



DEMOKRACIE A MÉDIA

www.karelmuller.eu

www.cevroinstitut.cz

Co je veřejná sféra a jaké jsou její morální předpoklady

- Náboženské války
- Nástup náboženské tolerance de/sekularizace
- Srovnávání (a mobilita) jako zdroj kritiky otevřená společnost (zpochybňování a pochybování)
- Kritika význam kritiky pro rozvoj veřejné sféry (umělecká, literární, politická – Habermas)
- Institucionalizace kritické diskuse jako veřejný statek
- Institucionalizace opozice jako veřejný statek a jako etablování veřejné sféry
- Média dopisy a romány, tisk, rozhlas, televize, internet, sociální sítě a Al
- Komercializace a její vliv na veřejnou sféru problém depolitizace, bulvarizace, banalizace, trivializace, konzumní kultura…

Rozbor publika: MASA (Ch. Mills)

<u>Masa:</u>

- je mnohem méně lidí, kteří své mínění vyjadřují, než lidí, kteří je přijímají
- 2. sdělovací prostředky jsou zorganizovány tak, že je nesnadné, či dokonce nemožné, aby jednotlivec bezprostředně nebo účinně reagoval
- 3. realizace veřejného mínění nějakou akcí se děje pod kontrolou úřadů, které organizují a řídí způsob jejího provádění
- 4. instituce neposkytuje mase autonomii, naopak do masy pronikají agenti zmocněných institucí a omezují každou autonomii, která by se mohla vyvinout při utváření veřejného mínění diskusí



Veřejnost

- prakticky právě tolik lidí vyjadřuje názory, kolik jich je přijímá
- 2. veřejné sdělování myšlenek je sdělováno tak, že je možno ihned a účinně reagovat na jakýkoli veřejně projevený názor
- 3. mínění, které se při takové diskusi vytvoří, se snadno uplatní v účinné akci a v případě nutnosti i proti vládě či systému
- 4. mocenské instituce nezasahují do záležitostí veřejnosti, která tedy funguje víceméně autonomně



Kvazi-zprostředkovaná interakce (John Thompson)
Politické funkce médií

- Informace, osvěta, watchdog, agenda setting
- Komercializace, bulvarizace, závislost na příjemcích
 - Infotainment, politainment, depolitizace
- Re-feudalizace
 - Boj o zviditelnění, negativní marketing, politický/kulturní jam (logjam), pseudoudálosti
- Simulakra a hyperrealita (Jean Baudrillard)
- Co znamená nezávislost médií? Veřejnoprávnost?
- Co znamená mediální gramotnost?



Internet a virtuální společenství (kap. 3,3)

- Interpretace ICT (+, -, + a -)
- Virtuální společenství, svoji pozici/roli si volíme
- Fake news, alternativní fakta běžné vědění (?)
- Útěk od veřejnosti, politika/veřejnost coby hyperrealita
- Sociální bubliny, postupující fragmentace a polarizace veřejnosti ---) re-feudalizace
- Dominance (nové formy) marketingu

Prodané náklady 2006 - 2017







Pozn.: Údaje v grafu představují součet odpovědí "rozhodně důvěřuji" a "spíše důvěřuji" vyjádřený v procentech.

Přehled cirkulace nákladů vybraných evropských deníků



Circulation yearly

www.cevroinstitut.cz



THE GUARDIA Monday July 21 1969

US astronauts take an early walk into history at 339 an

L. CLVIII ... No. 54,737 © 2009 The New York Times

"All the News

That's Fit to Print"

WEDNESDAY, JULY 15, 2009

The New York Times

\$2.00

Republicans Press Judge About Bias and Activism

Sotomayor Pledges to Honor Precedent -**Retreats From Some Statements**

By PETER BAKER and NEIL A. LEWIS "It was bad because it left an

WASHINGTON - Republican senators sparred with Judge So-nia Sotomayor on Tuesday over experiences command a result in racial bias, judicial activism and a case," Judge Sotomayor said temperament as she presented publicly addressing the control versy over that line for the first herself as a reliable follower of precedent rather than a jurist shaped by gender and ethnicity, as some of her past speeches suggested the state of the speeches of the speeche

