DEMOCRACY AND MEDIA—TYPES OF THEORIES FOR MEANS OF MASS COMMUNICATION

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The quality of the practice of the political culture is closely linked to the democratic development of a country. The development of the civil society requires development of a democratic political culture, free media, a creation of critical public, democratic socialization of citizens and promotion of civic values which focus on the citizen. Today, there are different conceptions of democracy. One would be that in which democratic society possesses means of assistance that could, in some reasonable way, to participate in the management of their works and the information would be free and available to all, said Noam Chomsky 2003. The second concept is that, according to Chomsky, the public is banned in the management of its obligations and the information is strictly controlled. Depending on who accomplishes influence of the media, whether it concerns the country or the ruling party or the owner of the media company, there are different kinds of theories and those divisions are discussed in this paper. Hence, this paper is devoted on the types of theories of mass media which correlates to the level of development of democracy.

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INTRODUCTION

In the political theory, there is no unanimity about the definition of the term politics.

The politics can broadly be defined as the achievement of certain ideas essential to a community. It is, above all, the essential ideas for a community. It is above all, the ideas for the common good, justice and general usefulness. As individually a man tends to improve their moral qualities, in terms of life in a community, they tend toward justice and the common good i.e. towards the improvement of their community.¹

By definition, the foreign politics should be part, a substantial part of the politics that any country or sovereign political entity implements. We name this politics as foreign politics, but other people call it: international politics, world politics, global politics, international relations, comparative politics.²

Among several approaches and even more concepts in the study of foreign politics, geopolitics as already mentioned is certainly one of those inevitable ones. It has a long history and has produced a wealth of academic resources and conceptual criticism. Some authors associate the origin of the analysis of Aristotle’s spatial factors that affect the political forms of ancient Greek cities. Indeed, many social thinkers since ancient time until today when thinking about politics had and still have on their tables geographical maps, despite their notebooks and pencils.³

Today, there are different conceptions of democracy. One would be that in which democratic society possesses means of assistance that could, in some reasonable way, to participate in the management of their works and the information would be free and available to all (Noam Chomsky 2003: 147). The second concept is that, according to Chomsky, the public is banned in the management of its obligations and the information is strictly controlled. It may sound strange, but it is important to know that the second concept is the one that prevails.

Ⅰ. DIFFERENT CONCEPTIONS OF PUBLIC RELATION

Defining public relations makes it easier to attempt a definition of public affairs.

¹ Encyclopedia of Political Culture 873 (Contemporary Administration, Belgrade 1993).
³ Ibid., at 11.
Public affairs are a comparatively new function. Little has been published on wither theory of practice to build the base for a professional approach.\(^4\)

Kotler defines lobbying thus: “Lobbing involves dealing with legislators and government officials to promote of defeat legislation or regulation”.\(^5\)

The Chinese salutation “May you live in interesting times” certainly applies in today’s rapidly changing public policy arena, where continuous change seems the only certainty. There is, though, one constant and that is that truth is a precious commodity, “precious and divine”, to be valued.

The need to cherish that commodity is perhaps, even greater in today’s multi-media society that it has ever been.

Public Relations practitioners, whether public affairs managers, or lobbyists, if they are to refute the constant charge of being vehicles for propaganda, must adhere to a clear code of ethics, vigorously enforced by their peer group and profession.\(^6\)

A. Parameters for Development of Public Relations

Professional managers of public relations act in all areas of business life:
1. Administration—national, regional, local, international;
2. Business and economy—small, medium, large and international;
3. Social community and social affairs;
4. Educational institutions universities, colleges etc.;
5. Hospitals & Healthcare;
6. Charities;
7. International relations;

Public informing includes the following:
- Advisory work based on an understanding of human behaviour;
- Analysis of future trends and prediction of their effects;
- Surveying public opinion, attitudes and expectations;
- Establishing and maintaining two-way communication based on accurate and complete information;
- Preventing conflicts and misunderstandings;

\(^5\) KOTLER PHILIP, MARKETING MANAGEMENT (PRENTICE HALL 1988).
• Promoting mutual respect and social responsibility;
• Synchronization of private and public interest;
• Gaining reputation among people, suppliers and customers;
• Improving economic relations;
• Attracting quality people and reduce fluctuation of the workforce;
• Promotion of products and services;
• Planning a corporate identity.

This list appears as intimidating, but it only highlights the fact that the public relations are an integral part of every form of organization or planning.7

B. Hexagon of Public Relations

One way of describing the role of public relations is a hexagonal pattern (Figure 1). The six sides of the hexagon represent different causes affecting the role and the capacity of public relations.

