

VILNIUS UNIVERSITY

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**MANIPULATIVE SCENARIOS IN NEWS MANAGEMENT: RESEARCH OF
JOURNALISTS' PROFESSIONAL VALUES**

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**MANIPULIACINIAI SCENARIJAI NAUJIENŲ VADYBOJE: ŽURNALISTŲ
PROFESINIŲ VERTYBIŲ TYRIMAS**

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MANIPULATIVE SCENARIOS IN NEWS MANAGEMENT: RESEARCH OF JOURNALISTS' PROFESSIONAL VALUES

Abstract

INTRODUCTION

Research problem

Effectiveness of media role is determined by the impact and quality of journalism. Result of the society's provision with the news is considered controversially: it may be treated as a democratic process that encourages audience participation (Habermas, 1989; Balčytienė, 2009), and also it may be seen as a support to the power elite, the means of social control (Chomsky, 1989, 1997; Bielinis, 2000). While studying news management, it must be pointed out that news from other media discourses are distinguished by the authored verbal or/ and audiovisual expression striving to depict the real events and reveal the truth about new phenomena of social life (McNair, 1998). The dichotomy of the authored message and the peace of truth is the problematic one, since the sources, the journalists and the audiences have different starting positions and different values for interpreting the facts and the events. Besides, in the contemporary journalism the claim for truth is followed by the factors influencing the news production process such as professional sources, news management, online writing, etc. These factors may form the medium for the manipulative scenarios and fraudulent schemes. What is the journalists' professional community's answer to these challenges?

Social mass communication analysis and news management studies focus on the media performance: whether on the ideal (normative perspective) or the real (critical perspective) functioning of the mass media. From the normative perspective journalism is seen as the target for the impact of the outside forces (i.e. politicians, media owners, professional sources, NGO) (Habermas, 1989, Croteau, Hoynes, 2006; McQuail, 1992, partly Gandy, 1982; Baistow, 1985, Davis, 2002, Boorstin, 1961). The critical research trend claims that journalism is the main force in public opinion formation process, serving the interests of those in power (Chomsky, 1989; Cohen, 2002; Hamilton, 2004; McCombs, 2004; Molotch, Lester, 1974; Thompson, 2000). These media research traditions whether underestimate or exaggerate the influence of news management phenomena over journalists working in the field of the national mass media. Such insights are not based by the empirical data.

Different approaches are an incentive for a complex research of mutual impact combining both: personal behavior and social role, activities of public relations and backstage of editorial rooms, news management springing from the sources along with news production conducted by the journalists. That is why news production environment and its dynamics and impact on news' form and content are covered in contemporary studies within a combination of theoretical macro and micro methods and measures (i.e. McNair, 1998, Schudson, 2003).

Although before mentioned academic studies examine the relationship between the sources and the journalists, the conclusion stating their unequal position remain theoretical one lacking empirical evidence. According to the scholars the official as well as professional

sources are favored in the communication process as the strategists of the information framing generating and implementing various scenarios that are targeted to the outcome of the positive coverage. Such an attitude ignores the fact that the news coverage depends on the journalists – the human operators who have their own feelings, thinking, principles, and values.

Several questions following the foregoing may be formulated: what is journalists' participation in news management? What is their involvement to news management scenarios? Is it a passive one or maybe they use some special tactics to avoid pressures and negative effects of privileged sources? Is, and if so, how the manipulation is used in their working life? What effect has occurring manipulative scenarios for contemporary journalism?

The problem investigated in the work is the relationship between journalists' understanding and practice of the professional values in their daily routines and the expansion of news management scenarios into the news production stages such as gathering, adoption and issuing of the information. The focus is on looking for the discrepancies between the professional values and the real behavior of journalists while searching, preparing and publishing the news presuming that such inadequacy allows the use of manipulation in their professional interactions and thus enables the effects of news management scenarios and further circulation of their manipulative power.

How do journalists understand the professional values and how are they governed by them in the complex situations of their daily practice? This question is of the utmost importance not only for the media scholars, investigating social interactions and the role of contemporary journalism, but also at the national level, monitoring developments in the Lithuanian media system: the decline of public sphere due to the loss of the euphoria of the Renaissance period (the beginning of 90s), President Rolandas Paksas scandal (political crisis) in 2003–2004, post-communist transition to liberal democracy and the emergence of commercial media in 2004–2005, and the pedophilia scandal (judicial crisis) in 2009–2010.

Survey of foreign studies

As it was mentioned before neither normative nor critical media research tradition does not take into adequate account the human factor. Recent studies of foreign scholars, indicating the need to investigate news production along with the news management, point to the professional values as a significant measure of influence. Ethical standards applied or abandoned in routine practices affect such elements of journalism as news values according to which news are selected, aesthetic requirements for the outcome (verbal and audiovisual messages), journalists' personal relationship with the sources, their serving the public interest, etc. (McNair, 1998). In the context of impact to news production process news management is identified with the strategic activity plans of the public relations specialist or a political actor striving for positive coverage what is usually called "spin". News management also can be referred to the public organizations and individual activists who are looking for publicity in order to gain symbolic capital and to influence political agenda through the media (McNair, 1998: 14–15, 97–100, 156–157, Schudson, 2003: 146–148).

The second paradigm of news management points to the gathering, producing and publishing the news and is deliberately related with the workplace of journalists (Molotch, Lester, 1974; Roshco, 1975; Golding, Elliott, 1979; Fishman, 1980). Such an attitude puts the journalists to central position and thus subjects the audience. The focus is on gaining the attention, guiding the processes, forming agendas. Professional values in this context serve as a set of rules or casual procedures.

Those two paradigms of news management are interrelated in contemporary journalism and in the dissertation are combined by the “scenario” concept – a term used to describe the future (Vasiliauskas, 2002) as it refers to expected or planned actions as well as to the accident ones. News production process is filled with both types of factors.

Relating news management with the pre-script has background in the works of American scholars Alexander Dyck and Luigi Zingales (2003) who conducted investigations in the sphere of the relations with the investors trying to find out what the effect media reporting has on stock markets. After precise analyses of the announcement of financial results of the companies and their spin in the media researchers concluded that media tend to report information biased in favor of companies. According to the scholars it happens so because of the low expertise of the journalists and big interests of sources who at the same time is the audience thirsting for positive news, as they put it: “all corporate insiders have a strong vested interest in a higher stock price and, hence, in leaking only positive news” (Dyck, Zingales, 2003). So the situation when the source repeatedly reveals valuable information to the journalist in exchange for a positive spin on the news being revealed is called as quid pro quo scenario. It explains periodical leaks of the news from the sources.

Manipulative behavior on the base of rational choice and self-interest is also analyzed by German scholars Susanne Fengler and Stephan Ruß-Mohl (2008). In their research there is a try to explain why, how and under what restrictions journalists are involved into the deals with their sources. According to the economic theory that is taken as a background for the considered research existing information trade is explained by limited editorial resources, mutual benefit and journalists’ goal to maximize their materialistic and symbolic reward. S. Fengler and S. Ruß-Mohl describe some schemes with the elements of manipulation (hidden effect/ impact, self-interest, unequal interaction, and ambiguous message) indicating and exploring such phenomena as “pack-reporting” that may be regarded as news management scenario. So called “leak” of information is treated the same.

The manipulation is understood as willful or unconscious secret impact on the partner of interaction after which he/ she starts acting in the interests of the manipulator (McQuail, 1994, Bern, 1992). According to this definition the manipulation may be resolved into four key elements:

1. Interest (motive) of interaction (selfish, hidden);
2. Relationship (position) of the interaction partners (unequal);
3. Message (news) of interaction (double-barreled, ambiguous) and
4. Effect (impact) of interaction (for ones subjugated, for others realizing their wills).

As can be seen from the definition of manipulation, it has an evaluative aspect – each of these elements is characterized by connotative categories – and such an attribute of manipulation phenomenon causes difficulties for its objective investigation. In the dissertation this problem is overcome by taking as measure of evaluation not the ethical standards or investigator’s or any other theoretical conception what the professional values are or should be, but the ones mentioned by the journalists themselves. Thus professional values are for the agents of the media field significant, important objects, events, opinions, personal characteristics, resulting in an interest to act and showing the real situation in the field of investigation (Tidikis, 2003). Professional values allow investigating the human factor to the professional activities (news production, news management) and making some conclusions on media performance.

British researcher Lynda Dyson (2000) states the connection between the ethical issues of professional practice and manipulative nature of news management when it is focused primarily on “spin”, indicating a long standing practice known as “Friday night

drop” – “the time-honoured abuse whereby Sunday business sections are hand-fed exclusive stories by... financial PRs” (Dyson, 2000: 62). Expanding application of such information brokering scenario causes changes of the professional roles and activities in journalism, marketing and public relations sectors.

The hidden factors of the politicians and journalists communication are under research of Swedish scientist Åsa Kroon Lundell (2010), who scrutinizes off-camera relationships and concludes in favor of journalists stating that politicians must submit to the journalists’ guidance when they come to an on-air interview. Small talks before the filming are initiated by journalists in order to make smoother and more productive filming. Thus journalists provoke the politicians to lose their professional roles. Whether the politician catches or not the communication style proposed by the journalist, if after the filming he/she tries to make an easy talk, the willingness to join seems to be less enthusiastic from the journalists’ point of view.

Different professional behavior indicated by A. K. Lundell is not the only difference in attitudes of various agents involved to the news making process. Researchers from Israeli Yariv Tsfati, Oren Meyers and Yoram Peri (2006) compared how the audience and journalists themselves evaluate their performance according to the set professional values. Examiners found out that audience rates the work of journalists better than the journalists themselves. Explanation for such results very simple: “since the journalists are far more familiar with the inner workings of Israeli media than the audience, they are probably also more aware of the ‘dark continents’ of Israeli journalism. Similarly, due to their common professional worldview, the journalists might be more critical and skeptical than the greater general public assessments” (Tsfati, Meyers, Peri, 2006). It should be noted, that Israeli scholars examined such professional values as always remaining neutral, verifying the facts, not publishing rumors, getting both sides of the story, providing the audience with the interpretation to news, taking into account what interests the public. Also there were investigated some statements related to the professional values and journalism performance: successful in uncovering corruption, abuse of power, and misconduct; full of factual errors and negligence; patriotic to a degree that compromises their professionalism; do not sufficiently cover positive developments; and too much competition and too little ethical considerations.

News production process belongs to the disposition of the editors and reporters and may be the medium for the manipulative scenarios, springing from the journalists. Various western scholars drew attention to such phenomena as news selection and framing (Berkowitz, 1997; Shoemaker, 1997) both of them having the elements of manipulation. It is stated that journalists act like gatekeepers, selecting which news will be published, and which will go to trash. Journalists also have some possibilities and means to re-spin or just frame the meaning of news story when editing the received messages and news reports. This line of the researches concentrates on the news organizations’ editorial policies and the guidelines of the staff manager (Bantz, 1997; Sigelman, 1973; Tuchman, 1973) and may grow into the macro level studies of journalistic culture (Hallin, Mancini, 1996), or/ and analyses of the impact of economic and political factors to the news production process.

Eastern European researchers Monika Metyková and Lenka Waschková Císařová (2009) tried to answer the question what is the development of dominant values during recent 10 years and made some conclusions how the journalists’ professional attitude is depended on the generation view and changing practices. Their research showed admission of the journalists that their professional values were shaped by the concentration of media ownership and that this factor influenced their relationship with the audience. Journalists

thinking and conduct was also affected by the competition in the market. New technologies are viewed as undermining the quality of journalistic outputs. Data of the research let the scholars to distinguish two generations: interviewees who worked prior to and shortly after 1989 and those who entered the profession after 1990s and later. “Representatives of the ‘old’ generation identify themselves as the bearers of (arguably idealized) professional standards and professional integrity and pride while the ‘new’ generation is perceived as less professional in its conduct and more concerned with personal (as opposed to societal) goals” (Metyková, Císařová, 2009: 733–734).

On the contrary German scientist Wolfgang Donsbach (2004) sees journalists’ community as solid, united in the similar decisions by the permanent need to judge and deal with the perceptions of the world they have to report. According to the researcher, the biggest judgment of the journalists is the decision whether to develop and print the story or to dump it. And this decision is determined by four main characteristics: news factors, institutional objectives, the manipulative power of news sources and the subjective beliefs of journalists. Taking into account and these decisions must be made under severe conditions (competition, time restraints, publicity) it is easier to understand why journalists rely on the advices of senior journalists and feel confident in the community of consonance. W. Donsbach concludes that our picture of the world outside (Lippmann, 1997) is mainly the result of journalists’ perceptions and group dynamic processes within the profession. “As journalists very often have similar political and ideological viewpoints, their influence on news decisions is multiplied” (Donsbach, 2004: 152).

Totally opposite conclusion is drawn by Slovenian researchers Karmen Erjavec and Melita Poler Kovačič (2010) who investigated advertorial production process characteristic to post-soviet journalistic cultures. As key actors having the main influence were named the advertisers who seek commercial benefit and control the content and the form of the production. Both journalists and editors in all stages of production are subordinate to them. Most of the interviewed editors disapprove such practice, as it was indicated by the research data, but still acts unethically, some of them even choose to act with the purpose of personal benefit. Journalists who write advertorials explained their motives in relation with their insecure working status.

To sum it up, the recent empirical researches give quite contrary answers who – journalists, sources or information brokers – have a central position in the news production process and influence mostly the news product. It may be stated that the role of the different agents of the mass media field depends on the concrete stage of news production cycle: information gathering favors the sources, information selection and writing – journalists, information publishing and framing – editors, partly the audiences. Also the conclusion about the positions of the representatives of explored professions and roles is related with the object of investigation (Dyck, Zingales, 2003) or methodology chosen for the investigation (Dyson, 2000, Donsbach, 2004) and even with historical development of the country (Metyková, Císařová, 2009, Erjavec, Kovačič, 2010).

On the other hand it is clear from the survey that news management in contemporary journalism is expanding and changes the professional roles in news production process. Due to this it must be under scrutiny of everyone who is engaged to the researches of contemporary journalism. Despite the useful insights of foreign scholars it must be said that their investigations only help to raise questions but give no answers about the journalism in Lithuania.

Survey of national studies

Theme of the dissertation emerges not only from the theoretical problems of contemporary academic works in news sociology (McNair, 1998, 2003; Schudson, 2003) or foreign studies of news management phenomena and various aspects of professionalism in journalism (Dyson, 2000; Dyck, Zingales, 2003; Donsbach, 2004; Salter, 2005; Tsfati, Meyers, Peri, 2006; Fengler, Ruß-Mohl, 2008; Metyková, Cisarová, 2009, Archetti, 2010; Erjavec, Kovačič, 2010; Lundell, 2010) and news production studies (Molotch, Lester, 1974; McManus, 1994; Bantz, 1997, Berkowitz, 1997; Shoemaker, 1997; Cottle, 2003; Bagdikian, 2004; Hallin, Mancini, 2004), but also from the recent developments in the national media system realities and is linked to the works of national empirical researchers (Augustinaitis, 1996, 2003; Ramonaitė, 2005; Matkevičienė, 2006; Nevinskaitė, 2006; Martišius, 2007; Maliukevičius, 2008; Jastramskis, 2008, 2009; Abromaitytė-Sereikienė, 2008, Balčytienė, 2009, Vinciūnienė, 2010).

