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# THE PSYCHODYNAMICS OF MEDIA VIOLENCE: WHY DO WE ALWAYS HAVE SO LITTLE?!

Previous research on the correlation of media, violence, and end users of media content in the focus of analysis had the representation and definition of "violent scenes and content" in various media formats as problematic, media content on the physical, emotional, or mental state of media users. The research also focused on correlations between individual personality traits and the motivation to search, demand, and consume scenes of violence in different media formats. The text analyzes the motivation, level of engagement, and needs of end media users in searching for and using violent media products and understanding their expected forms of gratification from such activities, starting from the point of view that people find media-mediated violence interesting, attractive and exciting and that they are inclined to different forms of motivation searching, using and sharing various problematic contents. With a qualitative approach through research conducted on two focus groups (N=24), group discussion, interaction, and observation method, the research tried to differentiate the ways and habits of using media and media content and to understand and explain whether and why media users collect, research, process and disseminate media content with elements of violence. The analysis shows that the respondents focus their interest on media descriptions of realistic violent content. Still, they are not attracted to explicit violence in media disseminated formats, but to what it is associated with. Respondents resolve cognitive dissonance in the context of their attitudes following their actions to justify their chosen behaviour and the appeal of media messages with elements of violence.

Keywords: media; violence; problematic media content; user motivation

### **MEDIA VIOLENCE**

By the term *violence*, most definitions mean, in a narrower sense, the use of physical force to injure, abuse, cause damage, damage or destruction, and, in a broader sense, forcing a specific behaviour and the use of various means of psychological coercion to cause damage, injury or intimidation of persons. The World Health Organization defined violence as "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either result in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation" (WHO 2002: 5). Various disciplines have analyzed the issues of the expression of violence starting from two historical foundations: the desire for dominance, power, aggressiveness in the contexts of biological, innate predispositions and cultural legacies of destructiveness.

We cannot observe violence as an isolated social phenomenon because the expression of different types and forms of violence is influenced by individuals' individual characteristics, social interactions, and the attributes of the social environment, structure, and cultural characteristics in which the individual is or where social interactions take place.

"Aggression and violence are social phenomena that are highly correlated, cause-and-effect related to numerous socio-pathological phenomena: social diseases (somatic, mental, psychosomatic); individual and social disorganizations and dysfunctions (premarital, extramarital and marital unions, family, school, spiritual institutions, immediate and wider social community), sociopathological phenomena (smoking, alcoholism, drug addiction, sexual perversions and violence, aggression - destruction, murders and suicides) and criminality. (Milinović, 2011: 29-40 according to Mamula et al., 2013) ... to which should be added the desire for power, to rule, personality changes, a perverted value system, the inability to satisfy needs, and unfulfilled expectations." (Žilić, Janković 2016: 71)

Giles (2010) argues that violence is an extremely complex human phenomenon that becomes even more complex when viewed as a media phenomenon. Most experts in the research of this topic agree that the concept of media violence, i.e., violence mediated by the media, is difficult to define, among other things, because it is omnipresent in the most diverse media content.

Observing the media in the context of industrial logic, their production of various media contents is not much different from any other industry that produces, markets, and sells a certain product with the ultimate goal of making a profit. In contrast to

the public media role, which is driven by completely altruistic reasons of disseminating topics of social importance and public confrontation of the most diverse possible opinions and attitudes, "the basic principle of the media industry has become commercial profitability and profit, and the best means to achieve this are a spectacle, entertainment, violence, pornography, advertisements..." (Zgrabljić-Rotar 2005: 5). Thus, by media-mediated violence, we mean content that can or tends to encourage antisocial behaviour and leaves the possibility of a cause-and-effect relationship between the consumption of violent scenes and aggressive or any other antisocial behaviour. At the same time, media-disseminated violence can be *fictitious* (invented) or stylised, such as violent scenes in films, series, cartoons, pornography/eroticism, science fiction shows, and *real* i.e. the one we can see/hear/read in news reports, news, black chronicles, sports programs, and other program formats. Violent narratives can be exclusively produced by a certain media in the form of a certain media format or reproduced, i.e. only distributed but not created on their terms. "Pornography – the display of sexual behaviour on morally unacceptable grounds, even in an illegal way, is negative because it is always directed against someone, very often as an object it exploits women and children, and means the degradation of human feelings and dignity" (Zgrabljić-Rotar 2005: 21).

By the term media-mediated violence, of course, we can also mean all content that in any way incites hatred, intolerance, exclusivity towards an individual or group or is on the trail of "hate speech" that justifies, spreads or incites any kind of hatred, violence, xenophobia, stereotyping, degradation and discrimination. Zgrabljić-Rotar (2005) believes that media support and representation of stereotypes can be a direct form of conveying untruths or half-truths that are not always fun and funny, such as opinions about blondes, and can be not only a conveyer of racist, nationalist, macho, promiscuous, etc. views of the world, but such views can maintain, strengthen and promote. Often referred media content can also be considered content from the advertising/advertising industry that can be misused. Especially when placing ambiguous advertising messages or sexist and manipulative content. Vuksanović (2018) cites sources according to which media coverage of violence is only a representation of real, actual, already existing violence in society, and that today's media is flooded with such content to such an extent that we no longer notice it. The author also states that the "obsessive thematization" of violence in the media is, in most cases, for entertainment and profit, and in rare cases, for emancipation.

### **REGULATION OF MEDIA AND PROBLEMATIC MEDIA CONTENT**

The regulation of traditional media (press and electronic media) has set the boundaries of appropriate and permitted media content that can be publicly marketed. Most legal and ethical institutions imply and mandate programmatic respect for human dignity, basic rights, and respect for all differences, including gender equality. Just for example, an independent regulatory body in Bosnia and Herzegovina through a series of rules and codes<sup>1</sup>, harmonized with the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Communications, the European Union Directive on audiovisual media services, and other positive-legal domestic and international documents, when it comes to electronic media, clearly prohibits the dissemination of content that humiliates, intimidates or promotes prejudice, intolerance or abuse, manipulates superstitions, fears or credulity of individuals or the public and encourages potentially harmful behavior. These programming obligations apply both to owning and producing programming and to rebroadcasting, purchased or exchanged programming, audience messages, and commercial communications. Also, program content must not spread, justify, encourage, and/or create a clear and immediate risk of inciting hatred, violence, or discrimination on any basis. It must not, directly or indirectly, glorify, justify, or encourage the commission of a criminal act of terrorism. Article 9 of the Code of Program Content (RAK 2023) clearly defines violence and other harmful behaviours in terms of which,

"(1) Showing scenes of violence and the consequences of violence, violent behaviour, and sound or visual descriptions of violence must be justified by the context and will not be overly emphasized in program content. (2) The program content may not, taking into account the context, encourage, encourage, or glorify violence, anti-social behaviour, and behaviour that is harmful to the health or safety of people. (3) When showing the reconstruction of criminal acts, violence, and other harmful behaviour, the media service provider must provide a visual warning that it is a reconstruction during the entire duration of such content. (4) Abuse of alcohol and narcotic drugs must not in any way be presented as acceptable behaviour, nor will it be encouraged or justified in program contents" (Code on program contents RAK 2023: 7).

Also, scenes of violence, consequences of violence or natural disasters, footage of accident victims, and scenes after the accident that may disturb the audience must be shown with an appropriate warning and announcement. A special section also defines reporting on court processes within which direct or indirect disclosure of the

<sup>1</sup> Code of Program Content, Regulatory Agency for Communications of Bosnia and Herzegovina

identity of victims of sexual assault is not allowed. Media service providers are also clearly required to protect privacy in cases of showing scenes of violence, the consequences of violence, or natural disasters in the sense that they need to strike a balance between informing the public and showing compassion, which poses a risk of sensationalism and may cause pain or the possibility of unjustified violation of privacy.

"(4) If accidents or family tragedies are reported in news content, the right to privacy of the victims and other persons affected by those events shall be respected. This applies to content in which the event is directly reported, as well as content in which this event is subsequently mentioned. (5) Persons in a state of pain or shock must not be exposed to pressure to give interviews or participate in program contents." (Code on program contents RAK 2023: 10)

A special program regulation regulates the protection of minors in the sense that any content that minors could easily imitate may not be shown in program content primarily intended for minors unless such program content does not indicate their harmfulness. In terms of protecting the physical, psychological and moral development of minors, media service providers are obliged to carry out a precise categorisation and technical protection of content that includes, but is not limited to, the display of brutal and extreme violence that is not justified by the context, pornographic content with elements of violence or extreme sexual fetishes, etc. and pay attention to the possible ethical and other social consequences of showing these program contents.

Regardless of the very detailed legal regulation of media dissemination of violent content as well as the method of sanctioning, monitoring and control mechanisms remain on the possible reporting of certain media content by users/individuals who can do so provided that they are clearly and properly instructed in such procedures. Dissemination of problematic media content is part of other digital communication platforms, new media such as social networks, etc., which are not subject to classic media, or professional standardization and leave room for each individual to collect, process and distribute different content. Algorithms and protocols for recognizing inappropriate content disseminated in the online space are often not sensitised to an adequate extent to stop, prevent or limit the promotion of violent narratives.

