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THE REPORTS OF THE DAILY NEWSPAPER "POLITIKA" ABOUT THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA PRECEDING THE ANNEXATION CRISIS OF 1908

Abstract. *In this paper, the writings of the daily newspaper "Politika" regarding the events preceding the Annexation Crisis were analyzed. The political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the beginning of the XX century was extremely complex and tense. Combined with the already complicated international circumstances, a favorable environment was created for one of the greatest political crises in Europe at the time. The period between the Young Turk Revolution and the Annexation Crisis was characterized by the attempts of Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina to resolve legally the question of Bosnia and Herzegovina without changing the state and legal status of the territory, as well as by the attempts by Austria-Hungary to integrate Bosnia and Herzegovina into its state structure. Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina and thus abused its mandate for occupying Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was provided by the Treaty of Berlin from 1878. The preparations for the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina were covered by the correspondents of "Politika", who informed the Serbian public about it. The articles published in "Politika" at the time are invaluable for obtaining an accurate picture of the state of affairs at the time, as well as of a reign of terror that the Austro-Hungarian rule imposed in Bosnia and Herzegovina.*

Key words: *Annexation, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1908, Politika, Austria-Hungary, Serbia*

1. Introduction

The beginning of the XX century was characterized by great diplomatic and political crises, which brought the world to the brink of war. The crises in that period were taking place in the areas where great powers held their interests, i.e., in the areas where their interests collided. "Little" nations were denied their rights and interests by great forces, or rather, if there were any, they had to be subjected to the interests of great forces. This treatment of smaller nations by the Great Powers led to

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[3] This paper is the result of the research that is a part of the project *Historical Legacy of the Balkans through Centuries (from the Ancient to Modern Age)* (no. 360/1-16-2-01) of the Department of History of the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš.

dissatisfaction and the wish for some kind of confrontation. One such crisis had the Serbian people and their national interests on one side and Austria-Hungary and its imperial interests on the other. Alongside the interests of the Kingdom of Serbia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, there were also interests of other states and peoples, which pervaded the preparation, breakout, reaction and the solution to the Annexation Crisis. This period was characterized by states taking either one or the other side in the dispute, which was a national issue to one of the countries and the realization of the first phase of its imperial tendencies for controlling the territories in the Balkans to the other. If we know that the act of annexation had been carefully prepared in advance, then it is also important to depict how those preparations appeared to the general public. An excellent source of events in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the daily newspaper "Politika", which, at the time, had correspondents not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina but also around the world.

2. The daily newspaper "Politika" in the years before the annexation

"Politika" is the oldest Serbian daily newspaper in continuous publication. Since the beginning of its existence, this newspaper has covered all significant events in Serbian history and all the adversities that the Serbian people faced in the XX century. We need to clarify that "Politika" was not created only by journalists; there were also writers and poets, artists, scientists, workers and merchants. Members of all social classes participated in creating the newspaper and we can freely say that "Politika" in the first half of the XX century was "the daily newspaper of the people". The period it was created in was a historical turning point, not only in Europe and the world but also in the Serbian civic society. It is also important to note that the influence of "Politika" did not stem from political power or financial support, but rather from the Serbian public opinion. The Serbian public, as it was later revealed during the Annexation Crisis and the events that followed, had great confidence in "Politika" (Миливојевић 1984: 5).

The first issue of "Politika" was released on January 12th, 1904, according to the Julian calendar. From the viewpoint of today, one could think that the appearance of a new daily newspaper was a significant thing among the Serbian public, but that was not the case, as there were more than 13 daily and 60 weekly or periodical newspapers in Belgrade alone (Миливојевић 1984: 11). However, all those newspapers were mostly instruments of political parties, i.e., they were propaganda pamphlets rather than real investigative newspapers. When it appeared, "Politika" did not resemble any existing newspaper in Serbia. Already in the first issue, with a message to its readers and the general public, it left a strong impression. Namely, in the introduction to the first issue of "Politika", it was stated that the newspaper would be independent from political parties and any kind of government, with a strong emphasis on being critical and objective. This kind of approach appealed to the cultural elite immediately and then it quickly became popular among others as well, making "Politika" the most reputable and the most widely read newspaper in Serbia in only a few years. Vladislav Ribnikar was the man most responsible for the establishment of "Politika" (Миливојевић 1984: 12). The suggestion to name the newspaper "Politika" was given by dr. Radivoj Vukadinović, and the logo for the name was conceived by Vladislav Ribnikar (Миливојевић 1984: 13-14).

Very quickly, "Politika" gathered the Serbian elite of the time. Among its associates, there were philosopher Branislav Petronijević, historian Stanoje Stanojević, ethnographer Jovan Cvijić, grammar school professor Stevan Sremac, writers Branislav Nušić and Veljko Petrović, as well as numerous other contributors. It is also important to note that, at the time, "Politika" employed a female journalist, Maga Magazinović from Užice, who wrote the column titled: "The Female World". Therefore, taking all these things into consideration, we can say that "Politika" was the first modern daily newspaper in Serbia, which brought about significant changes in Serbian journalism, and that it was no coincidence that it played a vital part in the history of Serbia at the time of the Annexation Crisis which started on October 5th, 1908 (Миливојевић 1984: 18-26).

3. The international circumstances before the Annexation Crisis

The Great Eastern Crisis (1875-1878) ended in 1878 with the Treaty of Berlin. After the articles of this treaty came to power, the last age of "old Europe" was created.[4] This period was characterized by a series of international crises, which would result in the breakout of World War I. At the beginning of the XX century, two conflicts became prominent: the conflict between Austria-Hungary and Russia regarding the influence in the Balkan Peninsula and the conflict between Britain and Germany about world domination (Попов 2008: 242).

Germany obtained concession rights from Turkey for building the Baghdad railroad, which was to become the main instrument of Germany for spreading to the East (Поповић 1928: 157). In the beginning, Germany did not show a particular interest in the Balkans, because the area of the Balkans was considered to be the interest of Austria-Hungary (Потемкин 1949: 151-157). German diplomacy soon realized that Austria-Hungary was their most trusted ally, which is why they decided to support her attempts to spread to the Balkans (Буха 2008: 226).

Great Britain soon realized what direction the international relations were taking, so they signed a treaty with France in 1904 and with Russia in 1907 (Потемкин 1949: 144-160).[5]Next to Great Britain, France was the second greatest colonial power in the

[4] The Great Eastern Crisis (1875-1878) was the name of the crisis that occurred on the territory of the Ottoman Empire, which started with the rebellion in Bosnia and Herzegovina and continued with the First and Second Serbian-Turkish War, as well as with the Russian-Turkish War (1877-1878). This crisis ended with a peace conference known as the Congress of Berlin in 1878.

[5] The treaty signed in London in 1904 signaled the end of the isolation of France and a mutual understanding about the division of interests. As a way of naming this agreement, the expression "entente" was used. When the agreement in Saint Petersburg was signed in 1907, the entire alliance

world. The main aim of French politics, after 1871 and the unification of Germany was to create an alliance against Germany (Попов 2008: 244-247). The percent of French financial capital increased significantly after 1906 (Поповић 1928:157).

Italy had great aspirations in the Balkan Peninsula. It had the aim to assume control over the territories of present-day Albania, which would enable it to further penetrate the Balkans. Aside from Albania, the Adriatic coast was particularly important to Italy (Поповић 1928: 154).

Austria-Hungary needed the territory of the Balkans in order to spread its influence eastward. Having obtained the rights to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina and keep a garrison in the Sanjak of Novi Pazar in 1878 marked an important turning point in its aspirations to achieve its goals in the Balkans. The occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina disrupted the political balance in the Balkans at the detriment of Russia (Поповић 1928: 148).

After signing the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, Turkey lost control of a significant part of the Balkan Peninsula. The autonomous Principality of Bulgaria was created, Serbia and Montenegro gained independence, and the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina was occupied by Austria-Hungary. The great powers tried to resolve the tension in Macedonia with the Mürzsteg Agreement in 1903[6]. The Young Turks carried out a revolution in 1908 in an attempt to improve the situation in the Ottoman Empire, but their attempt yielded no results (Мантран 2002: 662-630).

In its column dedicated to foreign policy, "Politika" reported in great detail on all significant events preceding the Annexation Crisis. For example, they wrote about the meeting in Bad Ischl between the British king and the Austro-Hungarian emperor. Great Britain performed a series of steps in an attempt to exclude Austria-Hungary from the reformative actions in Macedonia[7]. Italy joined the agreement made by Russia and Great Britain, even though Germany tried everything to win Italy over to their side. After failing to do so, Germany tried to persuade France, but the French government did not authorize a meeting between the German emperor and president Fallières[8]. Diplomatic activity was significantly increased in this period. A meeting between the German Kaiser William and the Russian Tsar Nikolai was announced. The two emperors discussed the situation in Turkey and entirely agreed that the plan for the reformation of Macedonia should be postponed[9]. The tension that was present in the Balkans was only a part of a considerable tension that was present in all of Europe.[10]

between France, Russia and England was named the Triple Entente, or simply Entente.

[6] After the Ilinden Uprising against the Ottoman Empire failed in Macedonia in 1903, the Great Powers in Mürzsteg agreed on a program of reforms for the territories of the Bitola, Thessaloniki, and Kosovo vilayets. The reforms were known as the Mürzsteg reforms and they were partially conducted by the Great Powers between 1904 and 1909.

[7] Политика, 1. август 1908, бр. 1630, 1, Састанак у Ишлу.

[8] Политика, 3. август 1908, бр 1632, 1, Немачка акција.

[9] Политика, 4. август 1908, бр 1633, 1, Састанак руског и немачког цара.

[10] Политика, 7. август 1908, бр. 1636, 1, Енглеска и Немачка.

After the revolution in Turkey broke out, Russia suggested to other great powers that the reformative actions in Macedonia be postponed until the outcome of the events in Turkey became known. Aehrenthal [11]agreed, for the unstable situation in Turkey was beneficial to Austria-Hungary, as it made it easier for them to promote their interests in Bosnia and Herzegovina[12]. "Politika" published the news that England, i.e., the English king, supported the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Bad Ischl. The representatives of Austria-Hungary allegedly agreed for Bosnia and Herzegovina to maintain a certain degree of autonomy[13]. In the Serbian public, more and more people supported the idea to prevent the possible annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina with a joint action with Turkey. Serbia preferred for Bosnia and Herzegovina to remain autonomous under the Turkish sultan than for it to be seemingly autonomous under Austro-Hungarian rule[14]. On August 27th, 1908, the Young Turks denied the claims of European newspapers that the Young Turk Parliament would demand returning Bosnia and Herzegovina under Ottoman rule[15].

The Russian and the French ministers of foreign affairs, Izvolsky and Clemenceau met with the English king Edward in Marienbad, on August 27th, 1908. King Edward spoke with Izvolsky about the situation in Turkey and Balkan railroads, whilst with Clemenceau, he spoke about the status of Morocco[16]. During this period, Marienbad served as a kind of diplomatic center, a spa where all the monarchs of Europe went on holiday. From the writings of "Politika", on September 9th, 1908, we could notice a dose of speculation, but also a faith in Russia, as it was considered that Russia would not let Bosnia and Herzegovina be given to Austria-Hungary[17]. Ali Riza, one of the leaders of the Young Turks, met with Aehrenthal in Vienna and declared that Turkey was satisfied with the *status quo*[18].

On the pages of "Politika", it could be seen that Bulgaria was planning to declare itself an empire. This was supposed to be performed by forming local boards that would be in charge of collecting signatures, which would later be given over to Bulgarian General Savov and Prince Ferdinand, who would then declare the Bulgarian empire. This plan was followed by constant tensions between Bulgaria and Turkey, which was all part of the plan for the Bulgarian declaration of independence and the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary[19].

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[11] Alois Lexa von Aehrenthal –the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Austro-Hungarian Empire from 1906 to 1912.

[12] Политика, 10. август 1908, бр. 1639, 1, Одговор на руску ноту.

[13] Политика, 11. август 1908, бр. 1640, 3, Анексија.

[14] Политика, 12. август 1908, бр 1641, 1, Анексија и Турска.

[15] Политика, 15. август 1908, бр 1644, 1, Један Турски демант и Босанско питање.

[16] Политика, 16. август 1908, бр 1645, 1, Извољски и Клемансо.

[17] Политика, 27. август 1908, бр. 1656, 1, Ревизија Берлинског уговора.

[18] Политика, 11. септембар 1908, бр. 1671, 2, Ахмед-Риза.

19 Политика, 17. септембар 1908, бр 1677, 2, Бугарска – царевина..

4. The reports of "Politika" about the events prior to the act of annexation

In legal terms, Bosnia and Herzegovina were still under the rule of the sultan. However, the Austro-Hungarian government slowly modified the social system to resemble the one in the territories belonging to the Empire (Потемкин 1949: 50-51). Serbian people in Austria-Hungary could not form a unified whole, as they did not live on a common territory. One part lived in Austria, the second part was under Hungarian rule, the third in Croatia and Slavonia and the fourth in Bosnia and Herzegovina. These circumstances only aggravated the chances of gathering Serbian people into a unified whole. This suited the court in Vienna, as it made the influence that Serbs had on making decisions within the Empire very trivial (Ћоровић 1992: 351).

In their tendencies to invade the Balkans, Austro-Hungarian interests directly oppose Serbian national interests. Thus, it was known that any change in the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina would provoke a reaction from Serbia (Потемкин 1949: 52). When Baron Alois von Aehrenthal became the minister of foreign affairs of Austria-Hungary, the policy of the empire became more aggressive. Aehrenthal, who was very energetic, had the ambitions of restoring the honor of the Monarchy and strengthening its status as a Great Power in Europe. This period was marked by different events. Thus, in September 1908, Aehrenthal negotiated with the Russian minister of foreign affairs Izvolsky. The two ministers discussed the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Russian interests on the Bosporus and the Dardanelles (Буха 2006: 109). "Politika" also wrote about these events.

"Politika" followed the activities of the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The imperialist policy of the Monarchy had the goal to cause discord among the Slavic part of the population and then to subdue them[20]. In an attempt to cause some sort of legal intervention against the colonial tendencies of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans, the Serbian emigration introduced the delegates of the Hague Convention with the difficult position the Serbian population in Bosnia and Herzegovina was in[21]. An article in "Politika" from July 25th, 1907, titled "Austria Threatens" discusses various provocations that Austria-Hungary attempted. In this article, it was clearly stated that, from August 1st to August 7th, Austria-Hungary was preparing to perform military exercises with two battalions near Pančevo, along with the support of their Danube fleet. The soldiers had the task of making a bridge and thus making the necessary preparations for entering the territory of the Kingdom of Serbia[22].

"Politika" gives an analysis and an assessment of the state of affairs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, paying special attention to two events from May 24th and November 8th, 1907. The first event was the proclamation of the Sarajevo resolution, which stated the

[20] Политика, 25. јун 1907, бр. 1218, 2, После 30 година.

[21] Политика, 9. јул 1907, бр. 1232, 2, Меморандум босанско-херцеговачке емиграције.

[22] Политика, 12. јул 1907, бр. 1235, 1, Аустрија прети.

necessity of organizing the Serbian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina into a unified national organization, which would fight the oppressing rule of Austria-Hungary. The other event was a meeting of 70 members of parliament who discussed the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The result of these discussions was passing the "Program of the Serbian National Organization in Bosnia and Herzegovina[23]". The newspaper "Politika", in an article dated December 8th, 1907, called "Representing the People in Bosnia and Herzegovina", gave an assessment of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and discussed the measures that Austria-Hungary should take in order to ensure political rights of the peoples in the occupied territories. It was further stated that the Austro-Hungarian administration should acknowledge the majority of the demands of the people[24].

Austria-Hungary also attempted a series of intelligence and diplomatic activities that had the goal of causing discord among the Balkan states, which would thus pose far less of a threat to the interests of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans[25]. In its attempts to cause a conflict in the Balkans, i.e., to divide Serbia and Montenegro, Austria-Hungary used Đorđe Nastić[26] and a few Montenegrin migrants and attempted to assassinate Prince Nikola, blaming Serbia for the act. After a failed assassination, there was a trial, which was supposed to prove the connection of the conspirators to the Kingdom of Serbia[27]. The trial attracted a lot of attention from the European press[28]. "Politika" wrote about the undercover work of Đorđe Nastić, who was approached by Austria to cause a conflict between Montenegro and Serbia, in their issue dated June 6th, 1908[29].

"Politika" also published the Resolution of the Association of Serbian Journalists, which stated that the Austro-Hungarian administration tried to portray Serbia as the main instigator of all acts, not only against Austria-Hungary but also against the rightful ruler of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sultan Abdul Hamid. One article in the magazine "Otadžbina" from Banja Luka caused all members of the

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[23] Политика, 14. новембар 1907, бр. 1410, 1, Српска акција у Босни и Херцеговини.

[24] Политика, 25. новембар 1907, бр. 1421, 2, Народно представништво за Босну и Херцеговину.

[25] Политика, 2. март 1908, бр. 1519, 2, Аустрија опет помишља на анексију..

[26] Đorđe Nastić, a Serb from Bosnia and Herzegovina, who participated in several controversial events. In historiography, it is accepted that he was working for Austria-Hungary. In the beginning, he was a member of Serbian national organizations. Before the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, he revealed a plan to assassinate the Montenegrin Prince Nikola (in the event known as the Bomb Affair). He also attempted to cause a crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina by revealing the alleged intentions Serbia had towards Bosnia and Herzegovina.

[27] This event is also known as the "Bomb Affair" and it was a diplomatic incident between the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Montenegro. According to Đorđe Nastić, Serbia officially tried to prepare and perform the assassination of King Nikola and his family, which led to tension between the two countries.

[28] Политика, 13. мај 1908, бр. 1581, 1, Суђење на Цетињу.

[29] Политика, 24. мај 1908, бр. 1592, 2, Ђорђе Настић.

editorial office to be accused of high treason[30]. On July 4th, 1908, "Politika" wrote of the persecution of Serbian intellectuals in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The article, titled "A Desperate Man", reported of the case of the writer Petar Kočić, who began his hunger strike at the time[31]. Articles like this caused a revolt among the Serbian public. Aside from the arrests that started immediately after "Nastić's findings", many Serbs were driven from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, on August 14th, 1908, Jovan Cvijić was cast out of Herzegovina. Aside from writing about Cvijić, on August 15th, 1908, "Politika" published the article "The Serbian Exile", and in it, the information that Bosnia and Herzegovina will be given a constitution in August, which was supposed to be an attempt of Austria-Hungary to placate the Serbian people[32]. The constitution included the founding of local assemblies in every county, i.e., six cantonal self-ruling governments, which would allow Serbian people to take part in the regime. The court in Vienna saw that as a way of showing that its intention, in fact, was to provide Bosnia and Herzegovina with a constitution, but that it was not able to do so because of the alleged Serbian propaganda about creating Greater Serbia, which jeopardized the unity of Austria-Hungary[33].

News quickly came from Petrograd that Austria-Hungary was planning to occupy Novi Pazar[34]. The Austro-Hungarian military mail confiscated all Serbian daily newspapers in Novi Pazar[35]. Also, ban Rauch [36]prohibited the Serbs from flying their flags on the birthday of Franz Joseph, while the newspaper "Pester Lloyd" reported that the disloyal Serbian people did not fly a single flag in the honor of the birthday of the emperor[37]. The Kingdom of Serbia tried everything in its power to prevent a conflict with Austria-Hungary. "Politika" published the statement of minster Milovan Milovanović in an article titled "Mr. Milovanović's Speech", dated August 14th, 1908, where it was stated that the Serbian National Assembly had passed a trade agreement with Austria-Hungary in order to stop the trade war between the two neighboring states. In the same article, it was stated that the newspaper "N. Sl. Presa" published an article about Đorđe Nastić and the so-called propaganda about

[30] Политика, 2. април 1908, бр. 1540, 2, Резолуција Српског новинарског удружења поводом догађаја у Бања Луци.

[31] Политика, 21. јун 1908, бр. 1620, 2, Очајник; At that moment, Petar Kočić was incarcerated for his writings in the newspaper "Otadžbina", which were directed against the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He began a hunger strike because of the poor conditions in the prison, as well as because his request for the sentence to be postponed had been denied.

[32] Политика, 2. август 1908, бр. 1631, 2, Протеривање Срба.

[33] Политика, 2. август 1908, бр. 1631, 1, Босански устав.

[34] Политика, 4. август 1908, бр. 1633, 2, Окупација Новог Пазара..

[35] Политика, 5. август 1908, бр. 1634, 2, Аустрија у Санџаку.

[36] Pavle Rauch was a ban of Croatia from 1908 to 1910. He helped destabilize the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina before the Annexation. He also had a role in turning public opinion against the Serbian people, which resulted in the separation of the Croat-Serb coalition, which held the majority of votes in the Croatian assembly.

[37] Политика, 11. август 1908, бр. 1640, 3, „Нелојални“ Срби.

Greater Serbia, accusing Serbia of having revolutionary intentions in Croatia[38]. It was interesting that, even among the public in Vienna, but also among the people close to ban Rauch, it was considered that the Nastić affair was ridiculous, and that nobody actually believed what Đorđe Nastić had presented[39]. Nevertheless, the affair was an excellent excuse for the Austro-Hungarian administration to deal with the Serbian people, who were supposed to remain unstirred during the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The first arrests of Serbs who were accused of high treason were made in Dubica and Dvor[40]. The Serbian people wanted to preserve the autonomy of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the rule of the sultan.

