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University for Business and Technology - UBT, "International Conference on Journalism, Media and Communication" . UBT International Conference.

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11th UBT ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL
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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON
JOURNALISM, MEDIA AND COMMUNICATION



Proceedings of the 11th Annual International Conference on
Journalism, Media and Communication

Edited by
Edmond Hajrizi

Conference Book of Proceedings International Conference

Pristina

ISBN 978-9951-550-86-4

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International Conference on Business, Technology and Innovation Pristina, 29-30

Editor: Edmond Hajrizi

Organizing Committee: Edmond Hajrizi, Hasan Metin, Visar Krelani, Hazir Cadraku, Retkoceri B, Selmani F, Muhamet Ahmeti, Selmani F, Muhamet Sherifi, Kastrati A, Mirlinda Reçica

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Publisher, UBT

Editor Speech of IC - BTI

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Congratulation!

Edmond

Hajrizi, Rector of UBT and Chair of IC - BTI

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Critical analysis of current Albanian Prime Minister's political discourse and its impact on the media.

Anila Prethi, Msc. Political Public Relations, UET, Tirana

anilaprethi@gmail.com

Abstract

Albanian journalism has gone through difficult stages of development, trying to get to the point where the truth and journalist's dignity are respected at most. Regardless of the transition, censorship and political pressure have been, and still continue to be, the cause of a non-objective media and for the loss of its public credibility. However, the last added challenge to the Albanian journalists today, is the offenses and attacks by the current Prime Minister, to those who surprise him with "difficult questions" or with their critical attitude. Although, the journalist's task is to ask questions and the politician's task is to answer them, the Prime Minister often behaves unfairly, and has excluded some of them from attending press conferences or other events where he is the main organizer. This paper aims to examine, through a critical analysis of Prime Minister Rama's political discourse, his influence in the media and in public opinion.

Keywords: censorship, political pressure, media discourse.

Introduction

Every occasion of language usage is a communication event. Today, in our daily life, media communication is essential to provide us with everything that happens in the political, economic, social and other fields of life. In this paper, we will look at the communication of Albania's Prime Minister Mr. Edi Rama with journalists in confrontations on TV studios, his press conferences and other appearances in front of journalists. In these events it is generally noticed a deviation from the principles of public debate/communication bringing it on an individual level thus attempting to avoid real answers to critical journalists' questions by using demeaning words and switching to a personal approach far from the argument. When in a political debate are discussed issues that attract high public attention, each of the parties must maintain its position with strong arguments to try convincing the other party. (Fuga, Artan 2014)

The participation of experts from different fields about the issues discussed in the media is also a powerful element, which would strengthen the argumentative fact. But this often puts Prime Minister Rama in an uncomfortable position, which makes him misuse on-air time by often going out of the context of the subject being discussed. It is very crucial that between politics and the general public there are journalists, as they are the people with the qualities of a professional "watchdog", who can convey to politics requests, complaints and opinions that come or are related to the wide public. We will be able to look how, through the use of offensive and often threatening language, Mr. Rama manages to produce "a show", without providing the final result expected to be obtained by journalists and the majority of public opinion.

Methodology

This study aims to summarize the recent political discourse of Prime Minister Rama in relation to the media, journalists and the general public, as the recipient of his messages. It is also intended to analyze and identify the linguistic elements he uses to avoid confrontation with Albanian media journalists. To identify these cases, we will review his interviews and panel TV debates, carried out in the Albanian media and from the press conferences organized by the Prime Minister's office. Meanwhile, from a methodological approach, this study aims to measure the dimension of this concern through a qualitative analysis of the Prime Minister's political discourse as a government institution. Evaluating the mission and efforts of journalism in Albania, in face of the censorship that is tried to be imposed to it, the study aims to draw inductive conclusions, which can help young researchers in the field of journalism.

The use of metaphorical language and personal offenses in the communication of Prime Minister Edi Rama with journalists

Traditionally, politics is often perceived as an unemotional, rational activity, almost as a cold process of deliberation and decision-making. But sociological studies show that members of society often base their decisions on emotional impulses. Lilleker emphasizes this in his study on political behavior and communication (D. Lilleker, 2006) based on emotionalism. In addition to emotionalism, political figures also make sufficient use of metaphor as a persuasive tool. Theorists such as Gibbs

emphasize how indispensable metaphor is in political communication and how much it affects the public consciousness. (Raymond W. Gibbs, 2011). In political communication, the norms and practices of showing emotions are very important for a leader. Every public, or audience, is attracted and convinced not by the political beliefs that their leader may have had, but rather by the way of conveying his/her message to them. On the basis of linguistic features, he distinguishes three possible ways to interpret emotional expressions in the course of communication: emotional terms, the lexical and semantic collection of emotional nouns, verbs and adjectives that present an emotional state of mind. (Koschut, 2017) These categories are exactly what can lead and encourage an audience to believe in something they have never thought of before.

Albanian PM Rama is well-known for his charismatic character and leadership, who makes great use of his relation with the media. Despite the fact that he considers the Albanian media as a "cauldron" (IMA, Newsroom 2017/11/13) with the foreign media, the Prime Minister is careful about using this metaphor. When in front of foreign journalists, the metaphor that Prime Minister Rama uses in his discourse, is put in favor of delegitimizing the status rank and challenging the authority of a greater force. One such case was that of the European meeting in Bled, Slovenia, when Prime Minister Rama addressed the public through an open talk show in the following way: " *They tell us that you are important to us. One day we will **marry** you, but until then we won't even be able to talk together, nor can you talk to others. Obviously, they're trying to test our character and **loyalty**, but **it doesn't work** that way.*"

The codes and jokes that Mr. Rama used in this meeting with the EU leaders, such as: *wedding, marriage, loyalty, etc.*, in addition to conveying the political importance of the country he represents (Albania), also present an opposition to the political line that the European states have decided to follow with Albania. This approach of conveying the message with a funny mood causes laughter in the audience, while the moderator of the meeting feels uncomfortable with this situation created by the Mr. Rama. He is waiting for an answer to his question, which Rama completely changed its connotation. (Bled Strategic Forum, Sep 2, 2021). The same style of communication can be typically observed as PM Rama faces political journalists who do not like his ways or his leadership: bypassing direct questions, just spending on-air time, and replacing answers with metaphorical and funny jokes.

Yet in the confrontation with journalists in the Albanian media platforms, PM Rama has a completely different style of communication and public accountability. Between him and the journalists there is a question-question approach and not a question and answer one. This was the case with journalist Çim Peka of "Syri" Television. While public budget transparency and the postpandemic economic package is the subject of conversation, the dialogue continues as follows:

Prime Minister Rama: *What's wrong with you? What is your problem?*

Journalist: *I don't have any problem, what's wrong with you, if I ask you?*

Prime Minister: *change the melody, don't play the flute in one hole!*

Shifting attention with answers given with questions, make PM Rama transform the debate from a public one, about institutional responsibilities, into a personal one with arrogant and unprofessional behavior. By ignoring journalists' questions, the Prime Minister automatically ignores the public interest. (Syri TV, May 8, 2020), (<http://syri.net>). After the end of each interview, what the audience is left with in the end is just another TV show. Besides deviating from the context in key moments of persistence by journalists, Mr. Rama ignores them, playing the role of *dominator* of the debate. One such case is the clash with journalist Andi Bushati on "Open", a political live debate moderated by Mrs. Eni Vasili.

PM Rama - *let me give you an answer...*

Journalist - *definitely, I'm waiting for it for 20 minutes...*

PM Rama - *You did well to step back, because for your shame and for the shame of your profession, you have the word "theft" and the word "crime" on the tip of your tongue.*

Journalist - *yea, yea ...*

PM Rama - *you can say it; you are free to say it, but in my eyes and in front of me you can't say it. Now....*

Journalist - *you don't have an answer, you don't even have an answer about how many are unemployed... and I invite you to address each-other with 'YOU' because it does me no honor to address you in singular.*

PM Rama - *You do not deserve my "YOU" because you repeatedly slander, insult and accuse me. You make the judge and the prosecutor ...but in my eyes, NO.*

Journalist - *... I also carried the reform in justice (ironically)... yes, I make both the prosecutor and the judge... yes.*

PM Rama - *Don't interrupt me ... the important thing is that you stepped back. This is a good sign.*

Journalist - *The important thing is that you are not giving any answer, neither how many are unemployed nor how much you will give (grant) to those who are unemployed.*

PM Rama - *Since you have started to deal with the numbers, you have a long way to go, because the numbers are not rumors and the economy is also not "prosecuting journalism".*

Journalist - *... neither is it a "criminal economy", nor is it a "criminal economy".*

PM Rama - *definitely, definitely is...*

Journalist - *good thing that you stepped back (repeated twice)*

PM Rama - *... that there is also a black economy, ... I didn't hesitate at all... there is also an informal economy, but now you let me finish, I'm giving you answers and don't interfere anymore, because you're here to ask questions.*

Journalist - *I am not getting an answer. (Jun 8, 2020, <http://top-channel.tv/>)*

Throughout the communication, the insistence on *dominating* the debate is clearly visible, such that even the host of the show cannot perform her role. The frequent repetition and pointing out of the journalist's "bad ethics" by the Prime Minister almost brought about his "surrender" leaving himself unconsciously dominated by the political leader. This is what Teun Van Dijk calls hegemony, where the dominant discourse serves to producing a consensus, or acceptance of dominance. (Teun A. van Dijk, 2011). Journalists, often under the pressure of broadcasting time, but also as a result of constant belittlement by Mr. Rama, are forced to leave their questions without an answer, or with half answers. This way, the discourse of the political leader directs the public's focus to the criticism on his communication with the journalist and not to the economic/political problem, in the specific case, for which he must be accountable. This media culture and behavior has become natural and has already established a social dominance in the general public and beyond.

