

**Originalni naučni rad**

**(ZLO)UPOTREBA FUDBALA: ANALIZA  
IZVEŠTAVANJA MEDIJA O UTAKMICAMA  
SRBIJE I HRVATSKE 2013. GODINE<sup>1</sup>**

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**Apstrakt:** Rad sagledava pisanje štampe povodom utakmica Srbije i Hrvatske 2013. godine u okviru kvalifikacija za Svetsko prvenstvo u fudbalu. Kritički su analizirani članci Večernjeg lista i Indeksa.hr sa hrvatske strane i članci Kurira i Politike sa srpske. S obzirom da su utakmice pratile brojne kontroverze, pisanje štampe bilo je od izuzetnog značaja za čitav kontekst odigravanja utakmica. Analizom je ustanovljeno da je fenomen fudbala daleko prevaziđen i da su u člancima tonovi neprijateljstva, nacionalizma, šovinizma i senzacionalizma itekako bili prisutni. Sve navedeno usložnjava fenomen sportskog novinarstva ukazujući na značajnu etičku odgovornost koju ta profesija nosi u sebi.

**Ključne reči:** *fudbal, mediji, Srbija, Hrvatska, sportsko novinarstvo*

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## UVOD

Svetskom implozijom socijalizma Jugoslavija se našla izolovana, kako geostrateški tako i ideološki. Insistirajući na svome putu samoupravljanja („Posle Tita - Tito“), a negirajući sve jasnije težnje republika za osamostaljivanjem, kriza

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<sup>1</sup> Rad je napisan u okviru projekta br. 47030 Konflikti i krize – saradnja i razvoj u Srbiji i regionu u XIX i XX veku, na kome je Nikola Mijatov saradnik

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jugoslovenskog socijalizma, ali i jugoslovenske državnosti kao takve, postajala je sve akutnija.

U predvečerje raspada, 1990. godine na stadionu Maksimir u Zagrebu, susrela su se dva fudbalska kluba „Dinamo“ i „Crvena zvezda“. Oba kluba primarno su predstavljala vladajuću ideologiju – samoupravni socijalizam. Sami nazivi, kao i sama sportska društva, bila su uistinu bleđa kopija sovjetskih originala: sportskog društva „Dinamo“, koje se oslanjalo na policiju i sportskog društva „Crvena zvezda“, nastalog kroz sindikat tekstilnih radnika (Riordan, 2010). Sada, na samom kraju 20. veka ova dva kluba, u jugoslovenskim uslovima, u svojim navijačkim redovima okupljali su mahom hrvatske i srpske nacionaliste i postali su medijum za izražavanje nacionalističkih težnji ova dva naroda.

Utakmica je otišla daleko od sportskog nadmetanja. Sukobi navijača preplavili su stadion gde se umešala policija, ali i sami fudbaleri. Zastrašujuće slike očigledno konfrontiranih Srba i Hrvata, zaklonjenih dresovima svojih klubova, preplavile su medije u državi koja je sama bila na ivici. Međutim, uprkos uvreženom mišljenju, rat nije počeo na Maksimiru (Đorđević, 2015). Za razliku od fudbalskog rata Salvadora i Hondurasa, rat SR Jugoslavije i Hrvatske imao je druge povode, one koji će doći godinu dana kasnije, a čije korene treba potražiti u problematici prava naroda na samoopredeljenje (Guskova, 2003). No, slika je ostala, sukob zabeležen i nezaboravljen, a fudbalsko neprijateljstvo dva tima prethodnica neprijateljstva dva naroda. Gotovo simbolično, u sveopštem metežu zapaljena je i zastava SFRJ.

Tokom turbulentne decenije devedesetih godina, u Hrvatskoj i SR Jugoslaviji svoje karijere izgradila su dva fudbalera vrhunskog ranga – Igor Štimac i Siniša Mihajlović. Svoje pozicije vrhunskih sportista nisu očuvali od upliva politike, nisu se ni potrudili. Tako je Mihajlović javno podržavao Željka Ražnatovića Arkana koga je i lično poznao. S druge strane, Štimac je podržao Franju Tuđmana. Razlike nisu ostale samo na političkoj liniji, realizovale su se i na fudbalskom terenu: 1991. godine kao fudbaleri Štimac i Mihajlović su se sukobili i obojica su isključeni. Prilika za nov početak 1999. godine kada su se susrele dve reprezentacije. Ipak, strasti su bile daleko od smirenih, Štimac je tada izjavio: „Mihajlović nije dostojan da sa njim pričam. Molio sam Boga da ga kazni za taj njegov prokleti život, jer je napola Hrvat“ (Index.hr 20/23.03.2013, 26.09.2013; Đorđević, 2015).

Gotovo deceniju i po, dve države su se našle na jasno utemeljenom evropskom putu. Hrvatska je prešla daleko veći deo, postala je članica Evropske unije 2013. godine. Srbija, tek u procesu pridruživanja, ali sa dominantno evropskom politikom i proevropskom vladom. Iz samog Brisela imperativ o međugraničnoj saradnji i pomirenju država bivše Jugoslavije je jasan i zahtevan. U takvoj situaciji, dve države, nekadašnje republike zajedničke Jugoslavije, našle su se u istoj grupi u kvalifikacijama 2013. godine za Svetsko prvenstvo u fudbalu. Ispred sebe imale su zadatak da organizuju dva susreta, u Zagrebu i u Beogradu, gde su se sada na pozicijama selektora našli stari „znanci“ – Igor Štimac i Siniša Mihajlović.

Ukratko, pomenimo da je svaki sportski susret, govoreći jezikom sociologije sporta kao posebne sociološke discipline, sportski događaj koji se sastoji iz sledećih elemenata: akteri (igrači), posrednici (treneri, sudije, sponzori, sportski novinari) i publika (navijači i navijačke grupe). S obzirom na činjenicu da je sport veoma kompleksan društveno-istorijski fenomen, te da je veza politike i sporta neupitna, pojava politizacije (negativne i pozitivne) sportskih događaja jeste jedna od značajnih tema, kako u sociologiji sporta, tako i u istoriji sporta. Dok negativna politizacija sporta jeste sinonim za sport u funkciji konflikta, odnosno dezintegracije (sredstvo razdvajanja naroda, klasa, slojeva, rasa, regiona...), najčešće se navodi primer pomenutog „fudbalskog rata“ između Salvadora i Hondurasa u Južnoj Americi 1969. godine, pozitivna politizacija sporta i sportskih događaja se odnosi na funkciju jačanja društvene kohezije i stabilnosti društvenog sistema, odnosno na funkciju jačanja društvenog konsenzusa. Najznačajnijim posrednicima sportskog događaja u savremenom sportu smatraju se sportski novinari. Sportsko novinarstvo kao vid komunikacije jeste veoma značajno jer može širiti ili sužavati dimenziju sportskog uspeha, odnosno neuspeha, pa tako utiče na javno mnjenje i sveukupne odnose u sportu (Koković, 2004; Radenović 2017). Sportski novinari mogu afirmisati društvene vrednosti i mogu svojim izveštavanjem presudno uticati na popularnost određenih sportova i tip bavljenja sportom (masovno bavljenje sportom, vrhunski, takmičarski sport itd.), oni mogu stvoriti idole, kultove i sportske zvezde, mogu biti kritičari trenutnog stanja u određenim sportovima i klubovima, izveštavati afirmativno samo za određene sportove i klubove ili čak “po narudžbini” određenih klubova s obzirom na lične kontakte, biti i promoteri određenih klubova, najzad, mogu raspirivati strasti kod navijača senzacionalističkim izveštavanjem ili pak, smirivati strasti valjanim, profesionalnim izveštavanjem (Radenović, 2017). Samim tim, sportski novinari mogu učestvovati i u procesu politizacije (pozitivne ili negativne) sporta i sportskih događaja, a u krajnjoj liniji neobjektivnim, pristrasnim i huškačkim načinom izveštavanja mogu zloupotребiti sport i sportski događaj kao manifestaciju koja bi inherentno trebalo da spaja narode, države i promoviše mir, toleranciju, suživot, prijateljstvo, fer-plej...