Intolerance of the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina grew worse every day. The offices of the newspapers "Narod" and "Srpska riječ" were forcefully searched, while their employees were placed under police surveillance. No proof was found for the false claims made by Nastić.[41] In the article "Bosnia and Nastić", it was stated that this form of terror in the beginning could be an introduction to some form of military dictatorship. The possibility of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was also mentioned[42]. As time passed, the complex plot surrounding Nastić unraveled increasingly and the connection was discovered between Đorđe Nastić and a journalist, Isidor Steinhardt[43].

The arrests all across Bosnia and Herzegovina which were caused by the Nastić affair were occurring more and more often. One day, 28 notable people were arrested in Nevesinje alone[44]. Various evidence was found that allegedly connected them to the conspiracy. In the house of the Živković brothers, a record was found with the Serbian song "Vesela je Srbadija", while in the house of Bekić, a tapestry with the Serbian coat of arms was found[45]. During the meeting of ministers in Vienna, held on August 18th 1908, "propaganda about Greater Serbia" was discussed, and it was agreed that it was too early for making a constitution for Bosnia and Herzegovina, because its peoples did not reach the degree of cultural development needed to effect successfully democratic changes[46]. Since the Nastić affair in Austria-Hungary, there were more and more mentions of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the international public, it was necessary to create the impression that the masses in Bosnia and Herzegovina demanded to be annexed by Austria-Hungary. Thus, based on his instructions from Vienna, vice-president of the Sarajevo municipality, Mandić,

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[38] Политика, 1. август 1908, бр. 1630, 1, Говор г. Миловановића.

[39] Политика, 3. август 1908, бр. 1632, 1, Генезис.

[40] Политика, 2. август 1908, бр. 1631, 2, Инквизиција.

[41] Политика, 4. август 1908, бр. 1633, 2, Инквизиција.

[42] Политика, 5. август 1908, бр. 1634, 1, Босна и Настић.

[43] Политика, 5. август 1908, бр. 1634, 2, Настић и Штајнхарт.

[44] Политика, 6. август 1908. бр. 1635, 2, Хапшења у Невесињу.

[45] Политика, 7. август 1908. бр. 1636, 2, Истрага се наставља.

[46] Политика, 8. август 1908, бр. 1637, 2, После првог страха.

asked Vienna to perform the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina[47]. Journalist Isidor Steinhardt published a text in the Zemun newspaper "Srpska misao", in which he denounced Nastić and stated that he had helped Nastić[48] only because Serbian newspapers had painted a negative picture of him. With this text, the background of the conspiracy was discovered. Many believed that after revealing this, the persecution of Serbs will cease[49].

In the article "The Bosnian Constitution", "Politika" stated that the administrator of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Burián, visited Sarajevo during his tour of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where one delegation, consisting of Serbs and Muslims presented him with a memorandum in which they demanded that the constitution be adopted and offered help of various domestic organizations[50]. However, the situation was getting more and more tense. Increased presence of Austro-Hungarian troops was noticed around Trebinje. News came that officers could not get a leave and that soldiers should not be released to their homes. This situation led to a rebellion made by soldiers in Maglaj who seized a train[51]. With a decree by the Minister of Defense, the number of Austro-Hungarian soldiers was increased in Sarajevo and Pljevlja[52]. The Austro-Hungarian army conducted exercises by the Danube, near Dubravica. On the other side of the river, Serbian infantry from Požarevac practiced target shooting on a nearby range. It was so tense that a single stray bullet could have caused an open conflict[53].

In the text titled "News of the Annexation", dated September 23rd, 1908, "Politika" announced that Austria-Hungary was tirelessly working, through its emissaries, on preparing a memorandum for the Catholic part of the population, which would, supported by one part of the Muslim population, demand the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the writings of "Politika", anxiety was noticeable due to the actions of Austria-Hungary, and the birthday of Emperor Franz Joseph was mentioned as a potential date of the annexation. In order to conduct the annexation as easily as possible, the Bulgarian proclamation of independence should be used, which evidently captured the attention of the Ottoman Empire[54]. We can conclude that "Politika" was very well informed. Its authors and editors were able to analyze and present the political circumstances of the time to the public, foreseeing the course of events that followed. Just before the annexation, aside from the persecution of Serbs, some very interesting events occurred, which led to the Austro-Hungarian

[47] Политика, 15. август 1908, бр 1644, 2, Стање ствари..

[48] Isidor Steinhardt was a journalist of the Viennese newspaper „Die Zeit", and an associate of the Austro-Hungarian intelligence.

[49] Политика, 16. август 1908, бр. 1645, 2, Штајнхартова изјава.

[50] Политика, 27. август 1908, бр. 1656, 2, Устав у Босни.

[51] Политика, 31. август 1908, бр. 1660, 1, Мирише на барут.

[52] Политика, 22. август 1908, бр. 1651, 2, Појачање војске у Босни и у Санџаку.

[53] Политика, 23. август 1908, бр. 1652, 2, Рат у миру.

[54] Политика, 10. септембар 1908, бр. 1670, 1, Ново о анексији.

administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina becoming an object of ridicule among the Serbian public. For example, Austro-Hungarian agents managed to seize a letter which stated that a Serbian merchant in Tuzla was to be delivered 500 revolvers. When the shipment arrived, it was immediately confiscated, but the contents of the package revealed 500 glass revolvers, filled with liquor[55]. The Austro-Hungarian administration first banned the book "The History of the Serbian People" by Stanoje Stanojević and later ordered that all copies of the book be burned[56].

All European newspapers claimed that Bosnia and Herzegovina would quickly be annexed by Austria-Hungary. The newspapers in Austria-Hungary denied this, except for some newspapers in Hungary, which claimed that the increase in the number of military recruits was most likely due to the planned annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina[57]. Austria-Hungary would, according to "Politika", face certain issues when annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina. When it came to the territorial aspect, Bosnia and Herzegovina would become a part of Hungary, which would greatly strengthen its position against Austria. The greatest part of the operation would be performed by Austria and only Hungary would profit from the results. Also, the court in Vienna would have to take into consideration the positions of great powers that warranted the peace made with the Treaty of Berlin. The Russian Empire would not agree with the annexation, because it would not profit from an adversary which would oppose its interests in the Balkans. Italy would not condone the annexation, because of her interests in the Adriatic. It was thought that England would oppose the annexation, because it profited from strong Balkan states that would prevent the spread of the influence of great powers in the Mediterranean. France would have the same response as Russia and England. Only Germany could support the annexation, but there were plenty of reasons for it not to do so. Finally, Austria-Hungary would also have to take into account the position of Turkey, which would consider the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as the seizing of a province that was officially under the rule of the sultan[58]. At the same time, the "Vossische Zeitung" wrote that the annexation is underway and that the question is whether it would be a total annexation, or would an alternative solution be found to bring Bosnia and Herzegovina closer to Austria-Hungary[59].

5. Conclusion

As we can notice in the example of the daily newspaper "Politika", relevant press can indeed be a good source of data for historians. In order for a daily newspaper to

[55] Политика, 11. август 1908, бр 1671, 2, Оружје у Босни.

[56] Политика, 19. септембар 1908, бр. 1679, 1, На ломачи.

[57] Политика, 20. септембар 1908, бр. 1680, 2, Анексија Босне.

[58] Политика, 22. септембар 1908, бр. 1682, 1, Рат или мир?.

[59] Политика, 22. септембар 1908, бр. 1682, 2, Пред анексију.

be significant to historians, just like “Politika” at the beginning of the XX century, it needs to be objective. The objectivity of “Politika” can be assessed based on the temporal distance between the researchers today and the articles published. The events preceding the annexation crisis were more or less known in literature, which was yet another way to assess the objectivity and the adequateness of a newspaper, but also of the literature data, on the other hand. Considering that “Politika” gathered a significant part of the elite at the beginning of the XX century, it satisfied the criterion that the author should comprehend the circumstances of the time he lived in. The wide network of correspondents and the speed with which news reached the editorial office allowed the readers at the time to enjoy relevant and fresh news. This way of distributing information allowed historians to clearly and chronologically follow the entire course of events, reading the news from the period that preceded the Annexation crisis.

By analyzing the content of the texts in “Politika” in 1908, three distinct groups of texts could be discerned. The first group of texts and information represented the analysis of the international situation regarding the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina before the annexation in 1908. The second group of texts and information was limited and it followed the internal actions of the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina undertook to resolve the fate of the territory without changing its state and legal status. The third group was related to the very preparations of the act of annexation and the provocations aimed at the Serbian population of Austria-Hungary. One part of the texts also covers the provocations towards the Kingdom of Serbia. By applying historical methodology in the critical analysis of thde texts, we could conclude that the editors of “Politika” were excellently informed about all events preceding the annexation.

Analyses of international circumstances gathered from the articles of “Politika” provided us with a clear insight into what the relations between the Great Powers looked like and what their attitudes towards Bosnia and Herzegovina looked like. Austria-Hungary tested the other Great Powers in order to sense whether and in what way they were ready to respond to the annexation. The Great Powers did not condone this event. When the annexation took place, they opposed the act itself, yet none of the Great Powers was ready to go to war for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Turkey, under whose official rule Bosnia and Herzegovina was, had its own internal issues and paid no significant attention to this burning issue. The only countries that took a great interest in the annexation were the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Montenegro. If a layman wished to understand how Serbs at the time viewed Bosnia and Herzegovina, it was enough to look at the issues of “Politika” of the time in order to get familiar with the atmosphere that was predominant among the Serbian public.

Knowing about the interest that the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Montenegro took in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austria-Hungary first managed to divide the two states by planting the “Bomb Affair”. Once it managed to divide the two states, Austria-Hungary started acting on two fronts. On one side, it started a series of provocations on the border between the Kingdom of Serbia and the

Kingdom of Montenegro, aiming to cause an impulsive reaction. On the other side, Austria-Hungary conducted a series of activities with the goal of discrediting the Serbian population in Austria-Hungary, whilst promising a constitution and reforms. With the aim of discrediting the Serbian people and turning the Austro-Hungarian public opinion against them, Đorđe Nastić and the so-called "Nastić affair" were primarily used to show the alleged intentions of Serbs to erode the Austro-Hungarian administration. Nastić was used as the key figure in preparing the act itself and the affair was only an excuse for the Austro-Hungarian administration to close all Serbian newspapers, prohibit selling Serbian press, prohibit Serbian books and symbols and arrest all notable Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Aside from that, Nastić was used by ban Rauch to break apart the Croat-Serb coalition, as well as to start the Agram trial later against the members of the Independent Serbian Party in 1909. With these actions, everything was ready for the act of annexation which was performed on October 5th, 1908. The annexation was coordinated with the Principality of Bulgaria that declared itself an empire the day before. The act was conducted in this way because the Bulgarian declaration of independence was breaching the Treaty of Berlin and served as an excuse to Austria-Hungary for the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the analytical writings of "Politika" before these events, claims were made that the events would unfold precisely in the way they later did.

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ИЗВЕШТАВАЊЕ ДНЕВНОГ ЛИСТА ПОЛИТИКА О СИТУАЦИЈИ У БОСНИ И ХЕРЦЕГОВИНИ УОЧИ ИЗБИЈАЊА АНЕКСИОНЕ КРИЗЕ 1908. ГОДИНЕ

Апстракт. *У раду је анализирано писање у дневном листу „Политика", о догађајима уочи Анексионе кризе. Политичка ситуација у Босни и Херцеговини на почетку XX века била је изузетно комплексна и затегнута. У комбинацији са већ довољно компликованим међународним околностима, створени су услови за једну од највећих политичких криза у Европи тога доба. Период између Младотурске револуције и Анексионе кризе, био је период настојања Срба из Босне и Херцеговине да се легално реши питање Босне и Херцеговине, без промене државно-правног статуса ове територије и настојања Аустроугарске да интегрише Босну и Херцеговину у своју државну структуру. Аустроугарска је злоупотребила мандат за окупацију Босне и Херцеговине, који јој је дат потписивањем Берлинског мировног уговора 1878. године и извршила Анексију Босне и Херцеговине 1908. године. Припреме за Анексију Босне и Херцеговине, пратили су дописници листа „Политика" и о томе обавештавали српску јавност. За стварање јасне слике о стању на терену и терору који је Аустроугарска власт спроводила у Босни и Херцеговини, непроцењиви су чланци објављени у „Политици" из тог периода.*

Кључне речи: *Анексија, Босна и Херцеговина, 1908, Политика, Аустроугарска, Срби*

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Review article

ROCK MUSIC, SUICIDE AND MEDIA INFLUENCE

Abstract: *Suicide risk factors usually include: previous attempts, depression, comorbidity of alcohol consumption and drug abuse, gender (three to four times more suicides in men than in women), family history of psychiatric disorders, environmental and social factors such as periods of major social changes or movements: revolution, industrialization, secularization, migration, wars and the like. In this paper we should try to approach the problem by looking into the hypothesis of some researchers that rock music, or rock and hippie movements from the 60s to the end of the 80s of the 20th century, are included in these social risk factors, directly or indirectly. The arguments that the authors refer to are mainly: numerous suicides among both performers and listeners of rock music, many cases of emulated suicides of rock stars by fans, a large number of songs whose content speaks of suicide, evidence on the spot of suicide related to listening to such songs at the time of committing suicide, many lawsuits and trials against rock composers and performers by grieving relatives, etc. The aim of this paper is to analyze critically these facts as problematic for stating them as causes of suicide. Additionally, the paper aims to explain that for already predisposed, latent suicidal people, this type of music is only a mediator towards more intense socializing with similar listeners, indulging in latent suicide activities such as alcohol consumption and drug abuse and only subsequently to depression and suicide. Since suicide does not have to be associated with depression and the death drive, but on the contrary with the urge to live and the desire to be prominent, loved and remembered, the thesis that suicides of rock artists and supporters belong to this category should not be removed.*

Key words: *social movements, suicide, rock artists, life drive, death urge.*

1. Suicidality and Suicide

People are quite prone to self-harming themselves, risk-taking, self-punishment, bad habits, unhealthy life, exaggeration, etc. It could be said that most of us, every day, do something to our detriment. However, special attention has always been paid to suicide (Fajgelj, 2014). Probably because it has always *smelled of pathology* to experts, but also to the laymen, regardless of a large number of prominent, famous or ingenious people who ended their lives committing it.

In contrast, a person who ended his life earlier because of intensive smoking, eating, drinking, excitement to a great extent, as well as adrenaline and risky behaviors does not attract special attention. There is no impression that a person killed himself

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intentionally, although it is obvious that the mentioned activities are risk factors for premature death. Experts quite agree (Hawton, Casanas, Comabella, Haw and Saunders. 2013) that this is not a direct suicide, but a famous notion of *latent suicide*.

All people prone to suicide can be classified into numerous categories according to different criteria (children, adults, men, women, race, religion, rich or poor, etc.). However, statistics show that there are differences with regard to various categories of people. Unfortunately, these differences are unstable and temporally and spatially short-lived. In a certain period or place on Earth, the difference in favor of one category changes and often turns into another or opposite.

It is estimated that about a million people in the world commit suicide yearly (Fajgelj, 2014; Kecmanović, 1986), or ten to fifteen on 100,000 inhabitants. In Serbia, about 1,500 to 2,000 people commit suicide annually, which ranks it among the top 20 countries in the world. Half of that happens in Vojvodina, which represents an average of one suicide every 17 hours in that region.

On average, men kill themselves three to three and a half times more often than women. According to available data, about 90% of people committing suicide have some mental disorder, with depression being the most common (50 to 75%) (Berger, 1997; Hawton et al., 2013). A meta-analysis of several papers published between 1970 and 2012 found the following potential risk factors: previous suicide attempts, severe depression, hopelessness, comorbidity of alcohol and drug abuse, gender (men), anxiety and family history of psychiatric disorders (Hawton et al., 2013).

There is an evidence that suicides also depend on *environmental conditions*, especially on the social situation at a particular historical moment or period: industrialization, urbanization, nation education, secularization, social and marital integration, age, religion, migration, political conditions (e.g., war, revolution, change of government, democratization) and the like (Berger, 1997; Hawton et al., 2013). Many of these factors, of course, are not direct causes of suicide, but are an intervening or moderating variable. For example: divorce or exile (migration) may be associated with suicide, subsequently creating depression and hopelessness in those already exposed, which is then indirectly associated with suicide (Stack, 2000). Such social situations that marked certain historical moments or periods of humanity can include the hippie movement of the '60s and '70s of the 20th century, rock music of the '70s and '80s and techno and electronic music of the '90s. The main goal of this paper is to try to consider rock music as a potential suicide factor, especially among young people - fans, but also with performers among whom there were numerous highly popular world stars (see Table 1).

Freud believed that the urge for self-destruction was an attack on a beloved one with whom the individual identified, so that suicide, at least in part, had the meaning of homicide, an act of aggression against another person (Kecmanović, 1986). In the dubiousness of the analysis and our inability to figure out the motives for the rock artists' and fans' self-destruction, this hypothesis should not be ignored, because in the lyrics of rock songs there were often verses about the suicidal intention of a lover because of a beloved one, whether it sounded serious or just pathetic (or poetic). Especially, when we have in mind some theses of psychoanalytic theory, that aggression was considered a perverted sexual urge or reaction to frustration, and Freud later, after introducing the concept of death instinct (drive), saw in suicide the embodiment of this instinct, which was a kind of opposite to another basic instinct: the instinct of life, the instinct of preserving living matter (Kecmanović, 1986). The study of suicidal fantasies, dreams in which the motive of suicide appeared, showed that suicide did not always have to express the urge to destroy one's own being, the negation of one's existence, but could reflect the desire to confirm one's personality and life in general, to be in the function of affirming the instinct of life. In fantasies, suicide was often a means of forcing others to express love for us after our death (many did not avoid the fantasy of imagining their own funeral - how many people would come, who would cry...), that is, to convince us of our vitality and importance (Stengel, 1960).

Could such a suicidal desire be understood not as a desire for self-destruction, but as a desire to reach Nirvana (perhaps it was not by chance that Cobain's group was called *Nirvana*), to erase the boundary between life and death? According to this theory (Kecmanović, 1986), a suicide attempt could be an attempt on self-continuation, not self-destruction, a fantasy of satisfying the need for immortality. Since it represents an act of destruction of natural death as an objective inevitability, the self-chosen way of leaving this world could have the meaning of omnipotence, the triumph of a subject over an object, free will over natural necessity. Anyone who knows the characteristics of rock artists, rock music and rock movements will agree that their rebellion, ideology and philosophy of life in general are often an important factor of suicidal risk. Thus, according to this hypothesis, individual motives for suicide are always ambiguous, they contain affirmation and negation, the need for destruction and the need for preservation, a desperate attempt to appeal for help, but also a proud decision *to leave without turning* (Kecmanović, 1986), which can be recognized in rock ideology.

Basically, suicide is the result of several factors which are often connected in the way that is neither simple nor one-sided, but the interactions are sometimes unusual and difficult to grasp. It often seems that every suicide is a story in itself, but there are also regularities and laws that we have mentioned. Despite the impression that a person wants to end his life on his own, it does not have to be this way: some suicides are really planned, but there are strong facts stating that the decision was often made impetuously and the person acted on an irresistible impulse, with the impression that the man could have been prevented from committing that act, if only there was someone nearby to react. Even if it was planned, the decision was probably made in a state of suffering and disorder, in solitude, with no apparent way out at the moment. That is why the dilemma remained whether the suicide really meant that a person wanted to die (Fajgelj, 2014; Kecmanović, 1986).

2. Rock Music

Rock is a genre of popular music that developed during the 1960s in England and America (Studwell & Lonergan, 1999). The roots came from rock-and-roll of the ’40s and ’50s, which was influenced by rhythm and blues and country music. Rock music was also influenced by numerous genres such as blues, folk, jazz and classical music (Abbey, 2006; Ammer, 2004; Covach, 2006; Curtis, 1987).

Rock music served as a medium for social and cultural movements, creating many subcultures, such as *rockers* in the UK, and *hippies* in the US. During the ’70s, punk culture emerged, from which *emo* and *goth* subcultures later appeared. Inheriting the folk tradition of protest songs, rock music was associated with political activism as well as change of social attitudes toward race, gender and drug use, and was often seen as an expression of youthful revolt against consumerism and adult authority (Frith, 2007; McDonald, 2009; Wicke, 1990).

Unlike many earlier styles of popular music, the themes of rock songs were very wide. For rock musicians the world was that out of space light that anyone should gravitate to and the absolute truth was the truth contained in one moment (Cvetanović, 2012). Thus, in the lyrics of rock songs, there were society, unrequited love, sex, rebellion against the government, sports, drinks, drugs, money and social issues (Ammer, 2004). Some of these themes were inherited from rock performers of older pop, jazz and blues while other themes first appeared in the lyrics. Some called rock music a *cool medium* with simple diction and refrain repetition (Campbell, 2004; Kent, 1983; Robinson, 1972; Shepherd, 2003).

