

Public Opinion and Europeanization of Macedonia: A Communicational View on European Values

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Abstract

Commonly accepted attitude is that integration into the European Union will not be possible without clear and quality message which should reflect as essence of the process of media communication in a democratic world rich of different forms of social interaction.

With regard to that, European behavior prefers communication which should be free, transparent, objective, analytical and diverse. In other words - it should make telling the pluralism of interests possible. To be able to promote the European values, the media is facing a task of "Europeization" in a sense of building standards and criteria which could be possible with consistent media policies and regulation.

Some new studies of values in Macedonian society admit that Macedonia is only pseudo- modern today. Clearly economic and political institutions swing between modern and postmodern orientation of institutional and technological level. However, traditionalism has been kept in the sphere of social and cultural values. Signs of this traditionalism are: non- acceptance of risks as principle for action in the framework of economy, weak involvement of citizens in decision- making, and the back-to-religion phenomenon.

Faced with this reality, the Republic of Macedonia, as all other former communist block countries, should be persistent in constituting itself in a single social environment- through the processes of economic, political and cultural reform - where pluralism of interest will become fully implemented by introducing a developed form of the rule of law.

In current euro-friendly climate in Macedonia, some new dilemmas are opening up, which are of interest for the process of European integration. To which level can we talk about an active citizen opinion and democratic political communication in the shaping of Macedonian public opinion for creating a real 'Euroized' environment in the country?

Key Words: public opinion, media, political communication, European values, Europeization.

Introduction

Even if we are not in position to talk about a European identity, just because there are as many identities in Europe as existing nations, still in European terms there really exists a system of rules, norms, values, which can invisibly regulate relations between the nations of the European Union. The role of these rules is even more important, thus lately; some of them have been codified and presented in European

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treaties. In this way they became legally binding. Values as solidarity, equal opportunity, freedom of expression, tolerance and preservation of cultural heritage, are implemented in the preamble to all European agreements; the Map of European Human Rights (The Rainbow Europe Map and Index) in The Treaty establishing the Constitution for Europe (TCE). In other words, these are the criteria or targets to which individuals may decide or act upon. Even if they are not in accordance with their values, such criteria give a framework and the margins for the behavior of individuals.

In this sense, the ‘Euroization’ of the Republic of Macedonia is a phenomenon of rational “reaching of conciseness,” a process which is very important, implemented through a discourse of a fully versatile citizen. There is a question – to what degree could we talk about an active, criticizing and conscious-minded public, in a sense of filtration of information in function of their own values? Up to which level the Lazarsfeld’s theory (people select media and messages which relate to their behavior) had been verified in Macedonia? To demonstrate this it is necessary to confirm or reject the role of the media as a reflection of society, and to detect the discourse of political communication through profiling of political players in real the environment of pluralism of interest.

From a methodological aspect- during the course of collecting data for this work, which forms part of several years of extensive research of social and economic communication, as well as political and cultural factors in establishing European values in the Republic of Macedonia – monitoring the broadcast of national television stations such as MTV 1, A1, Sitel, Telma, and Kana 5 it is worth emphasizing:

- The monitoring of the special segment of newscasts of TV programs via topics which directly reflect the influence of the media on democratization of society. For example, the ways of reporting about the EU Questionnaire, the manner of reporting about elections, media analysis of corruption, and crime?

- The analysis of special shows for EU integration processes, with special focus on their thematic analysis and the way of presenting facts (for example, shows such as “Evro-zum”, “Evro- mak”, “ Nadvoresni pogledi”) , as well as public debates,

TV magazines treating topics of public social, political and economical issues in context of “Euroization” of Macedonian society;

- The analysis of contents of stories published in print media, daily newspaper (“Dnevnik”, “Utrinski vesnik”, “Vreme”), from an aspect of treating topics which influence the establishment of Euro-awareness, and shaping public opinion in terms of the function of information-sharing function of the media.

