalistic elements in the broadcasted programmes by means of specified criteria (application of the principles of news and journalism production, the level of their observance, etc.). Within our efforts we also worked

Author's note: This is a translation from the original Slovak text. It is reproduced in the original Slovak: "zabezpečit' objektívnosť a nestrannosť spravodajských programov a programov aktuálnej publicistiky: názory a hodnotiace komentáre musia byť oddelené od informácií spravodajského charakteru" (Zákon č. 264/2022 Z. z. o mediálnych službách [Act No. 264/2022 Coll. on media services], 2022, p. 17).

with comparative (comparison of the content level of the broadcasted programmes) and contextual methods (definition of the media image in Slovak society).

# 1 The Social Significance of the Media

The media is a means of information that gives testimony about the world or informs the society about current events in the field of economic, cultural and political development in the country. They contribute in their own way to strengthening the awareness of the nation in a positive and negative sense. By positive meaning we mean raising the level of media literacy of selected groups of the population (e.g. seniors - how to fight fake news (hoaxes<sup>2</sup>), schoolchildren prevention of cyberbullying, etc.), cultural literacy (programmes aimed at education - presentation of cooking and baking technologies, home handicrafts and handicrafts) and spiritual awareness of the nation (broadcasting of religious programmes - religious services, liturgies). In this context, the media, as a means of social communication. reinforce the didactic dimension of the recipients through the broadcast messages, namely by enhancing their memory and imagination.

2 Author's note: A typical example of a hoax is the statement by the political representative of rightwing extremism, Marian Kotleba (Kotlebovci-ĽSNS), who recommends treating COVID-19 with Bromhexine and vodka. A certain section of the public may have succumbed to this experiment and thus caused themselves unfortunate health consequences (Košty, 2020)

The media also play a negative function in the form of mediating the polarisation of society (e.g. the mutual spread of hatred between conservatives and by liberals<sup>3</sup>, vaccinated and unvaccinated<sup>4</sup> representatives of Eastern and Western democracy<sup>5</sup>). The media, assisted by the statements of current politicians from both opinion groups, is contributing to the significant polarisation of society. Politicians as key representatives of public life are part of the power structures of the state. The power of the media is in the hands of the oligarchs, the political ruling groups (e.g. J&T Media Enterprises, Central European Media Enterprises, etc.)

3 Author's note: News journalists Peter Tkačenko and Rado Ondřejíček attacked singer Sima Magušinová in an inappropriate way just because of her religion. Ondrejicek wrote on Twitter: "She is a Christian. You shouldn't mock the disabled." Tkachenko slammed him in return: "Know I'm not solving anything. I'm just explaining why Martaus work is such uncreative, snotty, kitschy sr-cheese' ("Novinári denníka SME zaútočili na Simu Maguši novú: Postihnutá kresťanka! [Journalists of the daily SME attacked Sima Magusinova: Affected Christian!]", 2021). The above case was also dealt with by Attorney General Maroš Žilinka for defamation of freedom of religion.

4 Author's note: Here we give two examples from media practice. They testify to a total extreme, the purpose of which is to polarise society. Peter Schutz, political commentator for the daily SME, went beyond the bottom of the barrel when he said the following about the unvaccinated: "The unvaccinated should scream like pigs in a slaughterhouse" (Schutz, 2021). In a similar vein, singer and television producer Martin Jakubec made a disparaging comment about the vaccinated: "I want to say that vaccinated vaccinated people are the greatest danger and the greatest evil for the society in which we live." (MARTIN JAKUBEC - Slovensko, 2021)

5 Author's note: The Gerulata company published a list of alleged pro-Russian trolls in Slovakia without any relevant justification. The top ten were dominated by politicians such as Ľuboš Blaha (Smer-SD), Tomáš Taraba (Život NS) and Róbert Švec (Slovenské Hnutie Obrody). Opposition (alternative) media such as Slobodný vysielač, Extraplus, Hlavné správy and Hlavný denník (Gerulata Technology, 2022) were also on the list

who determine what is good and bad, right and wrong, progressive and reactionary. The social media of communication have a powerful force in promoting the perceived values of the outside world, which in turn influences one's imagination and critical reflection (Zasepa, 2002). The modern-minded person as a recipient of the appropriate media content becomes a mindless consumer of it in such a way that he fully identifies with it. The power of the mainstream is immense in the matter of promoting a particular view. This has always been the case throughout our history as an independent Slovakia. Practically speaking, any inconvenient political opinion was liquidated because it was subject to censorship. Censorship represents a kind of social regulation of cultural production. Through their power influence, proprietary global structures determine the selection of information. the way it is disseminated and subsequently presented, under the tactic of protecting nationstate interests (Solga, 2019). Even today we encounter censorship of uncomfortable opinions in the form of denying space in broadcasting to personalities with different opinions.