## COMMUNICATION/MEDIA HABITS - WHY AND HOW DO WE USE MEDIA VIOLENCE?

McQuail (2010) lists several motives that prompt us to use different media content. Among many, he states that these are obtaining information and advice, reducing personal insecurity, learning about society and the world, seeking support for one's values, gaining insight into one's own life, experiencing empathy with the problems of others, creating social contacts as well as their replacement, the feeling of connection with others, escaping from problems and worries, entering an imaginary world, filling time, experiencing emotional relief and achieving structure for the daily routine. Historical theoretical and empirical research has analyzed media effects by observing media users as passive observers. Somewhat later research on media influences included the understanding that the media audience is not just a passive observer but an active media user.

According to Baran and Davis (2012), the theory of media dependence measures the role of the media in an individual's life within a certain social environment by satisfying his needs within the framework of media re/presentations. According to the authors, the greater the degree of satisfaction of these needs, the greater the influence and the role of the media itself, and the greater the percentage of those who are dependent on certain media, they will be nothing more than servants of those addictions... "in our industrial society, we are becoming increasingly dependent on the media (a) to understand the social world, (b) to act meaningfully and effectively in society, and (c) for fantasy and escape" (Baran, Davis 2012: 289). At the moment, when one media outlet is not able to satisfy our needs, we, without any problem, find several others that will replace this dependence. Laughey (2009) believes that the audience should have priority in the choice of media exposure of topics, but this ideal is most often unattainable solely because of its inadequate competencies. "The idea that media don't tell people what to think, but what to think about..." (Baran, Davis 2012: 93). Uses and gratifications theory defines individuals as active media users who search for and choose media that will satisfy their desires, needs and interests with media content. According to Giles (2010), this approach is intuitively closer to real life. It offers an alternative explanation for human fascination with violent and other controversial media based on individual curiosity rather than exposure itself. "Our fascination with crime media may have its roots in the need to keep an eye on potential predators and is referred to as the 'surveillance function' of the news" (Shoemaker 1996, cited in Giles 2010: 29).

Two examples will illustrate communication/media habits in a social environment. In 2019, a fatal traffic accident occurred on the highway between Roth and Nuremberg in Germany. A few drivers were filming and photographing the outcome of the traffic accident from their cars while passing by. The German television company BR, through its official social channels, shared a video in which a policeman can be seen who approached a man in a car and, with a fine, "offered" him to approach and see for himself the outcome of the traffic accident with the words: "Come let me show you, do you want to see a dead man? The one you photographed? Here, it's lying here, come, do you want to see it?". After the man categorically refused to see that scene, the policeman asked him why he took the photo (Fokus.ba 2019). In 2023, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the public, through social networks, made available both the horrific footage of the murder of Nizama Hećimović, committed by her husband in front of the child, as well as the actual act of brutal violence and murder in a live broadcast. Before Meta, a company millions of kilometres away, reacted with the protocols mentioned above and algorithms to protect users from inappropriate content on online networks by deleting them from social networks, for more than three hours, individually created recordings were spread and shared, and users "frantically" searched for them (Balkan Investigative Reporting Network in Bosnia and Herzegovina, BIRN 2023). Tens of thousands of people, including minors, saw this monstrous act. The protection software did not detect or distinguish between created and real violent content, and there was probably a language barrier.

The earliest examples of occupation and enjoyment of violence are, perhaps, the Roman gladiator fights. "In these, most often inhumane conditions, individuals fought to survive another day and, ultimately, perhaps reach freedom. This makes it clear that gladiators were not free residents" (Domazet 2022: 16). The Roman population, the author claims, was eager for this kind of combat thrills in which the audience or the organizer of the games decide on the life of the defeated gladiator through the position of the thumb (thumb up for life, thumb down for death). This primordial need of the individual phenomenon of people's desire and need to see, hear, watch or share scenes of violence is defined in part by psychopathological research into psychological personality disorders. Psychopathology under personality disorder defines "permanent, rigid and maladaptive patterns of behaviour, thoughts, feelings and relationships with others, which deviate significantly from what is usual in a certain society/culture" (Dinić 2023: 2). In psychology, personality traits are defined as a set of organised traits and mechanisms that influence, among other things, its interaction and adaptation to the social environment, are permanent but also subject to certain changes. Namely,

traumas, tragedies or an inadequate and problematic environment can lead to the socalled *dark tetrads*. Negative, socially unacceptable behaviour is marked precisely by this tetrad consisting of Machiavellianism, narcissism, psychopathy and everyday sadism. All four forms are characterized by a low degree or the absence of empathy and emotional capacity. Without entering into the fundus of other forms of behaviour, sadism is characterised by the enjoyment of causing pain or discomfort to others. In this case, we can consider *indirect* or so-called *vicarious sadism*, which represents the observation of other people's suffering and pain with the aim of enjoyment and entertainment but which is not caused personally and directly. "To put it figuratively, narcissists look for attention, psychopaths for excitement, Machiavellians for gain and sadists for pleasure. In everyday sadism...a passer-by will film a person lying on the ground and share the footage on social networks" (Mihelčić 2022, "The pleasure of inflicting pain on another. Everyday sadists and the digital age. They are in your innermost circle", Ideja.hr, Published: January 15, 2022). Everyday sadism differs from other pathopsychological characteristics, Mihelčić claims, because it is usually socially adapted and is performed within the framework of existing rules and norms. Science cannot distinguish between non-pathological psychopathy and everyday sadism. And yet, the author claims, estimates of the prevalence of non-criminal, i.e. non-clinical, psychopathy in the population are well known. "One international study showed that sadists enjoy media content that shows greater suffering and misfortune of others" (Mihelčić 2022, "The pleasure of inflicting pain on others. Everyday sadists and the digital age. They are in your innermost circle", Ideja.hr, Published: January 15, 2022), what's more, they will not only enjoy these contents but will search for them with increasing intensity, most often in online, digital media. The author states that research by American and Danish psychologists from 2021 showed that aggressive people behave equally aggressively in real and online environments, which refutes the hypothesis that, in this context of mediated communication, which does not take place on an interpersonal level, innate mechanisms of respecting norms and calming aggression towards others. "The digital age only made possible and made more visible what already existed. Technology only exposes and makes our darkest tendencies more effective" (Mihelčić 2022, "The pleasure of inflicting pain on others. Everyday sadists and the digital age. They are in your innermost circle", Ideja.hr, Published: January 15, 2022). "The basic assumption in developmental psychopathology is that a person moves between pathological and non-pathological forms of functioning throughout his life and that his functioning is never completely pathological and completely nonpathological in all domains" (Vulić-Prtorić 2001: 164).

Zgrabljić-Rotar (2005) explains how media violence affects media users through four hypotheses. The first is the stimulation hypothesis or imitation, according to which bullies and villainous characters, murderers, or thugs are presented as attractive and entertaining. In the context of this hypothesis, the imitation of violence from the media does not have to be literal, the author claims, but it is always potentially possible. The second hypothesis is harassment in the context that these types of mediamediated content cause emotional excitement and fear, according to which the experience of the experience is stronger and the action itself, as the author claims, is more likely during excitement. The third hypothesis, the catharsis hypothesis by which media users, by watching media-mediated violence, get a certain "emotional reward" in which "increased adrenaline" equals "stronger interest" ... "Children, while watching some forms of violence, for example, violence in cartoons, can release hostile feelings that they suppressed, and that this kind of "replacement aggression" actually helps and relief" (Zgrabljić-Rotar 2005: 31). Thus, consuming media-mediated violence can cause a reduction in violent behaviour or reduce it. The fourth hypothesis, the habituation or insensitivity hypothesis, implies that constant exposure to violent scenes through the media acts like a vaccination, i.e., we become immune to violent content. Vuksanović (2018) believes that violence in itself is not fun, but for it to become attractive to the media, it is necessary to add the attribute of fun to it, it is fun, no matter what means it is achieved.

"In this way, one distinct social non-value, the occurrence of violence and destruction, acquires a desirable connotation in the world of capitalism. This especially applies to the target group, which consists of sensitive people - the population of children and young people. To make matters worse, it is not always just entertainment, it often has artistic pretensions, so that its artificiality additionally affects the promotion of the capitalist system - as free, democratic, highly aestheticized – in the words "the best of all possible worlds" (Vuksanović 2018: 1829).

The selection of media and media content that we use is influenced by many factors, not only our individual preferences. As Giles (2010) claims, we are often not even reliable witnesses of our own media use. Researching the communication habits of media users also includes the time we spend on other communication platforms.

### **PSYCHODYNAMICS OF MEDIA VIOLENCE**

The majority of previous studies within the field of media violence were related to the study of the influence or effects on the individual and society of the mediation of violent scenes and violence, generally through different media.