C. The “Iceberg” Syndrome

The syndrome of “iceberg” will be presented below in Figure 2. According to (Black Sam 2003: 10) it illustrates the contrast between public

7 SAM BLACK, PUBLIC RELATIONS, 2ND EDITION 8—9 (Clio, Belgrade 2003).
8 Ibid.
relations, as imagined by many people and their complex reality.

The model of “iceberg” is characteristic of those organizations that public relations have reactive function. In such organizations, public relations have a small and almost no role in determining strategy. Organizations which until now accepted limited reactive approach to the public relations office, began increasingly to realize that the active access directly assists in operations especially in business environments.

Black finds it very difficult to define public relations as a whole. Most of the definitions, if not all definitions, are a description of the effects of public relations, and not actual definitions.

In an attempt to get to the proper definition, the Institute for Informing the Public in November 1987 publishes a corrected definition which states: “Informing the public means planned and sustained effort to achieve and maintain goodwill and mutual understanding between an organization and its target group in public.” A more complex attempt to define is the Mexican Declaration from August 1978, which was signed by representatives of more than thirty national and regional organizations dealing with public
relations, which states: “The application of public relations is the art and social science that analyses trends, predicting their consequences, advising the leadership of an organization and achieving planned programs and actions that will be of interest of the society and a specific organization.”

Sam Black, while mentioning a few simple definitions, mentions the categories: good performance with public recognition, reconciliation of private and social interest, a bridge between an organization and the world and so on. These categories will help him come to a simple but accurate definition: “The application of public relations is the art and knowledge that achieves harmony with the environment, through mutual understanding, based on the true and full information.”

Noam Chomsky says that country power has the same effect as owners of media houses or the companies that advertise.

The media tend to maintain an intimate relationship with country power. They want to find out secret information; they want to be a part of secret conferences. They are willing to have acquaintances with Secretary of State. To achieve this, they have to play a game that involves lying and serving the country in the form of an apparatus for misinformation. Let’s ignore the fact that the media without that kind of pressure will work anyway due to their interests and status in society. It is very low control composition. This prompts the question regarding the independent journalists...

Depending on who accomplishes influence of the media, whether it concerns the country or the ruling party or the owner of the media company, there are different kinds of theories and those divisions are discussed later in this paper.

D. Seven Deadly Sins of Public Relations

The author Sam Black in his capital work “Public Relations” stated the most common failures of the non-effective PR under the category of “seven deadly sins of the public relations” and gave them the following titles:

- Functional short-sightedness: Insufficient appreciation of the scope of the overall contribution that public relations can provide to good leadership;
- Philosophy of “strange turn”: You will be addressing public relations only when are needed;
- Running ahead: Who needs research?

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9 CHOMSKY NOAM, MEDIA, PROPAGANDA AND SYSTEM 61—62 (Society for Promoting Literature in New Media Zagreb 2003).
• Local anaesthesia: We will settle this at the local level;
• Neurasthenia: Believe in global public opinion only if it is positive and beneficial for us;
• One-time communication flick, why not blame the communication, so, for it was discussed in our most recent annual report;
• Secret illusion: Philosophy of low profile. This error is based on the belief that the organization can become invisible whenever she wants.\textsuperscript{10}

II. TYPES OF THEORIES OF MASS MEDIA

Often in science when discussing about all means of mass communication they are known under one name—the press. Although the print media are older and more accumulated from the theory and philosophy of mass communication, however this term includes the radio, television, Internet, film...

In historical terms, in different geographical areas, the mass media means have appeared in different forms and served different purposes. For example, the press of the former Soviet Union was different from that of the US, and the press of Argentina was also different from that of the United Kingdom. These differences partly reflect the ability of a country to pay its means of mass communication, beyond mechanical achievements and assets that can be used for mass communication as well as the relative degree of urbanization making it easier and necessary distribution of mass media.

The differences in mass media in different countries are somewhat a reflection of what people do in different places, as well as the experience which indicates what those citizens want to read. However, there is a greater difference, which is that the press always gets the shape and colour of the social and political order in which it acts. The above, in particular reflects the system of social control, which adjusts the relationship between individuals and institutions. In the end, the type of social structure and political system, and the circumstances in which a country is, significantly affecting the development of media freedom.

The differences in the press, is actually a difference in philosophical and political explanations or theories behind the different types of print today in the world.