Contemporary Lithuanian media as the factor accumulating social interactions experiences changes caused by technology development. Due to this the convergence of journalistic genres comes into being. Besides, information and communication technologies offer for users the possibility to escape from the passive observer's role and actively develop the public discourse. How do these changes affect the position of journalists?

Further more, in Lithuania we can talk not only about the agricultural and industrial revolutions (Webster, 2006). National information technology revolution (2000) is overlapping with the transition from soviet media system into national one during the so called Sąjūdis Movement/ Atgimimas period. Together with the latter conditions for the free information gathering, editing and dissemination as well as opportunities for media businesses occur. The turn from the functioning in authoritarian political system (McNair, 1998) to liberal democracy ended with penetration of commercial media and let to form stable media market (2004–2005). Lithuanian scholar Laima Nevinskaitė (2006) who has investigated the period of the breakthrough period came to the conclusion that newspapers of the breakthrough period met better the normative criteria of the public sphere than the newspapers of the period after the restoration of independence. According to the researcher, the diversity of the public sphere kept increasing until 1995. Later on the concentration of newspaper publishing took place. The biggest amount of readers was fixed in 1998–1990 (un-audited data). At this time the peak of participation of extra-media agents (i.e. representatives of social groups, experts, intelligentsia, etc.) was reached using forms of open letters, letters to editors, quotations. 2000 are termed as the deep decline of national public sphere (Nevinskaitė, 2006). What are the reasons for this decline: the interests of the newly appeared social group of the media owners or changing professional values of the journalists? Why did the audience loose their enthusiasm in the participation and along with this the creation (Mickūnas, 2007) of the public sphere?

Research combining the elements of political participation and political support of the citizens showed that political support for democracy in Lithuania is very low and is the lowest among all the countries of Central Europe (Ramonaitė, 2005). It was explained by the dissatisfaction with the economic situation in the Lithuania and the political performance of the authorities. It should be noted that the second factor is strongly dependent by the media evaluation (investigative journalism and watchdog towards the government and other powers) and by the media coverage (both aspects of news management: that of public relations and that of news production). Besides, among the functions of the media there is a duty to protect universal values, democracy and community connectedness to political process, to moderate political debate as well as the

role of journalist as representative of the audience interests who must create access and facilitate participation still is also prescribed. So it remains unanswered whether low participation of national population in elections and political parties is a result of poor quality of the journalism obliged by professional norms to ensure citizens' participation in political process or is it the fault of political actors and political communication?

The empirical researches show that despite the change of the state political system still there is a discrepancy between the mainstream journalistic culture in Lithuania in comparison with the older countries of the liberal democracies. Renata Matkevičienė's study of identities of politicians in the media (2006) during the President elections in 2002 indicates that the politicians who opposed themselves in the public sphere to the power elite despite the fact that they themselves were members of the Parliament won the significant support of the electorate. Why it happened so: because of successful news management and increasing role of the public relations in political communication or due to the advertorials the audience could not recognize? Or maybe is such a result the consequence of the decreasing role of the journalists due to their low education and inappropriate professional values? These issues are even more relevant as the research of Deimantas Jastramskis (2008, 2010) highlighted the tendency of correspondence between the political ads of the political candidates and partisan information about biased both: negatively and positively in the national periodicals. Observed tendencies raise the question about the existence of the manipulations in the media field both at the macro, mezzo and micro levels of media performance.

The macro level studies of information warfare, a phenomenon explored by Lithuanian scientists Nerijus Maliukevičius (2003, 2008) and Mantas Martišius (2007, 2011), refers to foreign state information (propaganda) and its effects on mass communication and the local audience. So, the access of the discourse justifying the military actions and social and national conflicts to the national news agenda lead to ask what journalists' professional values and attitudes allow such a quality of local journalism.

In the mezzo level studies the information management as the formation of the professional environment at the organizations and the communicative aspects of the management values were discussed by the Lithuanian theorist Arūnas Augustinaitis (1996, 2003). The scientist indicates a definite need for the study of information management as a way of thinking and operating style for the successful competition in contemporary knowledge society. How do editorial rooms respond to the challenge of this trend?

Communication culture of the Baltic countries in a comparative perspective was studied by Auksė Balčytienė and Aušra Vinciūnienė (Balčytienė, Vinciūnienė, 2006, 2008; Vinciūnienė, Balčytienė, 2006; Balčytienė, 2009; Vinciūnienė, 2010). Their works evaluated the specificity of the political communication and European news management processes in 10 member-states, analyzing the news selection, editing and publishing taken by Brussels correspondents and political agents (sources of political information). Researchers pointed out that compared with Western European countries in Lithuania the journalists and their sources engage in a mutual support and build close informal ties. This, on the one hand, allows the journalists to gain the information very quickly, on the other hand, it reinforces the owner-customer relationship (Balčytienė, 2009: 51). The presented analysis revealed the goal-oriented behavior of the interaction partners. According to the identified relationship between sources and the journalists 3 types of journalistic culture were distinguished:

1. Hostile, performing the strict watchdog role (Great Britain, Ireland);
2. Mutual understanding and respect (Scandinavian countries);

3. Consumerist approach, allowing flourishing of secret agendas (the new European Union members) (Balčytienė, Vinciūnienė, 2006).

For better quality of journalists and politicians communication and the harmonization of news production process taking into account the interests of both partners is recommended. But how the relationship with politicians is treated by the professional community of the journalists themselves?

The survey of researches conducted in Lithuania show the lack of empirical data about the manipulation, news management scenarios and journalists role to the overall media performance. The formulated questions suggest and reason the need for complex news management and news production study prioritizing the national community of journalists: their prevailing attitudes, opinions, evaluations and values.

The object of the dissertation

The focus of the scientific work is on the relationship between manipulative scenarios in news management and journalists' professional values. Hence the object of the work is the link among the journalists' involvement to the news management scenarios and generating of the responding schemes by the use of manipulation and their professional values, unfolding in their daily activities, judgments, attitudes and their communication with the sources in the routine practices.

The aim and the objectives of the work

The aim of this work is to indicate the importance of the journalists' professional values and their role in allowance to realize the manipulative scenarios in news management.

The objectives of the dissertation:

1. To distinguish significant objects and stages of journalists' daily practice and to provide a theoretical framework for the investigation of the relationship between the professional values and the manipulative scenarios;
2. To investigate the peculiarities of national media in the cultural and economic contexts;
3. To explore the cases of the manipulation use and empirical ties between the manipulative scenarios and the professional values;
4. To reveal the types journalists' manipulative mentality and used manipulative schemes;
5. To identify prevailing journalistic culture and to draw conclusions about the role of the journalists allowing to realize the manipulative scenarios in news management;
6. To provide the recommendations for the maintaining a high standard of journalists professional conduct in the country.

The methods of the work

The national journalists' professional values were examined according to the methodology of qualitative sociological research. The data were collected using 43 depth interviews both: unstructured (17 during the first qualitative research) and semi-structured (26 during the second qualitative research) carried out one year after the Lithuania's joining the European Union. The respondents were selected using the criteria of specialization in information journalism and media type; also the age, sex, and working experience.

The theoretical analysis was carried out for the formulation of the questionnaire. The methods of comparison, classification, description and summarizing were used while presenting the insights and findings of the scholars and analyzing collected data.

Scientific novelty

As may be concluded from the survey of the researches the investigations made in Lithuania do not address the topic of national journalists' professional values. Also there are no investigations about the manipulation use in relation with the scenarios of news management. While the presence of the news management as news influencing factor is more often in the news production process the work may be treated as the original attempt to combine the opposite sides of news management in order to find out the relationship between the manipulative scenarios and professional values in the journalists' routine activities.

The novelty of the work also lies in its interdisciplinary nature: in the analyses of social phenomenon conceptual framework is constructed by combining two academic approaches: that of the production of the news (the theory of journalism) and that of the news management (disciplines of political communication and public relations). Besides, the interdisciplinary nature of the work includes the humanities (communication and information, philosophy) and social (political sciences, sociology) sciences and thus broadens the field of theoretical terms and ensures the unity of the theme. In addition, a news production environment analysis includes micro and macro perspectives of media studies.

The originality of the dissertation also arises from a complex and systematic analysis of relationship between the manipulative scenarios and the professional values determining the theoretical and practical significance of the research. The professional conduct of the journalists is investigated and evaluated not according to the normative standards but according to their real activities and self evaluation. This is a new methodological approach not only in national but also in foreign empirical researches of the news management and the professional values.

Practical significance of the work

The identified use of manipulation and involvement to news management scenarios gives the opportunity for the media self-regulation institutions, editorial rooms of the national mass media, professional organizations of the journalists and the students of journalism and public relations to benefit from this study exploring the ethical criteria of the operation in mass media field and the mechanism of news dissemination.

The work can help to formalize the activities of public relations in state institutions and business organizations thereby enhancing their social responsibility and thus preventing a negative impact of the news management.

The revealed processes of the news management and news production may form the platform for the transparency and openness of the national journalists' professional guild.

Dissertation may serve as a base for the preparation of an academic course on the influence communication, educating students to overcome the moral and ethical dilemmas arising in the work of media professionals as well as providing with the skills of communication with the sources and other participants of the media field while teaching the news management process. The material of the work also may help to prepare for the lectures on the media, public relations and advertising psychology and political communication.

Finally, the practical recommendations how the gap between the professional practices of the journalists and the professionals standards of journalism in Lithuania can be narrowed are provided.

Theses to be defended:

1. The use of manipulation in journalism is determined by the objective news production factors;
2. The intervention of the news management scenarios into the news production process is caused by the economic factors and the pragmatic journalists' professional values;
3. Symbolic forms of journalists' remuneration are favorable for the implementation of the news management scenarios having the elements of the manipulation;
4. Disappearance of the authored journalists' expression is determined by pragmatic professional values and limited editorial resources;
5. The prevailing professional values allow for the journalists to identify the mission of journalism with the functions of the media.

The structure of the dissertation

The work consists of the introduction, the theoretical and research parts and the conclusions.

The first part contains the critical review of the theoretical literature and the empirical researches: the normative conception of the journalism and the assumptions for the manipulation in the news production process are presented. In this part the relationship between the journalists and the sources is examined and the role of journalists in the selection and framing the news is explored. The organizational processes of news production in the media also are analyzed as well as it is explained the relationship between the journalists and the audience.

The second part of the doctoral thesis consists of two sections. The first section deals with the cultural and economic contexts of in the formation of the national media as the power institution. It contains the exploration how the media gained the confidence of the audience, how are constructed consumers habits, what are the pay schemes for the journalists' work. The second section (the third part) presents the results of the empirical research.

The dissertation is ended with the conclusions and the recommendations. At the end of text the list of the used literature and terminology as well as the annexes are presented.

REVIEW OF THE CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

1. The theoretical framework for analysis of the professional values

Social life is based on the exchange of news about what's happening: according to their preferences and habits, information users may read periodicals, watch TV, share SMS, blog, etc. Journalists' purpose is to tell stories for the mass audience, news making is their activity. Contemporary field of journalism is filled with players interested in the interception to the news production process in order to affect the final product. This includes public figures, media owners, advertisers, even citizens. Due to this the concept of "news management" from the quite neutral meaning of information gathering, selection, editing and publishing (Molotch, Lester, 1974) develops along with the coming into being of the professional sources – the public relations specialists and the managers. So "news management" gets strategic character and already may refer to the planned activity or even the purposive manipulation (McNair, 1998; Schudson, 2003) or to the conscious scenarios foreseeing how to get into the news, how to gain the positive coverage (Dyson, 2000; Dyck, Zingales, 2003; Fengler, Ruß-Mohl, 2008). The double semantic aspect of the sphere of the investigated phenomena dictates the problem of this research: how these changes affect professional community of the journalists, especially their values. How do they react and respond to the manipulative scenarios?

1.1. The normative conception of journalistic work: assumptions for the manipulation in news production process

The normative conception of journalism springs from the regulation and legislation (Ethics Code of Journalists and Publishers, 2006, Law on the Provision of Information to the Public, 2006), also is developed by the scholars belonging to the normative tradition (Habermas, 1989). The chapter provides the norms and standards of the professional journalism: essential requirements, cherished values, mission concept, input for the democracy.

The daily function of the journalism is to provide the audience with the news, to report on the events. It is accompanied by the values of impartiality and objectivity – journalists should report exact and accurate information, they must seek for balance and present various opinions, cover all sides of the argument.

The mission of the journalism has higher tasks and first of all is oriented to serve the public interest by controlling those in power and making their decisions visible to the society for rational participation. Also the important mission of journalism is to promote the integration of social groups, especially vulnerable ones. The journalism along with the social responsibility has to foster philosophical ideas and traditional beliefs, to strengthen the humanistic attitudes, introduce national and European cultural heritage, create the platform for public debate, and moderate the political debates. The implementation of the mission is escorted by the intensive search for the truth and by the protection of democratic values (freedom of the speech, human rights, creation of public sphere, etc.).

To sum it up, the manipulation is impossible in serious journalism.

It should be noted that contemporary journalism usually is a part of media business. Emerging entertainment function of the media has the impact for the information journalism: news personalization pre-dominates the social issues, the conflict prevails the consensus as well as the elements of drama dominate over the accurate reporting. These trends allow stating the deviation from the traditional professional values to commercial ones. In this case the manipulation may be used for selfish reasons or because of the pragmatic thinking.

Though it must be said that several objective factors exist that enable the use of the manipulation in the news production process. Among such are mentioned:

1. Not always the information for journalists is given by sources benevolently;
2. Framing caused by the limits of time and space;
3. Commercial nature of the mass media;
4. The symbolic nature of the language as communication tool as it is but the agreement between the speakers;
5. The speed characteristic for the work of the journalists;
6. Cultural differences between the providers and the receivers of the information.

According to the professional values and the attitude towards the violation of the ethical code there may be distinguished 4 dominant opinions of the mainstream journalists:

1. Professional approach, pointing out that the compliance with ethical standards legitimates the profession;
2. The liberal view, criticizing the deeds of celebrities and other famous people, legitimates the trend of the soft news;
3. Cynical point of view unites those who work for money, rates and profits;
4. Relative attitude when journalists recognize the need to behave according to the circumstances using the most relevant of the above mentioned professional attitude (Keeble, 2005).

On the basis of the presented normative approach the hypothesis that the use of the manipulation in journalism is accidental and caused by the objective factors in the news production process is formulated. It is presumed that the evaluation of the manipulation should be neutral. The second hypothesis: the normative values fostered in the national media organizations allow prevailing of the idealistic mission perception in the professional activities of the journalists.

1.2. Journalists and sources

The professional activity of journalists is usually contrasted with the behavior of the sources. Due to this it is important to find out what motives and interests drive the representatives of both social groups to the professional actions and whose role is more important in the news management. As the journalists – sources relationship influences the framing of the news it is treated as an important indicator of the prevailing professional values and journalistic culture.

