

Croatia

by Marinka Boljkovac-Borkovic

I. Abstract

The Labor Law, enacted in 1996, is the main law regulating labor rights in Croatia. The Media Law was enacted in 2004, so it is too early to fully evaluate its usefulness; however, experience shows that in practice there has been resistance to implementing it fully. The lack of institutions to implement the Media Law, the lack of sanctions for those who breach it, the lack of will to sign a collective agreement at the national level and to develop social partnerships in the media sector, the lack of real social dialogue, special interests and political and other influences - are all obstacles to the freedom of the media. Job insecurity and precarious freelance status of journalists is another factor. Labor Law stipulates that only in special circumstances employment contracts can be for a fixed term, and fixed-term contracts cannot exceed three years. However, after a three-year period of short-term contracts, some employers avoid signing indefinite contracts by simply changing the job description and starting the three-year cycle all over again. Journalists, also, work illegally for years and then are pressured to register as entrepreneurs, so their employers don't have obligations towards them nor have to pay pension and health insurance benefits. Excessive commercialization is also hurting the profession. To earn greater profits, sensationalism is prevailing over serious topics and advertisements are taking up more and more space. The Trade Union of Croatian Journalists (TUCJ) has negotiated cooperative agreements with eight large media companies and two small, local ones and has been negotiating a national collective agreement with employers since 2003. TUCJ has gone to court frequently to defend labor rights of journalists and has been successful in 95% of the cases.

II. Overview

There are three important preconditions for a free and independent media sector. The first is legislation guaranteeing freedom and independence to the media and defining the rights of media employees. The second is transparency of media ownership and not allowing owners to influence publications. The third precondition is media independence from political and government influence either directly on journalists or indirectly on media owners.

A further assumption that is very important for the development of free media is the capacity and expertise of journalists and other media workers and the security of their employment independent of the impact and position of a given media outlet. Openness and the maximum availability of the media to citizens are important as is excluding interests that are not objective and do not provide truthful information. For truly free media, it is important that every violation of independence is resolved in court rather than by government executives.

As a country in transition, the Republic of Croatia adopted the conclusions of Council of Europe acts regarding freedom of expression and information (*Official Gazette* 7/1991). However, passing and harmonizing new laws that determine media freedom has been difficult recently mostly because of outside interests (owners or political) with media control as their goal. The Media Law was finally enacted in 2004 (*Official Gazette* 59/2004). Provisions of this law are to be applied and interpreted in accordance with the European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Basic Freedoms. For determining responsibility for

reimbursing damages, provisions of civil obligations apply unless determined otherwise by law.

This law has been in effect for too short a time to fully evaluate its usefulness in the development of the media; however, experience shows that in practice there has been significant resistance to its implementation both to its consistent application and in the non-sanctioning of non-application. For example, relatively stiff penalties for offences to state bodies were part of the penal provisions of the former Law on Public Information (LPI) (*Official Gazette* 69/2003), while offences to journalists' freedoms were not punished at all. In administrative terms, the issue of journalistic freedom is defined by law as the basic precondition for the freedom of journalistic activities, but in practice the provisions are not implemented.

For example, the media statutes, i.e. editorial statutes, stipulated in the former LPI to regulate relations between journalists, editors-in-chief and publishers had not been enacted even a year after passage, and no penalties were specified. Editorial statutes would improve the legal position of editors-in-chief and of journalists. The same situation remains with the existing Media Law where the obligation to enact editorial statutes is in Article 26, but the failure to create the statutes is not a misdemeanor or criminal offence. In addition, the Media Law does not include a good provision of the LPI according to which, "The principles of the statute of a public information media outlet (editorial statute) can be determined by a collective agreement." The lack of such a provision means representatives of media employers' organizations refuse to bargain using the excuse that Media Law regulates editorial statutes and they will act in line with that.

Another problem concerning the implementation of media legislation is the lack of transparency in media ownership despite relatively high penalties for non-disclosure as well as the lack of a single, powerful professional organization of media owners at the national level. There are two voluntary associations of media employers in Croatia. One includes national newspaper publishers, the other local media employers. Owners are private, public and local and as a rule cannot agree upon the minimum standards for media freedom and professional journalism.

This report is based on 15 years of efforts by the Trade Union of Croatian Journalists (TUCJ) to protect the basic labor and professional rights of journalists during the turbulent transition from socialism to a market economy and four extremely difficult and tragic years of war. It is the TUCJ's experience that labor and professional rights of journalists are violated daily in editorial offices where they should instead be defended. Labor rights are core human rights guaranteed by a number of international documents such as the United Nations (UN) Universal Declaration on Human Rights and International Labor Organization (ILO) conventions, particularly numbers 87 and 98. These core human rights are also protected by the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia and by the Croatian Labor Law.

III. Legislation Regulating Labor Relations in the Media

The Labor Law (*Official Gazette* 137/2004) is the main law regulating labor rights in Croatia. It stipulates that employers are obligated to start negotiations on collective agreements at the request of a trade union, but signing one depends on the strength of the trade union. According to the law, employment contracts should be signed for an indefinite time; only in

special circumstances can they be for a fixed term. This is outlined in Article 15 which states that a fixed-term employment contract is to be signed in cases where the end of the working relationship is determined in advance by objective circumstances that are justified on the basis of a deadline, completion of a given task or the occurrence of a certain event. The employer must not sign one or more consecutive contracts of employment on a fixed-term basis for a continuous period of over three years, except in the case of substituting temporarily for an employee on leave, or if this is allowed by law or by a collective agreement. Furthermore, a break of two months is the minimum for restarting the three-year period of fixed-term employment. In addition, according to this article, the employer has the duty to inform his/her fixed-term workers of any jobs available for which the employer could offer permanent employment, and education and training must be available to fixed-term workers under the same conditions as those valid for regular employees.

In reality, however, employers overwhelmingly prefer fixed-term contracts for journalists. Some of them are signed for one, three or six months. After a three-year period of short, month-by-month contracts, some employers avoid signing regular contracts by simply changing the job description and starting the three-year cycle all over again.

The Media Law (*Official Gazette* 59/2004) regulates the main principles concerning freedom of the media, freedom of expression and some professional rights. It defines a journalist as a person who deals with collecting, processing, shaping or distributing information to publish in the media and who does it as an employed person or as a self-employed person in line with the law. Article 32 of the Media Law says that publishers have a duty to inform the Croatian Chamber of Commerce about data on the company and its headquarters, including the name and residence of all legal entities and physical persons who either indirectly or directly own shares in that particular legal entity and information on the percentage of shares or ownership share. The publisher has the obligation to publish this data in *The Official Gazette* by February 28th of each calendar year. In practice, publishers do not respect this provision of the law.

