MEDIA STUDIES AND APPLIED ETHICS

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Jolanta Mažylė[1][2]
Marija Stonkienė[3]
Faculty of Communication, Vilnius University, Lithuania

THE ETHICAL DIMENSION OF JOURNALISTIC PROFESSIONALISM: VIEWS OF LITHUANIAN JOURNALISTS

Abstract. *When evaluating the normative dimension of journalistic professionalism, researchers note that it is related to the core values of professional journalism, manifested in the recognition and application of common professional ethical principles in journalistic activities. This allows us to identify the existence of the ethical dimension of journalistic professionalism. This study examines the ethical dimension of journalistic professionalism by analysing the attitudes of Lithuanian journalists towards the importance of ethical aspects, codified in the Code of Ethics in Providing Information to the Public of Lithuania (2016) for journalistic professionalism.*

Key words: *journalist ethics, journalistic professionalism, code of ethics, Lithuania*

1. Introduction

Journalistic self-regulation ensures the social responsibility of the media and creates coherent interaction between the society and the media system. Karmasin confirms the importance of journalistic self-regulation for ensuring social responsibility and states that the concept of informative self-regulation shapes the behavioural system of journalists, which is based on appropriate behaviour standards (2002: 128-130). This means that journalistic self-regulation guarantees professional journalistic activities consistent with the needs of society, justifying privileges granted by the public for journalistic activity and meeting public expectations with regard to this activity. Such a method of operation is regarded to be one of the dimensions of journalistic professionalism.

Dimensions of journalistic professionalism (cognitive, normative and evaluative dimensions) are distinguished by applying the structural-functional approach to professionalism. Larson associates the cognitive dimension with professional knowledge and techniques (1977). The evaluative dimension, according to her, describes the autonomy and qualities of the journalist's profession, whereas the normative dimension encompasses the activity of media professionals

and journalists in terms of provision of public services and ethical professional practices of journalists (Larson, 1977). Singer states that the normative dimension is the most powerful in journalistic professionalism (2003). It should be noted that normative and evaluative dimensions interact: Schudson and Anderson assert that the professional code of ethics ensures internal solidarity, cohesion and importance in identifying and distinguishing professional groups from each other (2009). This suggests that the normative dimension interacts with the cognitive dimension, manifested in the knowledge and application of professional ethical standards and ethical behaviour, which allows to distinguish and separate one group of people from another group whose members are unaware of or do not apply such standards. Larson considers the ethical journalistic activity to be the application of common ethical beliefs in the daily work of journalists (1977). Therefore, when evaluating the normative dimension of journalistic professionalism, it is significant that it is related both to core values of professional journalism that have been established in the media system and to the constant recognition and application of relevant common professional ethical values in journalistic activities. These professional ethical values stem from the functions delegated by the public to the media system and public expectations; they demonstrate the commitment of journalists to the society, which is linked directly to journalistic professionalism. According to Evetts, ethical behaviour rules are codified taking into account public interests (2006). Borden ties ethical behaviour rules not only with external values, shaped by public expectations, but also with personal internal values, shaped by the individual's perception of the quality of journalistic activity (2007). These levels of values highlight the importance of the codes of ethics of journalists as they guarantee clarity, demonstrate methods of socially responsible professional activity and define principles which journalists must follow to maintain a high standard of quality in their work (Ward, 2019: 296). This means that professional codes of ethics of journalists provide guidelines for professional activity and affirm socially responsible practices of journalists, while compliance with them demonstrates journalistic professionalism. This underscores the significance of behavioural standards formed by the system itself for the recognition of professionalism and enables us to talk about the ethical dimension of journalistic professionalism. Ward's notion that the attitude towards journalistic ethics depends on key journalistic functions and activities of journalists carrying out those functions, as well as on the understanding of ethical principles that apply in professional activity (2019: 296), indicates that certain interpretations of ethical norms are possible, occurring when these norms are applied in practice. These interpretations echo the concept of internal values distinguished in ethical behaviour by Borden, which are particularly important when deciding on ethical behaviour (application/compliance with ethical standards). This shows journalists' and media professionals' views towards assessment, recognition and compliance with professional ethical standards.

When analysing the application of ethical behaviour standards in practice, it is essential to evaluate various factors that influence journalistic practices. Some of the most important among them are institutional environments or organisational

structures, creating certain practices based on internal decisions and shaping processes. Although researchers state that anti-market elements are characteristic to journalistic professionalism (Larson, 1977; May, 2001; Ohmann, 2003), having assessed inevitable market influence, it is proposed to ensure media quality by the combination of the market, law and ethics (Bertrand, 200: 124,164). Digital technologies, creating new opportunities for news production and dissemination, also pose ethical dilemmas, at the same time changing journalistic practices, leading to a new discourse on media ethics.

The aim of the study is to determine the view of professional journalists towards the ethical dimension of journalistic professionalism. The study is based on the Code of Ethics in Providing Information to the Public of Lithuania (approved on 29 February 2016), which applies to all media outlets and journalists working for them. The study seeks not only to examine the views of interviewed journalists about the ethical dimension of journalistic professionalism, but also to identify the changing trends of professional ethical standards in journalism and factors determining the need for change in professional ethical standards.

The objectives are the following: (1) to discuss the key norms, principles and rules of the Code of Ethics in Providing Information to the Public of Lithuania, which form ethical behaviour standards in journalism; (2) to analyse the views of professional journalists about the key principles and regulations of the Code of Ethics in Providing Information to the Public of Lithuania; to determine what impact the standards of ethical journalism have on their practice and to evaluate whether ethical professional activity is regarded as a component of professionalism.

