

FEUILLETON IN SERBIAN PRESS

Abstract. *The feuilleton is one of the most specific and oldest genres in journalism, but also one of the least analyzed and defined. Often appropriated as a literary genre in journalism, it has changed its form, style and content throughout history in order to adapt to the current circumstances in the media world. In keeping with the contemporary development of digital platforms, online journalism and sensational, fast-paced reporting, its specifics and peculiarities bring new challenges. The aim of the paper is to note the use, specifics, topics and the position of this genre through the analysis of feuilletons in the serious, semi-tabloid and tabloid daily press in Serbia. Additionally, the goal is to observe potential differences in relation to the type of press, but also the ways in which this newspaper genre is implemented in online newspaper portals. In accordance with these goals, the method of descriptive and comparative content analysis as well as the statistical method were used in the paper. The research was conducted on four daily newspapers, Danas, Politika, Večernje novosti and Blic, in the period from January 24, 2020 to January 30, 2020. Twenty seven issues of these newspapers were analyzed, including 2,230 media texts, 30 of which were feuilletons. Research has shown that this genre is more common in serious than in semi-tabloid and tabloid press, that the most common topic covered through this genre is politics and that there are significant differences between the same feuilletons in printed newspapers in comparison to online editions.*

Key words: *feuilleton, genre, press in Serbia, serious newspapers, semi-tabloids, tabloids*

1. Introduction

Journalistic expression, although conforming to the established forms and conventions of discourse, can be very diverse. Depending on the nature of the phenomenon and the news that the journalist needs to report on, he has dozens of different genres at his disposal by means of which he can shape his text. Journalistic forms of reporting have been modified several times throughout history, adapted to new media, new technological possibilities and social conditions. New forms have appeared, while the old ones have gradually ceased to be used.

When it comes to the daily press in Serbia, the feuilleton is among the least-used genres today. As one of the oldest genres, classically classified as a belletristic

¹ Received October 2020 / Accepted December 2020

² e-mail: ilija.milosavljevic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

journalistic form (Todorović, 2013: 20), this genre is very specific and often too complex for writing in the era of fast information exchange, supported by the Internet and online media. Many of the factors that have emerged in the past twenty years in the media sphere are not in favor of the survival of the feuilleton. Also, the impression is that there is no consensus in the academic media community about what is and what characterizes the feuilleton, as is the case with the majority of other journalistic genres.

A serious problem when defining the feuilleton is the question of whether it is viewed as a journalistic or a literary genre, but also what style characterizes it, what topics it is suitable for, where its position is in daily newspapers and who writes it. As such dilemmas exist in combination with the tabloidization of the press in Serbia, the disappearance of belletristic journalism can create a major problem in the detection and analysis of this genre, as well as its survival in practice.

The aim of the paper is to analyze the most important aspects of the feuilleton, to point out its historical development and characteristics, as well as the position of this genre in the modern press. Additionally, the goal is to examine the current role of feuilletons in the Serbian press through the analysis of serious newspapers and semi-tabloids.

2. Feuilleton - historical development and definition

The feuilleton is one of the oldest journalistic genres, according to some authors (Kljajić, 2011: 233). The reason for this is the fact that in the early history of the press, the need for fast information was not imperative and such texts preceded the news and reports that were introduced into journalistic practice with increasing opportunities and the need for fast reporting. In addition, the first newspapers were not daily, but weekly or biweekly, which was more suitable for writing such forms. It should also be mentioned that the style of writing feuilletons and reportage is closer to the literary style than is the case with classical information and that style was dominant before the establishment of journalistic style and discourse.

For that reason, it should come as no surprise that many old and modern thinkers view it more as a literary than as a journalistic genre. Hermann Hesse had a very low opinion of the feuilleton, considering it the main food of readers with a low level of education, fragmentary quasi-information and a commodity of mass consumption (Hesse, 1979). This view can be explained if it is taken into account that he viewed this form as a literary genre in newspapers, as a poverty of creativity, completeness and comprehensiveness and not as a journalistic form of expression. From this perspective, it is absolutely true that no phenomenon can be treated adequately in the form of feuilletons and in more complex forms of literary expression.