Also, the Media Law states in Article 26 that relations between publishers, editors-in-chief and journalists and their rights are regulated by the editorial statutes of the media. As stated previously, with few exceptions, such statutes do not exist in the Croatian media. Editorial statutes regulate the way journalists participate in the process of appointing the editor-in-chief, so the opinion of journalists is currently not a decisive factor in this process.

The Law on Broadcasting Media (*Official Gazette* 122/2003) prescribes in Article 44 that publishers have the duty to inform the relevant ministry by January 31st of each calendar year about the legal entity and its headquarters including the names and residence of all legal entities and physical persons who either indirectly or directly are shareholders or owners of shares in that particular legal entity and the percentage of shares or ownership share. The publisher has the obligation to publish this data in *The Official Gazette*, but publishers in general avoid doing so.

The Ministry of Culture is in charge of broadcast media and print media are registered with the Croatian Chamber of Commerce, so TUCJ asked each for information on ownership. Some information was available on print media, but requests for the list of owners of electronic media remained unanswered.

The Law on Authors Rights and Related Rights (*Official Gazette* 167/2003) unfortunately actually reduces journalists' basic rights. Article 8 states among other things that, "Daily news and other news characterized as basic media information," is not subject to copyright. In addition, inappropriate temporary service contracts and copyright contracts are used by employers to deny freelance journalists authorship rights for work they have done or will do which is contrary to Article 52 which states that a contract provision that stipulates the employer's copyright to all future work is void. Provisions of the Law on Copyright and Related Rights should therefore be changed given that copyright protection is a very current topic in European Union countries.

The Law on Contributions for Obligatory Insurance (*Official Gazette* 147/2002 and 177/2004) obliges employers who use the work of freelancers to pay their contributions for obligatory pension and health insurance benefits. By making them register as individual entrepreneurs, however, employers can avoid these payments as entrepreneurs have to pay for the benefits from their gross remuneration.

The Penal Code (*Official Gazette* 110/1997 and 71/2006) regulates slander and offence. The 2006 version introduced an important change for journalism in that prison sentences were removed for acts of offence and slander. Both of these were frequent causes for lawsuits during the 1990s when persons, particularly politicians, mentioned in a negative context in an article or news report would go to court. The Penal Code of 1997 stated in Article 199, paragraph (2) that an insult in the printed media or on radio or television in front a large number of persons carried a fine of up to 150 days of salary or a prison sentence of up to six months. Likewise, slander in the media as described in Article 200 of the 1997 Code envisaged a prison sentence of up to one year. Article 201 aimed at protecting children by stating that publishing or broadcasting material in the media about personal or family life that could jeopardize the honor or reputation of a person would be punished by a prison sentence of six months to one year. In the new version of the Code this is replaced by financial penalty.

There are also other laws concerning media and journalists like the Law on Croatian Radio and Television (*Official Gazette* 25/2003) and the Law on Croatian Informative and Newspaper Agencies (*Official Gazette* 96/2001) that regulate specifics in these two important public service media that used to be state media until several years ago. Concerning public control, these laws regulate the composition of and procedures for appointing the members of program control councils that should represent the public. These appointments always cause heated debates due to attempts to impose political influence on public media via these bodies.

International Conventions

In terms of international obligations and adherence to general rules pertaining to workers and to labor relations, among the ILO conventions that the Republic of Croatia has ratified the following are directly or indirectly of interest to journalists: C105 Abolition of Forced Labor 1957; C3 Maternity Protection 1919; C29 Forced Labor 1930; C87 Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize 1948; C98 Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining 1949; C111 Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) 1958; C121 Employment Injury Benefits Convention 1964; C122 Employment Policy 1964; C135 Workers' Representatives 1971; C102 Social Security (Minimum Standards) 1952; C148 Working Environment (Air Pollution, Noise and Vibration); C155 Occupational Safety and Health 1981; C100 Equal Remuneration 1951; C106 Weekly Rest (Commerce and Offices) 1957; C156 Workers with Family Responsibilities 1981.

As is clear from this list of ILO conventions, the right to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively is doubly enshrined both in Croatian legislation and internationally. ILO conventions take precedence over national legislation and have to be implemented even if national legislation is not in line with them.

IV. The Implementation of the Legislation in Practice

Typically Hired Workers

Labor legislation in general regulates the rights of full-time employees; they form the core of trade union members. The same situation applies in Croatia. Most journalists and media workers in Croatia are covered by 10 collective agreements with media companies—8 with large ones and 2 with small, local companies. These agreements guarantee more rights than the labor laws. For instance, journalists have a 40-hour working week distributed over 5 working days in their cooperative agreements while the labor law stipulates a 40-hour week distributed over 6 working days. Another provision stipulates that work performed by a journalist and received by an editor is considered published and must be remunerated even if it is not actually published. This was to prevent the unfounded or politically motivated layoffs of journalists that were common during the 1990s. Also, the agreements stipulate that the components that make up the working hours of journalists include travel time, time spent attending meetings and events, searching for facts, writing, studying and reading documents and materials and checking facts. This was to prevent attempts by editors and media owners to pay journalists by the number of lines written or by seconds of broadcasting in electronic media.

In spite of labor laws and cooperative agreements, there are still violations of journalists' rights. In such cases TUCJ resorts to law suits. Unfortunately, special labor courts do not exist in Croatia and court cases last an average of 3–5 years and some even for 8–10. Nevertheless, TUCJ has won more than 95% of its cases. In the 1990s, cases included job losses due to the dissolution of big socialist media companies and the appearance of black lists of skilled journalists who were "put to ice," i.e., not allowed to write due to political reasons. Black lists were followed by sacking journalists based on ethnic origin or political beliefs. In 1998/99 some "independent" media outlets founded with foreign capital went bankrupt, and the owners "forgot" to pay their journalists. These new media outlets lasted on average a year or two and attracted journalists by offering them high salaries and better benefits than Croatian media, but these salaries were actually much lower because workers did not get paid for months.

Another major case was in 2001 when 149 lawsuits were filed by the full-time freelance journalists of a daily paper who had not been paid for 1.5 years. There is currently a case in which 103 employees of a daily paper sued their Austrian employer for repeatedly violating their right to the Christmas bonus stipulated in their collective agreement. Several court cases have also been filed by long-term freelance journalists who demanded recognition of their basic rights as staff employees such as pension and health insurance benefits.