To achieve the aim of the study, an analysis of the Code of Ethics in Providing Information to the Public of Lithuania was performed and qualitative empirical research, in-depth interviews with Lithuanian journalists, was carried out.

2. Standards of professional journalism in the Code of Ethics in Providing Information to the Public of Lithuania

In 1995, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania ratified Resolution 1003 (1993) on the Ethics of Journalism adopted by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Provisions of the Resolution became the foundation of the first Code of Ethics of Lithuanian Journalists and Publishers passed in 1996, which was in effect for nearly a decade. In 2005, having assessed peculiarities of the work of the media in a changing society, public sphere and with new participants emerging in the field of communication, a new version of the document was adopted: the Code of Ethics in Providing Information to the Public of Lithuania (hereinafter – the Code). The Code, which is currently in effect, consists of 7 chapters and 66 articles.

The first chapter contains provisions on ethical journalistic activities, which are essentially rules for professional practice. For instance, it establishes the journalist's obligation to provide accurate, truthful news and diverse opinions in order to ensure a person's (an individual's) right to receive truthful information.

This chapter stipulates that news and opinions have to be clearly separated, whereas journalists, public information producers and disseminators must guarantee that opinions are expressed honestly and ethically, without distorting facts or data. The Code states that opinions provided in journalistic publications or video and audio footage must be expressed ethically. In addition, respecting the diversity of opinion, public information producers and disseminators must provide opinions of at least two people that are not interrelated when information is contradictory, unclear or is related to conflicting issues. The first chapter of the Code devotes much attention to the accuracy and reliability of content produced by journalists and media outlets (careful and critical assessment of information sources), as well as to the effort to provide information in a way that would not mislead information consumers. It is assumed that ethical provisions stated in the first chapter of the Code are directly related to high professionalism and media quality.

The second chapter of the Code is dedicated to transparency and independence of journalists, public information producers and disseminators. The main provisions of this chapter stipulate that journalists and media outlets have to be free and independent. Therefore, following provisions of the Code, a journalist has to refuse an assignment of a public information producer or a superior if it contradicts the country's laws, journalist ethics or personal beliefs. A highly topical professional ethics issue emerged in the communication field in recent decades as journalists attempt to adjust their work with activities in state or local government bodies or political parties. Hence, the Code currently in effect stipulates that such duality is incompatible with professional journalistic practice.

The third chapter of the Code covers the protection of human rights (honour and dignity, privacy etc.). Provisions of this chapter are tied directly to legal norms established in the Law on Provision of Information to the Public that describe legal violations. Presumably, in this regard the Code could be amended, as legal norms transposed into the Code do not become ethical norms a priori.

The fourth chapter of the Code discusses professional solidarity and fair competition. Unfortunately, as stated in 2018-2020 reports of the Commission of Ethics in the Provision of Information to the Public, it is an acute problem and shortcomings of editorial boards are frequent, especially in regional media.

The fifth chapter of the Code is dedicated to mutual commitments of journalists and heads of editorial boards. Provisions in question protect journalists from the potential restriction of their rights (fair remuneration for original work, the journalist's right to renounce authorship and signature if the content is fundamentally distorted when it is edited or otherwise remade). The sixth chapter discusses responsibility for violations of the Code.

In a democratic society, journalists enjoy the rights and privileges safeguarded by law, ensuring the creation of various information society media, collection of public information, dissemination of opinions and news. Speaking about the benefits of the Code of Ethics for the professional community, experts emphasise that the Code is a tool for evaluation of their professional work.

3. Lithuanian journalists on professional ethics

Qualitative research, in-depth interviews with 10 Lithuanian journalists, was conducted to determine the views of journalists about the ethical dimension of journalistic professionalism. The main selection criterion was professional experience (at least 5 years of experience), whereas media outlets and legal bases for their activities were not evaluated. Informants (I1-I10) were selected using a snowball sampling technique. Interview participants have substantial journalistic experience, ranging from 5 years to over 50 years[4]. Informants were asked 5 questions striving to ascertain: views of interviewed professional journalists on links between professional ethical standards and media accountability, journalists' social responsibility and protection of the public interest (Q1), ethical aspects of activity of the professional journalist in the public sphere in contrast to other participants of the communication field providing information in the public sphere (influencers, public relations experts etc.) (Q2), importance of ethical aspects of activity for the journalist's professionalism and evaluation of one's quality of work (Q3), influence of media outlets on compliance with ethical standards, causes of violation of ethics (Q4) and influence of journalistic practice on views about professional ethical standards (Q5). The duration of interviews (conversations) was 40-180 minutes. Interviews were conducted during May to July 2021.