The first feuilleton was published in 1800 in the Paris newspaper “*Journal des Débats*” and the authors were the editors Julien Louis Geoffroy and Bertin the Elder. According to Katija Dianina, it was printed on a separate sheet of paper, physically separated from political news and in France at that time this genre included any text

that had nothing to do with politics (gossip, culture, art) (Dianina, 2003). The very meaning of the word *feuilleton* is a diminutive of the word *feuille* or “book leaf” in French. However, the mentioned form of *feuilleton* was not the only one used in all countries. In England, this term was used to describe a series of stories in newspapers, while in Russia this genre was used for satire purposes (Dianina, 2003).

Many famous literary works were created and published throughout history in the form of *feuilletons* and many famous writers such as Karel Čapek, Heinrich Heine, Pushkin, Chekhov and Dostoevsky. The book “The notes of a certain Ana” by Momo Kapor was created as a set of *feuilletons* he wrote in the women’s magazine *Bazar*. On the other hand, the *feuilleton* began to resemble other journalistic genres more and more at the end of the 19th century, when it started to deal with real social problems, to criticize, show and direct (Dianina, 2003). Thus, over time, the *feuilleton* developed and adapted to new tendencies in the sphere of press and media in two directions: as a spatially marked part of the newspaper as a permanent column of this name and as a special style of journalistic expression (Obradović, 2008).

Due to this dual role, the fact that it can be viewed both as a journalistic and a literary genre, the problem that it has been used differently in different countries and that it dealt with different topics in different ways, it is very difficult to establish the single definition of the *feuilleton*. In his book “Journalism Workshop” (*Novinarska radionica*), Dušan Đurić defines the *feuilleton* as a sub-leaflet similar to an essay that refers to a smaller article (Đurić, 2000: 352). The Dictionary of Literary Terms describes this genre as “a composition of the literary-journalistic genre and of a literary, socio-political or popular-scientific and entertaining character, written wittily, vividly and easily” (Dictionary of Literary Terms, 1986:204). Therefore, the journalistic approach to this genre tries to define it through the related genres that are clearly established in journalism, while the literary approach sees it as a mixture of journalism and literature. Similarly, some experts in the field of media claim that the *feuilleton* cannot be a pure journalistic genre because it does not always have the characteristics of journalistic texts such as topicality, informativeness and concise language (Jevtović, Petrović, Aracki, 2014:339). However, genres such as reportage or travelogues do not always have these characteristics and they were considered journalistic genres. Also, as a genre that did not exist separately, but originated within the journalistic profession, it cannot be excluded or considered a less journalistic genre.

Danijela Kostadinović says that the definition of the *feuilleton* is hindered by the fact that it sometimes takes over the elements of other genres such as reports, articles, essays or travelogues (Kostadinović, 2008:3). In fact, the variety of ways in which texts considered *feuilletons* manifest themselves complicates the clear boundaries of this genre. Content and topics of the *feuilleton* are so diverse that what is valid for one *feuilleton* does not necessarily apply to any other (Životić, 1993: 149).

Thus, it could be said that the *feuilleton* is predominantly a journalistic genre with the elements and style close to literature that deals with various topics and combines objective facts with the author’s subjective interpretation (Obradović, 2008: 17).

2.1. Specifics and types of feuilletons

As a fiction genre, the feuilleton is characterized by a freer style of writing that is not limited to the discourse of informative and analytical journalism. The style is lively, interesting and popular in order to attract the reader (Kostadinović, 2016: 2). The author's freedom is greater which results in the fact that famous feuilletonists themselves are not journalists but writers. As it deals with various topics and it is not updated daily, the author does not adapt to the feuilleton, but the feuilleton does to the author. "The fact is that the authors of the feuilleton are not from the journalistic world, but mostly from the literary and publicistic ones, results in the subordination of factual material to the subjective experience of the author, with the aim of attracting readers' attention" (Kostadinović, 2016: 2).

In addition to the style and the approach to the text, the content is also important. In the beginning, the feuilleton referred to all stories that had nothing to do with politics. Also, the feuilleton was never tied to current daily events, neither at that time nor today. Ivo Tartalja points out that the feuilleton is most often positioned in parts of newspapers that deal with entertainment and culture (Tartalja according to Kostadinović, 2016: 2). However, the nature of the feuilleton has changed significantly when it comes to the topics it deals with, so that socio-political and popular scientific feuilletons can be found in newspapers today (Šimunović, 2016: 9). Milivoj Solar also points to that when he says that the feuilleton, in addition to art, philosophy and science, can educate on all topics of greater social significance (Solar, 2005: 226). Therefore, when it comes to the topic the feuilleton deals with, there are no restrictions and the topic itself cannot be a determinant for recognizing this genre.