These are the four theories:
• Authoritarian theory, rooted in centuries of authoritarian political thought from Plato to Machiavelli;
• Libertarian theory, based in Milton, Locke, Mill and Enlightenment;

\textsuperscript{10} See more in The Power of PR—The Power of Public Relations (Josef F. Awad, Praeger 1985).
• Theory of social responsibility, enshrined in the communications revolution and in certain behavioural doubts philosophy of the Enlightenment;
• Soviet Communist theory, grounded in Marx, Lenin and Stalin and the dictatorship of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.\textsuperscript{11}

A. Authoritarian Theory of the Mass Media

As of the four listed theories above about the relationship of the mass media to society and government, authoritarian is historically and geographically most widespread.

Nearly 200 years after the distribution of the press throughout the Western world, authoritarian theory was the sole basis for determining the position and attitude of the popular press to modern society. The Tudors in England, the Bourbons in France, Hapsburgs in Spain, practically in all of Western Europe, used the basic principles of authoritarianism as a theoretical base for their methods of control of the press. The application of this theory was not limited to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was the basic doctrine of much of the world in the coming centuries. In different time, consciously or unconsciously, they accept and so it spills into the countries like Japan, Czarist Russia, Germany, Spain and other Asian and Latin American governments. All human societies, it seems, possess an inherent ability to create systems of social control which adjusts the relationship of individuals and institutions and provides the Common interests and desires. As V. J. Shephard described, “there are mainly two types of such systems; those who act spontaneously and automatically, directly arising from the common sense of community law, enforced by sanctions of social pressure, and those who have acquired certain institutional organization and work with the legal custody and implemented with certain penalties. This second form of social control is the government, in its broadest sense.”\textsuperscript{12}

One of the basic assumptions of this theory is that the country is essential for the full development of people, which assumption has resulted in some basic conclusions about the nature of the country. By its individual elements, the country became a summation of all desirable attributes. Its power to determine the goals and methods to achieve those goals is realized by using a process which generally could not be fully analysed. In terms of

\textsuperscript{11} Fred Seaton Siebert, Four Theories of the Press 8 (Theodore Peterson & Wilbur Schramm, Print-House Step Skopje 1994).
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid, at 10.
the more important philosophical problems about the nature of knowledge and truth, authoritarian theory suggests equal and categorical answers, so hence the knowledge could come with great mental effort. Authoritarian theory as a prerequisite sets the unity of intellectual activity, the existence of so-called absolutist aura, because it meant the opportunity to successfully take on the so-called collective good.

On the line with the basic tenets of the authoritarian theory of the mass media is that Plato envisioned the ideal society in a way where the country establishes and enforces unity of political and cultural purposes. Plato wanted to coordinate the lives of citizens under strict cultural law that prohibited all types of art, even mere opinion which is not in harmony with his sermon. Very politely, in his Republic, he would have “sent to another city” all offenders of the rules prescribed for the artist, philosopher and poet.

In the works of Machiavelli, there is an implicit view that patriotic reasons justify the strict control of the methods of discussion and massive dissemination of information as a basis for political action. Stability and progress of the country are the most important: the individual thoughts of the citizen are less important.

The famous English philosopher Thomas Hobbes, starting from two basic desires of man, to get rid of the pain and to rule, has developed a complete system of political philosophy in which the most important was the power to control the individual in the interest of all.

The theories of Hobbes on the nature of the country and the human relationship to it tend to justify much of the authoritarian politics of the governments of the XVII century.

German philosopher Georg Hegel, who is considered the main representative of the theory of political authoritarianism of the modern era, is credited as the genesis of modern communism and fascism. Namely Hegel writes:

... The country is the embodiment of morality. It is ethical spirit that is clear and sustained substantial form of will, which manifests before world that is aware of itself, knows their goals and implement what we know there to where knowledge allows. Custom and morality are external visible form of an internal, self-consciousness of the individual citizen, his knowledge and activity, external and visible form of indirect existence of the country. Self-consciousness of the individual finds the essence of freedom in view of the citizen, what is the essence, purpose and accomplishment of his consciousness. The country is intelligence per se. This is due to the fact that it embodies the essential will, which in turn, is nothing but an individual consciousness understood in its abstract form on ascended universal level. This solid unity is absolute and fixed target by itself. It achieves maximum freedom rights, but at the same time, the country, an end in
itself, securing maximum rights to individual citizens, whose highest goal is to be members of the country.

These theoretical reflections characteristic of authoritarian theory of the mass media, point to the conclusion that within the same real freedom is actually the freedom within the country, not freedom from the country.

Sieber S. Fred\textsuperscript{13} (1994: 16), says that although neither Hitler nor Mussolini were political philosophers, though their published statements procedures in history, represent the distorted form of the doctrines of authoritarianism, and their treatment of the mass media was entirely consistent with the basic principle of absolutism.