Interviewed media professionals understand professional activity first as protecting the public interest (I2), stressing that "only a journalist who complies with ethical standards protects the public interest, instead of satisfying curiosity" (I2). A direct link is thus highlighted between the ethical dimension of journalistic professionalism and the protection of the public interest, media accountability (I8, I9, I10). An interviewee notes, "It is impossible to be socially responsible if one does not adhere to professional ethical standards of journalists. Social responsibility is inseparable from the freedom of speech, whereas the freedom of speech places much responsibility on journalists – without adherence to professional ethical standards of journalists, the freedom of speech may gain some very negative features" (I4). The importance of ethical journalistic activity is linked to media accountability and is guaranteed by avoiding the conflict of interests (I3), meanwhile, the strive for protection of the public interest, problem solving and development of good practices is linked to social responsibility (I3). One of the respondents underscores, "Our professional ethical standards are directly related to social responsibility, media accountability and protection of the public interest" (I6). This direct connection is explained by stating that professional ethical standards of journalists "[…] represent a highly significant expression of traditions, customs and expectations not only of the community of professionals but also of the society" (I6). Opinions of interviewees indicate that ethical aspects of professional journalism are vital for carrying out the role of the media as a defender of the public interest and are also significant for

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[4] I1: 5 years; I2:49 years; I3: 7 years; I4: 36 years; I5: over 50 years; I6: 30 years; I7: 25 years; I8: 12 years; I9: 22 years; I10: 6 years.

media accountability and social responsibility. However, as the media acts in the public interest, it is crucial not to abuse the power of the media. If boundaries are overstepped in relation to the protection of the public interest and the abuse of power, then trust in the work of journalists is undermined, media accountability is distorted and social responsibility is eliminated. To describe the consequences of the abuse of power by the media, one respondent used a metaphor of a watchdog replaced by a fighting dog, "Nobody wants to have anything to do with it, although it is feared, yet it is not respected, it is not liked and is sought to be at the very least disciplined. Unsurprisingly, few would entrust a dog that does not understand the rules of the role of a watchdog" (I6).

Furthermore, research participants also drew attention to the negative impact of market relations on media accountability and social responsibility: "[…] everything depends on the media owner. A certain clan, or perhaps clans, of media 'sharks' thrive in Lithuania […]" (I2). […] Our media business is still not typically socially responsible and because of this I do not think it can be said that the media is also accountable. But this is a matter of debate and understanding, perception" (I9). Deconstructing the definition of social responsibility, one more issue was pointed out – the bias of journalists, which prevents them from being fully accountable to the public (I4). Opinions of interviewees confirm the insights of Borden (2000) and Bertrand (2000) that market relations and the interaction with the political government are the key factors affecting ethical activities of the media, striving to protect the public interest.

Assessing the ethical aspects of entities engaged in the provision of information in the public sphere, interviewees underscored that ethical activity is important for everyone that produces and disseminates public information (I4, I5, I9). At the same time, it was noted that the ethical aspects of journalistic activity have definite distinctions: "The activity of professional journalism is inseparable from the consequences of compliance/non-compliance with moral, ethical professional norms […]" (I1), journalists "are more obliged by the code of ethics" (I2). Interviewees believe that ethical behaviour is the most characteristic activity of professional journalism (I6, I9). Although they say other subjects operating in the public sphere are also expected to meet ethical standards, yet ethical behaviour of journalists is exceptionally important – ethical activity of journalists distinguishing them from other participants of the public information field is explained by their accountability to the public, objectivity, impartiality, fact checking and presentation of various opinions (I4, I6, I7). Media accountability to the public is used as an argument to underline the importance of ethical behaviour of journalists as it is stated that other participants of the public information field "[…] often perform the function of advertising or promoting" (I3) and "[…] are not committed to providing actual facts to the public. They work for a customer but are not accountable or committed to the public" (I4). Interviewees in particular separated the ethical aspects of influencers' activity, whose activity is not regulated by law so far (even though some professional journalists and editors are also engaged in this, with interviewees providing specific examples).

Clearly distinct goals and operation principles of participants in the public information field reveal different ethical aspects of activity – journalistic activity emphasises objectivity, reflection of various opinions and versatility, which show that journalists act in the public interest and distance themselves from interests of separate individual groups. When the activity is in the public interest, the study has revealed a strong tendency to strive for goals important to the public, linked to appropriate ethical commitments. Interviewees view this to be a significant and exceptional trait of professional journalism.

All of the interviewed professional journalists named objectivity, impartiality and diversity of opinion as crucial ethical principles of journalistic activity. Other ethical principles identified as important were: avoidance of conflict of interest, maintaining confidentiality, respect of personal rights (I3), perfect knowledge of the Lithuanian language (I2, I7), critical thinking (I8), communication culture, respect (I4, I9), accuracy, honesty (I10) and quick reaction (I8). The opinion of respondents coincided with the view that the adherence to ethical standards is vital for high quality work (I4, I5, I7).

Interviews confirmed the observations of researchers regarding the connection between ethical commitments of journalists to the society and journalistic professionalism (Larson, 1977, Evetts, 2006). Several respondents contemplated the profession of the journalist and the ambiguity of professionalism: "[…] people no longer know what a professional journalist is" (I6), "[…] in Lithuania anyone can be a journalist, requirements for education and knowledge do not apply. Such lenient legal provisions relieve from responsibility everyone who works in the media or cooperates with it" (I9). These attitudes unveil the particularities of journalistic professionalism: the cognitive dimension distinguished by Larson (1977) can be formed on the basis of professional practice, yet in the opinion of journalists themselves this is insufficient for "separating" the profession of the journalist. Several interviewees expressed an opinion that the cognitive dimension based on practical activity is accompanied by a weaker ethical dimension of journalistic professionalism. This insight should be verified by quantitative research. It is obvious that the communality of journalists, as well as support and enhancement of the foundations of their focused activities based on values are important for the ethical work of journalists.