Rock music was declared to have a significant and negative influence on young people, which was manifested in several ways (Farber, 2007; Szatmary, 1996). It refered to the personification of delinquency, promiscuity, immorality, but it also appeared to encourage and promote suicide. Between 1980 and 1995, the number of suicides doubled among people aged 10 to 14! By the end of 1987, suicide had become the second leading cause of death among young people between the ages of 15 and 18, after car accidents. By the end of the ’90s, suicide *fell* to the third place as the cause of death in this young population, but only because the second place was taken by mutual murders (Stack, 2000).

3. Suicidal Lyrics of Rock Music Songs

Many rock songs (Farber, 2007) glorify suicide: *Death Can Be Fun* (*Kamikaze Klones*), *Consider Me Gone* - a Sting’s song about a desperate man who had nothing else to look forward to except death, *Die Young, Stay Young* - with this song, the group *Blondie* seemed to encourage young people to die before old age takes away their beauty, *No Way Out* (*D Generation*), talked about the desire to commit suicide, etc. Marilyn Manson sold T-shirts with the slogan *Kill God, Kill Your Parents, Kill Yourself* (Alternative Press, February 1997).

Some rock bands even mentioned suicide as an act in their name, like the band *Suicidal Tendencies*. The text of one of their songs called *Suicidal Failure* reads: "I don't want to live / I don't know why / It's not that I don't have a reason / I just want to die." The song *Suicide's an Alternative* said: "I'm tired of life, I'm tired, I don't care, I'm sick of myself, I don't want to live, I'm sick of life, I'm going to die, suicide is an option!" The song of the group *Police* also talked about suicide, "I can't see the point in another day / for nobody listens to a word I say / You can call it lack of confidence / but to carry on living doesn't make no sense / … You'll be sorry when I'm dead / all this guilt will be on your head / I guess you call it suicide / but I'm too full to swallow my pride." Between 1985 and 1990, three lawsuits were filed against Ozzie Osborne by three groups of parents who claimed that the song *Suicide Solution* caused their sons to commit suicide. Osborne was acquitted, claiming that the song was written as a lament on the occasion of the death of the rock star Bon Scott, and that the song itself was actually against alcohol and suicide[3]. The judge declared that the text of the song was protected by the First Amendment and that rock musicians had the right to *artistic freedom*.

The text of the song *Paranoid* by the group *Black Sabbath* sung by Osborne read: "Think I'll lose my mind, if I don't find something to gratify, can you help me? Oh, won't you blow my brains?" Two other songs by the same group called *Killing Yourself to Live* and *Die Young* mentioned dark suicidal thoughts as well. David Bowie's song *Rock 'n' Roll Suicide* directly mentioned suicide, but in it we also had arguments for the hypothesis of the instinct of life, popularity and eternity as suicide goals, not death, because in the finale and refrain there was optimism and affirmation of life "Oh no, love! You're not alone".

4. Suicides of Rock Music Supporters and Performers

Two young men from the USA committed suicide in 1987 with a shotgun in a car parked in front of the church. After hours of listening to Judas Priest's *Stained Class* album, they agreed to kill themselves. The parents sued the music group, stating that the lyrics in combination with a *psychedelic, depressing, and evil melody hypnotize and brain youth and convince them that death is the solution to life*. Their lawyer claimed that the suggestive text of the song with repetitive rhythmic patterns and phrases without changing the intonation, caused and encouraged suicide[4], but the judges ignored such a thesis (Shuker, 2005).

There were many more suicides of young people who had listened to this type of music. However, in addition to listeners, suicide was one of the leading causes of death among rock musicians, among whom there were mega-popular: 1) Christopher Acland of *Lush* committed suicide in 1996 by hanging, aged 30; 2) Two members

[3] https://www.biblebelievers.com/RockDeaths.html

[4] https://www.theguardian.com/music/2011/jun/14/joy-division-ian-curtis-suicide

of the British rock band *Badfinger*: Pete Ham, the leader and lyricist of the group, hanged himself in 1975 a few days before his 28th birthday; 3) The band's guitarist, Tony Evans, also hanged himself, at the age of 36; 4) Chester Bennington, frontman of the *Linkin Park*, hanged himself 2017 at the age of 41; 5) Kurt Cobain, a 27-year-old frontman of the *Nirvana* group, shot himself in the head with a shotgun in a room above his garage in April 1994. His body was found three days later. Rolling Stone magazine reported that at least 68 persons committed something called *copycat suicide*, i.e., they copied his suicide. *Nirvana*'s album *Nevermind*, which sold ten million copies, promoted the idea that nothing mattered, that there was no meaning to life. One of the songs was called *I Hate Myself, I Want to Die*; 5) Ian Curtis, frontman of *Joy Division* group, hanged himself in 1980 at the age of 25, at the height of his fame. While committing suicide, he was listening to his favorite Iggy Pop album, *The Idiot*; 6) Keith Flint, vocalist of the group *The Prodigy*, killed himself in 2019 at the age of 49; 5) Yogi Horton, the drummer of Luther Vandross and many other artists, killed himself in 1987 at the age of 37 by jumping from the 17th floor of a hotel in New York. After that, several more people jumped from the same floor of the same hotel; 7) Jonghyun, Korean pop superstar killed himself in December 2017 at the age of 27.

The connection between premature death and rock music seems to be undeniable, but causal statements should not be made. Such music did not directly affect these musicians to take their own lives, and we could only guess the real reasons. Perhaps the difficult, traumatic life of the authors led to the creation of such music, and drugs and alcohol were frequent mediators not only towards death, but also towards the creation and freer performance of songs (getting rid of stage fright).

Heavy metal, which did not belong to the rock-and-roll direction at the time, takes the lead as the culprit when it comes to suicides (Weinstein, 1991). Conservatives in the United States considered this music sexist, arrogant, satanic, drug-addicted, which, among other things, influenced the behavior of teenagers and promoted suicide. Heavy metal music was criticized as violent, hedonistic, containing sexist lyrics as well as loud guitars, too strong bass guitar and overall, too loud sound (Weinstein, 1991). It was music that attracted a certain part of the youth who identified with aggression and rebellion. By the 1980s, many wore satanic symbols, and alcohol and drug use seemed to be implied by most *heavy metal players*. For some, this was a sect, and this music was a call for socially unacceptable behavior and even suicide. For *metal* lovers, however, this music was simply an escape from reality or one of the ways to *annoy parents*.

The table below provides an overview of some suicides and latent suicides of rock artists and performers (from the almost endless list, only the most famous names of rock artists or rock bands have been singled out, at least for rock connoisseurs).

Table 1. *Part of the overview of suicides and latent suicides of rock creators and performers*

Name	Last Name	Band	Date of death	Age	Cause
John	Bonham	Led Zeppelin	80-09-25	32	Alcohol
Steve	Clark	Def Leppard	91-01-08	30	Alcohol
Rory	Gallagher	Taste	95-06-14	46	Alcohol
Bill	Haley		81-02-09	56	Alcohol
Ron 'Pigpen'	McKernan	Grateful Dead	73-03-08	27	Alcohol
John	Panozzo	Styx	96-07-16	47	Alcohol
Bon	Scott	AC/DC	80-02-19	33	Alcohol
Tommy	Bolin	Deep Purple	76-12-04	25	Drugs
Brian	Cole	Association	72-08-02	28	Drugs
Pete	Farndon	Pretenders	83-04-14	30	Drugs
Dwayne	Goettel	Skinny Puppy	95-08-23	31	Drugs
Jimi	Hendrix		70-09-18	27	Drugs
James	Honeyman-Scott	Pretenders	82-06-16	25	Drugs
Shannon	Hoon	Blind Melon	95-10-21	28	Drugs
Janis	Joplin		70-10-04	27	Drugs
Robbie	McIntosh	Average White Band	74-09-23	23	Drugs
Keith	Moon	Who	78-09-07	32	Drugs
Bill	Murcia	New York Dolls	72-11-06	21	Drugs
Kristen	Pfaff	Hole	94-06-16	24	Drugs
David	Ruffin	Temptations	91-06-01	50	Drugs
Stefanie	Sargent	7 Year Bitch	92-06-27	24	Drugs
Bob	Stinson	Replacements	95-02-20	35	Drugs
Vinnie	Taylor	Sha Na Na	74-04-17	25	Drugs
Gary	Thain	Uriah Heep	76-03-19	27	Drugs
Johnny	Thunders	New York Dolls	91-04-23	38	Drugs
Sid	Vicious	Sex Pistols	79-02-02	21	Drugs
Danny	Whitten	Crazy Horse	72-11-18	29	Drugs
Andrew	Wood	Mother Love Bone	90-03-19	24	Drugs
Nick	Acland	Lush	96-10-17	30	Suicide
Bobby	Bloom		74-02-28	28	Suicide

Roy	Buchanan		88-08-14	48	Suicide
Kurt	Cobain	Nirvana	94-04-05	27	Suicide
Vincent	Crane	Atomic Rooster	89-02-01	44	Suicide
Ian	Curtis	Joy Division	80-05-18	23	Suicide
Nick	Drake		74-11-25	26	Suicide
Tom	Evans	Badfinger	83-11-18	36	Suicide
Danny	Gatton	(session musician)	94-10-04	49	Suicide
Pete	Ham	Badfinger	75-04-23	28	Suicide
Michael	Hutchence	INXS	97-11-21	37	Suicide
Phyllis	Hyman		95-07-03	44	Suicide
Billy	Mackenzie	Associates	97-01-23	39	Suicide
Richard	Manual	The Band	86-03-04	42	Suicide
Phil	Ochs		76-04-07	35	Suicide
Ingo	Schwichtenberg	Halloween	95-03-08	29	Suicide
Del	Shannon		90-02-08	51	Suicide
Rory	Storm	Rory Storm and the Hurricanes	72-09-27	32	Suicide
Biggie	Tembo	Bhundu Boys	95-08-13	37	Suicide
Paul	Williams	Temptations	73-08-17	34	Suicide
Al	Wilson	Canned Heat	70-09-03	27	Suicide

5. Discussion and Conclusion

Do listeners decide to commit suicide because of the music they listen to, or does that music have such a strong influence on someone's will? There is a connection between rock music and suicide, but it is more likely in the opposite direction: the individual state of the artist (creator) affects his product, in this case music. Listeners of his music become his supporters and fans because they can empathize with him through his work and find understanding and comfort in an artist who has gone through the same or a similar situation. The fact is that rock music has a large audience and that the messages that music sends both through the lyrics and the music are not simple and certainly often come from some *dark* place, that is, some bad or traumatic experience. It is precisely these experiences that are perhaps the source of this kind of art in the form of lyrics and songs and serve their creators, among other things, not only as a means of expression, but also as a kind of self-therapy.

However, the very nature of music, even with implicit lyrics, is not enough to lead someone to such an act. The influence of such music lies in the identification with its content and message. If the listener somehow *finds himself* in a certain song or shares the experience and similarities with the one who wrote that song, and in addition to it, he also cultivates emotion towards it (which is a common case, listeners are fans of their heroes on the rock scene, keeping in mind that worship is often confounded with envy, which further complicates the potential unfolding and explanation), then one can expect processes of imitation and identification with the performer, but also the actors in the text of the song.

Broadly speaking, perhaps socio-psychologically, the pronounced conservatism that the United States aspired to in those years and decades brought prosperity and economic power to the country. However, with that other difficulties arise. If the system is generally functioning properly, and there is no external *target* to which the revolt will be directed, then that revolt may be coming back like a boomerang. The ability to express dissatisfaction of any origin is the privilege of a rich society. Therefore, it is not surprising that the number of suicides is drastically higher in such societies and countries (Stack, 2000). Poor countries do not have, or have a very small percentage of, suicide deaths.

In any environment, regardless of state and nationality, teenagers, especially during puberty, tend to defy and oppose their parents and older people, people with authority in general. In that sense, rock-and-roll and the way of life that music propagates are an ideal means *to irritate parents*. The lyrics of the song, which often call for the violation of moral and ethical values, and even for the violation of the law, are in absolute contradiction with what conservatism represents.

As it is in human nature to explain and end something, it is also natural to be afraid of the inexplicable and incomprehensible. The very fact that a large number of young people have decided to end their lives causes discomfort and fear, and that fear is further increased when there is no legitimate explanation and reason for all these situations. A suitable culprit for suicides was found, and the characteristics of that musical genre were presented as a sufficient reason for such behaviour of a good part of the youth of a given period. Above all, we must accept the claim that suicide cannot be attributed to a single cause. Listening to a certain type of music or belonging to a group related to it does not make that music any more to blame for suicides than the influence of television, movies, video games, books (was the suicide of Hemingway, Yesenin, Miljković or Ćopić to blame for youth suicides!?). Although all of these forms of influence can pose a kind of risk when it comes to a sensitive, vulnerable person, a complex approach is needed that will take into account all individual psychological elements to assess whether a particular person is prone to suicide or not.

What leads a person to suicidal thoughts is very complex. This decision can be influenced by external factors and the environment, but not only by external factors. Fans of rock-and-roll music and art in general with similar content are fans of that art because they find themselves in it. This does not mean that all people who like to listen to rock-and-roll are prone to suicide, but perhaps that people who have such thoughts are more inclined to choose some *psychedelic* music (elaboration of the intervening moderator variable in correlation: *explanation*).

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ROK MUZIKA, SAMOUBISTVO I EFEKAT MEDIJA

Sažetak: *Kao faktori suicida obično se navode: prethodni pokušaji, depresija, komorbiditet somatskih i psihičkih oboljenja, zloupotreba alkohola i droga, pol (kod muškaraca tri do četiri puta više suicida nego kod žena), anksioznost, porodična istorija psihijatrijskih poremećaja, zatim sredinski i društveni faktori, kao što su periodi većih društvenih promena ili pokreta: revolucija, industrijalizacija, sekularizacija, migracije, ratovi i slično. Mnogi od ovih nisu direktni faktori, već medijatori, tj. kod već predisponiranih osoba mogu dovesti do depresije, koja zatim može biti uzrok samoubistva. Problem ovog rada sadrži se u analizi hipoteze nekih istraživača da se i rok muzika, ili rok i hipi-pokret od 60-ih do kraja 80-ih godina 20.veka, svrsta u ove društvene faktore rizika, direktne ili indirektne. Argumenti na koje se autori pozivaju uglavnom su: veliki broj suicida i kod izvođača i kod slušalaca rok muzike, mnogo slučajeva imitiranih suicida rok zvezda od strane obožavalaca, veliki broj pesama čiji sadržaj govori o suicidu, dokazi na licu mesta suicida o slušanju tih pesama upravo u trenutku izvšenja, mnogo tužbi i sudskih procesa protiv rok stvaralaca i izvođača od strane ožalošćene rodbine itd. Cilj rada je kritička analiza navedenih činjenica kao problematičnih za tvrdnju o njima kao uzrocima suicida i pokušaj objašnjenja da je verovatno ta vrsta muzike kod već predisponiranih, latentnih samoubica samo medijator ili facilitator ka intenzivnjijem druženju sa sebi sličnim, te prepuštanju aktivnostima latentnog samoubistva kao što je konzumiranje alkohola i droge, pa tek onda ka depresiji i samoubistvu. S obzirom na to da pak suicid ne mora biti povezan sa depresijom i nagonom smrti, već naprotiv i sa nagonom života i željom da se bude istaknut, voljen i upamćen, ne bi trebalo odstraniti tezu da samoubistva rokera pripadaju ovoj kategoriji.*

Ključne reči: *društveni pokreti, suicid, rokeri, nagon života, nagon smrti.*

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Review article

CHALLENGES OF MOBILE JOURNALISM IN DIGITAL MEDIA AGE

Abstract: *Owing to the constant technology improvement and innovation, new ways of reception and creation of media content have developed, leading to the redefining of known communication processes. In this new digital media age, characterized by new features such as convergence, mobility and interactivity, mobile journalism emerged as a new journalistic form-challenging relation between creators and recipients of media content. Even though the idea of user-generated media content that can be instantly shared and broadcasted using small mobile devices sounds like a multi-beneficial concept, this model still faces many challenges. In practice, numerous questions have arisen, such as ethics, reliability and quality of such content as well as acceptance and implementation into professional newsrooms. Therefore, the aim of this article is to review an academic approach to this topic, backed by practical examples, in order to place mobile journalism into a complex modern media system and evaluate its potential in the context of future development.*

Key words: *mobile journalism, convergence, user generated content, newsrooms, journalism, new media*

1. Introduction

The development of technology has been affecting the media industry for centuries now. Each new discovery in that field has provided new ways to create and deliver information to end users and helped the shaping of new media. For instance, the internet era has redefined the existing communication models with users as passive recipients of media content without a significant input on their part. Owing to new platforms and modern devices, the audience today not only has the access to the content that was previously unavailable in the traditional media era, but it also has an opportunity to create and publish its own content. In that way a new media environment is created in which traditional and new media coexist fueled by the audience that tends to be more active in creating, delivering and receiving bits of information.

The internet era affected not only the audience and its role, but it also influenced all types of media. Traditional media are still in the ongoing process of adapting to a

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new online environment, while facing the competition from the online only media and the online content created by users themselves. Therefore, in order to stay relevant on the market, they need to follow the development of new technology closely and try to implement modern achievements in websites, social media profiles and other internet platforms that serve as an extension of their media. That includes the user generated content as well, which is not new in media discourse (blogs, forums, comments, etc.). However, this type of content has also been improved over the years, so now it can exist independently or as a part of both traditional and new media. According to Ran Wei, no other medium connects people better than a telephone, which opens countless possibilities in the communication field. "The portability of mobile phones makes "connected co-presence" anywhere any time. Even though individuals may be still spatially separated, they are disconnected from one another" (Wei, 2013: 52).

Due to those characteristics, speed became the most important factor in news distribution, which opened a whole new field in journalistic practice based on new technology – mobile journalism. Creation of this new form opened a possibility for both the audience members and professional journalists to produce their own media content, broadcasting live videos or sending bits of information almost simultaneously with the ongoing event. Yet, the process of implementation into professional news rooms or wider acceptance has not been without obstacles. That is why one of the main goals of this article is to give insight into challenges and perspectives of mobile journalism in modern age and modern media systems.

2. New media landscape – new audience

In recent years, mobile journalism has emerged as one of the most popular ways in the media sphere to publish stories almost simultaneously with the ongoing event. In other words, not only did the media change, but the audience changed as well. The Internet development during the last decade of the 20th century and the implementation of internet services into numerous social spheres (entertainment, economics, media...) inspired theorists to talk about "second media age", which represents a total transformation of current mass media theories, because now special attention is paid to interactivity aspect, meaning that the audience is no longer just a recipient of media content, but they get an opportunity to become creators. This approach changed the concept of mass media and the way in which the reception of such content had been perceived to that point. Thanks to the domination of newspapers, radio and television, the mass media communication process was mainly viewed as one-way. As David Holmes points out, for that reason "second media age" theories are especially inspirational from the perspective of communication science (Holmes, 2005). Active role of the audience as well as their full potential, according to Ivana Stamenković, has been recognized by critical studies of culture: "Recognizable by their critical spirit, cultural studies have evolved as an opponent to the existing dominant paradigm, bringing the correctness of the social order and constructed meanings into question" (Stamenković, 2020: 31). Therefore, we can say that new technology creates a new audience which, according to modern theories, can be marked as participatory. As Sonia Livingstone claims, "the audience is becoming more and more participatory, while its forms of participation are becoming more mediated in the media" (Livingstone, 2013: 4). Talking about the participatory aspect, we need to take social media into consideration "since they are the intermediaries in a direct relationship with users, providing content variety: from political to entertainment, at the same time giving them the opportunity to participate and create their own content. Because of the services they provide, we find that they can potentially influence the creation of public opinion" (Mitrović & Obradović, 2020: 43).

Nowadays we can discuss a mobile audience that prefers mobile devices for consuming and creating content (Lopez-Garcia, Silva-Rodriguez, Vizoso-Garcia, Westlund, Canavilhas, 2019). Considering the rapid growth of such an audience (Reuters Institute, 2018), it is important to understand characteristics and particularities of this new communicative platform (Lopez-Garcia et al., 2019).

For instance, if an incident happens, citizens will probably capture it with a mobile device, so they could send it to authorities, transmit it live on social media platforms and/or send it to professional newsrooms. And that is where the story of mobile journalism (often shortened as MoJo) starts. Since this type of content often becomes an important source for professional media, it largely affects the role of professional journalists and the way they collect data. Thanks to mobile phones and their ever-improving features, modern journalists can produce news, photos and videos directly from the field, while maintaining every aspect of what is perceived as a quality journalistic product. That makes production a lot faster and efficient. Besides that, Sajid Umair notes the following: "Mobile phones also provide a potential means to retrieve up to date or contextual information through the mobile internet or context-aware services" (Umair, 2016: 1).

The impact of the inclusion of mobile journalism into professional media field was also noted by Ivo Burum in his book "Democratizing Journalism through Mobile Media: The Mojo Revolution" in which he stated: "This new, more diverse expression of power located in more specialized subfields of journalism becomes part of the broader information ecosphere in a changing communication (literary) field" (Burum, 2016: 36).