1.2.1. Analysis of professional interest

In accordance with a regulatory point of view the protection of the public interests is seen as a counterbalance for the manipulation in the news production. It may be indicated three directions of the public interest theories:

1. Preponderance theory that gives weight to an amount of the interests of individuals. The public interest is identified by the market (cost-benefit calculations) or by voting and opinion polls. In this theory, the public interest coincides with the position of the majority;
2. Common interest theory that derives from the assumption that the public interest is a common means and services for all the members of society. Public interest in the theory refers to authorities and such services as social security, education, health care, etc.;
3. Unitary theory associated with the prevailing ideology. According to this theory, the public interest is what is most consistent with the common value system (McQuail, 1992).

According to the authors representing the critical perspective the manipulation is equivalent with the interests of those in power that is why the manipulation is associated

with the ideology (Schiller, 1973), the economic interests (Hirschman, 2001), and with a false consciousness (Arendt, 2001).

On the micro level of studies the personal interest is defined as a person's pursuit of commercial advantage and satisfying of the consumer needs (Hirschman, 1992). It is associated with the material convenience, selfishness, and pragmatism. Interest has the characteristic of predictability and "predictability is an elementary form of stability, and perhaps it is the most important reason to welcome a world governed by the interest" (Hirschman, 2001: 53).

German scientists of the economic theory Susanne Fengler and Stephan Ruß-Mohl (2008) "describe journalists as rational actors seeking to maximize materialistic and non-materialistic rewards (e.g. attention, reputation, fringe benefits)" thus trying to explain such phenomena as "pack reporting" and other deals between the sources and the journalists. Researchers conclude about the self-interested behavior of contemporary journalists. The specialization (expertise) that is the effective use of the knowledge and the sources, skillfully planned time, exclusive contacts and the budget are mentioned as typical professional interests of the journalists.

To sum it up the economic theory defines the communication as the market exchange where interested participant is defined as seeking for maximum self-benefit. However, one has to be aware that the radical selfishness of the journalists' professional community is limited by moral standards and ethical codes. So the journalistic professionalism suggests a priority for the public interest as self-interest may be regarded as the abandonment of the professional values.

1.2.2. Scenarios and manipulative behavior in news management

News management is one the main factors influencing the news production process of modern journalism (McNair, 1998). Scenario is seen as a model of future situation (Vasiliauskas, 2002). From the perspective of the journalist the scenario is but foreseeing how the information would be gathered, edited and published, how the conversation with the interviewer will go, and so on. From the perspective of the source the scenarios are the spin and crisis communication schemes, also the foreseeing of the possible news framing. In general, the effects of news management are seen as more random than planned but in combination with the special tricks and the unfair behavior of the communication partners the scenarios may become manipulative and be used to satisfy the selfish motives (Dyck, Zingales, 2003; Fengler, Ruß-Mohl, 2008).

Scientists distinguish the following operation schemes having the elements of manipulation: leak of the information (selfish behavior of the sources); embedding (latent involvement, that remains unknown for the audience); permission for access (used by professional sources, smoothing the critical coverage); lure (exclusive information); checkbook journalism (paying for the sensations); intimidation (denied privileges); Friday night drop (refusing to comment significant news expecting journalists will print the obtained version of the press release); penetration (direct promotion used by professional sources); celebrities for campaign (smoothing of the issues by the personality of media heroes); spin-doctor (selection of the arguments); denial (used by authorities); visual drama (way for NGOs to enter media agenda); banal journalism (finding the enemy); ventriloquist journalism (unfair quotation), news promoting (planning special events).

In summary, the scenarios of the news management are seen as the news content control mechanisms used by the sources. How are they seen from the perspective of the journalists' news management? And what is the link between their exploitation and the

professional values? Taking in mind the information of this section the third hypothesis is formulated: journalists' participation in manipulative scenarios is common and active.

1.3. Journalists and events

Events that do not fall into the media agenda have no significance. This is a key statement explaining the emergence and the exploitation of the news management. Despite this, selection and reporting of the events still is the widest sphere for the journalists' professional self-realization.

1.3.1. News selection and manipulation

Preparation of a piece of the news includes its discovery, selection of the fact or the event, formulation of the journalist's point or view, gathering of the additional information, formulation of the main idea, selection of the key elements of the information prepared, finding of the experts' comments and at least, writing of the text (Pečiulis, 2002). Thus is the understanding of the news management in journalism.

Though it may seem that journalists are subordinated to the sources some scholars (i.e. Manheim, 1991) state that the intervention of the news management of the sources only reinforces the journalists' position because they may save their resources only for the selection of the press releases that reach the editorial room.

It must be remarked that the selection of the news is closely related with the news values such as change, conflict, accident, consequences, novelty, interest (Dennis, Merrill, 1997). The most important news value is closeness, whether geographic, emotional, psychological or that of time or audience, of the event. To sum it up, news value theory explains, by what criteria do journalists select the news and how they calculate the biggest amount of the audience that is expected to be reached. As a high professional standard the rule of double check is applied in order to avoid the bias of the journalists.

Selection of the news in its results is similar to the censorship. The latter is characteristic only for the political environment of authoritarianism (McNair, 1998). Censorship relates the journalism with the political apparatus: various prohibitions may trace and map the preferred relationship between the sources and the journalists (Vaišnys, 1999). In this chapter one more hypothesis is formulated: the economic interests lead to self-censorship of the journalists.

In conclusion it must be stated that the selection of the news is the main element in the formation of the media agenda upon which the public opinion depends.

1.3.2. News framing and manipulation

The classic journalistic narrative is constructed according to the principle of the inverted pyramid, where the most important piece of information is placed in the beginning of the message and the message ends with the wider context of the reported event. In this paradigm as professional values the rules of objectivity are applied such as the separation the facts from the opinions, balanced reflection of the debate, journalists' claims of validation of the authoritative sources (Schudson, 2003).

American media scholar James T. Hamilton argues that the neutral 5W rule is changed in the sophisticated economic formula: "1. Who cares about the particular piece of information? 2. What are they willing to pay to find it, or what others willing to pay to reach them? 3. Where can media outlets or advertisers reach these people? 4. When is it profitable to provide the information? 5. Why is it profitable?" (Hamilton, 2004: 7). In the context of economic interests one more hypothesis is formulated: pragmatic professional values encourage the intensive authored expression of the journalists.

These different views indicate the importance of the research of the national journalists' professional values. This is relevant since the framing includes the use the

linguistic expression of the manipulation as well as the selection of the arguments by constructing the favorable message.

1.3.3. Pseudo events

Special events occur because they are meant to occur to grab the attention of the journalists. Pseudo-events (Boorstin, 1961) may be treated as effective manipulative scenario. The manipulation lies not in the content of the message but in the simulation, the artificial construction of the reality. The effectiveness of the pseudo-events is related with the impact of the media itself (McLuhan, 1964, 2003) and is usually explained in the context of cultural theories stating that the mass media is the technology that has an enormous influence in the domain of popular culture. The coverage of the pseudo-events is considered as the unprofessional journalism.

1.4. Journalists and the media

News production process is the result of the interaction both: between the journalists and the sources and between the organizations within which the journalists have certain positions. Due to this the final product is the object of impact within the organizations. So news production process is fundamentally related with the functioning of editorial rooms and the mass media institute.

1.4.1. Policy of editorial room

The framework of the existing political system, conventions of thinking, and the organizational work practice form the professional culture of journalists. Journalists' position in the editorial rooms is considered as controversial: some scholars claim that a journalist is but an employee, obeying the subordination of the editors and media owner (Baistow, 1985; Erjavec, Kovačič, 2010). Other researchers argue that journalists act in the interests of the professional sources (Dyson, 2000; Davis, 2002) or in the interests of politicians (Molotch, Lester, 1974; Gandhi, 1982). Lynda Dyson (2000) says that the situation of the journalists in the media organizations depends on the policy of the resource use. Lack of resources puts pressure to produce more stories. Thus journalists become vulnerable and dependent on the information brokers. So the indicators for the journalists' position in the editorial rooms are the resources of the organizations and the organizational culture.

1.4.2. Media business and significance of ruling of the organizations

Economic factors affect the journalism in two ways. First, the journalism is a business having the investors and the owners (Schudson, 2003) for which the journalists are only a hired staff, a part of their property. Second, while journalism is a business, it is profit oriented and this has the significant influence on the content, style and presentation of the news. To the market model the model of the public governance is opposed. In both models the possibilities of the manipulation lie in the social importance and the power of the mass media institution.

From the market model perspective the power is gained by winning the confidence of the audience and finding the advertisers (the rates). From the normative perspective media is treated as the mediator between the government and the society. This role is described in various metaphors (that of window, mirror, filter, watchdog, guide, translator, platform, gatekeeper, screen) that indicate the social significance of the institution. The market model leads to the entertainment; the public governance serves the public interest.

1.4.3. Technologies as an impact factor for the product of the journalists' professional activity

The twentieth century is marked by the rapid development and the penetration of the information and communication technologies. Due to this the media is seen as the tool of the dissemination of the news and has the cultural impact on the audience because

“medium become the message” (McLuhan, 1964, 2003). Journalists see the technologies as harmful for the product of the news production (Metyková, Císařová, 2009). It must be stated that new technologies ensure the more intensive interaction between the journalists and the audience.

1.5. Journalists and society

The news allows seeing the problematic reality, inspiring the outrage of the audience that provokes social responsibility of the officials. Moral panic (Cohen, 2002) is the media-induced state of the society when the perturbation of one or another phenomenon is above the scale of its confirmed level. Moral panic is a powerful tool of the impact on politicians and the means of the realization of social changes.

1.5.1. Scandal and moral panic

Modern media due to convergence of expression induced by information technology are often faced with the problem of production. The pace of news production and increased commercialization of professional values of journalists lead to the political scandals, casual reports of celebrities' private lives, to criminal stories and to exploitation of tabloid trends in investigative journalism. Although it would seem that the public and policy makers have become accustomed to the dominant political culture of blatant, but such scandals sometimes cause serious social consequences both: for political field, and media system. President Rolandas Paksas (2004) and pedophilia (2009–2010) scandals are examples of such cases. Using the theories of news making (Molotch, Lester, 1974) and news management (McNair, 1998, Schudson, 2003; Balčytienė, 2009), also theoretical insights of scandal (Thompson, 2000) and moral panic (Cricher, 2005) conceptions, and the concepts of crisis communication (Wilcox, Cameron, Ault, Agee, 2007) this chapter deals with the scandal coverage, journalists' provisions, their and sources positions. The purpose of the section is to reveal factors of the news production and news management affecting the rising of the scandal, to highlight the positions of sources and journalists during the scandal and to show the media performance.

There are two main conclusions formulated. Reporters in gathering and preparing information to the public about important events in the country are among the first persons to know about actual or potentially offensive behavior or actions of policy makers (government representatives, officials, institutions, etc.). However, the mere receipt of scandalous information and its dissemination is not enough to provoke changes of social and legal framework. Such effects can occur if the scandal is accompanied by the combination of social circumstances stimulated by mass media: a total visibility of the event; the interpretation of the event as violating the generally accepted moral norms, traditions and values; mystery of the event, consisting of one or more items that must be disclosed. This work usually goes to journalists. Their work in these cases is legitimated by heterogenic unambiguous audience, not its individual segments, despite real or potential guilty of the perpetrator. Thus the disclosing work of media representatives is justified. To sum it up, although the scandals are not targeted or pre-professional interest of the journalists, but the media representatives support and stimulate the scandal, taking the advantages of the difficult crises communication.

Typical sign of the scandal as the phenomenon of mass communication is moral panics caused in the society, which requires the correspondence between media and political agenda on the one side and public response and political action from the elites, on the other side. The public response is realized not only by the means of communication, but is taken in accordance with powers of compulsory actions of political elites. So pedophilia scandal has caused serious legal and social changes in society that led to the appropriate domestic

policy decisions: law enforcement reforms, the rotation of heads, the faster adoption of the amendments to laws.

1.5.2. Effects of persuasion and propaganda

One of the first theories of media effects was called “magic bullet” theory (DeFleur, Ball-Rokeach, 1989). It declared the media power to form the public opinion. According to the accidental or conscious and open or secret use of the manipulation news are categorized to partisanship, propaganda, unwitting bias and the ideology. In this chapter the Noam Chomsky’s propaganda model is discussed concluding that journalists act as the subjects of propaganda by escalating their hostility to the ruling elite and thus ensuring their power. The influence of the journalists is associated with their critical assessment of the government decisions. Though this right is justified by serving the public interest actually it serves for the ruling elite as it creates an illusion of control.

In conclusion it should be reminded that the high professionalism is signified by formal relationship with the sources, critical approach towards the professional sources, news selection in accordance with the public interest, double check of the facts, accurate and objective framing of the news, opinion balance, pluralism, independent research and analysis of documents.

Pragmatic journalistic culture is marked by the domination of friendly or hostile relationship with the sources, news selection is driven by the selfish motives, political news are selected according the attributes of conflict or drama, the personalization of the news framing, information is treated as item for sale or a piece of entertainment, fast course of the production process, sensational style of framing, targeted quotations, self-censorship.

As the heritage of soviet journalism are considered the prominence of state interests, legal pressure and control of policy-makers, experienced censorship.

2. The power of national media: cultural and economic contexts

2.1. Construction of the audience habits

Historically the power of national media is coming from the media professionals’ non-reflected habits that were formed in the soviet times. The ability of national media to engage and unify the audience as certain consumers groups is the main reason why the media is central target in the fight for symbolic and political power in Lithuania. According to the result of stimulated values and behaviors it may be stated that mass media is a distorted form of the religion in modern secular society (Eco, 1987; Kolakowski, 1990). National journalists are conscious about such an effect: this is indicated by the spring of the talk and reality shows, other sensual and entertainment production. The uncritical view of the audience is supported by installing the stereotypes, changing the explanations of the experts by the casual narrative of ordinary people comments, allowing the ordinary people to become famous in various contests. The national mass media exploits perfectly the traditional disappointment with the authorities and keeps earning rates for itself. The uncritical attitude to the media performance determines the opinion that the media will always be the only source of true and objective information (the truth). Such an attitude is strengthened by the realistic nature of the TV narrative.

2.2. The mechanisms of journalists’ salaries and advertorials: from the totalitarianism towards capitalism

During the soviet period the media was the violent and repressive government’s mechanism. It was maintained and financed by the state. Functioning according the market model raises the question of the journalists’ salaries and media organizations’ earnings and costs. In the national media the phenomena of competition and concentration are observed

as well as the influence of hidden huge amount of advertorials. In such a situation national journalists experience pressures of insufficiencies, the conditions for media corruption originate. It should be stated that as in soviet period in times after the joining the European Union the mass media plays active political (not communicative) role and such its role does not depend on the form of the model of financing.

3. Research of professional values of national journalists

The last part of the dissertation presents the results of the empirical research of the national journalists' professional values.