- The analysis of political speeches, political campaigns and interviews with leaders of political parties in the country, in order to define the profile of Macedonian politicians, who influence the process of making new ideologies in the socio-political system.

- This paper also uses a comparative method which is useful for observing the conditions and tendencies for aligning activities or making adjustments to EU Principles as presented in the media, especially in the audio-visual area, which is the intention of the countries in transition, such as the Republic of Macedonia.

With an aim to discover the influence exerted by communication contents in the print media, a comparative analysis was made on media practices. It was conducted in such a way to detect Euro (EU) pros and cons in the Macedonian print media, which could impact the formation and development of a European (EU) public opinion in Macedonia.

I. Media and Democratization of Society

There is a dilemma whether in the Republic Macedonia a collision between intention of development of political, legal, economic and cultural institutions and a system of values which had been offered in contents of national media, exists. And also what is the level of their influence on presenting the norms and values of a communist ideology (for example, non-tolerance, sympathy to the protective role of the state, etc.) to adapt to the process of “Euroization”. There is direct need of defining their identity in this new reality in order to attach to more liberal and more democratic values and to the common European construct of values.

Implementing media projects should have influence on making a profile of values which will have the necessary capacities to building institutions. That will be

possible through socialization, i.e. internalization of norms and through social practice, diffusion of norms in a euro-friendly construction of the citizens as a response to “Euroization”.

A. *About the Complexity of the Mass Communication Phenomenon*

Any act of mass communication could be divided into five elements:

- Communicator who is the source of the content,
- Message transmitted to the widest possible audience,
- Communication channel, organizational, managerial and technical-technological mean of transport of communication content.
- Public to whom the message is intended, and is it wide, heterogenic or anonymous
- Effect of the message on the citizens, public or the target group to which is intended. (Gruevski, T, 2004:91)

By using such elements, mass communication can be defined as social activity which operates with signs, information, educational and recreational contents, made possible by special professional groups in special institutions making mutual understanding with the mass public, and stimulate such public to make particular social activity.

According to a analysis of a German communicologists researching of the effects in 1986, mankind still has little knowledge about the connection between mass communication and society, and for the correctness of influence of the media (Kunchik, M., Zipfel, A. 1998:38). This is because the media and its contents are too different, and the framework of media action is complex.

B. *Theoretical Approach to the Functions of the Media*

In his book Joseph Klapper “Effects of Mass Communication” had argued with regard to difficulties and timing of relevant literature for social and psychological influence of mass media (Stanley J, Baran, 2002:132), which showed the interdisciplinary character of science of communication, and still in the framework of the multiple meaning of the functions of mass media. Besides its informational, entertaining and recreational and educational value, the literature stresses the function and utterance of the thought as creating public control over politics, education and political socialization, management of the economy by advertising. Establishment of a focused public is very important in developed countries. In other words, this is the communication between groups which take active part in political processes, non- governmental organizations, based on common interests of citizens, parties, etc. Few authors are linking the dominant media functions with the political system. The entertaining function is usually dominant with private media and contrary to this democratic semi-state organized media have information sharing function. Mass advertising is known to be primary the task of the media in totalitarian systems, i.e. control over the contents in communications is always complemented with entertainment which acts as a deterrent from the problems of reality.

Complementary analysis in viewing of theoretical approach on the functions of the media is to show a new redefined media role, especially in developed liberal societies. Reaction exists with public radio broadcasting companies, in Germany such as ARD, ZDF and in United Kingdom – the BBC. A reaction to commercializing and monopolizing privately owned media and a resistance to a centralized and bureaucratic public radio and TV stations resulted in a democratic-participatory theory. According to this theory, in a politicized, fragmented and versatile society, the needs, interests and aims of the recipients are central to media content. We must emphasize the variety of communication messages, their local character and shift-of-roles of the communicator and the recipient. In such a horizontal linking of communication, the feedback and reaction of the public to the media content, is of particular importance. In time of participatory democracy, media communication provides protection to the citizens during the whole social period through self-actualization of his/her political, social and economic rights. This is of particular

importance for the role of media in the “Euroization” and establishment of new values.