Atypically Hired Workers

The most worrisome problem for freelancers is their growing numbers and their social and professional insecurity. In 2001, the State Inspectorate found that 50% of journalists did not

have lawful employment contracts. After that, things began to improve, but as previously mentioned, media employers with help from state institutions devised a new tactic: getting freelancers to register as independent entrepreneurs. When freelancers register as independent entrepreneurs at the Registry of Taxpayers, they are self-employed, and state inspectors have no jurisdiction over them any longer although they continue to work as freelancers who should get benefits.

In order to collect data on freelancers in Croatia, TUCJ has prepared a questionnaire that will be distributed to several hundred of them. Ten journalists who had already completed questionnaires all preferred long-term employment contracts to freelance status. The fact that employers are openly demanding more flexible labor relations in new amendments to the Croatian Labor Law is very worrying. The fact that both the government and the opposition support those amendments is even more worrying. It means that there will be more atypically hired workers in the media in the future and even less security for journalists.

V. Censorship and Self-censorship as an Effect of Labor Relations

Concerning the professional freedom of journalists, which includes censorship and self-censorship, the situation in Croatia is more or less as follows. The media is over-commercialized, and ownership is dominated by foreign media corporations namely German Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (WAZ) and Austrian Styria. Some outlets are owned by Bonnier from Sweden, Sanoma from Finland and RTL from Germany, and some are owned by Croatians. Under Communism, there was open political pressure on the media, but today interconnected political and economic power centers have a more subtle influence with the full participation of media owners. This pressure added to the pressure of commercialization results in a decline in the quality of information disseminated. Advertisements are more important than news. Also, media ownership is still not completely transparent, especially ownership of electronic/broadcast media.

The lack of the rule of law in the country encourages many employers to try to avoid their obligations. Conditions for professional work and corresponding salaries are increasingly becoming a field where the interests of journalists and media employers clash. Due to the rush for profit at any cost, many media employers often violate the basic rights and professional needs of journalists.

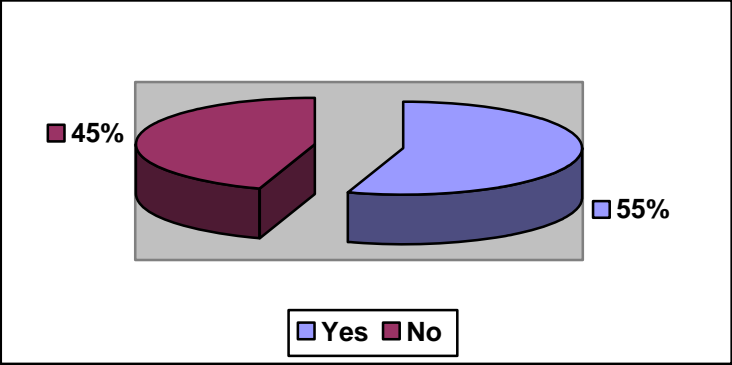
Professional Freedom of Journalists

In general, it can be said that the media in Croatia have won their freedom - concerning legal protection, free choice of topics, free choice in covering events, free commenting without open political pressure. Paradoxically, at the same time, journalists cannot be considered as free as their media due to various factors. One of them is precariousness of their employment arrangements with more and more informal forms of work. Also, they are highly dependant on the editors' decisions – both professionally and economically. Polling done among journalists in Croatia mostly proves the assumptions that many journalists do not feel professionally free.

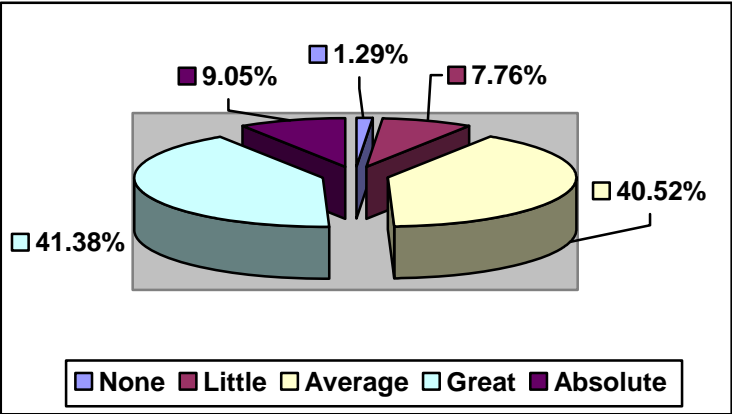
TUCJ polled journalists on their professional freedom in September 2003. Polling was performed in cooperation with the Faculty for Political Science of the University of Zagreb, International Center for Education of Journalists (ICEJ) from Zagreb and the International

Press Institute (IPI) from Vienna. The poll contained 28 questions covering issues normally regulated by editorial statutes in democratic countries and in well organized media. Names of media outlets were not mentioned in the questionnaires, and all replies were confidential. In all, 1200 questionnaires were sent to 49 major media companies; 234 questionnaires from 23 media outlets were returned. The questions and responses were the following.

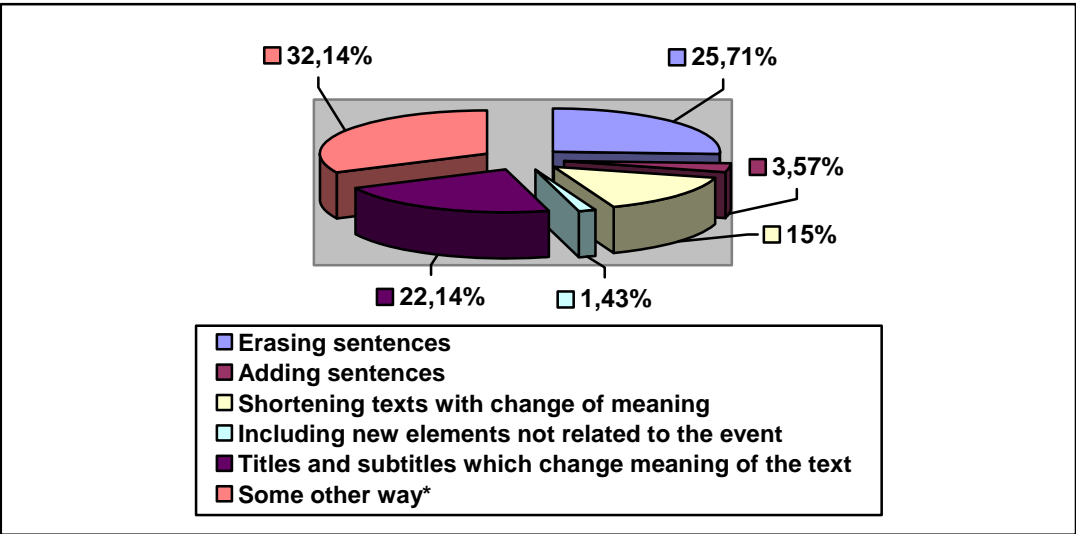
Question 1: Do you think you have complete freedom in your journalistic work today?