Najzad, pomenimo postojanje i značaj novinarske etike i Kodeksa sportskih novinara koga bi sportski novinari i komentatori trebalo da se pridržavaju. Najpre, podsetimo da je etika filozofska disciplina koja izučava moral. Otuda se ona može shvatiti kao lično primenjivanje određenog skupa vrednosti koje je pojedinac slobodno usvojio da bi ostvario cilj koji sebi postavlja i smatra ispravnim. Kada je reč o (sportskom) novinarstvu, etika se definiše kao grana filozofije koja pomaže novinarima da odrede šta je ispravno činiti u novinarstvu; ona je disciplina koja normira ponašanje (Koković 2004). Kako je naznačeno u Kodeksu sportskih novinara Srbije (Pantović, 2015) „sportski novinar prilikom izveštavanja, a naročito u direktnim prenosima sportskih događaja, održava profesionalnu distancu i nepristrasnost, u skladu sa 'Kodeksom novinara Srbije'“, „sportski novinar ne sme da manipuliše informacijama, da na smišljen i kontrolisan način, u za njega

pogodnim psiho-socijalnim uslovima, odašilje u javnost preko medija određene informacije i poruke, kojima će uticati na uverenja, stavove i ponašanja velikog broja ljudi, tako da se oni, u stvarima u kojima ne postoji opšta saglasnost, a za koje su vrlo zainteresovani – usmere prema ubeđenju, stavovima i vrednostima manipulatora, a da toga nisu svesni“ itd.

## METOD

U radu je korišćen metod analize sadržaja i klasična istoriografska metoda.

## REZULTATI

### Dominacija senzacija

Dve države, Republika Srbija i Republika Hrvatska, našle su se u istoj grupi u kvalifikacijama 2013. godine za Svetsko prvenstvo u fudbalu. Ispred sebe su imale zadatak da organizuju dve utakmice, najpre u Zagrebu 22.03.2013. godine, a potom i u Beogradu 06.09.2013. godine. Sportski spektakl, dubinski prožet politikom, štampani mediji dočekali su sa ushićenjem. Sa hrvatske strane analizirani su Index.hr i Večernji list. Sa srpske, Politika kao najstariji i najugledniji dnevni list i Kurir kao jedan od pionira tabloidizacije srpskih medija i, svakako danas jedan od najuticajnijih među njima. Kada je reč o tekstovima u vezi sa prvom utakmicom, izvršena je analiza sadržaja: 17 članaka u Večernjem listu u periodu od 18.03. do 23.03.2013, 40 članaka sa portala Index.hr u periodu od 15.03. do 23.03.2013, 11 članaka u dnevnom listu Politika u periodu od 17.03. do 23.03.2013. i 23 članka iz tabloida Kurir u periodu od 17.03. do 23.03.2013. godine. Kada je druga utakmica u pitanju, izvršena je analiza sadržaja: 13 članaka u Večernjem listu u periodu od 04.09. do 07.09.2013, 13 članaka sa portala Index.hr u periodu od 29.08. do 07.09.2013, osam članaka u dnevnom listu Politika u periodu od 03.09. do 06.09.2013. i 12 članaka u tabloidu Kurir u period od 01.09. do 07.09.2013. godine.

Analiza sadržaja pobrojanih članaka upućuje na sledeća zapažanja:

1. Naslovi u Večernjem listu jesu prevashodno senzacionalistički, sa terminologijom koja ističe pripadnost kolektivitetu: „okupljaju se Srbi“, „Vukovarski Srbi“, „Hrvatska srušila Srbiju“; od tzv. ratničke terminologije koristi se samo reč „dvoboj“, no uprkos senzacionalističkim naslovima, Večernji list se može pohvaliti veoma kvalitetnim intervjuima bez huškačkih karakteristika u duhu fer-pleja sa različitim stvaraocima u sportu poput

fudbalske legende Dragana Džajića, sportskog novinara i komentatora Milojka Pantića, te sportskog psihologa Amira Zulića;

2. Naslovi sa portala Index.hr su senzacionalistički i podgrevaju atmosferu konflikta, koriste se sintagme poput: „dvoboj sa Orlovima“, kolektiviteti: „Srbi“, „Hrvati“, „Srbija“, „Hrvatska“, „Srbi se rugaju...“, te je terminologija ratnička: „kvalifikacijski dvoboj“, „utakmica svih utakmica“, „dvoboj sa Hrvatskom“, „koljački ambijent Marakane“, „srpsko nacionalno biće“. Kao primere objektivnog pisanja, izdvajamo kvalitetan intervju sa Draganom Džajićem koji odiše duhom fer-pleja u kome Džajić analizira kvalitet ekipa reprezentacije Srbije i Hrvatske. U člancima ima veoma objektivnih analiza kvaliteta obe reprezentacije: reč je o izjavama igrača kako reprezentacije Srbije, tako i reprezentacije Hrvatske. Uprkos senzacionalističkim naslovima, tekstovi su prilično objektivni, pogotovo oni koji sadrže pomenute izjave/analize igrača. Najzad, pomenimo i članak pod nazivom „A Nobelovu nagradu za mir dobijaju... Štico i Miha“ koji podseća čitaoce na političke stavove oba selektora tokom rata devedesetih godina, ali prevashodno provokativno. Postavlja se pitanje cilja ovog i sličnih tekstova? Ovakvi tekstovi čitaoce podsećaju na ratna zbivanja i mogu podstaći reprodukciju dugotrajnih nacionalističkih tenzija i mržnje, te se može postaviti pitanje odgovornosti autora i urednika, kao i pitanje njihove dobronamernosti;

3. Naslovi u dnevnom listu Politika sadrže imena iz politike i sporta i nisu toliko senzacionalistički, no ipak sadrže i sintagme iz tzv. ratničke terminologije poput: „juriš protiv Srbije“, „časna i junačka borba“. Kada je o drugoj utakmici reč, dominiraju naslovi u duhu fer-pleja, koji stavljaju akcenat na nagoveštaj sportskih uspeha. Sadržaj članaka čine prilično objektivne analize kvaliteta obe reprezentacije kroz izjave kako hrvatskih, tako i srpskih igrača, ali i aktuelnih političara koji pozivaju na fer-plej i sportsko ponašanje, mir, toleranciju, bez huškačkih elemenata. Mogu se izdvojiti odlični tekstovi novinara Ivana Cvetkovića kao valjane analize obe utakmice: „Mihajlović nije kriv“, „Zaslужen poraz u Zagrebu, naš tim sve dalje od Brazila“ i „A počelo je time da fudbal zbliži Srbe i Hrvate“;

4. Naslovi u tabloidu Kurir su očekivano senzacionalistički, koji proizvode atmosferu konflikta: „Svet strepi zbog Hrvatske i Srbije“, a u naslovima nisu prisutna samo aktuelna imena iz sporta i politike već i sa estrade: Stanija, Tompson. Pomenimo i ove naslove: „RAT ZA ULAZNIC: Hrvatski savez podelio karte ekstremnim strankama“, „U boj krenite, junaci svi!“, „ŠTIMAC JE MALO NERVOZAN: Napao srpskog novinara zbog pitanja“, „DIŽU TENZIJE: Svi Hrvati u petak u kockastim dresovima!“, „ŠTIMAC: Nećemo aplaudirati srpskoj himni u Beogradu!“, „Hrvati Mihi: Siniša, ustašo“ – kao naslove koji reprodukuju atmosferu konflikta i dugotrajne međunacionalne tenzije. U jednom od članaka se pominje zagrljaj