3.1. Research methodology

The research of the national media journalists' professional values was conducted one year after the Lithuania joined the European Union. During the chosen period the stability of the investigated field (judicial change of the political system to that of the liberal democracy and the settling of media market) was fixed. The qualitative sociological research methodology was chosen as the most suitable for the analysis of attitudes. The aim of the research was to analyze the behavior of the journalists in daily practices and to identify the prevailing professional values and their relationship with the journalists' participation in the manipulative scenarios.

The qualitative data were drawn from the two stages of 43 in-depth un-structural (17) and semi-structural (26) interviews with the national journalists working in the national media. Semi-structured interview questionnaire was divided into 8 groups of 55 questions. The data analysis was performed by comparing the declared attitudes with the actual provisions of their actions. Also the data were classified according the operational extraction of the "manipulation" concept. Confirmation or denial of the hypothesis was examined during the data analyzes.

The average age of the research participants was 32.5 years. The average length of the service in journalism was 10 years. Dominant education was high education. Such education was pointed out by 37 respondents. The shortest interview lasted about 19 minutes; duration of the longest one was about two and a half hours. The average interview duration was of 1 and 1.5 hours.

During the first stage 17 respondents were interviewed 9 of which were working in TV stations, 4 – in dailies, 2 – in the news portals and 1 in news agency as well as 1 in the radio. During the second phase of the research 26 respondents were interviewed, 9 of which were working in the periodicals, 7 – in the TV, 5 – on the radio, 4 – at the news agencies, and 1 in news portal.

3.2. Relationship in the professional activities of the journalists activities: who's position is dominant?

The aim of this chapter was to study the personal communication and the relations of the national journalists and to find out the influence of professional values to social interactions and manipulative behavior. According to the direction (programmed or accidental impact) and the use of manipulation in the journalists' personal relations with other partners of mass communication (sources, media owners, editors, audiences, public relation specialists) 3 types of communication were distinguished:

3.2.1. One-way effect communication

3.2.2. Mutual effect communication

3.2.3. Hybrid effect communication

Professional interests of journalist such as to find an important event, to announce the message as quickly as possible, to get the information from the sources that do not want to

talk, to convince the audience – determines the behavior of journalists and becomes an important factor of both: professional and public culture. Though the hierarchy is typical for the personal relations identified in the field of the activity of journalists, it is dynamic one – every subject of communication may become central figure in the process of mass communication and this is the aim every communicator of mass media is striving for. The investigation also showed that the satisfactory mode of the journalists depends on the free and public discussion of the public affairs. It also may be found in the estimation of the colleagues. In order to create ethical and socially responsible personal and public communication, all the communicators should deny a piece of their autonomy and to adjust their strategy, tactics, and the entire activity along partners of communication. Otherwise, the communication goes straight to the manipulation (on the level of personal communication) and to the reduction of the political process (on the social level).

3.3. Evaluation of the manipulation and use in professional practice

The data of the research were classified using the 2 main criteria: 1) use of the manipulation in daily practice and 2) the self-evaluation of such a behavior. The attention was also paid whether the respondents were talking about themselves or pointing out to the general situation in their editorial room or the national media. So the respondents were divided into 2 groups and 8 sub-groups:

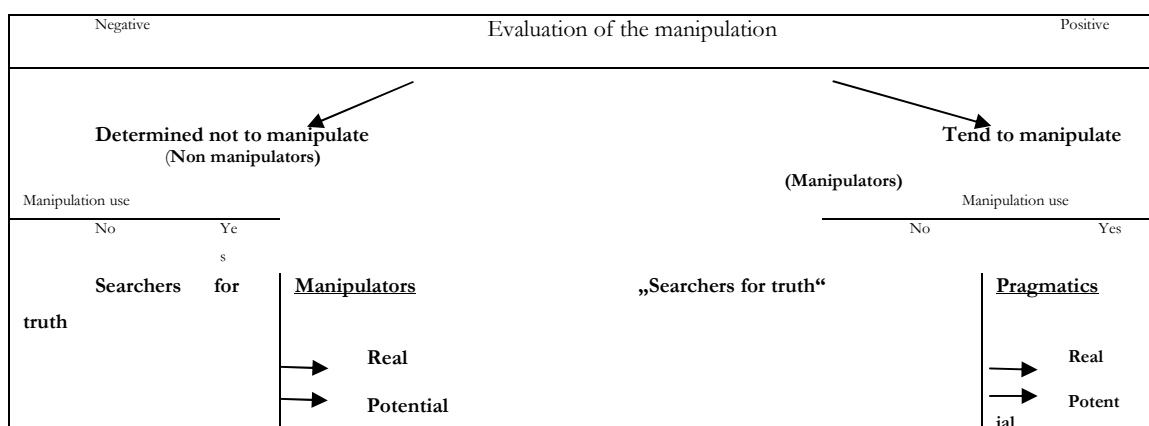


Figure 1. Manipulation of journalists at work: the professional ways of operating

The classification shows that concrete respondents' assessments of the manipulation use in their practices while producing the news are inconsistent: this phenomenon is directly seen as negative, but the specific behavior during work day with the elements of the manipulation is justified. The data also suggest that the manipulation in the professional community of the national journalists is a real working practice. The fact that the manipulation is used in the daily practices of the journalists, let to conclude that the thinking of the journalists is pragmatic.

3.4. Types of journalists having manipulative mentality: object of the impact and journalists behavior in the selection and framing the news

The qualitative data drawn from the interviews let to distinguish 6 types of manipulative mentality: "Truth seeker", "Media employee", "Event transmitter", "Message composer", "Event critic" and "Event developer". From the results of the research it may be stated that there is a contradiction between the theoretical attitude of journalism as the activity of the search for truth along with the arising obligation to publish the truthful information and the real practice of the journalists, the sources and other participants in the media creating the public sphere polluted with the manipulations. If, according to the theory, a positive attitude towards manipulation is impossible in the professional journalism, empirically such a point of view is met often enough:

		Manipulation used	
		Rarely	Often
Evaluation of the manipulation	Negative	„Truth seeker“	„Media employee“
	Positive	„Event transmitter“	„Event Developer“ „Message Composer“ „Event critic“

Figure 2. Manipulative mentality types arrangement under the manipulation and use of assessment

The table shows that there are journalists who not only appreciate the manipulation, but often uses it in their work. The primarily data confirm that the manipulation of the journalists is used quite often. Nevertheless, as indicated in the respondents' answers, manipulative behavior is detected in the personal journalist – sources communication and following deals.

3.5. From the societal towards personal values: implementation of mission or media functions

When the mentality types were indicated, the research was continued analyzing the journalists' approach to the professional values and their professional motivations: what are journalists' views on the neutral presentation of the news, what is their position to the verification of facts (double-check rule), what do the journalists think about the publishing of unconfirmed information, rumors, labeling, other tricks. The attitudes on the abstract concepts were compared with the description of the concrete actions taken in the specific situations. Drawn data were classified according to the salary and the use of manipulation or operational indicators of this phenomenon.

3.5.1. Remuneration for work: journalists' interest to act and role of professional status

Summing up the results of the research it is found that the journalists, who do not care about the size of their salary and implement the mission, receive the lowest wages. Those who receive high wages acknowledge that the earned money is one of the major motivating factors for them to work; others say that it is the main aim.

The results of the research let to conclude, that the journalists mentioning the financial means and remuneration as the motive of their professional activity become the target media owners and advertises economic pressure. Also the study shows that not the real salary, but the journalists' strive to earn the money become a factor influencing their professional behavior.

According to the salary and the use of the manipulation arising from the materialistic incentives the distribution of the manipulative mentalities is:

		The use of the manipulation along with the materialistic incentives	
		No indications	Is indicated
Size of salary (research data) (Size of indicated salary in comparison with the average of the official statistics)	High		„Message composer“ „Event creator“
	(High)	(„Truth seeker“)	(„Event critic“) („Media employee“) („Event transmitter“)
	Low	„Truth seeker“	„Event critic“ „Media employee“ „Event transmitter“
	(Low)		

Figure 3. Manipulative mentality types according to the use of manipulation along with the commercial interest and the salary

3.5.2. *The changing concept of censorship*

The findings suggest that censorship experience by the journalists is that of business. It is of local character as it is not centralized and it is not regulated by the law. In the opinion of the journalists it is implemented by editors and other senior staff. The advertorials is the consequence of such kind of the censorship. There was also mentioned such types of the censorship as auto-censorship, political censorship and also the organizational censorship.

3.5.3. *The modern conception of the mission of journalism: from idealism towards pragmatism*

Media institute is seen as an object, which is threatened by the media owners, ruling elite their secret agreement and the pre-biased information. Such results indicate the rising journalists' resistance to such a trend. Though the mission of the journalism is often confused with the functions of the media and some of the functions are not reflected it is concluded that the prevailing attitude towards the mission is pragmatic one – to inform the society.

3.6. *Position of the journalists in news management scenarios: frequency, consciousness, activity and responding schemes*

According to the use of the manipulation and the level of consciousness of such an action the distinguished types differentiate:

		Rare			Use of manipulation Often		
		Gathering	Composing	Publishing	Gathering	Composing	Publishing
Reflection of the manipulative behavior	Accidental	„Truth seaker“			-	-	„Media employee“ „Event critic“
	Planned	„Event transmitter“			„Event Developer“	„Message composer“	-

Figure 4. The frequency of the manipulation use and journalists' reflection of such a behavior.

The results of the research let to distinguish 10 manipulative schemes: “You scratch my back and I’ll scratch yours” or “Anonymous sources reported”; “Opposition criticizes” or “By the lips of experts or speakers”; “Entrapped disclosure of the information” or “Aggressive reporter asks”; “Taking the words out of mouth before events” or “Events’ guide”, “Biting” or “Crucifying”, “Muffs”, “Shaken cocktail” or “Puzzle”, “Squeezing a tear”, “Pulling out of the drawer” or “Bomb”.

CONCLUSIONS

1. News management in the environment of news production process allows exploring the relationship between journalists' professional values and manipulative scenarios. Thus significant stages of the journalists' professional activities such as information gathering, preparation and editing, selection and framing as well as publication gains additionally interactive character of the analysis carried out. Social interactions reveal both: the impact of the journalists and the sources and its dependence on the professional values, arising from the routine work, daily behavior and attitudes in relation with the use of the manipulation.

2. The power of the national media springs from the cultural and economic contexts of the country. Significant components of the cultural context are: emergence of the entertainment function, that represents the distorted elements of the sacred in a secular culture, entrenchment of uncritical habits and attitudes of the audience, formed during the soviet period that causes demand for the production and promotion of the stereotypes, confidence in written texts inherited from the soviet culture of reading and determined by the Atgimimas (Rebirth) period, and pre-bias hostility of journalists towards the official sources, characteristic to post-soviet countries. The gaps between the legal regulation and the liability of the committed breaches also count.

From the economic perspective such factors as transition from direct state grants (except for public broadcaster) to market principles when media is financed by advertising revenues, the emergence of Lithuanian capital media corporations jeopardizing the journalists' social status because of concentration and journalist's illegal remuneration and convergence of authored content were distinguished as important.

3. Empirical research has confirmed the three types of communicative relationships: that of one-way effect, the mutual effect, and that of the hybrid effect and showed the dynamic position of the journalists during the social interactions of their professional activities. More than 30 cases of the manipulation techniques use while gathering, editing and publishing the news were enumerated. According to the evaluation and the object of the manipulation and the stage of news production process well as supported professional relationships 6 types of possible manipulative mentality were distinguished: "Truth Seeker", "Media employee", "Event transmitter", "Message composer", "Event critic" and "Event developer".

4. A link between the evaluation of the manipulation and its use was found. "Truth seekers" evaluated the manipulation negatively and used very rarely. Though the manipulation was used rarely, but it was appreciated by the "Event transmitters". In opposite, though the manipulation was characterized negatively but it was often used by the "Media employees". Three types ("Message composer", "Event critic" and "Event developer") mentioned the frequent use of the manipulation and considered appearance of such cases positively. Often use of the manipulation was associated with objective factors of the news production process – resources of the editorial room, limits of time and space, the race of publicity of daily practices, hierarchical relationships, etc.

The research also showed the relation between the use of the manipulation originated from the materialistic interest and the size of the journalists' salaries: "Message composers" and "Event developers" had the commercial interest and had received a high wages. The majority of the subjects under research ("Event critics", "Event transmitters" and "Media employees") were paid low, although their professional thinking indicated the commercial incentives. It should be stressed that the salary characterized as low by

journalists was higher than the official average. The materialistic springs of the actions were not expressed by the “Truth seekers”, but they also earned a little.

The connection between the frequency of the manipulation use and the awareness of the use was indicated. The manipulation use of the “Truth seekers” was rare and accidental in all the stages of news production process. “Events transmitters”, on the contrary, used the manipulation rarely at various phases of news production process. Though accidental and only while publishing the information, the often use of the manipulation was indicated in the practice of the “Media employees” and “Event critics”. Even two groups of the respondents used the manipulation frequently and deliberately: “Event developers” while gathering the information, “Message composers” while preparing the material. It is concluded that the differentiation of the prevailing attitudes indicates the dominant accidental use of the manipulation in daily practice that is caused by the objective factors of the news production process. Single frequent use of manipulation is related with the journalists’ response to the news management scenarios having the elements of the manipulation. The use of deliberate manipulation is rare.

The ties between the rate of the manipulation use and the activeness of the contrary to the professional values behavior were investigated in detail. The “Truth seekers” attitudes and deeds were consistent: they used manipulation rarely and were not resistant to the behavior according the professional rules neither in practice nor in thinking. “Event transmitters” though very rarely but with significant effect took place in the communication according to the manipulative scenario. The “Message composers” distinguished themselves from others by active and often ties with the manipulative scenarios in their activity. The remaining types of the respondents (“Event developers”, “Event critics” and “Media employees”), although used the manipulation in one or another stage of the news production, but the use was more passive in nature, that is the manipulation was used because of the objective factors, not because of selfish interests or deliberately against the professional values.

5. The research of the national media journalists has permitted the detection of 10 manipulative schemes used in their professional activities: the secret agreement on the transmission of information and publication between the source and the journalist (“You scratch my back and I’ll scratch yours” or “Anonymous sources reported”), concealed expression of the subjectivism (“Opposition criticizes” or “By the lips of experts or speakers”), meetings and interviews on other than arranged topics of the conversation (“Entrapped disclosure of the information” or “Aggressive reporter asks”), the race of journalists and news sources for spin in media agenda and its impact (“Taking the words out of mouth before events” or “Events’ guide”), planned persuasion of the audience, conscious and active negative consequences on the sources of information ignoring favorable for them facts (“Biting” or “Crucifying”), deceptions to obtain protected information (“Muffs”), conscious orientation to the uncritical reception of the news (“Shaken cocktail” or “Puzzle”), construction of the emotional effect (“Squeezing a tear”), estimated time of the information delivery (“Pulling out of the drawer” or “Bomb”). Half of the identified manipulative schemes are in response to scenarios of news management in order to counter the pre- and self-serving plans of the sources. However, there were revealed 3 cases when journalists are involved to the realization of the manipulative scenarios without recognition and reflection of the consequences of such their communicative behavior. Such capture of the journalists was random. There were indicated 2 manipulative scenarios generated by the journalists themselves at the stage of the preparing of the materials.