\section*{B. Libertarian Theory of the Mass Media}

Libertarian theory of mass communication is turning back position of the people and the country than what we saw in the authoritarian theory. Man is no longer understood as a dependent creature, which should be lead and guided, but as a migratory creature, able to distinguish between truth and deception, between better and worse alternative when faced with conflicting evidence and alternatives. Truth is no longer seen as the property of the government. On the contrary, the right to search for truth is one of the inalienable rights of man.

In libertarian theory, the media are not perceived as an instrument of government, but as a means to present evidence and arguments based on which the Government is subject to the control of their work, and people have the exclusive right to form their opinion about politics and the job of the rulers and office holders. In this theory, there is a pressing need for the media to be free from government control and influence.

According to libertarian theory, man is a rational being and a goal. The purpose of the society is the happiness and welfare of the individual and the man as a thinking organism is able to organize the world around them and make decisions tailored to their own interests.

Libertarian theorists have given different explanations for the origin of society, but they all agree that the basic function of the society is to promote the interests of its individual members. The philosophers of liberalism expressly deny knowing that the country is the highest expression of human effort, though with some reluctance, they admit that the country is useful and even indispensable tool. The country exists as a method of providing an

\textsuperscript{13} Fred S. Siebert, former dean of the College of Communications at the State University of Michigan and author of \textit{Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776: The Rise and Decline of Government Controls}. 
environment for individual where will be able to realize their own potential. Like other theories about the status and function of the mass media in society, libertarian doctrine is an explanation of the philosophical principles that provide the foundation of the social and political structure in which the media operate.¹⁴

This doctrine where minorities and majorities, the weak equals to the strong, must have access to the media is actually a model of information that serves as an influential component in the management process. This model resembles the theological doctrines of early Christianity. The ability to think is a gift from God, in which man differs from other living beings and has individual ability to solve problems guided by evidence kept abreast of his senses, not on the basis of imposed authority as was the case in authoritarian theory.

C. Theory of Social Responsibility of Mass Media

The theory of social responsibility of the press, according to Theodore Peterson¹⁵ (1994: 81), is established as a product of number of matters. One of them was the technological and industrial revolution that changed the image of the nation and the American way of life which, in turn, influenced the nature of the press. The second was the sharp voice of the criticism that often spoke out, in proportion to the growth of media in size and importance, which sometimes wore a tacit threat of government provisions. The next one was his intellectual climate in which some persons with suspicion looked at the basic principles of the Enlightenment. And finally, the developing professional spirit of journalism that attracted people with principles and education, highlighted sense of social responsibility other than so-called “guerrilla” spirit that ruled in the Middle Ages, has appeared.

Development impact was achieved by the technological and industrial revolution that contributed to promote speed, number and quality of old media and the emergence of new media such as film, radio and television. Industrialization at this stage was accompanied by increased advertising, which is a main support of newspapers, magazines and radio-programs.

It is hard to say exactly when the traditional theory of virtually unrestricted freedom began to depart before accepting certain responsibilities of the editors. Certainly, there was no chance publishers

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¹⁴ Fred Seaton Siebert, Four Theories of the Press 41—42 (Theodore Peterson & Wilbur Schramm, Print-House Step Skopje 1994).

¹⁵ Theodore Peterson is a professor of journalism at the University of Illinois, and previously was dean of the College of Communication and author of Magazines in the Twentieth Century.
might have cared about the moral aspects, because they primarily were printers that newspapers can be viewed in addition to their printing, although at an early age among journalists there were people with great determination. By the mid-19th century journalism began to attract people’s education and principles that set high standards in their craft and tried to respect them more. Some people like that formulated ethical laws for their own staff.

In the early 20th century, publishers were increasingly talking about the duties according to the constitution, which accompanied the privileged position of the press. Joseph Pulitzer, in defence of its proposal for a journalism school, he wrote in the North American Review in 1904:

> Nothing less than the highest ideals, the most scrupulous anxiety to do right, the most accurate knowledge of the problems it has to meet and a sincere sense of moral responsibility will save journalism from a subservience to business interests, seeking selfish ends, antagonistic to public welfare.

The rise of radio and television led the government to give a major contribution to the theory of social responsibility. In the beginning of the twenties, when radio stations sprung up in chaotic abundance competitors aired on the same wavelength, the amateurs to mix their signals with professionals, and the cacophony entered in a growing number of homes listeners. So, concludes Peterson, the Government, from where the radio industry reluctantly had to bring order to the radio waves, and in 1927 she created the Federal Radio Commission for awarding frequencies and care for the contents of the programs.