Mihajlovića i Štimca kao pokazatelj atmosfere koja se bitno razlikovala od one na tribinama među navijačima. U ovom slučaju uprkos huškačkom i senzacionalističkom naslovu, sadržaj se može okarakterisati kao objektivan jer se navode činjenice. Naslovi senzacionalističkog karaktera koji podgreavaju atmosferu konflikta i koji sadrže sintagme kolektiviteta: „Srbi“, „Hrvati“, „Srbija“, „Hrvatska“, dominiraju i u pisanju o drugoj utakmici. Česta su imena fudbalera u naslovima i njihove izjave ubačene u kontekst koji podgreva atmosferu konflikta, kao u naslovima: „Panika u Hrvatskoj: Mandžukić ne igra protiv Srbije?“, „Štimac se uplašio – Srbija je jača nego u Zagrebu“, „Darijo Srna: Srbi su nervozni“ itd. Kada je o sadržaju tekstova o drugoj utakmici reč, dosta tekstova je preuzeto od Tanjuga, te ima formu izveštaja, nema huškačkih elemenata, pominju se izjave fudbalera, uprkos senzacionalističkim naslovima, sadržaj ne podstiče atmosferu konflikta. Tekst pod nazivom „Pakleni plan hrvatskih ekstremista: Neredit na Marakani!“ se izdvaja jer podgreva atmosferu konflikta i širenja panike. U ovom slučaju postavljamo pitanje odgovornosti autora i urednika.

Pomenuta zapažanja ćemo detaljnije obrazložiti kroz karakteristične primere kako senzacionalizma, tako i objektivnog izveštavanja u sadržaju analiziranih medija.

## DISKUSIJA

Utakmice su prošle mirno. Većih izgređa navijača nije bilo, što i ne čudi s obzirom da je gostujućim navijačima (kako Srbima u Zagrebu, tako i Hrvatima u Beogradu) bilo zabranjeno da prisustvuju utakmicama. Sa samog vrha dolazili su tonovi pomirenja: gradonačelnik Zagreba Bandić dobio je uz rakiju prepečenicu i dres srpske reprezentacije, dok je Tomislav Karadžić, predsednik Fudbalskog saveza Srbije, dobio na poklon Monografiju grada Zagreba i grb. Potom, u Beogradu, predsednik Tomislav Nikolić primio je delegate Nogometnog saveza Hrvatske gde su takođe razmenjeni pokloni. Dvoje protagonista, Štimac i Mihajlović, insistirali su na pomirenju. Javno su se u nekoliko navrata pozdravljali krajnje prijateljski, razmenili poklone (ajvar) i čestitali rođendane (Index.hr 23.03.2013; Večernji list 05.09.2013).

No, ako su se Štimac i Mihajlović pomirili, nije štampa. Utakmice su bile savršena prilika za brojne senzacionalističke tekstove, svakako usmerene ka podizanju tiraža. U sveopštem „lovu na senzacije“ nije se prezalo ni od čega. Pomirljive i hladne izjave sportista ili trenera su vađene iz konteksta ne bi li se oblikovale u željenom vidu. Dodatno, iste te izjave pojedinaca smeštane su u širi kontekst. Tako pojedinac ne govori u svoje ime, ili eventualno reprezentacije, već u ime svih Srba ili Hrvata. Primera radi, Mihajlović u intervjuu navodi da je zabranio seksualne odnose

igračima pred utakmicu, što nije redak slučaj u sportu (Galić, 2003), a Index.hr tu vest prenosi - „seks srpski neprijatelj broj 1“ (Index.hr 18.03.2013). Isto tako, izjave su prekidane na pola rečenice, srpski fudbaler Vladimir Stojković je izjavio: „Vidjet ćemo hoće li Hrvati uspjeh pokazati ono što tvrde, da su za klasu bolji od nas. Što se tiče atmosfere na Maksimiru... ne mogu spavati koliko sam zabrinut: Šalim se straha nema!“. Tu izjavu Index.hr koristi da bi oblikovao vest: „Srbi se rugaju: „Ne možemo spavati koliko se bojimo atmosfere na Maksimiru“ (Index.hr 18.03.2013). S druge strane, Kurir prenosi kako Štimac „PALI VATRU: Štimac sa Tompsonom dočekuje Srbiju“. Izvan zapaljivog naslova, u samom tekstu može se pročitati kako je ustvari Štimac na svoj Facebook profil postavio pesmu Marka Perkovića Tompsona, a da sa samim autorom nije ni imao kontakata (Kurir 19.03.2013). Na istoj liniji kao i hrvatski susedi, Kurir poteze pojedinaca pripisuje čitavom narodu. Tako je skandiranje navijača protiv Mihajlovića na utakmici u Zagrebu okarakterisano kao „Hrvati Mihi: Siniša ustašo“ (Kurir 23.03.2013). Najdalje je otišao Večernji list koji prenosi izjavu jednog Srbina, što u tekstu i navode („tvrđi jedan Srbin iz Vukovara“), ali u naslovu obuhvataju sve: „Bit će napeto: Vukovarski Srbi navijati će za Srbiju“ (Večernji list 21.03.2013).

Osim nacionalne, pisanje štampe projektovale se i na individualnu dimenziju, koja se opet svojom biografijom, pozicijom i delovanjem projektuje unazad na nacionalnu. Tako, Siniša Mihajlović bio je meta u sedam članaka povodom prve utakmice u Zagrebu koji su imali formu direktnog napada na njegovu ličnost. Fotografija Mihajlovića iz 90-ih godina na kojoj se u prolazu pozdravlja sa Željkom Ražnatovićem Arkanom, koji je obučen u vojnu uniformu, bila je sastavni deo dva članka (Index.hr 23.03.2013). Istina, Mihajlović nije krio da je svojevremeno podržavao Arkana, ali mnogo puta je naveo da u Hrvatsku dolazi kao prijatelj i da želi da utakmice prođu u prijateljskoj atmosferi. Pisanje štampe imalo je i jakog odjeka, pa je tako Hrvatska stranka prava tražila zabranu ulaska u zemlju za Mihajlovića, što srpski tabloid nije propustio već navodi da je u pitanju „STRAH“ (Kurir 20.03.2013; Večernji list 20.03.2013). Konačno, u napadima je najdalje otišao Večernji list koji tumačeći postupke Mihajlovića kao selektora u sadašnjosti (tj. tadašnjosti) navodi u naslovu da „Mihajlović glumi frajera, a na kraju bi mogao ispasti pozer“. U samom tekstu pišu kako je „prgav“, „fura frajerski stil“ i da „želi biti primećen, ispasti dasa“ (Večernji list 22.03.2013). Napadi su vrlo moguće bili usmereni i ka praktičnom cilju – isprovociranja reakcije samog Mihajlovića. Naime, još kao fudbaler poznat po ishitrenim reakcijama na provokacije, eventualni eksces kao selektora bio bi prava senzacija za hrvatsku štampu. No, i kada je sve proteklo mirno u Zagrebu, kada su se i Mihajlović i Štimac pokazali dorasli zadatku, Index.hr piše članak „A Nobelovu nagradu za mir dobijaju... Štico i Miha!“, gde ponovo u samom tekstu

ne propuštaju priliku da opet istaknu Mihajlovićevu prošlost navodeći da je bio „Arkanov bliski prijatelj i finansijer obrane batinaša srpskih zarobljenika iz Lore“ (Index.rs 23.03.2013).