suggested. Iggested. In calm, low-key and at times robots who listen to evidence and legalistic testimony, Judge Soto-mayor rebuffed hours of skeptidon't have feelings. We have to recognize those feelings, and put them aside. That's what my cal questions and stuck resolutely to her message that if con-firmed to the Supreme Court, she speech was saying." Still, for all of the buildup, the would not let personal bias influ-ence her rulings. In the first two hours alone, she said she ruled second day of her confirmatio hearings produced few of the ar ticipated fireworks as senator

moved from opening statement to questions and answers. Al times, it had more the feel of a law school seminar about stat-utes of limitation and strict scru-

tiny standards. Judge Sotomayor stayed coo throughout the questioning and avoided giving direct answers about her views on several polar

izing issues, including preside tial signing statements, propert rights, gun control and the deat penalty. She barely flinched when read anonymous reviews of her temperament, including phrases like "a bit of a bully" and "terror on the bench," saying only that she asks "tough que tions" during hearings Her measured responses we in line with a White House strat

egy of keeping the hearings as

Continued on Page A15

MORE ON THE HEARINGS THEORY V. PRACTICE Confirma theory at least, to determine

would be. But in practice they show something else: what sor



Judge Sonia Sotomayor was closely questioned Tuesday by Senator Jeff Sessions, Republican of Alabama (on monitor).

iob market - and the rate Brothers, in September 2008, led into almost six months of terribl economic news; and the stabilimore mixed.

zation, when the news became



Affecting Top Filers

By ROBERT PEAR

Democratic leaders took a big

tep toward guaranteeing health

that detailed how they would ex-pand coverage, slow the growth

of Medicare, raise taxes on high-

income people and penalize em-ployers who do not provide

ealth benefits to their workers. A day after President Obama

pressured Democratic leaders to speed work on his top domestic

iority, three House committees mounced plans to begin voting

Starting in 2011, a family mak-ing \$500,000 would have to pay

\$1,500 in additional income tax to

help subsidize coverage for the

million would have to pay \$9,000

uninsured. A family making \$1

Employers who do not provide health insurance to workers

would generally have to pay a fee

or penalty to the government The fee would be equal to 8 per

cent of wages for an employed with an annual payroll of more

uncertainty House Democrats

were jubilant as they introduced

Continued on Page A12

largely missed by

neated statistics on

LEONHARDT the official, oft-re-

than \$400,000 After months of setbacks an

ing so

DAVID

surance for most Americans on tesday as they unveiled a bill

by applying "the law" or some variation at least two dozen imes. "It's a refrain I keep repeat-ing," she told the Senate Judicia-Marine ran to safety as a homemade bomb exploded Monday in Helmand Province, Afghanistan; the blast killed two others.

ry Committee, "because that is my philosophy of judging: aplying the law to the facts at She retreated from or tried to

Afghan War's Buried Bombs Put Risk in Any Step SURCHARGE IS SET explain away some past state-ments, most notably her much-IN A HEALTH PLAN riticized comment that she hoped a "wise Latina woman" might reach better conclusions than white males without the same experiences. She noted that New Tax of 1% to 5.4% no words I have ever spoken or written have received so much attention," dismissing them as "a rhetorical flourish that fell flat'

and that did not mean what critics have interpreted them to and DAVID M. HERSZENHORN WASHINGTON - House

> ALOW PROFILE As she sought to fend off Republicans' criticism that she was a temperamental bully who would allow her feel ings to dictate her decisions Judge Sonia Sotomayor took pains to make herself as boring

tion hearings make an effort, in



In Recession, a Bleaker Path for Workers to Slog when the collapse of Lehman

reached 23.5 percent in Oregon In California and a handful of this spring, according to a New York Times analysis of state-by other states, one out of every five people who would like to be working full time is not now do-It is a startling sign of the pain that the Great Recession is in-flicting, and it is

state data. It was 21.5 percent in both Michigan and Rhode Island and 20.3 percent in California. In Tennessee, Nevada and several other states that have relied heavily on manufacturing o housing, the rate was just under 20 percent this spring and may

have since surpassed it.