Question 2: How much freedom do you have in your work?

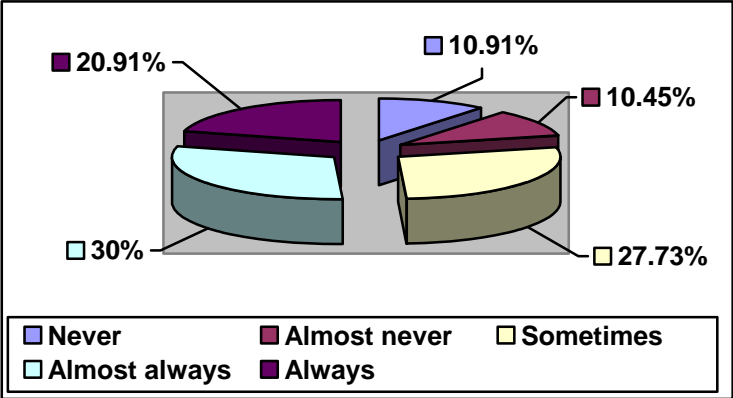


Question 3: If you do not have freedom, how is that manifested?

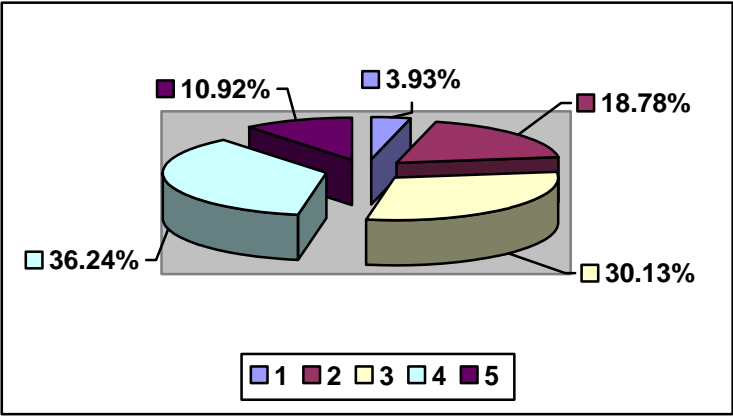


* self-censorship, choice of topics and order of topics with a defined theme, suggestions on how text should look, position of the text on the page or in the program, interventions from outside

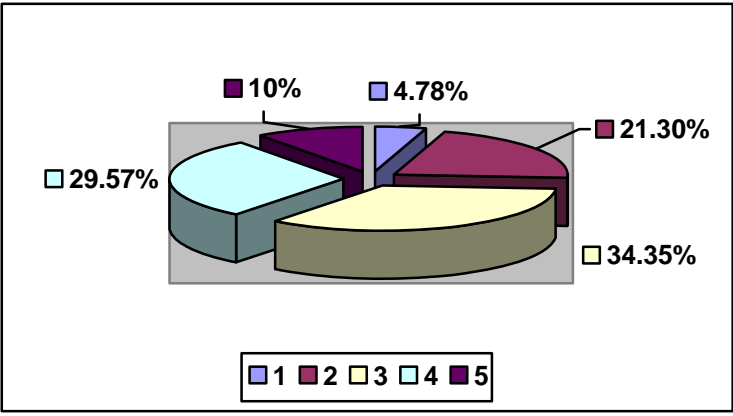
Question 4: Does your editor inform you about changes made to your text?



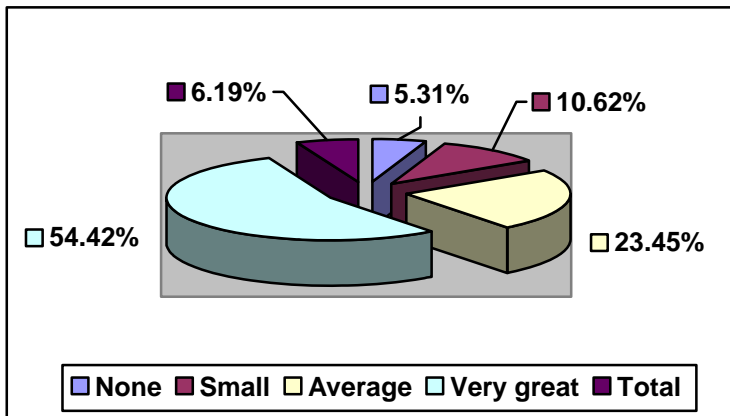
**Question 5: How do you rate your relationship with your editor?
1=bad – 5=excellent**



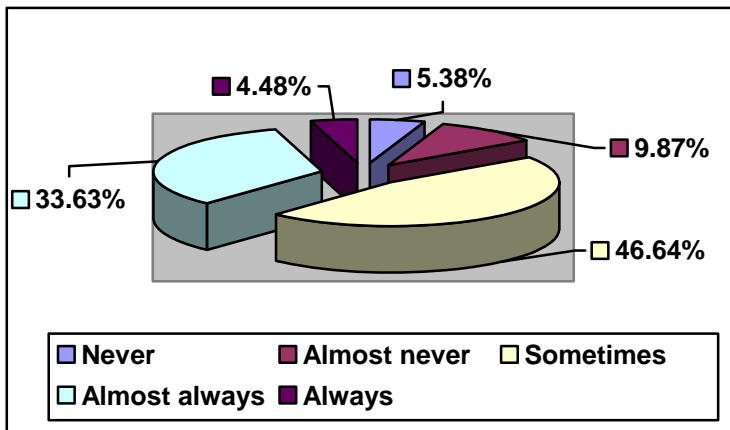
**Question 6: How would you rate the competence of your editors?
1=poor – 5=excellent**



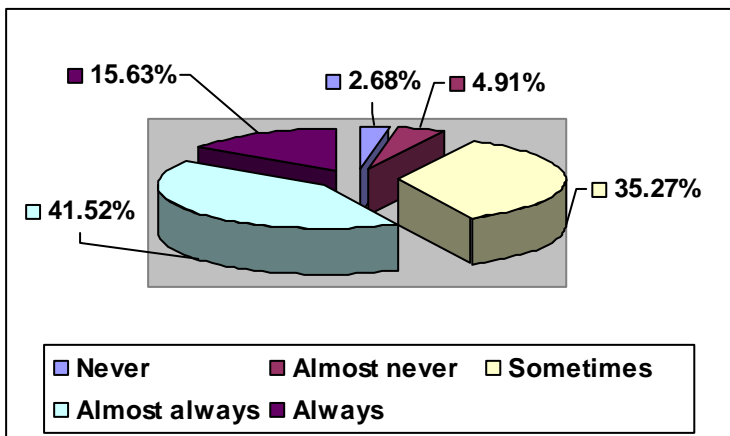
Question 7: Does editorial incompetence have an influence on the professional freedom of journalists?