# **2 Television Journalistic Programmes and Their Distinctive** Features

Television journalistic programmes provide an insight into the issue under discussion, their main purpose is to make the essence of the problem under study (e.g. culture wars -

euthanasia, abortion, social risks - price hikes, poverty, etc.) clear to the television viewer, so that he or she can form an appropriate opinion. A dominant feature of journalistic programmes is the evaluation of social phenomena through the prism of media reality. On what basis does politics in the media work? Here it is necessary to rely on the statement of the columnist and media expert Samuel Brečka: "Politics in the mass media is quite clearly portrayed through a certain media lens" (Brečka, 2008, p. 44).<sup>6</sup> Political discussion topics have their own system of media presentation. The analysis of the topics discussed is adapted to current social events (e.g. the rise in energy prices related to the war in Ukraine. the decline in theatre-goers due to the recent COVID-19 pandemic, etc.). They operate on the principle of discussion roundtables, where the views of independent experts (e.g. political scientists, economists), but mainly political representatives, are expressed. The repertoire of performing quests of individual journalistic programmes consists of the strongest parliamentary political parties (e.g. SMER, HLAS, OĽANO, SAS), occasionally extra-parliamentary parties<sup>7</sup> (e.g. SNS, PS). In terms of content. we observe a certain unevenness in terms of the cast of guests, namely, most of the TV

6 Author's note: This is a translation from the original Slovak text. It is reproduced in the original Slovak: "Politika v masových médiách je celkom jed noznačne zobrazovaná určitou mediálnou optikou" (Brečka, 2008, p. 44).

7 Author's note: This is for the 2020 - 2023 electoral period

programmes broadcasted feature representatives of the same political parties (See, HRN, 2021). We also find it completely illogical if an unnamed two-percent party is given regular programmes broadcast, but on the other hand, other strongly represented one-percent parties simply do not get it (See, Rafaj, 2023). This creates a sense of distrust among the viewer. In general, people with a certain political opinion seek out those media outlets that suit their political orientation (Brečka, 2008). A bright exception is broadcast once a week in the evening Do krížα (hosted by Jaroslav Daniška, former editor of the conservative daily Postoj) on Dvojka, which reflects the pressing problems of contemporary society (the COVID-19 pandemic, the war in Ukraine, the status of sexual minorities). Important quests of the show are former and current politicians working in the National Assembly of the Slovak Republic, non-governmental activists, personalities of religious, cultural and artistic life. The content format of the programme is aimed at conveying the key message to the speaking, orienting them in the topics discussed, in a balanced way, which is highly appreciated. Balance is key in the production of news information; it is, by the way, a normative requirement (Višňovský et al., 2019). The absolute one-sided dramaturgy is characterised by the social discussion show Večera s Havranom (hosted by the columnist and salon theologian Michal Havran Jr.), to which political, environmental and non-governmental activists loyal to the current regime are invited. Neither

the guest, (a typical example is the recent aggressive approach of Smer-SD Ľuboš Blaha, similarly of ex-defence minister Jaroslav Nad'), nor the editor determines the dramaturgy of the televised show; who to invite and not to invite is a matter for the programme director of news and journalism. The programme director of news and journalism fulfils the status of the editor-in-chief, who approves the scripts of programme programmes, their content composition, and consults with experts on any clashes (contradictory matters concerning the appropriateness of the airing of stories). Each broadcast session must pass a screening and approval process (Stadtrucker, 2015). Politicians have no right to interfere in the creation of the programme line-up of a broadcast. This venture is not at all profitable for them; it is a misuse of the political campaign for media purposes for their own benefit, as policy-making itself loses its autonomous status under the influence of the media (Kováčová & Králik, 2017). The periodicity of the broadcasts is regular (a set airtime), the visual format is made up of aesthetic elements (the design of the TV studio), the structure of the topics discussed is a matter of agreement between the presenter and the quest. The presenter has a serious and difficult task. They may not express agreement/disagreement with the presented opinion of the guest of the show, he/she also avoids ideologies (e.g. lobbyist of the mainstream agenda), he/she participates in the creation of the show, prepares for it in the points that describe the essence of the presented problem (e.g. extreme price hikes, social poverty, the situation in the health sector, the use of funds