improvised explosive de To Gay Bishops

By LAURIE GOODSTEIN

ANAHEIM, Calif. - The Episal Church voted overwhelmlesday to open the door to rate more bishops who are ly gay, a move that is likely nd shock waves throughout Anglican Communion, the al network of churches to

ich the Episcopal Church bev voting to affirm that "any ed ministry" is open to gay and lesbians, the Episcopal

ch effectively ended what v regarded as a moratorium ning gay bishops, which church passed at its last con-

The moratorium was adopted red to be a largely un

Iraq, they are becoming more common and more sophisticated alone, nine Afghan police officers with each week, American milwere killed in two bomb attacks in Logar Province, south of Kaitary officers say. This year, bomb attacks on cobul. With few paved roads, Afghan alition troops in Afghanistan have spiked to an all-time high, istan is even more fertile territo-ry for I.E.D.'s. than Iraq, where with 465 in May alone, more than hard pavement often forced in-surgents to leave bombs in the

vices, or I.E.D.'s, are less power-ful or complex than those used in from 81 in 2003, an American mil-

itary official said. In early July

a device in a dirt road and cover

Continued on Page A8

Goldman Sachs profits

Another concern is that the

blowout profits might encourage rivals to try to match Goldman in

the markets so they, too, can re-

turn to paying hefty bonuses. Wall Street's bonus culture is

widely seen as having encour

aged the excessive risk-taking that set off the financial crisis.

When First Lt. James Brown double the number in the same d his team of bomb investigamonth two years before. At least rs arrived at the shredded re-46 American troops have been open. Not so in Afghanistan, where it is relatively easy to bury ins of the truck, the grim sigkilled by I.E.D.'s this year, putting icance of the attack became 2009 on track to set a record in r. One of the dead was a hardthe tracks. the eight-year war. rging commander who, more I.E.D.'s have been even more n any officer in this restive

Even when I.E.D.'s do not wound or will troops, the threat deadly for Afghan police officers and soldiers. At the current rate, restricts and complicates the d fight a shadowy network I.E.D. attacks on Afghan forces

ne wasn't trying so hard, i as taking bribes, taking he'd be alive right now," \$3.4 Billion Profit at Goldman

enant Brown said of the ander, Gul Alam. is the war in Afghanistan where death is measure the accuracy of bullets ough the Afghan insurger

ws dropped at the news on uesday: After all that federal aid, a resurgent Goldman Sachs is on course to dole out bonuses at could rival the record pay ays of the heady bull-market

Goldman posted the richest uarterly profit in its 140-year istory and, to the envy of its ri-

vals, announced that it had ear-marked \$11.4 billion so far this year to compensate its workers. At that rate, Goldman employ or nearly what they did at the height of the boom.

Senior Goldman executives and bankers would be paid considerably more. Only three years ago, Goldman paid more than 50

lovees above \$20 million each. In 2007, its chief executive Lloyd C. Blankfein, collected one of the biggest bonuses in corpo-rate history. The latest headline results - \$3.44 billion in profits were powered by earnings from the bank's secretive trading

operations and exceeded even the most optimistic predictions. oldman's sudden good

Revives Gilded Pay Packages By GRAHAM BOWLEY Even on Wall Street, the land of six- and seven-figure incomes,

Episcopal Vote **Reopens** a Door

By JAMES DAO

TV by froward OPERATING

Insta

SERVOV

FORWARD OPERATING

call came just after dinner: a

kup truck carrying Afghan na-

nal police officers had hit a ried bomb, and all five officers

ct of Logar Province, had

l bomb makers

ide were dead

on three years ago

Don't fo



By ANTHONY TUCKER, our Science Corres

Men are on the moon. At 3 39 a.m. this morning-nearly four hours ahead of schedule - Armstrong, the 'lunar module commander, opened the hatch and clambered slowly down to the surface of the moon.