Pored direktnih i konkretnih natpisa u štampi uočljiv je i fenomen terminologije sa dominantnom militarističkom notom. Tako i u naizgled objektivnijim člancima nailazimo na konstrukcije poput „Hrvatska srušila Srbiju“ ili „Poplaveli“ (povodom nošenja plavih dresova) (Večernji list 22.03.2013; Kurir 18.03.2013). Takođe, izjave zvaničnika su obilovale istim diskursom. Štimac navodi: „Krenućemo u juriš protiv Srbije“ a ministarka omladine i sporta Republike Srbije poručuje fudbalerima da se „bore časno i junački“, što štampa verno prenosi (Politika 20/21.03.2013). Značaj kvalifikacionih utakmica je jasno preuveličavan, pa su se susreti karakterisali kao „Najveća utakmica u bliskoj povjesti Srbije“ kao i „utakmica svih utakmica“ (Indeks.hr. 18/20.03.2013). Preuveličavanje je zagazilo i u sferu mitologije, što svakako treba posmatrati u kontekstu osnove nacionalnog mita (Smit, 2010), pa se odluka da hrvatski fudbaleri u prvoj utakmici nastupaju u plavim dresovima tumači i kao srećan predznak pošto je u tim bojama Hrvatska pobeđivala Francusku i Tursku. Članak otvoreno navodi da je „mit nastao davne 1998.“ (Index.hr 18.03.2013).

### **Zatvoreni krug tabloidne komunikacije**

U nedostatku adekvatnih izjava koje bi se mogle senzacionalistički obraditi, štampa je nalazila druge izvore. Tako je za izjavu povodom poraza Srbije u Zagrebu pitan estradni umetnik Milić Vukašinović, svakako radi zapaljive izjave. Mišljenje Vukašinovića prenose u naslovu: „Mi Srbi smo hrabar narod, ali na Maksimiru smo igrali ko p\*čke“ (Index.hr 23.03.2013). Time ne samo da se daje na značaju izjavi jednog estradnog umetnika, već se on stavlja u poziciju ambasadora čitavog naroda. Da značaj izvora nije bitan u odnosu na senzaciju koju on sa sobom nosi pokazuje i primer performansa srpskog tabloida Alo. Naime, po uzoru na hobotnicu Paula koja je prognozirala rezultate Svetskog prvenstva 2010. godine, novinari ovog tabloida uradili su nešto slično, ali sa lamom. U Beogradskom zoološkom vrtu stali su ispred lame i raširili slike hrvatskih igrača i trenera. Lama se okrenula ka fotografiji selektora, onjušila je i „pljunula Štimecu po faci“. Suštinski, ovaj performans malotiražnog srpskog tabloida Alo mogao je proći gotovo potpuno neprimećen. Međutim, u lovu za senzacije Večernji list prenosi detaljan izveštaj o performansu uz naslov koji obeležava čitavu naciju: „Srbi se sprdaju: Ljama pljunula Štimeca i označila ga kao opasnost“ (Večernji list 20.03.2013). Na istoj liniji, članak marginalnog američkog elektronskog medija Bleacher report uzet je kao relevantan za čitav svet, naslov prenesene vesti je glasio: „Rizično: Svet strepi zbog Hrvatske i Srbije“ (Kurir 19.03.2013). Najdalje je



otišao Kurir gde povodom starta Šimunića u drugoj utakmici i propratnog crvenog kartona navodi: „ENGLEZI O STARTU ŠIMUNIĆA: Najbrutalniji faul ikad“. U samom tekstu kao izvor navode „novinari sa Ostrva“. Svakako nepotpuna i nezadovoljavajuća odrednica, ali za Kurir sasvim dovoljna da na osnovu nje iskonstruiše naslov koji obuhvata praktično čitavu englesku naciju (Kurir 07.09.2013).

Takođe, tenzije su tražene i građene oko fenomena u kojima ih suštinski nije bilo. Poziv građanima Hrvatske od strane Hrvatskog nogometnog saveza da utakmicu, ako ne na samom stadionu, gledaju kod kuće u dresovima hrvatske reprezentacije i da taj dan u školu ili na posao dođu u dresovima, Kurir tumači kao dizanje tenzije jer će „Svi Hrvati u petak u kockastim dresovima!“. Šta je konkretno problem u tome, na koji način nošenje dresa reprezentacije, npr. deteta iz Osijeka u školi tog petka diže međunacionalne tenzije, Kurir ne objašnjava, već se zadržava praktično na krajnje senzacionalističkom i s namerom iz konteksta izvađenom naslovu (Kurir 21.03.2013).

Postupci tabloida ne ostaju samo u sferi medija, projektovani su se i van članaka. Večernji list okačio je dres hrvatske reprezentacije od 30 metara na zgradu Vjesnika. Dres je usled vetra pao, što srpski Kurir jednostavno nije mogao da propusti, već likujući donosi naslov: „DUVA, DUVA: Vetar skinuo hrvatski dres sa zgrade Večernjeg lista“ (Index.hr 19.03.2013; Kurir 19.03.2013). Isto tako, povodom druge utakmice u Beogradu Večernji list prenosi potpuno neutemeljeno pisanje Kurira da hrvatski ekstremisti „žele napraviti kaos u Beogradu“ (Večernji list 06.09.2013; Kurir 05/06.09.2013).

Problematika je otišla daleko od sfere fudbala, projektovana se u sferu politike koja se natrag izrazila preko pesama. Uvek kontroverzni Marko Perović Tompson i oko ovih utakmica je bio aktuelan. Kao što smo videli, dovoljan je bio jedan „share“ Tompsonove pesme na Facebooku od strane Štimca da se čitava senzacija iskonstruiše. U jagmi za događajima, ili barem reakcijama preko granice, Večernji list predlaže pesme za podršku hrvatske reprezentacije. Između ostalih našla se i pesma Tompsona „Ljepa li si“, koja je lako mogla biti izostavljena, a njeno postavljanje dovodi u pitanje krajnje namere čitavog članka (Večernji list 06.09.2013). S druge strane, muzika je i spajala. U Beogradu, gosti su na stadionu dočekani sa dve ilustrativne pesme. Prva, doduše samo kao deo reklame, bila je melodija estradne umetnice Severine Vučković koja je podjednako popularna u obe države. Međutim, pošto je srpska publika prepoznala melodiju propratila ju je zvužducima. Potom, za odabranu pesmu za podgrevanje atmosfere na stadionu izabrana je „Gangam style“, globalni fenomen i tada najgledaniji video na YouTube, pesma svakako prijemčiva širom sveta, ne samo na Balkanu. No, organizatori utakmice u Beogradu kao jednu od pesama pustili su i „Marš na Drinu“. Pesma nastala tokom Prvog svetskog rata, u drugačijem kontekstu, ipak 2013. godine uzimajući u obzir granicu Srbije prema BiH i rat koji se odvijao na tom

prostoru, može biti protumačena kao provokacija. Večernji list priliku nije propustio već navodi da se puštala ta pesma, a zaključak prepušta čitaocima (Večernji list 07.09.2013).