Occasional stylistic means of expression as tools of the manipulation were used by the respondents having the structure of the “Media employees” attitudes. Planned manipulation at the stage of gathering the information (the attacks on the sources) was characteristic for the “Event developers”. The mentality of the “Event critic” is oriented to the frequent use of the manipulation while publishing the information. It should be noted that the impact of such behavior to the partners of communication is indirect. The respondents having the professional attitude of the “Message composer” tend to manipulate deliberately with the quotations, headlines, leads, etc. while preparing the information. “Truth seekers” often feel manipulated by the other participants in communication.

6. The conception of the mission of the contemporary journalism is superposed with the media functions; the democracy is understood as the objectivity. The dominating social role of the journalist is of the functional nature and due to this quite of local significance. The research showed that in 4 cases the professional attitude towards manipulation coincided with conception of the mission: the function of the “watchdog” was central to the “Event critics”. The “Media employees” and the “Message composers” indicated “information brokering and mediation” as the most important function of the contemporary journalism. The “Truth” seekers confessed still trying to implement the ideal mission.

However, the pragmatic role’s understanding prevails among the journalists: there were less than a half of the journalists who’s bearable conception of the ideal mission coincided with their daily operation. The attitude of the rest is but a declaration. Conducted research, journalists’ behavior and daily practices together with the enshrined professional values, allows distinguishing 3 manipulative roles: that of interest (pragmatic, economic priority); that of pleasure (emotional, entertainment priority) and that of argument (linguistic, political priority). Accordingly, the objects of the manipulation are news production process, the audience, and the power (status) and the knowledge.

7. The use of the manipulation is more often along with the pragmatic professional values. High professional standards help to avoid unintentional presence of the journalists in the manipulative scenarios.

8. Un-reflected effects of the journalistic activity lead to the devaluation of the traditional professional values and towards consumerist approach to the news product. Sensual the instinct-based information framing significantly contributes to the support of the uncritical audience’s thinking. Pragmatic professional culture is promoted by limited resources and selfish professional interests (demand for the exceptional information, reputation, social significance and the alike).

9. The manipulation is understood by the journalists according their behavior in a particular work situation, by the impact experienced during the work and the influence done by the work. Such an assessment dictates the ambiguous and wayward opinions. The manipulation is not accepted as a forced necessity or as negative element interfering to reach the truth. The manipulation is treated as relatively useful thing and such provisions enable the circulation of manipulative scenarios in such important social activity as providing the information for the public.

10. The data of the research denied 4 hypotheses and did not object only to the one premise. The assumption that the use of the manipulation in the professional practice of the journalists is random and determined by the objective factors was confirmed by the data obtained. However, the study found that the national media organizations foster not normative, but pragmatic professional values and thus an idealistic perception of the mission of the journalism among the respondents is rare. The results showed that the

presence of the journalists in the manipulative scenarios is not frequent and active, as was assumed, but rare and passive. Also the hypothesis that the pragmatic values tend to the extension of the authored professional expression was denied. An opposite trend was observed: the factors of the economic impact contribute to the loss of the original messages of the journalists. Though the impact of business censorship was indicated the hypothesis about the economic factors causing the auto-censorship was denied. The journalists associated auto-censorship with the regulation of the law. Such treatment leads to the conclusion that the prevailing attitude towards judicial affairs of the profession is shaped by the soviet point of view. Inherited from the old political system such an opinion makes it possible to spread nihilistic political culture and thus to have a negative impact on the democratic rule of law.

11. The news management intervention to the news production process is influenced by the economic factors as well as by the self-serving interests of the journalists and the sources. It has negative impact on the journalists' professional culture as it in response raises the use of a bigger amount of the manipulative schemes.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. As the research data shows, news management intervention into news production is directly related to the journalists' low income from their professional activities. Receiving low wages the journalists follow the high professional standards for the symbolic rewards – social significance, influence, contacts, reputation. Such their need is recognized and fully exploited by the political agents or professional sources who are interested in positive coverage and public attention. Therefore the programs and other measures that prevent the arbitrariness of employers should be enhanced, journalists' professional unions strengthened, especially when there are times of high unemployment. This would guarantee the rights of journalists and their social status, the stable situation in the editorial rooms.

2. As journalism is a specific public service, the general public good and such a position is regulated by the law that gives journalists the exclusive right to the prompt access to ask for information, the financing of the journalists in commercial media should be resolved as well as the responsibility of media owners and investors for their control measures provided towards the quality of journalism, must be tightened. The public broadcaster's funding, independent from the political cycles, should be built. In order to achieve these objectives it is recommended to create a special working group.

3. As the research showed a pressure on journalists because of the advertorial journalism's demand as well as the big extent of illegal owners' lobbying, for the legislator together with the professional journalists' organizations it is proposed to create a system of monitoring of such cases and to improve the legal framework enabling media self regulatory authorities to prescribe adequate financial sanctions for media business organizations.

4. Education and training of future journalists' skills coping with ethical dilemmas encountered in daily professional practice should be continued. As it is concluded from the research of journalists' professional values, the use of manipulative schemes is rather unconscious than foreseen, spontaneous and casual. Therefore, to the educational programs of the communication professionals (both journalists and public relations specialists) the disciplines nurturing such capacities should be included/ maintained. The journalists should be provided with the knowledge how to take evaluative decisions in various social spheres.

MANIPULIACINIAI SCENARIJAI NAUJIENŲ VADYBOJE: ŽURNALISTŲ PROFESINIŲ VERTYBIŲ TYRIMAS

Reziumė

Žiniasklaidos socialinio vaidmens efektyvumą lemia žurnalistikos kokybė ir poveikis. Visuomenės aprūpinimo naujienomis veiklos pasekmės politikos komunikacijoje, žurnalistikoje, ryšiuose su visuomene ir kitose socialinėse terpėse vertinamos kontraversiškai: ir kaip demokratinius procesus bei auditorijos dalyvavimą skatinantis (Habermas, 1989; Balčytienė, 2009), ir kaip valdančiojo elito galią palaikantis, socialinės kontrolės veiksnys (Chomsky, 1989, 1997; Bielinis, 2000).

Tyrinėjant naujienų gamybą ir vadybą, akivaizdu, kad iš kitų žiniasklaidos diskursų žinias išskiria žurnalistų siekis pagal pasirinktą *autorinę* tekstinę, garsinę ar vaizdinę *raišką* pateikti auditorijai *tiesą* apie naujus socialinio gyvenimo reiškinius ir įvykius (McNair, 1998). Ši „tiesos“ ieška kaip „autorinė raiška“ yra probleminė žurnalistikos ašis, kadangi skiriasi šaltinių, žurnalistų ir auditorijos įvykių (faktų) interpretavimo/ aiškinimo išeitės pozicijos ir gebėjimai. Taigi apibūdinant žurnalistiką kaip autorinę raišką, matyti, kad žinios yra ne tik naujienų pranešimų, t. y. informacijos, bet ir individualių vertybių sklaida. Tokia subjektyvaus įvykių interpretavimo ir pretenzijų į objektyvų atspindėjimą įtampa iki šiol yra aktualių visuomenės diskusijų apie manipuliavimo galimybes žurnalistikoje ir akademinų tyrimų šia tema šaltinis.

Temos aktualumas

Vykstant technologijų paskatintiems pastarojo meto tradicinės žiniasklaidos pokyčiams – raiškų konvergencijai, socialinių medių ir interneto žiniasklaidos įtakos plėtrai, ryšių su visuomene ir naujienų vadybos ekspansijai į naujienų gamybos procesą – iškyla atstovavimo kokybiškai žurnalistikai, o kartu ir demokratijai klausimas. Vis dažniau žiniasklaidos tyrinėtojai pastebi, kad viešoji erdvė nebėra laisvai racionaliai diskusijai skirta vieta, bet veikiau organizacinių išteklių ir technologijų sukurti erdvėlaikio rėmai – šablonas, kurį atitikti turi tiek pats politikos procesas, tiek viešumoje poreikį veikti turintys viešieji asmenys ir žiniasklaidos profesionalai. Daroma išvada, kad žiniasklaida yra ne manipuliacijos kanalas, bet manipuliacijos šaltinis, turintis poveikį šiame lauke dalyvaujančių subjektų nuostatoms ir elgesiui (Edelman, 2002; Salter, 2005).

Su šiuo klausimu siejama mokslinė diskusija apie šaltinių ir žurnalistų vaidmenį naujienų gamyboje bei empiriniai žurnalistų turimo žinių vertės pojūčio, naujienų atrankos kriterijų tyrimai. Nemažtant žurnalistų pretenzijoms į tiesos diskursą ir kartu atsirandant naujiems naujienų gamybos procesui poveikį darantiems veiksniams (profesionaliems šaltiniams, naujienų vadybai, žinios rengimui realiojo laiko režimu, kt.) susiformuoja terpė manipuliaciniams scenarijams, apgaulės schemų panaudojimui žurnalistikoje. Tokioje naujienų gamybinėje aplinkoje tam, kad būtų kokybiškai įgyvendinama žurnalistikos misija, būtina puoselėti aukštas profesines vertybes ir nustatyti žurnalistų vaidmenį.

Kokias profesines vertybes atskleidžia nacionalinės žiniasklaidos žurnalistų elgsena naujienų gamyboje, t. y. kaip profesinės vertybės suvokiamos ir puoselėjamos darbinėje veikloje? Ar jos atitinka demokratijai būdingą profesinę kultūrą? Kokį nacionalinės žiniasklaidos žurnalistų požiūrį į manipuliaciją suformuoja vyraujančios profesinės vertybės? Ar jos skatina, ar trukdo dalyvauti manipuliaciniuose scenarijuose? Kylantys klausimai skatina tyrinėti žurnalistų profesinių vertybių ir manipuliacijos naudojimo santykį.

Šie klausimai susiję su žurnalistų ir kitų žiniasklaidos lauko dalyvių vaidmens naujienų gamyboje, jų darbo įtakos demokratijai nustatymu. Britų mokslininkas Lee Salteris skiria atstovo spaudai ir ryšių su visuomene specialisto vaidmenis, teigdamas, kad pastaroji figūra yra kelianti grėsmę demokratijai. Tyrinėtojo vertinimu, geras spaudos atstovas žiniasklaidai per žurnalistus teikia oficialią informaciją – dažniausiai dalinę ir šališką, bet profesionalūs žurnalistai esti budrūs dėl informacijos kokybės, turi alternatyvius šaltinius, todėl auditoriją pasiekia visuomenės interesą ginančios žinios. Tuo tarpu politinę galią turintis ryšių su visuomene specialistas bendrauti su visuomenės atstovais gali tiesiogiai, apeidamas žurnalistą. Be to, turėdamas komunikacijos vadybos žinių, jis gali surežisuoti, t. y. sukurti naujienų tarnybų dėmesį patraukiančius įvykius, todėl visuomenės interesas lieka neatstovaujamas, mat preziumuojama, kad ryšių su visuomene specialisto veiklos paskatos kyla iš siekio išsaugoti įtaką, išlaikyti vadybinį vaidmenį, ginti atstovaujamos organizacijos poziciją, o ne siekti patenkinti visuomenės poreikius. Mokslininkas daro išvadą, kad ryšiai su visuomene gali klestėti ir praturtėti iš žurnalistikos, tačiau žurnalistika neturi jokios naudos iš ryšių su visuomene.

Tokia išvada oponuoja ankstyviesiems oficialių šaltinių ir žurnalistų tarpusavio santykių ekonominės bei politinės reikšmės tyrimams: šią sritį vienas pirmųjų nagrinėjęs amerikiečių mokslininkas Oscaras H. Gandy'is teigė, kad valdžios institucijų teikiama informacija yra netiesioginė naujienų gamybos proceso ir atitinkamo žiniasklaidos sektoriaus subsidija, kurią įgyvendina institucijų visuomenės informavimo padaliniai, taip užtikrindami didesnę gyventojų informuotumą jiems rūpimais klausimais (Gandy, 1982). Taigi jaunos demokratijos Europos Sąjungos šalių grupei, į kurią patenka ir Lietuva, žurnalistų bei šaltinių bendravimo problema ypač aktuali tyrinėjant tokio reiškinio kaip naujienų vadyba skverbtį į žurnalistų įtakos sferai priskirtiną visuomenės informavimo procesą.

Kita vertus, įvairios komunikacijos strategijos ir manipuliacijų naudojimas naujienų gamyboje neatsiejamas nuo šiame procese dalyvaujančių šalių elgesio, jų vertybinių nuostatų. Šiuo požiūriu aktualus tampa šaltinių ir žurnalistų patikimumo, jų skleidžiamos informacijos išsamumo klausimas. Pastebėtina, kad atkūrusi nepriklausomybę Lietuva įvedė žiniasklaidos ir žurnalistų nepriklausomumą saugantį visuomenės informavimo reguliavimą. Lygiuojantis į skandinaviską naujienų produkcijos kokybę buvo priimti atitinkami žurnalistų ir leidėjų profesinės etikos kodeksai. Vis dėlto, šiandien šalyje vyraujanti žurnalistikos kultūra ir kokybė rodo, kad planuoto rezultato nepasiekta. Natūraliai kyla klausimas, kodėl? Mokslininkai sutaria, kad visuomenės informavimo srityje atliekant etinio apsisprendimo reikalaujančius veiksmus, daug svarbesnė už egzistuojančias ekonomines sąlygas ir formalų teisinį reguliavimą yra asmeninė vertybių sistema (Berkowitz, Limor, Singer, 2004). Taigi šalies žiniasklaidos politinės sistemos ir technologiniai pokyčiai bei naujovių naujienų gamybos praktikoje sukeltos aktualios etinės dilemos lemia, kad nagrinėjant šią sritį negali būti ignoruojamas žmogiškasis veiksnys – žurnalistų profesinė bendruomenė ir jos komunikacinis elgesys bei vertybinės nuostatos.

Darbo problema

Analizuojant masinės komunikacijos ypatumus socialiniame kontekste daugiausia mokslininkų dėmesio skiriama žiniasklaidos veiklai – tyrimams apie siektiną (normatyvinę perspektyva) arba realią (kritinę perspektyva) žurnalistų ir kitų žiniasklaidos lauko dalyvių profesinę praktiką ir žiniasklaidos socialinį vaidmenį. Pirmuoju atveju dažnai vertinama, kad žurnalistika yra už jos veikimo ribų esančių žiniasklaidos lauko dalyvių (politikų, savininkų, profesionalių ir visuomeninių šaltinių, kt. veiksnių) poveikio taikins, todėl

pabrėžiama nuo valdančiojo elito nepriklausomos žiniasklaidos, žodžio laisvės svarba, aktualizuojamos žurnalistikos viešojo intereso gynimo ir vadinamoji „sarginio šuns“ funkcijos (Habermas, 1989; Croteau, Hoynes, 2006; McQuail, 1992; iš dalies Gandy, 1982; Baistow, 1985; Davis, 2002 ir Boorstin, 1961).