While the mission and role of the media is that of a *watch dog*, and of the one who has the right to hold the politician accountable, when in front of journalists Mr. Rama underestimates their role, considering them as people without ethics or principles. This is precisely the moment when we understand that, in his case, the media is valuable only for propaganda and not for transparency, or accountability to the public. By means of belittlement, rejections and censorship that he attacks media, Mr. Rama is trying to basically undo the mission of the Albanian media and journalists. Political shows often end up giving the audience the endings of a spectacle and never the clarifying conclusions of political platforms, or of law-enforcement efforts. The behavior of the Albanian PM in the media, in a way, has also established the culture and norms that have given it an essential role. Although there is an unsymmetrical and unequal debate between this politician and the journalist, we notice an avoidance of what you want to be answered with accusations, as in the case of repeating the word "(you should) learn" 36 times to opinion leader Robert Rakiplari during a televised debate on TV Klan, a national television.(October 15, 2020,) <https://tvklan.al/programe/>

While journalists come in front of the PM with public institutions data sources, looking for answers from him, what they are face with is the lack of public communication ethics. Eilers explains that social communication, rather than a concern in social networks, is a concern in the interaction of human beings, in their public expression within a society and within their relevant cultural group. (Eilers, 2002). Refusal to answer automatically leads to denial of the right to information of the public and citizens as a whole.

Cases of journalists penalized by the Prime Minister of Albania

Frequently, journalists' questions to the head of government confront him with challenges in providing accountability for the implementation of laws and/or regulations within the government cabinet. Such a reaction was also triggered by the question of A2CNN journalist, Klevis Muka, with his question to Minister Olta Xhaçka during a public press conference on July 1, 2022:

Journalist: *"Mrs. Minister, I have a question just for you. On April 9 of this year, the new Code of Ethics for the Council of Ministers entered into force, which prohibits and provides for sanctions up to removal from office for all ministers who violate it. One of the points of this Code of Ethics is that ministers should not meet with businessmen and, if so, they should only meet in the presence of two civil employees of their administration. Have you personally implemented this law? Did you meet your husband, a businessman and strategic investor, in the company of two administration employees, or did you violate the Code of Ethics?"*

P.M: *"Now... now I will give the answer here. You will undergo **reeducation** as Ambrozia ("Syri TV" journalist) for the next three months. **You are not welcomed** in any press conference.*

Journalist: *"No problem, will the code of ethics be implemented or not? That was my question. And*

I don't understand what's going on here, when you yourself said that there will be sanctions for those who will not respect this law, up to dismissal, when you introduced the new government and the new government cabinet.

PM: *"This is another **violation of the Code of Ethics**, that a journalist in a press conference continues, with a microphone, to ask questions. And if I tell you that, as I saw with Ambrozia, that the communication was perfect, the question was **as she wanted it to be**, the answer was very correct and such will always be the correct answers for all correct questions, while for **repeated questions without any ethics**, there is a process called **RE-EDUCATION: 3 months**. So, you will get the next answer... when is it? July, August, September. You will receive the next answer in October. So, I hope you **will be reeducated then**.* (Jul,1,2022,) <https://tvklan.al/>

With the intervention of Prime Minister, Minister Xhaçka's authority, as part of the government cabinet, just fell apart. Journalist Muka's goal was to highlight how the government implements one of the elements of the Code of Ethics. The question itself was correct and within professional and communication ethics. Being a minister, Ms. Xhaçka is among the first to implement the Code of Ethics that the government has set for its members. A response from her was enough (whatever it was), or simply a "No Comment", without the need for the intervention of the Prime Minister. Meanwhile, when hearing this question, the minister was unprepared and remained silent, which brought the unnecessary and unexpected intervention of her Chief. The attitude of the Mr. Rama, already a standard of his attitude towards the media, with the penalization of the journalists with re-education, is in violation of the right to information and free press. (Law No. 119/2014, Article 78, 83)

What makes things worse is the fact that the measure of "reeducation" pronounced by the Albanian PM is not based on any regulation or law in the Republic of Albania. Also, this "measure" invented by Mr. Rama automatically oversteps the Albanian law on the right to information. His harsh language highlights the arrogance of a leader who says: "I am the law", and the lack of collaboration between the two powers: the legislative and the media. Having access to different genres, forms and contexts

of discourse, according to political discourse researcher Norman Fairclough, is considered a source of power. (Fairclough, N. 1989). The concrete case of denying the demand for accountability and government transparency means that the power of free speech, the only one a journalist has, is denied and despised. Above all, the phenomenon of re-education, which is a remnant of the totalitarian policies of the communist education regime, in our case is nothing but a form of censorship and denial of facts by the government. The reeducation of journalists, in itself, goes beyond the labels that the Prime Minister has given the media over the years with epithets such as: *boiler, counter, piggy bank*, etc. (Oct 25, 201, tvklan.al). Moreover, the *denial* of the answer by the Minister highlights the extreme subordination of the government cabinet (from the PM), the lack of communication within the entity and the disrespecting of the positions of each of the ministers.

3.2 Criticism from media freedom associations and journalists' reactions to the attacks

PM Rama

The use of offensive language, to blame journalists and the media as a whole, as being responsible for the critical situation of the country, is one of the styles of Mr. Rama's propagandistic discourse. Meanwhile, in a meeting with his electorate in 2017, the Prime Minister accuses, insults and curses the media as one of the main reasons why this country is not where it should. (Alice E. Taylor 1302-2020. <https://exit.al/>)

The UGSh (Union of Albanian Journalists) reacted to his offensive behavior towards journalists, as well as to the violation of free speech (Actuality, October 25, 2017, <https://tpz.al/>) who condemn the behavior of the prime minister and his accusations against journalists. However, a typical reaction was that of the German newspaper "Frankfurter Allgemeine", which stated that:

"Rama has denounced the journalists in front of the cameras as; trash, vermin, pigs, or prostitutes.... Rama does not like criticism" (Von Birger Schuüty-updated AM 30.08.2022) <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/>

In addition, in an open letter to the government and representatives of the diplomatic corps and international organizations, in July 6, 2022, six international organizations and journalists' unions, including Reporters Without Borders, expressed "concern that these arbitrary restrictions seriously affect the ability of the press to perform its monitoring role and to seek answers to challenging issues". The open letter stated that the question of A2CNN reporter Muka was legitimate and of public interest, and as such deserved an answer. In conclusion, the associations state that *"In Albania, there is no official administrative sanction that allows for journalists to be unilaterally banned from participating in government press conferences by politicians, or even those who hold executive positions. Therefore, we think that the measures imposed on both journalists, Klevin Muka and Ambriozza Meta, were arbitrary and unjustified"*. (ABC News, July 6, 2022, <https://abcnews.al/> "Re-education" for journalists, 6 international organizations letter to PM Edi Rama: Remove the restriction immediately.) Furthermore, in support of the journalist Muka and in opposition to the actions of KM Rama, representatives of the associations of journalists and civil society organized a protest in front of the Prime Minister's building in Tirana, on July 4, 2022. **4. Conclusions**

What is visible in Prime Minister Edi Rama's public communications with journalists is that he has established his relationship with the media as an individual relationship, only for propaganda purposes and not to serve as a bridge for transparency between the government and the governed. In cases where he has to account for his own or the cabinet members', or the ruling majority's dubious actions, we have a shift in public attention with offensive behavior and suspensions of journalists from carrying out their mission. In many cases he takes the responsibility to answer on behalf of the ministers, and acts as their protector, thus highlighting the type of *strong and possessive leader* who personalizes his role every time even in front of the media. As has been noticed by local and foreign associations, Mr. Rama's political and especially media discourse seriously affects the ability of the press to perform their supervisory role and seek answers to challenging issues. They are also emblematic of deeper problems related to access to information for journalists and the obstruction of free and independent journalism in Albania, which ranks 103rd in RSF's World Press Freedom Index, falling every year with 20 countries.

The tactics of a strong language, in the prime minister's political speech, are exactly the elements that make his public communication "interesting" to have the attention of the *nonprofessional public*, but not an ethical and informative communication. If it were called professional in political media communication, we would consider more acceptable the arrogance of a journalist, who persistently demands answers from the politician, than the arrogance of the politician who avoids the journalist. The relativization of the media may have a lack of credibility as a factor, but politics cannot affect its professionalism. In addition to modest conditions and pressure from media owners and their direct bosses, Albanian political journalists also suffer from pressure from powerful politicians, in particular of Mr. Rama's, who tries to dictate their profession and not only. With publicly attacking, belittling and punishing two or three of them Mr. Rama sends the message to all who stand against him (even his political opponents) or who don't go along his communication ways. Shifting the attention of the audience, creating events with accusations or insults of journalists, is a feature of Prime Minister Rama's political media communication, especially after winning the general elections of 2021. Faced with these circumstances, similar to that of societies such as in Turkey, Serbia, Hungary, Belarus, etc., it is the owners of the media, the heads of the editorial offices and finally the journalists, who have the responsibility to refuse censorship of information, intimidation, or the offensive language of politicians. As much as

the Prime Minister is challenging the classical media by broadcasting his political activities on social networks or TV stations that support him, when it comes to televised confrontations with analyst panels or open press conferences, the PM remains an actor capable of making news, even when there is no news, targeting individual journalists or the media as a whole, trying to discredit them and lower their credibility in the eyes of the general public by means of various labeling that simultaneously mock and insult them in different ways, even without using offensive words.

In other words, the phenomenon of Albanian PM's communication with the media in general is a kind of *bigbrotherization* of it; making the public's attention not focus on governing responsibilities but on individual abilities to defeat others with wording, highlighting oratorical skills and individual ingenuity to make the other person look worse than you. In contrast the essence of political discourse is the argumentation of decision-making and legislation on key issues related to the political life of a country. However, no matter how unpopular this approach seems, we can say that based on the results of the last parliamentary elections, this method of communication has had political success, despite the fact that from a personal aspect, in particular the mistreatment of journalists and opinion leaders, has led to the deterioration of the individual image that PM Rama has on his opponents, or those who were neutral to his persona a while ago.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF TECHNOLOGY, INTERNET AND MEDIA MARKET IN KOSOVO

Ferid Selimi, ferid.selimi@ubt-uni.net; Naser Rugova¹, naser.rugova@ubt-uni.net

Faculty of Media and Communication, University for Business and Technology,

Pristina, Kosovo

Abstract: Traditional media, namely print newspapers, during the time of the development of Internet and social media have changed the form, appearing only as online media and stopping their print activity. As such, they try to find survival by posting news online on social media, as the only way to continue and keep the contact with the audience. All the data show that the main media circulation today is produced by social media. In order to reach the findings, respectively the results for this topic, there are used the method of interview, survey, monitoring, comparison methods and media analysis in Kosovo. Through the analysis it is evaluated the way the text was constructed, journalistic ethics and correctness. As a source of information we had online media. The results of the study confirm that in Kosovo, with the development of technology and the Internet, the printed daily newspapers disappeared and the greatest liability of information remained to online media, which as one of the main source of information have the current developments in Kosovo, using also various pronunciations taken from online platforms such as Facebook, Instagram and Twitter.