Minutes later Aldrin followed him down the steps of the indder-of renamed Tranquillity Base-to join in this moving, classey culmination of eigh years of intense dedication. It was the fulfilment of a dream which men hav shared since the beginning of recorded history.

earth

Details of TV

cover-page 2

Jump ahead Loud and clear

oparetien began at this side II downed when the haritantal-

Timing of lunar walk



Apollo interest

Coolest men off earth

land beside crater

From ADAM RAPHAEL : Houston, July 20







OL, CLVIII ... No. 54,737

WEDNESDAY, JULY 15, 2009 © 2009 The New York Times



Marine ran to safety as a homemade bomb exploded Monday in Helmand Province, Afghanistan; the blast killed two others

Afghan War's Buried Bombs Put Risk in Any Step SURCHARGE IS SET

By JAMES DAO

FORWARD OPERATING ASE ALTIMUR, Afghanistan he call came just after dinner: a itary officers say. ickup truck carrying Afghan naional police officers had hit a uried bomb, and all five officers

nside were dead. When First Lt. James Brown nd his team of bomb investiga-ors arrived at the shredded renains of the truck, the grim sig-ificance of the attack became ar. One of the dead was a hardharging commander who, more han any officer in this restive listrict of Logar Province, had nd soldiers. At the current rate,

elped fight a shadowy network LE.D. attacks on Afghan forces "If he wasn't trying so hard, if ne was taking bribes, taking naps, he'd be alive right now," Lieutenant Brown said of the

ommander, Gul Alam. This is the war in Afghanistan oday, where death is measured ess by the accuracy of bullets han by the deverness of bombs. And though the Afghan insurger ry's improvised explosive de

Episcopal Vote Reopens a Door To Gay Bishops

By LAURIE GOODSTEIN ANAHEIM, Calif. - The Episly Tuesday to open the door to enly gay, a move that is likely send shock waves throughout e Anglican Communion, the abal network of churches to hich the Episcopal Church be-

By voting to affirm that "any ardained ministry" is open to gay men and lesbians, the Episcopal rch effectively ended what many regarded as a moratorium on ordaining gay bishops, which the church passed at its last conntion three years ago.

The moratorium was adopted in what proved to be a largely un-

vices, or LE.D.'s, are less power-ful ar complex than those used in Iraq, they are becoming more itary Official said. In early July common and more sophisticated alone, nine Alghan police officers alone, nine Afghan police officers were killed in two bomb attacks with each week, American milin Logar Province, south of Ka-This year, bomb attacks on co-

With few payed roads, Afghanalition troops in Afghanistan have spiked to an all-time high, with 465 in May alone, more than istan is even more fertile territo ry for I.E.D.'s. than Iraq, where hard pavement often forced indouble the number in the same month two years before. At least surgents to leave bombs in the open. Not so in Afghanistan, 46 American troops have been killed by I.E.D.'s this year, putting 2009 on track to set a record in I.E.D.'s have been even more deadly for Afghan police officers

where it is relatively easy to bury a device in a dirt road and cover Even when LE.D.'s do not wound or will troops, the threat restricts and complicates the

Another concern is that the

that set off the financial crisis "I find this disconcerting."

\$3.4 Billion Profit at Goldman **Revives Gilded Pay Packages**

By GRAHAM BOWLEY vs dropped at the news on After all that federal id, a resurgent Goldman Sachs on course to dole out bonuses at could rival the record payws of the heady bull-market

Goldman posted the richest arterly profit in its 140-year story and, to the envy of its rials, announced that it had eararked \$11.4 billion so far this year to compensate its workers. At that rate, Goldman employ ees could, on average, earn roughly \$770,000 each this year -or nearly what they did at the height of the boom. Senior Goldman executives

and bankers would be paid con siderably more. Only three years ago, Goldman paid more than 50 employees above \$20 million each. In 2007, its chief executive,

Lloyd C. Blankfein, collected one of the biggest bonuses in corporate history. The latest headline results - \$3.44 billion in profits were powered by earnings from the bank's secretive trading operations and exceeded even

the most optimistic predictions. But Goldman's sudden good

IN A HEALTH PLAN

New Tax of 1% to 5.4% Affecting Top Filers

By ROBERT PEAR

Continued on Page A8

and DAVID M. HERSZENHORN WASHINGTON - House Democratic leaders took a big

Tuesday as they unveiled a bill that detailed how they would expand coverage, slow the growth of Medicare, raise taxes on highome people and penalize em yers who do not provide

A day after President Obama sured Democratic leaders to ed work on his top domesti

nounced plans to begin voting the measure this work. Starting in 2011, a family mak-ing \$500,000 would have to pay help subsidize coverage for the uninsured. A family making \$ million would have to pay \$9,000. Employers who do not provide health insurance to workers would generally have to pay a fee or penalty to the government. The fee would be equal to 8 per-cent of wages for an employer with an annual payroll of more than \$400,000.