However, same as other countries in transition, the Republic of Macedonia is faced with a representational form of democratization of media, which was explained by well known theoretician Blumer. According to him, the media are in close relationship with the citizens and their interests, thus, what is most needed in the area of information-sharing is existence of:” Well-informed agents which will be capable to act efficiently in analysis served by information media outlet and who will find reasonable solutions to the problems of today’s society (Kunchik, M., Zipfel, A 1998: 101). This condition is reflected in the Macedonian media reality. Macedonian analysis of the national print and electronic media show the media as the creator of socio-political, economic and cultural life in the country, and as attempting to incorporate this approach in the lives of the entire audience. By such means, they present to the public who do not take active part, i.e. the media are creating participation of citizens in public life without the citizen’s active involvement. Conversely, according to American political theorist Bernard Cohen: “The press may not be much successful of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about.” (1998:130).

C. Case Analysis: The Media in the R. Macedonia

The Macedonian National Radio and Television, according to media experts and research analysis to date, was and still is under the influence of the governing political elites. On the other side, the harsh commercialization and politicization of the other television stations with national broadcasting license have also drastically reduced the standing and rating of the most influential media – television stations. The citizens of Macedonia are watching foreign stations more and more, and Croatian television programmes, that are among the most popular in the urban environments, are at advantage. The data from the last survey on the public opinion about the Macedonian electronic and printed media shows that more than 70% of the citizens do not trust the reporters and the media. More precisely, only 25% of the interviewees believed that reporters report correctly and objectively on political issues, and even 67% do not believe them when they are reporting on corruption

(source: Institute of Sociological, Political and Juridical research – Skopje, March, 2011). These are just the consequences of one long-lasting agony of the press in R. Macedonia that began in 1997 and showed its more visible signs in the critical 2001-2002 and in the last two years 2010 – 2011. This dramatic period was key for the crucial step towards professionalism and ethics, because this had not happened after 1995/96 when pluralism of the media landscape was at its height. Instead of professionalization, quality and ethics, an era of harsh commercialization of the media and an evident decrease in the moral, ethics and professional principles and standards, had begun. The dilemma of ‘yellowing’ the press is more present; the executive editors know a formula for boosting their ratings and a recipe for acquiring more advertisements. AT the peak of the interethnic or international issues or the politicization of the European Union through idealization of European values i.e. the international community, maintaining tension and presenting an ‘eternal conspiracy’ against Macedonia. Hence, with a pure conscience of the front page of a daily national newspaper, a text entitled ‘Grandfather paid four times and had sex with a minor only once’ was found; or a question was raised on TV newscasts – how do poor people sleep under the bridges; and news about EU candidacy of Macedonia are broadcast at the very end of the informative slot or on the last page (analysis of a prime-time newscasts of A1 and Sitel TV, 2005, 5th December). Then, the phase of the most serious research in journalism begins, as the case with the secret Swiss accounts of the President of the Republic. Contrary to any standards of global media professionalism (complexity, objectivity, comprehensibility, accuracy), the President is not asked anything about this piece of news, because according to the writing of the media it is known in advance that ‘he will dodge the truth’.

The controversies of media pluralism in the informative programs are imposed as open issues from the analysis of the central-informative programs. This discourse implies facilitation of maximum flow of different opposed opinions related to the relevant aspects of one social topic and this informative quality is an element of analytical genres. The focus of the analysis of the daily informative programs on the Macedonian televisions and radios is justified with several reasons. First, because they represent specific shape of accomplishment of the informative function of the media that affects the enrichment of cognitive dimensions of the media contents and also affects the formation of an active, thinking public. The second reason is that they

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have high rating compared to other programs and they are broadcasted in the peak time, in the period when the TV stations have the greatest number of viewers.