Vis dėlto tiek Europos Sąjungoje ir JAV, tiek šiuo metu Lietuvoje vykstantys demokratiniai ir ekonominiai procesai rodo, kad ne visuomet valstybės, politinių partijų ir politikos veikėjų bei visuomenės informavimo priemonių juridinė ir finansinė atskirtis užtikrina, jog žiniasklaidos institutas nevirstų propagandos mašina ar valdančiųjų rupu, nes kyla tokių neigiamų pasekmių kaip korporatyviniai žiniasklaidos savininkų interesai, paslėptas valdančiojo elito įtakos žiniasklaidos lauko dalyviams pobūdis, arenų sąžiningai politinių pažiūrų kovai ir ideologijų raiškai stoka, kt. Šios tendencijos, kaip startinė pozicija, išryškinašamos antroje (kritinė perspektyva) akademinė tyrimų tradicijoje, konstatuojančioje, kad rutininis naujienų atrankos ir gamybos procesas, organizaciniai redakcijų ir žiniasklaidos verslo interesai, taip pat profesinę ideologiją formuojantys žurnalistų etikos reikalavimai ir normos sudaro prielaidas žurnalistikai virsti veiksminga poveikio visuomenės nuomonei priemone (Chomsky, 1989; Cohen, 2002; Hamilton, 2004; McCombs, 2004; Molotch, Lester, 1974; Thompson, 2000).

Tiek normatyvinė, tiek kritinė žiniasklaidos veiklos ir poveikio studijų paradigmos arba neįvertina (Habermas, 1989; McQuail, 1992; Hamilton, 2004; McCombs, 2004), arba sureikšmina (Baistow, 1985; Boorstin, 1961; Chomsky, 1989; Molotch, Lester, 1974) naujienų vadybos – šaltinių įtakos žurnalistams ir tuo pačiu poveikio naujienų turiniui – veiksnį, dėl kurio priklausomai nuo praktikuojamų profesinių vertybių naujienų gamybos procese ir žurnalistikos diskurse gali atsirasti manipuliaciniai scenarijai. Todėl darbo problema formuluojama, remiantis tais žurnalistikos teorijų autorių darbais, kurie žiniasklaidos dalyvavimą analizuoja, nagrinėdami žurnalistikos (naujienų gamybos proceso), ir naujienų vadybos (šaltinių dalyvavimo naujienų gamybos procese) reiškinius, jų sąsają.

Skirtingi mokslininkų požiūriai tampa akstinu kompleksiniams žiniasklaidos dalyvavimo, žiniasklaidos ir žurnalistikos sąveikos tyrimams: holistinė perspektyva leidžia nagrinėti ir daryti išvadas apie žiniasklaidos lauko dalyvių elgsenos, naujienų gamybos proceso ir naujienų, kaip galutinio žurnalistikos produkto, tarpusavio sąsają, t. y. abipusį poveikį ir socialinę reikšmę. Naujienų gamybinė aplinka, jos dinamika ir poveikis bei naujienų formą ir turinį lemiantys veiksniai nagrinėjami derinant makro ir mikro teorinių prieigų metodus ir priemones (McNair, 1998; Schudson, 2003).

Pastebėtina, kad kompleksinio pobūdžio akademinėse studijose, nors ir išsamiai aptariama šaltinių ir žurnalistų bendravimo, jų santykių problema, vis dėlto preziumuojama empiriniais duomenimis nepagrįsta nelygiavertė minėtų masinės komunikacijos subjektų sąveika: profesionalūs šaltiniai ir politikos veikėjai vertinami kaip strateginio (kartais – iš anksto savanaudiškam tikslui sumanyto) komunikavimo, suplanuotos įtakos naujienų produktui, šališko informacijos pateikimo subjektai; neprofesionalūs šaltiniai, nesvarbu, ar tai būtų teroristų, ar nevyriausybinė organizacija, įvardijami kaip manipulatoriai, naujienų gamybos gramatikos išmanymą panaudojantys žurnalistams apgauti, jų dėmesio siekiantys tik dėl patekimo į naujienų dienotvarkę (McNair, 1998).

Iš to, kas išdėstyta, matyti, kad neaišku, nuo ko priklauso žurnalistų dalyvavimas su informacijos pateikimu susijusiuose scenarijuose, manipuliacijos naudojimas profesinėje veikloje – ar tikrai jų vaidmuo naujienų vadyboje toks pasyvus? Jei taip, kas nulemia būtent tokį jų elgesį? Jei šaltiniai naudojami specialiais triukais, siekdami išvengti negatyvaus

pateikimo ir paveikti naujienų dienotvarkę, pakeisti naujienų temų tvarkaraštį, kyla klausimas, ar žurnalistai ir toliau veikia, vadovaudamiesi objektyvumo, nešališkumo, subalansuoto nuomonių pateikimo profesinėmis vertybėmis. Ar tik jie nenaudoja tam tikrų taktikų, skirtų išvengti šaltinių poveikio?

Taigi darbo problema – tai žurnalistų suvoktų ir rutininėje darbo praktikoje taikomų profesinių vertybių santykis su jų vykdoma informacijos ieškos, apdorojimo ir skelbimo veikla, šių plotmių neatitikimas, dėl ko tampa galimas manipuliacijos naudojimas ir žurnalistų dalyvavimas manipuliaciniuose scenarijuose.

Kaip žurnalistai supranta profesines vertybes ir kaip jomis vadovaujasi, puoselėja, taiko praktikoje? Kaip žurnalistikoje atsiranda informacijos pateikimo scenarijai? Ar jie kuriami sąmoningai, o gal yra primetami ar kyla iš žurnalistų ir šaltinių konflikto? Kokias pasekmes žurnalistų veiklai turi naujienų vadybos ekspansija? Kaip kinta žurnalistų elgsena ir vaidmuo į visuomenės informavimo veiklą įsiterpiančioms profesionaliems šaltiniams? Šie ir panašūs klausimai tampa vis aktualesni ne tik žiniasklaidos teoretikams nagrinėjant komunikacijos mokslų problemas, bet ir nacionaliniu lygiu stebint Lietuvos žiniasklaidos sistemos raidą: 1991 m. Atgimimo laikotarpio euforijos atoslūgį ir viešosios erdvės nuosmukį (Nevinskaitė, 2006), 2003–2004 m. Prezidento Rolando Pakso skandalą (politinė krizė), 2004–2005 m. perėjimą iš pokomunistinės į liberalios demokratijos sistemą ir komercinės žiniasklaidos susiformavimą, 2009–2010 m. pedofilijos skandalą (teisėsaugos krizė).

Darbo naujumas

Palyginus užsienyje ir mūsų šalyje atliktus tyrimus matyti, kad Lietuvoje daugiau normatyvinės (Nevinskaitė, 2006; Balčytienė, 2009) teorinės prieigos darbų. Naujienų gamybos ir produkto sąveikos aspektas Lietuvoje nagrinėtas politinių, ekonominių, sociokultūrinių transformacijų apsuptyje ir technologijų poveikio kontekste (Balčytienė, 2009) bei lyginamuoju aspektu tiriant politinės komunikacijos kultūrą (Balčytienė, Vinciūnienė, 2006, 2008; Vinciūnienė, 2010). Atliktuose tyrimuose neskiriama dėmesio žurnalistų profesinių vertybių temai, neanalizuojamas žurnalistų profesinės raiškos vaidmuo naujienų produktui bei naujienų gamybos procesui ir, nors aptariamos naujienų vadybos pasekmės politinei kultūrai (Balčytienė, 2009), nenagrinėjama manipuliacijos naudojimo praktika, galimi informacijos pateikimo ir manipuliaciniai scenarijai naujienų vadyboje.

Kalbant apie darbo mokslinį naujumą paminėtinas pasirinktos tyrimo temos interdiscipliniškumas – socialinio reiškinių analizės metu derinama naujienų gamybos (žurnalistikos teorijos) ir naujienų vadybos (politikos komunikacijos, ryšių su visuomene disciplinų) metodologinė prieiga. Be to, atliktas tyrimas apima humanitarinių (komunikacijos ir informacijos, filosofijos) ir socialinių (politikos mokslų, sociologijos) mokslų sritis, todėl priskirtinas tarpdalykinėms studijoms.

Disertacijos originalumas kyla iš kompleksinės tiriamo reiškinių analizės, lemiančios teorinę ir praktinę darbo reikšmę: žurnalistų profesinė elgsena tiriama tiek lyginant su normatyviniais, t. y. teoriniais ar įstatymų reglamentuotais žurnalistinės veiklos kriterijais, tiek vertinama pagal pačių tiriamųjų vertybinį požiūrį. Be to, naujienų gamybinės aplinkos analizė apima mikro ir makro žiniasklaidos tyrimų perspektyvas. Tai nauja metodologinė prieiga nacionaliniuose komunikacijos studijų krypties tyrimuose.

Mokslinio darbo objektas ir dalykas

Disertacijos objektas– manipuliacinių scenarijų ir žurnalistų profesinių vertybių santykis. Darbo dalykas – žurnalistų dalyvavimo, panaudojus manipuliaciją, naujienų vadybos scenarijuose ir žurnalistų profesinių vertybių, atsiskleidžiančių iš jų darbinų veiksmų ir savo veiklos vertinimų, santykis.

Darbo tikslas ir uždaviniai

Šio darbo tikslas – nustatyti žurnalistų profesinių vertybių reikšmę ir žurnalistų vaidmenį naujienų vadyboje realizuojant manipuliacinius scenarijus.

Darbe keliami šie uždaviniai:

- 1) išskirti reikšmingus žurnalistų darbinės veiklos etapus ir objektus (mikro bei makro lygiu) ir sukonstruoti teorinį žurnalistų profesinių vertybių ir manipuliacinių scenarijų santykio nustatymo pagrindą;
- 2) ištirti nacionalinės žiniasklaidos žurnalistų veiklos lauko specifiką – kultūrinį bei ekonominį kontekstą;
- 3) ištirti empirinius manipuliacijos naudojimo atvejus, manipuliacinių scenarijų ir profesinių vertybių ryšius;
- 4) nustatyti galimus žurnalistų manipuliacinio mentaliteto tipus ir jų naudojamas manipuliacines schemas;
- 5) nustatyti vyraujančią žurnalistinę kultūrą ir padaryti išvadas apie žurnalistų vaidmenį naujienų vadyboje realizuojant manipuliacinius scenarijus;
- 6) pateikti rekomendacijas, kaip šalyje palaikyti aukštą žurnalistų profesinio elgesio standartą.

Ginami teiginiai:

- 1) manipuliacijos naudojimas žurnalistų darbinėje veikloje yra nulemtas objektyvių naujienų gamybos veiksmų;
- 2) naujienų vadybos scenarijų intervenciją į naujienų gamybą lemia ekonominiai veiksniai ir pragmatiškos profesinės vertybės;
- 3) simbolinio žurnalistų atlygio formos palankios manipuliacijos požymių turinčių naujienų vadybos scenarijų realizavimui;
- 4) žurnalistų autorinės raiškos nykimas yra nulemtas pragmatiškų profesinių vertybių ir ribotų redakcijos išteklių;
- 5) vyraujančios žurnalistų profesinės vertybės leidžia sutapatinti žurnalistikos misiją su žiniasklaidos funkcijų vykdymu.

Tyrimo metodai. Tiriant nacionalinės žiniasklaidos žurnalistų vertybines nuostatas naudotasi kokybiniu sociologiniu tyrimu. Duomenys rinkti naudojant giluminius interviu – nestruktūruotus ir pusiau struktūruotus interviu. Formuluojuot klausimyną atlikta teorinės literatūros analizė. Disertacijoje pateikiant mokslininkų išvalgas ir tyrimo rezultatus naudotasi aprašomuoju, stebėjimo, apibendrinimo, taip pat duomenų klasifikavimo ir (pa)lyginimo metodais.

Darbo reikšmė ir praktinis pritaikomumas

Moksliniame darbe nustatyti nacionalinės žiniasklaidos žurnalistų taikomi manipuliacijos veiksmai ir jų dalyvavimo mastas naujienų vadybos scenarijuose suteikia galimybę žiniasklaidos savitvarkos institucijoms, visuomenės informavimo priemonių redakcijoms, žurnalistų profesinėms organizacijoms ir aukštųjų mokyklų studentams pasinaudoti šiuo tyrimu nustatant ir nagrinėjant etinius žurnalistų veiklos kriterijus ir naujienų sklaidos mechanizmą.

Valstybės institucijoms, verslo bendrovėms mokslinis darbas gali pagelbėti formalizuoti ir reglamentuoti ryšių su visuomene veiklą, taip stiprinant jų socialinę atsakomybę ir užkertant kelią negatyviam naujienų vadybos poveikiui.

Disertacijoje atskleistas nacionalinės žiniasklaidos sistemos naujienų gamybos ir vadybos procesas sudaro prielaidas žurnalistų profesinės gildijos skaidrumui ir atvirumui formuotis.

Disertacijos pagrindu gali būti rengiamas akademinis kursas apie įtakos komunikaciją, ugdantis studentų gebėjimus įveikti žurnalistiniame ir ryšių su visuomene darbe kylančias moralines/ etines dilemas; taip pat pedagoginis kursas apie naujienų vadybos procesą, mokantis darbo su informacija, bendravimo su šaltiniais ir kitais žiniasklaidos lauko dalyviais igūdžių. Moksliniame darbe surinkta medžiaga gali padėti, ruošiantis paskaitoms apie žiniasklaidos, ryšių su visuomene ir reklamos psichologiją, politikos komunikaciją.

Disertacijos struktūra

Darbą sudaro įvadas, teorinė ir tyrimo dalys bei išvados.

Pirmoje darbo dalyje pateikiama teorinės literatūros ir atliktų žiniasklaidos bei žurnalistikos tyrimų disertacijos tema kritinė apžvalga: aptariama normatyvinė žurnalistikos samprata ir manipuliavimo naujienų gamyboje prielaidos, analizuojami žurnalistų ir šaltinių santykiai, nagrinėjamas žurnalistų vaidmuo atrenkant ir pateikiant pranešimus apie įvykius, tiriami organizaciniai naujienų gamybos procesai visuomenės informavimo priemonėse, paaiškinamas žurnalistų ir auditorijos santykis.

Antrą disertacijos dalį sudaro du skyriai. Pirmame skyriuje aptariamas kultūrinis ir ekonominis nacionalinės žiniasklaidos galios susiformavimo kontekstas: tiriama, kaip žiniasklaidai pavyko įgyti auditorijos pasitikėjimą, kaip konstruojami vartotojų įpročiai, kokie žurnalistų apmokėjimo už darbą mechanizmai funkcionuoja Lietuvoje. Trečiame disertacijos skyriuje pateikiami empirinio tyrimo rezultatai.

Disertacija baigiama išvadomis ir rekomendacijomis. Jos pabaigoje pateikiamas literatūros sąrašas, priedai ir naudota terminija.