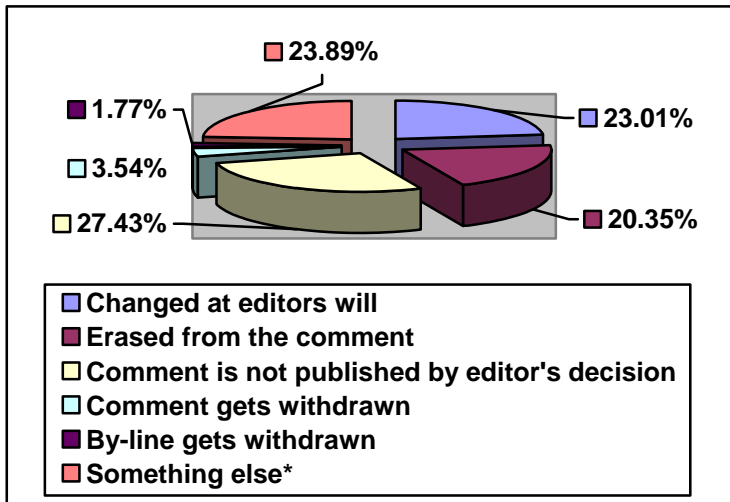
Question 8: Does your editor insist on strictly enforcing editorial policy?



Question 9: Is your point of view accepted in commentary?

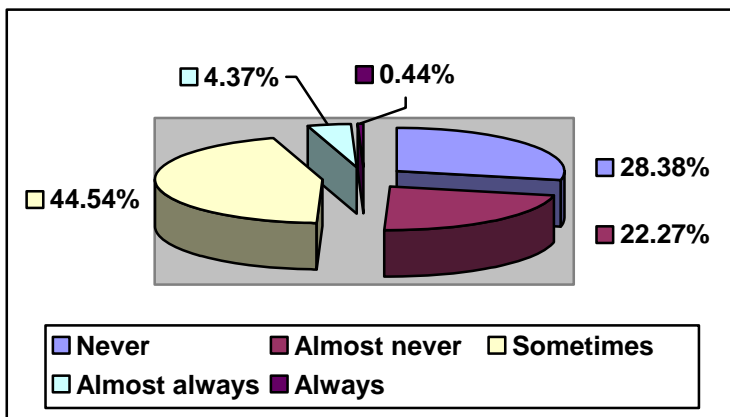


Question 10: If not, what happens?

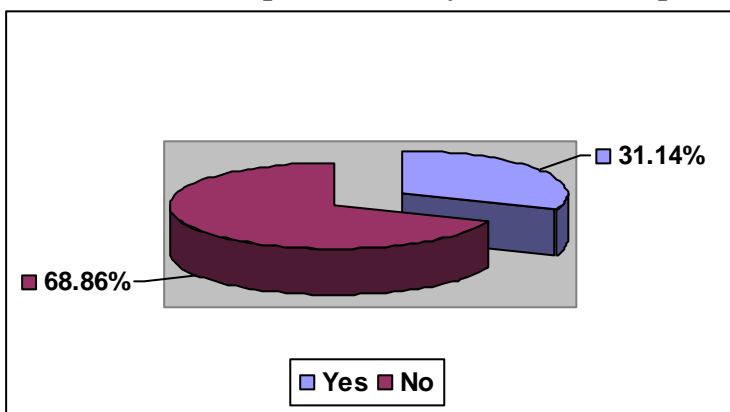


* Changes in the text not to damage advertiser or owner, self-censorship

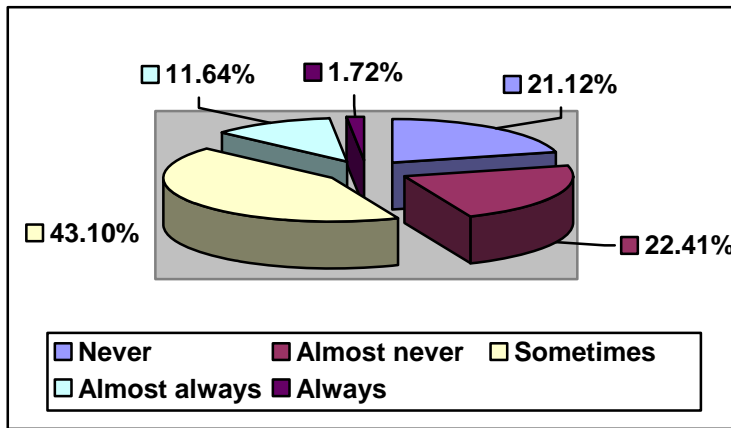
Question 11: Do your editors suggest what points of view you should advocate?



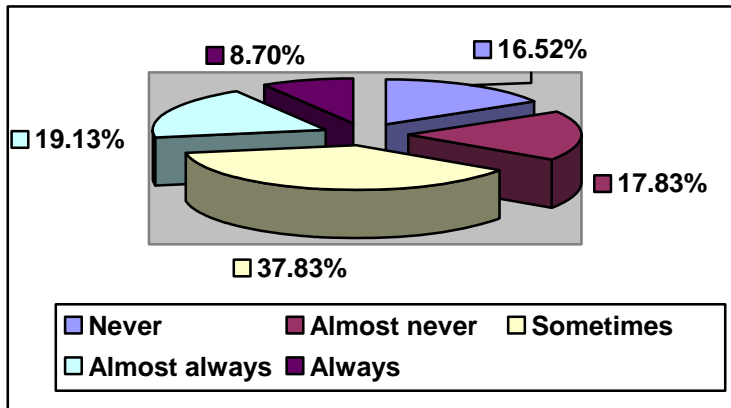
Question 12: Has a point of view you do not accept been imposed on you?



Question13: Do you have any influence in creating editorial policy?



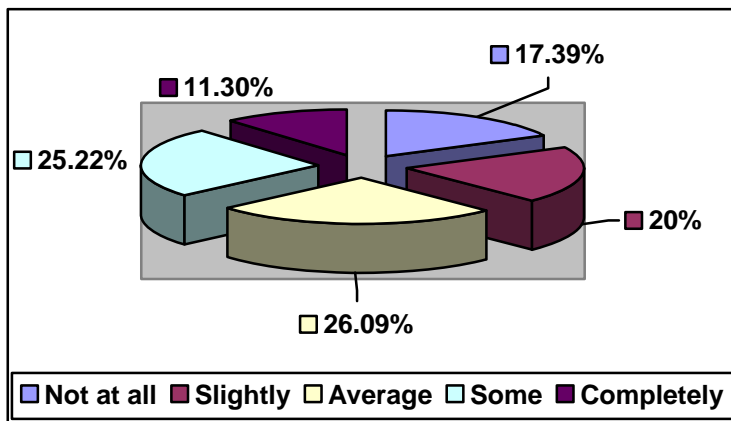
Question 14: Do you regularly analyze the contents of material published or broadcast by your media?