Generally, the analyses of the daily news from five national televisions in the most frequent period for the Euro integrative processes of Macedonia after the candidate status (program weeks in periodic intervals from 2008 – 2010) have shown that the Macedonian audience is offered with high level of informative pluralism regarding the topics that comprise the Macedonian day-to-day life and regarding the representation of the governmental institutions and political parties. Nevertheless, it could be stated that the media understand pluralism more as a transmission of a quantity of information than as a quality of information processing. This can be viewed through the dominance of the level of information (presentation) regarding the analytical level (creation) in the news, i.e. greater coverage of the informative rather than analytical genres. Some television stations (Sitel, A1) have expressive political color in the general and separate announcement slots in newscasts, by doing so they use attributes, emotional phrases and comment the informative element of the news instead of neutering them, to get positive or negative media context. The analytical creation in the newscasts is often diminished to a presentation of the editorial attitude that reflects the editorial policy of the media outlet, without showing the opposed opinions and the additional facts and information about the events, which will objectively support the comment.

When informing about the social and political events, the media in R. Macedonia uses a much imprecise and unclear information sources, for example – ‘as we found out’, ‘from unofficial sources’, ‘from sources close to government’ and similar. The unsigned and illustrative materials are often without clear origin, the articles are of conflicting nature where only one of the sides is being consulted, and the texts are not signed. The analyses show that the media are using unnamed or generally defined sources to spread unconfirmed information from the domestic scene or when informing about the events that take place outside Macedonia.

II. Public Opinion and European Values

There are different understandings about the origin and the content of the discourse – public opinion. As Habermas emphasizes, Louis Sebastian Muncie

initially created the concept of public opinion with the meaning of: "(...) educational result of common and public reflection about the basics of the social organization". (Gruevski, T, 2004:121).

Public opinion is a current attitude or a position of the public about a certain issue. Collective response to a certain issue is a prevailing attitude of the members of one global social community towards certain social appearances, towards specific actions and behaviors of groups and individuals and especially towards the actions of the political and other social factors that have real or imaginary significance for the life in the corresponding society.

There is an enriched literature about the values and their role in the society, culture, international relations and the relations between the people generally. Values, according to Vilfredo Pareto, are beliefs that allow formation of an opinion about legitimization or about verification of the behavior or the events. (Quoted according to Siljanovska, L, 2007:23).

A. The Controversies of the Old-New Concept of Values

The contemporary Western-oriented societies do not function on the basis on social integration, but most often on the basis of fragmentation and adjustment towards micro – social unities that actually represent small parallel worlds. Some of them are rich, powerful and with emphasized sense of social security, others yet are socially rejected, deprived from the welfare of the developed civilized models. This happens in societies that are ruled by quasi-egalitarian dogma that originates from the French revolution and is based in its three revolutionary maxims: freedom, equality and brotherhood. Here, the equality has a role of a social standard that accomplishes social control and provides 'ideal' 'democratic men'.

Actually the democracy itself as a value does not mark the differentiation between people, but it emphasizes the equality of the existential conditions, by which it fails to succeed, and fails to eliminate inequality. Democracy creates an entire structure of ideas, values and feelings that shape social life in its specifics and differences. Thus, it faces the challenge of justification of social inequality, through model equality that is not hierarchically positioned. This classical concept of democracy is embodied in different ways in capitalism and socialism, with a

tendency of undergoing through its renaissance with a new feature of the 'changing times'. Many authors emphasize the contradiction of those changes. Postmodernist theories point out that some of the new possibilities is fragmentation, collapse of old institutions, and freedom of the individuals by atomization of society.

“One major determination for the postmodern society is the controversial thesis about the ‘end of history’ through the closure of the major ideologies that find its outcome in the perfect imperfection of the liberal politics and liberal economy. Those are euphemisms that mark contemporary civil conception of political democracy, free market and civil culture”. (Frensis Fukujama, 1994, quoted according to Petkovska, A, 2004:227)

B. Constructing the European Reality in Macedonia

Values such as tolerance, solidarity, respect of fundamental rights, cultural identity, principles of equality, regional harmony and social cohesion, must form part of the construction of the European Reality of Macedonian, which should be reflected in social, economic and cultural aspects of the reform process.