3. Mobile journalism – perspective and challenges

Even though there is no strict definition of mobile journalism in the academic field, many authors tried to extricate its characteristics in order to differentiate it from multimedia journalism and establish its own working area. For now, this phenomenon lacks a permanent name, so Lopez-Garcia and others (Lopez-Garcia et al, 2019) noted that some authors called it mobile digital journalism (Campbell, 2007), mobile news journalism (Forsberg, 2001), and mobile journalism (Briggs, 2007; Quinn, 2000; Pavlik, 2001; Castells, 2006). For instance, Ran Wei defines mobile media as "primarily as a personal, interactive, internet-enabled and user-controlled portable platform that provides for the exchange of and sharing of personal and non-personal information among users who are inter-connected" (Wei, 2013: 52). When it comes to practice, Aljazeera Media Training and Development Centre in its publication titled *Mobile Journalism* defines this form as "the process of gathering and delivering news using a smartphone or tablet. It is a trend in news covering and broadcasting, having the potential to become the new standard in journalism practice, especially to report breaking news" (Mobile Journalism, 2017: 2). Still, when talking about the media aspect, there are two important perspectives that should be in the focus of research - dissemination and reception of content for mobile devices and content production.

But mobile journalism is not facing challenges in academic fields only, but in practical areas as well, because it is still trying to find its place inside the media sphere. As observed by Perreault and Stanfield, "mobile journalists find themselves in a place of tension, between print, broadcast, and digital journalism and between traditional journalism and lifestyle journalism" (Perreault &Stanfield, 2018: 331). Therefore, one of the major questions regarding this journalistic area is whether mobile journalism should be observed as a part of existing media models or as an independent entity. At the same time, the role of mobile journalists is questioned – does production completely rely on mobile devices to prepare the content for use on various platforms or is it about a content intended for mobile consumption only regardless of the device used to produce such content? Judd Slivka notices that mobile content is usually intended for social media platforms, so what should be taken into consideration is duration and the platform a content creator is aiming at. "Newsrooms want mobile video and mobile produced pieces. But they want them for social reasons. They want 10:20 pieces, not a 1:30 piece (…). If we're producing for social, we're probably producing for Twitter. And if we're producing for Twitter, we need good-enough quality, not great quality. If we're producing for Facebook, we're likely creating videos that are designed to be digested without the sound on" (Slivka, 2017). Assuming that this type of journalism does not require any special equipment, it is essentially available to everyone who possesses at least a mobile phone and internet connection. That is why it is often said that mobile journalism is the most audience driven form of journalism. That form is audience-oriented, and it engages the audience to become an essential part of the process. "The audience itself searches and retrieves information in which it is interested, and the processes of selection of the information sphere bring the audience into a universe of ideas and content created according to each individual" (Stamenković, 2020: 38).

This journalistic form becomes increasingly present in mainstream media, as mentioned by Wenger, Owens, and Thompson since nowadays digital skills are expected from journalism students to create mobile journalism content. In their research, the mentioned authors point out that mobile skills were required in only 2% of job postings related to the journalism field. But, in 2013, this number increased to 23% and even that "lags behind mobile's prominence in newspaper and online job ads" (Wenger, Owens, and Thompson 2014, 138). When we take this data into account, it should come as no surprise that authors such as Bivens (Bivens, 2008) describe mobile technology as a game changer for all types of media. Development of mobile news services and mobile applications, as noted by Westlund (Westlund, 2012), affected numerous newsrooms around the globe – both traditional and digital to form omnipresence strategies, so their content could become accessible anytime, anywhere and on as many devices possible. To use this potential community, mojo authors with necessary skills become part of local media, while students get a great opportunity to prepare themselves for a career in journalism's converged space. Mojo skills can also help print journalists to adapt to new technological environments, so they could interact professionally with the global media sphere. Of course, this sphere is not reserved for everyone who owns a mobile phone. For instance, Burum states that: "The degree to which citizens can use global networks to create local voices will largely depend on access to technology and skills that enable them to create empowering UGS[3]" (Burum, 2016: 37).

In order to try to place mobile journalists and mobile journalism into a complex media system, Perreault and Stanfield conducted a research using an online survey that was sent to mobile journalists from different media hubs. Results showed that these journalists saw an opportunity for better storytelling, ability to report in a timelier nature which allowed them to become community and breaking news reporters. Additionally, there is an ability to share information easily through various platforms while working remotely. Here, interactivity, which has always been proclaimed as one of the chief characteristics in the context of new media, gets an additional dimension. Speaking of interactivity, we usually refer to the connection between a reader and a story. However, this research indicates that this characteristic goes one step further in mobile journalism. Because of that, we can also discuss a new connection – the one between a reader and an author. Thanks to this improved process of interactivity, the change of roles is also possible, so, at a certain moment, a recipient can become a content creator and vice versa. Taking this into consideration, mobile journalism can be perceived and accepted as an alternative journalistic form that offers non-mainstream content that, one would think, was hidden on purpose. One of the examples is China, the country that is known for constant news censoring, so demand for various forms of mobile journalism is high. "The widespread use of mobile tweeting (e.g., microblogs accessible via the Smartphone) in news dissemination in China provides a case in point [...]. The total of microblog users in China increased from 63.11 million in 2008 to 195 million in 2010. Currently 34 percent of China's mobile internet users have a presence in the cyber blog sphere through a mobile Twitter account, which offers them an alternative channel of uncensored news in China's tightly controlled media environment. Several high-profile corruption cases were first reported by mobile tweets posted by average citizens" (Wei, 2013: 53). Nowadays, employees in professional newsrooms often get

[3] user-generated stories

iPhones or mobile devices with the Android interface that help them report the story. "In addition, rather than using the mobile only for traditional reporting, journalists have also used applications for live video streaming (e.g., Bambuser) and live blogging (e.g., Disqus)" (Westlund, 2013: 16).

Nevertheless, mobile journalists feel the need to position themselves as high as possible on the crowded market and become someone that audience will turn to. That is why the aspect of interactivity is an important factor. Therefore, those journalists can deliver stories the audience wants in the best possible way. So, the goal here is a quality product that aligns with ethical and professional standards of traditional journalism. To achieve this, authors need to ensure that their content is reliable and fulfills highest technical standards in terms of quality regarding video, photography, audio and other multimedia content. They also need to make sure that bits of information they are sharing are ethically obtained and that the privacy of all involved in creating certain media content is respected. Only with these pre-conditions can we discuss mobile journalism as a professional journalistic form with all the unique features it contains. This characteristic is, among others, an original approach to the concept of journalism genres. Even though those authors often use professional media discourse by labeling news as breaking, hard or soft news with a scale of importance, there is no strict division in terms of genres in mobile journalism. Such content is labeled as storytelling, which represents a hybrid of common genres (news, article, interview and story) and it is combined with various audio and visual elements. Those stories "can range from those of personal experience, stories of learning, and messages for social justice to historical anecdotes, documentaries and digital video reports […] It becomes evident that digital storytelling, the traditional personal story enhanced by images, narrative voice and music, has grown into several very distinct genres" (Garrety & Schmidt, 2008: 916). Such storytelling allows a usage of subjective narrative, helped by multimedia aspect, which is characterized by concise, direct discourse that does not shy away from the emotional tone. Some of those stylistic aspects were discussed in an article by Ivan Cvetanović and Vladeta Radović: "The freedom to express unconditionally through language belongs to the individual. In this case, the journalist should have the unconstrained awareness about his responsibility to himself and to the world. Such freedom is gained through courage to express a certain attitude despite the subjective feeling of being constrained" (Cvetanović & Radović, 2017: 4).

When it comes to mobile journalism, one of its most positive aspects relies on the fact that it can overcome censorship and find the way to deliver information to the audience. This is especially important in local areas where journalists are easy targets of political and financial pressure. Burum thinks that "a local Indigenous mojo field can potentially serve to enable accurate local reportage by creating a specialized local journalistic subfield of Indigenous reporting" (Burum, 2016: 36).

As a negative aspect, it was pointed out that those newsrooms see this type of work as a burden (Perreault & Stanfield, 2018: 8). This indicates that managers of traditional media are aware of popularity, influence and necessity of such content, but that they are not ready to invest in professional equipment showing they are not fully ready to acknowledge legitimacy and necessity of such journalism. As noted in the research mentioned before: “Newsrooms perceive the mobile as a burden because newsrooms may be required to modify the workflow in order to adapt it to the new habits of consumption” (Perreault & Stanfield, 2018: 8). This problem is especially evident in newsrooms management consisting of older people who are not willing to adapt to and accept changes in the journalistic field. Some mobile journalists provided an explanation for this phenomenon saying that it represents “additional burden that does not drive news consumers back to the original medium” (Perreault & Stanfield, 2018: 11). In this way a tension is created between journalists and their management, because mobile journalists tend to follow and implement new technological achievements into their work, so they could be better journalists and position themselves better on the market. On the other hand, they still need to comply with the rules of their respective newsrooms as it is their primary job.

But, aside from resistance, the authenticity of mobile generated content should also be questioned. For instance, the vacuum that puts mobile journalism between amateurs and professionals in the media system has increased the competition between them, so in efforts to publish certain content as soon as possible, especially in the era of live transmitting, we can easily get the product that can fool and manipulate the audience. “The videos and photos may be tampered or manipulated, or the content may be provided in such a way that it conveys half or wrong information. Videos may be spread by the opposite parties and provide completely false information” (Umair, 2016: 5).

Certain newsrooms embraced UGC. The local example is online portal *Južne vesti* which is centered in Niš (Southern Serbia) and publishes mobile journalism products regularly. Mojo products consist of short video clips with subtitles encoded, followed by textual description. The authorship is divided. Some of these clips are done by newsroom journalists themselves, while others are produced by citizens who send material to the mentioned newsroom. The content is published after editorial checking and potential interventions. When it comes to citizens’ content, those are usually video documents of local “incidents” that affect their lives (riots, demolition of property, conflicts with authorities etc.). Their journalists publish similar topics along with unusual stories (acts of individuals that, by the estimate of the editorial board, deserve to be heard about). *Južne vesti* publish this content under video section on their website and, for now, there is no specific place for such content. When they post these stories onto official social media accounts, they are preceded by hashtag #MoJo. Frequency of such content is 2-3 stories per month, so we can easily conclude that such content has still not found its permanent place on this website.

Nevertheless, certain newsrooms are reluctant to embrace mojo. Some of the reasons for this are content quality and ethical implications that may arise from citizens who post the content that could potentially harm the brand or reputation of a media organization. Moreover, some pointed out that UGC would require additional resources for supervising and managing such content before publication (Westlund, 2012).

4. Conclusion

Ethical principles, reliability (e.g., spreading fake news) are among unsolved issues in a domain of so-called professional journalism even today. Therefore, in a crowded market of mobile journalists, it is hard to distinguish whose work aims at professional reporting and to understand the weight of responsibility for publicly shared content. In addition to that, it is hard to determine whose goal is simply a domain-commercial and popularity aspect, or what the motives for spreading fake news and disinformation are. For that reason, the second aspect continuously reopens some of the dilemmas stressed in this article and represents the main obstacle for full acceptance and approval of mobile journalism.

There is no doubt that new media not only changed the media landscape in terms of genres, style, multimedia content, speed, but it also provided a way for faster spreading of content below every professional and ethical standard.

Yet, we cannot deny the fact that these new media forms represent the media future and that these new forms play an important role in the democratization of the public sphere. That is why an education, especially in the media field, represents an important factor. In times when there is a thin line between media content creators and media content recipients, it is important to learn how to create and how to recognize quality media content. Considering how frequent the changes in the media field are, the necessity of permanent learning becomes evident – through both formal and informal education. Before moving to technical aspects, those who tend to become media content creators need to learn basic ethical principles and realize the weight of responsibility for publicly shared content – and today, there are multiple credible sources that could help journalists reach that goal.

Traditional newsrooms survived through the decades thanks to accepting and adapting to changes in the field of media technology. Technology did not change the media alone – it also changed the audience that now has different demands and priorities. In order to offer good enough content for the new audience, professional newsrooms need to embrace new media forms such as mobile journalism that are already thriving in alternative media landscapes. That kind of collaboration would surely lead to quality incensement of such content. Moreover, the difference between good and bad content would be more visible and transparent. By implementing new forms, professional newsrooms would not only offer bits of information in a way that fits a new audience, but it would also create a model that is more permanent and economically sustainable, which is one of the most important factors for the future media development.

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IZAZOVI MOBILNOG NOVINARSTVA U DIGITALNOM MEDIJSKOM DOBU

***Rezime**: Zahvaljujući konstantnom tehnološkom napretku i inovaciji, razvili su se novi načini recepcije i kreacije medijskuh sadržaja, što je dovelo do redefinisanja poznatih komunikoloških procesa. U ovom novom digitalnom medijskom dobu, koje, između ostalog, karakteriše konvergencija, mobilnost i interaktivnest, mobilno novinarstvo se javlja kao nova novinarska forma koja utiče na relaciju između kreatora i recipijenta medijskih sadržaja. Iako ideja o medijskim sadržajima koje korisnik generiše i publikuje pomoću mobilnih uređaja u teoriji zvuči kao višestruko koristan koncept, ovaj model se suočava sa brojnim izazovima. U praksi su se pojavila brojna pitanja, poput etičnosti, pouzdanosti i kvaliteta takvih sadržaja, kao i koliko su profesionalne redakcije spremne da ih prihvate i implementiraju. Zbog toga, cilj ovog rada jeste da pruži uvid u akademski aspekt proučavanja ove teme, uz korišćenje praktičnih primera, kako bi se mobilno novinarstvo pozicioniralo u kompleksnim savremenim medijskim sistemima i kako bi se procenio njegov potencijal u kontekstu daljeg razvoja.*

***Ključne reči:** mobilno novinarstvo, konvergencija, korisnički medijski sadržaji, redakcije, novinarstvo, novi mediji*

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Original research

JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF THE USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA NETWORK PLATFORMS IN HIGHER EDUCATION – INSTAGRAM-BASED CASE STUDY

Abstract: *The rapid development of technologies and their rapid transformation influenced changes in the world and people's lives and the educational process evolved. Traditional methods of education are enriched with modern technologies, and digital devices become significant elements in modern education. Social network platforms are an important part of life in modern society, they are visited daily by a huge number of people using computers, tablets and smartphones. Their popularity has made them convenient for use in various fields. These platforms have been accepted as student learning support tools, which is why they are increasingly important in the field of higher education. The paper explores the use of social network platforms in higher education, with a focus on social networking services provided by Instagram. In this research, we tried to determine whether the students of journalism and communication used Instagram for educational purposes. Students (N=100) were surveyed through a printed questionnaire at the Faculty of Philosophy. The results show that most students use social networking services for educational purposes. The platform they use for this purpose is Facebook. When it comes to Instagram, most respondents have an Instagram account but do not use it in education.*

Key words: *education, social network platforms, Instagram, Facebook*

1. Introduction

Rapid technology development and transformation have brought about changes in the world and people's lives. Many aspects of human life have faced innovations, various fields of work and creativity have been improved, the way people spend their spare time, do daily activities and communicate has changed. The use of computers, tablets and smart mobile phones makes lives easier and brings benefits, probably the most important of which being access to and exchange of information, which take place in a second. Education has also succumbed to these changes worldwide

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so that the education informatization has been recognized as an activity of general interest (Nedeljković, 2005: 43). Traditional methods of education are being enriched with modern technologies and digital devices and media have become its significant components. Television sets and video players have long been an integral part of a classroom while computers and projectors have been used by educational institutions at all levels. The use of the Internet is commonplace in primary, secondary and higher education.

An inevitable part of modern life is also related to social network platforms which are visited by a large number of people on a daily basis using computers, tablets and smartphones. Their popularity has made them suitable for use in a variety of fields, in addition to well-known communication and sharing photographs and videos with other people. Additionally, they are gradually included in the educational processes and thus "are a challenge in the higher education teaching process as they are close to students and are an indispensable part of their free time. They can introduce changes in the teaching model, transforming learning into smart nodes within a dynamic and interdependent learning network" (Tomaš, 2014: 45). The role of social network services in higher education is becoming increasingly important as these platforms are gradually adopted to facilitate the learning process and to support students in mastering the material (Stathopoulou, Siamagka & Christodoulides, 2019: 1, 2). As these social networking services are gaining in importance in the educational process, in this paper we will try to view the role of social network platforms in education, examine their ability to facilitate learning processes and improve communication between teachers and students.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. The Use of Social Network Platforms in Higher Education

The use of social network platforms in higher education has been dealt with by many authors (Neier & Zayer, 2015; Manca & Ranieri, 2016; Sobaih, Moustafa, Ghandforoush & Khan, 2016; Sharma, Joshi, Sharma, 2016; Roblyer, McDaniel, Webb, Herman & Witty, 2010) and most recognize the potential of social network platforms when it comes to higher education. One of the main reasons these authors consider social network platforms suitable for approaching students is that the younger generations are active on these platforms on a daily basis. Communication through social network platforms has become one of the most important means of communication among people, which is why today it is easy to "virtually" reach students using social network platforms (Zaidieh, 2012: 18). Tomaš also addressed this point, emphasizing that social network platforms are an increasingly important space for communication, cooperation and exchange of ideas in the everyday lives of 21st-century generations, which is why it is desirable to guide the education of these generations in a direction that will meet their needs and motivate them to actively participate in the teaching process. He points out that social network platforms are technologically free online services offering communication and cooperation.

Numerous tools developed within them enable interconnection (Tomaš, 2014: 46). These tools are powerful drivers of change in teaching and learning practices in terms of openness, interactivity and sociability (Manca & Ranieri, 2016: 216).

As these communication technologies have been accepted by students, they have the potential to improve communication in the field of education and "cooperation with the faculty" (Roblyer et al., 2010: 134). When it comes to students' perceptions of social network platforms as an education tool, Neier and Zayer conclude that students perceive the potential in using these services as a learning tool. Their motive for using social network platforms is reflected in looking for interactivity (Neier & Zayer, 2015: 3). On the other hand, the potential of using social network platforms for academic purposes is recognized by professors as well, but their actual use for teaching and learning is at a minimal level (Sobaih et al., 2016: 303).

The fact that students recognize the potential of using social network platforms for academic purposes is not unexpected, considering that these platforms have become present in their lives on a daily basis, as a natural form of their communication with peers. It is also important to note that the potential of using social network platforms for academic purposes has been noticed by professors as well, regardless of the generation and degree of use of these services in private life. Even though the results of research by these authors have shown the potentials and advantages when it comes to the use of social network platforms in education, there is a group of authors who concluded that these platforms are marginalized in academic life.

In their research, Manca and Ranieri have shown that the use of social network platforms is still quite limited and that academics are not open to integrate these tools into their practice. They cite several reasons such as cultural resistance, pedagogical issues, or institutional constraints (Manca & Ranieri, 2016: 216). As a barrier to the introduction of social networking sites in higher education, universities, especially public ones, when it comes to developing countries, often suffer from poor infrastructure and lack of communication technologies and formal electronic methods to connect with their students (Sobaih et al., 2016: 296). Some studies conclude that students tend to use Facebook much more than faculty members and are more open to using Facebook and similar technologies for learning purposes, while faculty members are more inclined to "traditional" technologies, such as e-mail (Roblyer et al., 2010: 134).

Certain authors, such as Stathopoulou et al., point to the positive attitude of both students and teachers when it comes to the use of social network services in education. In their research, they conclude that, according to educators, the use of social media improves students' experience, satisfaction, learning and engagement, while students emphasize the importance of acquiring skills for their future careers such as collaboration, organization and communication (Stathopoulou et al., 2019: 9).

2.2. Instagram as a Social Network Service and its Use in Education

Similar to other social network services, Instagram offers communication through the exchange of text and voice messages, posting and exchanging of photos and videos, as well as the option to publicly demonstrate that we like another user's post.

Instagram is in a period of growth and change. Two years after it was launched, in April 2012, it was bought by Facebook (Salomon, 2013: 408). Instagram is one of the most popular social network platforms in the world, the number of its users is constantly growing and it currently has more than a billion active users (Statista[4]). Also, when it comes to Instagram, it is important to note that it is one of the most influential services for advertising and sales. Since its inception, it has been constantly progressing, with many innovations upgrading it over the years. In 2013, Instagram introduced the Instagram Direct DM option, which is a new way to exchange photos and messages with friends (Instagram press). Inbox icon is access to Instagram Direct, which allows one Instagram user to send messages directly to another user, individually or in groups (Anderson; 2016: 8). In 2016, Instagram extended the limit to the duration of posted videos from 30 to 60 seconds and in the same year another option was introduced: Instagram Story, which allows sharing photos or videos that do not stay on the profile, but disappear 24 hours after posting. Instagram introduced two more significant changes: in 2017 it enabled sharing 10 photos or videos within one post and in 2018 it introduced IGTV - Instagram Television. IGTV allows sharing video content lasting up to an hour and IGTV channels enable users to create contents (Instagram press). These significant changes, as well as many others, have influenced the growth of Instagram's popularity and the expansion of the possibility of being used in various fields.

Instagram is a type of social media networking service created primarily for use via a mobile phone and was originally intended for iPhone users only (Bilton, 2010). Smartphones have been incredibly widespread worldwide, with almost 65% of adults having access to a smartphone (Colbert et al., 2018: 519). The fact that Instagram is intended for smartphones has partly encouraged its rapid adoption. For this reason, it is increasingly accessible to all generations but is probably the most attractive to the younger ones. Compared to other social network services, Instagram reaches a younger, more diverse audience (Salomon, 2013: 408). This fact is also supported by the results of research into the use and preferences of students when it comes to social network platforms. Some results point to the popularity of Instagram among students, especially female students. After Instagram, the largest number of respondents showed interest in Facebook, with Twitter coming third. Students considered Instagram to be a more reliable social networking site compared to the other two mentioned platforms, although Instagram is owned by Facebook (Shane-Simpson, Manago, Gaggi, Gillespie-Lynch 2018: 281, 283).