Another approach to defining the characteristics of the feuilleton is its form. If we re-analyze the origin of this genre, it can be concluded that it was graphically separated and clearly recognizable. It was printed on a separate sheet of paper or it included everything "below the line" that clearly separated the feuilleton from other newspaper articles. The feuilleton is often separated in the newspapers on a separate page or as a special section. "The feuilleton is published mainly in daily and periodical newspapers, in a certain, permanent place, separated by a horizontal line from other material and sometimes published with a different (smaller) print type" (Recnik književnih termina, 1986: 204). In addition, another great specificity of the feuilleton, which has almost become a synonym for this newspapers genre, is that it is an extensive text published in sequels (Obradović, 2008: 18). Each of the sequels is part of the same broader topic, which is usually written by the same author, but each sequel has its own title, that is, it represents a separate whole. The word feuilleton is used in colloquial French to denote television series (Dianina, 2003).

Thus, the recognition and definition of the feuilleton as a journalistic genre indicates that it is a belletristic genre which can be written in a freer style, combining factual objectivity and the subjective attitude of the author, who is often not a journalist but an expert on a given topic. It is a separate part of the newspaper that is usually written in sequels.

2.2. The feuilleton today

Every journalistic genre, especially the feuilleton as one of the oldest genres, is subject to change over time due to the development of new technologies, media tools and the media themselves. Throughout history, it took various forms, it was combined with various forms of journalistic expression, but it remained specific and recognizable. However, the big blow that the new media inflicted on the press was also reflected in the feuilleton.

In the research conducted in 2017 in Croatia it was established that the feuilleton was among the most endangered genres due to the development of information and communication technologies (Kalajžić, Ražnjević Zdrilić, Vučetić, 2017). The feuilleton as a genre does not correspond to the fragmented and hypertextual nature of the Internet portal because, as each text is a page in itself, it can neither be graphically marked as a feuilleton in the way it is in print, nor is the nature of periodicals in sequels typical for online portals. The closest forms of feuilleton on the Internet are blogs because these texts build upon the previous ones. Also, as the faster flow of information, the pressure of topicality and sensationalism force daily newspapers to transform into tabloids in increasing numbers, whereas the feuilleton as a form requires a lot of research by the author (Kljajić 2011: 237), it is clear that there is not much space for this genre in such newspapers. “In the national (media) there is less representation of reports, large interviews, reviews, feuilletons and other genres that require greater journalistic engagement” (Kalajžić, Ražnjević Zdrilić, Vučetić, 2017: 25).

However, the feuilleton did not completely disappear from the Serbian press. In the research conducted by Nemanja Biševac in February 2018 in which he searched for all “literary genres” in the daily newspaper *Politika* that month, he noticed that there were as many as 32 texts in the feuilleton column (Biševac, 2018). These results certainly indicate that this genre is still part of serious newspapers in Serbia. Also, the importance of the feuilleton in the press is exemplified by the fact that there has been a special award for the best feuilleton called “Pera Todorović” since 2017 in Serbia, given by the Serbian Association of Journalists (Udruženje novinara Srbije) biennially.

Although tested repeatedly, the feuilleton as a journalistic genre resists the tests of time and it is still valued as a specific form of expression in the media. Therefore, it would be beneficial to determine what its role is and its presence in the Serbian press.

3. The Method

The aim of the research is to analyze the role and position of feuilletons in serious and semi-tabloid press in Serbia, as well as to notice differences in the positioning and form of these texts in the press and on the online platforms of the analyzed newspapers. In accordance with the goal, three hypotheses are defined:

1. The feuilleton as a genre is more present in the serious press in comparison to the semi-tabloid press
2. The topics that feuilletons deal with are mostly from the cultural domain
3. There are differences in the placement of feuilletons in the press and on the corresponding Internet portals

The paper uses a descriptive and comparative statistical method for analyzing the presence of feuilletons, descriptive content analysis of feuilletons and comparative content analysis for the purpose of comparing identical texts in newspapers and on the Internet. The dailies *Politika* and *Danas* were analyzed as serious newspapers, *Večernje novosti* as a semi-tabloid and *Blic* as an example of the border paper between tabloids and semi-tabloids. Pure tabloids were not analyzed because it was found that such newspapers usually do not deal with publishing more complex media forms such as feuilletons. Also, for the sake of comparing feuilletons on the Internet, the online portals of these newspapers were analyzed: www.politika.rs, www.danas.rs, www.novosti.rs and www.blic.rs. The analysis period lasted one week, that is, from January 24, 2020 to January 30, 2020.