M. Perse (2001) analyzing the effects of media-mediated violence in the real social environment, states three theoretical approaches to mental activity that are a predisposition to aggressive behaviour. The first is based on the theory of social learning, i.e. that media users learn through exposure to particular media content, i.e. adopt specific models and patterns of behaviour. The more realistic the content, the more effective this type of learning is through observation. Realistic forms of violence have a greater impact on media users, as well as those for which users can find adequate justification. Given that learning processes require several phases, among others the phase of attention, violent content has a pronounced exciting dimension that results in greater attention. Another approach refers to the information processing model, which also starts from the assumption that aggressive behaviour results from learning from violent media scenarios that are stored in human memory and when recalled, can be behavioural patterns. The third approach refers to the point of view that violent media signs can also stimulate violent thoughts, i.e. that they can be a kind of trigger. The author believes that exposure to violence through the media affects people's acceptance of it as a social norm and as a solution to problems, and that this largely depends on their attitudes towards violence. However, this does not necessarily mean that if someone has a positive attitude towards violence, they will behave following that attitude.

Giles (2010) states that in most such experimental psychological studies, it was very difficult to isolate only "violence" from other media content and even more difficult to isolate or produce an "effect". Most of those studies were criticized by the communication discourse for reducing media effectiveness exclusively to experimental stimulus. Neuroscience and technology developed for these experimental purposes enabled very comprehensive monitoring of the behavioural reactions of individuals to certain media-mediated stimuli and enabled a series of studies that can connect the media in different ways to the neuropsychological states of people. Studies of the effects of consuming violent scenes in the media started from the point of view that they, in a certain way, encourage aggressive thinking or behaviour in a real social environment. In this sense, the so-called *theory of arousal transmission*. It starts from the point of view that watching violent content causes an "adrenaline jump" in an in-

dividual, so that the individual, without even recognizing the source of that increased excitement, can react aggressively in the social environment. In these corpora of research, in addition to these media stimuli, the psychopathological predispositions of violent behaviour of individuals were also investigated. Experimental methodology, questionnaires, interviews, and psychometric scales were mostly used for these types of research, and the results usually indicated the immediate effects of individuals' exposure to violent scenes.

George Gerbner's content analysis method (according to Giles 2010: 31) has served as a valid instrument for defining cumulative media impacts in terms of what media users can see. *The theory of cultivation* defined in this direction assumes that the media have the ability, over a certain time, to gradually form certain attitudes, opinions or behaviours. What was objected to Gerbner's method of content analysis, i.e. how the media audience uses or "reads" certain media content, the *theory of active audience* has completed the analysis of different approaches to understanding the same media messages. Therefore, when it comes to researching the effects of mediamediated violence, it is important not only to know what content is conceived by the media for users but also to analyse how individuals will understand these media-mediated constructs and narratives.

The theory of learning by model and the theory of cognitive coercion also correspond to the hypothesis that exposure to violent scenes, especially of children and minors who do not have a developed level of rational logic, can result in imitating media-mediated content. Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton formed the so-called thesis. media dysfunctions, i.e. narcotising dysfunctions in which the media disseminates content that can result in the ultimate passivity of users instead of some form of activism. In this context, even themes resulting from suffering and tragedies can take the form of sensation or entertainment. Giles (2010) describes it with Murray's (2008) desensitisation effect, i.e. that repeated viewing of violence over time leads to a lowering of emotional arousal and creates an "intoxication" effect similar to addiction. The author also claims that experimental research on the effect of media-mediated violence can be debatable both from the aspect of defining the violent content that appears in the media presentation and from the aspect of group research where the degree of expressed aggression after exposure to scenes of violence, of one person can be defined as much higher, i.e. mark the whole group, which may have shown a certain degree of aggression, but not provoked by the exposed scenes, but perhaps by the aggression of that one person. Giles, e.g. cites authors such as Hill (1997), who observe the thesis mentioned above of catharsis in the theory of psychodynamics from the aspect of some kind of initiation of young men where violent content is used to "test the limits" of submitting to shocking audiovisual content. However, the author states that the only constant of all these different approaches to researching types of violence in the media is correlating precisely with very diverse forms of antisocial behaviour.

Morrison (1999, cited in Giles 2010) defined several forms in which people perceive violence: mischievous violence, imagined violence, and true, naturalistic violence. Overall, these perceptions are influenced by the type of social environment we come from.

However, different studies of psychodynamics and the impact of media-mediated violence can speak in favour of a greater, lesser, or no impact on the expressions of aggression of individuals in a real social environment. Still, in the focus of this analysis, we will try to answer why people are attracted to violent content at all. Whether some people will enjoy violent scenes more is influenced, first of all, by personality traits. A meta-analysis from 2005 (Hoffner, Levine 2005) synthesised and analysed the available data on research into the degree of enjoyment of viewers in fear and violence and confirmed that male viewers with a low level of empathy, a high level of aggression and a pronounced interest in sensations enjoy media-mediated events more. Another study from the same year (Krcmar, Kean 2005) examined the relationship between personality traits and the degree of enjoyment of violence and found that extroverted people are more interested in violent media content, while people with pronounced traits of kindness, pleasantness and empathy prefer this type of problematic contentless. Gentil's (2013) thesis research on catharsis as a substitute way of expressing aggressiveness claims that there is no valid evidence for it in psychology because aggression is not a drive that must be discharged; watching media violence would not reduce aggressive feelings but should teach us the dangers of the consequences of violence provided that the media reconstructed and correctly edited them. Most studies showed effects that were completely contrary to the thesis of catharsis.

McCarthy-Jones (2021) shows that recent research suggests that there are three categories of people who enjoy watching violence. The first group is called *adrenaline addicts*, who, in search of new and more intense experiences, choose, use and search exclusively for violent content. The author compares this group of people with people with pronounced vicarious, everyday sadism. The second group is denoted by the so-called *white boxers* who feel intense excitement watching violence but do not like that kind of emotion. The author characterises this phenomenon as a type of benign

masochism where an individual can enjoy painful experiences from the perspective of safety, believing that by experiencing these experiences, he can learn something or acquire specific skills. The author designates the third group as *dark policemen* who, using the theory of threat simulation, enjoy watching violence safely because it can teach them something. "Watching violence from the safety of our sofa may be a way to prepare ourselves for a violent and dangerous world. Violence, hence, appeals for a good reason. Interestingly, a recent study found that horror fans and morbidly curious individuals were more psychologically resilient during the COVID-19 pandemic" (McCarthy-Jones 2021, From Tarantino to Squid game: why do so many people enjoy violence?, theconversation.com, Published: October 27, 2021). To answer the question of whether we are attracted to violence, the author states that, nevertheless, some people can enjoy not explicit violence but what it is associated with, such as tension that results in attraction or just action. "The "forbidden fruit hypothesis" proposes that it is violence being deemed off-limits that makes it appealing. Consistent with this, warning labels increase people's interest in violent programs" (Mc-Carthy-Jones 2021, From Tarantino to Squid game: why do so many people enjoy violence?, theconversation.com, Published: October 27, 2021). At the same time, the author believes this phenomenon can also be explained by the expectation of punishment, i.e. by enjoying justified violence. "Indeed, whenever people anticipate being able to punish wrongdoers, the reward centres of their brains light up like fairgrounds. That said, less than half the violence on TV is inflicted on baddies by goodies" (Mc-Carthy-Jones 2021, From Tarantino to Squid game: why do so many people enjoy violence?, theconversation.com, Published: October 27, 2021).

As previously discussed, the author also claims that media coverage of violent scenes offered to us daily and in abundance can be connected to numerous political, corporate, ideological or economic reasons. To a large extent, its most common effect is found in the consequences and possibilities of our distorted reality, such as, for example, the effect of some violent act in the film that has a certain consequence on the human body – in reality, this consequence would be impossible.

When we talk about the effects of the phenomenon of people's need to consume media-mediated violence, in addition to distorted reality, Bushman (2023) also lists six categories of rejecting the influence of violent content. First of all, it is a wrong understanding according to which media users believe that exposure to media violence cannot possibly result in committing murder, forgetting that the expression of aggression does not always have to reach this, the highest degree of expressed violence, which is also the most recognisable. In the second line, the author lists con-

flicting thoughts that cause psychological discomfort, i.e. in the theory known as cognitive dissonance. People who tend to use violent content are likely to feel uncomfortable knowing how harmful it is and accordingly rationalise their behaviour by bringing their attitudes into line with their actions and behaviour. Therefore, they will think that it is not harmful and that it does not have any influence on them. The author explains the third reason for rejection through the theory of psychological reactance in the context that we tend to retain our freedom of choice and create an aversive reaction to any kind of restriction of our freedom. Forbidden or limited options, in that case, become more attractive, for example, media legally defined labels for inappropriate, problematic, or violent content, as well as the elaborated "forbidden fruit hypothesis". According to the elaborate groundlessness of the catharsis thesis, the author states that people often wrongly assume that they feel better if they replace aggressiveness with simulated violence. With the "third person" effect, the author tries to explain that people believe that the media has a much more significant influence on others, who are more "sensitive" than them. Ultimately, people tend to intuitively assume more harmfulness of physiological, visible processes than psychological, less visible ones. For these reasons, Bushman argues, most of us don't like to admit that what we enjoy can also harm us.