When it comes to the use of Instagram in education, the fact that young people are familiar with this social network site can be seen as an advantage, since using it they avoid the trouble and discomfort that could arise when implementing unknown tools in learning activities (McBride, 2009 according to Al-Ali, 2014: 3). Blair and Serafini believe that Instagram is a medium that allows students to connect and

[4] https://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-network platforms-ranked-by-number-of-users/

engage in course concepts and that the way it can be integrated into course content depends on the instructor's imagination. They give a specific example of the use of Instagram in education: at the request of the educator, students could make an Instagram video in which they give an overview of the book being processed, with two key points (Blair & Serafini, 2014). In that sense, Instagram is presented as a tool that students are familiar with and would not resist and that, on the other hand, offers opportunities for a creative and interactive way of testing knowledge. These authors, however, do not point out special characteristics that would make this social network service more suitable for use in the educational process than other platforms and tools. In any case, there are different Instagram profiles dedicated to teaching in different fields and below we will show how it is used as an aid in learning a foreign language, in the field of medical science, architecture, etc.

2.2.1. Instagram and Language Learning

Social network platforms are popular among students, which is why they can be used as a tool in language learning. Instagram is an extremely suitable social networking service for these purposes, as students can post photos or videos their followers can comment on, while educators have the opportunity to make teaching creative (Handayani, 2015: 320).

Figure 1 ***frenchwords***

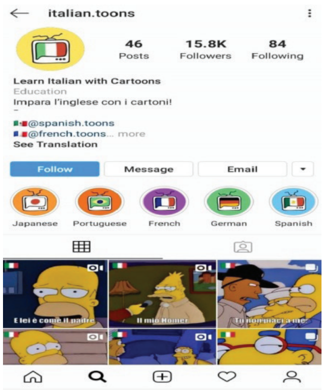

Figure 2 ***italian toons***

Figure 3 ***ewa. english***

Many authors see the potential of Instagram when it comes to language learning (Al-Ali, 2014; Blair & Serafini, 2014; Handayani, 2015). There are a large number of accounts dedicated to this and their approaches to learning are different. A number of accounts focus on vocabulary development, others focus on language grammar, while some focus on pronunciation, but regardless of their content, they can definitely contribute to language learning. Observing Instagram accounts dedicated to learning foreign languages, one notices the freedom and creativity this social networking service offers to educators.

For instance, an extremely popular account called *@frenchwords* is dedicated to learning French. This profile is followed by 677 thousand followers. The content of this account is a combination of French landscapes photos and minimalist photos of pale backgrounds containing a written word or sentence. Photos of French landscapes and architecture are always accompanied by a description in French and its translation into English (Figure 1), while other photos are a French word or a sentence translated into English. The *@italian.toons* account is intended for teaching Italian. This account posts audio videos of dialogues from cartoons, first in the original in English and then synchronized in Italian (Figure 2). Another example of using this service for language learning purposes is the @ewa.english account, which is extremely popular and is followed by over a million users. This account, dedicated to the English language, explains words and concepts in English, as well as English grammar, through a multitude of photos. An example of such a photo is shown in Figure 3.

These examples suggest that Instagram can be a significant tool in language learning. Students are present on this platform on a daily basis and the content the instructor would post can serve as a reminder of what was covered in class, or as new, brief information. This application can help students develop an "academic vocabulary" (Blair & Serafini, 2014: 3). Al-Ali also talks about the potential of Instagram in language learning, pointing out that Instagram offers a lot of visual data that can help in mastering a language and the fact that it offers visual elements helps people with the visual learning style. Also, using Instagram in classrooms can help create a community of students, as the tool itself gives students space to communicate and socialize with each other outside the classroom. Interaction on Instagram is mainly done through the functions of liking and commenting (Al-Ali, 2014: 3).

2.2.2. Instagram and Medical Science

As is the case with other social network platforms, Instagram is used predominantly for recreational purposes. Despite that, there is a growing number of Instagram accounts related to medical education. Authors who research this field point out that Instagram is used in professional development, but can also serve as an educational tool. The use of this platform in medical education lags behind Facebook and Twitter, as educators perhaps do not recognize its potential role (Shafer, Johnson, Thomas, Johnson & Fishman, 2018). This is not unexpected since the use of social network platforms in medical education is a new field of learning that requires further research (Cheston, Flickinger & Chisolm, 2013).

The focus on photography and the visual element Instagram offers fits well with anatomy education as anatomy relies on visual aids that help comprehension and learning. Instagram has offered a number of benefits when it comes to studying anatomy. Research conducted by Douglas et al., which examined active Instagram accounts focused on anatomy education, revealed various successful teaching styles. This includes posting clinical pictures, descriptive videos, multiple-choice questions and cartoons. The benefits of using Instagram for educational purposes are ease of use, hashtags and its efficiency in conveying visual illustrations. These authors give as an example the *@seattlesciencefoundation* account that posts videos of human dissection and surgery, encouraging anatomical interpretation (Douglas et al., 2019: 1, 2). An example of the photographs posted by this account is given in Figure 4.

Yakar et al. researched how Instagram is used in neurosurgery and explained how Instagram profiles can have an educational function. They concluded that Instagram can serve as educational support to those educated in the field of neurosurgery. Instagram accounts of renowned journals (e.g., Journal of Neurosurgery), institutional accounts (e.g., Yale Neurosurgery) and personal accounts can serve as an education platform. These accounts guide users through neurosurgical cases, “questioning” users with questions such as “What is the diagnosis?” or “What approach would you use for this injury?” Photos on the Journal of Neurosurgery Instagram profile are unique cases, educational illustrations and disease summaries. Illustrations facilitate learning of complex anatomical structures using photos or videos. Although the information obtained through social network platforms is not always reliable, as this group of authors concluded, Instagram accounts like those given above can expand medical knowledge to those who spend part of their time on Instagram (Yakar, Jacobs & Agarwal, 2019). Doubt in the reliability of information with an unclear source is also reported by other authors (Douglas et al., 2019: 11).

As the visual side of Instagram is emphasized, it is especially suitable for plastic surgery, a visual surgical specialty. Despite the growing influence of this platform, very few academic publications mention Instagram and even fewer of them evaluate its application in modern plastic surgery (Dorfman, Vaca, Mahmood, Fine & Schierle, 2017: 332). There is a large number of Instagram accounts posting photos related to plastic surgery. There are numerous accounts of professionals who promote their work through social network platforms by posting “before and after” photos, short videos showing the basic steps of a procedure, the patient’s recovery phase, the patient’s look at the beginning and end of the procedure and the like. On the other hand, there are also accounts dedicated to education. The potential of such educational accounts is noticeable, but it has not been investigated whether and to what extent it has been utilized. Economides et al. believe it is unlikely that academic surgeons will include social network platforms in their practice (Economides, Fan & Pittman, 2018: 801). The presentation of plastic surgery on Instagram is also examined by Dorfman et al. They examine the use of hashtags related to plastic surgery in education and marketing and come to the conclusion, which can be related to the subject of this research, that most Instagram posts related to plastic surgery were published for self-promotion purposes (67%), beating posts for educational purposes (about 33%) (Dorfman et al., 2017: 332 - 334).

2.2.3. Instagram and Other Fields

In addition to language learning and medical science, Instagram is a social networking service noticeably used in other fields of education as well. It is also attractive to students of architecture because of the emphasized visual element. Architects and students often post photos of their work, from drawings and models to large-scale buildings. From the perspective of an accredited school of architecture, Adams and Mohamed claim that Instagram has great potential when it comes to connecting with other schools, as well as that Instagram can expose student work to a global audience and reach donors in new ways (Adams & Mohamed, 2016: 407). The use of Instagram has shown positive results in teaching sports biomechanics, according to a study by Navandar et al. They believe that Instagram could turn into a powerful resource in the undergraduate study programs of sports science as it can help in learning sports movement patterns. Its popularity among young people and its visual characteristics make it a perfect addition to existing teaching methods (Navandar, López & Alejo, 2019: 335). Salomon examined the use of Instagram by the university library. She described how the library had successfully used this application to connect with students. She pointed out that Instagram had become a fun learning tool for their students and described the learning process as follows: the educator posted a photo on his Instagram profile with a question in the description, then followers gave assumptions in the answers and the educator wrote the correct answer at the end of the conversation (Salmon, 2013: 410).

Although the scope of research into using Instagram for social media networking services in education is small, the largest number of papers collected for the purpose of writing this paper is from the field of language learning and medical education. In addition to these fields, others have been identified that can use Instagram as an aid tool in providing education. In this research, Instagram has been presented as a social network service that is well known to and easily used by the young generations and students. If we take into account these facts and the knowledge that these generations spend a lot of free time using Instagram, we conclude it is tempting to use for educational purposes. When it comes to knowledge transfer, the visual side of this social network platform is increasingly emphasized. Also, the authors cite the possibility of interaction and expression of creativity as a significant feature of Instagram, which is very desirable when it comes to education.

3. Methodological Framework

The subject of this research is the potential of using social network platforms in higher education, with a focus on Instagram. The main goal is to examine the degree of use of these platforms for educational purposes by students.

For the purposes of this paper, research was conducted to examine the opinions and attitudes of the students of the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš concerning the use of social network platforms in higher education. A special focus was on examining their views when it comes to using Instagram as a social networking service. The results should show whether students used social network platforms in education, and if so, which platforms they used. Also, the results should show whether students perceived the potential of Instagram in education and whether they used it for those purposes.

This research used the survey research method. The survey consisted of 13 questions, of which 6 were open-ended questions and 7 were closed-ended questions with offered answers. The survey was conducted among students of undergraduate studies at Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, from the Department of Communication and Journalism. Students (N=100) were surveyed through a printed questionnaire at the Faculty of Philosophy.

4. Research Results

The following chapters will be dedicated to presenting the results obtained through the survey. The results of the survey which examines the attitudes of students about the use of social media platforms in higher education will be shown in a quantitative and qualitative presentation.

4.1. Quantitative Presenting of Survey Results

To the first question related to the use of social network platforms, 98% of students answered that they have an account on a platform, while 2% answered in the negative. Most students use Facebook (90%), then Instagram (85%) and Twitter (22%). In addition to these, students listed some other social network platforms: LinkedIn (10%), Snapchat (6%), YouTube (5%), Pinterest, Tumblr, and Vkontakte (4% each). Almost all students stated that they use the platforms on a daily basis (90%), a small number of them reported using them on a weekly basis (6%), monthly basis (3%) and rarely (1%), while none of the students said they did not use these platforms at all.

Regarding the question "How do you most often access social network platforms?", the students could mark one of the three options. The largest number of students reported they accessed social network platforms via mobile phone (96%) and a small number indicated they accessed them via computers (3%) and tablets (1%). The students were asked "Which social network platforms do you use most often?", to which they most often gave more answers, that is, they listed several platforms they typically use. In 79% of cases, the students reported Instagram, Facebook in 48% and Twitter in 25%. Students also reported LinkedIn (5%) as the social network service they used most often.

The survey also examined students' motivation to use social network platforms by offering certain answers. The answers were as follows: for communication (90%), for fun (78%), to connect with colleagues (20%), for education (25%), for sharing professional success (15%), for meeting new people (13%). The respondents were asked a question regarding their opinion on whether social network platforms can be used in higher education. The largest number of respondents answered in the affirmative (74%), a certain number of them answered in the negative (11%) or did not have an opinion on this issue (15%). When asked if they use social network platforms in higher education, 79% of students gave an affirmative answer, while 21% answered in the negative. The survey asked the question "How can social network platforms be used in higher education?". Among the students' answers, the most prominent was related to Facebook as a social network platform. Particularly emphasized were Facebook groups, which students reported as a means of communicating with colleagues and professors, as well as accessing information and materials needed for exams. A large number of students mentioned the Facebook groups of departments they form to communicate with each other and exchange information and materials related to their studies.

The question "Which social network platform do you think is the most suitable for use in education?" was answered by 87 students, of whom 80% reported Facebook as the most suitable social network service for use in higher education, 12% answered Instagram and the lowest percentage of students (8%) stated Twitter. The respondents were asked whether they had used social network platforms in their education so far and the answers to this question were similar to the answers to the question of how social network platforms can be used in higher education. The students mostly answered in the affirmative and talked about the use of Facebook for educational purposes.

The students were asked questions related to the use of Instagram - they were asked about the purposes they used this social network platform for. The answers showed that students most often used this service for entertainment, photo posting and communication purposes. When it comes to the use of Instagram in higher education, a slightly higher number of students thought that it could not be used for those purposes (47%) compared to those who think that it could (31%). A number of students (22%) did not have an opinion on this issue. Also, when asked if they used Instagram in higher education, students answered as follows: 78% did not use Instagram for educational purposes, while 22% did.

4.2. Discussion

The survey first revealed that all students used social media platforms. Although a very low percentage of students stated that they did not have an account on any of the platforms, no student stated that they never used social media networking platforms, based on which we assumed that students who did not have an account on one of these platforms accessed it without an account. The social media platforms that were the most popular among students are Facebook and Instagram. These social media platforms were constantly present in the lives of the surveyed students, as most of them used these platforms on a daily basis. Although the percentage of students who had a Facebook account was slightly higher than the percentage of those who had an Instagram account, the majority emphasized that they used Instagram more often compared to Facebook and other social media platforms. The respondents usually accessed social media networking platforms via a mobile phone, and that was the main advantage of Instagram over other platforms - it was adapted primarily for a smartphone. These two facts, that Instagram was the most popular platform among students and that students accessed it every day via the mobile phone they had with them at almost any time, made this platform a channel that makes communication with students accessible.

Most respondents used social media networking platforms for communication and entertainment purposes, but most also saw the potential of such platforms in education and believed that they could be used for those purposes. Therefore, the fact that most students actually used social media sites for educational purposes was not surprising. The largest number of students indicated that Facebook was the social media platform that was the most suitable for use in higher education. Also, when asked how social media platforms could be used in higher education, students usually gave explanations that included Facebook groups. Finally, when asked how they used these platforms in their education so far, most students gave descriptions of use that referred to Facebook as a channel for communication with colleagues and professors, exchange of information and content related to studies.

As the focus of this research was on Instagram, the students were asked about the purposes they used this social media platform for. Research results showed that this platform was often a source of entertainment, a means of posting photos and communication. However, when it came to using Instagram for educational purposes, most students did not use this platform for these purposes - as many as 78%. The students also expressed an opinion on whether Instagram offered potential when it came to higher education. Although students' opinions were divided, the largest number of students (47%) ruled out the possibility of using this social networking service for educational purposes. Although almost a third of students (31%) notice the potential of this platform, most of the surveyed students do not have a positive attitude about using Instagram for educational purposes.

5. Concluding Remarks

Social media networking platforms are being gradually incorporated into educational processes. The available literature related to the use of these platforms in education most often mentions the use of Facebook for these purposes. As the focus of this paper was Instagram as a social media platform, we noticed that it was more suitable for certain scientific disciplines, while others did not recognize it as an educational tool. Thus, for example, in the studies of architecture and design, the potential of Instagram was noticed as it was based on a visual element. Medical science could also take advantage of this platform, as illustration and imagery were of great importance in their study. Also, Instagram was useful in language learning as it offered photos and sounds. However, journalism and communication students did not find a way to incorporate Instagram as a tool that could facilitate their professional advancement.

The results of this research showed that social media network platforms were present in students' lives on a daily basis. Almost all students were active on one of the social media platforms every day, and they usually accessed these services via mobile phones. Most students had experience with these platforms in higher education, so they had a positive opinion about their use in this field and were open to this mode of working. The platform with which they had the most experience and which they talked about the most in this context was Facebook. Through Facebook groups, they exchanged information and materials for work and learning. However, when it came to Instagram – the situation was different. Unlike Facebook, which was rated as the most suitable social media network platform for educational purposes, students did not see that Instagram had the potential when it came to their studies, education, and learning. Although most of the surveyed students had a Facebook account, they most often used Instagram. They were online almost constantly, and since they most often used Instagram, they could be reached at any time through this platform. Instagram offered a new channel through which students could be reached unobtrusively, and as they were well acquainted with the way Instagram worked, the process of introducing students to a new platform that would serve education was avoided. Also, students were usually present in private on this platform, which would not be the case with other platforms dedicated for use in education. At the moment, in addition to all of the options this platform offered, the potential of using Instagram for educational purposes was reflected in its noticeable popularity among students. In that sense, Instagram could be used as a learning tool.

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PERCEPCIJA STUDENATA NOVINARSTVA I KOMUNIKOLOGIJE O UPOTREBI INSTAGRAMA U VISOKOM OBRAZOVANjU[5]

***Apstrakt**: Brzi razvoj tehnologija i njihova brza transformacija uticali su na promene u svetu i životu ljudi, a promenama je podlegao i proces obrazovanja. Tradicionalne metode obrazovanja oplemenjuju se modernim tehnologijama, a digitalni uređaji postaju značajni činioci savremene edukacije. Nezaobilazni deo života savremenog društva su društvene mreže koje uz upotrebu računara, tableta i telefona svakodnevno posećuje ogroman broj ljudi. Njihova popularnost učinila ih je pogodnim za korišćenje u raznim oblastima. Ove platforme su prihvaćene kao alati podrške studentima pri učenju i zbog toga su sve značajnije u oblasti visokog obrazovanja. U radu se istražuje upotreba društvenih mreža u visokom obrazovanju, sa fokusom na društvenu mrežu Instagram. U istraživanju smo pokušali da utvrdimo da li studenti novinarstva i komunikologije koriste ovu mrežu u svrhe obrazovanja. Rezultati pokazuju da većina studenata koristi društvene mreže u svrhe obrazovanja. Mreža koju u te svrhe koriste je Fejsbuk, a kada je u pitanju Instagram, većina ispitanika ima otvoren profil, ali ga ne koristi u obrazovanju.*

***Ključne reči**: obrazovanje, društvene mreže, Instagram, Facebook*

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Original research

INFLUENCERS AND MEDIA: INFLUENCER-GENERATED CONTENT ON SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS AS A JOURNALISTIC SOURCE[3]

Abstract. *The growing popularity of social media platforms, especially YouTube, Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, has enabled online influencers to appear in addition to previously known celebrities, representing a new global phenomenon and new role models for young people. Biran and his associates in the paper "Detecting influencers in written online conversations" state that influencers are the participants in online communication who have credibility in the group, who persevere in order to convince others and who introduce ideas that others accept or support (Biran et al., 2012: 38-39). Research on journalistic sources, especially research on content created by influencers on social media services, is a significant contribution to research in the field of media pluralism. Research on social network platforms as a source of information in Serbian literature is rare, which contributes to the significance of this research. The purposes of the research are to determine whether the content created and published by influencers on social network platforms in Serbia is a source of information for online editions of Serbian daily newspapers, the type of content in question, as well as whether the media gain new audiences that follow influencers. Qualitative-quantitative content analysis and web surveys were used for the research. Based on the qualitative-quantitative analysis of domestic daily newspapers (Danas, Politika, Večernje novosti, Blic, Kurir, Alo, Telegraf, Informer), we can conclude that the media use the profile content that influencers publish on social network sites as a source for texts which are soft news. According to the web survey in which 175 respondents participated, we can conclude that texts about influencers in the media are followed by 38 respondents and that the media are gaining new audiences who follow influencers on social network sites.*

Key words: *influencers, journalism, the media, social media platforms, journalistic source*

1. Introduction

In the traditional media, certain public figures and people of importance have been exposed in the media throughout history. Each time had its representatives, opinion leaders and role models to the younger generations, from Marlon Brando and James Dean, through Madonna, Cher, Freddie Mercury, Selena and Britney Spears, all

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the way to Lady Gaga, Justin Bieber and the Kardashian family. The growing popularity of social media, especially YouTube, Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, has enabled influencers to appear in addition to these well-known names, representing a new global phenomenon and new role models for young people. Many of the influencers show a big part of their lives to the public, so they are the focus of interest and the subject of media coverage. In the past, public figures exerted their influence through masterful speeches and unrepeatable actions and they are remembered in history as activists, speakers and fighters. Instead of John Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Emmeline Pankhurst, Rosa Parks, Clara Zetkin, Seretse Khama and Steve Jobs, today there are Jeffrey Starr, Zach King, Nikkie Tutorials, Camilla Coelho and Mariano di Vaio, who gained worldwide popularity, and also Zorannah, Baka Prase, Stuberi, Bojana and Dunja in Serbia.

Influencers attract the attention of the public and the media. In the middle of the last century, such public attention was to mark the system that favored the stars – the "olympians" (as Edgar Morin called them in his work "The spirit of Time") (1979: 127). These were primarily film stars, famous artists, heads of state, researchers and playboys (Moren, 1979: 127-132). In the second decade of the 21st century, thanks to the social media platforms, ordinary people are rapidly emerging from anonymity and gaining fame. By downloading content from the pages of influencers on social media, the media additionally enable the spread of their influence. Contents posted by influencers are becoming new journalistic sources.