4. Interpretation of the results

During the research week, 27 editions of daily newspapers were analyzed, seven of which were the issues of *Večernje novosti*, *Politika* and *Blic* and six issues of *Danas*, since this newspaper is published as a double issue on weekends. A total of 2230 different newspaper texts were found in these newspapers. Most articles were published in *Večernji novosti*, as many as 805, followed by *Politika* with 539, *Danas* with 449 and *Blic* with 437 texts.

Out of the total number of analyzed texts in all newspapers, 30 texts were singled out that can be classified as feuilletons. This makes only 1.34% of the total number of published texts. In the daily *Danas*, 10 feuilletons were found (2.22% in relation to the number of articles published in this newspaper), 4 in *Blic* (0.91%), 9 in *Politika* (1.67%) and 7 feuilletons in *Večernje novosti* (0.86%). Therefore, it can be noticed that serious newspapers *Politika* and *Danas* have a higher percentage of feuilletons as a genre than in relation to the semi-tabloid *Večernje novosti* and the tabloid *Blic*. Also, out of 30 feuilletons, 19 (63.3%) were singled out from serious newspapers and 11 (36.7%) from semi-tabloid newspapers.

As for the position of the feuilleton, it is mostly clearly defined in the column "Feuilleton", which appears regularly in *Večernje novosti* and *Politika*. Also, all the texts in the daily newspaper *Danas* were noticed in the column with the same name, but they did not appear regularly. Namely, in the double issue that came out on January 25, as well as in the next one that followed on January 27, there was no such column. The feuilleton appeared twice in the double weekend issue outside this column, but there was no feuilleton on January 27. However, *Danas* was the only analyzed newspaper in which two different feuilletons were found; in contrast, other newspapers had only one feuilleton per issue.

In addition to the seven texts that appeared in the regular column in Politika, there were the additional two texts noticed during the week, unrelated to the original broad topic and they appeared outside the feuilleton column. The reasons why these feuilletons were not classified in the same section as the others can be found in the fact that their sequels were not published in the following issues, but that they were probably placed occasionally during the year.

The position and the form of the feuilletons in Blic were the most specific in this analysis. In this newspaper, they were not positioned in the “Feuilleton” section (which does not exist in this newspaper) but in the “Crime and accidents”. Also, it was noticed that after the end of the text series in the form of sequels in Blic there were no subsequent texts on other topics and the same forms of feuilletons that would replace them. In contrast, as seen in the example of Danas, after one series of feuilletons, the next feuilletons would appear immediately.

As for the physical position in the newspaper, the column “Feuilleton” in Politika, Danas and Večernje novosti was on the last pages. On the other hand, the feuilletons in Blic were at the beginning of the “Crime and accidents” section in the middle of the newspaper. There were no graphics or differences in the layout in this case, but it is important to note that the feuilleton was recognizable by the inscription “Blic series” (Blic serijal) which stood above the supertitle and was followed by the text number in the series.

It can be concluded that the feuilleton was significantly more present in serious press than in semi-tabloids and tabloids. While in serious press it made up more than or almost two percent of the total number of articles (2.22% in Danas and 1.67% in Politika), in Blic and Večernje novosti it made up less than one percent (0.91% and 0.86%). Therefore, it can be concluded that the first hypothesis that assumes that *Feuilleton as a genre is more present in the serious press in relation to the semi-tabloid press* has been confirmed. This was supported by the fact that in one number of serious newspapers one can often find more than one text in the form of the feuilleton, while this was not the case in the latter. These differences should become even clearer after analyzing the content of each feuilleton individually.

4.1. Topics and types of feuilletons in the daily press

In relation to the topics covered by the analyzed feuilletons, 5 special areas can be distinguished: politics, political economy, science, crime and autobiography. The largest percentage of feuilletons, 56.67% (17 texts) are feuilletons dealing with political issues, followed by 2 texts dealing with political economy (6.67%). There are 5 (16.67%) scientific and feuilletons that deal with topics in relation to crime, while one feuilleton was actually part of the autobiography of a person from the sphere of culture and science (3.33%).