Išvados

1. Naujienų vadyba naujienų gamybinės aplinkos studijose sudaro sąlygas tyrinėti žurnalistų profesinių vertybių ir manipuliacinių scenarijų santykį. Reikšmingi žurnalistinės veiklos etapai – informacijos rinkimas, rengimas ir skelbimas – kartu su kitais naujienų gamybos proceso elementais papildomi interakcinio aspekto tyrinėjimu. Socialinės sąveikos atskleidžia tiek naujienų produkto, tiek žurnalistų daromą ir patiriamą poveikį bei jo priklausomybę nuo profesinių vertybių, kylančių iš rutininės darbinės elgsenos ir galvosenos bei požiūrio į manipuliacijos naudojimą.

2. Nacionalinės žiniasklaidos kaip galios instituto vaidmuo susijęs su kultūrinio ir ekonominio konteksto veiksniais. Reikšmingi kultūrinio konteksto dėmenys – pramoginės funkcijos, pasaulietinėje kultūroje atstojančios sakralinių elementų raišką, išigalėjimas; sovietmečiu susiformavusių nekritiškų auditorijos įpročių ir nuostatų skatinimas, mąstymo stereotipų produkavimas, iš sovietmečio paveldėtos skaitymo kultūros nulemtas ir Atgimimo laikotarpiu pelnytas aukštas gyventojų pasitikėjimas žiniasklaidos institutu; automatizuotas žurnalistų profesinis veikimas, išankstinės priešiškos nuostatos bendraujant su oficialiais šaltiniais bei teisinio žiniasklaidos reguliavimo ir atsakomybės už padarytus pažeidimus spragos. Prie nacionalinei žiniasklaidai svarbių ekonominių veiksnių priskirtinas perėjimas nuo valstybinių dotacijų (išskyrus visuomeninį transliuotoją) prie rinkos principų, žiniasklaidos bendrovių veiklą finansuojant reklamos pajamomis; lietuviško kapitalo žiniasklaidos koncernų susikūrimas ir iš to žurnalistų profesinėms vertybėms kylančios bendrovių koncentracijos, žiniasklaidos savininkų-redaktorių neteisėtos veiklos, turinio vienodėjimo ir raiškų konvergencijos grėsmės; žurnalistų socialinio statuso ir atlygio už darbą problema.

3. Empirinis tyrimas leido nustatyti 3 komunikacinių santykių tipus – vienpusio poveikio, abipusio poveikio bei mišraus poveikio – ir parodė žurnalistų padėties tirtose sąveikose dinamišką pobūdį. Paminėti per 30 manipuliacijos panaudojimo būdų renkant, rengiant ir skelbiant informaciją. Pagal manipuliacijos vertinimą, objektą ir panaudojimo etapą bei profesinėje veikloje palaikomus santykius nustatyti 6 galimi manipuliacinio mentaliteto tipai, kuriems, pagal tai, kokios profesinės nuostatos būdingos, suteikti atitinkami simboliniai pavadinimai – „teisybės ieškotojo“, „žiniasklaidos darbininko“, „įvykių pateikėjo“, „žinios konstruktoriaus“, „įvykių kritiko“ ir „įvykių kūrėjo“.

4. Konstatuotas manipuliacijos vertinimo ir naudojimo ryšys: manipuliaciją neigiamai vertino ir retai naudojo „teisybės ieškotojai“; retai naudojo, bet teigiamai vertino „įvykių pateikėjai“; nors neigiamai vertino, tačiau dažnai naudojo „žiniasklaidos darbininkai“ ir net 3 tipai ir dažnai naudojo, ir teigiamai vertino tokią profesinę praktiką – tai „įvykių kūrėjai“, „žinios konstruktoriai“ ir „įvykių kritikai“. Dažnas manipuliacijos naudojimas sietas su objektyviais naujienų gamybos veiksniais – redakcijos ištekliais, darbo tempu, žiniai skiriamo laiko ir vietos rėmais, hierarchiniais santykiais redakcijoje, šaltinių slepiama informacija, kt.

Fiksuotas materialinio intereso paskatintas manipuliacijos naudojimo ir žurnalistų atlyginimo dydžio (pastarąjį nustatant ne pagal statistinius rodiklius, bet tiriamųjų nurodytas sumas) ryšys: komercinį interesą turėjo ir aukštą atlyginimą gavo „žinios konstruktoriaus“ ir „įvykių kūrėjo“ tipams priskirti respondentai. Daugumos tiriamųjų („įvykių kritikų“, „žiniasklaidos darbininkų“ ir „įvykių pateikėjų“) atlyginimas buvo žemas, nors komercinių paskatų jų veikloje nustatyta daug. Komercinio intereso neturėjo, bet ir mažai uždirbo „teisybės ieškotojo“ tipui priskirti tiriamieji.

Nustatytas manipuliacijos naudojimo dažnumo ir sąmoningumo ryšys: atsitiktinio ir reto manipuliacijos naudojimo pasitaikė „teisybės ieškotojų“ darbe (visose darbo su informacija etapuose); visose profesinės veiklos stadijose nors retai, bet sąmoningai

manipuliacija naudojosi „įvykių pateikėjai“; atsitiktinio, tačiau dažno manipuliacijos naudojimo skelbiant informaciją pasitaikė „žiniasklaidos darbininkų“ ir „įvykių kritiku“ darbe. Net 2 tipai planuotai ir dažnai naudojo manipuliaciją: „įvykių kūrėjai“ rinkdami informaciją, „žinios konstruktoriai“ – rengdami ją. Ryški profesinių nuostatų diferenciacija rodo dominuojantį atsitiktinį objektyvių veiksmų nulemtą manipuliacijos naudojimą žurnalistų profesinėje veikloje. Pavienis dažnas jos naudojimas susijęs su atsaku į manipuliacijos požymių turinčius naujienų vadybos scenarijus, sąmoningas manipuliacijos naudojimas retas.

Ištirtas manipuliacijos naudojimo dažnumo ir žurnalistų profesinėms vertybėms priešingo elgesio aktyvumo ryšys: pasyviai profesinėms vertybėms priešingai elgėsi ir retai manipuliaciją naudojo „teisybės ieškotojai“; retai, bet aktyviai manipuliaciniuose scenarijuose dalyvavo „įvykių pateikėjai“; nustatytas vienas tipas aktyviai ir dažnai profesinėje veikloje susijęs su manipuliaciniais scenarijais – tai „žinios konstruktorius“. Likę tipai („įvykių kūrėjai“, „įvykių kritikai“ ir „žiniasklaidos darbininkai“), nors dažnai naudojo manipuliaciją, bet labiau pasyviai, t. y. dėl objektyvių naujienų gamybos veiksmų nei priešingai profesinėms vertybėms.

5. Nacionalinės žiniasklaidos žurnalistų tyrimas leido nustatyti 10 jų profesinėje veikloje naudojamų manipuliacinių schemų – slaptą žurnalisto ir šaltinio susitarimą dėl informacijos perdavimo ir paskelbimo („ranka ranką plauna“ arba „anoniminiai šaltiniai pranešė“); maskuojamu būdu, pvz., parenkant pašnekovus, subjektyvios žurnalisto pozicijos raišką („opozicija kritikuoja“ arba „pašnekovų lūpomis“); susitikimus, klausimus ne pagal nurodytas pokalbio temas („išpeštos informacijos“ arba „žurnalistas agresyviai kalbina“); žurnalistų ir šaltinių rungtyniškumą dėl naujienų paskelbimo poveikio politinei dienotvarkei/sprendimams („ėjimo pirmiau“ arba „įvykių dirigavimo“); planuotą auditorijos įtikinėjimą, sąmoningą poveikį šaltiniui darančios žinios rengimą („kandžiojimosi“ arba „kalimo prie kryžiaus“); dirbtinį skandalo darymą, aktyvų žurnalisto neigiamų pasekmių politikos veikėjams siekį („naujienos iškasimo“ arba „temos išsukimo“); asmenines apgaulės gaunant įstatymu saugomą informaciją („žioplų mergaičių“); sąmoningą orientaciją į nekritišką naujienų recepciją („suplakto kokteilio“ arba „dėlionės“); naujienos emocinio užtaiso konstravimą („išspausti ašarą“) ir apskaičiuotą tyčinį turimos informacijos skelbimo momentą („ištraukti iš stalčiaus“ arba „bombos“). Pusė šių manipuliacinių schemų kyla kaip atsakas į naujienų vadybos scenarijus, siekiant neutralizuoti išankstinius ir savanaudiškus šaltinių planus, tačiau 3 atvejais žurnalistai manipuliaciniuose scenarijuose dalyvauja jų neatpažindami ir nereflektuodami tokios savo veiklos pasekmių. Toks neįsisąmonintas profesinis elgesys yra atsitiktinis. Fiksuoti 2 žurnalistų savarankiškai generuojami manipuliaciniai scenarijai, realizuojami informacijos rengimo etapu.

Atsitiktinis stilistinių poveikio priemonių naudojimas būdingas „žiniasklaidos darbininko“ nuostatų struktūros tipui. „Įvykių kūrėjams“ būdingas planuotas manipuliacinias renkantis informaciją (šaltinių puolimas). „Įvykių kritiko“ manipuliacinis mentalitetas dažnas skelbiant informaciją, jis nukreiptas ne į šaltinių puolimą tiesioginio kontakto metu, bet į viešą jų kritiką publikuojant informaciją. „Žinių konstruktorius“ profesines nuostatas turintys žurnalistai linkę sąmoningai manipuliuoti pašnekovų citatomis rengdami informaciją – dirbtinai konstruodami konfliktą, parinkdami reikiamai komentuojančius pašnekovus, suteikdami skandalingas antraštes, anonsus, kt. „Teisybės ieškotojai“ dažnai jaučiasi manipuliuojami kitų komunikacijos dalyvių.

6. Šiuolaikinė žurnalistikos misijos samprata tapatinama su informavimo funkcija, o demokratinio žiniasklaidos veikimo pagrindu laikomas objektyvumo siekis. Taigi dominuoja funkcinis, lokalaus profesinio pobūdžio žurnalisto socialinis vaidmuo. Žurnalistikos misijos

samprata sutapo su 4 manipuliacinio mentaliteto tipų profesinių nuostatų struktūra – svarbiausia valdžios kontrolės funkciją laikė „įvykių kritiko“ manipuliacinio mentaliteto nuostatomis besivadovavę žurnalistai, atitinkamai – tarpininkavimą žurnalistikos paskirtimi nurodė „žinios konstruktoriaus“ ir „žiniasklaidos darbininko“ tipams priskirti respondentai, o idealią žurnalistikos misiją įgyvendinti siekiantys nurodė „teisybės ieškotojo“ tipui priskirti žurnalistai. Vis dėlto tarp žurnalistų dominuoja pragmatinis savo vaidmens suvokimas: žurnalistų, kurių realus profesinis veikimas sutapo su įsivaizduojama žurnalistikos paskirtimi, buvo perpus mažiau nei funkciškai savo veiklą traktavusių respondentų. Atliktas nacionalinės žiniasklaidos žurnalistų tyrimas, susiejant jų elgseną su puoselėjamos profesinės vertybėmis, leidžia išskirti 3 manipuliacinius vaidmenis – informacija manipuliuojantys ir sau naudos siekiantys naujienų gamybos proceso dalyviai (intereso, pragmatinis, ekonominis prioritetas), emocijomis manipuliuojantys, dėmesio siekiantys naujienų gamybos proceso dalyviai (malonumo, pramogos, psichologinis prioritetas) ir žiniomis, galia ar statusu naujienų gamyboje manipuliuojantys įtikinėtojai (argumento, lingvistinis, politinis prioritetas).

7. Manipuliacijos naudojimas profesinėje veikloje tuo dažnesnis, kuo pragmatiškesnės profesinės vertybės puoselėjamos. Aukšti profesinės kultūros standartai – dvigubas faktų tikrinimas, reglamentuoti formalūs dalykiniai santykiai su šaltiniais, kritiškas požiūris į oficialių ir profesionalių šaltinių teikiamą informaciją, naujienų atranka, vadovaujantis visuomenės interesu, tikslus, nuomonių balansą užtikrinantis naujienų pateikimas – neleidžia darbinėje veikloje naudoti manipuliacijos, taip pat saugo nuo atsitiktinio ar nesąmoningo dalyvavimo manipuliaciniuose scenarijuose.

8. Tikslingą manipuliacijos naudojimą, taip pat užsakomosios žurnalistikos ir informacijos nutylėjimo mastą skatina pragmatinė žurnalistų ir jų darbdavių logika. Pastarąją lemia žurnalistų profesinėje bendruomenėje vyraujantis žurnalistikos misijos, darbo tikslo ir veiklos motyvų sutapatinimas su visuomenės informavimo priemonių atliekamomis funkcijomis – informacine, pramogine, valdžios kontrolės, tarp kurių – nuomonės formavimo funkcija neminima. Neįsąmonintos žurnalistinės veiklos pasekmės sudaro prielaidas profesinių vertybių devalvacijai ir vartotojiškam požiūriui į naujienų produktą. Jutiminis, į instinktus orientuotas informacijos pateikimas ryškiai prisideda prie nekritiško auditorijos mąstymo palaikymo. Pragmatišką profesinę kultūrą skatina riboti naujienų redakcijų ir žinių tarnybų išteklių bei savanaudiški profesiniai interesai – išskirtinės informacijos poreikis, reputacijos, socialinio reikšmingumo, įtakos siekis, kuriais savo tikslams sumaniai pasinaudoja viešumo ir palankaus atspindėjimo siekiantys šaltiniai.

9. Manipuliacija nacionalinės žiniasklaidos žurnalistų suprantama pagal jų pačių elgseną konkrečioje darbinėje situacijoje, darbo metu patiriamą ir daromą poveikį. Toks vertinimo pobūdis lemia dominuojantį dviprasmišką žurnalistų požiūrį į šį reiškinį – žurnalistiniame darbe identifikuojama manipuliacija priimama ne neutraliai kaip būtinybė, ko leistų tikėtis objektyvios žurnalistinio darbo aplinkybės, ar kategoriškai neigiamai, ką lemtų žurnalistikos kaip valdžios priežiūros, tiesos ieškojimo samprata, bet vertybiniu aspektu reliatyviai, pateisinamai – taigi labiau teigiamai nei neigiamai. Dominuojantis teigiamas požiūris į manipuliacijos naudojimą darbinėje veikloje sudaro prielaidas žurnalistų į(si)traukimui ir dalyvavimui manipuliaciniuose scenarijuose.