Assessing the potential influence of a media outlet on ethical aspects of professional journalism activity, interviewees stressed the significance of ethical principles in professional practice: "[…] ethical principles are very important to me, regardless of what media outlet I work for" (I1), […] the editorial board knew that I had not and would not make compromises with my conscience" (I2), "personally, I am very serious and honest about professional ethics […] I would never work for an unethical paper" (I4), "[…] the journalist always has the right to choose whether to agree to demands or follow the norms of decency and ethics. One can always quit from such [an unethical] paper" (I5). Clearly, respondents accentuated the importance of following internal values concerning ethical norms, which indicates that internal values determine the level of ethical activity.

Moreover, opinions were also expressed about the ethical aspects of media organisations activity and the recognition of their importance: "in my working

environment much attention is devoted to the issue of journalistic ethics […]" (I3), "[…] the editorial board I work for, regardless of it being interested in a quick reflection of events, pays much attention to verifying information" (I8). Negative influence of media organisations on ethical aspects was also pointed out: "[…] media outlets, more precisely their editors, often attempt to shape the media outlet's position" (I5), "[…] media outlets, their owners, have much influence on professional activity, speaking about working conditions that are created and views of ownership […]. Earlier, the job of journalists was easier from the standpoint of freedom. What has had a negative impact, among other things, is the emergence of a big trend of public relations – we no longer hear first-hand news, [instead] polished news, coordinated press releases are provided […]" (I6). This indicates that the changing media ecosystem and emerging new players have an effect on the ethical activity of professional journalists, which means that the activities of other public information disseminators, replacing journalists' activities, may determine the need for new ethical standards.

Speaking about the impact of journalistic practice on their views towards professional ethical standards, interviewees expressed two kinds of opinions. On the one hand, "[…] journalistic practice helps to better grasp the importance of ethical principles in reality" (I1). On the other hand, it is thought that editorial boards may have influence, too: "[…] some editorial boards may be manipulating this. Certain 'achievers' emerge in editorial boards and start writing some sort of biased articles [hit pieces, puff pieces] or even [biased journalistic] investigations" (I2), "[…] this depends on a publication, editor's demands and circumstances" (I4), "[…] colleagues who come to terms with demands, more precisely adapt to them, save jobs" (I5). Obviously, interviewees put emphasis on the impact of the institutional environment on professional ethical activity; internal decisions of organisational structures create specific professional practices and shape their ethical aspects. This gives rise to different ethical levels of professional practice in individual organisational environments ("ethics of editorial boards or media owners"), which are linked to market influence.

Interviewee insights confirmed the conclusions provided in research resources about the subjects that pose challenges to professional ethics of journalists, i.e., business and political government. Violations of ethical standards named by interviewees may be classified into several groups: market impact (related to popularity or clickbait (I2, I3, I4, I6, I7), satisfaction of audience's curiosity (I3), competition (I7)); political influence (I6, I7, I8); the journalist's work, status and activities ("due to urgency" (I4), "[…] some well-known journalists do so […]" (I6), "a sense of self-esteem" (I5), "[…] many journalists have also become influencers in the public sphere, on social networks […]" (I8); indulgence in the media power (I7, I8). Interviewees associate more effective application of ethical standards with better self-regulation, improved operation of ethics supervision bodies and identical approach to all violations of ethics that are committed (I6).

Remarks by research participants about the changing social environment – culture, public tolerance and influence of the community of journalists on professional

aspects of the journalist's work – are also significant. For instance, in the opinion of interviewees: "[…] some provisions seem to have become universally unimportant […]" (I5), "[…] much has changed, now there is more tolerance for nonsense" (I9), "life does not stand still and some norms sometimes simply become irrelevant, whereas others, on the contrary, become highly important for the public […] it has become important for journalists working in a media outlet to reveal their ties [to businesses], especially when writing about competing companies" (I7). Opinions of interviewees do not indicate that there are major discrepancies between the needs of journalistic practice and professional journalistic ethics, nor do they imply that there are critical contradictions or the necessity for radical change.

4. Conclusion

The qualitative research, interviews with Lithuanian journalists, has revealed that the ethical dimension is distinguished in journalistic professionalism. Interviewees believe that the ethical aspects of professional journalism are crucial for the implementation of the role of the media as a defender of the public interest and are significant for media accountability and social responsibility. The ethical aspects of professional activity, social functions of the media and journalistic responsibility are tied directly to journalistic professionalism.

According to research participants, all entities operating in the public sphere must meet appropriate ethical requirements, yet ethical activity of journalists is exceptional due to their professional mission to protect the public interest. The goal to protect the public interest validates media accountability and social responsibility and gives prominence to the key ethical professional principles of journalism – objectivity, impartiality and plurality of opinion – as identified by interviewees. Interviewees have identified these principles as the key ethical principles by revealing their internal professional values. Interviewees consider that these principles can be viewed as the ethical aspect distinguishing the activities of journalists from other subjects operating in the public sphere.

Interviewees believe that compliance with ethical standards demonstrates the quality of journalistic work and journalistic professionalism. Ethical standards establish and affirm *the reliability* of the journalist that is essential for public trust in the media. This is one of the indicators of the quality of journalistic work and journalistic professionalism.

The analysis of opinions of research participants shows that the changing media ecosystem, new players emerging in the public sphere and in the communication field affect the ethical behaviour of journalists. This suggests that journalistic professionalism is also accompanied by the changing ethical dimension. Any need for change of professional ethical standards of journalists is related to an ongoing shift in the society and the public sphere, as well as to novelties that come via social media. When updating the codes of professional ethics of journalists, it is vital to minimise the negative influence of the institutional environment and the market on

the media, thus guaranteeing the reliability of the media in terms of protecting the public interest.