Political feuilletons appeared to be the most common in Politika, Večernje novosti and Danas. In Večernje novosti, almost all feuilletons dealt with this area as part of a text series “Great minds of today speak about the fate of the world” (Velikani današnjice o sudbini sveta). In this series of texts, the author Miodrag Mija

Ilić writes about conversations and meetings with intellectuals Noam Chomsky, Zbigniew Brzezinski and general Pierre-Marie Gallois on topics concerning the world future. The style of writing is very free and personal as the author talks about his experiences, attitudes and conversations.

Political feuilletons also appeared regularly in the column “Feuilleton” in *Politika*, in which all texts were part of the same series “The constitution of the democratic opposition of Serbia: the stenographic record” (*Stenografski zapis o konstituisanju demokratske opozicije Srbije*). The title indicates that the feuilleton contained transcripts of conversations between members of the opposition related to the constitution of the DOS in late 1999 and early 2000. Due to the specific nature of this feuilleton, it was unsigned, and its structure was actually a chronological transcript of these conversations. The title of each subsequent feuilleton was defined as the most important statement of that part of the text.

Other feuilletons from the domain of politics were singled out from the serious daily newspaper “*Danas*”, i.e., from the series of texts “Democracy and good (self) government” (*Demokratija i dobra (samo) uprava*) from the book of the same name by Dr. Jovan Komišić, a political scientist. These texts were written in a scientific style and the author discussed various theoretical and practical problems of a democratic society, citing various scholars and examples from history. Also, the feuilleton that followed can be characterized as political. It was a series of texts “Face to face with political corruption” (*Oči u oči sa političkom korupcijom*) by Siniša Janković, a former economic crime inspector and a member of the Working Group of the Ministry of the Interior. These texts were part of the book of the same name in which he described his experiences as a former member of the Working Group of the Ministry of the Interior, but also presented certain fictitious events and thoughts.

As for the feuilleton with a scientific theme, they were all noticed in the daily newspaper *Danas*. These were two series of texts by the same author Ivana Nikolić. The first group of only two texts was published under the title “Ginkgo, a tree that does not die” (*Ginko, drvo koje ne umire*) and the second under the title “Why do human bodies cool down?” (*Zašto se ljudska tela hlade?*). These texts do not have special titles for each, they only had numeration that indicated the part. All of them were taken from the scientific portal www.elementarium.cpn.rs within the cooperation with the Center for the Science Promotion (*Centar za promociju nauke*) with the newspaper *Danas*.

The feuilletons dealing with crime were singled out from a series of texts published in *Blic*. These texts were published within the *Blic* series “5 years of the bloody war of Montenegrin clans that shook Serbia as well” (*5 godina krvavog rata crnogorskih klanova koji je potresao i Srbiju*), which dealt with the war of Montenegrin criminal clans called *Kavčani* and *Škaljarci*. Through 4 texts, the *Blic* journalist Bojana Bogosav showed the history of the conflict between these two organizations. Unlike other texts, this text was not marked as a feuilleton, but as a “*Blic series*”, and both the titles and the content often strived for the sensationalism characteristic of the tabloids. In fact, such texts, apart from appearing in sequels

under the same common title but with a special subtitle, and the fact that they were written in a freer style, did not have many other features of a feuilleton. Another text that can be classified as a crime feuilleton was the text published in Politika called "They celebrate their 18th birthday in prison" (U zatvoru dočekaju 18 rođendan), as part of the "Juvenile Crime" (Maloletnički kriminal) series. This text was marked as the first, which indicated that it would be published in sequels, unsigned and written in a journalistic style. However, no continuation was observed during the analysis, which meant that the feuilleton would continue periodically.

Regarding other texts that were perceived as irregular, at least during the week when the research was conducted, two cases can be singled out. The first was the political feuilleton "It's time for unions to enter politics" (Vreme je da sindikati uđu u politiku), which was part of Srećko Mihailović's book "The collapse of workers' rights and attempts at protection" (Sunovrat radničkih prava i pokušaji zaštite), singled out in the weekend edition of Danas. The second feuilleton was the thirty-third text extracted from the book "The war diary of the young Vladeta Jerotić" (Ratni dnevnik mladog Vladete Jerotića) by this author, under the title "The basis of every treatment is love" (Osnova svakog lečenja je ljubav). This was the only text classified as an autobiography because in it the late Jerotić recounted his experiences and thoughts during World War II.