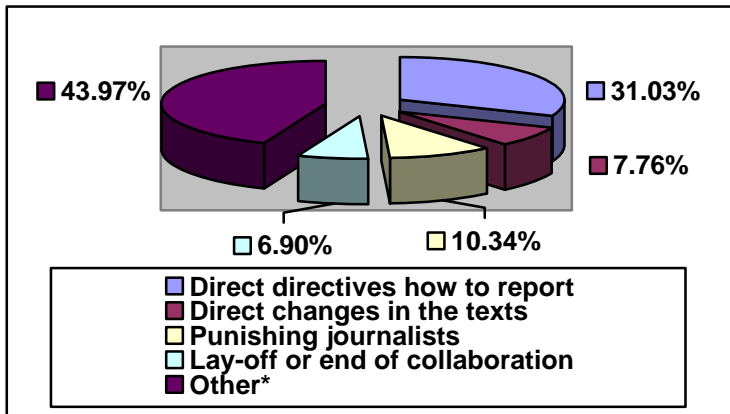
Question 15: If yes, what are the reactions to obvious errors? (Please describe)

Discussions at editors' meetings, discussions between editors and journalists, warnings not to repeat the error, publishing an apology or denial

Question 16: How evident is the owner's influence on your work?

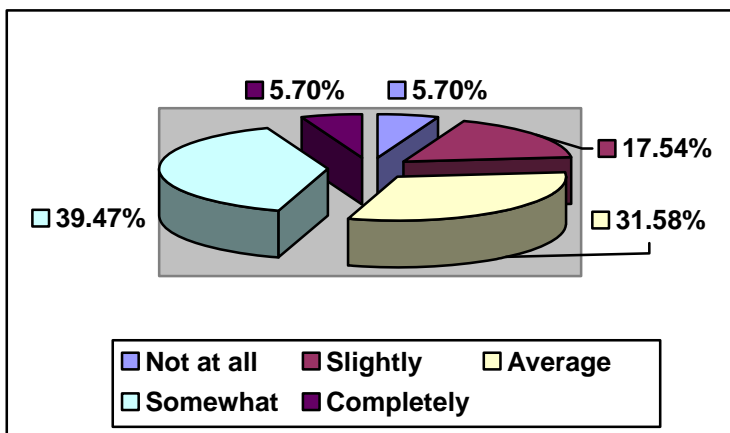


Question 17: If this influence is visibly felt, what are the methods used?

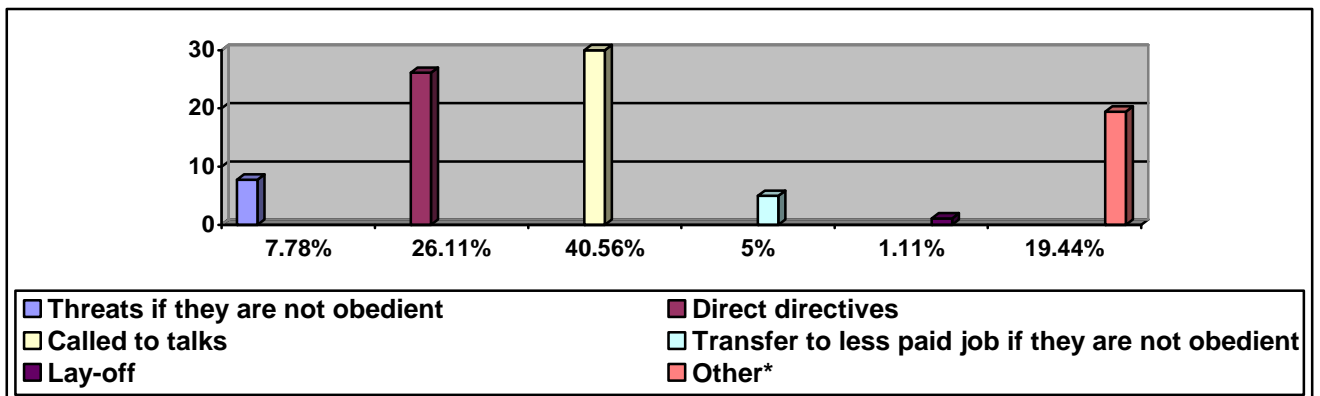


*Suggestions for topics, bad conditions at work, financial pressure, editor-in-chief' intervenes, directives to the editor, self-censorship of editors

Question 18: Are editors independent in realizing editorial policy?

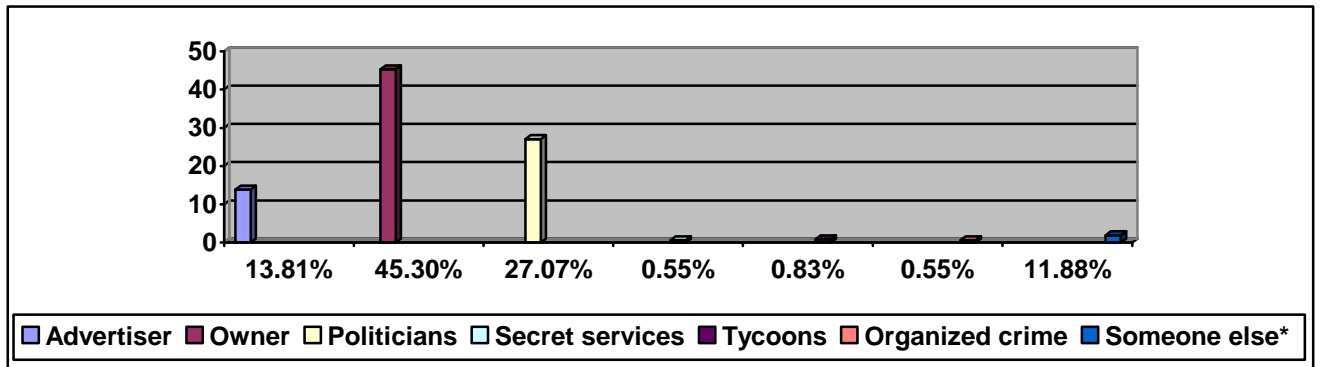


Question 19: If they are dependent, how is their dependence achieved?