The important factors that have an effect on ethical activity of the media when protecting the public interest, in the opinion of interviewees (which also corresponds to the factors identified in scientific resources), are law, market and relationships with the political government. Research participants indicated that the institutional environment also influences ethical activities of the journalist by forming institutional practices of ethical behaviour (either ensuring ethical professional activity or encouraging and downplaying unethical activity). In that context the level of individual ethical professional activity, which is based on the journalist's internal values, gains exceptional significance.

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ETIČKA DIMENZIJA NOVINARSKOG PROFESIONALIZMA: STAVOVI LITVANSKIH NOVINARA

Apstrakt: *Prilikom procene normativne dimenzije novinarskog profesionalizma, istraživači mogu primetiti da se ova dimenzija odnosi na osnovne vrednosti profesionalnog novinarstva, koje se manifestuju u prepoznavanju i primeni određenih zajedničkih profesionalnih etičkih principa novinarske profesije. Ovo omogućava prepoznavanje etičke dimenzije novinarskog profesionalizma. U studiji se etička dimenzija novinarskog profesionalizma analizira ispitivanjem stavova litvanskih novinara o važnosti etičkih aspekata novinarskog profesionalizma, kodifikovanih u vidu Etičkog kodeksa o pružanju informacija javnosti Litvanije (2016).*

Ključne reči: *novinarska etika, novinarski profesionalizam, etički kodeks, Litvanija*

Anka Mihajlov Prokopović[123]
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia

PODCASTS AND JOURNALISM

Abstract. *The application of new technologies in journalism contributes to the development of new forms of journalistic content. Podcasts that present content posted online and allow online users to access them whenever and however many times they want are experiencing continued success around the world (Newman, 2021). This development has also led to a variety in the content of podcasts, and the approach to topics is journalistic in some podcast series. Podcast authors can be journalists, as well as other people, Internet users and sometimes celebrities. For example, it is predicted that this year there will be a "battle for the stars" between the platforms and the media. The aim of this paper is mapping the use of podcasts in Serbia, starting, above all, from podcasts as journalism technology. A few years ago, the traditional mainstream media in Serbia tried to keep pace with the innovators in the online environment and increase attendance at their online editions. The results of this research show that the podcast develops in two ways when it comes to journalism: as part of the online media and as an individual endeavor of the author. It can be concluded that the podcast that is the individual endeavor of the author, considering that it is realized outside the media institution, is a freer form of expression and is often very popular. Finally, since the podcast technology is cheaper than radio or television broadcasting and that this broadcasting does not require the permission of the regulatory body, it is run by other companies, not just media companies..*

Key words: *podcast, journalism, digital technologies, online audience, media*

1. Introduction

The popularity of podcasts is growing worldwide - their number is on the rise, and the audience is growing too. Data from the research conducted by the Reuters Institute for Journalism "Digital news report" show that 31% of survey participants listened to a podcast at least once a month, which is an increase of 2% compared to 2018 (Newman et al., 2020). This is accompanied by financial results. It is estimated that this market will grow and that by 2025 it will amount to 3.3 billion euros globally, which is three times more than its current value. Although most of the revenue comes

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from advertisers, there has also been an increase in models based on user payment (Newman, 2021). In Serbia, only one podcast is financially viable. It is a podcast called "Alarm" created by two authors known as Daško and Mladja, which is funded by the money paid by the listeners. On the *https://podcast.rs/* platform which is an aggregator[4] for podcasts from Serbia and the region, there are 203 podcasts (List of podcasts, May 14, 2021). This new media format wishes to accommodate the audience and provide better experience so that everyone can listen to podcasts on the go, while driving or while doing something else. Moreover, many podcasts are created as a result of the users' desire to start a conversation on a certain topic and are part of user-generated content. Vladimir Radinović, one of the people working on the *Podcast.rs* platform, explains it in this way: "You no longer have to be part of a traditional radio newsroom to produce good-quality radio content. Podcasts are a free form and anyone can be an author and cover a specific topic that is interesting to him/her and thus build a community around that topic and his/her podcast on the Internet. There are no editors and no time limit; each topic is covered as much as necessary to get to the essence and as much as the authors and guests want it" (Dašić, 21 October 2020).

This media form is not subject to any strict rules of journalism regarding style, genre and a hierarchical editorial structure when initiated as a *native*, outside of media organizations. The second type of podcast – informative podcasts published by the mainstream media[5] have some of these characteristics. That is why the mainstream media often carefully choose who will host the podcast and these podcasts also strive for an informal style. Here is how Anushka Asthana, the main host of the Guardian's *Today in Focus* podcast, explains this: "You've got to be physically warm and have a bit of a laugh with it and really feel like you're in the room with the interviewee so that you can react to what they're saying. We really structure interviews – that's part of the trick of these things – but you shouldn't squeeze all the fun and warmth out of it, which is the risk" (Newman & Gallo, 2020: 17).

According to the results reported by Newman, informative podcasts achieved audience growth in 2020 and only humorous podcasts were more popular in terms of audience (Newman, 2021). Thus, there has been a total of 100 new daily news podcasts, which are, without a doubt, inspired by the great success of the daily informative podcast "The Daily" launched by the *New York Times*, which in 2021

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[4] "Aggregator is a website or program that collects related content and displays it in one place or combines links to them. Aggregators can be treated as intermediaries, facilitating communication between users and third parties whose information and content are available online. Aggregators provide access to aggregated information and content, but can also 'host' it (display it on their pages), transmit it and tag it. Aggregators select and integrate content according to predefined, automated systems and then that content is made available to users, making aggregators a kind of content editor" (Martinoli, 2020: 25).