## THE METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH

To explain whether and why media-mediated violence is interesting and attractive to us, the research was conducted to clarify several *problematic questions*:

- How and why do we use the media, and what are our communication habits?
- Is media-mediated violent content interesting and attractive to us, and why?

• Why and how are we motivated and engaged in searching for and using violent media narratives?

- What are the forms of gratification for the use of such content?
- Can we assume the effects of media-mediated violence?

Previous research into the correlation of media, violence and end users of media content recorded, measured and analysed both the representation and definition of "violent scenes and content" in different media formats, as well as the immediate and cumulative effects that such problematic media content produced in the context of the physical, emotional or mental state of media users. At the same time, previously elaborated research dealt with analysing the correlation of individual personality traits with the motivation to search, demand and consume scenes of violence in different media formats.

The research's subject is the analysis of the motivation, level of engagement, and needs of individuals and end media users in searching for and using violent media products and understanding their expected forms of gratification from these activities.

The research aimed to determine which kinds of media content individuals search for and use in the online media space. The research aimed to determine whether users search, use, or share problematic, violent media content, whether they find it interesting and attractive, and why. In this sense, the analysis tried to detect, separate, and record opinions, attitudes, experiences, behaviours, beliefs, prejudices, views, needs, motives, arguments, and reactions of media users in searching, using, or sharing violent media content. Relying on the viewpoints of the theoretical approach of "uses and rewards" (the theoretical approach of "uses and gratification"), the research aimed to determine whether users of media content are fascinated by media products with elements of violence due to the need for surveillance, fear, enjoyment, entertainment, attraction, emotional excitement, help, relief, justification, what it is connected with or in, this form of analysis of motivation and gratification is simply the effects of habituation and desensitisation. Also, it should be emphasized here that the needs of media users are temporally and situationally variable. Therefore, individual motives, reasons, and preferences for using media content were formed into current clusters. The research on "benefits and rewards" aimed to determine the existence of the same, similar, or conflicting preferences and feelings in the context of the use and use of violent media content. The goal of the research was also to determine whether the groups of respondents, when expressing their attitudes, opinions, or actions, can correlate the research results, according to which there are three categories of people who enjoy watching violence (McCarthy-Jones 2021). The goals of the analysis related not only to recording and analysing the causes of the use of problematic content but also to possible consequences, i.e. effects. At the same time, it is important to emphasize that this analysis did not measure the immediate and cumulative effects of violent media formats that may have possible consequences in the form of prosocial or antisocial behaviour of the respondents, nor was an adequate experimental method of intentionally causing certain effects under controlled conditions used in this research. The research on the consequences of searching for, using or sharing violent media content aimed to determine the degree of recognition of the harmfulness/usefulness of such content by the respondents, i.e. the degree of rejection of harmful influence within Bushman's (2023) six categories: exposure to media violence cannot

result in committing violence, cognitive dissonance and bringing individual attitudes into harmony with actions, retaining freedom of choice ("forbidden fruit hypothesis"), replacing aggressiveness with simulated forms, the "third person" effect and intuitively assuming the harmfulness of invisible processes.

The research starts from the *general hypothesis* that people find media-mediated violence interesting, attractive, and exciting and that, with different forms of motivation, they are inclined to search, use, and share different problematic content. Auxiliary hypotheses refer to the following points of view:

- Media users daily search and use content with elements of realistic forms of violence such as accidents, accidents, tragedies, murders, and all those that belong to the thematic framework of the Black Chronicles.
- Media users search for realistic forms of media-mediated violence motivated by the desire for enjoyment and entertainment.
- Media users are attracted to media content marked as "forbidden", "restricted" or "disturbing".
- Media users tend to use violent content, but they feel uncomfortable assuming its effects, so they rationalise their behaviour accordingly, bringing their attitudes into harmony with their actions and behaviour.

Attributes and characteristics that were analysed by the goals and set hypotheses of the analysis were the media/communication habits, characteristics, and activities of respondents in relation to which they choose media and media content to search and use, which were observed and recognised according to the operational definition. In this case, we are talking about latent variables, i.e. characteristics of the respondents that are not visible and measurable but are analysed through exact and visible manifest indicators: used media and other communication channels, searched online content, direct selection of the offered media content and the way of its perception, understanding and use, offered clusters of motives for selecting certain media content, and procedures of respondents exposed to problematic media content.

The independent variables of the research were:

- Is media-mediated violence interesting, attractive, and exciting to respondents?
- Do respondents search, use, and share problematic content out of curiosity, entertainment out of a desire to enjoy?
- Are respondents attracted to "forbidden" or "restricted" media content?
- Do the respondents justify their interest in problematic content?
- Do the respondents assume the harmfulness of problematic media content?

The dependent variables in this research were related to:

- The type of media and communication channels used by respondents
- Types and thematic areas of media content in which they are interested
- · Motives for using media and media content
- The type and amount of selected media information offered
- Method of handling and activities after selecting and using certain media contents
- · Reasons for selecting problematic media content
- Respondents' attitudes regarding the recognition of harm/usefulness of such content.

Through a *focus group*, a qualitative form of research and a group discussion, interaction, and observation method, the research tried to differentiate the ways and habits of using media and media content and to understand and explain whether and why media users collect, research, process and disseminate media content with elements of violence. The focus group method, as a qualitative form of research, was chosen with the aim of a more precise understanding and explanation of the values, attitudes, and behaviour of the respondents and an additional explanation of individual actions or opinions. 24 interviewees participated in two focus groups. The research and analysis in the focus group format did not have the pretensions of representative sampling to draw general conclusions that, with other quantitative methods, can be applied to the entire population, nor to generalise the results of the research in terms of how many people are attracted to problematic media content, but whether and why. Using the focus group method, the research intended to offer a spectrum of respondents' attitudes towards media-mediated violence, the motives that initiated them to use such content, and the meanings that such content has in the context of a younger social group. The respondents were selected according to the principle of homogeneity, i.e. the fact that they belong to the same social group, the younger student population, following the criterion that they are the majority users of online media formats and other communication platforms. The analysis included an explanation of the media habits of users in a smaller quantitative sample.

The analysis used descriptive methods and techniques: direct observation, simulation, interview, assessment system, and projective and stimulation techniques. The form of interview was created to initiate group discussion and interaction and contained structured questions for the interviewees that related to: daily habits of using the media, media content that interests the interviewees, content with media-mediated violent scenes, the way of perception and understanding of media messages and recognition harm/usefulness of problematic media content. The tasks of analysis using the interview technique were related to additional clarifications of attitudes, opinions, and selection of respondents. The techniques of the assessment system were used in the sense of individual determination or self-assessment of the degree of importance of the offered motives for using the media and media content. The task of the assessment system was to record individual preferences for the offered media content, as well as to determine subsequent preferences within the scope of the search for certain problematic, media-mediated content. The tasks of direct observation referred to the examiner's direct insight into the used media/communication platforms of the respondents and the recording of reactions and behaviour to the offered examples of media-mediated content with elements of violence. Projective, simulation, and stimulation techniques had the task of offering selected media content and materials that would encourage respondents to show or express their attitude, judgment, opinion, or activity. The mentioned techniques were used in the creation, for research, of stylised content of the online platform, media-mediated texts and photos with elements of violence, and offered content labelled "disturbing".

The scientific and social justification of the analysis considers the contexts in which, in addition to the regulatory framework and the issue of sensitisation of the algorithms of virtual, digital online media environments, we can also talk about the effect and responsibility of the individual primordial phenomenon, the desire, and need of people to see, hear, watch or share scenes of violence in the public media area of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The analysis also aims to initiate more comprehensive research that will be on track to analyse the real communication needs of the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which could be an efficient platform for creating engaged and optimal media policies. The *field of analysis* occupies the space of communication and psychological sciences. *The spatial dimension* of the media format research is related to Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the *research time frame* is April/May/June and July 2024.

### Respondents

Focus group 1 included twelve respondents<sup>2</sup> (6 respondents / 20 years old, 5 respondents / 21 years old, and 1 respondent / 22 years old). Focus group 2 included

<sup>2</sup> Participants in the examination are students of the University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Political Sciences Sarajevo, Department of Communication/Journalism, 2nd year, First cycle of studies: S.S., E.R., B.K., I.T., N.N., E.Č., S.B., M.S., E.Š., A.P., S.V., M.K.;

twelve subjects<sup>3</sup> (5 subjects / 19 years, 4 subjects / 21 years, and 3 subjects / 22 years). A total of twenty-four subjects between the ages of 19 and 22 took part in the research. The respondents were selected according to the elaborated criteria in the methodological framework of the research with the primary principle of homogeneity, i.e. the criterion of belonging to a younger population group that is a user of online media formats as well as other communication platforms. No form of conformity was recorded in the focus group discussion, given the fact that the participants independently chose and selected the offered content and consistently stuck to their elaborated opinions and attitudes until the end of the discussion in interaction with other participants.