The world's media use social media platforms as a source of information. In literature we have a case of "covering" (constant journalistic monitoring) the profile of influencer Vani Hari, a food blogger known as the Food Babe, who is followed by reputable media such as the *New York Times* and *The Washington Post* and included by *CNN* its nutrition experts (Khamis et al., 2017, Recent cases of self-branding & the rise of Social Media Influencers, para. 6).

This paper will examine the relationship between influencers on social network sites and journalism, that is, it will investigate the extent to which contents published by influencers on social media appear as journalistic sources. The paper will present a theoretical approach to this topic, conceptualize basic concepts and present the results of empirical research.

2. Changes in journalism in the digital age

The changes that took place with the emergence and expansion of the Internet were most visible in the field of communications. Thus, the emergence of the Internet has led to the transformation of traditional media and media business models, changes in professional journalistic practices, the emergence of a new form of journalism – online journalism and multimedia approach to the processing of journalistic work. "The Internet provides the ability to 'connect' all traditional media - text, images, sounds, videos and it also represents much more than that, which certainly gives it an advantage over other forms of briefing" (Radovanović & Šarenac, 2012: 258).

It is much easier and faster to publish information online than in traditional media, especially in the press. Thanks to the development of the Internet, it is much easier today to find a topic for a story, information, documents and sources. As is the case with every new media, the appearance of electronic newspapers was greeted with the fear that some of the traditional media would be shut down. "When the Internet began to dizzyingly captivate users and distract the audience, many thought it would be enough to offer online editions of their media content and thus ensure survival" (Pavlović and Vulić, 2014: 157). Inevitably, traditional media is beginning to move to the Web. "At the end of the last century, most of the leading American newspapers and magazines launched their electronic editions, and back in 1996, over four hundred television stations and one thousand two hundred radio stations had their web presentations" (Bjelica i Jevtović, 2006: 204). Many of these media took part of their audience to the portals. The first examples of online editions of newspapers were an electronic copy of a printed issue, and only later did they get their current look. "Digital media thus appear as a supplement to the traditional ones, as news sources, all with the aim of forming a mass audience and advertisements around the news and brand, on as many platforms as possible" (Jevtović et al., 2014: 351).

News can be published in online media at the time of its occurrence, they can be updated at very short intervals and include the possibility of multimedia presentation; they can also be connected to other sources through links and offer the possibility of user reaction. There is also a possibility of archiving the content of both online texts and collections of printed publications. People can get access to information on the Internet at any time. "The Internet is changing journalism by harming its core values: lowering professional standards, strengthening outside influence and emphasizing speed" (Jevtović et al., 2014: 352). Authors Jevtović, Petrović and Aracki in "Genres in new journalism" ("Žanrovi u savremenom novinarstvu") state the shortcomings of online journalism that journalists notice, such as: less truthfulness in reporting because speed is more important than accuracy, reducing the number of journalists and weakening the influence of journalists (Jevtović et al., 2014: 352). The participation of ordinary citizens in the production of user content on the Internet is increasing, which leads to the emergence of a new form of journalism – citizen journalism[4].

During the 1990s, individuals started to write weblogs or blogs, marking the beginning of an online citizen journalism (Vidaković, 2018: 306). At the same time, information and communication technologies are rapidly developing, such as tools for easier access and use of the Internet, and computers become more and more accessible to a large number of people. With the advent of mobile phones, network access has been enabled from anywhere at any time. "The Internet was a nursery of social interaction, which is why online communities are called social network communities, and the media through which associations are made are called social media ... Social media include various forms of interaction, from Internet forums,

[4] Citizen journalism is a concept of the modern age that implies the active participation of citizens in collecting, creating, analyzing and disseminating information" (Bogdanović, 2013: 71).

blogs, wikis, to network services for sharing pictures, videos and audio recordings" (Vidaković, 2018: 307). Through social media, which is evolving much faster than traditional media, users can create new content themselves and expand the existing ones. According to Vidaković, based on a research conducted by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, the number of people who get information through social media has been increasing since 2013 (Vidaković, 2018: 307).

2.1. Social network platforms and journalism

"The development of online social networks has had a great impact on journalism. The most important areas at which this happened are: sources of information, because social networks have become an important source of information for the media" (Mihajlov Prokopović, 2019: 179), then in the field of promoting media content and interacting with the public, especially through the development of participatory journalism. According to Mihajlov Prokopović, traditional media in Serbia are adapting to the online environment, but there is no research to determine the extent to which social network sites are used as journalistic sources in news programs (Mihajlov Prokopović, 2019: 179). In the research conducted by this author, the data showed that social network platforms are used as sources in the news program of radio stations in Serbia, although such cases are rare (Mihajlov Prokopović, 2019: 187). When it comes to influential world media such as *The New York Times*, *The Guardian* and *Suddeutsche Zeitung*, research conducted by Von Nordheim and co-workers has shown that in recent years Twitter and Facebook are on the rise as sources of information (Von Nordheim et al., 2018: 807).

Mihajlov Prokopović cites earlier research which showed that traditional media frequently use those social network platforms where their journalists have their own private profiles (Mihajlov Prokopović, 2018: 1088). The most frequently used social network platforms among journalists and media are Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and YouTube. Social media are mainly used to share their content, communicate with the audience and attract new audiences. Politicians share information on their social media profiles that the media use as a source. The example that Mihajlov Prokopović cites is the resignation of Sasa Janković, the former president of the Movement of Free Citizens, which he published on his Twitter profile and which was transmitted by the media. The increase in the use of social network sites, primarily Twitter when it comes to politicians' posts, occurred in 2016 during the US presidential election (Mihajlov Prokopović, 2019: 179).

The possibility of using social network sites as a journalistic source and the desire to publish information as soon as possible and to be the first to do it, have led to the fact that sometimes, depending on the type of media that broadcasts it, information is not checked and truthfulness is suppressed. Any information published on social network platforms that the media want to use must be verified, as well as the name of the source from which the information was taken. "Information verification in search of truth as the first principle of journalism had little to do with the audiences until the emergence of social media. The methods used by journalists to determine what information was true derived from a professional culture that highly valued the integrity of journalists and the credibility of the media. With the more dominant role of the audiences and social media, more and more transparency is being noticed" (Mihajlov Prokopović, 2018: 1087). With the growing role of the public, as well as the growing importance of social media platforms in journalism, there is talk of transparency regarding the openness of the journalist and his product to assess the audience (Bossio, 2017: 34; according to Mihajlov Prokopović, 2018: 1087).

Political campaigns and elections have contributed to the increase in the use of social media, especially Twitter, as a journalistic source. "There are two levels in which the relationship between journalism and social networks should be observed: at one level media as an organization has its own profile on the social network, and the other one journalists who have their own profiles on social media and consequences of that practice. Profiles of journalists on social networks can provide additional insights and explanations when it comes to editorial practice or editorial policies of the media" (Bossio, 2017: 67–70; according to Mihajlov Prokopović, 2019: 182).

2.2. Influencers and journalism

The growth of social media platforms has led to the fact that in the second decade of the 21st century they have become an important and inevitable source of journalistic reporting. Many important events were first reported by ordinary citizens, users of social media, on their social media profiles, and then the news was taken over by major media and news agencies. Such was the case with many events and catastrophes in the world, such as the plane crash into the Hudson River in 2009, the Iranian elections of the same year, the murder of Osama Bin Laden and the earthquake in Japan in 2011. During Hurricane Sandy in 2012, ten photographs of users were posted on Instagram within seconds of destruction, while the number of total photographs posted was about half a million. After the bomb explosion at the Boston Marathon in 2013, hundreds of tweets with expressions of sympathy and condolences were published on Twitter. Even the arrest of one of the suspects for this terrorist action was first published on the official profile of the Boston police on one of the social media platforms (Schifferes et al., 2014: 406). In addition to such catastrophes, events and news about them, social media sites have become a source when it comes to public figures and celebrities who publish information about their plans, attitudes and the like on their profiles. Expert individuals frequently represent competent sources of new information for the media to publish using their profiles on social media. Therefore, during the epidemic caused by COVID-19 in Serbia in the spring of 2020, the Facebook profile of epidemiologist Predrag Kon, a member of the Republic Crisis Staff for the suppression of the COVID-19 epidemic, was often used as a source of information for the media. On the other hand, celebrities use social media to reach their followers and publish content that they expect to be published by the media (Schifferes et al., 2014: 407).

According to *Mediakix*, the site of the American influencer marketing agency *Mediakix*, there are six most popular types of influencers: icons, adventurers, teachers, gurus, creatives and entertainers ("The 6 most popular types of Instagram influencers"). The areas in which they operate are different: from lifestyle to practical advice and education and most of them are in the field of fashion, beauty, fitness and lifestyle.

Since 2010, the predominant reporting of the world's major media on celebrities has focused on this new type of celebrities – influencers. Ercegovac states that this term started to be used with the growing popularity of blogs and Twitter, and that "English defines an influencer as someone who has the power to influence many other people through social network sites or traditional media" (Ercegovac, 2017: 253). Online influencers are people who influence the attitudes of other people because of their popularity, knowledge and position they have on social media platforms where they are very active. "That is why it very often happens in public debates that a person's influence on the Internet is wrongly measured exclusively by the number of those who follow that person on social network sites. In fact, this fact should be defined primarily as popularity, which does not necessarily mean influence, but it is certainly an important characteristic of every influencer" (Ercegovac, 2017: 253).

The media report on the success and fame of Internet influencers, as well as the scandals in which they are included. For example, the weekly *Time* named Australian YouTuber Troy Sivan the most influential teenager in 2014, while in the same year tabloids wrote that one of the most popular British YouTubers Zoe Sugg, known as Zoella, after her first book *Girl Online* sold more than 78,000 copies a week, had a *ghostwriter* who helped her to write the book (Abidin, 2018: 1).

3. Research methodology

3.1. The subject of research

The subject of research in this paper is the relationship between influencers on social media platforms and journalism. In particular, it investigates whether the content created by influencers on social media platforms becomes a source of journalistic reporting, as well as what kind of content it is and who constitutes the audience when it comes to media content.

3.2. The significance of research

Media pluralism as one of the features of a democratic media space is very important because it provides various opinions and alternatives. Research on journalistic sources, especially such as content that creates influencers on social media, is a significant contribution to research in the field of media pluralism. Research on social media platforms as a source of information in Serbia is rare, which contributes to the significance of this research.

3.3. The aims of the research

The aim of the research is to determine whether the content created and published by influencers on social network platforms in Serbia is a source of information for online editions of domestic daily newspapers. The aim of the research is also to determine the type of content in question, as well as whether the media, by publishing the content posted by influencers, gain a new audience.

3.4. Hypotheses

Hypotheses to be tested:

1) Online editions of daily newspapers in Serbia use content created and published by influencers on social media platforms as a source of information.

2) This content is frequently entertainment (soft news).

3) Online editions of daily newspapers in Serbia, by publishing content created by influencers, gain a new audience that trusts influencers.

3.5. Method, techniques and data processing

The paper will use quantitative-qualitative analysis of the content of online editions of daily newspapers in Serbia and web surveys. The first and second hypotheses will be tested by the method of quantitative-qualitative analysis of the content of online editions of domestic daily newspapers (*Politika, Danas, Blic, Večernje novosti, Kurir, Alo, Informer and Telegraf*) in order to investigate whether there are contents that indicate influencers from social media platforms as journalistic sources and the type of content in question. Qualitative-quantitative analysis of the content of the online edition of domestic daily newspapers was performed in the period from July 1 to July 31, 2020.

The survey technique will be used to investigate whether users follow influencers on social media, as well as whether they read content in online editions of daily newspapers that indicate that profiles of influencers on social media are sources of information, which will test the third hypothesis. A special questionnaire was created for the needs of the research. The web survey was conducted in the period from July 19 to July 27, 2020, and 175 respondents participated.

4. Online influencers - new sources of information

Based on a qualitative-quantitative analysis of the content of the online edition of domestic daily newspapers (*Danas*, *Politika*, *Večernje novosti*, *Blic*, *Kurir*, *Alo*, *Informer* and *Telegraf*) from July 1 to July 31, 2020, it was determined that the total number of articles on these web portals for a given period was 59077. The greatest number of texts was published by *Kurir* – 13697, followed by: *Blic* – 9982, *Telegraf* – 8895, *Informer* – 7785, *Alo* – 7206, *Večernje novosti* – 6975 and *Danas* – 2443 texts. The lowest number of texts was published by Politika – 2094.

In the given period of research, the number of texts in which the profile content on social media of public figures was the source was 6327. Texts in which the source of publication comes from the profiles of public figures on social media make up 10.7 percent of the total number of published texts on all portals. The largest number of texts in which the source of publication was related to public figures and their social media sites was published by *Kurir* in the total number of 1605 texts (2.7%). In July, *Informer* published 1173 texts (15.6%). *Alo* published 1126 texts (15.6%) in which the source was known. During the research period, the *Telegraf* had 1047 texts (11.7%) in which the source was content from social network platforms of public figures. In July, *Blic* published 1015 texts (10.1%) and *Večernje novosti* published a total of 226 articles (3.2%) on its portal. In July, *Danas* published 90 texts (3.6%) with celebrities as sources. In the given period, *Politika* used the lowest number of posts from social media of famous people, to be exact in 45 texts (2.1%).

When we talk about influencers, there are two categories of influencers that we use for methodological reasons: 1) influencers – public figures who would have an impact without activities on social media and 2) influencers – previously anonymous people who gained popularity due to their activities on social media. The media are expected to use posts from social media of public figures as a journalistic source more than the content published by contemporary influencers, previously anonymous people. When it comes to posts from social media platforms, influencers who became popular owing to social media appeared on the portals of domestic daily newspapers in 91 texts as sources of information in the period from July 1 to July 31, 2020. In the total number of all published texts in the online editions of domestic daily newspapers in July, the number of articles in which these influencers were featured on social media is 0.1%. The largest number of articles was published by *Telegraf* – 28 (0.2%), followed by: *Blic* – 20 (0.2%), *Alo* – 19 (0.25%), *Kurir* – 15 (0.1%) and Informer nine (0.1%). *Večernje novosti*, *Danas* and *Politika* didn't have any texts in the research period using the profiles of influencers who became popular due to social media.

Based on the obtained results, we can conclude that tabloids and semi-tabloids frequently (*Telegraf*, *Informer*, *Kurir*, *Alo*, *Večernje novosti* and *Blic*)[5] use posts from social media created by influencers (previously unknown people and/or public figures) as a journalistic source, unlike broadsheet media (*Danas* and *Politika*) who use official announcements, agency services and competent interlocutors as sources without the mediation of social media platforms. When serious media use profiles of public figures on social media as a source of information, serious topics prevail, while in the case of tabloids and semi-tabloids, entertainment content predominates. The results are shown in *Table 1*.

[5] One of the classifications put *Blic* and *Večernje novosti* into semi-tabloids (Milojević and Krstić, 2016: 284).

Table 1: *The number of texts in which influencers are the sources in online editions of daily newspapers in Serbia*

Online edition of the daily newspaper	Period	Total number of texts	Number of texts in which influencers are the sources (gained fame thanks to SM)	Percentage of texts in which influencers are the sources (gained fame thanks to SM)	Number of texts in which the sources come from profiles of public figures on SM	Percentage of texts in which the sources come from profiles of public figures on SM
Danas	1-31 July	2443	0	0%	90	3,6%
Politika	1-31 July	2094	0	0%	45	2,1%
Večernje novosti	1-31 July	6975	0	0%	226	3,2%
Blic	1-31 July	9982	20	0,2%	1015	10,1%
Kurir	1-31 July	13697	15	0,1%	1605	2,7%
Alo	1-31 July	7206	19	0,2%	1136	15,6%
Informer	1-31 July	7785	9	0,1%	1173	15,6%
Telegraf	1-31 July	8895	28	0,3%	1047	11,7%
IN TOTAL	1-31 July	59077	91	0,15%	6327	10,7%

Out of the total number of texts (91) in which the sources were social network profiles of influencers that gained fame owing to social media sites, 68 texts referred to domestic influencers, while for 23 texts the posts of foreign influencers served as a journalistic source (*Table 2*). In the further analysis, we will process only texts related to domestic influencers and exclude texts in which the sources are related to profiles of public figures on social network sites due to a large number of texts, since the posts of celebrities on the Internet have long served as a journalistic source. Accordingly, by the end of this analysis, we will use the term influencer to denote a previously unknown person who gained influence and popularity thanks to social media.

Table 2: *Number and type of texts where the sources are influencers – previously unknown people who gained popularity thanks to social network sites, in online editions of daily newspapers in Serbia (*Refers to influencers who gained popularity thanks to social network sites)*

Online edition of the daily newspaper	Period	Number of texts where influencers* are the sources	Percentage of texts	Number of texts where the sources are foreign influencers	Number of texts where the sources are domestic influencers	Number of entertaining texts where the sources are domestic influencers	Number of serious texts where the sources are domestic influencers
Danas	1-31 July	0	0%	0	0	0	0
Politika	1-31 July	0	0%	0	0	0	0
Večernje novosti	1-31 July	0	0%	0	0	0	0
Blic	1-31 July	20	0,2%	6	14	12	2
Kurir	1-31 July	15	0,1%	3	12	12	0
Alo	1-31 July	19	0,2%	3	16	16	0
Informer	1-31 July	9	0,1%	2	7	7	0
Telegraf	1-31 July	28	0,3%	9	19	19	0
IN TOTAL	1-31 July	91	0,1%	23	68	66	2

Informer had the fewest texts in which the source of information is from the social network sites of domestic influencers – nine, i.e. two about foreign and seven about domestic influencers. In July, *Informer* published three texts in which posts from the profile of Zorana Jovanović, better known as Zorannah, and Bogdan Ilić, known as Baka Prase, served as a journalistic source. One text referred to the post of Milica Polskaya. All seven texts were related to entertainment content and no text had an author. All texts were equipped with images while two of them were equipped with videos, one of which was removed in the meantime. All photos had a cited source, and none had a description of people who were on it.

During the research period, *Kurir* used contents from the profiles of influencers for 15 texts, out of which the sources are domestic influencers in 12 texts and in 3 texts all sources are related to the profile contents of foreign influencers. The posts of Bogdan Ilić were used as a source for five texts, Zorana Jovanović for three texts, Ružica Rupić for two texts and one post each for Dunja Jovanić and Milica Polskaya who were the source of information. Out of the total of 12 texts, nine texts had author details, unlike three texts with no authors. All 12 texts had photos and were entertaining contents, while two texts were equipped with videos. No footage contained a description. All photos had a source, and only one had a description of people who were on it.

Alo published 19 texts in which the sources were influencers (16 texts about domestic and three texts about foreign influencers). 11 texts referred to the posts of Bogdan Ilić. The posts of Zorana Jovanović were used for two texts, while the posts of Stefan Janković, known as Janko, Milica Polskaya and Andrija Jović were used for one text each. All texts were entertaining and all had photographs with sources cited. Only one photo had a description of people on it. The video was present in three texts.

Blic used profile contents of influencers' social network sites as a journalistic source for 20 articles. Out of the total number of published texts in which the sources were influencers, 14 texts referred to posts of domestic influencers, and six texts related to foreign influencers. The posts of Zorana Jovanović and Bogdan Ilić were used as sources for four texts each, and the posts of Milica Polskaja, Dunja Jovanić and Andrija Jović were used as two sources each. The posts from the profiles of Anastasia Đurić, known as Stasha, Sara and Lea Stanković, Tamara Kalinić, Vanja Veljić, known as Va Van and Stefan Vuksanović Muđa, also served as a source. Contents from social network sites of multiple influencers were used for the same text as the source. Two texts had serious informative content, while the other 12 were entertaining. All 14 texts were equipped with photographs, the source of which was cited, and only three had a description. The two texts contained a video.

Most of the texts in July in which information on influencer profiles served as a journalistic source were published by *Telegraf*. In the online edition of this paper, 28 texts were published, out of which 19 texts used the profiles of domestic influencers, and nine texts used the social network profiles of foreign influencers. All the texts related to the posts of domestic influencers were entertaining content. In July, *Telegraf* used posts from Bogdan Ilić's profile for 12 articles, while it used posts by Zorana

Jovanović for five articles. The posts of Milica Polskaya and Stefan Janković were used as a source for one text each. Five texts were not signed, while the other 14 contained the name or initials of the author. As on other portals, all texts were equipped with photographs, the sources of which were listed. 17 texts had descriptions below the photographs, while two texts had no descriptions below the image. There was also a video in eight texts.

Out of the total number of texts (68) based on social media content of Serbian influencers, previously unknown people, there were 66 texts involving entertaining content and two texts with serious content. The largest number of published texts in which the sources are profile contents on social media of Serbian influencers refers to the YouTube posts of Bogdan Ilić – 36 texts. The posts of fashion blogger Zorana Jovanović were used for 17 texts, and YouTube posts of Milica Polskaya were used for six texts. As a source of information, the posts of fashion blogger Dunja Jovanić, YouTuber Ružica Rupić and YouTuber Andrija Jović were used for three texts each, while posts from the profiles of fashion blogger Tamara Kalinić, YouTuber Stefan Vuksanović and YouTuber Anastasia Đurić, Sara and Lea Stanković, Ana Lazarević, were used for one text each. In some texts, social media content from several influencers was used, so the number of influencers that appeared was higher than the number of texts.