After months of setbacks and incertainty, House Democrati were jubilant as they introduced

Continued on Page AI2

1.7

lowout profits might encourage rivals to try to match Goldman in the markets so they, too, can re-turn to paying hefty bonuses. Wall Street's bonus culture is widely seen as having encour-

aged the excessive risk-taking

£0.90 Republica About B uardian.co.uk

Sotomayor Pled

Ehe New Hork Eime G2's alternative guide

Retreats F Shut schools WASHINGTON ma stomayor on Tuesdi ma stomayor on Tuesdi temperament as the pr temperament as she pr herself as a reliable foll precedent rather than shaped by gender and et as some of her past s ministers told suggested. In calm, low-key and a nayor rebuffed hour

Slowing spread of swine flu would ly to her message the firmed to the Supreme (give more time to develop vaccine would not let personal ence her rulings. In the hours alone, she said

by applying "the law" d Denis Campbell and Polly Curtis variation at least two

"It's a refrain I keep Ministers were urged last night to rethink ing," she told the Senate their policy of keeping schools open ry Committee, "because through the swine flu pandemic after philosophy of judgi research showed that a shutdown would ing the law to the curb the spread of infection and limit the number of deaths.

sand "number of deaths. She retreated from or Kandy Burnham, the health secretary, explain away some pay announced that a flu helpline to take the ments, most notably he pressure of GP's surgreise would go live criticized comment in this week, two infectious disease experts hoped a "wise Latina said school closures should be considered might reach better conclusion the number of cases and buy than white meaks with "School closures should be to be the same event lines even supports in the strength of the s

Preformal theman the well increase rapidly. and that did not mean v School clonures would cause serious ics have interpreted time of the series of the series of the time of the series of the series of the series of the series of the east many as gots of AHS starffree of the series of the tend of Republicans' criterious and Dr Simon Cauchemer, both that the was a temperative the department of infectious disease dia when well allow be defendition. bully who would allow be idemiology, Imperial College London, ings to dictate her decisioid "prolonged" closures could reduce Judge Sonia Stotmayor the scale of the outbreak by 13-17% and pains to make herself as I the pandemic's peak shutting schools as possible. PAGE Als uld bring down the number of cases by

is therefore hoped that closur schools during the pandemic might ak the chains of transmission, with following potential benefits: reduc-the total number of cases; slowing the mic to give more time for va duction; and reducing the incidence of at the peak of the epidemic, limiting the stress on healthcare systems and k absenteeism in the general populaand thus increasing community-wide ience," the researchers said. ich a move would also raise the

stion of what should be done with

millions of schoolchildren during a prolonged shutdown, they added. The authors said that governments in Europe and North America might have to take such a step after they studied the impact of school closures during flu epidemics in

of school closures during flu epidemics in other countries stretching back to 1918. They say that study of the 1918 flu out-break in America and Australia indicates that shutting schools, in tandem with clos-ing churches and improved hygiene, could have reduced the death toll by between 10% and 30%, and as much as 50% in some cities at the height of the outbreak. About 100 school closed to

About 100 schools closed after the start of the outbreak in May, but soon reopened

of the outbreak in May, but soon reopened when official advice changed because swine flu was becoming so prevalent. Last night the schools department said it was sticking with the current guidance, which is not to close schools. Ed Balls, echeals are supersonal schools. Ed Balls, virus is established in the community, expert advice is that there is no longer a expert advice is that there is no tonger a strong case for closing schools to contain the spread of infection. We will be moni-toring the situation closely over the school nolidays and will review the evidence in late August.'

The department's emergency planning group, Cerg, is now solely concerned with orchestrating schools' response to the spread of swine flu and updating ministers daily on the situation.