aggressively at opposition politicians<sup>9</sup>,

from the reconstruction plan). The presenter, on the whole, creates the level of the television programme: "The success of the moderating profession is dependent on a balance of organizational, intellectual, and professional skills, as well as other competencies of the moderator" (Chudinová, 2010, p. 195).<sup>8</sup> An important enlivening element is the quest's feedback through submitted viewer questions, which are interpreted by the presenter of the TV show. In this context, the SLIDO application (bridging the gap between speakers and audience), which is used in the political discussion show  $N\alpha$ hrane (hosted by Jana Krescanko-Dibáková) broadcast on JOJ television, is helpful. As for the political programme Na telo (hosted by reporter Michal Kovačič), viewers send questions to the broadcaster via a designated email address. The absolute disadvantage of the audience's questions is that their repertoire is often repetitive, which tires out the host (e.g. with whom to rule and not to rule, would you be able to survive on the (basic) subsistence level, instead of setting out concrete solutions - how would you solve the problem of rising crime among selected members of ethnic minorities, etc.). The moderator pushes the guest to the background, usually acting

overstepping the boundaries of decency. This is an instruction from the production crew of the TV drama journalistic show. The dramaturgy of a broadcast programme on television must be concerned with the balanced participation of the various programme types and types of programmes, taking special care of the overall rhythm of the broadcast, its dynamics and the harmonious alignment of society-wide tasks with the diverse differentiated interests of broader groups of listeners (Jacz, 1982). We often see the principle of balance being violated. In this context, a fundamental change in the format of the televised debate programmes is needed in connection with the failure to invite strong representatives of the opposition political parties (high percentages above the electoral threshold). This phenomenon has a counterproductive dimension; its unfortunate effect is that the parties in question (even those with an extremist background) will get more votes. The radio show Braňo Zάvodský (available on YouTube, a podcast application) on Radio Expres is characterised by a uniform format, the structure of the invited quests (coalition politicians, NGO activists -Stop Corruption, Transparency International) is chronically repetitive, as are the topics discussed (human rights, environment, jurisdiction). The radio show has a stable broadcast time and day (weekdays Mon-Fri at about 12:10). The presenter acts servilely

towards the guests, and a necessary reconstruction of the content format of the broadcast is required. A negative role is also played by the introductory ideological windows of the TA3 news television presenters (Richard Dírer, Rastislav Iliev) in the journalistic programme V politike, which are characterised by a huge amount of mentor-like pathos, which does not look professional in media practice. In the aspect of impartiality lies the mastery of the moderator's performance, a phenomenon that must necessarily be appealed to when foreignising the programming of a given broadcast.

# **3 Quality versus Quantity of Media** Content

The level of the Slovak media space is characterized by instability, by which we mean the favouring of mainstream - socially neglected opinions propagated by the highest constitutional officials (See, Ministerstvo zdravotníctva Slovenskej republiky, 2021a), coalition MPs, people from the showbiz sector (See, RTVSOfficial, 2021; Ministerstvo zdravotníctva Slovenskej republiky, 2021b). The success of a media product is guaranteed by guantity, not guality, because viewership equals profit (Remišová, 2010). As a consequence of this unusual phenomenon, we see the increasing influence of advertising in television, commercial online broadcasting (a teaser in the form of an advertising jingle interrupts the spot even for about 20 seconds). In the modern information society, we are experiencing a strengthening of the visual code at the expense of the

linguistic code, thanks to the natural consequence of the development of electronic media (Peknušiaková & Rusnák, 2014). It is also related to the internetisation of media, the spectacular boom of social networks (where basically everyone can post whatever posts and photos they want), which often leads to destructive effects in the form of cooling of interpersonal relations, disruption of personal contact between people and leisure time spent together (Škripcová & Hladíková, 2022).

The reason is logical. Commercial media without advertising have no chance to survive in the global market. Here, advertising fulfils an entertainment and relaxation function oriented towards the low instincts of the media audience. Television is the most important promotional medium, which invests a huge amount of money in advertising. The essence of the marketing process is that, although people grumble at television advertising, they buy the products it promotes. Even silly and intrusive advertising leaves an effect in the public's subconscious (Křížek & Crha, 2002). The basis for the production of a quality advertisement (commercial spot) is the creative visual component (attracting the attention of the television viewer, aesthetic appeal - manipulation of colour, animation techniques, television shots) and the sound component (background music, background music, correct technique of seating the voice of the media presenter - performer in the media product). The timing criterion plays an important role here, namely the timing of appropriate advertising in prime time. The moral responsibility for the

8 Author's note: This is a translation from the original Slovak text. It is reproduced in the original Slovak: "Úspešnosť moderátorskej profesie je závislá od vzájomnej vyváženosti organizačných, intelektuálnych a odborných schopností, ako aj iných kompetencií moderátora" (Chudinová, 2010, p. 195).