[5] "The term mainstream refers to ideas, attitudes or activities that are shared by the majority of people and that are considered common and conventional. In the case of media, the term mainstream refers to official, institutionalized media channels and traditional forms of media such as daily newspapers, television and radio, rather than the Internet. The mainstream media in their content present the most widely accepted attitudes and beliefs" (*Cambridge Dictionary - Mainstream Media*, in Martinoli, 2020: 19).

has four million listeners a day; this is almost twice as many listeners as the *New York Times* had readers in its most successful period (Newman, 2021). ''The Daily'' is published five days a week, usually lasts for 20 minutes and ''is powered by the *New York Times* journalism'' (''The Daily'', 13 May 2021). As it can be seen, ''The Daily'', although presenting innovative audio content, also takes into account the exemplary high-quality journalism that is characteristic of the *New York Times*. In order to meet the information needs of the audiences, large media companies (*CNN*, *BBC*, etc.) launched podcasts with specialized content about the epidemic caused by the coronavirus. Research conducted by the Reuters Institute for Journalism "Digital news report" (2020) conducted in 40 countries on six continents found that more than 50% of participants believe that through podcasts they get a deeper insight when it comes to current events (Newman et al., 2020).

This paper aims to present the academic efforts in studying this topic and to map the use of podcasts in Serbia, starting, above all, from podcasts as a technology of journalism. The research question is whether podcasts are used in Serbia to publish journalistic content. This paper analyzes the podcast landscape in Serbia and interprets the results of several previous studies on podcasting in Serbia (Centar za medijska istraživanja [Center for Media Research], 2020; Drašković & Prodanović, 2017; Martinoli, 2020). The analysis included the recently launched the *https:// podcast.rs/* platform, which contains podcasts from Serbia and the region.

The first part of the paper will analyze the relationship between journalism and technology and the impact of technology that leads to changes in journalism. Then, a new technology of journalism will be considered – podcasting and its characteristics and definition. In the next part of the paper, the author will analyze podcasts in Serbia, with the aim of identifying a group of podcasts that broadcast journalistic content initiated by media organizations or journalists in order to identify the differences that exist between them.

2. The relationship between journalism and technology

The changes that being digital, as digital transformation at an early stage is called by the theorist from MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) Nicholas Negroponte, in his book ''Being Digital'' (1998), which is seen as the manifesto of the digital age, brought to the media industry are immense. They enabled the convergence of the formerly divided media companies and parts of the media industry. Thanks to digitalization, the film and television industry, the print and publishing industry and the computer industry have merged. Negroponte and his associates schematically presented this through three circles that partially overlap (Fidler, 2004).

Convergence, as perhaps the greatest change brought about to the media industry by digitalization, has also been addressed by Henry Jenkins, who mentions several types of convergence: technological, economic, social, cultural, and global (Jenkins, 2001). He speaks of convergence as a "social change", pointing out that now, thanks

to any digital connection (e.g., mobile phone), anyone can access the content they need at any time and any place, including media content (Jenkins, 2006). All of this has inevitably led to changes in the organization of journalistic media companies and to changes in their established professional practices (Boczkowski, 2004; Deuze, 2007; Kung, 2015; Paulussen, 2016; Weiss & Joyce, 2009). At the beginning of the digital transformation of large, influential and reputable news companies in the United States, the problem encountered was the resistance by editorial staff to the introduction of new rules and practices – the theorist Pablo Boczkowski calls this the clash of two journalistic cultures. Boczkowski visited the editorial offices of three American dailies to observe and analyze the changes in journalistic practices brought about by digitalization (Boczkowski, 2004). He concluded that those media companies whose online edition was not closely related to the traditional edition were more innovative; they changed the existing editorial practices and perceived their audiences as technically advanced users (Boczkowski, 2004).

This was later conceptualized by Alfred Hermida, who as a journalist was the founder of the *BBC* website. The characteristics of the first culture that developed during modernism are that the text published in the newspaper was the result of work and agreement between editors and journalists, and that once published it could not be easily changed and that the audience had almost no influence on the texts (Hermida, 2014: 364). In the contemporary media world, the management of media journalism companies cannot be imagined without a strategy that focuses on the digital audience and its influence not only on the reception, but also on the production of content. This can be seen in the emergence of new professions (bloggers, social media managers), changes in the existing work practices (multitasking and writing for multiple platforms), and new journalistic genres in which journalists and users collaborate (in informative journalism it is a live blog).

Traditional media go where their audience is and the observed trends show that, nowadays, the audience is on social media and that there it follows the news in a special way that even got its unique name. It is called incidental news consumption. Namely, there has been a change in the pattern of news consumption, especially among young audiences. In ''Incidental News: How Young People Consume News on Social Media'', Boczkowski and Mitchelstein point to a pattern in which young users do not seek news but are exposed to it by becoming part of the content they access while on social media (Boczkowski & Mitchelstein, 2017). As a result, "news consumption is integrated into broader patterns of social media sociability, but at the expense of understanding the news report as a unique entity that deserves special attention and has an integrity of its own - the notion that a newspaper or a television show is an authoritative rendition of the day's main events loses significance in the social media maelstrom" (Boczkowski & Mitchelstein, 2017: 1785-1786). The consequences of this trend are already visible, the authors point out: firstly, media no longer necessarily impose what the most important events of the day are, these are actually identified by the users themselves, and secondly, young users follow the recommendations - shares or retweets, of their contacts on social media.