National, political and ethnic consensus in favor of EU membership shows that the Republic of Macedonia, since long time ago, in terms of its Euro-integration begun building an ongoing consistence of points of view, reflecting it as a matter of fact. Main features for the existence of such pro EU trend, which reached its height in 2003, is multidimensional influences in the shaping of Macedonian public opinion. The more developed and more rational points of view are due to the greater awareness of the public in terms of the role, meaning and structure of European institutions. The impartiality regarding current relations within the EU is determined by the media presentation of the Macedonian reality regarding her European Perspective. The general media objectivity, which involves the use of non-selected facts and values within media presentations, fails to produce a creative and proactive audience, not counting such audience which is engaged in analytical or critical relationship with the reforms for EU accession. The serving of alternative measures will make such audience become an equally important factor for the development of the EU integration process.

Exactly because such old and new concepts of systems of values do exist in Macedonia, and they were introduced with the shift of social and cultural values, conflicts of such values systems appear and are reflected in a number of areas. The economic system of the day does not provide a functional market economy, administrative procedures are too bureaucratic, quality standards seem to lack in Macedonian products, the level of foreign investments is insignificant and domestic companies are not competitive. All these results were in dubious society without consistent social policy and viable measures for providing social care and protection for its people. In the area of education and culture, during the most recent years reforms in the education system and scientific sector were introduced, however with no clear criteria whether the reform is viable or sustainable. While the country is praises itself with high artistic achievements, it is faced with unsuitable policies relating to arts, both at home and abroad. The hypocrisy of the moral, ideologization, ethno-centrism, religious tension – are only some of the negative features of the transformation of the models of behavioral culture in Macedonia.

III. The Conflict Discourse of Political Communication

A world renown communicologist John Grinder once said The importance of a communication is received through its response. (Siljanovska, L, 2011, “They Included their Ego – they Excluded the People,” *Nova Makedonija*, 31 May, No. 22,293, pp. 2-3). The basic rule in the communication process is the following: in order to achieve the act of communicating, it takes at least two and at least one received feedback. This enables the creation of conditions for qualitative dynamics in the implementation of each of the elements of the communication process, via the following stages: being informed, gaining knowledge, having a point of view and doing an action. Only when these stages have been completed the message has been understood, integrated, received and correctly read.

If one is aware of the history of integrative processes of the European countries, as was the case in the relations between Germany and France, values played significant role in shaping political players, thus in the current political climate in the Republic of Macedonia the phenomena arising from the profiling of political players is of great importance.

The political discourse in the communication in Macedonia is shaped through a number of stages – profiling of political players, assuming positions in terms of governance and political influence, as well as the received influence from the feedback of transmitting and acting upon political messages, which are actually grades of democratic capacity and political reality in a country.

A. A Profile of Macedonian Politician

During the two-decade-long rule of political pluralism and parliamentary democracy, the Republic of Macedonia remains without a clearly differentiated political stage. While political elite exists, representing and practicing government, there are a number of parliamentary and non-parliamentary parties. The former are characterized as the ruling and opposition parties, and the latter as parties with roughly no powers at all in making and enacting political decisions. The assuming of a theoretical approach relating to political activism means that players in such a political milieu must act upon the objectives and requirements which are actually stemmed under the party-line ideologies they form part of. The political and party-line identities managed through politics understood as action for creating, maintaining and changing the rules of living, result from competitive political platforms and selection of political means for achieving such ends.