The theory of social responsibility of the press, built on the foundation of thinking which are complemented some basic assumptions of libertarian theory, and thus largely discarded others. The term freedom, which it represents, is fundamentally different from that which is the traditional theory. Libertarian theory was born the concept of negative liberty, which can freely be defined as “freedom from”, or more specifically freedom from external constraint. The theory of social responsibility, on the contrary is based on the concept of positive liberty “freedom”, which requires the

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17 Joseph Pulitzer (April 10, 1847, Mako, Hungary—October 29, 1911, Charlottesville, South Carolina, USA), is an important name in the American journalism. He’s considered the originator of the “yellow press”, i.e. the mass boulevard press in the world. Since 1917 it is introduced “Pulitzer Prize” for journalism, culture and literature. This award with his name in the world of journalism today is one of the most prestigious and is considered as the ultimate accolade in the field of action. Pulitzer Prize has various areas, some of which are: American history, poetry, drama, novel, music and journalism.
presence of the necessary means to achieve their goal\textsuperscript{18}. Considering the characteristics of this theory we come to the conclusion is that the government must not only allow freedom, but must actively promote it as well.

\textbf{D. Soviet—Communist Theory of the Mass Media}

While the libertarian theory was dealing with the problems, one new dramatic development of the authoritarianism has arisen, it is the Soviet communist theory of media. This theory is rooted in the Marxist determinism and cruel political necessity to maintain political progress of the party. The Soviet press acted as a tool of the ruling power as open as the authoritarian theory. Unlike the old model, here it is a country, not private ownership of the media. Maybe not even one press in the world’s history was not so strictly controlled, yet Soviet spokesmen felt that their press is free, so it was free to speak the “\textit{truth}” in a way that he perceived the ruling party. While the libertarian theory dealt with the problems, there was an appearance of a new and dramatic development of authoritarianism, it is the Soviet Communist theory of media.

Representatives of this theory argue that the American press is not truly free, because it is controlled by a business, so hence was not free to say, “Marxist truth”.

These two theories are completely opposite in their postulates, though apparently, they both strive to contribute to the search for truth, even though these people have tried to contribute to the search for a Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist true.

Representatives of this theory put forth extraordinary efforts to ensure that the Soviet media presented only the information designated for sharing.

According to Schramm V.\textsuperscript{19} (1994: 117), representatives of the Soviet Communist theory of mass media, claim that they feel happy with the only real freedom of the press, while their US counterparts are the ones who are unhappy because they worship a press which is “corrupt, controlled by special interests and irresponsible”. In contrast, American journalists proudly spoke about the ability of the US media informing the people about the news around the world and the ability to provide entertainment and fun. In order to understand this theory, you should follow its roots in Marx, and

\textsuperscript{18} Fred Seaton Siebert, Four Theories of the Press 100 (Theodore Peterson & Wilbur Schramm, Print-House Step Skopje 1994).

\textsuperscript{19} Wilbur Schrammis a former director of the West-East Institute of Communications, West-East Center (Honolulu), former director of the University of Illino is Press and author of Mass Media and National Development.
its mutations in Lenin and Stalin.

CONCLUSION

Today, there are different conceptions of democracy. One would be that in which democratic society possesses means of assistance that could, in some reasonable way, participate in the management of their works and the information would be free and available to all (Noam Chomsky 2003: 147). The second concept is that, according to Chomsky, the public is prevented in the management of its obligations and the information is strictly controlled. It may sound strange, but it is important to know that the second concept is the one that prevails. The differences in the press, is actually a difference in philosophical and political explanations or theories behind the different types of print today in the world, so there are four different theories for press: Authoritarian theory, rooted in centuries of authoritarian political thought from Plato to Machiavelli; Libertarian theory, based in Milton, Locke, Mill and Enlightenment; Theory of social responsibility, enshrined in the communications revolution and in certain behavioural doubts philosophy of the Enlightenment; Soviet Communist theory, grounded in Marx, Lenin and Stalin and the dictatorship of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Sam Black, while stating a few simple definitions, points out the categories: good performance with public recognition, reconciliation of private and social interest, a bridge between an organization and the world and so on. These categories will help him come to a simple but accurate definition: “The application of public relations is the art and knowledge that achieves harmony with the environment, through mutual understanding, based on the true and full information.” Noam Chomsky says that country power has the same effect as owners of media houses or the companies that advertise.

The differences in mass media in different countries are somewhat a reflection of what people do in different places, as well as the experience which indicates what those citizens want to read. However, there is a greater difference, which is that the press always gets the shape and colour of the social and political order in which acts. The above, in particular reflects the system of social control, which adjusts the relationship between individuals and institutions.

In the end, it might be concluded that the type of social structure and political system, and the circumstances in which a country is, significantly affect the development of media freedom.