### **Može i objektivnije**

Konačno, postoji i niz primera objektivnog izveštavanja. Index.hr prenosi tri članka o temama koje bi se vrlo lako mogle senzacionalistički obraditi (ispadi Savićevića i Mirkovića, poklon Karadžića Bandiću i problematika prisustva Ante Gotovine na stadionu) gde je uočljivo da je moguće objektivno pisati i o temama koje su kontroverzne (Index.hr20/21.03.2013). Večernji list je bio vidno objektivniji povodom druge utakmice gde je u pomirljivom tonu preneo dve vesti: čestitanje rođendana Štimcu od strane Mihajlovića i šetnju reprezentativaca Hrvatske Beogradom kojom prilikom su „sjajno dočekani“ (Večernji list 05/06.09.2013). Međutim, potpunu pohvalu mogla bi dobiti jedino Politika čiji su članci dominantno objektivni. Tako, umesto „utakmice svih utakmica“, u Zagrebu se igrao „veliki derbi“ (Politika 21.03.2013). Analizom članaka Politike uočljiva je i jasna namera da su članci pisani u maniru koji bi doprineo smanjenju tenzija i mirnom odigravanju utakmica. Poruku zagrebačke policije da će u slučaju „poruka mržnje“ utakmica biti prekinuta, Politika prenosi bez navoda kakve bi te poruke mogle biti, svakako sa ustaškim konotacijama, koje bi čitaocima samo mogle isprovocirati (Politika 20.03.2013). Kada je reprezentacija Srbije poražena, članak hladno konstatuje: „Zaslužen poraz u Zagrebu, naš tim sve dalje od Brazila“ (Politika 22.03.2013). Povodom druge utakmice sve vesti tabloida, konstrukcije i senzacije Politika je ignorisala i u nizu članaka krajnje objektivno pisala o samom događaju (Politika 03/04/05/06.09.2013).

### **ZAKLJUČAK**

Može se zaključiti da su, generalno, naslovi senzacionalističkog karaktera što ne čudi s obzirom na trend tabloidizacije medija koji reprodukuje ovakve naslove – a u slučaju izveštavanja o ova dva sportska događaja – i naslove huškačkog karaktera.

Sa druge strane, sam sadržaj članaka nije toliko senzacionalistički jer se u velikom broju članaka prenose izjave sportista, selektora i političara koje pozivaju na smirivanje strasti i u kojima su date posve valjane analize karakteristika igrača obe reprezentacije. Zagrebački Večernji list i beogradska Politika drže nivo, naročito Politika koja u ovom slučaju ne podleže trendu tabloidizacije. Večernji list ima senzacionalističke naslove, no u mnogo manjoj meri nego Index.hr i Kurir.

Vratimo se opet na pitanje odgovornosti autora i urednika, te na etičko pitanje svrhe novinarstva i to sportskog novinarstva. Konkretno, koja je svrha tekstova koji podsećaju na sukobe? Da li je to traženje nekakve istine? Činjenice su zabeležene, danas i na YouTube snimcima koji su lako dostupni (recimo, snimak Dejana Savićevića koji se pominje u analiziranim tekstovima), no da li se na taj način, podsećanjem na sukobe iz ratnih devedesetih godina mogu smanjiti dugotrajne međunacionalne tenzije? Ove tenzije se mogu samo produbiti i reaktualizovati tekstovima koji “kopaju po starim ranama”, te je zato etičko pitanje dobronamernosti autora i urednika aktualno i veoma značajno pitanje imajući na umu postojanje Kodeksa novinarske etike, te pomenutog Kodeksa sportskih novinara Srbije. Možemo podsetiti na Galenovo pitanje: “Da li dobar lekar mora nužno biti i dobar čovek?” i transponovati ga u sferu (sportskog) novinarstva: “Da li dobar novinar mora nužno biti i dobar čovek?”. Svakako da diskusija i pokušaj odgovora na ovo pitanje prevazilazi okvire našeg rada, ali možemo primetiti da bi svaki (sportski) novinar, kao i urednik dnevnog lista, portala i tabloida trebalo da se zapita koje vrednosti su u osnovi njegovog/njenog delanja, tačnije pisanja konkretnog članka i/ili izveštaja o sportskim događajima koji se odigravaju u kontekstu dugotrajućih međunacionalnih i etničkih tenzija. Svakako da pitanje vrednosti pretpostavlja i pitanje odgovornosti i posledica konkretnog delanja svakog pojedinca. Predlažemo da svaki (sportski) novinar i urednik sebi postavi ovo pitanje, uz pretpostavku da bude iskren/a prema samome sebi, te da dobro razmisli o vlastitoj odgovornosti i mogućim posledicama neodgovornog, neobjektivnog i nedobronamernog izveštavanja o sportskim događajima.

#### *NAPOMENA*

Rad je dopunjena verzija usmenog izlaganja pod istim nazivom koje je predstavljeno na međunarodnom interdisciplinarnom simpozijumu „Filozofija medija“ (Zagreb, Hrvatska, 21-23.09.2017. godine).

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## Izvori

1. Index.hr
2. Kurir
3. Politika
4. Večernji list

Original scientific paper

## (MIS)USE OF FOOTBALL: ANALYSIS OF MEDIA REPORTS ABOUT MATCHES BETWEEN SERBIA AND CROATIA IN 2013<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** Within the qualifications for the FIFA World Cup in Brazil in 2014, two football matches were played between Serbia and Croatia. Due to complex international relations between Serbia and Croatia, there were many controversies about the matches. Through the analysis of the articles from Kurir and Večernji list (as an example of yellow and tabloid press of both countries) and articles from Politika and Index.hr (as an example of more professional approach to journalism) the article critically regards the nature of press reports about those two matches. Exceeding the phenomenon of football, hostile, nationalistic, chauvinistic and sensationalistic implications were present in the press alongside numerous historical connotations. Such method of journalism has profound consequences, firstly for the progress of the entire sports culture in Serbia as well as in Croatia, and secondly it affects the decrease of long-lasting international tensions and hostilities.

**Key words:** *football, media, Serbia, Croatia, sports journalism*

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## INTRODUCTION

With the global implosion of socialism, Yugoslavia found itself isolated geo-strategically as well as ideologically. Insisting on its own way of self-management (“Tito after Tito”) and turning the blind eye to the increasingly pronounced aspirations of republics for independence, the crisis of the Yugoslav Socialism but also the Yugoslav statehood as such, were more and more troublesome.

In the eve of the breakdown in 1990, stadium Maksimir in Zagreb hosted two matches between football clubs “Dinamo” and “Red Star”. On the surface both clubs were primarily representing the general ideology – self-management Socialism. The names as well as sports associations were in fact pale copies of soviet originals: sports association “Dinamo” that was relying on police forces and „Red Star“ that was formed by a textile workers union (Riordan, 2010). At the end of the 20th century, in Yugoslav conditions, the fan ranks of these two clubs mostly consisted of Croatian and Serbian nationalists respectively, thus becoming a medium for expressing the nationalistic tendencies of the two nations.

The match was far from a sports competition. A conflict between the fans overwhelmed the stadium, involving the police as well as players. Shocking images of the clearly confronted Serbs and Croats, covered with jerseys of their clubs, overwhelmed the media in the state that was on the edge. Still, contrary to the general belief, the war did not start at Maksimir (Đorđević, 2015). Unlike the football war between Salvador and Honduras, the war between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia had different causes, ones that will emerge a year later and whose origins can be found in the complex issue of the nations’ right to self-determination (Guskova, 2003). Despite this, the image remained, the conflict recorded and remembered, and the football hostility between these two teams preceded the hostility between the two nations. Almost symbolically, in the general turmoil, the flag of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was burnt.

During the turbulent 1990s, in Croatia and FR Yugoslavia two elite football players made successful careers – Igor Štimac and Siniša Mihajlović. They did not manage to keep their positions as elite athletes safe from politics; they had not even tried. Thus, Mihajlović supported Željko Ražnatović Arkan with whom he was personally acquainted. On the other hand, Štimac supported Franjo Tuđman. Differences were not only political, they were evident at the football pitch: in 1991, Štimac and Mihajlović had a conflict during a game and they both got red cards. A chance for a new beginning emerged in 1999 when the two national football teams played a game. However, the tensions were far from over, and on the occasion Štimac said: “Mihajlović is not worthy talking to. I prayed to God to punish him for his cursed life, because he is half-Croat” (Index.hr 20/23.03.2013, 26.09.2013; Đorđević 2015).