Keywords: audience, digital, information, news, online media,

¹ Correspondent autor

Introduction

Electronic media are the product of a constantly technological evolution, which makes the study scope in the field of media and communication changeable at all times. Therefore, the researches in this field faces every researcher with different difficulties and challenges. First, during your work you may feel that you are walking on an unexplored road, which can bring out many surprises, even if in the World a lot of researches has been done regarding this topic. The most important studies in this field can be found in countries such as the United States of America and in Western European countries such as Germany,

England, France, etc. This is the reason why most of the references belong to the literature of the authors of these countries. Apparently, this is a feeling that accompanies any new study in this area. We are witnesses that electronic print media, are part of our communication vocabulary in an ordinary day. Therefore, these new communication platforms constitute the new generation of media based on network technology. In this paper, it is made an analysis of print media in Kosovo, which aimed to identify the essential problems of these media in the time of technology and internet development. The negative impact of the development of technology and internet in Kosovo was seen in the daily print newspapers, because, until March 2020, there were five daily print newspapers in the country: Koha Ditore, Kosova Sot, Zëri, Bota Sot and Epoka e Re, which based on a Government decision, stop their printing, always based on the prevention of Covid-19 infection. Indeed, according to the data from KIPRED & OSCE, in 2010 there were nine daily newspapers (KIPRED and OSCE, 2010) that were published in Kosovo, while some of them were extinguished and some were transformed into online media, so there remained only five print newspapers, and that, after ten years, there were no printed Albanian daily newspaper.

Study Area

Kosovo, a small country in the Western Balkans that declared independence in 2008, with a territory of 10 thousand km² and with a mainly young population of about two million, currently has no print Albanian daily newspaper. There were several reasons that contributed to their reduction and overall extinction. The low circulation of print media was a phenomenon that influenced the closure of many print newspapers, although the reason is a decision issued by the Government of the Republic of Kosovo in March 2020, during the COVID-19 Pandemic, where because of safety was banned the production of some coded products, including the printing of newspapers. Thus, Kosovo was left without print Albanian daily newspapers and information was and is spread through the electronic platform.

Materials and Methods

New technology plays a major role in the development of media, because it affects their well-being and activity, as it was thought in the past when new technological inventions were said that it changed the world dramatically, (Litschkae, 2019), also the development of technology and internet in Kosovo has resulted with the closure of all print Albanian daily newspapers. Based on the legal regulations of this small country, the legislation "is favourable for digital media and communications. The Constitution guarantees freedom of expression and the media with Articles 40 and 42, which allow everyone to disseminate and receive information, opinions and other messages without interference" (EU 2015). Though based on the research and findings of media researchers, the study of journalism in Internet during the first decade of its existence was partly paralyzed by what he marked the "utopias of journalism in Internet" (Domingo, 2006) which was also supported by Hallvard. (Hallvard, M. & Hovden, F.J. & Kari Karppinen. 2020) While earlier (1999) Janet Abbate in a study entitled: "Inventing the internet" states that the identity of the Internet as a medium of communication was not present in the beginning of technology, but was formed by a range of social choices. She argues that social choices in themselves are a combination of the ingenuity or intuition of system producers and the practices of network users. According to her, this combined relationship between network producers and its users, defined the form of the Internet and purpose as a tool of communication (Abbate, 1999). Based on this rationality of Abbate, it can be said that even in the case of online media in Kosovo, their identity as an information medium has taken form thanks to user experiences and continuous technological improvements (O'Brien, 2016). This journey of online media has already made them as the first preference of the audience to be informed. Previous studies related to technology and the Internet, argue a negative impact on print newspapers, causing a drastic decline in their sales (Høvdén, 2018), and in Kosovo their extinction. This has made that the role of the media and the role of electronic writing to be even greater. Although it has been argued that the dissemination of information electronically is direct and avoids the weaknesses and costs of dissemination (Neijens and Voorveld, 2018). The perspective of transformation provides insight into what these ideas and innovations really are and how they relate to old ideas and innovations. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, transformation means "a clear change in form, nature, or appearance" (Potter, 2020). Taking into account the emphases and assessments of various world researchers as well as the current state of the media in Kosovo and their use, it can be supposed that McChesney's conclusion about the need for major news brands to remain functional (McChesney, 2015) seems to be acceptable. Because, the last two centuries, the XX and XXI century prove that technology strongly influenced the development of journalism (Picard, 2015). Even though electronic media in Kosovo are organized and relatively regulated by law. They respect the right to privacy and defamation, although there are cases when this right is violated, but the cases are isolated. Faruk Rexhaj, Acting Director of the Independent Media Council, says that in this area "there is space for improvement, but to some extent they are regulated by IMC, through bylaws." Meanwhile, Xhemajl Rexha, Chairman of the

Association of Independent Journalists in Kosovo, says that, due to the

"sensationalization of online news, there are cases when news are published without being verified and reviewed by responsible supervisors and these are the cases when the Code of Ethics may be violated.". Muhamet Hajrullahu, editor-in-chief of "Telegrafi.com" states that the relevant laws "that regulate the activity of electronic and online / written media are clear in terms of reporting on liability." same thinks Safet Zejnullahu, editor at Radio Kosovo. He emphasizes that "as in most areas, the ethical

aspect in Kosovo is covered by positive legal regulations. "This aspect is well covered by a number of laws, although they need to be supplemented, due to the rapid development of the media, enabled by technology and the emergence of new phenomena and forms that attack the ethical aspect." Seen from this aspect, online media in Kosovo stand relatively well in terms of legislation, although more needs to be done. From the interviews with the leaders of online media in Kosovo, it can be concluded that the electronic media try to greatly respect the right to privacy and defamation, although there are cases when it is exceeded, but measures are taken to keep this to a minimum. In the survey conducted on this issue we have involved 650 Albanian respondents from six centres of the Republic of Kosovo of different ages, different education, different genders and different social groups who were from the age of 18 to the age over 45 years old. The age was divided into four groups: 18-25; 26-35; 36-45; and over 45 years old. This division has become intentional because we wanted to see the diversity of responses by age. But, since this paper is more about the development of technology and the media market of the Republic of Kosovo, most of the respondents were 18-25 years old and that was about 47%. Then it was the age from 26-35 years old, which was about 36%. These two ages which are considered as the biggest users of mobile phones and knowledge of technology made up about 82% of the respondents. 13.3% were 36-45 years old and only 4% of them were over 45 years old.

Discussion of Results Based on the selection of respondents who participated in this research with their responses, most of the respondents were 18-25 years old and that was about 47%. Then it was the age from 26-35 years old, which was about 36%. These two ages, which are considered as the biggest users of social networks and the knowledge of new technology, constituted about 82% of respondents. 13.3% were 36-45 years old and only 4% of them were over 45 years old.

In terms of gender, 64% were male and 36% female.

Comparing the number of respondents, over 70% follow the daily news on electronic media, which is almost in line with the percentage of ages who use social networks and know the technology, while about 25% sometimes, and 4% do not follow. These results are presented in Figure 1.

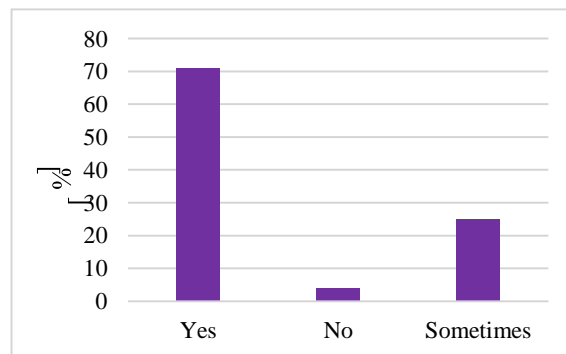


Figure 1: Coverage of daily news through online media

A diversity of responses of the place where do they stand when they read the daily news is presented to these respondents. From this it can be understood that those who use the bus as a mean of travel are more numerous than others who stay at home and those who are at work. But, considering the working hours, this percentage of respondents is a bit larger, with about 20%. Also there are others who read the news even in parks. As for the time that they spend reading the daily news through online media, we also had different answers. About 50% spend around an hour during the day reading the news. About 35% spend more than an hour There are quite a few who spend more than two hours reading the daily news.

They give interesting answers especially regarding the question of what they consider the information media. considering the percentage of responses, it comes out that 70% of them consider the media everything that gives information, while only 4% consider that media are newspapers. Portals have a percentage of 8% and television 17%. It is interesting that only 1% consider the radio as a news media. The most readable online newspaper is Express, which is followed by the Telegraph. Others have a small percentage. See figure 2.

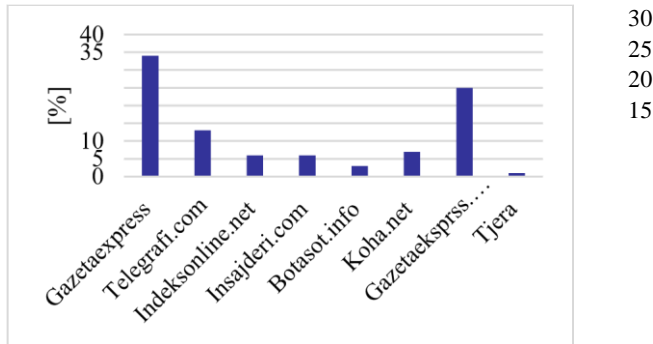


Figure 2: Coverage of online media in Kosovo.