Instead, political parties are often guided by their appetite for power and ruling the masses, adjusting their approaches and means of problem-resolution. This is reflected in their constant change of roles from left-wing to right-wing or to the center. The course of reforms of right-wing parties sometimes overlaps with opportunistic and rigid stands of their leaders. This is irrational behavior in terms of political reality. For example, when the State intervenes with price policy or introduces interventions into the economy and the agriculture of a country or when it passes regulatory decisions in the education, etc. On the other hand, social cuts introduced by left-wing politicians have become the practice of the day in times when they are in government, which is uncharacteristic to their ideology. Another example of this is the theory of governance in the name of the people, using “sophisticated,” measures of repression, which turn into a theory of ruling with the collective in the name of the state, the national or religious interests.

Thus, the Macedonian political stage remains governed by a collective thought of party-line single-mindedness. The power assumed by party leaders lies in their use of dominance and insistence on subordination, which is a cultural phenomenon for keeping the parties going. Decision-making as one-way process is understood as uniformism of the party concept, an imposition of a single opinion, which has become a dominating and prevailing line of thought with the political audience. In addition to this, there is often absence of constructive discussion, no consensus to alternatives put on offer. The political message is being imposed without any propulsion of other ideas. Such message is disclosed as public, unique and it is articulated via the political channels of inter-party communication. Therefore, any solid ideologies which refer to rational implementation of the means for promoting ideas are processed through such stage resulting in ideologism, that is idolatry or idolatrous followership.

The current rule of parliamentary democracy shows how far away Macedonia is from its functionalism, imposed by the very dualism of the roles of political figures, both the governing ones and the ones in opposition. A ruling party of the day, when in opposition, may behave more or less as the current opposition, when removed from power. This compels us to identify the differences within the framework of the socio-cultural phenomenon of communication. In doing so, it will be beneficial to adopt both theory and practice in order to analyze the strategies of discursive manipulation and communication reality.

The current ruling party uses a strategy of direct representation of the discourse. In this particular political reality, the ruling VMRO-DPMNE wishes to prove authenticity and show that the public could really believe in such a message. The objective of such a communication strategy is to prove that front-side or direct attacking are not always most effective. Thus, public media coverage should present the ruling party as formally failing to address the discourse of their opposition.

The opposition parties, currently led by the SDSM, adopt a strategy of indirect representation of the discourse, as a manipulative technique for exerting influence. During the course of this, the opposition integrates yet another political discourse, within the original one, by failing to challenge precisely their political opponents. The objective in this case is to present assumptions of messages of the

opponent, and not to present what the opponent really said. In this case such strategy is not to merely the reduction or selection of certain facts and their representation, but it may be as well be a case of constructing a political story in the desired way, in order to unveil the opponent, a feature characteristic with politicians from the opposition.

B. (Non) Euro-friendly Political Speech

From a cultural point of view, public speech (which also constitutes the speech used by politicians) is a utterance-orientated action of speech with regard to a particular situation or during the course of communicating. The experience presented by a public speaker, as Roman Philosopher Cicero noted, is holding a proper speech in front of a compact audience, meaning that the speech is to be convincing, exciting and fascinating. The functions of public speech may be divided into intertwined and causative objectives, i.e. informative ones and convincing ones.

Within the current contemporary, political communication in the Republic of Macedonia we may distinguish between a conflicting communication, where its aim ceases to be information-sharing and comprehension. Here one may pose even the question weather or not such communication is genuine or is such communication a sort of battle of words. The main objective of the use of vocabulary becomes the demonstration of dominance, ordaining (in disfavor of the opponent) and exclusion.

The workout of the theory of conflicting communication of political speeches in the Republic of Macedonia basically consists of the thesis about societal and political placement of the opponent, placing him into a precisely set place (social and political). When qualifying the political interlocutor – as social-democrat, the political audience will try to perceive him/her (in a political context), which most probably is not suitable for him/her. In other words, when using conflicting discourse, politicians try to implement a ‘shift of personality’ for their political opponent in order to win the battle against his/her discourse.