3. Many faces of journalism in the digital age: podcasts and journalism

Web 2.0 and the online social media opportunities it brought have enabled the development of online journalism in many directions. In the beginning, before Web 2.0, online journalism fought for its legitimacy against traditional types of journalism (Allan, 2006). Later on, thanks to the use of Web 2.0 and many technological innovations, mobile journalism, drone journalism and other new forms of journalism that are connected with social media and more recently to artificial intelligence, have emerged.

Podcasts are an opportunity for decentralized audio content to be widely available online. The first podcasts that appeared in 2004 were the result of an experiment by the radio host Christopher Lydon and the software developer Dave Winer, and innovation was also evident in the approach to content. Namely, the stories from the field during the pre-election campaign for the American presidential elections were presented in a new way in these podcasts. Lydon explained it in this way: "It was a space where people could speak raw language, express angry attitudes, which the majority of the population wants to hear and believe in. Being authentic, being political, speaking the way we speak at home... that was a huge gift of the internet" (Locke, 2017, in Martinoli, 2020: 23). Adam Curry is often mentioned in the literature as the author of the first podcast. He very quickly gained great popularity with his podcast *Daily Source Code* which was based on his presenting style and sharing views on current events alongside popular music (Chen, 2009, in Martinoli, 2020). Very soon after that, in 2006, the first academic texts on podcasting appeared, highlighting the advantages of podcasting over traditional radio broadcasting. As Martinoli suggests, there is no consensus in academia on the meaning of the term podcast or a single definition of podcast (Martinoli, 2020). She cites the definition given by the authors Morris and Terra: "A podcast is not an invention at all, but a convergence of existing technologies, processes, ideas. Podcasting can be a perfect example of this principle – and the change it brings to people's attitudes towards radio, music collections, books, education" (Morris and Terra, 2006: 11, in Martinoli, 2020: 25).

As the previously mentioned authors stated, podcasts marked a new attitude of the audiences towards radio without abandoning the affirmation of radio through its basic means of expression such as speech and voice and through a close connection with the audience. In relation to radio podcasts, it brings changes in several aspects: regarding content style and presentation, building closer relationships and community with listeners, engaging listeners in the production process and introducing new billing models for content produced in the form of podcasts (Martinoli, 2020).

There are two periods of podcasting development: the first one was between 2004 and 2014 when already broadcast radio shows were published as podcasts, and the second period which begins in 2014 when the content intended only for online platforms was produced, and the podcast developed as an independent and original media form (Lindeberg, 2019, in

Martinoli, 2020). For example, the *BBC* has been posting radio content online in the form of podcasts since 2004, but these were of secondary importance for a long time. In 2015, the *BBC* invested more in publishing content that was available only online (Lindeberg, 2019). Although the print media was initially handicapped by the lack of audio content that could be used from the mainstream media and published online in the podcast form, the British *Guardian* launched a podcast of the original content that was "more like the radio than a podcast" (Lindeberg, 2019: 12). In the second phase, the audience had higher expectations from this media content and producers in Britain went beyond the strict tradition of the *BBC* (Lindeberg, 2019). Given that there are both practices from the two phases of podcast development today, Newman and Gallo distinguish two types of podcasts: the first one is the *native* podcast – original audio content prepared for audio broadcast on demand which was not previously broadcast on radio or television, and another, *catch up* radio which implies content that is available for listening online and has previously been broadcast on radio or television (Newman & Gallo, 2019).

Commercial radio stations have almost completely suppressed content which is becoming the most important component of podcasts. This is also shown by the research conducted by the Reuters Institute for Journalism, which takes content as the main criterion for classifying podcasts. Research conducted by this Institute in four countries shows that the most popular podcasts are those talking about society and culture (Lindberg, 2019). By country, it looks like this: in Sweden, Germany and Australia, podcasts dedicated to society and culture are the most popular ones; in Great Britain, the most popular podcasts are dedicated to comedy while podcasts dealing with topics related to society and culture are second. The content is classified into the following categories: *Comedy*, *Society and Culture*, *News and Politics*, *Arts*, *Sports*, *Health*, *Business*, *Education*, *Kids and Family*, *Religion*, *Music*, *Games and Hobbies*, *Personal Journals*, *Fashion and Beauty*, *Science and Medicine*, *Technology* and *TV & Film*. Another criterion that is taken into account during the classification of podcasts is the type of content producer that indicates another important characteristic and that is that podcasts are a field in which many people can try themselves – that is, it can be amateurs who want to talk about a certain topic. The categories of podcast producers, according to this research, are: "Independent publisher (no companies, individual people publishing their podcasts on platforms), public radio (e.g., Sveriges Radio, BBC), podcast companies (e.g., Wondery, Acast), newspapers / magazines (Die Zeit, the Australian), other media companies (Bonnier), commercial radio (SBS, Ilikeradio) or governmental bodies or NGOs (NHS)" (Lindberg, 2019: 41). The most common producers of podcasts are independent publishers: in Germany (55%), Great Britain (49.5%), Australia (33%) and Sweden (27.3%) (Lindberg, 2019).