Regarding the question if they trust online media, the respondents were divided on their minds. About 40% of them trust online media, while about 25% do not. Somewhere around 17% trust sometimes them, about 14% trust them on a small scale, and about 8% do not trust anyone.

This is presented in Figure 3.

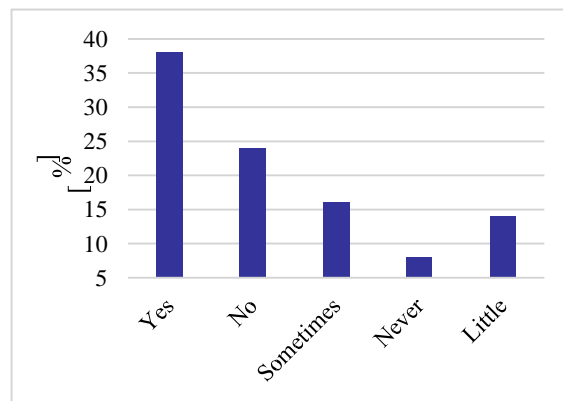


Figure 3: Credibility of online media in Kosovo

64% of respondents stated that they consider sufficient information through online media, while about 30% are not so satisfied, but they consider it as sufficient. A small percentage do not consider sufficient information through these media.

See figure 4

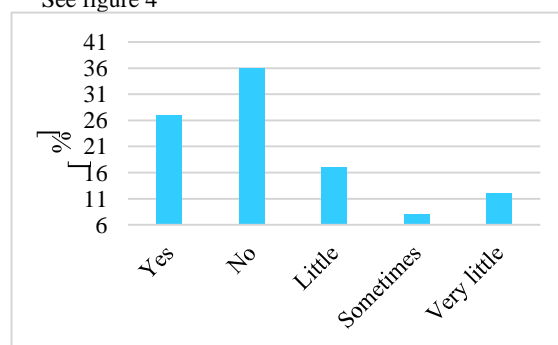


Figure 4. Satisfaction of information provided by online media in Kosovo

Conclusions and recommendation At the time of the development and advancement of technology and the

Internet, the results of this research prove that, in Kosovo, this development of technology and the Internet had a negative impact on the Albanian daily newspapers, because all were extinguished, and the greatest liability of information remained to online media, which as the main source of information use sources from Kosovo institutions, using the various statements of various personalities, taken from online platforms such as Facebook, Instagram and Twitter.

The return of the Albanian media into the business in Kosovo has influenced the reporting to be done in a non-objective way and to be politicized. While one of the factors that has influenced the news in such situations to take other direction, is the insufficient verifiability of the news that online media publish just to arouse the curiosity of readers. Also, the problem lies in multimedia, where portals receive information from the site and bring out detachment, often giving inaccurate information. This made that the print electronic media to not have much confidence by the reader. From the analysis of research data and the results obtained, it can be concluded that in Kosovo, online media still have more to do to ensure a satisfactory credibility to the reader, although the vast majority of news published and those posted on social networks are useful and of public interest. However, there are still news that are published without verifying the facts and they lead the reader to mishit. As they still have work to do and the way to walk ahead, online media will be able to be assisted by the professionals of information sector in the country, developing a detailed strategy regarding the selection of news published in their newspapers as well as on social networks;

There are needed clear policies of professional training of journalists on the use of online media;

The trainings, as well as the preparation of guides would help the journalists to build a correct relationship with both the online media users and the content that circulates within the social networks; Building the profile of an online media editor, could help make more efficient the use of this space. This specialist should be prepared and know how online media works. One of its main tasks should be to manage the interactive relationship with the network users regarding the interests of the company to which belongs;

Visual imagery accounts regarding online media should be more dynamic and create more opportunities to absorb the audience's contribution on the production of information.

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Social media and ethics

(case study, the sexual assault of an 11-year-old in Kosovo)

Dr. Isida Hoxha² and Msc. Ismet Kallaba²

Abstract

The development of new media in relation to traditional media was accompanied by a range of dynamics that can be categorized positively if we refer to the use of two-way communication, which allows the creation and exchange of content by users. Creating a more democratic media space, interactivity, networking, as well as changing the hegemonic approach to the resources used are positive vetoes of how social media works. The rape of a minor in Kosovo, by a group of young men, in August 2022, had a wide echo in Albanian media and certainly on social media. The event itself, and news of this event, brought reactions from society to the organization of protests in different cities, as well as the resignation of some officials from their work. One of the problems faced not only on Albanian social media concerns ethics, ethical principles, which shouldn't be classified as a matter of a theoretical level, but as practices to be addressed in the field of journalism. In Albania, the "Ethical Media Code" published in 2006 is the main guide in relation to ethical media reports. In addition, the development of new media required a code to include the relevant dynamics, so the "Journalist Ethics Code" and "Ethical Guidelines for Online Journalism", were published by the Albanian Media Institute. This case study studies the role of social media with the respective qualities, as well as ethical issues such as used language, sensation, privacy, etc., therefore the research question is: What is the role of social media in covering and dealing with this event? The study relies on the social platform Facebook, because it remains one of the most followed platform in Albania.

Keywords: social media, minor, ethical issues

² University of Shkodra "Luigj Gurakuqi", Sheshi 2 Prilli, Shkodër, Albania. ² University of Shkodra "Luigj Gurakuqi", Sheshi 2 Prilli, Shkodër, Albania.

1. Introduction

The event that took place in Prishtina, in August of this year, was in the focus of the media agenda for several days, as the event had the features to become news by being part of the media discourse. "From all the events which occur daily, only a few are deemed to be newsworthy enough to be reported as news in traditional print newspapers or online"

(Harcup&O'Neill, 2001). Some of the criteria for an event to become news are violent, unexpected attacks as well as their impact on many people. The rape of a minor girl by a group of young people, in a society that continuously encounters problems in relation to gender equality, attracted the attention of public opinion. The investigations led to the discovery of new details, where it is suspected that the minor was sexually abused by 6 people during the month of June and was then trafficked. The public was informed about this event by the news that circulated in traditional media and social media. In this paper, social media are the object of study, in order to understand their role in covering and handling this event.

2. Social Media

In our society, social media have a history that dates back to the last few years, but for a short time they have managed to gain great importance. A large part of the public, especially the younger generation, chooses new media for information and entertainment. According to Kaplan&Haenlein (2010:61), social media is a set of Internet-based applications that are built on ideological and technological foundations Web 2.0 that allow the creation and sharing of user content on the network. The development of social media was accompanied by a number of characteristics if we compare them with traditional media. The main feature is the creation of a more democratic media space than in traditional media. According to researchers Coleman and Ross (2010:94-95), there are changes in relation to the used resources by expanding the circle of resources, the formation of communication networks and the interconnection between them, as well as the interactive space between the sender and receiver of the message. These changes brought by social media are also observed in this case study, as it is evident the spread of information towards a wider audience, overcoming geographical boundaries (AlbaniaKosovo), as well as forming an interactive space of communication, according to the many-to-many model on the Facebook platform. In relation to the use of resources, if in the traditional media it has been discussed about the resource strategies, often accepting a kind of dominance of a certain group of resources that have the political, organizational, cultural power to dominate the media agenda and discourse, in the new media we have a weakening of the source elite and its hegemony.

As a result of the sensitivity of the event, there have been reactions and attitudes from Prime Minister Albin Kurti, Deputy Minister of Justice Nita Shala, Minister of Internal Affairs Xhelal Sveçla, Kosovo Women's Network, and President Vjosa Osmani, who assessed the event as "a shocking human act... It is also time to proceed with legislative changes that further toughen the punishments for violators. It is our collective responsibility to ensure that all children have a dignified childhood and to eliminate gender-based violence".³

³ Përdhunimi në grup i 11-vjeçares/ Reagime të forta në Kosovë, institucionet e organizatat për të drejtat e njeriut bëhen bashkë - KOSOVA (news24.al)

This worrying event for human rights institutions and organizations was also accompanied by the resignation of the director of the Kosovo police, where one of the reasons for the resignation is “professional conscience”.⁴ But this event was also accompanied by other dismissals from office, as well as the request from the Minister of Justice, Albulena Haxhiu, who requested the resignation of the chief prosecutor and actions to be taken against “prosecutors and judges who are not performing their duties”.⁵ In many-to-many communication, where the receiver of the message can turn into the sender of the message, the range of sources is expanded, allowing the inclusion of other sources, which is not possible in traditional media. Calls for the organization of protests related to this serious event found the support of public opinion in Kosovo and Albania. Some of the demands of the organizers of the protest on August 31st, were in the function of protecting women and girls who have been abused, and more specifically asking for the dismissal of officials who have not done their job, the creation of a specialized unit for sexual violence in the Police of Kosovo, justice and rehabilitation for victims of sexual violence. This is one of the positive characteristics of the development of new media, since sources such as organizations find space to convey their message, interacting with the receivers of the messages, who at the same time turn into the sender, creating the necessary potential to achieve their goals. The protests organized in the cities of Tirana and Prishtina were also supported by well-known personalities.⁶

2.1. Social media and ethics

The development of new media, in addition to its positive characteristics, is also associated with a number of issues related to ethics. Responsibility in relation to the respect of ethics is important, since interactivity, many-to-many communication can also be associated with ethical problems. Concrete initiatives have been undertaken in Albania that serve as a guide for media ethics, such as the “Ethical Code”, “Journalist’s Code of Ethics” or “Ethical Guidelines for Online Journalism”. According to the researcher David Randall we should not evaluate ethics as a codification of behavior, but “as a definition not just of principles but of good practices of journalists” (2003:120). The authors of this paper believe that one of the best ways for the media to perform its functions is to respect not just as ethical principles but also as professional practices.