10. Iš keltų 5 hipotezių vienai gauti duomenys neprieštaravo, likusios 4 – nepasitvirtino. Gauti duomenys neprieštaravo hipotezei, jog manipuliacijos naudojimas žurnalistų profesinėje veikloje yra atsitiktinis ir nulemtas objektyvių naujienų gamybos veiksnių. Tačiau tyrimo metu nustatyta, jog nacionalinės žiniasklaidos organizacijose puoselėjamos ne normatyvinės, bet pragmatiškos profesinės vertybės, todėl idealistinis žurnalistikos misijos suvokimas tarp žurnalistų retas. Vis dėlto tyrimo rezultatai parodė, kad žurnalistų

dalyvavimas manipuliaciniuose scenarijuose yra ne dažnas ir aktyvus, kaip manyta, bet retas ir pasyvus. Taip pat nepasitvirtino hipotezė, kad pragmatiškos profesinės vertybės skatina intensyviai žurnalistų autorinę raišką. Nustatyta priešinga tendencija – ekonominio poveikio veiksniai skatina žurnalistų autorinės raiškos nykimą, darbinėje veikloje dažniau naudojamos profesionalių šaltinių pranešimais, minimi paslėpti žurnalistų ir šaltinių sandoriai (užsakomoji žurnalistika). Respondentai šį savo darbo aspektą apibūdino kaip „verslo cenzūrą“. Be to, riboti redakcijos išteklių ir nedideli pagal aukštus profesinius standartus dirbančių žurnalistų atlyginimai skatina dažnesnę naujienų vadybos intervenciją į naujienų gamybinę aplinką: šaltiniai sumaniai išnaudoja žurnalistų tenkinimąsi simbolinio atlygio formomis – suteikia išskirtinių naujienų, užtikrina šaltinio pasiekiamumą, suteikia įtakos pojūtį ir pan. Ir nors fiksuotas „verslo cenzūros“ poveikis, nepasitvirtino hipotezė, kad ekonominiai interesai lemia žurnalistų savicenzūrą – pastarąją įvardyti ne žiniasklaidos savininkų, reklamos užsakovų pageidavimai, kuriems pagal subordinaciją turi paklusti žurnalistai, bet žurnalistų profesinis elgesys pagal normatyvinius standartus, profesinių vertybių saugojimas. Toks požiūris liudija senos politinės sistemos suformuotą požiūrį į teisinį žurnalistų profesinės veiklos, tiek kitų socialinių, ekonominių, politinių santykių reglamentavimą, kas leidžia skleisti nihilistinei politinei kultūrai, turinčiai neigiamos įtakos demokratinės teisinės valstybės sampratai.

11. Naujienų vadybos intervencija į naujienų gamybos procesą yra ekonominių veiksnių nulemta savanaudiškų žurnalistų ir šaltinių profesinių interesų proveržio pasekmė. Naujienų vadyba turi neigiamą poveikį žurnalistų profesinei kultūrai, kadangi skatina atsakomųjų manipuliacinių schemų naudojimą.

Rekomendacijos

1. Kaip rodo tyrimo duomenys, naujienų vadybos intervencija į naujienų gamybą yra netiesiogiai susijusi su mažomis žurnalistų profesinės veiklos pajamomis. Gaunantys mažą darbo užmokestį žurnalistai aukštų profesinių standartų naujienų gamyboje laikosi, siekdami simbolinio atlygio – socialinės reikšmės, įtakos, pažinčių, reputacijos. Ši jų profesinės veiklos motyvą išnaudoja teigiamu atspindėjimu ir žinomumu viešojoje erdvėje suinteresuoti politikos veikėjai. Todėl turėtų būti stiprinamos programos ir priemonės, užkertančios kelią darbdavių savivalei, stiprinamos profesinės žurnalistų sąjungos, ypač tuomet, kai yra aukštas nedarbas. Taip būtų užtikrinamos žurnalistų teisės ir jų socialinis statusas, stabili padėtis naujienų redakcijoje.

2. Kadangi žurnalistika yra specifinė viešoji paslauga, bendras visuomeninis gėris, ką liudija Visuomenės informavimo įstatyme žurnalistams suteikta išskirtinė teisė operatyviai gauti informaciją, kt. teisės, įstatymu turėtų būti išspręstas žurnalistinės veiklos komercinėse žiniasklaidos bendrovėse finansavimas, sugriežtinta žiniasklaidos savininkų ir investuotojų atsakomybė už jų valdomose priemonėse teikiamą žurnalistikos kokybę, taip pat sukurtas nuo politinių ciklų nepriklausomas visuomeninio transliuotojo finansavimo mechanizmas. Rekomenduojama šiam tikslui pasiekti sukurti specialią darbo grupę.

3. Kadangi tyrimas parodė didelį užsakomosios žurnalistikos mastą ir neteisėtą žiniasklaidos savininkų lobizmo naujienų gamybos praktikoje, jų manipuliavimo visuomenės nuomone apraiškas, siūloma įstatymų leidejui kartu su profesinėmis žurnalistų organizacijomis sukurti šių reiškinių stebėsenos sistemą bei tobulinti teisinį reglamentavimą, leisiantį taikyti žiniasklaidos verslo subjektui adekvačias baudas, žiniasklaidos organizacijos kaip juridinio asmens baudžiamąją atsakomybę.

4. Turėtų toliau būti ugdomi nacionalinės žiniasklaidos žurnalistų etinių dilemų, su kuriomis susiduriama kasdieninėje profesinėje praktikoje, įveikimo įgūdžiai. Kaip matyti iš atlikto žurnalistų profesinės veiklos tyrimo, manipuliacinių schemų naudojimas dažnai yra nereflektuotas, savaiminis ir atsitiktinis. Todėl į komunikacijos specialistų (tiek žurnalistų, tiek ryšių su visuomene specialistų) rengimo ir jų profesinės kvalifikacijos kėlimo programas turėtų būti įtrauktos šiuos įgūdžius lavinančios disciplinos. Taip pat žurnalistams turėtų būti suteikiamos žinios, kaip priimti jų profesinėje veikloje būtinus kokybiškus vertinimo sprendimus.

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17–16-06-2011. Vilnius university international scientific conference „Communication and Information Sciences in Network Society: Experience and Insights“. Presented paper: *News Management as a Process of Scandal Making*.

2010 m. gruodžio 17 d. Vilniaus universiteto Komunikacijos fakulteto Informacijos ir komunikacijos katedros organizuota mokslinė praktinė konferencija „Komunikacijos ir informacijos vadybos raiškos ir modeliai“. Skaitytas pranešimas: *Moralinė panika ir ikiteisminio tyrimo duomenų skelbimo problemos (pedofilijos skandalo pagrindu)*.

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2007 m. balandžio 12–14 d. CINEFOGO (Civil Society and New Forms of Governance in Europe) ir Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto organizuota tarptautinė konferencija „European Public Spheres, Civil Society and Civic Mass Media“. Skaitytas pranešimas: *Role of Public Communication: Does it Serve for Imitation or Implementation of Civil Participation?*

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2005 m. gegužės 20–22 d. Lietuvos socialinių mokslų forumo organizuota mokslinė konferencija „Lietuvos socialinių mokslų forumas 2005“. Skaitytas pranešimas: *Manipuliacinė komunikacija, V. Nabokovo „Lolita“ ir žiniasklaida*.

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2005 m. balandžio 27 d. VU KF Žurnalistikos instituto organizuotas seminaras „Žurnalistas audiovizualinėje žiniasklaidoje: funkcijų kaita ir specialistų ugdymo problemos“. Skaitytas pranešimas: *Vizualumo efektai žiniasklaidos pranešimuose. Ar tikrai linksmiau?*
27-04-2005. Seminar „Journalist in Audiovisual Media: Change of Functions and the Issues of the Education of Professionals“ organized by Vilnius University Institute of Journalism. Presented paper: *Visual Effects of the Media Messages: Is it More Fun, Isn't?*

2005 m. vasario 25 d. VDU Išeivijos studijų centro, Anglų filologijos katedros ir Vokiečių ir prancūzų filologijos katedros organizuota mokslinė konferencija „Egzilinė vaizduotė literatūroje: atradimai ir praradimai“. Skaitytas pranešimas: *Kalbos egzilis: komunikacijos ypatumai Vladimiro Nabokovo „Lolitoje“.*

25-02-2005. Scientific conference „Exile Imagination in Literature: Discoveries and Losses“ organized by the Diaspora Studies Centre, Departments of English and German and French Philology in Vytautas Magnus University. Presented paper: *Language Exile: Communication Features in the Vladimir Nabokov's „Lolita“.*

2004 m. lapkričio 18–20 d. VU Komunikacijos fakulteto organizuota tarptautinė konferencija „Lietuviškos knygos ir viešo žodžio kultūra: nuo draudimo iki demokratijos“. Skaitytas pranešimas: *Manipuliacija sovietinėje ir posovietinėje spaudoje.*

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2004 m. rugsėjo 18 d. VDU Sociologijos katedros ir VšĮ „Šviesos rato“ organizuota tarptautinė konferencija „Visuomenės atvaizdas ir atvaizdo visuomenė“. Skaitytas pranešimas: *In the Shadow of Ad Images: Propaganda of Pleasure or/ and Benefit.*

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14–16-05-2004. Scientific conference „Forum of Lithuanian Social Sciences 2004“. Presented paper: *Anatomy of a Scandal: the Case of the President Rolandas Paksas.*

2003 m. balandžio 25 d. VDU Politikos mokslų ir diplomatijos instituto bei Akademinio politologų klubo organizuota tarptautinė studentų mokslinė konferencija „Postsovietinės transformacijos rezultatai ir perspektyvos“. Skaitytas pranešimas: *Formation of Mass Media as Power Institution.*

25-04-2003. Students international scientific conference „The Results and Perspectives of Post-Soviet Transition“ organized by the Academic club of political scientists and the Department of Political Sciences in Vytautas Magnus university. Presented paper: *Formation of Mass Media as Power Institution*

2003 m. balandžio 11 d. Šiaulių universiteto Humanitarinio fakulteto rengta 1-oji doktorantų mokslinių darbų konferencija „Filologija – 2003“. Skaitytas pranešimas: *Komunikaciniai simboliai sovietiniuose ir posovietiniuose romanuose.*

11-04-2003 Doctoral students scientific research conference „Philology 2003“ organized by the Šiauliai university. Presented paper: *Communicative Symbols in Soviet and Post-soviet Novels*.

Participation in other conferences

2006-12-21 Krašto apsaugos ministerijos organizuota apskritojo stalo diskusija „Žiniasklaidos erdvė ir jos paradoksai“ (Skaitytas pranešimas: Interesas informacinėje žurnalistikoje)

21-12-2006. Round Table Discussion at the Ministry of National Defence „Media Sphere and its Paradoxes“. Presented paper: *Information Journalism Interest*.

2005-12-07-08 Lietuvos ryšių su visuomene specialistų sąjungos, JAV ambasados Demokratijos komisijos ir Vilniaus universiteto Komunikacijos fakulteto organizuotas seminaras „Žurnalistų laisvė ir teisė regionų ir rajonų laikraščiuose“ (Skaitytas pranešimas: Žurnalistai – demokratijos garantas ar manipuliacijos subjektai?)

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2005-12-02 Lietuvos žurnalistų sąjungos, Baltijos žurnalistų federacijos, Friedricho Eberto fondo ir Lietuvos Respublikos kultūros ministerijos organizuota tarptautinė konferencija „Žurnalistikos vieta šiandieniniame versle, politikoje ir visuomenėje“ (Skaitytas pranešimas: Atlygis žurnalistui: dividendai ar skola?)

02-12-2005. International conference „Place of the Journalism in Contemporary Business, Politics and Society“ organised by the Union of the Lithuanian Journalists, Federation of Baltic Journalists, Friedrich Ebert Fund and the Ministry of Culture international conference Presented paper: *Journalists Salary: dividends or debt?*

2002-09-04 Vilniaus Universiteto Komunikacijos fakulteto Žurnalistikos instituto organizuota konferencija „Nauji *Naujosios Romuvos* skaitymai“ (Skaitytas pranešimas: Juozo Keliuočio tekstų kūniškumas)

04-09-2002. Conference „New Readings of the *Naujoji Romuva*“ organized by the Institute of Journalism of Faculty of Communication at Vilnius university. Presented paper: *Flesh of Juozas Keliuotis texts*.

2002-04-25-26 Vilniaus universiteto Kauno humanitarinio fakulteto organizuota mokslinė konferencija „A. Škėma: polilogo sklaida kultūrų sankirtose“ (Skaitytas pranešimas: Du viename (2 in 1): aporijos legitimacija ar neutralizavimas)

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2001-11-16 Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto Anglų literatūros katedros organizuota konferencija „Šiuolaikinės literatūros ir teorijos tendencijos“ (Skaitytas pranešimas: Subjektyvumas ir subjektas: probleminė santykio analizė)

16-11-2001. English Philology Department of Vytautas Magnus university conference “Contemporary Literature and Theory Trends”. Presented paper: *Subjectivity and the Subject: the Problematic Relationship Analysis*.

2001-05-26 Lietuvos studentų lituanistų V-oji mokslinė konferencija (Skaitytas pranešimas: Miesčioniškumas – antimiesčioniškumas: V. Sirijos Gira, H. Radauskas, T. Venclova).

26-05-2001. The fifth scientific conference of the students of Lithuanian Philology. Presented paper: *Philistinism vs Antiphilistinism: poetry of Vytautas Sirijos Gira, Henrikas Radauskas and Tomas Venclova*.

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Dates:	September, 2004 – 2006, 2010 until now
Occupation or position held:	Lecturer , Institute of Journalism, Faculty of Communication
Main activities and responsibilities:	Training activities: (First period) Social Media Research Methods (graduate course for journalists) Meaning of the text analysis (course for journalists) Mass Media Institutions and Society (lectures for foreign students) Information Journalism (seminars) Press Journalism (seminars) Regulation of the media and the European Union's legal system (course for journalists); Communication skills (course for journalists and publishers Along with the seminars) Media Influence and Communication (course for foreign students)
Name and address of employer:	Vilnius University , Bernardinų str. 11, LT 01124 (Institute of Journalism), Saulėtekio av. 9, I palace, LT 10222 (Faculty of Communication) Vilnius www.kf.vu.lt;

March, 2011 until now

Chief specialist, Public Relations Division

Adviser for media communication, press releases, providing information for the media and the public, planning and implementing public relations projects.

Ministry of the Finance of the Republic of Lithuania

Lukiškių str. 2, LT 01512, Vilnius

www.finmin.lt

August, 2010 – 2011, March

Chief specialist, Communication Division

Providing information for the media, planning and implementing public relations campaigns, surveys of public opinion, cooperation with other institutions of the state, strategy and administration of the website of National Court Administration

National Court Administration, L. Sapiegos str. 15, LT 10312 Vilnius

www.teismai.lt

April, 2006 – August, 2010

Head of Public Relations Division

Creation and development of separate structural unit for public relations, administration (planning, assignment and control of the activities), forming public relations policy for the institution, organizing of means for external and internal communication, providing information for the media

General Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Lithuania, Rinktinės str. 5A, LT 01515 Vilnius

www.prokuraturos.lt

July, 2003 – April, 2006

Chief specialist, Deputy Head Communication Division

Press Releases, articles' writing, publication of books and brochures, organizing of festivals, planning and implementing public relations programs, brand of the institution, administration of the unit

State Social Insurance Fund Board

Konstitucijos av. 12, LT 09308 Vilnius

www.sodra.lt

March, 1998 – September, 1999

Manager

Sales of lottery company products, managing game projects

State Enterprise "Lithuanian Loto",

Laisvės av. 21, LT-44311 Kaunas