The most reported topics were Baka Prase withdrawing from the public, his alleged correspondence with minors, the loss of a sponsor, the appearance of drugs in his video and the incident when his car was egged. The media mostly reported about Zorana about her video with the Bosnian football player Ermin Bičakčić, as well as about the photographs in which she is in a bathing suit and topless. Milica Polskaya, a Serbian woman who married a Kazakh businessman, drew the attention of the reporters due to her video in which she talks about what she did before she met her husband and how they met.

Based on all the obtained results, quantitative and qualitative analysis of the content of texts published in online editions of domestic daily newspapers in the period from July 1 to July 31, 2020, we can conclude that online editions of daily newspapers in Serbia use content created and published by influencers on social network platforms as a source of information. Additionally, the fact remains that these are mostly entertaining contents, that is, soft news.

4.1. Influencers and the audience in Serbia: who follows the influencers?

In a web survey conducted in the period from July 19 to July 27, 2020, posted on private profiles of researchers on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and Facebook groups (Filozofski fakultet u Nišu, Novinarstvo 2015/2016, Komunikologija 2019/2020 i Studenti beogradskih univerziteta – SBU), 175 respondents participated. Out of the total number of respondents, 51 respondents were male, or 29.1%, and 124 respondents were female, or 70.9% of respondents. The largest number of respondents were respondents aged 18 to 29, 154 of them, which is 88% of the survey, and respondents aged 30 to 39, 10 of them, which is 5.7% of all respondents. In the age group of 40 to 49 there were seven respondents (4%), under 18 (1.7%) and in the group of 50 to 59 there was one respondent (0.6%). There were no respondents older than 60 years in the survey.

More than two-thirds of respondents, i.e. 144 respondents (82.3%) followed online media, while 31 respondents (17.7%) did not follow. When asked about online editions of domestic daily newspapers, they had the opportunity to choose more answers and most respondents answered that they followed *Danas* – 80 of them (45.7%) and *Blic* – 58 respondents (33.1%). The online edition of *Politika* was followed by 36 respondents (20.6%), *Kurir* by 24 respondents (13.7%), *Telegraf* also by 24 respondents (13.7%), and *Večernje novost*i by 20 respondents (11.4%). The lowest number of respondents follows the online edition of *Alo* – 10 respondents (5.7%) and *Informer* – 9 respondents (5.1%). 51 respondents (29.1%) answered that they didn't follow the media.

The most popular social media platform among respondents was Instagram, used by 160 respondents (91.4%). Facebook was used by 148 respondents (84.6%), YouTube by 146 (83.4%), while 78 respondents (44.6%) had Twitter accounts. The least used social network platform among the respondents was TikTok, used by 26 respondents (14.9%). Respondents were able to choose from multiple choice answers.

When asked whether they followed influencers on social media, 100 respondents, which is 57.1% of the total number of respondents, answered that they followed influencers. 75 respondents (42.9%) answered that they did not follow influencers on social media. The area in which respondents followed influencers the most was fashion and style – 69 respondents (39.4%), travel – 52 (29.3%) and tutorials and advice – 43 respondents (24.6%). Influencers dealing with topics in the field of food were followed by 35 respondents (20%), photography – 36 respondents (20.6%), and home decoration by 24 respondents (13.7%). Influencers in the field of fitness and sketches and reactions were followed by 29 respondents (16.6%). 20 respondents (11.4%) followed contents about books, 18 (10.3%) followed contents about family and children, 10 respondents (5.7%) followed contents about pets and nine respondents (5.1%) followed influencers in the field of technology. 15 respondents (8.6%) followed influencers from politics and five respondents (2.9%) followed influencers from the field of games. Nine respondents (5.1%) followed influencers from other areas. 68 respondents (38.9%) answered that they did not follow influencers. Respondents had the opportunity to choose from multiple choice answers.

Articles on influencers in online media were followed by 38 respondents (21.7%), while 137 respondents (78.3%) did not follow articles about influencers. Comments under the articles about influencers in online media were often left by one respondent (0.6%), and occasionally by five of them (2.9%). 16 respondents (9.1%) rarely wrote comments, while 153 respondents (87.4%) never wrote comments. No respondent always wrote comments.

Based on all the obtained results, we can conclude that the respondents followed online media sites and that the portals of serious daily newspapers were among the most followed issues. Respondents used social network sites in large numbers and the largest number of respondents answered that they also followed influencers on them. The most popular were influencers from the entertainment fields. Articles in the media about influencers were followed by 38 respondents (21.7%). Very few respondents commented on media articles about influencers, as well as the posts of influencers themselves on social network platforms.

5. Conclusion

Personalities who have gained their popularity on the basis of their activities on social media, i.e. influencers, are increasingly represented in society. Their number is increasing, and the ways in which they address their followers, as well as the areas in which they operate, are becoming more and more diverse. The media and the audience are adapting to all these changes and trends that are happening in the sphere of influencers, in addition to the influencers themselves. Influencers now take up time in television reports and columns in newspaper articles. Although they spread their influence through social network sites, it seems that a large number of them are insufficiently represented in media reporting, especially due to the area in which they operate (specialized content and niches). On the other hand, scandals, nude photos, quarrels, suicides and the tragic deaths of influencers are the focus of the public and they fill the pages of tabloids and occupy considerable time in entertainment shows on commercial media channels.

Through quantitative and qualitative analysis of the content of the online edition of domestic daily newspapers (*Danas*, *Politika*, *Večernje novosti*, *Blic*, *Kurir*, *Alo*, *Telegraf* and *Informer*) in the period from July 1 to July 31, 2020, we realized that the media used profile content that influencers published on social media platforms as a journalistic source and that these contents usually consisted of entertainment, i.e. soft news. The largest number of published texts in which the source was obtained from social media profiles of domestic influencers referred to the posts of YouTube content creator Bogdan Ilić and fashion blogger Zorana Jovanović. Topics covered by the media related to the content of influencers on social media dealt with entertainment (soft news), such as the loss of sponsors and pictures containing partial nudity. The media most often reported on popular influencers and influencers with the largest number of followers, as well as those individuals who attracted media attention with their attitudes or contents. Based on the results of the web survey, we can conclude that the audience in the media followed the texts about influencers, and in that way the media acquired a new audience that believed in influencers.

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INFLUENSERI I MEDIJI: SADRŽAJI NA PROFILIMA INFLUENSERA NA DRUŠTVENIM MREŽAMA KAO NOVINARSKI IZVORI[6]

Sažetak. *Rast popularnosti društvenih mreža, posebno Jutjuba, Fejsbuka, Tvitera i Instagrama, omogućio je da se pored ranije poznatih slavnih ljudi javljaju i onlajn influenseri koji predstavljaju novi globalni fenomen i nove uzore mladima – influensere. Biran (Biran) sa saradnicima u radu "Otkrivanje influensera u pisanoj onlajn konverzaciji" („Detecting influencers in written online conversations") navode da su influenseri oni učesnici onlajn komunikacije koji imaju kredibilitet u grupi, koji istrajavaju u nameri da ubede druge i koji uvode ideje koje drugi prihvataju ili podržavaju (Biran et al., 2012: 38-39). Istraživanje novinarskih izvora, posebno takvih kao što su sadržaji koje kreiraju influenseri na društvenim mrežama, značajan je doprinos istraživanjima u oblasti medijskog pluralizma. Istraživanja društvenih mreža kao izvora informacija u domaćoj literaturi su retka i u tome je značaj ovog istraživanja. Ciljevi istraživanja su da se utvrdi da li sadržaji koje kreiraju i objavljuju influenseri na društvenim mrežama u Srbiji predstavljaju izvor informacija za onlajn izdanja domaćih dnevnih novina i kakvi su sadržaji u pitanju, kao i da li putem takvih tekstova mediji stiču novu publiku koja prati influensere. Za istraživanje su korišćene kvalitativno-kvantitativne analize sadržaja i veb ankete. Na osnovu kvalitativno-kvantitativne analize domaćih dnevnih novina (Danas, Politika, Večernje novosti, Blic, Kurir, Alo, Telegraf, Informer), možemo zaključiti da mediji kao izvor tekstova koriste sadržaj koji influenceri objavljuju na svojim profilima na društvenim mrežama, a to su meke vesti. A na osnovu veb ankete, u kojoj je učestvovalo 175 ispitanika, možemo zaključiti da tekstove o influencerima u medijima prati 38 ispitanika i da mediji stiču novu publiku koja prati influencere na društvenim mrežama.*

Ključne reči: *influenseri, novinarstvo, mediji, društvene mreže, novinarski izvori*

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NEWSPAPER *POLITIKA* ON THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE KINGDOMS OF SERBIA AND BULGARIA IN 1904-1905

Abstract: *A considerable amount of the historical material has been preserved for the study of the political relations of the Balkan countries in the first two decades of the 20*th *century. We are acquainted with the details of these relations based on the documents of the governments of the Balkan countries or the governments of the great powers, the correspondence of ministers, official notes, decisions and commands of officers, the reports of Serbian and foreign newspapers, etc. The subject of this paper is the course and intensity of political and economic relations between the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Bulgaria during 1904 and 1905. This paper resulted from the analysis of newspaper articles and reports published in the daily newspaper Politika, but also from archival materials and relevant literature. The paper also contains the analysis of the media response related to the signing of the Serbian-Bulgarian Alliance Agreement in 1904, as well as the signing of the Customs Alliance Agreement in 1905 between Belgrade and Sofia. The Macedonian issue, as a topic that placed emphasis on the relations between the two neighbors, is also an inevitable part of the research corpus of this paper.*

Key Words: *Politika, Serbia, Bulgaria, the Customs Agreement, Macedonia*

1. Introduction

After Peter I became the monarch of the Kingdom of Serbia and all dynastic upheavals, the development of the political press also continued. During 1904, there were thirteen daily newspapers published in Belgrade, the latest of which was *Politika*. Its existence was a turning point for Serbian journalism because with its objectivity, informativeness and diversity this newspaper rose above other Belgrade newspapers. The use of new technologies was of special importance since the editorial staff of *Politika* started using the telegraph as a means of obtaining information. Unlike *Politika*, the editorial offices of other daily newspapers were still using the translation of foreign press when informing the public, which was the main reason why they were falling behind the news published in *Politika*. Regarding the daily political conflicts and struggles in Serbia, *Politika* remained neutral which contributed to the objectivity of information. However, in terms of national politics it was often determined and blunt which is why on May 1, 1906, its sale was banned on the territory of Austria-Hungary.

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The daily newspaper *Politika* was founded and owned by Vladislav Ribnikar[3]. The daily *Politika* was published every working day. Political topics and information were covered in the following sections: *Telegrams, Foreign Affairs, Feature Article, Short News, from our Region, the Last Telegram.* Although the data published in these sections do not represent the primary historical source, their importance lies in the further clarification of the difficulties in relations between the two countries, Serbia and Bulgaria, which were indisputable and crucial. By analyzing the reports from *Politika,* we obtained a clearer and more complete picture of the events in the Balkans at the beginning of the 20th century (Бјелица, Јевтовић 2006: 307-308).

2. The Newspaper *Politika* on Serbian-Bulgarian Relations during 1904-1905

After the unsuccessful Ilinden Uprising and the adoption of the Mürzsteg Reform Program, the position of the revolutionists-supremacists was extremely difficult and the further implementation of the pro-Bulgarian national ideas on the territory of the Bitola and Salonica Vilayet was seriously endangered. It was a time of the gradual weakening of the presence of Bulgarian ideas in the mentioned provinces (Екмечић 1989: 629). The ruling circles of the Balkan countries, including Serbia and Greece, as well as the great powers such as Russia and Austria-Hungary, demanded the calming of the situation caused by the armed uprising and the establishment of order and peace in the country. The High Porte was convinced that the main support for the insurgents came from Bulgaria, which was the cause of increasingly conspicuous conflict between Sofia and Constantinople, after the suppression of the Ilinden Uprising (Pandevski 1980: 28). Almost one year after the uprising, along with the pressure from the foreign forces, this conflict was resolved by signing the Bulgarian-Turkish agreement on April 8, 1904, about which the daily *Politika*[4] reported minutely in the *Foreign Affairs* section. The agreement obliged the Principality of Bulgaria to prevent the formation of the Komitas gangs, punish all rebels who sought refuge on its territory after the suppression of the uprising and prevent the import of explosives and similar products into Turkish provinces, etc. On the other hand, the Porte pledged to grant an amnesty to participants of the armed uprising, to help financially the renovation of burned houses and properties, to introduce tax relief for the war-affected population, as well as to carry out the

[3] Vladislav Ribnikar was born in 1871 in Trstenik as the eldest son of Dr. Franjo Ribnikar and Milica, b. Srnić. He was educated in Jagodina and Belgrade. He studied at the Department of History and Philology at the Faculty of Philosophy, the Great School in Belgrade. He graduated in 1892, after which he left the country and continued his studies in Germany and France. After the May Coup in 1903, he returned to Serbia. At the beginning of 1904, he founded the daily newspaper *Politika* and was its first editor. He participated in the defense of the country at the beginning of the First World War, where he died on September 1, 1914 on the battle front in Western Serbia.

[4] All dates from the issues of *Politika* or information taken from its newspaper articles that we quote are according to the Julian calendar.

reforms[5] adopted by the Turkish government in the agreement with Austria-Hungary and Turkey (the Mürzsteg Reform Program). The agreement reached between Bulgaria and Turkey was accepted neither in Sofia nor in Constantinople. Both sides had only partially complied with its regulations. However, in the *Telegram* section, *Politika* reported on the implementation of the agreement and the amnesty, which included over a thousand Bulgarians[6]. Nevertheless, the right wing of the IMRO regarded the agreement between Bulgaria and Turkey as an act passed due to the inability of Bulgaria to fight war against Turkey at a given moment. According to them, Bulgaria had agreed to sign such an act because otherwise Bulgaria-oriented propaganda institutions in Macedonia would be in danger. The intention to protect these institutions from the attacks of the Turkish authorities and the desire to bring the Thracian and Macedonian refugees back to the territory of the Bitola and Salonica Vilayet influenced Bulgaria to reach the agreement (Pandevski 1980: 31-32). Such a perception of the agreement by the pro-Bulgarian revolutionaries meant that their struggle in Macedonia was not over, but only temporarily postponed. In the middle of 1904, the Komitas became active again.

In order to protect their people from the Komitas gangs and the pro-Bulgarian element, both Serbs and Greeks began forming and arming their troops. In its issue, published on March 2, 1904, *Politika* brought an article on the Greek organization of the "Macedonian anti-Bulgarian Committee", whose purpose was to create an internal organization of Macedonian Greeks (according to the Sofia model), which would be supported by the entire Greek population. In the declaration of this committee, all "Hellenic patriots" were invited to join the orders of the Komitas[7]. As for Belgrade, it did not immediately take part in organizing and arming Serbian troops. The troops were formed by the local Serbian population from the Kumanovo, Skopje, Kičevo, Ohrid and Kratovo districts, since it suffered the most from the Exarchate's agents. The eternal suffering of the Serbian population in the Vilayets of Salonica and Bitola lead to the growing support of Serbia and its people for the formed troops (Јовановић 1938: 157).

During 1904, the IMRO continued its revolutionary activities and its troops had brutally applied the policy of the bulgarization of Macedonia. In such cases, the Serbian villages were often targeted and attacked by the pro-Bulgarian troop leaders. Nevertheless, the Serbian side wanted a compromise in resolving the Macedonian issue and offered the Bulgarians the division of the spheres of interest in Macedonia (Јовановић 1938: 154). The essence of the Serbian-Bulgarian relations on the threshold of the 20th century lay in the question of the independence of the Balkans from the great powers and Turkey. Whether the political-territorial problem of Macedonia would be solved by the external European forces or by the internal Balkan forces depended only on the Balkan countries which played the crucial role. The Bulgarian government wanted to ensure autonomy to Macedonia with its

[5] Политика, 30. март 1904, бр. 77, 2, Турско-бугарски споразум.

[6] Политика, 8. април 1904, бр 86, 1, Амнестија Бугара.

[7] Политика, 3. март 1904, бр. 52, 1, Грци се миголје.

activities, after which it would take the opportunity and work on its annexation to the Principality, as was the case with Eastern Rumelia. However, Serbia was against such a scenario and emphasized its right to the Old Serbia territory, Northern and northwestern Macedonia. Regardless of the different attitudes, both Belgrade and Sofia were aware that the internationalization of the Macedonian issue opened the possibility for the territory of Macedonia to become the prey of Russian, or more likely, Austrian-Hungarian interests. In addition, the Bulgarian government accepted the conclusion of a secret agreement with Serbia, which signified the recognition of Serbian interests in Macedonia and the inseparability of resolving the issues of Macedonia and Old Serbia. In March 1904, two treaties were signed, the first being a secret "alliance treaty" and the latter being a public, "friendly treaty" concerning the economic cooperation (Ђорђевић 1995: 125).

The Serbian-Bulgarian agreement stated, "in the event that, due to internal and external difficulties, that would emerge for Turkey, the maintenance of the status quo of the Balkan Peninsula is brought into question – the contracting party that is the first to become firmly convinced of starting an armed operation, will address the other party with a proposition, after which the other party is obliged to begin an exchange of views and, in the case of disagreeing with its ally, give a detailed explanation." As it was stated in the agreement, if a mutual solution could not be reached, both contracting parties had to seek the opinion of Russia, which would be mandatory for them. Also, this document provided a picture of the territorial divisions of interest in Macedonia. According to the document, Serbia and Bulgaria agreed that the border of the spheres of interest should be the line starting from the Turkish-Bulgarian border of Golem Vrh (north of Kriva Palanka) and extending in the south-west direction to Lake Ohrid unless "His Imperial Majesty the Russian Tsar is asked to be the Supreme Arbitrator on the matter and decide in favor of that line[8]." After reaching the agreement in 1904, the mutual visits of Prince Ferdinand to Serbia and King Peter I to Bulgaria followed. The daily *Politika* wrote about the visit of the Bulgarian Prince to Niš in May, 1904, as one of the most significant events in the new history of Serbian and Bulgarian people and emphasized: "*After the former enmity, after aimless journeys, there is a hardly found, but the right path, that both Serbian and Bulgarian people should follow, if we want to preserve what we intend to and to get what we need to get*[9]". It is clear that under the last implication the territory of Macedonia was stressed, which should have been divided into the spheres of interest according to the intercession of Belgrade. However, in the same issue, in the *Daily News* section, *Politika* reported on the impressions of the press in Vienna concerning the meeting of the two monarchs, where it said that the opposing interests of Serbia and Bulgaria on the Macedonian issue would never ensure a sincere agreement between Belgrade and Sofia.[10] King Peter visited Sofia in October, 1904, and the visit caused a sharp polemic

[8] Знаменита документа за историју српског народа 1538 – 1918, приредили: Д. Микавица, В. Гавриловић, Г. Васин, Нови Сад 2007, док. бр 69, стр. 344-346.

[9] Политика, 2. мај 1904, бр. 110, 1, Састанак владара.

[10] Политика, 2. мај 1904, бр. 110, 2, Бечки листови о нишком састанку.

both in the press of Sofia and Belgrade. The issue of *Politika,* published on October 2, 1904, after weekly speculations of the king's cancellation of the visit to Bulgaria, reported: "King travelling to Sofia."; "As it has been officially confirmed this morning, after numerous denials, the King will visit Sofia."[11]

It should be emphasized that since the visit of Prince Ferdinand to Niš until October 1904, horrible crimes took place on the Macedonian territory, despite the mutual agreement between Serbia and Bulgaria. One of those crimes that preceded the King's visit to Sofia was the massacre of the Serbian population in the village of Kokošinj committed by the Bulgarian Komitas. The Belgrade *Samouprava* expressed the opinion that the crime could not have been committed by revolutionaries, but by "revolutionary marauders to whom nothing is sacred". Bulgarian newspapers reported precisely what had earlier been written in Serbian newspapers, which only complicated the situation (Јовановић 1938: 153).

In spite of that, the Serbian monarch stayed in Sofia. After his return, the Belgrade press reported that the Bulgarian government did everything in its power to ensure that the reception was successful and sumptuous, while the citizens of Sofia remained reserved on the matter of the visit of the Serbian king.[12] Such an atmosphere was not surprising if we considered the reputation the former Bulgarian government had among its people, but also the permanent international conflicts in the Vilayets of Bitola and Salonica. These chaotic conflicts were probably best illustrated in the article in *Politika* published on November 16, 1904, under the title *The Greek Komitas.* In the introductory part of the article it was written: "a man is no longer able to say with certainty which one will join the other in order to attack their opponent. In Prilep and Kičevo, the Greek unites with the Bulgarian (and vice versa) against the Serb; here in Bitola, the Bulgarians and the Romanians against the Greeks; the Greeks and the Turks against others everywhere. It must be stated with regret that such narrow-mindedness and exclusivity have dominated that nobody notices the important interests of the Christian population anymore, which so far have expected salvation from its compatriots in vain[13]." That was the real picture of Macedonia in 1904, which was further supported by the text in *Politika* under the title *The Balkan War*, which stated that Bulgarians were constantly sending their troops who were fighting against the Turkish army, plundering Turkish villages and killing everything that was not Bulgarian. Their actions provoked the rest of the population and caused chaos in the provinces for which Turkey was responsible before Europe. The text emphasized the following: "No peace. No stop. Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian troops are crushing over each other, but all of them should be prosecuted by the Turkish army. Trade stagnated. Fear on all sides.[14]" This was the description of the European part of the Ottoman Empire after 1904.