Analysis of communication reality shows that conflicting speech situations are always– counter-discourse – when the aim is – waging a battle against ideas, conclusions or points of view of the opponent, which should result in a triumph or

victory over ones own conclusions or points of view and sharing such a victory with the audience. In reality creation or reality modification, great role is played by wording or use of language, which are means or symbols for expressing a political context of a message. However, often in the area of governance and political rule there is a major shortage of personal experience and awareness. Instead, the main feature of the conflicting discourse is the use of political dominance via subtle labeling, most often by use of subtle wording. For example by use of attacks or undermining the opponent or use of wording which emphasizes disagreement with or rejection of the opponent.

The lack of clear, unambiguous and constructive message in the Macedonian political stage is primarily featured in political campaigns of party leaders. This is incomprehensible, in particular for the experts, since it does not yield answer to the question – who is the recipient of such a message. Weather it is a case of sending a message to the leaders of the ruling party, the opposition or to the public in general? Political campaigns are more and more vulgar producing funny situations, dramatizing the context in favor of an ever deeper interpersonal humiliation, via the use of indecent etiquette, rhyming, slang, primarily between fierce political rivals in the Macedonian political context, SDSM and VMRO-DPMNE. Such unproductive political game often involves minor political parties, as well, especially the Macedonian right-wing ones. Surveys relating to political campaigns conducted in May 2001, during the most recent Macedonian early parliamentary elections, show some progress in the culture of political communication between the leaders of ethnic Albanian parties. This of course is a result of a negative viewpoint expressed earlier by ethnic Albanian voters, towards a stringent personal rhetoric.

The analysis of media presentations shows evident use of political etiquette in the media. This is to provide ones or others, a strategic advantage for achieving success. Within the framework of using reduced qualifications for public figures in the country, the recipients often are the Prime Minister, President, ministers and party leaders. The phenomenon of vulgarization of interpretation, commentary, as well as publishing editorials about their behavior is present ever more. Facts are carefully selected and the values characterizing any political act are encouragingly used in order to identify an entire character of such individuals, undermine their

personalities and impose a divide among politicians and the public, and along a variety of lines –always introducing two antagonistic sides – the patriots and the traitors, the ones in favor, and the one against the good for the people. Thus, the well-doing of the politician is being entirely generalized resulting in a conclusion with quite a relative value, i.e. such well-doing behavior is minimized. In addition to the strategies used for political action, use of categorization or qualification of the political elite, i.e. the people in the legislature or the executive branch or of those who head the State, is also reflected in the verbal and non-verbal communication which in turn, represents an entire culture used in political language. Attraction means being attractive to someone, to cause sympathy by use of lies. Negation is rarely enough to neutralize or discredit an opponent.

In addition to this, the political milieu in the Republic of Macedonia contains politicians who often use unmasking as their strategy, in order to show the unrevealed about their opponent. According to them the audience must be convinced that the opponent is hiding something, that a context or hidden agenda exists somewhere in the opponents utterance. Using irony and simulation are also recognized in the work of yet another category of politicians. This is most often disclosed by a patronizing representation of the opponent and by use of an invisible war.

There are certainly other techniques of exerting influence through political speech evident or characteristic to politicians in the Republic of Macedonia. For example, in a context of a complicated socio-political, economic, inter-ethnic or inter-confessional situation, a politician may choose a technique serving the public with an entirely second- rated information. This is used to the turn attention from a current problematic process or events in society or marginalize such events, in order to take credit from a projected situation of any unresolved sensitive issues. Conversely, political messages might manipulate with figures, when quoting numbers, perhaps one may perceive them as unchallengeable, even though such figures may be out of context or such quote is actually a commentary on the real numbers. This is true manipulation.

Some politicians make purposeful choice of words, attempting to gradually decrease the level of knowledge of the audience. Framing the cognitive dimension leads to such opinion-making which must confirm any proclamations, or create positive point of view towards an uttered political thought, action or decision.

There is significant number of politicians who create anxiety based on fear. The objective in this case is to exclude a person from his/her social position, to cause him/her a feeling of destabilization, in order for him/her to become prone to influence.