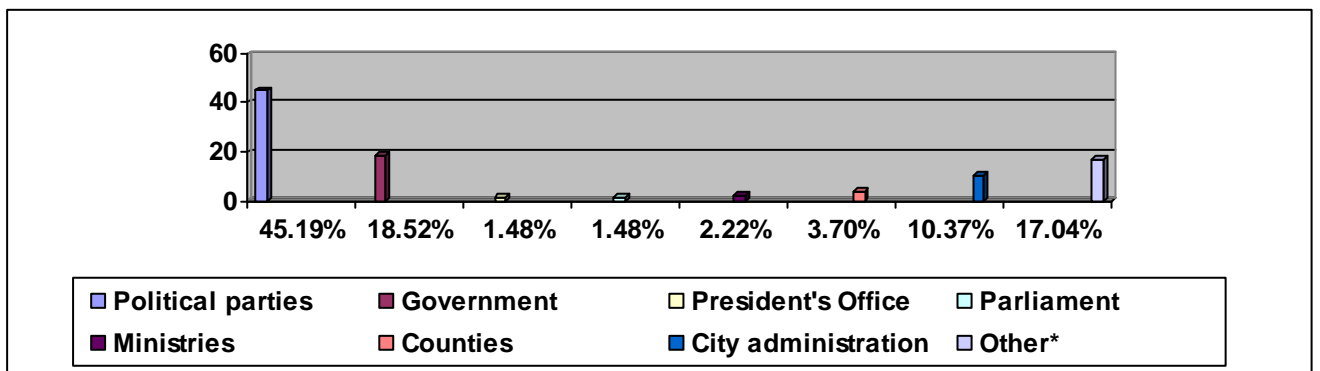
*financial dependence - rewarding obedience in salary or status, self-censorship

Question 20: Who influences editors the most? (choose two answers)



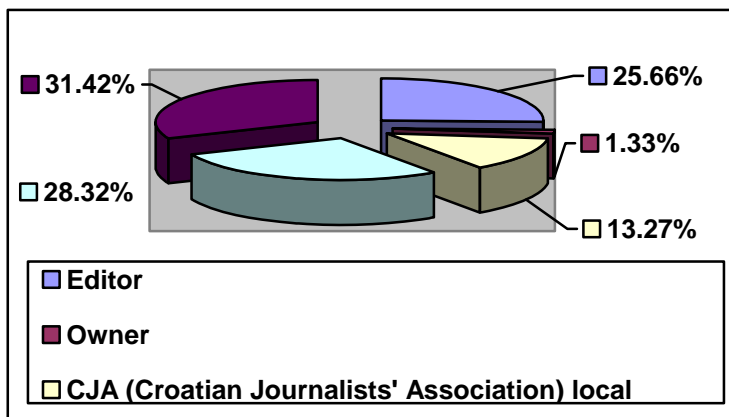
*Editor in chief, director/manager, owner

Question 21: If politicians are the most influential, whom do they represent?

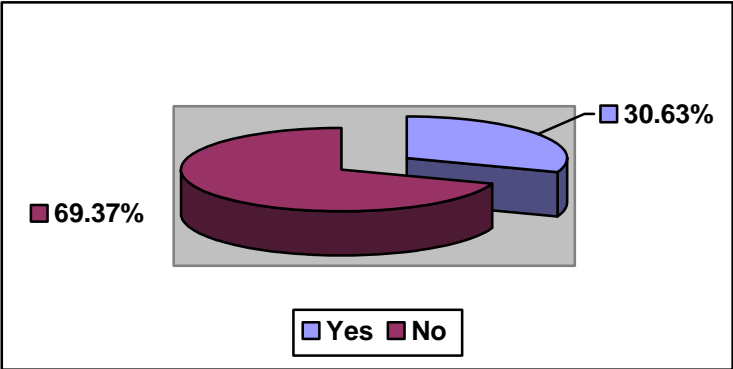


* Individual politicians, local authorities, owners, all of them

Question 22: Whom should journalists address for protection of their rights?



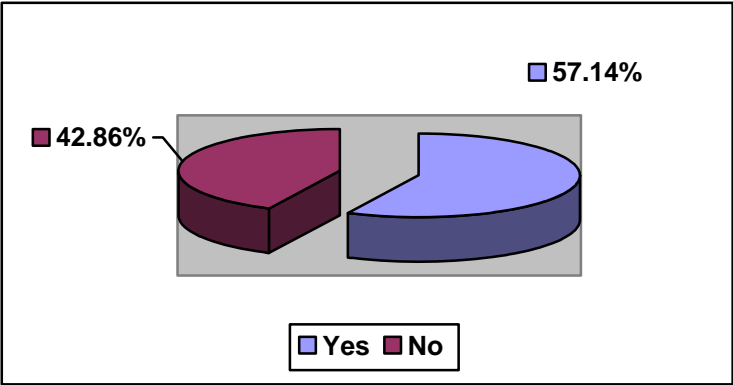
Question 23: Do you have an editorial statute?



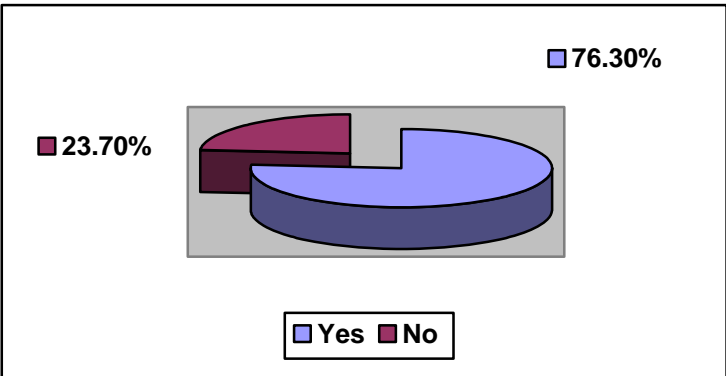
Question 24: If yes, how does it regulate the influence of journalists on editorial policy and the election of the editor-in-chief? (Describe)

I do not know, it does not, formally, unbinding opinion, by consent.

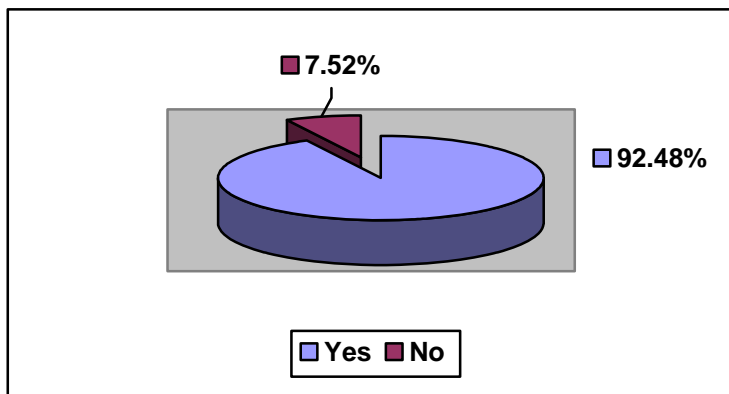
Question 25: Do you have a collective agreement?