Based on a detailed analysis of the content of each text with the characteristics of feuilletons, it can be concluded that the second hypothesis, which claims that *The topics that feuilletons deal with are mostly from the domain of culture* is not confirmed. Namely, not a single feuilleton dealing with culture was noticed. The largest percentage of feuilletons dealt with political topics, while there were also scientific feuilletons and texts that dealt with crime and accidents. The feuilleton styles were extremely different, so in today's daily press in Serbia, there were those written in a scientific, bureaucratic, journalistic style but also some freestyle texts. Their authors were specialists in certain fields and had direct connections with the topic they were writing about. One specificity was noticed during the research, namely, as many as 19 texts (63.33%) were not written primarily for the paper in which they were published, but represented parts of already published books, portals or parts of private archives (stenographic record). To make this phenomenon more peculiar, these were the texts published in serious newspapers, that is, 7 feuilletons published in Politika, as well as all scientific feuilletons in Danas. Only the first part of the feuilleton "Juvenile delinquency", which was published in Politika, was an original work that the journalists of this paper wrote primarily for it. That means that 18 out of 19 feuilletons in serious daily newspapers were taken from other sources. This data gives a completely different dimension to the conclusion that the feuilleton was more frequent in serious newspapers. Although it was less common in semi-tabloid and tabloid newspapers, it was primarily written for those newspapers, while the impression was that serious newspapers were much more oriented to the existing texts which they turn into feuilletons. This phenomenon opposes the previous statement that the feuilletons when collected become books or novels. Nowadays the existing books are becoming feuilletons.

4.2. Feuilletons on Internet portals

The third segment of the analysis is aimed at noticing the form and manner in which selected newspaper articles appeared on Internet portals.

The first difference that can be noticed was that there was no drop-down menu (equivalent to the column on the portal) called “feuilleton” on any portal of the analyzed newspapers. Although *Danas*, *Politika* and *Večernje novosti* had these sections in their newspapers, they were not on the portals, which indicated a different approach to these types of text on the portals. So, there was a very small probability that the readers of the portal would come across a feuilleton unless they searched for it.

The actual search for a keyword “feuilleton” on these portals led to similar conclusions. The last feuilleton in *Danas* in the part “feuilleton extra”³ was added on November 11, 2018, the latest text in *Politika* under the tag “feuilletons”⁴ dated January 16, 2020, and such texts on the *Blic* portal⁵ were written 2 years ago, except for one text written at the beginning of the same year. When searching the “*Blic* series”, only one text appears on the site, published at the end of February 2017. The only regularly updated website in this section was *Večernje novosti*, in the sublink called “additional content”⁶, so that the feuilleton published on January 13, 2020 appeared on the site the next day. Additionally, each series was presented in reverse chronology on this portal and by selecting the series, a special page opened that chronologically displays all texts that were published in the press.

Therefore, in order to find the texts that appeared as feuilletons in corresponding newspapers on the portals of the same media, it was not enough to look for them on the home pages because it was neither possible to see which menu they were in, nor was it possible (except in the case of *Večernji novosti*) to reach them by searching for the key word “feuilleton”. However, even with a specific search of the common or special title of each feuilleton, as well as the names of the authors on the *Danas* website, it was not possible to find the texts “Democracy and good (self) government” and “Face to face with political corruption” published in their newspapers. The text “It’s time for unions to enter politics” as well as the scientific texts “Ginkgo, a tree that does not die” and “Why do human bodies cool down?” could be found on the site by a specific search. It was interesting that these two scientific papers were published in their entirety, and not in sequels. The texts were changed, so the first sentence of the introduction was different in the versions on the portal, and the text itself was divided into several shorter paragraphs.

When it comes to “The constitution of the democratic opposition of Serbia: the stenographic record”, it could not be found on the *Politika* website, as well as the “The war diary of the young Vlade Jerotic”. However, the text written by the journalists of *Politika* “The Juvenile Crime”, unlike the previous two, was found in the “Crime” menu.

³ <https://www.danas.rs/tag/feljton-ekstra/> (accessed 12/02/2020)

⁴ <http://www.politika.rs/sr/tags/articles/462/feljtoni> (accessed 12.02.2020.)