9 Author's note: This is for the 2020 - 2023 elector al period

broadcast of an advertising trailer rests with its key creators, i.e. any breach of ethical principles must be reported to the Advertising Council, which has the status of a kind of independent supervisory body. In this context, we refer to the controversial television advertisement placed in prime time for KOFOLA, in which a teenage couple publicly display intimate tenderness Commerce is a modern consumer phenomenon with cheap narrative value, its product being sitcoms and comedies presenting a loose lifestyle. The commercialisation of media is not a problem for society as we encounter it in developed Western countries, it simply has its practical significance advances (e.g. the mediation of new modern technologies such as virtual reality, the plasma screen, etc.). A typical pitfall relates to the lack of discussion in the mainstream media of controversial issues that move society. Commercialisation brings with it risks, one of which is removing the potential viewer's capacity for healthy self-reflection and inflaming them with cheap or mindless emotions. The current state of mass culture is influenced by commercialisation, whose creators want to gain public sympathy en masse, to the detriment programme (Orlebar, 2012). Truth is simply determined by experts who are loyal to the mainstream. Then the unnamed editor has no problem which transcends the boundaries of serious journalism: "Truth is not up for debate." Truthfulness, by the way, is

news and journalism, from which all other principles such as balance, consistency, etc. derive. Therefore, it is not at all surprising that the recipients also start to seek out alternative media (e.g. Hlavný denník, Hlavné správy, Infovojna, Ereport, etc.), which are usually controlled by opposition politicians.<sup>10</sup> The media should be the conscience of the nation embodying the value compass in setting the atmosphere of the society. The media guarantees the transmission of information from the producer (author) to the recipient of the media content (viewer, reader, listener). The media are divided into audiovisual (television. radio), new (video, film, cable television) and dramatic (theatre). In general, they mostly reflect cultural and artistic artefacts (kitsch, postmodern thinking associated with pop culture and decadence). The media should place more emphasis on implementing elements of the educational process of pupils, seniors (digital skills, respect for values, patriotism) into the content. In the television media space, there are no television productions treating traditional family values, which ceased to be produced after 1990. The return to tradition is a matter of fundamental reform of the Slovak media system.

# Conclusion

The aim of our paper was to capture the direction of the media from three perspectives, i.e. social, news-publicist and commercial. The above mentioned

<sup>10</sup> Author's note: This is for the 2020 - 2023 elector al period

components are interrelated as they

are involved in creating the cultural image of the society. The media create cultural content through educational programmes aimed at the general population - audiovisual recipients. Communication culture is particularly important in shaping public opinion on controversial issues. In practice, it is the way in which the information presented is portrayed/ delivered that influences its credibility. Recently, the mainstream media has been struggling for credibility, which has been on a downward trend related to the fact that it does not offer balanced news-publicity information, as a consequence of which the recipients start to look for alternative sources. The media moguls will mobilise by starting to exert censorship under pressure from politicians and powerful social actors in the form of media content regulation, which may not automatically be effective. The ideologisation of media content is unacceptable because the recipients will discover the secrets of the masked process. A typical example of ideologisation is that the presenter (editor) acts as a lobbyist for a political party, nationality and sexual minority. Media products in the form of TV talk shows are based on current social issues, seek to create society, but often also spread negative education. These negatives result from the failure of the dramaturgical plan of individual programmes, but also from the tendentious disregard for the elementary principles of news and journalism (e.g. the presenter and the guest do not respect each other, shout and jump into each other's mouths). Television talk shows in general are

subject to innovative trends in relation to feedback; this is, incidentally, an important construction principle for reflecting the authenticity of the format. The commercialisation of the media in relation to the placement of advertising products on television is oriented both towards profit and a sense of entertainment (tabloid sensation). The phenomenon of commercialisation is present in both mainstream and alternative media. The main role of the media is that it has to guarantee an equal position vis-àvis all representatives or consumers of media content and their opinion currents. In the aspect of balance, the mastery of serious (quality) journalism is guaranteed.

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