Professor Steve Field, chairman of the Royal College of General Practitioners, said ministers should keep open the possibility of school closures. "It's something that shouldn't be discounted if it's the height of the nandemic " he cald "It's the height of the pandemic," he said. "It would depend on how the pandemic has developed. The Lancet study demonstrates that it would Lancet study demonstrates that it would slow down the transmission of the virus and might cut down the number of people who get serious illness and who die." Mick Brookes, general secretary of

the National Association of Headteachers, called for a bal-anced view of the risks. "Even one person dying is a tragedy but if the

Continued on page 2 »



theguardian

Lording it Flintoff ends 75-year curse Rebels turr on Phillips' leadership rights body Sam Jones and Afua Hirsch Trevor Phillips' management of the bled Equality and Human Rights Con sion comes under renewed pressure as two former commissioners accus of squandering the trust and confide the board through "divisive leaders In her first public comments resigning in March, Kay Ham described Phillips' leadership sty "better suited to a political organis rather than a human rights one His stewardship, she writes in to Guardian, "led to deep discontent and dissatisfaction. Not surprisi cracks soon appeared on the board, ing to a breakdown in trust and confid in the chair." in the chair." She does not regard the watchdog "lost cause, rather a missed opportu due to poor judgment and the wrong of leadership". Sir Bert Massie, who resigned from EHCR on Saturday, said that Phill

"divisive leadership" had prompted departure of five commissioners. A sixth commissioner, Ben Summ

skill of the gay rights group Stonewa considering his position. "How do you manage to alienate number of people?" Sir Bert said. "[quite a skill. These are not people who rebels for the sake of it." Sir Bert, a leading disability rights c

paigner who has sat on government bo and committees for 30 years, said he his fellow commissioners often lear of policy announcements only when t saw press releases that had already b given to the media.

given to the media. "[Trevor] is not a bad guy," said Sir B "He has got talent. That's the sadnes He is not a natural leader or a natu chairman. He does not know how to bu a team. He had a team there and had got the best out of them, they would had en quite a team ...

"That is the resource that has been m The watchdog was also criticised y rday in a National Audit Office report

paying nearly £325,000 to re-employ sev senior staff who had recently accept ous early severance package

Phillips, who had been widely tipped to 8-9) be replaced as chair, was given a second three-year term last we by the minister for women and equali Harriet Harman

he meat's off: flesh-eating robots turn vegetarian

Judge Sonia Sotoma Senator Jeff Sessions, bie Johnson San Francisco

In Catifornia and a handful of the second time in the second time is particular to the second time is the tothe second time to the s

not our mission," said Harry Schoell, the chief executive of Cyclone Power Techlogies, one of the companies behind

> Harry Schoell, one of the makers, said he understood 'the public's concern about futuristic robots feeding on

we are rocused on demonstrating that our engines can create usable, green power from plentiful, renewable plant matter. The commercial applications alone for this earth-friendly energy soluon are enormous."

The concept was originally put for-ward in 2003, and has been pushed for-ward with money from the US military's Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency (Darpa), a successor to the organi-sation that funded early development of

US officials hope the steam-powered

more rigid, destiny for most babies is od chips and other plant-based mate

Eatr can also use more conventional fuels, such as petrol, diesel or cooking oil, to keep going. But the group reiterated that it would be illegal to create a robot

ate a self-sufficient robot that could survive on its own for months at a time. The early version of Eatr runs on twigs,

rial. This is fed into an engine that burns it and uses it to create propulsion. Another of the robot's inventors, Dr Robert Finkelstein of Robotic Technol-ogy Inc (RTI), said that Eatr had built-in systems that would help it determine whether material that it ingested was

whether material that it ingested was animal, vegetable or mineral. "If it's not on the menu, it's not going to eat it," Finkelstein told Fox News.

that used dead bodic

Polly Toynbee, Comment page 27 »

organic material, but that it is not intended to chomp its way through battlefields of fallen soldiers. "We completely understand the pub lic's concern about futuristic robots feed-ing on the human population, but that is

the machine



The publicity drive is in reaction to the buzz the project created when it emerged that it was already in the testing phase, thanks to funding from the Pentagon.

the internet.

engine can be used by the military to cre-

"We are focused on demonstrating



Kapitoly 3,2 a 3,3 Masová média, demokracie a veřejnost



www.cevroinstitut.cz