⁵ <https://www.blic.rs/feljton> (accessed 12/02/2020)

⁶ https://www.novosti.rs/dodatni_sadrzaj/feljtoni.120.html?item_id=987 (accessed 14/02/2020)

On the Blic website, the texts from the series in the press were singled out in the “Crime” section independently. It was extremely difficult to navigate and establish the chronology of these texts the way it was possible in the press. Some of the texts had their titles changed and some were published on the site much earlier than in newspapers. Thus, the text “5 years of the bloody war of Montenegrin clans that shook Serbia - More than 40 people killed in the conflicts between Škaljaraci and Kavčani (2)” in the newspaper was very similar to the text from May 2019 on the portal, “40 KILLED IN THE WAR OF CLANS (2) Insolent mercenaries killed the victims in the middle of the street and the witnesses of the two murders were a POLICEMAN and a JOURNALIST”⁷ (40 UBIJENIH U RATU KLANOVA (2) Drski plaćenici žrtve likvidirali nasred ulice, a svedoci dva ubistva bile su POLICAJKA I NOVINARKA). So, this series of texts was presented by the portal differently in comparison to the press.

From all the above, it can be concluded that the third hypothesis that states that *There are differences in the placement of feuilletons in the press and on Internet portals* has been fully confirmed. Most of the texts in Politika and Danas were not posted on the site, while the posted texts were usually presented in full and not as a series of texts with a different layout and composition of the text. In the case of Blic, even the period in which the texts were published was not the same, and the titles themselves were significantly changed and adapted to the more sensational nature of the portal, which was a tendency of all tabloids. Only in the case of Večernje novosti, there was a certain consistency in the publication of feuilletons in the press and on the portal, so that each feuilleton was posted immediately after the publication in the press. In conclusion, the feuilleton was not fully adaptable to the Internet medium and this medium does not use feuilletons to the same extent as the printed forms. According to the research, this change became pronounced in 2018, when both Politika and Blic stopped regularly updating the texts in the “feuilleton” menu on their websites.

5. Concluding observations

Being one of the oldest genres, the feuilleton has changed over the years and adapted to new conditions in journalism. It still strives to find its place in the press in the digital age and the percentage of feuilletons in the serious press in Serbia is higher than in the tabloid and semi-tabloid newspapers. Some newspapers nurture this genre as a special and permanently occurring section, usually printed in the last pages. Unlike the earliest times when it was intended for topics that did not fall into the domain of politics, the feuilleton in Serbia today deals mostly with this topic, as well as science and crime reports. However, as this research showed, the feuilletons found in the serious press today were not written for newspapers, but were taken

⁷ <https://www.blic.rs/vesti/hronika/skaljarski-klan-kavacki-klan-rat-crnogorskih-klanova-zrtve/g7k6ngx> (accessed 15.02.2020.)

from books and other texts by various authors. It is interesting that this was not the case with the semi-tabloid press where the texts were written particularly for the papers in question, although they leaned towards the sensationalist style and moved away from the classic feuilleton concept. Also, it was determined that the Internet portals of the analyzed newspapers did not use this genre identically as their printed issues. These texts often did not exist or were singled out differently, which indicated that the feuilleton should primarily be considered a newspaper genre.

The paper points out different understandings, history, characteristics and types of feuilletons throughout history and the research indicated the position of feuilletons in today's press in Serbia, the differences between approaches to this genre in serious, semi-tabloid and tabloid press and the ways in which this genre appeared on the portals of these media. The disadvantage of the research was that not all daily newspapers in Serbia were analyzed, as well as the fact that the analysis period was relatively short, so it would be good to expand it and determine the feuilleton as a genre in Serbia in more detail.

The specificity of this genre is best evidenced by the fact that it has survived for over 200 years and even found its place in fast and often sensational journalism. Its openness, flexibility and adaptability to different conditions and topics should ensure its presence as a regular contribution in daily newspapers in Serbia in the future.