2.2. Sensation

The media must be careful in media discourse in relation to sensationalism. In the conditions of a competitive market, where sales circulation, audience figures, number of clicks, as well as advertising are essential for the existence of a media, it often happens that professionals in the field use sensational news “as a solution”. In the Code of Ethics, it is mentioned that “the public

⁴ Reagime të forta në Kosovë për përdhunimin e 11-vjeçares, institucionet dhe organizatat bëhen bashkë, jep dorëheqjen drejtori i Policisë - Rajoni (sot.com.al)

⁵ Dhunimi i 11-vjeçares në Kosovë, pas dy zyrtarëve të lartë paralajmërohen të tjera dorëheqje - Aktualitet (sot.com.al)

⁶ VIDEO/ Tubimi kundër përdhunimit të 11-vjeçares, protestuesit marshojnë drejt kryeministrit. Këngëtarja Fifi: Motra dhe mbesa ime nuk guxojnë me dal nga shtëpia (panorama.com.al)

interest does not justify sensationalism” (2006). The typical strategy used by journalists is the use of sensational headlines, with the aim of attracting the attention of readers, audiences, and social media users. Many articles feature a sensational headline, which often does not match the rest of the news. One of the events that echoed in the Albanian press was the murder of Ajshe Vata, an 18-year-old girl in Xhafzotaj, Durrës. The way of killing was horrible, as the victim, who was pregnant, had her head cut off. Headlines such as “AND from 40 men. The killing of the student, in crime another female” (2012:1), are indicators of a sensationalist journalism, since the event that happened and the discourse in the rest of the news did not match. While in this case study, the media did not use sensational headlines: “The rape of the 11-year-old, Tirana stands in solidarity with Prishtina: Do not be afraid, you are not alone”⁷, “The case of the rape of the 11-year-old, news in foreign media”⁸etc., indicate a public information that is not oriented towards sensation.

2.3. Privacy

If we refer to the functions of the media, in addition to the informative role, the media performs a number of other functions. “The role of the media in today’s dynamic society has proven to be quite influential, not just as an informer of events, but mostly as a focus leader, opinionformer and even educator of public trends and attitudes of the time.” (Griffin et al, 2005:403). In relation to the publication of news that deals with physical and psychological violence, rape, murders of women and girls, often the media does not perform its functions in the right way. Some of the main rules in the media coverage of these events consist in preserving the privacy of the victims. The exposure of victims and their re-victimization are phenomena that occur because the ethical and professional principles are not respected. “A BIRN analysis of articles published online from January 2020 to April 2022 has identified 320 articles on sexual abuse, where the victim and the family are identified, the home address or other personal information is published.”⁹ Unlike the other cases in this case study, after the media monitoring, it turns out that the victim’s privacy has been respected in accordance with ethics and ethical principles, since the victim’s identity, family, or other personal information has not been published.

The main focus is preserving the privacy of the victim, for the same reasons explained above, but the task of the media continues even in preserving the privacy of the persons accused. Minors are also included in the group of those arrested, but the media have published their identities and in some cases accompanied by their photos.

⁷ Përdhunimi i 11 vjeçares, Tirana solidarizohet me Prishtinën: Mos ki frikë, ti nuk je vetëm (joq-albania.com)

⁸ Rasti i përdhunimit të 11 vjeçares lajm edhe në mediat e huaja - Kosova Sot (k-sova-sot.info)

⁹ Gratë në median shqiptare: Nga riviktimizimi tek stigmatizimi si imorale | Balkan Insight

In reliance on the Law No 9887, “On protection of personal data”¹⁰, it is banned the publication of personal data. Even in the codes of ethics it is emphasized: “Personal photos and videos, as well as published texts on social networks are considered part of the public domain, but their acquisition and use by the media may expose them to a wider audience. The media must consider the impact that the usage of these materials and personal data has, especially when there are tragic events. Also, it should be taken into consideration the copyright issue.”¹¹ In the article published on 31.08.2022, it is written: “Gentrit Jashari, the fifth rapist of the 11-year-old girl in Prishtina. The other four were identified earlier: two brothers, 26-year-old Ekrem Rexhepi and 17-year-old Gent Rexhepi, Xhabir Salihu and Shkëlqim Kameri are the 5 young men who are accused of sexually abusing the 11-year-old minor in Prishtina, Kosovo”.¹² The article is also accompanied by photo of the person accused of the incident, violating ethical principles in relation to the publication of data, the use of personal photos, which when published in the media expose individuals to a wider audience.

2.4. The used language - the language of hate

Media discourse is one of the most powerful forms of discourse, as it can bring about changes “through the formation of meanings, influence, audience attitudes and beliefs (especially through their reinforcement) and transforming the consciousness of those who read and consume it” (Richardson, 2007:28).

In other similar cases, where the victims were women and girls, the media often used a discourse that reinforced the stereotypes created by society, through two ways. Firstly, it was used a sensationalist language, mostly focused on the titles of the articles. Secondly, it was focused on the private life of the victims. In many cases, the victims turn into key social actors, the consequences of whose actions shame the family members and harm the honour of the family.¹³

Social networks offer a new opportunity for individuals to express their thoughts, feelings, opinions by creating a space which weren’t possible before. With all its positive sides, this democratic space has also been associated with problems such as the use of hate speech. “In fact, most online media organisations allow their users to write comments, and often do not filter or moderate these materials and this turns comment sections into battlegrounds of insults.” (Londo, 2020:7).

Unlike other similar cases, where the public opinion of users has been different by pointing the finger not infrequently at rape victims, this case study has created a collective solidarity. The vast majority of comments do not blame the victim, but comment on the abusers through a language that can be classified as hate speech. In this study, in order to respect ethics, swearing and insults that belong to a banal vocabulary have not been mentioned, but below we mention some of the comments that are characterized as hate speech: “Well done, these types of guys should be buried... Bravo, catch it, slaughter it like a goat... Breaking your skull is the least... I want to hear

¹⁰ Instruction_no_09.pdf (idp.al)

¹¹ UDHËZIME-ETIKE-PËR-GAZETARINË-ONLINE-3.pdf (kshm.al)

¹² Gentrit Jashari, përdhunuesi i pestë i 11-vjeçares në Prishtinë (joq-albania.com) ¹³ For more see: Isida.pdf (revistia.com)

the news that you're dead and not beaten..."¹³. "Burn them, roast them alive... Dirty hounds, they should be castrated... These monsters should not be killed, but should be tortured to death... Burn the trash alive... Take and chop the flesh and fill it with salt and let their soul slowly go out into the dregs of mankind..."¹⁴

In Ethical Guidelines for Online Journalism¹⁵, is written: Hate speech is understood as expressions that are intended to incite deep hatred, real violence or discrimination against certain individuals or groups... The responsible personnel for comment moderation should be trained on the basics of local legislation and international standards for the protection of vulnerable groups.

The editor or operator must use industry standard technologies (filters, software, etc.) to block banal or easily controllable content. For comments that constitute hate speech, danger to the safety and physical integrity of persons or other serious violations of human rights, and especially of minors, the editor or operator must have a mechanism for their fast identification and removal as soon as possible.

Also, in the Journalist's Code of Ethics¹⁶ is highlighted: Publishers and editors are responsible for the publication of news and articles, as well as letters to the editor, comments or responses on the media website, including cases where the author's name has been removed or is marked with a pseudonym. Based on the analysis, it results that these ethical principles are not respected, even though there are minors in the group of arrested young people.

3. Conclusions

The development of new media has been accompanied by a number of positive aspects, as can be seen in this case study. The democratic space in relation to the used resources, interactivity and interaction give opportunities to other actors such as the case of human rights organizations to convey their messages, and to positively influence society.

The media have respected the ethical principles in relation to the language used in the articles by not using sexist language to the disadvantage of the victim. The published articles on this topic are not oriented towards sensationalism but towards informing the public. Protecting the privacy of the victim is another important ethical issue that is respected by avoiding the exposure of the victim and her re-victimization.

The ethical issues that require attention in this case study are related to the information that is forwarded to the accused party, in relation to the language used in the comments, as well as to the publication of personal data. The event itself is associated with developments that affect the

¹³ Ekrem Rexhepi rrihet nga të burgosurit, i rrezikohet jeta dhe transferohet në burg tjetër (joq-albania.com)

¹⁴ Përdhunimi i 11-vjeçares në Kosovë, arrestohen edhe dy persona të tjerë - Top Channel (top-channel.tv)

¹⁵ UDHËZIME-ETIKE-PËR-GAZETARINË-ONLINE-3.pdf (kshm.al)

¹⁶ Kodi i Etikës së Gazetarit – Këshilli Shqiptar i Medias (kshm.al)

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IS FAKE NEWS (DISINFORMATION) THE BIGGEST ENEMY OF ETHICS IN PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM IN KOSOVO?

Musa Sabedini

**The UBT (University for Business and Technology) Institution of Higher Education,
Lagja Kalabria pn, 10000 Prishtina, Kosovo.**

musasabedini@hotmail.com

To understand exactly what fake news is and what is real news, we definitely need to understand how accurate and real news is written. There are many definitions about what is actually called *fake news*. However, the terms "Disinformation" and/or "Misinformation" dominate. Fake news remains a challenge and a very serious problem for the online media in Kosovo, including the part of ethics, which is has not recovered and it is still a problem. Kosovar portals, I believe most of them have insufficient staff and non-professional editors. They are being influenced by the phenomenon of fake news, without wasting time to verify whether the news, the event, the chronicle, the video or photo, is true or fake. It is painful from a professional and ethical point of view when you see fake news, when you see news circulating unverified by Kosovar newsrooms. Unfortunately, fake news in Kosovo is spread even by the online media, which call themselves credible and influential in the Kosovar public opinion. This phenomenon must be stopped, we must do our best to make the editors of these portals understand that fake news damages the public's health, puts mental and emotional pressure on a layer of the public that is almost influenced and victimized by this (unverified) fake news. Newsrooms that spread fake news must first understand the importance of how real news is produced. Without knowing how real news is created, they find it difficult to identify or distinguish it from the fake news.

Keywords: fake news, ethics, disinformation, Kosova

A Note on Ethics and Self-Regulation

Verified information is the basis of the credibility of journalism, and based on this principle, professional standards for ethical and responsible journalism are effective protection against misinformation and disinformation.

Unfortunately, in this whole war against disinformation and on the other hand in the just war to implement ethics, the media and journalists who do not submit to various manipulations suffer.

The professional media must work in the best interests of the public by providing accurate, objective, useful, even responsible information based on facts and evidence. Manipulation must be stopped and the alarm raised with the responsible institutions.