For almost a decade and a half, the two countries were following a clearly paved European path. Croatia had passed a far bigger part, becoming a member of the European Union in 2013. Serbia, still in the process of accession, but with

dominantly European policy and a pro-European government. Brussels underlined interstate cooperation and reconciliation of former Yugoslav countries as a clear requirement. In such a situation, two, former Yugoslav republics, found themselves in 2013 in the same group in the qualifications for the FIFA World Cup. They were tasked with organizing two matches, in Zagreb and Belgrade, where two old acquaintances – Igor Štimac and Siniša Mihajlović – met again, now as head coaches of the national teams.

Briefly, let us mention that every sports event, speaking in terms of sports sociology as a special sociological discipline, consists of the following elements: participants (players), mediators (coaches, judges, sponsors, sports journalists) and audience (fans and fan groups). Minding the fact that sport is a very complex social-historical phenomenon, and that the relationship between sport and politics is ever-present, the emergence of polarization (negative and positive) of sports events is one of the significant topics for both sports sociology and the history of sport. While the negative polarization of sport is a synonym for sport in function of conflicts and disintegration (a tool for disassembling nations, classes, layers, races, regions...) – the most common stated example is one from the aforementioned “football war” between Honduras and Salvador in Latin America in 1969, the positive politicization of sport and sport events relates to the function of strengthening the social cohesion and the stability of the social system, i.e. the function of strengthening the social consensus. The most important mediators in modern sports events are considered to be sports journalists. Sports journalism as a means of communication is very important because it can broaden or reduce the dimension of sports success, as well as failure, and consequently have an effect on the public opinion and the overall relations in sport (Koković, 2004; Radenović 2017). Sports journalist can affirm social values and their reporting can fundamentally affect the popularity of certain sports and different way of conducting sports (mass sport, elite sport, competitive sport etc.), and they can create idols, cults and sports stars, be the critics of the current state in certain sports and clubs, report affirmatively only about certain sports and clubs and even write promotional articles for certain clubs, promote them, but also increase the tension among fans with sensationalistic reports, or on the other hand, decrease those tensions with solid, professional reports (Radenović, 2017). Consequently, sports journalists can participate in the process of politicisation (positive or negative) of sport and sport events, and in the end their non-objective, biased and hateful way of reporting can misuse sport and sports events as a manifestation which should actually connect nations, countries and promote peace, tolerance, coexistence, friendship, fair-play, etc.

Finally, a particular accent should be put on the significance of journalist ethic and the Code of Sports Journalists which sports journalist and commentators should always bear in mind. Firstly, a reminder that ethics is a philosophical discipline concerning moral. Therefore, it can be perceived as a personal implementation of a certain set of values which an individual had freely adopted so that he/she

would attain their own goal that they consider just. When it comes to (sports) journalism, ethics is defined as a branch of philosophy that helps a journalist to determine what is appropriate to do in journalism; it is a discipline that sets behavioural norms (Koković 2004). As it is stated in the Code of Sports Journalists of Serbia (Pantović, 2015), “while reporting, especially in live broadcasts of sports events, a sports journalist is to maintain professional distance and impartiality, in accordance with the “Code of Journalists of Serbia”, but also, “a sports journalist must not manipulate information, they must not use the media in a planned and controlled way, in psycho-social conditions they find adequate, to emit certain information and messages, that will affect opinions, attitudes and behaviour of a vast majority of people, so that they, in aspects where there is no general consent, and in which they are highly interested – form an opinion in line with the opinions, attitudes and values of a manipulator, without being aware of it at all”, etc.

## **METHOD**

The method of content analysis and classic historical method were used in this paper..

## **RESULTS**

### **Domination of sensations**

Two countries, the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Croatia, found themselves in the same group in the 2013 qualifications for the FIFA World Cup. They were tasked with organizing two games, first in Zagreb, on the 22nd March 2013 and then in Belgrade on the 6th of September 2013. This sports manifestation, profoundly politically coloured, was greeted with excitement by the press. From the Croatian side, this paper analysed Index.hr and Večernji list. From the Serbian side, Politika was analysed as the oldest and most respected daily newspaper in the country, and Kurir as one of the pioneers of the tabloidization of the Serbian media and certainly one of the most influential tabloids today. Regarding the texts related to the first game, the authors conducted a content analysis, covering seventeen (17) articles from Večernji List in the period between 18/03 and 23/03/2013, forty (40) articles from Index.hr in the period from 15/03 to 23/03/2013, eleven (11) articles from daily newspaper Politika in the period from 17/03 to 23/03/2013, and twenty-three (23) articles from Kurir in the period from 17/03. to 23/03/2013. When the second game was in question, the content analysis covered thirteen (13) articles from Večernji list in the period between 04/09 and 07/09/2013, thirteen



(13) articles from the Index.hr portal in the period from 29/08 to 07/09/2013, eight (8) articles from daily newspaper Politika in the period between 03/09 and 06/09/2013, and twelve (12) articles from Kurir in the period from 01/09/ to 07/09/2013.

The content analysis of the mentioned articles points to the following observations:

1. The headlines in Večernji list are primarily sensationalistic, with a terminology that emphasizes belonging to a collective: "Serbs are gathering", "Vukovar's Serbs", "Croatia Crashes Serbia"; the only term from the so-called military terminology was the word "duel", but despite these sensationalistic titles, Večernji list boasts high quality interviews without warmongering characteristics, in the spirit of fair play with various sports legends, such as famous football player Dragan Džajić, sports journalist and commentator Miloško Pantić, and sports psychologist Amir Zulić;

2. The headlines published by Index.hr were sensationalistic and they heated up the atmosphere of the conflict, using phrases like "a duel with the Eagles", collective nouns: "Serbs", "Croats", "Serbia", "Croatia", "Serbs are mocking", etc. as well as military terminology: "a qualifications duel"; "a match of all matches", "a duel with Croatia", "Marakana slaughterhouse ambience", "Serbian national being". As examples of objective writing, we underline a quality interview with Dragan Džajić, which reflects the spirit of fair play and in which Džajić analyses the quality of both national teams. The articles include a very objective analysis of the quality of both teams – there are statements of the players of both the Serbian national team and the national team of Croatia. Despite the sensationalistic titles, texts are fairly objective, especially those containing the above-mentioned statements/analyses of the players. Finally, we also need to mention an article titled "And the Nobel Peace Prize Goes to ... Štiko and Miha" which reminds the readers of the political views of both national team coaches during the 90s war, but primarily in provocative mode. One has to wonder about the goal of this and similar texts. Such texts remind the readers of the war and can stimulate the reproduction of long-standing nationalist tensions and hatred, so the question of the responsibility of authors and editors can be raised, as well as the question of their intents;

3. The headlines in the daily newspaper Politika contain the names from politics and sports and they are not so sensationalistic, but they also contain phrases from the so-called military terminology such as "attack against Serbia", "honourable and heroic struggle". Regarding the second football match, the headlines in the spirit of fair play were predominant, putting emphasis on the hint of sporting success. The contents of the articles make fairly objective analyses of the quality of both teams through statements by both Croatian and Serbian players, as well as politicians calling for fair play and sportsmanship,

peace, tolerance, without warmongering elements. We underline the excellent texts written by journalist Ivan Cvetković as a valid analysis of both matches: "Mihajlović Not Guilty", "Merited Defeat in Zagreb, "Serbian Team Far from Brazil", and "Football Was Meant to Bring Together Serbs and Croats";