### Measuring instruments

All five phases of the research within the framework of the two focus groups used individual, descriptive research techniques. The first phase used the techniques of direct insight and observation, the form of a short questionnaire of choice and individual and group interviews with a set of structured questions related to the daily habits of media use and media content that interests the respondents. The research's second phase used direct observation, simulation, and projective and stimulation techniques. In this phase of the examination, a digital form of photography and separately created simulations of an online platform with created contents were offered to initiate the respondents to exhibit certain behaviours and deal with the contents of violent scenes mediated by the media. The third, fourth, and fifth phases of the examination included individual and group interview techniques with structured questions about the ways of perceiving and understanding media messages, subsequent preferences in terms of searching for specific problematic, media-mediated content, and recognising the harm/usefulness of problematic media content. The form of the discussion enabled additional clarifications of the views, opinions, and selection of respondents. With the applied methods and techniques of observation, questioning, discussion, and focus group analysis (Table 1), the aim was to understand the behaviour of media users when choosing media formats and content, as well as to understand the motives and meanings that arise from the fascination and immediate procedures of using media content with elements of violence.

<sup>3</sup> Participants in the examination are students of the University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Political Sciences Sarajevo, Department of Communication/Journalism, 1st year, First cycle of studies: E. B., E. K., A. S., N. K., Dž. K., M.Z., E.S., S.A., N.Č., B.M., H.P., A.Sp.;

Table 1. Presentation of the measuring instruments used about the studied research variables

Latent variable	Operational definition	Manifest indicator
Is media-mediated violence interesting, attractive and exciting to respondents?	Immediate insight into the media and online platforms that respondents use and the content they are interested in. The questionnaire with the option to choose. Interview, discussion.	What did the respondent show the examiner that he was searching? What did the respondent choose among the motives offered for using the media? How does the respondent explain the reasons for using certain online platforms and content?
Do the respondents search, use and share problematic content out of curiosity, entertainment out of a desire to enjoy themselves?	Immediate insight into the media and online platforms that respondents use and the content they are interested in. Newspaper photos. Online platform simulations with created content. Interview, discussion.	What did the respondent show the examiner that he was searching? What and why did the respondents choose to do when encountering real and media- mediated violent events? What violent content did they choose to read/use and why? Are they searching for additional content related to problematic media content?
Are respondents attracted to "forbidden" or "restricted" media content?	Online platform simulations with created content.	Did the respondents choose to open and read, see or hear what the content is about?
Do the respondents justify their interest in problematic content?	Interview, discussion.	What reasons and motives do respondents give for using problematic media content?
Do respondents assume the harmfulness of problematic media content?	Interview, discussion. Offered categories.	What are the forms of individual gratification of respondents. Selected degree of rejection of harmful influence. What objectification of harm did the respondents state?

### Research procedure

With a qualitative research approach within the framework of two formed focus groups, within a group, in-depth discussion, the following were examined: opinions, attitudes, experiences, behaviors, beliefs, prejudices, views, motives, arguments, and

reactions of respondents regarding their communication/media habits to understand and explanations of the need to search and use violent media content.

The examination within Focus Group 1 was held on May 17, 2024, and lasted 1 hour and 50 minutes. The examination within Focus Group 2 was held on 07/09/2024, and lasted 2 hours.

The first part of the research within the focus groups was dedicated to recording data and information about the media formats and contents that the respondents use most often, as well as the reasons for their motivation to use those media and contents. Using the examiner's direct insight and observation, the respondents presented/showed the online media and other communication platforms and the media content they used/followed that day. Respondents had the opportunity to explain their motivation and interest in the displayed content and to provide additional information about online platforms that meet their primary interests and information/communication needs. In the framework of the first phase of the examination, the respondents, using the self-assessment technique, chose the three primary ones from the offered clusters of motives for the use/use of media and media content. Respondents were offered the following motives for using a platform or online media: 1. obtaining information and advice, 2. reducing personal insecurity, 3. learning about society and the world, 4. seeking support for one's values, 5. gaining insight into one's own life, 6. the experience of empathy with the problems of others, 7. the creation of social contacts as well as their replacement, 8. the feeling of connection with others, 9. escaping from problems and worries, 10. entering the imaginary world, 11. filling time, 12. the experience of emotional relief, and 13. achieving structure for the daily routine. With these insights into the respondent's interests and the self-assessment system, the research aimed to determine not only the content of the used media format placed with a certain editorial or media policy intention but also what that media content and its narrative would mean for the respondent. These indicators of preferred media and their contents directly show the reasons/motives for their use by the respondents, i.e. the way and which media the respondents use and what they provide. The first phase of the focus group examination lasted between 10 and 15 minutes.

The second part, with a carefully designed digital form of the displayed photos and a specially created interface of the digital media platform, by observing and analyzing the unbiased actions of the subjects, tried to reveal their reaction to real violent and tragic scenes and those conditioned by the media format. Respondents in both focus groups were offered two newspaper photos with elements of real tragic scenes, after which they were asked what they would do if they encountered such scenes in a real environment and within one of the media/communication online platforms. The comparative analysis of the reactions shown was intended to determine the degree of motivation for consuming violent scenes and media-mediated content with elements of violence. Respondents had the opportunity to state whether they would stop and look at a real scene, just pass by it without paying attention, stay at the scene or take a photo or video content, and share the created materials with other users in the communication space. Focus group participants in the survey were offered separately created online media platform templates without imprints and identity tags, only with a linked toolbar of 31 titles and subtitles. In the content context, the selected titles contained real and published news, stories, and information from domestic and world politics, music, sports, health, film, economy, entertainment, jet set, and show business. The offered schedule contained news, stories, and information with included photos and video content and problematic forms of the examined contents, i.e. contents related to murders and suicides, traffic accidents, fights, quarrels, and war in the national and regional environment. Among the offered content, the respondents were also offered media content under the label and warning of "disturbing elements". The focus group survey monitored which links of the offered news the respondents would open and read. The analysis and monitoring of the respondent's behaviour in this phase lasted 40 minutes.

The third part of the structure of the interactive discussion was related to the determination of the reasons for the attractiveness of the selected titles and the respondents' individual understanding of the narrative of the selected content for use offered in the created platform. In individual and group interviews, respondents had the opportunity to express their feelings, opinions, reasons, and procedures for using problematic media content, as well as individual ways of understanding media-mediated messages. The interview and group discussion lasted 30 minutes.

The fourth part aimed to determine further procedures after familiarising the respondents with the desired media narrative, i.e. determining the degree of satisfaction of the respondent's media needs. Respondents had the opportunity to state the procedures after being introduced to the desired media, and problematic content in the sense that they would be initiated to search further: photos of the bully and the victim, the identity of the bully and the victim, the act of violence, the place or space where the act of violence took place, the consequences of the violence, eyewitness statements and video content in the format of media/communication content. The discussion, in this phase of the examination, lasted 15 minutes. The fifth and last segment of the discussion was about determining the individual perceptions of the respondents about the effects of using media-mediated violence. Respondents had the opportunity to state their self-assessed degree of recognition of the harm/usefulness of using such content and their opinion on the reasons for rejecting the negative use of such content grouped in Bushman's (2023) six categories. The discussion lasted between 15 and 20 minutes.

# **RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION**

In the first research task, we wanted to investigate how and why the respondents use the media and their communication habits. The results show that in Focus Group 1, respondents start their day using a mobile phone. Most of the participants in the survey access almost identical communication platforms on a mobile device, with Instagram and WhatsApp leading the way. Their habit of starting the day with a mobile phone is argued by the need to fulfil obligations and communicate with friends. Participants in the research showed the first content they searched for and used on their devices. On four of the ten platforms used by the participants, it was the Black Chronicle column titled "Ramo Isak, I drove cars worth 500 thousand KM" and "Vulcanizer died while repairing a truck". On other platforms, content related to sports, music, humanitarian actions, and one focused interest on the gender-insensitive statement of athletes were searched. M. S. claims: "When I look at these titles, that is, when I open them and read them, I am usually prompted by the photograph." Of the 13 offered motives that are primary for using some platforms, content or online media, the participants declared that it is primarily the motive of filling time, followed by the motive of obtaining information and advice, the feeling of connection with others, creating social contacts as well as replacing them, entering the imaginary world, achieving a structure for the daily routine and learning about society and the world. The participants declared that, in addition to other communication platforms (social networks), they also use online media (portals), most often klix.ba, indeks.hr, nlinfo.ba, slobodnaevropa.org, avaz.ba and balkans.aljazeera.net. Almost identical results of the analysis were also recorded within Focus Group 2. Respondents also start the day by searching for content on communication/media online platforms, within which they state that these are mostly all popular social networks and online portals that enable them to, unlike respondents of the first group for whom these actions are justified by the need to fulfil obligations as well as the need to communicate with friends, gain insight into daily events and be informed. The contents that the respondents used that day mostly related to news and information from the world of politics and Black Chronicle. The most frequently visited contents were: "Kings action. The action in which Galić is also a suspect: See the arrest of the Border Police officer", "Arrival of Serbian Army cadets in Prijedor: Did they have permission from the BiH authorities and what were their reactions" and "The Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina adopted amendments to the Law on the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council (HJPC) BiH". In addition to other communication channels, respondents also use online portals such as Klix.ba, raport.ba and detektor.ba. For the respondents, the primary motive for using some of the platforms or online media is learning about society and the world, followed by the following motives: obtaining information and advice, experiencing empathy with the problems of others, creating social contacts as well as replacing them, feeling connected with others, escaping from problems and care, entering the imaginary world and filling time.