Online media in Kosovo is still unstable and cannot be trusted and it will be even worse if in future we are attacked as disinformation carriers.

In reality, there is a large extent and influence of fake news on the Internet, which has caused and is causing a new crises, creating implications of the most diverse in general for journalists.

Considering me, it is important that in the professional and ethical aspect the portals become aware, create groups of journalists and experts to stop the phenomenon of false photos, videos and other materials which severely damage accurate journalism.

There are portals and online media that are well on the way to building a truly professional journalism, a journalism where ethics dominates, the codes of ethics and decency are respected and the right of feedback is respected.

An agenda with some criteria and enough material on what fake news is, it will be welcomed by every Kosovar newsroom. It is time for young and experienced journalists to read and study more about this phenomenon, which has reached global proportions and has a great impact on society.

Kosovo is no exception to this phenomenon and to this "deadly" virus for professional journalism. Online media in Kosovo must understand the seriousness and damage that fake news does to the public and readers.

Fake news hits the real news media

In the manual for Training and Formation of Journalists: "Journalism, 'Fake News' -

Disinformation" it is said that the term 'fake news' does not have the direct meaning to which the general public refers. This is because the very term 'news' means verifiable information in the public interest, and any other type of information that does not meet these standards does not deserve to be called news. In this sense, the term 'fake news' is an antithesis (oxymoron), which also affects the devaluation of the reliability of information that really meets the standards of verification of authenticity and public interest - real news. (Guy Berger, Cherilyn Ireton and Julie Posetti. Journalist Training and Education Manual).

As authors Cherilyn Ireton and Julie Posetti say, 'Misinformation and disinformation don't just harm the reputation and safety of journalists.' They put to the question mark even the mission itself and usefulness of their work, and lead to the degradation of journalism, which then leads to the impoverishment of public discourse.

"However, journalists should understand that, although the richest area for disinformation is social media, nowadays there are also powerful factors that use companies that produce 'fake news' in order to attack the real news media. But new stricter laws are blaming news institutions as if they were to blame for the situation, or lumping all media into one group by forcing them to submit to new laws and regulations that limit all communication platforms without making any distinction between them".

How to behave and how to act in a very slippery terrain?

A question that is more important and power in present circumstances. How to act and what the media and especially the online media should do when faced with the fake news.

First, all media, without exception, should respect even more professional standards and ethics, always avoiding the publication of unverified information, and distance themselves from information that may be of interest to a part of the public, but not serve the public interest. "Most discussions of 'fake news' equate and confuse two notions: disinformation and misinformation. It may be appropriate to point out that misinformation is incorrect information, but the person spreading it thinks it is true. On the other hand, disinformation is information that is incorrect, but the person spreading it clearly knows that it is fabricated. We are dealing with a deliberate and premeditated lie, which causes the public to be deceived by malicious factors".

(Claire Wardle and Hossein Derakhshan).

Coming up of the social media

Social media in the world and in Kosovo, are the ones that are playing the key role in the great disorder of online information distribution. This information is then carried in the "copy paste" style, even to serious media without passing through the filter of verification of the posted news. "In these networks created by individuals who trusted each other, peer-to-peer sharing of information (especially on Facebook) began to challenge traditional methods of distributing materials. Users managed the flow of material and information themselves - including material from news agencies, journalists and other reliable sources of information - without intermediaries.

As a result of this distribution through 'trust networks' (users and friends), more and more inaccurate, false, malicious material, as well as propaganda material masquerading as news, began to spread. Researchers have found that emotional content and material shared by a friend or relative are more likely to be re-shared on social media." (Transforming the News Industry: Digital Technology, Social Platforms and the Spread of Misinformation and Misinformation by Julie Posetti).

Disinformation that comes camouflaged as a news?

"News literacy is a more specific ability to understand the language and characteristics of news, and how these characteristics can be misused for malicious purposes. While important, news education alone can hardly create immunity to misinformation that comes disguised as news. This is because people do not engage in communication only with their brains, but also with their hearts". (The fight against misinformation and fake-information through media and information education (EMI) by Magda Abu-Fadil).

I have said several times that the biggest enemy of ethics is unverified or cracked news published as fabricated fake news.

If we look at the various local and international portals for just a few minutes, we see that within their texts we come across many inaccuracies, we see and read fabricated news for likes, news posted and re-posted, with the only purpose of attracting attention.

The Kallxo.com portal has a special section that deals exclusively with fake news, and their effort is really for everyone because it helps young journalists to maintain themselves and journalistic ethics.

Among the many fake news that the *kallo.com* team has found, we are highlighting the title: "The false finding that Vjosa Osmani did not invite anyone from the Government of Albania to the Forum for Women, Peace and Security"

In the course of reporting, information producers have distributed factual material that is untrue and taken out of context. The finding that no one has been invited by the Government of Edi Rama is untrue and this has been confirmed by three different sources from the Presidency and the Government of the Republic of Albania. (<https://kallxo.com/krypometer/konstatimi-i-remese-vjosa-osmani-nuk-e-toi-askend-nga-geveria-e-sqiperise-ne-forumin-per-grate-paqen-dhe-security>).

Another news that actually discredited the leader Ramush Haradinaj and it was published in some media and portals in Serbia.

Title: "Lies for Ramush Haradinaj"

Statement

Albanian: Uncle Ramush, you killed my father, you raped me and then killed me too: Sensitive letter of the son Millovan, who would have turned 18 today

Serbian: 'Čika Ramuše, ubio si mi tatu, mamu silovao pa me obesio: Potresno pismo dečaka Milovana, koji bi danas rapunio 18 godina'. (Uncle Ramush, you killed my dad, raped my mom and then hanged me: A sensitive letter from the boy of Milovan, who would have turned 18 today).

Evaluation – False

English: The source of this article is a letter based on a fictional story written by a journalist on behalf of a child who was allegedly killed in the war. This letter written by the journalist is not a journalistic article and does not fulfill any criteria of news, but it is distributed as such by this portal. Before publishing the complete fictional story, the portal made a fake description of the profile of the former prime minister of Kosovo, Ramush Haradinaj. The "Politika Ekspres" portal describes Haradinaj as the organizer of violence and ethnic cleansing of Serbs in the riots of March 2004. However, this finding is false, as Haradinaj was not part of the organization of the protests and he was neither investigated nor accused for such things by the UN or the UNMIK mission (<https://kallxo.com/krypometer/rrena-per-ramush-haradinaj>).

And another fake news was also discovered by *kallo.com* named "Lies for the 'discovery of the witness against former president Taçi in The Hague'"

Statement: "Last minute, the witness against former president Taçi is revealed in The Hague, **says the former service agent**".

It is a lie

The title is fake. There is no witness discovered against former president Thaçi. The title is not verified anywhere in the text within the news. The text uses an old statement of the former ambassador of Kosovo in Shkup, Gjergj Dedaj, given in 2001, which is not related to The Hague and the special court. Furthermore, the news is illustrated with a fake photograph, which is elaborated in design and aims to create the impression that there is real material within the text. In the publication on social networks, they used signs that show mourning and regret for the news, herewith they made the readers believe that was a terrible news.

The website named 'lajme.buzz' has published this news. (<https://kallxo.com/krypometer/rrenaper-zbulim-e-deshmitarit-kunder-ish-presidentit-thaci-ne-hage>).

The war in Ukraine and unverified news have also distracted many world media, especially publishing old photos or videos.

An article titled: "Scary sight on the border with Ukraine, Russia" turns out to be fake news. False claim that photo of current Russian soldiers is false.

It is a lie

The article "BREAKING NEWS / Scary scene on the border with Ukraine, Russia (Read Details)... is fake. The views seen in the photographs were not recently taken, as presented in the article. Crypometer has found that the photo presented as photo news dates from February 2022. Also, no evidence or reference in reliable based on official sources has been presented that the soldiers were left without food supply.

The article

On 5 October 2022, the Publikos website published a news item with the title: "LATEST NEWS / Scary scene on the border with Ukraine, Russia (Read the details)... The same article, with the same description, has also been published on other sites such as: KonicaLajme (News), Albania, neës.kneës899.com.

The article states that this photo was taken recently and it is surprising the whole world, claiming that the soldiers have run out of food supplies. Crypometer has found that the presented photo as a photo news dates from February 2022.

The photo shows Russian troops at a railway station in Dolbino, Russia, not far from the border with Ukraine, showing the harsh conditions of the soldiers, this photo is from February 2022. In March this year, this photo was shared saying that the soldiers in the photo were killed. The cryptometer also verified that statement, which turned out to be false. So, the photo of the front page of the news is not related to scary photos and it is not from the last few days, but it has been circulating on many sites and portals on the Internet for several months.

(<https://kallxo.com/krypometer/pretendimi>) -fake-that-the-photo-of-the-Russian-soldiers-is-current)

KMSHK: The newsrooms have the lack staff to fight misinformation

The Council of the Written Media of Kosovo in its report presented in July 2022 named: "Misinformation, disinformation and fake news in the online media in Kosovo", emphasized the lack of professional staff in the editorial office and non-cooperation with verifiers of facts on the spot.

This report of the KMSHK reflected the state of newsrooms in Kosovo in general and was dealing with the issue of publishing fake news and disinformation.

According to the report, in the answers to the questionnaire the method used for this research, it appears that the newsrooms have a lack of editors, lecturers, and unclear practices of respecting the Code of Ethics of Journalism.

It is emphasized in the report and based on the answers to the questionnaire, the media does not take any real measures against a journalist who has been found to have committed a violation, and producing fake news, based on the report.

Furthermore, it is said in the report that the fact that the surveyed media have never mentioned any real cooperation by verifying facts. 'However the fact verification is done by the medium itself or by an unprofessional staff complicating the authenticity of a news or statement published by other media', it is hereby highlighted in the report of the KMSHK.

Some of the recommendations drawn from the reports emphasize that the media in the country must deny the disinformation or misinformation that circulates on the Internet and that journalists must take into account that their work is to discover misinformation and fight information disorders.

In the main principles of the Media Code of Ethics, it is clearly written that journalists should report on the basis of factual data and not on their perceptions of the facts.