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[11] Политика, 2. октобар 1904, бр. 261, 2, Краљ иде у Софију.

[12] Политика, 21. октобар 1904, бр. 280, 1, После Софије.

[13] Политика, 16. новембар 1904, бр. 305, 2, Грчке комите.

[14] Политика, 12. август 1905, бр. 568, 1, Рат на Балкану.

Although the Serbian government in 1903 was not ready to take an active part in the conflicts of the Komitas gangs in Macedonia, fearing that it would provoke the intervention of the great powers, one year later the situation changed (Јовановић 1998: 195). Due to the circumstances, the Serbian population had to organize in order to resist the Bulgarians, Arnauts and other armed gangs. According to the historian Jovan Hadži Vasiljević, the first Serbian troop[15] dispatched by the Central Committee from Belgrade, which arrived on the territory of the Ottoman Empire in May, 1904, was the troop of Anđelko Aleksić. On the other hand, Aleksa Jovanović believed that the Serbian Chetnik action began in April, 1904, when the commander Micko Krstić became the leader of the first troop in Poreč (Вучетић 2006: 362-363). Furthermore, the beginning of 1904 marked the formation of an organized defense of the Serbian national corpus from suffering and assimilation on the territory of the Bitola, Salonica and Kosovo Vilayets. It was organized by the National Committee in Belgrade, the committee in Vranje and sub-committees in Leskovac and Niš. Over time, the government in Belgrade began to support the actions of Serbian troops, especially the organization "the Serbian defense" which was created on the field in the areas of Skopje and Bitola.

"The Serbian defense" was operated by the two boards; one was located in Macedonia, the other was on the territory of Old Serbia. The Mountain Headquarters, in charge of the commands over the troops, classified its territorial organization according to the system of committees and subcommittees created in boroughs. In the early stages, the troops included only local residents, but they quickly began to form in Serbia, as well (Ђорђевић 1995: 124). Their presence, as well as the arrival of the Greek armed troops had significantly reduced the Bulgarian influence in Macedonia.

In the introductory text of *Politika,* published on August 4, 1905, the editorial office of this newspaper gave a comprehensive analysis of the Serbian and Bulgarian positions during the first years of the 20th century, in relation to the Macedonian issue. An extensive article spoke about the unlikely chances of a new uprising in Macedonia by the Bulgarian revolutionaries, since their positions weakened after the failed Ilinden uprising. In addition, the leaders of the pro-Bulgarian forces in Macedonia were also aware of that, but were guided by the opinion that the world should be misled. According to that issue of *Politika,* the only thing acknowledged in relation to Bulgarians was that, until the dynastic changes in Serbia and the arrival of Karađorđević, they had better positions in Macedonia than the Serbs. They used the Exarchate firstly as a way of struggle against the Patriarchate, then it very quickly turned into a means of fighting for the realization of the Great Bulgarian ideas and the assimilation of the non-Bulgarian population. It was acknowledged that shortly before the Serbs, they started the national and educational work in the Vilayets of Salonica and Bitola, as well as that their influence was powerful in terms of creating

[15] The Serbian Chetnik Organization was formed on a private initiative in 1903. Until 1905, the Serbian government refused to publicly support the guerilla type of struggle for the freedom of Serbian people in Turkey. However, in Bulgarian and Serbian literature the existence of Serbian troops in some parts of Old Serbia and Macedonia is mentioned as early as in 1899 and 1900. For more information on the mentioned troops see (Јагодић 2012: 111-129).

cultural and political opportunities in those areas. However, after 1903, the positions of the Bulgarians changed.[16] Fyodor Uspensky made similar observations about the Serbian-Bulgarian relations in Macedonia and believed that the leading role on the Balkan Peninsula should belong to both Serbia and Bulgaria. According to Uspensky, the Bulgarians had already understood that before Serbia, so they used their skillful propaganda within the purview of the Exarchate in Constantinople in order to expand the idea of the Bulgarian political influence in Macedonia. Shortly afterwards, the Serbian people began to do the work and encountered the Bulgarian influence. Nevertheless, they succeeded in attracting a great number of adherents and in many cities and villages they established separate parishes of "patriarchists" as opposed to "exarchists", so the Serbian anti-Bulgarian activity was taking place successfully (Успенски 2003: 208,209). One of the most important moments in the strengthening of the anti-Bulgarian activity was the arrival of the Metropolitan Firmilijan to the head of the Metropolitanate of Skopje, since he was of Serbian descent, which particularly upset the pro-Bulgarian forces in Macedonia. Moreover, with the support of Saint Petersburg and with his own efforts, the Serbian government managed to achieve his consecration in 1902. This event had negative consequences on the development of the Russian-Bulgarian cooperation, while for Serbian people it represented a positive move in resolving the Macedonian issue.[17]

Politika reported the following on the weakening of the pro-Bulgarian positions in Macedonia and the strengthening of Serbian positions: "In the year of 1904 everything has turned upside down. In the organization there is a split, a disorder. Open conflicts between both organizations. People are disappointed and deceived. The Committee is taking drastic actions: all prominent people who are not supporting Bulgarian ideas are being removed. Brutality over their brothers who do not share the same beliefs is worse than that done by the Turks themselves. In the end, everything erupted! Both Serbs and Greeks stand up to defend themselves and protect the monotheistic enemy. Our people in this area take weapons to protect themselves from the freedom's enemy and defend their own rights. In less than a year, more has been done with weapons than with the church and school for decades. In a short time, the Bulgarians were driven off to their natural borders. Our people have secured their spheres of interest, which is undoubtedly their right and every attempt of Bulgarians to regain what they lost will be in vain. Through the fault of their own, they missed a convenient moment for their interests. The good old days are no longer possible. What they did not accept in the past, they will have to do now by force: the spheres of our and their interest are secured and determined. With the same right they had, we also lay claim to Macedonia. Like them, we educated our people with the help of the church and school. Like them, we sacrificed our lives and for centuries fought on the place that once had been the land soaked with our sons' blood.[18]"

[16] Политика, 4. август 1905, бр. 560, 1, Маћедонија.

[17] Државен архив на Република Македонија, Фонд: Министерство за надворешни работи на Велика Британија – Foreign Office, Микрофилм – 418, Public Record Office Foreign Office 78/5191.

[18] Политика, 4. август 1905, бр. 560, 1, Маћедонија.

Such a comprehensive report of *Politika* was inspired by the actions and successes of Serbian troops in Macedonia during 1904 and 1905, which, through their active work, improved the influence of the Kingdom of Serbia in those areas. As far as the conflicts between Serbian Chetniks and Turks were concerned, there was a lot of information. For instance, the troop of Anđelko Aleksić confronted the Turkish forces on the river Pčinja, near the village of Četirac. Also, the troop of Arsa Gavrilović Gostivarac crossed the border and together with the Bulgarian Komitas, under the command of Pushkarev, clashed with the Turks near Djuriški Manastir. The Captain Veselinović's troop of 25 people clashed with the Turks near Tabanovac in the Kumanovo District (Јовановић 1938: 168-169). A Serbian troop of about 100 people fought the Turkish army on the Čelopek plateau, on April 16. In that battle, the Chetniks caused heavy losses to Turkish troops led by reform officers and assisted by Arnauts. The number of casualties was over 200, of both Turks and Arnauts (Илић 2006: 55).

The number of similar troops who succeeded in crossing the Serbian-Turkish border was continually growing. The Serbian consul in Skopje, Mihajlo Ristić, was initially surprised to hear about the incursions of Serbian troops. In addition, he received the news that the Chetniks were organized by the doctor Milorad Gođevac, who sent and followed them to Vranje, where they were taken over by Captain Živojin Rafailović. They were transported from the interior of Serbia to Vranjska Banja, by rail, in third class wagons with closed windows. In Vranje, they received weapons, equipment and money, and from that place, led by the retired officers, they were transported to the territory of Turkey. According to Ristić, the Serbian people in Macedonia needed the support of the armed troops that would protect them, but he believed that troops had to be composed of Serbs, the residents in Turkey. In addition, he justified such an attitude with the opinion that the local population is better acquainted with the situation in Turkey than the volunteers from Serbia, as well as that the same population was constantly near their homes, which represented an important factor in removing the pressure and attacks by the Bulgarian Komitas. On the other hand, he criticized the public and open way of conducting the Chetnik action and believed that it could jeopardize the position of Belgrade. On the work of Živojin Rafailović, Ristić indicated the following: "his work is harmful because it has been undertaken too late, because the mechanics is not worth a dime, it is led by people who, if not at all, have little knowledge about these matters; that it is unforgivably leaked, open and public, that every moment is revealed and known even before the person who should be the only one informed about it, which happens always after the Turkish consuls in Vranje and Niš. He is dangerous because he can imperil the entire position of the Kingdom of Serbia concerning the reforms in Turkey; he will instigate Muslims to take measures against our group which will be nothing in comparison to what our people have experienced so far." At the end of his report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia, Ristić expressed the opinion that conducting the foreign policy of Serbia should remain in the domain of the aforementioned ministry and should not involve patriotic associations.[19]

[19] Архив Србије, Министарство иностраних дела, Просветно-политичко одељење, 1903, У/1, бр. 3641, ПП. број 1242, Генерални конзулат Краљевине Србије, Скопље – МИД-у, 26. VIII/8. IX 1903; Документи о спољној политици Краљевине Србије 1903-1914, књ. I/1, 29.мај/11.јун 1903-

During 1905, despite the incursions and conflicts of the Komitas bands on the territories of the Ottoman Empire, there was an economic connection between Serbia and Bulgaria. The political agreement of 1904, was completed by the Customs Alliance Agreement one year later, due to the increasing difficulties and the policy of agrarian protectionism of the great industrial powers. This was not the only case when small agrarian exporters united in order to reduce the discrepancy of their forces towards the great powers; the association meant the defense of its economic field and its expansion. When it comes to Serbia, its interest in the customs agreement was the release from the economic tutorship of Austria-Hungary. However, Bulgaria wanted the liberation from the Turkish trade deals that prevented its independence in the field of trade policy. Such ambitions encouraged the two sides to conclude the agreement on customs alliance, which lay the foundation for a mutual economic field. According to the agreement, domestic goods, whether Serbian or Bulgarian, were exempted from the custom fees in mutual traffic, while special custom fees and trade agreements were kept for foreign countries. Until 1917, the signatories had a deadline to coordinate the differences in monetary, railway, custom and legal issues in order to prepare the ground for the conclusion of the customs alliance (Ђорђевић 1995: 125-126). What was particularly important about this agreement was that it was concluded secretly, in order to avoid endangering the relation between Serbia and the Dual Monarchy, because it directly disrupted the principle of the greatest economic privilege that Austria-Hungary believed to have in Serbia. Prior to signing the agreement on July 9, 1905, the Serbian government sent a note to Sofia and emphasized that they considered they were not obliged to respect the content of the document if it caused the non-ratification of Serbia's agreement with other countries (Ђорђевић 1962: 124-125). Such an attitude of the Serbian government indicated that Belgrade was concerned that the agreement with Bulgaria could jeopardize its economic interests, which were mainly achieved through trade and export on the territory of the Dual monarchy.

Due to the difficulties it encountered in trading with Turkey, the Bulgarian government wanted to strengthen the agreement reached with Serbia. Although Serbia insisted on the secrecy of this document, in December, 1905, Bulgaria submitted the draft agreement to the Parliament for ratification. Moreover, the news quickly spread across Europe and caused a strong reaction in Austria-Hungary, which cooled relations between Belgrade and Vienna. Furthermore, when the Customs War broke out, Serbia had to find new markets for the export of goods and the survival of its own economy (Ђорђевић 1962: 141). The viewpoint of the authors of *The History of Bulgaria* was interesting, since it was believed that the idea of the Serbian-Bulgarian customs alliance was not realized because Austria-Hungary disliked it and interpreted the economic cooperation between Serbia and Bulgaria as the beginning of a new cultural and political integration of the Balkan countries in which even the Macedonian issue could no longer be regarded as a problem (Попов, Божилов 2008: 275).

14/27. фебруар 1904, приредио А. Раденић, Београд 1991, док. бр. 212, стр. 427-431.

The daily *Politika* reported on the events in December, 1905. In the introductory text under the title *The Customs War*, published on December 20th, it wrote that the news of the Bulgarian government submitting a legal proposal to the National Assembly on the customs alliance with Serbia caused confusion and disturbance in Vienna's official circles. It was surprising because of the Serbian-Bulgarian agreement itself and the fact that it had been concluded in secrecy. Vienna was not used to being uninformed about the situation in the Balkans and that was the main reason why the official circles were surprised by the secrecy of the document. Apart from the criticism coming from the representatives of Austria-Hungary, *Politika* reported on the attitude of the Vienna press that the agreement was a political act directed at the Dual Monarchy and that further negotiations with Serbia had to be suspended until all the details of its economic agreement with Bulgaria were known. Some newspapers only gave an assumption about the meaning of the Serbian- Bulgarian agreement and to what extent it could cause damage to Vienna's economic interests. Also, one of the assumptions was related to the export of livestock. According to it, Bulgarian livestock could be freely imported to Serbia and then further to Austria-Hungary. For that reason, Austria-Hungary could not control the origin of the livestock and, according to the Vienna press, it should neither engage in negotiations with Belgrade nor give Serbia a "veterinary convention". What can be concluded from the introductory part is that if the customs war happened, as threatened by Vienna, Austria-Hungary would suffer much more damage than Serbia, because its industry would be deprived of Serbian raw materials, while Germany and other European countries would take over its previous economic position in Serbia.[20]

In the *Telegrams* section, a correspondent from Sofia informed the *Politika* editorial office of the details of the ratified Customs Alliance Agreement, notifying that the agreement was titled as "The Customs Alliance Agreement between Serbia and Bulgaria", that it was signed on July 9, 1905 by Serbian and Bulgarian delegates, contained 19 articles and that one protocol explained certain articles of the agreement, one declaration and one note[21]. Under such circumstances, Serbia again found itself in the economic war with Austria-Hungary caused by the secret conclusion of the Serbian-Bulgarian agreement, from which it managed to escape unnoticed. In the years of blockade and the unsuccessful economic-trade relations with Vienna, it began to use new ways for the export of its products. It achieved the railway connection with Thessaloniki and from there placed its goods on the European market, but also used the Danube waterways. Furthermore, it found new partners in Germany, Egypt, France, Russia and England. In this way, it managed to reduce the economic independence of Vienna to a minimum. The custom conflicts between Serbia and Austria-Hungary ended with the signing of a new trade agreement between the opposing parties on July 14, 1910 (Жанин Чалић 2004: 163).

As for Serbian-Bulgarian relations, Belgrade and Sofia contributed to the development of mutual cooperation in the economic and political areas, about which

[20] Политика, 20. децембар 1905, бр. 698, 1, Царински рат.

[21] Политика, 22. децембар 1905, бр. 700, 2, Царински савез између Србије и Бугарске.

Politika reported in detail. Yet, what drew the attention of the public, political elites and the newspapers in both countries were the events in Old Serbia and Macedonia. These territories became the places of frequent armed conflicts of the Komita bands. The actions of armed groups used to be directed at the Turks and they were often motivated by the mutual struggle of Serbian and Bulgarian Chetniks. In such conflicts, the moral code of warfare was rarely respected and threatened to grow into something far more complex.

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Политика, 2. мај 1904, No 110, pp. 2, Бечки листови о нишком састанку.

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Политика, 21. октобар 1904, No 280, pp. 1, После Софије.

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Политика, 22. децембар 1905, No 700, pp. 2, Царински савез између Србије и Бугарске.

ИЗ ПРОШЛОСТИ ПОЛИТИЧКО - ЕКОНОМСКИХ ОДНОСА КРАЉЕВИНА СРБИЈЕ И БУГАРСКЕ 1904/1905. ГОДИНЕ У ЛИСТУ *ПОЛИТИКА*

Апстракт: *За проучавање политичких односа балканских земаља током прве две деценије XX века сачуван је добар део грађе и историјског материјала. О детаљима тих односа знамо на основу докумената влада балканских земаља или влада великих сила, преписки министара, службених бележака, одлука и команди официра, писања домаће и стране штампе итд. Ток и интензитет политичко-економских односа Краљевине Србије и Краљевине Бугарске током 1904. и 1905. године тема су овог рада. Рад је настао на основу анализе новинских текстова и извештаја објављених у дневном листу Политика, архивске грађе и релевантне литературе. Пажљиво је анализиран медијски одјек потписивања Српско-бугарског споразума о савезу из 1904. године, као и Уговора о царинском савезу између Београда и Софије од 1905. године. И македонско питање као тема која је оптерећивала односе двају суседа у наведеном периоду незаобилазан је део истраживачког корпуса овог рада.*

Кључне речи: *Политика, Србија, Бугарска, Царински савез, Македонија*

AUTHOR GUIDELINES

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Main text: only use characters and symbols available in the Times New Roman or Symbol font (as in the full text of paper), 11 pt; paragraph format: justified alignment, left and right indent 0 pt, space before and after 0 pt, first line indent 0.5 cm; line spacing 1.15 pt. The length of the paper body text should not exceed 30,000 characters (including spaces).

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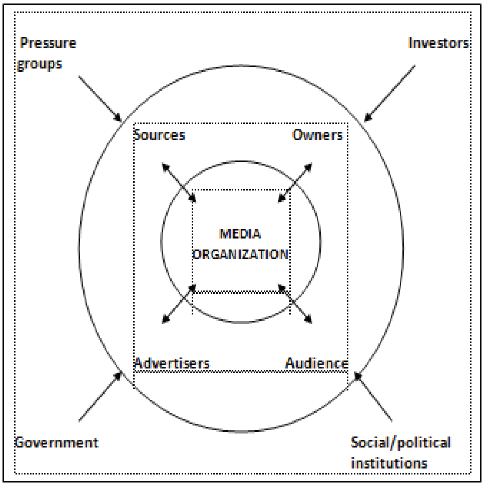

Fig. 1 The media environment: source of demand and constraint (McQuail, 1992: 82)

Tables

All tables should be numbered with consecutive Arabic numbers. They should have descriptive captions at the top of each table and should be mentioned in the text**.**

Table 2 Press freedom (McQuail, 1992: 102)

	Whose freedom?	*From what?*	*To do what?*
Level of structure	Proprietor	Censorship; unfair taxes;	Publish/sell news and views; not to publish; start a new publication
Level of conduct	Editor	State; proprietorial and outside interference (advertisers, sponsors, etc.)	Print news and views; gather information; not to print; advocate views; criticize
Level of performance	Public	Lack of choice; bias in news and views	Hear news and views; express own views

Citation:

The original material in the text should be given in the parenthesis naming: the authors last names, the years of publication of cited literature, the number of pages, if citation is used.

E.g. (McQuail, 1992: 34).

In the case of two authors, both last names should be written in parenthesies.

E.g. (Hallin & Mancini, 2004).

If there are more than two, but less than six authors, when the reference appeared in the text it needed to name the last names of all authors, and every next time only the last name of the first author and abbreviation: et al.

E.g. (Deibert, Palfrey, Rohozinski, Zittrain & Stein, 2008) – first time

(Deibert et. al., 2008) – every next time

If there are six or more authors, than only the last name of the first author should be written and abbreviation: et al. naming several authors in the parenthesis.

Naming various literatures, should be given alphabetically not chronologically.

E.g. (Ang, 2001; Black, 2001; DeNardis, 2009; Grimmelmann, 2007).

In the case of signing in parenthesis, in the text, more scientific texts of the same author with the same year of publishing, the texts should be signed: a, b, c..., with the year of publication.

E.g. (Castells, 2014a); (Castells, 2014b).

References
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Vartanova, E. (2012). The Russian Media Model in the Context of Post-Soviet Dynamics. Ed. D. Hallin & P. Mancini. *Comparing Media Systems Beyond the Western World.* (pp. 119-143). Cambridge University Press

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Novaković Cvetković, B., Stanojević, D. (2018). "Integrating Digital Techologies into Teaching Process". *Teme – Journal for Social Sciences*. Vol XLII, No 4, pp. 1219-1233. DOI: 10.22190/TEME1804219N

Article in a newspaper or popular magazine

Kollewe, J. (2 May 2017). "Google and Facebook bring in one-fifth of global ad revenue". *The Guardian*. Available on: https://www.theguardian.com/media/2017/may/02/google-and-facebook-bring-in-one-fifth-of-global-ad-revenue (Accessed February 17, 2018).

Official document (codex, statute, regulation, rule book)

Recommendation CM/Rec(2011)7 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on a new notion of media. Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 21 September 2011 at the 1121st meeting of the Ministers' Deputies. Available on: https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectID=09000016805cc2c0

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A citation to website content can often be limited to a mention in the text or in a note ("As of July 19, 2008, the McDonald's Corporation listed on its website . . ."). If a more formal citation is desired, it may be styled as in the examples below. Because such content is subject to change, include an access date or, if available, a date that the site was last modified.

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Key words (bold): *key word 1, key word 2... to (max) key word 6, in Serbian*

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