Young people are predominantly directed towards the use of modern digital platforms as opposed to the use of traditional media. Their interest is focused more on other communication platforms, such as social networks, as opposed to online media, which is clearly shown by their spectrum of recently used content. The use of these communication platforms and online media is mostly justified by the desire to fill time, learn about society and the world, get information and advice, feel a connection with others, create social contacts as well as replace them, enter an imaginary world, achieve a structure for the daily routine, by experiencing empathy with the problems of others and escaping from problems and worries. Their daily routine usually begins and ends with the virtual world of communication networks. Within the framework of the analysis of the media and the media content used by the respondents, it is important to emphasise the limitations within which the analysis of comprehensive communication/media habits would imply a quantitatively larger number of respondents involved in the research and monitoring of their habits in the context of media use, a longer time and the use of other methods, techniques, and instruments for recording such data. The research would also provide a different insight into the communication/media habits of members of different populations and social groups that are not included in the selected sample and, possibly, record different procedures and choices in unmonitored ways of selecting and using media and media content.

In the second research task, we wanted to investigate which and what kind of media content the respondents search for and use in online media and whether and why media-mediated violent content is interesting and attractive to them. The participants of the focus groups in the investigation were offered a separately created online media platform with news, stories, and information with included photos and video content and problematic forms of the investigated content, i.e. content related to murders and suicides, traffic accidents, fights, guarrels and war in the national and the regional environment. The focus group research monitored which links of the offered news the respondents would open and read. Twelve respondents of Focus Group 1 chose to read 103 of the 31 titles offered to each respondent. Out of a total of 103 selected titles for reading, the respondents focused their interest on 25 titles related to murders/suicides, 13 titles related to fights and violent behaviour, 12 titles about traffic accidents, 11 titles related to war themes, and five titles related to quarrels and conflicts, so more than half of the selected contents. The results of the analysis show that most respondents are interested in topics related to the media description of real violent, tragic situations, happenings, and events, that is, these media contents attract them the most. The largest number of respondents chose to read the following news from the immediate environment: "Sarajevo: Lifeless body of a woman found at the place called Otoka in the river Miljacka", "The woman from Gradačac was most likely killed with an axe, the husband committed suicide by hanging", "Details revealed: Danka was killed by communal workers, then threw the body into the landfill", "A two-year-old child died in yesterday's traffic accident in Ilidža", "A woman died in a head-on collision between two vehicles near Doboj", "How was a film made about Sarajevo children killed by VRS criminals", "In a shooting in Bentbaša, a migrant was wounded, everything was preceded by a fight", "Swedish police: We expect that the Dutchman who was disqualified from the Eurovision Song Contest will be charged", "In the attack on the building in Kharkiv, 16 people were injured, among them children", "Photo of the Everton fan who was hooligans attacked with a knife horrified the world", "Bh. Singer Vukašin Brajić: I tried to take my own life, depression was not noticeable", "Clash in Mostar: Journalist says he was beaten, border policeman claims he was not the first to start", "At least 18 killed in collision between bus and truck on highway in Germany " and "Hamas published footage of fighting from the north of Gaza: A large number of tanks were hit". One participant of the focus group, of all the texts he chose in the context of his interest, all of them related to problematic contents, and another of the 13 selected, 12 that represented real forms of violence. The participants claim that they were attracted to these contents by the photographs. E.R. says: "I would open this news and read it. I'm interested in murders and morbid things, but because of forensics and criminal topics". N.N.: "I just love the black chronicle like I love horror movies". S. V.: "I would read this just to see for myself whether this kind of irresponsibility is possible or how something like that could happen". M. K.: "I'm interested in all the details about the killer". S. B. claims: "I'm only interested in seeing what's happening". E. Č.: "I would only open this out of disbelief or shock that something like that could happen". M. S.: "I would open this for details to see if someone is more creative". S. S.: "I'm interested in seeing who is telling the truth and who is lying". E. Š.: "I would read it because I simply do not believe it is true". B. K.: "This makes me sad. I would look at this out of compassion".

The participants of the focus group declared that, if in a real-life environment, in a public space, they saw the scene of the accident that was offered to them in the photo, they would stop and look carefully and stay looking. Still, they would not make a photo or video or share this information further. S. S.: "As a journalist, I would probably take a photo or make a video. Once I found myself when there was a car accident... I sent a text... but it's better to send a text without a picture... it's better to post just the text." E. R.: "I like to watch it. Now you will think that I am deranged...". Participants claim that they are interested in violent content because they feel excitement and empathy. N. N.: "When there was a live broadcast on TikTok of the murder of Nizama Hećimović, I watched it. About 10,000 people were watching. I stayed until the end, and I felt some adrenaline and excitement. I knew it was real.". S. B.: "I only opened it once and never again". E. R.: "I don't watch it for excitement, but when I watch it, I feel the excitement". They are curious about accidents, violent scenes, and tragedies but do not enjoy this feeling. Some of the participants say that they are interested in everything related to criminology and forensics, and some that they are interested in everything that happens in their immediate environment, which supports the thesis that explicit violence attracts them not because of its explicitness but because of what it is, in a way connected. M. S.: "I don't follow the black chronicle because of the violence, but because of the parking lot. I like to take pictures and publish them". Some of them start searching and reading these contents, as they say, because of shock and disbelief, and some declared that they are only interested in "morbid things".

Twelve respondents of Focus Group 2 chose to read 134 of the 31 titles offered to each respondent. Out of a total of 134 selected titles for reading, the respondents focused their interest on 35 titles related to murders/suicides, 24 titles related to war themes, 19 titles related to fights and violent behaviour, 16 titles about traffic accidents, and four titles related to quarrels and conflicts, also, more than half of the content selected by the respondents contained elements of violence. The results of the analysis show that the respondents, also within this focus group, are mostly interested

in topics related to the media description of real violent, tragic situations, happenings, and events, i.e. that these media contents attract them the most. Most of the respondents chose to read the mentioned news from the immediate environment, as did the respondents of Focus Group 1 with another headline: "Ukraine attacked Crimea with drones, two cities in Russia were also hit: More people killed". As part of the individual analysis of each respondent's selection, it was recorded that, out of the total number of contents offered, more than half of the respondents chose content with elements of violence. Respondents of Focus Group 2 claim that these contents attracted them due to curiosity and the need to be informed about what is happening in their immediate environment. E. K.: "I open these contents just to see who I live with and what is happening around me."

The participants of Focus Group 2 declared that if they saw the accident scene presented to them in the photo in a real-life environment, in a public space, they would stop and look carefully and stay looking. In contrast to the respondents of Focus Group 1, they would make a photo or video, but would not share this content further. J. K. claims: "I would stop to see what is happening, but only for the reason of helping if someone needs help...".

Only two respondents within Focus Group 1 indicated that they follow this type of content because these topics interest them; this type of content fascinates and attracts them, and they feel excitement. Other respondents declared that these contents do not attract them, but they justified their recorded interest in them with several reasons to argue their views and experience and how they react to them. Through the process of elaborated cognitive dissonance, these respondents are inclined to use violent content. Still, they probably feel uncomfortable knowing how harmful it is, or as they say, "disturbed", so they rationalise their behaviour accordingly, bringing their attitudes into harmony with their actions and behaviour.

In the third and fourth research tasks, we wanted to investigate motivation, engagement, and the form of gratification in searching for and using violent media narratives. The results show that the majority of Focus Group 1 respondents declared that they would further, within the framework of this information, search for photographs of the bully (6 respondents) and the victim (6 respondents), the identity of the bully and the victim (5 respondents), the act of violence itself (6 respondents ), the place or space where the violence took place (6 respondents), the consequences of the violence (2 respondents), eyewitness statements and video recordings (6 respondents). All respondents decided to open audiovisual content labeled as "disturbing". Their motivation for these corpora of further searches would be determined by: interest in tragedies, desire to learn details, desire to check truthfulness and credibility, fear and desire to be informed about potential bullies from the immediate environment, getting to know different forms of irresponsibility and finding out what such a thing is like, at all possible and with a feeling of grief and empathy. Some of the participants stated that they would continue to search for the details of the violent scene for the reason that they are interested in the creativity of the bully, the fascination with the event and the excitement they feel when watching it, the fear that something tragic or bad will happen to them and their loved ones, and the expectation of some form of punishment for the bully. B. S.: "I'm afraid that something will happen to me or my loved ones".