In order to block the spread of fake news, as well as to avoid a situation where Kosovo reaches the level of the region in terms of disinformation and media control, it is extremely important that various links of society undertake immediate actions:

1. Institutional leaders should continue the tradition of regular conferences for the media, with question-and-answer sessions, in which space is given for more questions from different media, and not only from those considered close to the government. This would have an impact on mutual trust between institutions and the media, this is vital for the sake of democracy.
2. In order to contribute to the right information of the public, the institutions should also consider taking teams of journalists on visits abroad, a practice well-known in all democratic countries.
3. Journalists should check the source of the information several times, and treat it from several different points before releasing the news.
4. In televised debates, there should be greater self-control on the part of the panelists as well as greater control on the part of the mediums, and not to contribute to the creation of false narratives.

5. Citizens should verify the news on several different channels before taking it for granted. Citizens should report eventual fake news to the Independent Media Council (IMC) and the Kosovo Print Media Council (KMSHK).

Reporting the Truth

As the code requires, journalists' goal is to find the factual truth and therefore take all the necessary and possible steps to find out the truth.

Based on unknown sources does not meet the requirements of the Media Code. As defined by the KMSHK Code, reporting must be done based on identifiable sources of information, always if necessary preserving the source of information, but in any case providing circumstantial information that makes it reliable and complements the published information.

Don't be fooled by misinformation online, check the issues when searching through social networks

Where is the source? Think and examine what is behind the scenes. Check the origin of the website or social network profile, check the basic data, first and last names.

The history. Does the source have an agenda? Find out what kind of topics does it usually cover and if it only promotes one perspective.

Proof. Study the details of any confirmation and see if it based on confidential sources.

Emotions. See if the source is based on any emotions to point out something particular.

Check for sensational, inflammatory or divisive rhetoric.

Pictures are worth a thousand words. Check what message is illustrated or what the picture means, and if the source uses pictures to draw attention.

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CHAOTIC READING OF CHAOS

Safet Zejnullahu

**UBT – Higher Education Institution, Calabria Neighborhood, 10000 p.n., Prishtina,
Kosovo**

safet.zejnullahu@ubt-uni.net

Abstract. . Between the slow traditional media and the light-speed media of the Internet, I don't think we choose the latter. But to what extent can we trust her? Even further, we want to read a news, which is offered to us as the latest, but in fact we do not find such content. How many times do we look for the source of an important piece of information and find it lacking. Instead of a column structure, in a column of titles we find news from politics and advice on how to clean the bathroom more effectively. We search for news and read advertisements! When a politician is suspected of breaking the law, we learn all about him, when a criminal commits his next crime, we find him with initials! A soccer team is leading by two goals at the end of the first half. The news with this title always attracts us. But when the game is over, that team has lost the game. But most of the time you don't find the news. A more vocal politician becomes public as a family member, even though he is doing propaganda. But the internet media needs news, it doesn't matter what news! We take comfort in the idea that the new media is in transition and laying the foundations of professionalism. But how long should this last?

Keywords: media, internet, chaos, column, transition

Introduction

Lots of music and some news heard from the magic box. Central edition of the evening news, as family gathering time. Daily newspaper open on the coffee table, cup nearby. This is a time, now, distant, for a large part of the citizens.

News anytime and anywhere. Endless music. Movies anywhere and anytime. Without waiting for the designated air time. Without connecting to real-time streaming. A device connected to the Internet is enough.

Creating a whole new relationship between the media and the public. To analyze this, the research question in this paper is: Did the Internet create chaos in the media and how does the public find themselves in this chaos?

In order to answer this question, the literature of well-known authors that deals with this issue has been examined. At the same time, a number of news portals in Kosovo were examined and the findings were accompanied by examples.

Literature review

But what has changed in the way of receiving news.

How different the world of communication was, is shown by the case of the news about the assassination of the President of the United States of America, Abraham Lincoln in 1865. It took 12 days for the news to cross the Atlantic. (www.thebaron.info, 2020)

Or, during the reign of Queen Catherine the Great in Russia (1762-1796), it took 18 months to convey a government decision from St. Petersburg to Kamchatka in Siberia, and just as long to receive a reply. (Briggs, Burke, 2006, 43)

The empire of Assyria (before the new wind) is known to be among the first to build roads. Based on this, "information/order could be sent from any part of the empire to the capital and receive a response within a week". (Briggs, Burke, 2006, 15)

Much later, the discovery of the "new world", the American continent, encouraged the development of communication, now transatlantic. The forwarding of orders depended on the movement of ships, which, for security reasons, traveled to the continent. Thus, the convoy from Spain to Mexico left in the summer and returned in the fall.

Letters from Spain to Mexico took only four months to travel, but to Lima (Peru) usually six to nine months, and to the Philippines up to two years.

Communication between London and the British colonies was faster, but it often happened that letters were lost or did not arrive at the right destination. Thus, "the notice of the assassination of King Charles I, written in March 1649, reached New England only in June." As if there were two worlds!

Today, a press conference of the President of the USA can be followed in real time, with a delay of seconds, not only in Europe, but also in the farthest corner of the world.

A completely different world!

Let's see what the Internet did to print media?

Print media maintained its place in the information industry throughout time despite the birth of other media. Survived quietly radio and television. But, all this, until the time of the Internet. Then the "black period" of the printed media began, along with the forecasts for its end. "The founder of CNN, Ted Turner, predicted as early as 1991, the end of printed newspapers in... 2001. Philip Meyer, author of the *Vanishing Newspaper*, found in 2004 that newspaper sales have fallen five percent a year in the United States since 1995 and three percent in Europe. He warns of the end of printed dailies by 2040". (Fogel & Patino, 2005)

Meanwhile, the Plan Commissariat Report, published in France in mid-2005, believes in a faster end: it predicted that the end of paid print would be in 2010.

National newspapers, major metropolitan newspapers, regional newspapers, and local newspapers are the four types of newspapers that have seen continued growth. In developed countries they reached millions of circulations. When tabloids, weekly, biweekly or monthly magazines, as well as professional magazines are added to these, we find the long reign of the printed media.

However, print media was in decline even before the Internet era.

"In August 1970, the *Daily Mirror* sold 4,486,693 copies a day and the *Daily Express* 3,605,883.

Ten years later, the figures dropped to 3,624,575 copies and 2,224,651 copies respectively. In August 1990, the figures were 3,121,050 copies and 1,608,361 copies. Imagine 3.5 million copies disappeared in two of the biggest names of its time in 20 cruel years", says Peter J.

Preston, journalist in "Guardian". (www.theguardian.com, 2020)

The explanation should probably be found in the content of the newspapers, respectively in the inappropriate adaptation of the content to certain ages in society .

"Various studies show that newspaper readers are mainly the third age group, while young people prefer the online source of information more. After a study of readers of its Cape Cod Times newspaper, Cape Cod Media Group, on its website announced that while the average age of its readers is 54 years old, 50 percent of readers belong to the age group over 55 years old, 22 percent in the 18-34 age group, while 28 percent of them are between 35 and 54 years old".

(Çipuri, 2011)

Almost the same is observed for "The Times Herald", where the average age of readers is 49 years.

In terms of content, newspapers tend to return to their beginnings – newspapers for elites, certain interest groups, newspapers dealing with certain topics in a field.

But it is almost impossible for a newspaper to survive only in its printed version. Even when you send it home to people. Because, according to one example, "in the USA, in 1960, about 111 newspapers were sold to 100 homes, while in 2006, about 50 newspapers were sold to 1,000 homes." (Dominick, 2010, 163)

The survival of printed newspapers can be imagined for a while, in parallel with its online version. The Palo Alto Weekly, the first newspaper to go from print to online, paved the way in 1994. (paloaltoonline.com)

But how did the Internet spread?

A Pew Foundation study revealed some interesting data about the reach of the Internet. "In the Internet's infancy, the population that used it was dominated by young people and that part of the white race that had high incomes and was poorly educated. With the transition to the childhood stage, in 1999-2000, the entire population joined the flow; women became equal to men online, more wealthy families joined the party, and many people with higher incomes and modest educations came online. In short, until 2007, the Internet included all categories of the population", states a report of this foundation. (Dominick, 2010, 441)

In the world the Internet found a rapid extension and a use perhaps unimaginable. A glance at the world map shows the greatest extent of the Internet in developed countries, North America, Europe and Australia, while a lesser extent in other regions of the world.

Europe is a region in which the Internet has spread rapidly and found widespread use. In 2020, there is no more talk about internet coverage - the race is who has the best internet.

Kosovo is on this map, but among the countries with low internet quality.

European countries by average internet speed in April 2020
Fixed-line broadband download speed, megabits per second

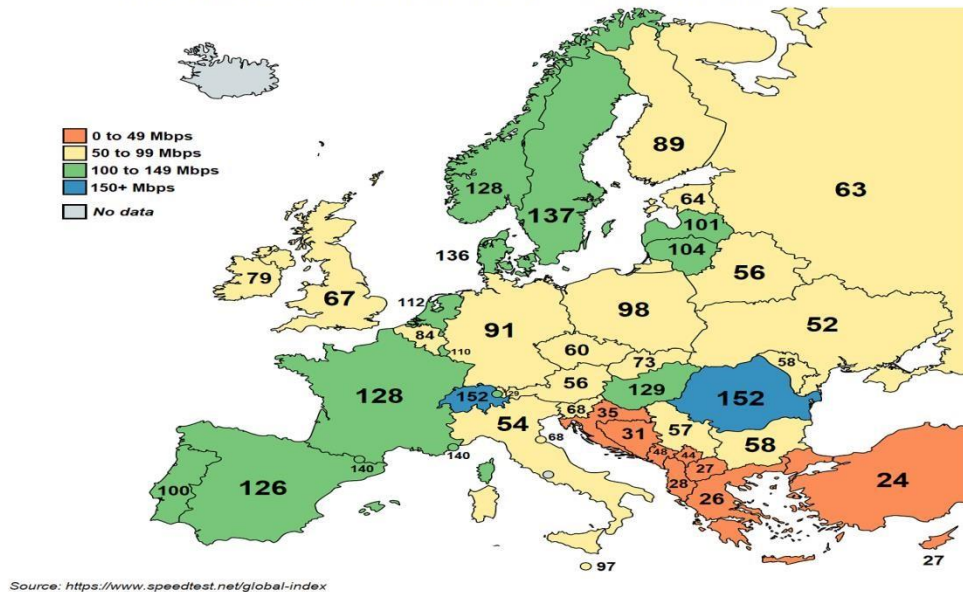


Figure: Internet coverage in Europe, according to signal quality (zook/info)

After this map, we no longer have to look for the media-public report in other forms of transmission, except for the forms enabled by the Internet.