References

- Biševac, N. (2018). Žanrovi književnosti u dnevnom listu *Politika* (februar 2018. godine). *Zbornik radova Filozofskog fakulteta*, Priština: Univerzitet u Prištini, pp. 285-305.
- Dianina, K. (2003). The Feuilleton: An Everyday Guide to Public Culture in the Age of the Great Reforms. *The Slavic and East European Journal*. 47(2), pp 187-210.
- Đurić, D. (2000). *Novinarska radionica*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva.
- Hese, H. (1979). *Igra staklenih perli – pokušaj popularnog uvoda u njenu istoriju*. Beograd: Slovo ljubve – Narodna knjiga.
- Kalajžić, V., Ražnjević Zdrilić, M., Vučetić Škrbić, A. (2017). Novinarski žanrovi i suvremeno novinarstvo. *Zbornik 2. Informacijska tehnologija i mediji 2017*. Zadar :Sveučilište u Zadru, pp. 19-30.
- Kljajić, V. (2011). Nova dokumentarna reportaža – studija slučaja Nacionalna Geografija-Srbija. *Verodostojnost medija – dometi medijske tranzicije*. Beograd: Čigoja Štampa, pp. 232-250.
- Obradović, Đ. (2008). Kolumne nisu novinski rod. *MediAnali*, 2 (3). pp. 13-38. Available on: <https://hrcak.srce.hr/42340> (Accesed March 12, 2020).
- Rečnik književnih termina*. (1986). Editor Miloš Stambolić, Subotica: Biografika.
- Solar, M. (2005). *Teorija književnosti*. Školska knjiga: Zagreb
- Šimunović, L. (2016). *Publicistički stil u školskim časopisima*. Osijek: Sveučilište J.J. Strossmayera u Osijeku.

- Todorovic, N. (2013). Contribution to the Theory of Genres on Post-Journalism. *Media dialogues / Medijski dijalozi*. Vol. 6, No. 3. pp. 7-31.
- Životić, R. (1993). *Novinarski žanrovi – štampa, radio, televizija*. Beograd: Institut za novinarstvo.
- Јевтовић, З. Петровић, Р. Арацки, З. (2014). *Жанрови у савременом новинарству*. Београд: Јасен.
- Костадиновић, Д. (2016). Фелџтони Ђорђа Поповића о љубавима српских писаца. *Емоције у култури Срба и Бугара / Емоциите в културата на с`рби и б`лгари: зборник радова*, editor Данијела Поповић. Ниш: Филозофски факултет Универзитета у Нишу. pp. 249 - 261.

Website

- Blic <https://www.blic.rs/vesti/hronika/skaljarski-klan-kavacki-klan-rat-crnogorskih-klanova-zrtve/g7k6ngx> (accessed 15.02.2020.)
<https://www.blic.rs/feljton> (accessed 12/02/2020)
- Danas <https://www.danas.rs/tag/feljton-ekstra/> (accessed 12/02/2020)
- Politika <http://www.politika.rs/sr/tags/articles/462/feljtoni> (accessed 12.02.2020.)
- Novosti https://www.novosti.rs/dodatni_sadržaj/feljtoni.120.html?item_id=987 (accessed 14/02/2020)

FELJTON U SRPSKOJ ŠTAMPI

Apstrakt: *Feljton je jedan od naspecifičnijih i najstarijih žanrova u novinarstvu, ali i jedan od najmanje analiziranih i definisanih. Često prisvajan kao književni žanr u novinarstvu, on je kroz istoriju menjao formu, stil, sadržinu kako bi se prilagodio aktuelnim okolnostima u medijskom svetu. Danas, sa razvojem digitalnih platformi, onlajn novinarstva i senzacionalnog, brzog izveštavanja, njegove specifičnosti i posebnosti stavljaju ga pred novi izazov. Cilj rada je da kroz analizu feljtona u dnevnoj ozbiljnoj, polutabloidnoj i tabloidnoj štampi u Srbiji uoči upotrebu, specifičnosti, teme koje obrađuje i poziciju ovog žanra. Takođe, cilj je uočiti potencijalne razlike u odnosu na tip štampe ali i načine na koje je ovaj, pre svega novinski žanr, implementiran u onlajn portale novina. U skladu sa ciljem, u radu je korišćena metoda deskriptivne i komparativne analize sadržaja i statistički metod, a istraživanje je rađeno na četiri dnevne novine: Danas, Politika, Večernje novosti i Blic u periodu od 24.01.2020. do 30.01.2020. Analizirano je 27 izadnja ovih novina i u okviru njih 2230 medijskih tekstova, do kojih 30 feljtona. Istraživanje je pokazalo da je ovaj žanr učestaliji u ozbiljnoj nego u polutabloidnoj i tabloidnoj štampi, da je najčešća tema koja je obrađena kroz ovaj žanr politika, i da postoje značajne razlike između istih feljtona u novinama i na internet portalima tih novina.*

Ključne reči: *feljton, žanr, štampa u Srbiji, ozbiljne novine, polutabloidi, tabloidi.*