4. The headlines in the tabloid Kurir are expectedly sensationalistic, producing an atmosphere of conflict: "World Trembling for Croatia and Serbia," and these headlines involved not only people from sports and politics, but also showbiz: Stanija, Thompson. There were also headlines: "WAR FOR TICKETS: Croatian Football Association Distributes Tickets to Extreme Political Parties", "To Battle, Heroes!", "ŠTIMAC A BIT NERVOUS: Štimac Attacks Serbian Journalist for Asking a Question," "TENSIONS ARE GROWING: All Croats on Friday in National Jersey!", "ŠTIMAC: No Applause for Serbian Anthem in Belgrade!", "Croats to Miha: Siniša, Ustasha!" – these headlines produce the atmosphere of conflict and long-standing inter-ethnic tensions. In one of the articles, a hug between Mihajlović and Štimac is mentioned as an indicator of the atmosphere that differed significantly from the atmosphere in the stands among the fans. In this case, despite the warmongering and sensationalistic headline, the content can be characterized as objective because it involved facts. Sensationalistic headlines that inspire the atmosphere of conflict and which contain collective nouns: "Serbs", "Croats", "Serbia", "Croatia", were dominant in reports about the second game. The names of players in the headlines and their statements embedded in a context that inspires the atmosphere of conflict are frequent, as in the following examples: "Panic in Croatia: Mandžukić Not to Play against Serbia?", "Štimac Fears Serbia is Stronger than in Zagreb", "Darijo Srna: Serbs are Nervous ", etc. Regarding the content of articles about the second game, many texts are taken from Tanjug, so they have a form of reports, with no warmongering elements, the statements of the players were mentioned, so despite the sensationalistic titles, the content does not encourage the atmosphere of conflict. The text titled "Hellish Plan of Croatian Extremists: Chaos on Marakana!" stands out because it inspires conflicts and the spreads panic. In this case, the responsibility of the author and the newspaper editor can be put into spotlight.

The mentioned observations will be explained in more detail through the characteristic examples of sensationalism as well as objective reporting by the analysed media.

## DISCUSSION

The atmosphere at the matches was generally calm. There was no hooliganism, which is not surprising concerning the fact that visiting fans (both Serbs in Zagreb and Croats in Belgrade) were forbidden to attend matches.

From the very political top came a tone of reconciliation: the mayor of Zagreb Bandić received a bottle of brandy and a Serbian national team jersey while Tomislav Karadžić, the president of the Football Association of Serbia, received a Monograph of the City of Zagreb and a coat of arms for a gift. Also, in Belgrade, the then Serbian President Tomislav Nikolić received delegates from the Football Association of Croatia, where they also exchanged gifts. The two spotlight protagonists, Štimac and Mihajlović, insisted on reconciliation. They publicly greeted on a few occasions extremely friendly, exchanged gifts (ajvar) and wished each other a happy birthday (Index.hr 23/03/2013; Večernji list 05/09/2013).

However, even when Štimac and Mihajlović reconciled, the press did not. The matches were a perfect opportunity for numerous sensationalistic texts, certainly aimed at boosting the sale. In general, the "hunt for sensation" was endless. The calm and mellow statements of athletes or coaches were reported and transformed in a desired way. Additionally, the same statements were placed in a wider context. Thus, an individual does not speak on behalf of himself, or the national team, but on behalf of all Serbs or Croats. For example, in an interview Mihajlović states that he forbade sexual activities to players before the game, which is not a rare practice in sport (Galić, 2003), and Index.hr reports that "Sex is Serbian Enemy Number 1" (Index.hr 18/03/2013). Also, the statements were interrupted in the middle of the sentence. For example, when Serbian football player Vladimir Stojković said: "We shall see if Croats will succeed in proving their point, that they are better than us. Regarding the atmosphere at Maksimir ... I am so concerned I cannot sleep; just kidding, we are not afraid". Index.hr uses this statement to formulate it in the following way: "Serbs are mocking:" We are so afraid of the atmosphere at Maksimir we cannot sleep"(Index.hr 18/03/2013). On the other hand, Kurir reports that Štimac "LIGHTS THE FIRE: Štimac and Thompson Waiting for Serbia". Beyond the sensationalistic headline, in the text itself, it can be read that Štimac actually put the song of Marko Perković Thompson on his Facebook profile and did not even have contacts with the author himself (Kurir, 19/03/2013). Just like its Croatian counterparts, Kurir attaches certain moves of individuals to the entire nation. Thus, when the fans booed Mihajlović at the Zagreb game, this was characterized as "Croats to Miha: Siniša Ustasha" (Kurir March 23, 2013). Večernji list went the furthest, quoting a statement from a single Serb, ("one Serb from Vukovar"), but the headline includes everything: "Tense Game Ahead: Vukovar Serbs to Cheer on Serbia" (Večernji list 21/03/2013).

Besides the national, the press also focused on an individual dimension, which again, concerning its biography, position and operation, was projected back to the national one. Thus, Siniša Mihajlović was the target of 7 articles in connection with the first match in Zagreb, which had a form of direct attack on his personality. A photo of Mihajlović from the 1990s with Željko Ražna-

tović Arkan, who was dressed in a military uniform, was an integral part of two articles (Index.hr 23/03/2013). True, Mihajlović did not hide that he supported Arkan, but he stated many times that he had come to Croatia as a friend and that he wants the matches to be played in a friendly atmosphere. The press reports had a far reach, so the Croatian Party of Law requested to forbid Mihajlović to enter the country, which the Serbian tabloid characterized as a matter of "FEAR" (Kurir 20/03/2013; Večernji list 20/03/2013). Finally, in the attacks, Večernji list went too far, interpreting the actions of Mihajlović as the current coach in a headline that states: "Mihajlović Plays a Big Shot but He Could Turn out to Be Fake". In the text they write that "he is feisty", "plays a big shot" and "only wants to be in the spotlight" (Večernji list 22/03/2013). The attacks were very likely directed towards a practical goal – provoking the reaction of Mihajlović himself. Namely, as a player known for hasty reactions to provocations, his potential angry behaviour as a coach would be a real sensation for the Croatian press. However, even when everything went smoothly in Zagreb, when both Mihajlović and Štimac showed that they were capable of fulfilling their task, Index.hr writes the article "And the Nobel Peace Prize is awarded to ... Štiko and Miha!", where they did not miss the opportunity to once again point out Mihajlović's past, stating that he was "Arkan's close friend and the financier of the defence of the battalion of Serbian prisoners from Lora" (Index.rs 23/03/2013).

Besides the direct and concrete articles in the press, terminology with a dominant military tone was evident. Thus, in seemingly more objective articles, we can find constructions like "Croatia Crashes Serbia" or "Turn Blue" (referring to blue jerseys) (Večernji list, 22/03/2013, Kurir, 18/03/2013). Also, official statements were filled with the same discourse. Štimac states: "We are going to fight Serbia" and the Minister of Youth and Sport of the Republic of Serbia addressing players tells them to "fight honourably and heroically", which the press reported to the word (Politika 20-21/03/2013). The significance of qualifying matches was clearly exaggerated, so the matches were characterized as the "Biggest Match in Recent Serbian History" as well as "Match of All Matches" (Indeks.hr, 18-20/03/2013). The exaggeration also shifted to the sphere of mythology, which should certainly be considered within the context of the basis of the national myth (Smith, 2010), so the decision that Croatian footballers in the first match should play in blue jerseys was interpreted as a lucky sign because when wearing those jerseys, the Croatian team beat France and Turkey. The article explicitly states that "the myth originated back in 1998" (Index.hr 18/03/2013).