Question 26: If yes, are the professional rights of journalists also protected?



Question 27: Are you prepared to act with solidarity to better protect journalists' rights?



Question 28: In your opinion, how can the professional rights of journalists be successfully protected ? (Describe)

Answers mostly mentioned: collective agreements, strong trade union and professional organizations, solidarity, rule of law, editorial statutes, regular payment of salaries

TUCJ plans to repeat this poll probably in 2008.

VI. Journalists' Trade Unions: Existence and Effectiveness

TUCJ was founded in May 1990. Its main objective is to protect the basic human social and professional rights of journalists. Due to legislation and ILO conventions, trade unions are the only organizations authorized to negotiate collective agreements and to organize industrial actions, including strikes. The supreme body of the TUCJ is the assembly (congress) which meets annually. The executive body between congresses is the Executive Committee. The TUCJ president is elected by the assembly and serves as a volunteer. The TUCJ's basic source of income is monthly membership dues that amount to 1.2–2% of the net monthly salary. From its start, TUCJ has organized journalists from all the media, "independent" and "dependent" alike, freelancers included. Common interests include good conditions at work, paid salaries and guaranteed professional rights.

The fact that non-government organizations (NGOs) have no authority to represent the workforce was the main reason why Croatian journalists organized TUCJ although their professional organization, Croatian Journalists' Association (CJA) has been active since 1910. A plan to merge these two organizations is gaining support among journalists who are members of both. One organization with a trade union role would be more efficient in protecting labor and professional rights. There are about 4000 journalists in Croatia (the total population of the country is about 4.5 million). Most of them are CJA members, and about 70% of them are the TUCJ members.

In 1996, TUCJ signed collective agreements with six major media companies in Croatia both state and privately owned. Today, with only a few exceptions, most media are privately owned. At present there are 10 collective agreements with media companies. TUCJ was the first (and so far the only) trade union in a transitional country to sign a collective agreement with a media company co-owned (50%) by WAZ, a major media owner in the Balkans.

Some stipulations in the collective agreements are the following:

- a 40-hour working week spread over five days;
- work on holidays, Saturdays and Sundays for extra pay or compensatory time;
- refusing an assignment if it is against beliefs or the Code of Conduct;
- additional insurance for dangerous tasks, etc.

TUCJ is has prepared the text of a national collective agreement for journalists and media workers (NCA) that should guarantee freelancers some rights now reserved for full-time staff journalists including paid pension and health insurance and lump sum payments for annual leave and sick leave. Negotiations with associations of media employers started in May 2003, and six major issues are still to be resolved, including freelancers' rights.

To improve the educational level of journalists, the NCA proposes an obligatory university degree for those entering the profession. Due to the ever increasing commercialization of the media, the quality of journalism is suffering, and undereducated journalists are more easily intimidated and manipulated by employers.

Recently, multinational media corporations have appeared in central and southern European countries. Regrettably, they often have double standards. While respecting labor legislation in their own countries, they tend to breach it in others. This makes international and regional cooperation between journalists more important. TUCJ cooperates very well with journalists in all these countries and helps them organize efficient trade unions.

VII. Conclusions and Recommendations

There are many obstacles in practice that do not allow media freedom at the national level despite relatively good legal provisions. This also reflects negatively upon the status in society of journalism as a profession. Journalists belong to a profession that is exposed more frequently than others, to pressure, to assaults on dignity, to the gray economy and to overtime work without reimbursement, and almost no one is held responsible. Many journalists work without legal contracts and are mostly poorly paid. Freelancers may work for years for a media outlet without a proper contract.

Journalists' labor rights are spelled out in the labor legislation of the Republic of Croatia and in collective agreements that TUCJ has signed with eight major media companies and with two small local companies. Professional rights are regulated also by media legislation and acts such as the Code of Conduct of Croatian Journalists. The lack of institutions to implement the Media Law, the lack of sanctions for those who breach it, the lack of will to sign a collective agreement at the national level and to develop social partnerships in the media, the lack of real social dialogue, special interests and political and other influences are all obstacles to the full freedom of the media.

Employers often engage insufficiently educated journalists who lack experience and can therefore be manipulated, controlled and under-paid. They are kept in an insecure freelance status for years, and when they begin to request their core labor rights, their employment may be terminated. Many employers provide labor contracts for one month at a time, and when the three-year limit on such work expires, the employer simply rewrites the job description and starts the monthly cycle again. Many journalists work illegally for years and then are pressured to register as entrepreneurs, so their employers don't have obligations towards them nor have to pay pension and health insurance benefits.

This lack of job security means that many young people work as journalists only while they are students. When they graduate, they abandon journalism for better paid, more gratifying jobs in a "real" profession like economics or law. This is not much of a compliment to the profession. What is also worrying is the fact that many of these young people interrupt their studies, so when they lose their jobs in journalism they no longer have professions.

The disintegration of the profession is obvious and is aggravated by political appointments of editors-in-chief who lack proper knowledge or talent. For instance, when one of such editors took up his position at the top of a daily newspaper he stated that, "There are too many women in the paper, and they are too old." This paper used to be informative, but the new editor-in-chief flooded it with content on entertainment thus favoring the company's interests. He did not understand that those "old" women were the ones saving the status of the newspaper with their decades of professional experience and expertise.

It has become increasingly difficult to protect the rights of journalists. In the draft NCA, TUCJ is therefore asking for a minimum of a B.A. degree for journalists entering the profession along with other specific knowledge and skills. Employers have accepted this proposal, but they added the words "in principle" to the B.A. degree as they are still trying to use student labor because it is cheap and does not involve any obligations for the employer. Employers have been bargaining with TUCJ on the NCA for four years, and it is still not signed. Some employers even want to abolish some rights that journalists have gained in collective agreements with individual media companies.

Excessive commercialization is also hurting the profession. Frequently editors press journalists into providing information that hasn't been thoroughly checked thus breaching the Code of Conduct of Croatian Journalists. Likewise, editors add content to text or change the text drastically without consultation. The pressure on journalists is huge, objectivity becomes a burden and a one-sided approach is becoming more and more frequent in which the opinion of the other side is frequently not sought. To earn greater profits, sensationalism is prevailing over serious topics, and advertisements are taking up more and more space. Such light content does not require an educated, talented journalist, and thus the circle closes.

VIII. Bibliography

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