The respondents of Focus Group 2 declared in the majority that, within the framework of this information, they would further search for photographs of the bully (12 respondents) and the victim (12 respondents), the identity of the bully and the victim (12 respondents), the act of violence itself (1 respondent), place or space where the violence took place (7 respondents), the consequences of the violence (12 respondents), eyewitness statements and video recordings (12 respondents). All respondents in this group also decided to open audiovisual content labelled as "disturbing". One of the participants, B. M., comments on her motivation for these corpora of further searches: "I have to read such news simply to know who I can hang out with or have fun with, or what kind of partner I will choose". The respondents justified their motivation for using and searching these contents, as well as the respondents of Focus Group 1, with the fear and desire to be informed about potential bullies from the immediate environment, as well as feelings of grief and empathy, but also reasons of social and civic responsibility, and being motivated by the persuasion of friends or other people. The reasons for the motivation explained by N. Č. are also recorded: "I have to monitor the development of the situation, be involved and informed because that's the only way I can influence something, some changes ... ". A. S. says: "Maybe I would never watch some content, but for example when what happened in Gradačac, ten of my friends watched it, they sent it to me and said you have to see this because it has never been seen before".

Using the observation method, it was determined that in addition to various media contents, focus group respondents mostly choose those contents that disseminate real violent, tragic situations, happenings, and events. That is, these media contents mostly attract them because, as they state, of excitement, empathy, curiosity, disbelief, the need for information and the persuasion of others. This is proven by their immediate selection of titles that they would open and read in digital format. However, for the

respondents, the titles, texts, and segments of individual tragedies were not enough. They continued their search for these topics due to their interest in tragedies, desire to learn details, desire to check the truth and credibility, fear and desire to be informed about potential bullies from the immediate area environment, getting to know different forms of irresponsibility and learning how such a thing is even possible, expecting some kind of punishment of the abuser, civil and social responsibility, and feelings of grief and empathy. Most of the respondents, within the framework of the offered media information, would continue their search in terms of more detailed information about the photo of the bully and the victim, the identity of the bully and the victim, the act of violence itself, the place or space where the violence took place, the consequences of the violence, statements of eyewitnesses and video recordings. Relying on the viewpoints of the "uses and gratification" theoretical approach, media content users are attracted to media products with elements of violence due to the need for surveillance, fear, enjoyment, emotional excitement, help, or whatever such content is associated with. Respondents do not state that their forms of satisfaction from using such content are initiated by the need for entertainment or relief in the sense of replacing aggressiveness. It is interesting that some respondents believe they should be informed about potential bullies from their immediate environment for their safety and that of their loved ones. Several respondents believe a reward is sufficient for them if they see or find out that someone has received a well-deserved reward or justice. That is, it is a question of justified violence. A. Sp.: "When I saw the news that the citizens caught and beat the robber, I was glad. He got what he asked for".

The analysis within the focus groups also showed that respondents express a certain degree of mistrust in media content that is disseminated in the online space because they believe that the problem lies with journalists and contemporary trends in journalism that are on the way to gaining popularity. M. Z.: "The problem is in journalism, likes are important. Overblown news – quality echo". At the same time, in line with the thesis about the effects of habituation and desensitisation, the respondents believe that today, in the online media space there is almost exclusively content from the Black Chronicle or content that in every form has certain elements of violence, and that media dissemination of such problematic content is not the logic of demand rather than supply. E. S: "I noticed that 95% of the portals contain only bad things. It's a matter of supply and not demand".

The analysis of motivation, engagement, and forms of gratification in the search for and use of violent media narratives also has certain limitations that are related to, first of all, the omission of analysis of the real intention of the media messages placed, how the user perceived the same message and analyzed of respondents with different socio-demographic characteristics. One of the limitations is the temporal and situational variability of particular media needs of users and, in general, the assumption that all respondents are aware of their motives, interests, and needs, which may not be correct.

In the framework of examining the opinions, attitudes, and behaviour of respondents about problematic media content, out of 24 of them, only two respondents show elements of the McCarthy-Jones (2021) category of *adrenaline addicts* who, in search of a more intense feeling and experience, choose, use and search for violent content. Most of the other respondents show elements of the category of *white boxers* who feel intense excitement watching violence but do not enjoy it, and the category of *dark policemen* who are attracted to watching violence because it can teach them something.

In the fifth research task, we wanted to investigate the degree of recognition and objectification of the potential effects of consuming these types of media-mediated content. The results show that the participants of Focus Group 1 are unanimously aware that such content has certain negative consequences for them, but they cannot consciously determine and accurately define them. The respondents are unanimous in their opinion and attitude that in their immediate environment, they can often experience mirrored and imitated forms of conflict, arguments, and violent behaviour, which, for example, is identical to those scenes that can be seen in reality programs. M. S.: "I don't think that this news alone has any influence on whether we might try to imitate something, etc., but for example reality programs... Those who watch it pick up everything, words, behaviours, fights, arguments... they behave almost the same in their environment as those participants". They claim that in their immediate environment, they witness, very often, even the use of the same words and phrases as in this television format during conflicts and arguments and that their peers imitate reality participants in various possible ways. Respondents of Focus Group 2 claim that they notice the impact of certain content of this nature on their own physical and mental health. J. K. says: "When I looked at everything that happened to that unfortunate woman in Gradačac, I slept with the light on for three months". E. B.: "I always feel sad and anxious when I read such news". N. Č.: "Films from Palestine always evoke emotion and some helplessness in me". Respondents in this focus group also mention the perceived dangers of the consequent imitation of real violent and tragic events, especially those who do not have a developed level of rational logic. E. K .: "The teenager showed me a video of the fight. At the age of sixteen, he is his role model and that can lead him to do something bad". H. P.: "We saw what caused what happened in Belgrade in Ribnikar. We could immediately follow how our elementary school students tried to threaten and intimidate them into committing the same terrible crime".

The research conducted within the first focus group showed that the respondents intuitively assume the harmfulness of the content of scenes of violence, but cannot define them as visible forms of physiological processes. At the same time, the respondents agree that this type of presented media narrative with elements of real violence does not represent a potential threat, short-term or cumulatively, in the context of encouraging socially inadequate behaviour or aggressiveness among consumers. They think that, according to their experience, other media formats have more potential to encourage socially unacceptable behaviour. Respondents of the second focus group have diametrically opposite attitudes and objectify certain consequences of realistic, violent content exposed in the media. They define the states that are caused by using/reading and following problematic media content.

It is essential to mention that the analysis did not include measurements of the immediate and cumulative effects of violent media formats that may have possible consequences in the form of prosocial or antisocial behaviour of the respondents using adequate experimental methods. The degree of recognition of the harmfulness/usefulness of such content by the respondents, i.e. the degree of rejection of harmful influence within Bushman's (2023) six categories, part of the respondents confirms the inability to objectify the real consequences of the influence of such content, i.e. claims that exposure to media violence cannot result in violence. Respondents also show psychological discomfort, i.e. cognitive dissonance, when interested in such content and bring their attitudes into harmony with the procedures, citing several reasons justifying their use. All respondents tend to maintain their freedom of choice even when specific contents are decisively marked as "disturbing". Research conducted within the framework of one focus group has shown that respondents intuitively assume the harmfulness of the content of scenes of violence but, as Bushman claims, cannot define them as visible forms of physiological processes. In contrast, respondents of another focus group can recognise certain physiological changes. In the context of the consideration of the "third person effect", some of the respondents believe that this type of content has more influence on more sensitive individuals such as children and young people. The respondents do not confirm the positions in which they "reject the harmfulness" of problematic media content, assuming that they feel better if they replace their urges for aggression with mediated or simulated media representations. The research carried out in the framework of two focus groups singled out several categories of narratives:

- With a direct insight into the media and other communication channels and contents used by the respondents, it can be determined that they are interested in news and information that contain elements of violence;

- Respondents focus their interest on media descriptions of realistic violent content;

- Respondents are not attracted to explicit violence in media disseminated formats but to what it is connected with;

- Respondents are subject to cognitive dissonance in the context that they rationalise their attitudes by bringing them into harmony with their actions to justify the appeal of media messages with elements of violence;

- Respondents are interested in problematic media content due to excitement, empathy, curiosity, disbelief, need for information and persuasion of others;

- In searching for media-mediated violent content, they are motivated by: an interest in tragedies, the desire to learn details, the desire to check the truth and credibility, fear and the desire to be informed about potentially violent people from the immediate environment, the desire to learn about different forms of irresponsibility and to find out how such a thing, even possible, by expecting some kind of punishment of the abuser, by civil and social responsibility and by a feeling of grief and empathy;

- Respondents express a certain degree of mistrust in the credibility of content posted in online media and other communication channels. In this sense, the commercial dimension of media content creation is mentioned, which aims to achieve certain forms of popularity and profit, which is precisely why problematic media content is created. Respondents note that more than half of the content found in the media space is in some way problematic or contains elements of violence, claiming that this leads to the conclusion that the use of such content is not a policy of demand but of media supply;

- Respondents can and cannot objectify the harmfulness of such media content;

- In the context of the consideration of the "third person effect", some of the respondents believe that this type of content has more influence on more sensitive individuals such as children and young people.