Moderate politicians in the Republic of Macedonia most often focus on awakening the instincts of the group or cause dislike, in order to achieve a shared ideal, or to cause acceptance of a particular sort of psychological behavior, scale-up or down the effects, in order to shift people from a position of ignorance to a position of awareness, about any action. In the course of this the citizen must go through each of the stages of information-sharing, knowledge, comprehension, without filtering the degree of public-awareness relating to the real relationship or the role of different political players, in terms of structuring, leading and decision-making, both at national and local levels.

Much influence is exerted via on the profiling of political players, by degree of the general objectivity presented in the media and the media's impartiality to the political activities and actions of a number of politicians. Thus, the bias in a number of print and electronic media becomes evident, via the proliferation of certain ideological profiles of politicians, because of the very fact that there are people with certain personal or professional interests who are responsible for the editorial policy of certain media outlets.

Conclusion

The communication reality in Macedonia, produced by the shadow of the political situation and the strategic commitments of the State to integrate itself into the EU, in a prolonged period of time of creating a EU public opinion (most intensively in 2005 through 2005 and 2008 through 2010), brings us to a conclusion that the Balkans should be a place where a "referendum" on the European Union will take place.

The prognosis served in the media about the “Euroization” of the Balkans, by presenting controversies for the EU enlargement, challenges the European public opinion, in front of the domestic and international audience, through a number of dimensions of exerting influence. In the Macedonian media landscape, this is manifested as ideology and as rational, strategic commitment for establishing European values. The main emphasis in this case is put on reforms in each area of social, political, economic and cultural life. The European public perceives this as a pragmatic provocation of the agenda for the future of the EU. The expansion of waging phraseologic campaigns in the media, claiming that the Balkans will be the spot where the EU will either prove that with its altering mechanisms it can function in regions where States are weak and societies divided, or it will go into oblivion, put a divide between the global public by presenting different views served in influential European and American media outlets.

There is no doubt that the media, via their ongoing reporting about events between Macedonia and the EU have shaped the cognitive dimension regarding the EU integration process. Special broadcasts about the EU were shown on Macedonian TV (“Evrozum”, “Nadvoreshni pogledi”), standard placement and columns are assigned in daily newspapers (“Evro-rama”), thematic reality shows (televised debates), and roundtables about the EU are organized). The media undoubtedly influences on the degree, intensity, direction, contents and the level of points of view of the “Euroization” i.e. the shaping of the EU public opinion.

In a new reality, one might say that the electronic media in Macedonia play a double role: to serve the political public domain of the national state and to focus on the national and cultural identification. In its race for winning more viewers, Macedonian broadcasters should avoid introducing dull and unified offer of programmes and should plan their editorial policy, especially on National Television, in order to protect personal integrity, by various, high quality programmes and nurturing higher standards of the media.

The current setting of relations and events regarding the “Euroization” of Macedonia impose a need for implementing a societal, integrative function of

communication processes, including media and political communication in the creating, making and implementing new systems of values.

The democratization of the political system by introduction of a multi-party pluralistic system of interest, along with a functioning parliamentary democracy, are new values of the transitional period of the Macedonian political landscape. They are based on the universal principles on: democratic freedoms and rights, the right of expression of citizens, the forms of political decision-making and the rule of law of the institutions of the system. These phenomena, in practice, are perhaps more practiced as ideology than essentially implemented.

Macedonia, on its road of EU and NATO integrations must initiate the issue relating to its crisis of moral, such as the identity and the professional roles of society. In such circumstances it will be necessary to redefine modalities regarding the philosophy of living and in such a framework, redefine the identities of its political players, who must comply with principles of ethics – accountability and duty in each area of society, in particular in the functioning of parliamentary democracy. By professionalizing political functions, in particular that of a Member of Parliament-the code of conduct also must be determined, in terms of implementing each of the ethical issues. Thus the culture of communication, instead of using populism and hate speech, along with the culture of political action, must be redefined as culture of rational points of view, opinions and decisions, in the interest of the citizens, becoming part of global contemporary political and communicational reality.

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