Let's see how much the Internet has changed the public and the media itself.

Experiments on the new media-public relationship have produced frightening data: the average reader, within 8 seconds, makes the decision whether to read the journalistic content offered in the online media.

If within this period his eye does not detect "something interesting" in the text, be it the title, the head of the text, the photo or the illustrative video, he will only change the portal.

In the "struggle" to please the Internet public and its "eight seconds" anyway, the media, instead of standing vertically (professionalism), broke itself on the back to fall in the public eye anyway (drastic reduction of criteria).

Marshall McLuhan, in his almost prophetic book "The Meaning of Media: The Extensions of Man", in the distant year 1964 predicted what happened and is still happening with the media. McLuhan argued that with the "electronic media" of the twentieth century—telephone, radio, movies, television—the tyranny of text over thought and feeling is coming to an end. He also drew attention to the danger from the Internet: "Electrical technology penetrated our walls and we, deaf, blind, dumb, numbly await its meeting with Gutenberg's technology, according to which our way of life was shaped," he adds. (McLuhan, 2003)

We don't associate Friedrich Nietzsche much with communication. But in this topic we will also connect it.

His friends noticed a new form of writing, a new energy in the content of his writings, since he received a new typewriter as a gift.

His friend, writer and composer Hajnrih Koselič wrote to him: "I believe that with the new typewriter you will find a new form of expression." For himself, he said that "the quality of the typewriter, as well as the quality of the paper, greatly influences his thoughts, both in music and in writing."

"You're right", - replied Nietzsche: "The medium with which we write has an impact on how our thoughts are shaped." (Carr, 2011, 26)

Even readers, conventionally speaking, deeper and more serious, changed their approach from the Internet.

Nicholas Kerr, in the book "What the Internet is doing to our brains" brings some examples of the influence of the Internet on changing the way people behave that have an important connection with literature and reading.

It was only in the last century that it was scientifically proven that the human brain is elastic and can change, contrary to the previous beliefs that the human brain has a structure that is formed at the age of 20 and never changes.

And, the Internet has had the greatest impact on research into human behavior, including brain changes.

".... I don't think like before. I notice this best when I read. I used to find it easy to read a book and focus on a long article. My brain didn't get tired while reading the pages of thick books. This happens to me very rarely today. Now, after two or three pages, I lose concentration. I worry, I lose my turn, I look for what else I could do. I always seem to have to turn my brain back to the text. Deep and critical reading was something quite ordinary for me earlier. This reading has now gone into trouble..."

I think I know what it is about. For more than ten years I've been spending a lot of time on the Internet, searching, looking, and occasionally writing something and posting it there..." says Kerr. (Carr, 2011, 15)

Writer Heather Pringle highlights the advantages that the Internet has provided in the field of research. "Google is an unprecedented collaborator of humanity. He collects and selects information and ideas, which previously were so scattered around the world that almost no one entered the work".

But the natural fear of the Internet is: If I will learn to read only superficially?

Legitimate fear.

Blogger Scott Karp, formerly writing for a magazine, now maintains a blog where he gives his thoughts on online media. He studied literature and read endless books. Now he has started reading on the Internet. He says that it has changed the way he reads, and at the same time he has changed the way he thinks! (Carr, 2011, 15)

Even Bruce Friedman, who keeps a blog writing about the use of computers in medicine, explains how the Internet affected his habits and thoughts.

"I have almost completely lost the ability to read and understand any long text, whether printed or on the web," he says. (Carr, 2011, 13)

"I can no longer read the book 'War and Peace'," he admits. I have lost that ability. Even the text of three or four pages on the blog seems too long to me. Most often I just look at it!"

Philip Davis, a doctoral student at Cornell University, says that at first he instructed friends that on a web page they don't need to read the entire text, but only the underlined and bolded words. "Today," he adds, "I read a lot, but I don't read anything properly. I read a bit, then move my eyes up and down in the text. I have no patience for texts with many subtleties". (Carr, 2011,

15) A study done in 2008 investigated the impact of the Internet on young people. 6000 members of the "Internet generation" were interviewed.

The results, among other things, showed that among the young people of the web generation, reading online has an impact even on the way they receive information. "They don't read lines from left to right or pages from top to bottom. Most of them read by 'jumping', looking for information related to the topic they are interested in".

Chaos in practice

In traditional media, usually, the sections are: Politics; The economy; Society; The Black Chronicle; Municipalities; The capital; Region; The world; Culture; Fejton; Sports; entertainment; Marketing.

While the composition of the editorial office is this: Editor-in-Chief (assistant editors-in-chief); Column editors; Journalists; Photojournalists/cameramen; Correspondents; Collaborators; Language editor; Technical staff.

A news queue, which is supposed to attract public attention, has been operating in the media for a long time. The reader/viewer/listener knew the page of the newspaper or the minute where he could find a news of a certain section.

In Kosovo, daily newspapers no longer appear in print form, while only a few television stations maintain a somewhat rough news ranking scheme based on the belief that the viewer of the central news edition still wants to get political news first. finally waiting to hear what the weather will be like tomorrow.

Internet media has a different order of columns. In the 5 monitored news portals, the sections are as follows:

Koha.net: Front page; News; Chronicle; Culture; Sports; Between; Insights; Horoscope; Enigma;

Archive; Wildlife; Commemorations. (www.koha.net)

Klankosova.tv: News; Sports; Video news; television; Prive; Viral; Economy; Health; Culture;

On Interview; Others (www.klankosova.tv)

RTKlive.com: News; Videos; Economy, Sport, Culture, Warehouse; Tech; for RTK, Radio Kosovo. (www.rtklive.com)

Rtv21.tv: News; Politics; Culture; Business; Sports; Showbiz; technology; Opinions; Women; Men; TV21 MK. (www.rtv21.tv)

Gazetaexpress.com: News; Sports; Op/ed; Pink; Arts; Snow; Others. (www.gazetaexpress.com)

We notice that we have a different, new order of the rubrics. Certainly influenced by the form of presentation of journalistic content. From the Internet.

Another element: In most of the portals there are no editorial notes. The texts, likewise, are without authors' names. The portals are content with a note to the media owner company. And with the note about not copying the content, which, for now, almost no one adheres to. If in the

print media, it was known where to look for the news. Lovers of sports and readers of competitions used to read the newspaper from the end! In the internet media, we mostly find the news according to the time when the news was published.

From the seven-day monitoring of these portals, we conclude, among others:

In most portals, the order of news that is offered to the public is published according to the time when it happened, not according to the sections. The column serves more as an archive, because the programmed algorithm folds them into the special column: either after a certain time, or after the new news is published in the corresponding column.

SPEED of publication convincingly dominates the criterion of PROFESSIONALISM!

SINGLE SOURCE news outnumbered TWO or THREE SOURCE news! ALMOST THE SAME news is still the "disease" of online journalism in Kosovo.

We have NEWS IN UPDATE, but not updated. A soccer team is leading by one goal in the first half, and this has become news on the portal. But did anything happen after the first half? In the end, that team lost the match, but the reader should find out about this only on an international portal, specialized for sports!

Within the same column, you will find, on the front page, today's news, but also yesterday's news! Should yesterday's news be archived after a certain period of time? From the issue: What is news and what is not - we have the approach EVERYTHING is news. There will always be someone who will read a news story on a trivial topic or created by NOTHING. Internet Media Uses the +18 Sign: But Is This Protection or Tearing for Reading?

In the right column of the page, where the news following or less important than the main news is given: we have both ADVERTISING and news +18, unmarked!

Editorial, comment, column, reportage, travelogue, blog... these are just some of the sections that are missing in internet journalism. Earlier, journalism could not be thought of without them! What is privacy and what is not? When a bank is robbed, most of the time, the media does not show the name of the bank. Because the name of the bank is not mentioned by the police! But the media doesn't have to hide it. In other cases, when the media publishes the video in which a meat walks among the food in the market, why is the name of the market not highlighted? The media should think about the interest of the public, let the owner of the market think about his image!

LIMITATION of what should be published and what not: The border has been crossed with Saddam Hussein, Gaddafi, Pralok (it was a live broadcast), but in a country that has come out of the war, should the public be spared from the images of violence.

Then: Is pain news? (The classroom teacher's voice trembles as she describes her student who was killed last night). Why, what would happen next? Or relatives crying at the cemetery (8 out of 11 pictures from the funeral of a singer's mother show family members crying)!!!

Conclusions

In media in transition, such as Kosovo, internet media is still in content chaos. The public, however, starting from the medical studies highlighted at the beginning, cannot do any other reading than CHAOTIC READING! He has a hard time distinguishing what is news and what is not, where to find interesting content professionally handled and how to protect himself from advertising content, placed close to each other. He will be able to read a news story about a

tragedy, often with casualties, followed by a news story about a new car model, the clothes sizes of a showbiz character or even content that deserves the +18 mark.

Simply put, if the Internet media is to take anything from traditional media, it will inevitably be the categorization of news into structured sections. Until then, chaos will be published by the media, chaotically read by the public.

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Katalogimi në botim – (CIP)
Biblioteka Kombëtare e Kosovës “Pjetër Bogdani”

316.77 (496.51)

659.3 (062)

Proceedings International Conference : proceedings of the 11th UBT Annual International Conference : international Conference on Journalism, Media and Communication / edited by Edmond Hajrizi. - Prishtinë : UBT, 2022. - 41 f. : ilustr. ; 30 cm.

1. Hajrizi, Edmond

ISBN 978-9951-550-86-4

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