### **Vicious circle of tabloid communication**

In the absence of adequate statements that could be sensationalistic, the press had other sources. So regarding the defeat of Serbia in Zagreb, a rock

musician Milić Vukašinović was asked for a statement, obviously because the press expected a feisty response. Vukašinović's opinion was quoted in a headline: "We Serbs are a brave nation, but we played as p\*\*\*ies at Maksimir" (Index.hr 23/03/2013). In that way, we are not talking just about the significance of the statement of one musician, but this musician was put into the position of the ambassador of a whole nation. The fact that the significance of the source is not important in comparison with the sensation it carries is reflected in the example of a Serbian tabloid Alo. Namely, like Paul the octopus, which predicted the results of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the journalists of this tabloid did something similar, but with a llama. In the Belgrade Zoo they stood in front of a llama and showed them the pictures of Croatian players and coaches. The llama turned to the photograph of the national team coach, sniffed it, and "spit on Štimac's face. Essentially, this act of the small Serbian tabloid Alo could go almost completely unnoticed. However, in their hunt for sensations, Večernji list delivers a detailed performance report with a title that marks the whole nation: "Serbs Are Mocking: Llama Spits at Štimac and Marks Him as Danger" (Večernji list 20/03/2013). Along the same line, an article of a small US electronic medium Bleacher Report was taken as relevant to the entire world, with the title: "Risky: The World Trembling for Croatia and Serbia" (Kurir 19/03/2013). Kurir went the furthest, where regarding the start of Šimunić in the second match and his red card, they wrote: "THE ENGLISH ON ŠIMUNIĆ'S START: The Most Brutal Foul Ever." According to the article, "journalists from the Island" are quoted as the source. Certainly incomplete and unsatisfactory, but for Kurir, it was enough to construct a headline that involves practically the entire English nation (Kurir 07/09/2013).

Also, tensions were found and constructed around the phenomena which essentially contained no tensions. An invitation to the citizens of Croatia by the Croatian Football Association to watch the match, if not at the stadium itself, then at home in the Croatian national team jersey, and to come in the same jersey to school or work, Kurir interprets as a tension, reporting: "All Croats on Friday in National Jersey!". What poses a specific problem in this, how does a child from Osijek wearing a national team jersey that Friday raise international tensions, Kurir does not explain, it only remains at extremely sensationalistic and intentionally spun headline (Kurir 21/03/2013).

The tabloid actions do not remain only in the sphere of the media, they were also projected outside the articles. Večernji list hung a 30m national team jersey on the Vjesnik building. The jersey fell due to the wind, which the Serbian Kurir simply could not let go unnoticed, by making a mocking headline: "BLOWING, BLOWING: Wind Takes Croatian Jersey down from Večernji list HQ" (Index.hr 19/03/2013, Kurir 19/03/2013). Likewise, on the occasion of the second match in Belgrade, Večernji list reports completely

unfounded Kurir's writing that Croatian extremists "intend to make chaos in Belgrade" (Večernji list 06/09/2013, Kurir 05-06/09/2009).

The problem went far from the sphere of football, it was projected in the sphere of politics and from that sphere back to music. Always controversial Marko Perović Thompson was in the spotlight during these matches. As we have seen, it was sufficient to have a "share" of a Thompson song on Facebook by Štimac and the whole sensation was constructed. In the serious search for events, or at least reactions across the border, Večernji list proposes songs for the support of the Croatian national team. Among others, Thompson's song "You Are Beautiful" was also there, and it could have been easily excluded, as its inclusion on the list puts into question the ultimate intention of the entire article (Večernji list 06.09.2013.). On the other hand, music was also connecting people. In Belgrade, guests are welcomed with two illustrative songs at the stadium. The first, though only as part of an advertisement, was the melody of a pop star Severina Vučković who is equally popular in both countries. However, since the Serbian audience recognized the melody, it was booed. Then, a song that was chosen to warm up the atmosphere in the stadium was "Gangnam style", a global phenomenon, and the most watched video on YouTube at the time. This song was certainly well-received around the world, not only in the Balkans. But the organizers of the match in Belgrade, as one of the songs, also played "March on Drina". The song originated during the First World War, in a different context, though in 2013. it could have been interpreted as a provocation, taking into account the boundary of Serbia towards Bosnia and Herzegovina and the war that took place in that area. Večernji list did not miss the opportunity, but said that this song was played and left the readers to make their own conclusions (Večernji list, 07/09/2013).

### **It could be more objective**

Finally, there were numerous examples of objective reporting. Index.hr published three articles on topics that could be very sensationalistic (problems with Savićević and Mirković, Karadžić's gift for Bandić and problems with Ante Gotovina's presence at the stadium), where it is evident that it is possible to objectively write about topics that are controversial (Index.hr 20-21/03/2013). Večernji list was notably more objective regarding the second match, where two articles were released in a friendly tone: Mihajlović's birthday wishes to Štimac and the walk of the Croatian national team through Belgrade, where they were "warmly welcomed" (Večernji list 05-06/09/2013). However, only Politika and its dominantly objective articles, deserve complete praise. Thus, instead of a "match of all matches", "a big derby" was played in Zagreb (Politika 21/03/2013). By analysing the articles in Politika, it is clear that they were written in such a manner that would contribute to the reduction

of tension in the matches. The message of the police of Zagreb that in the case of "hate speech" the match will be stopped, *Politika* publishes without mentioning what the content of hate speech might be using Ustasha connotations, which could only provoke the readers (*Politika* 20/03/2013). When the national team of Serbia was defeated, the article plainly states: "Deserved Defeat in Zagreb, Serbian Team Far from Brazil" (*Politika* 22/03/2013). Regarding the second match, all the reports in tabloids, constructions and sensations were ignored by *Politika*, which objectively wrote about the event in a series of articles (*Politika* 03-04-05-06/09/2013).

## CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that headlines generally had sensationalist character, which comes as no surprise bearing in mind the fact the "tabloidization" of the media that produce such headlines – and in case of reporting about these two sports events – also headlines with hostile character.

On the other hand, the very content of the articles was not so sensationalistic because a vast number of articles reported statements of athletes, coaches and politicians that call for peace or provide an in-depth analysis of characteristics of the players of both teams. Zagreb's *Večernji list* and Belgrade's *Politika* maintain a professional level, especially *Politika* which in this case did not participate in the trend of "tabloidization". *Večernji list* had a number of sensationalistic headlines, but to a much smaller extent than *Index.hr* and *Kurir*.

Back to the question of responsibility of authors and editors, and the ethical question of the purpose of journalism and especially sports journalism. Concretely, what is the purpose of articles that reminisce conflicts? Is it a search for some kind of truth? Facts had been recorded, today on YouTube, videos are easily accessible (for example, a recording of Dejan Savičević that is mentioned in the analysed texts), but will this reminiscence of the conflicts from the wartime 90s decrease the long-lasting international tensions? These tensions can only be increased and renewed with articles that bring back old traumas, because of the ethical question of the good intentions of authors and editors an ongoing and significant question bearing in mind the existence of the Code of Journalist Ethics, and the mentioned Code of Sports Journalists of Serbia. Furthermore, we can bring to mind the Galen question: "Does a good doctor also have to be a good person?" and transfer it to area of (sports) journalism: "Does a good journalist have to be a good person?" Surely, the distinctions and an attempt to answer this question overcomes the boundaries of this paper, but we can notice that every (sports) journalist, as well as editor of a paper, portal or tabloid should ask him/herself which values are in the

essence of his/her actions, especially when writing a concrete article and/or report about sports events that are being held in the context of long-lasting international and ethnic tensions. Surely the question of values also assumes the question of responsibility and consequences of concrete actions of each individual. We suggest that every (sports) journalist and editor ask themselves this question, try to be honest to themselves, and consider well their own responsibility and possible consequences of reporting about sports events that is irresponsible, biased and lacking good intentions.

#### NOTES

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