## CONCLUSION

The previous analysis defined violence as a social problem that, through multiple forms, leaves negative consequences for human life and dignity and collapses the overall quality of life within communities. Media-mediated violence can be a format of representation of real, social forms of violence, but also of various stylised, fictitious forms, where each of these forms leaves the possibility of encouraging anti-social behaviour. Media-mediated violence is usually found in the function of entertainment and profit-making. It is represented in almost all media formats to the extent that we hardly notice it today. Different factors condition our motivation to use different media and communication platforms, and according to the theory of use and gratification, the selection of media content is conditioned by the degree of satisfaction of our desires, needs, and interests. Human fascination with violent scenes in history has been recorded in many artistic and sports formats, and our obsessive search for violence in various media formats is defined in psychopathological studies of psychological personality disorders as a form of everyday or vicarious sadism. In previous research into the psychodynamics of media violence, such content is attractive to us in the context of the stimulation hypothesis or imitation, the harassment hypothesis, the catharsis and habituation hypothesis, or the insensitivity hypothesis. Our fascination with violent scenes depends on individual personality traits. In this context, several personality types have been defined: adrenaline addicts, people who intensively search for a feeling of excitement but do not like that kind of feeling, and people who, by simulating a threat, enjoy safely watching violence because they can learn something from these patterns. The forbidden fruit theory defines that people are obsessively focused on media-mediated violence not only because of explicit scenes of violence but also because it is related to action or tension. More recent research on the thesis about catharsis as a substitute way of expressing aggression shows that, however, there is no valid evidence for it in psychology because aggression is not an urge that must be discharged. Ultimately, by consciously using and demanding different forms of media-mediated violence, we are less aware of all the forms of final gratification that we achieve. According to Bushman (2023), these are forms of the so-called cognitive dissonance and psychological reactance in the context of which we are aware of the harmfulness of such content, but despite that, for several reasons, we try to rationalize and justify this type of need, and we strive to maintain the freedom of our own choice even when certain content is very decisively marked as "disturbing".

The research carried out in the framework of the formed focus groups confirms the general hypothesis that people find media-mediated violence interesting, attractive, and exciting and that, with different forms of motivation, they are inclined to search, use, but not share different problematic content. The examination also confirms the point of view that media users search and use content with elements of realistic forms of violence such as accidents, tragedies, murders, and all those that belong to the thematic framework of Black Chronicle and that they are attracted to media content marked as "forbidden", "restricted" " or "disturbing". The survey did not show that respondents search for realistic forms of media-mediated violence motivated by the desire for entertainment. Media users tend to use violent content but feel uncomfortable assuming its effects, so they rationalize their behavior accordingly, bringing their attitudes into harmony with their actions and behavior. Media-mediated violence is interesting and attractive to respondents, and they justify their interest in problematic content based on established media and communication channels, media content that respondents are interested in, and the way they behave and act after selecting and using certain media content. Respondents do not search, use, and share problematic content motivated by the desire for entertainment according to the recorded motives for using certain media contents and the reasons for choosing content with elements of violence. An analysis of the type and amount of selected media information shows that respondents are attracted to "forbidden" or "restricted" media content. The respondent's attitudes regarding the recognition of the harmfulness/usefulness of media content with elements of violence partially show that the respondents can intuitively assume the harmfulness of the content of scenes of violence.

The analysis of comprehensive communication/media habits would imply: a quantitatively larger number of respondents involved in research and monitoring of their habits in the context of media use, a longer time, and the use of other methods, techniques, and instruments to record such data, which, in this analysis, come out from the quantitative framework and the possibility of carrying out research and represent, at the same time, one of the limitations. The method of benefits and rewards in the research also implied certain limitations that are related to, first of all, the omission of the analysis of the real intention of the media messages placed, consistent with the editorial policy concerning the way the user perceived the same message, and the fact that the analysis was not carried out in the comparative sense of respondents with different socio-demographic characteristics and which could show the degree of engagement, motivation, benefit, and satisfaction in terms of several characteristics. Some of the limitations in the realization of the objectives of the research, using this

method, are also related to the fact in the context that it is difficult to predict and record all possible variants of expectations and reasons for using certain media content, and to the assumption that all respondents are aware of their motives, interests and a need that doesn't have to be exact. The limiting factors of this analysis, which would eventually be a recommendation for future research, also referred to other methods and techniques that, when applied, could have a significant, quantitative contribution in addition to the qualitative analysis of the focus group and the application of a qualitative form of analysis of respondents with different sociodemographic characteristics. The qualitative part of the research into opinions, attitudes, experiences, behavior, beliefs, prejudices, views, motives, arguments, and reactions of respondents included only certain forms of media-mediated violence, i.e. naturalistic, real, and not fictitious or stylized forms of violent scenes and content mediated in one media format, i.e. in the format of online media (portals) and other digital communication platforms (social networks, etc.) without analysis of mediated violent content in traditional media forms. At the same time, the research would present the respondent's motivation and engagement more comprehensively if the analysis included the contents of other media formats and other forms of media-mediated violence, such as fictitious or stylized violence. The limitations of this analysis also refer to the application of experimental and correlative methods and techniques that are not included and which would surely provide additional qualities to the analysis in question.

The conducted investigation opened multiple scientific questions within the framework of which, in the modern world of constant technological development of communication technologies and constant changes in classic media patterns, today we cannot fully and only blame the media for various negative media-mediated effects. The changed forms of collection, processing, and distribution of various contents through multiple media platforms allow every passive media user the role of mediator, filter, i.e. the role of an active participant in open, democratized communication processes who has the opportunity and possibility to publicly disseminate the most diverse possible topics and contents, including violent ones. The significance of research into whether and why people find problematic, i.e. violent, media content always so little opens up new dimensions of understanding the relationship between user's communication/media needs and media/editorial policies, i.e. supply and demand issues. The justification of analyses of such and similar thematic frameworks is also significant in the context of research into media effects and the creation of narratives of the perception of violence that can have significant implications in terms of its prevention in the real social environment. Such scientific contributions can advance and initiate the creation of optimal media policies that will meet the most diverse media/communication needs of users and be on the path to creating safe communities. Constant changes in the patterns of dissemination of media content as well as temporal and situational variability of media/communication needs and motives require a constant review of both normative and ethical frameworks of media/communication activities and information/communication literacy programs that should and must be on the track of the well-being of each individual.

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# PSIHODINAMIKA MEDIJSKOG NASILJA: ZAŠTO NAM JE UVIJEK TAKO MALO?!

#### Sažetak:

Dosadašnja istraživanja korelacije medija, nasilja i krajnjih korisnika medijskih sadržaja u fokusu analize imala su zastupljenost i definisanje "nasilnih scena i sadržaja" u različitim medijskim formatima kao problematičnih po fizičko, emocionalno ili mentalno stanje medijskih korisnika. Istraživanja su, također, u fokusu imala korelacije individualnih crta ličnosti sa motiviranošću za pretraživanjem, potraživanjem i konzumiranjem scena nasilja u različitim formatima medijskog prostora. Tekst analizira motiviranost, stepen angažiranosti i potrebe krajnjih medijskih korisnika u traganju i korištenju nasilnih medijskih produkata te razumijevanje njihovih, očekivanih oblika gratifikacije od takvih aktivnosti polazeći od stajališta da je ljudima medijski posredovano nasilje zanimljivo, privlačno i uzbudljivo te da su različitim vidovima motiviranosti naklonjeni pretraživanju, korištenju i dijeljenju različitih problematičnih sadržaja. Kvalitativnim pristupom kroz istraživanje provedeno na dvije fokus grupe (N=24), grupnom diskusijom, interakcijom i metodom promatranja istraživanje je pokušalo diferencirati načine i navike korištenja medija i medijskih sadržaja te razumjeti i objasniti da li i zašto medijski korisnici prikupljaju, istražuju, obrađuju i diseminiraju medijske sadržaje sa elementima nasilja. Analiza pokazuje da ispitanici svoje interesovanje usmjeravaju na medijske deskripcije realnih nasilnih sadržaja ali ih ne privlači eksplicitno nasilje u medijski diseminiranim formatima već ono sa čime je ono povezano. Ispitanici kognitivnu disonancu u kontekstu svojih stavova razrješavaju u skladu sa svojim postupcima kako bi opravdali izabrano ponašanje i privlačnost medijskih poruka sa elementima nasilja.

Ključne riječi: mediji; nasilje; problematični medijski sadržaji; motiviranost korisnika.

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