By highlighting the need to focus podcast analysis on theoretical postulates related to the digital media environment, Martinoli points out that there are new audience experiences, new insights and new use of media content (Martinoli, 2020). She lists several podcast characteristics which she defines as social media by accepting the UNESCO definition of social media which "simply defines social media in relation to their ability to nurture human relationships through technology, enabling better, faster and more continuous social interaction between users" (UNESCO: 2011, in Uzuegbunam & Uzochukwu, 2016: 4, in Martinoli, 2020: 30). This means that the features of social media such as openness, web-

generated, user-friendly and convenience for social networking also belong to the podcast. The characteristics of the podcast mentioned by Martinoli are: it is part of the exchange of information (conversational media), easy spreading of content (spreadable media), interactivity, availability on different platforms, personal production and reception of content (personal media), the audience actively searches and selects content (pull media), immersion and convergence (Martinoli, 2020). We will not discuss all these characteristics mentioned by Martinoli here. We will discuss some that we consider more prominent than others because podcasts use them fully such as interactivity, convergence, and immersion. There is a strong agreement among theorists that interactivity is one of the key characteristics of digital media. Jens Jensen defines interactivity as "a measure of a media's potential ability to let the user exert an influence on the content and/or form of the mediated communication" (Jensen, 1998: 201). Sally McMillan starts from the interpretation of interactivity that is the most common in literature, and that is that interactivity has three planes depending on the relationship in question: human-to-human interactivity, human-to-computer interactivity and human-to-content interactivity (McMillan, 2005). When we link interactivity with podcasting, we refer to creating the possibility for users to listen to podcasts where they want and when they want, to be able to download them irrespective of the program schedule of any radio company and the most important form of interactivity is the possibility for users to further share podcasts that they have downloaded or created themselves (Martinoli, 2020). The basis for convergence as a social change was provided by technological convergence, which enabled the same content to be easily translated into different media. Moreover, there was the convergence of media services and a change in the role of the audience, which now has an active role in such a changed media world (Foust, 2017; Jenkins, 2006; Milivojević, 2018). When we talk about convergence, in addition to the technical-technological aspect, we must also include the movement of the media market, "which takes place at the level of content, media forms, distribution methods, consumption of media content, etc." (Martinoli, 2020: 38). Podcasts are an example of media form created by the convergence at the level of technology, content and audience (Martinoli, 2020). The way the audience listens to podcasts - using headphones that set them apart from the rest of the world, the possibility of audio expression through music, speech and sounds, as well as storytelling techniques make the audience's immersive experience possible. Podcast listeners can be emotionally engaged and experience certain podcasts intensely. This could be defined as immersion. "Immersive media have the potential to strongly influence the emotions of users, their sense of presence and engagement" (Immersive Media Experiences, 2014, in Martinoli, 2020: 37). This feature is especially attributed to documentary types of podcasts (Martinoli, 2020).

4. Podcasts in Serbia: Research results and discussion

The first podcasts in Serbia appeared in 2005, almost at the same time as everywhere else in the world (a year later). It was the endeavor of the media house B92 comprising a radio, television and website, which wanted to get another channel for disseminating information content broadcast on radio (radio shows: *Ritam srca* and *Kažiprst*) and

television (TV show *Utisak nedelje*) (Martinoli, 2020). The same as everywhere else in the world, in the first years of the development of podcasting in Serbia, mostly audio content was produced as podcasts, which had already been broadcast on one of the radio stations. During the second phase, podcasts were exclusively produced for online listening. At this stage, in Serbia as well, podcasts are launched by the media and other organizations, journalists and enthusiasts. Many of them do so in search of a field in which their freedom of speech will not be restricted. At the same time, podcast technology is still used by radio stations to give their listeners the opportunity to download and listen to missed shows on their websites (for example, *Radio Belgrade* - public radio service).

The number of podcasts is on the rise – in February 2019, there were 88 podcasts in Serbia (Martinoli, 2020) and today there are 203 podcasts on the site aggregator *https://podcast.rs/* from Serbia and the region. The thematic diversity is great and there are the following areas: society (96 podcasts), entrepreneurship (38), sports (28), technology (28), news (21), pop culture (20), art (12), health (12), science (9) and education (9).

Some podcasts that publish news and information content have been launched by media companies: news agencies - *Beta* and *Fonet*, online media – *Krik, Istinomer* and *Nova.rs*, and newspaper – daily *Danas* (Table 1). These podcasts make up 10.3% of the total number of podcasts. The popularity of one type of podcasts – daily news podcasts – is significant and has a growing trend in the world. "Daily news podcasts make up less than 1% of all those produced but account for more than 10% of the overall downloads in the US and 9% in France and Australia, according to the analysis of publicly available data. These shows are clearly punching well above their weight with audiences and have played an important role in helping to inform the public about a range of subjects, including coronavirus" (Newman and Gallo, 2020: 5). The number of daily news podcasts is growing and Newman and Gallo have recorded the existence of 102 daily news podcasts in six countries in the West – the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, France, Sweden and Denmark (Newman and Gallo, 2020).

Table 1 News podcasts in Serbia examples compared

Podcast name	*Danas Podcast*	*Beta Podcast*	*Focast*	*U mikrofon*	*KRIK naglas*	*Retrovizor*	*Podkast Nova.rs*
Medium that founded the podcast	*Danas*, daily	News agency *Beta*	News agency *Fonet*	*Istinomer*, online medium	*KRIK*, online medium	*Istinomer*, online medium	*Nova. rs*, online medium
Launch	April 2020	May 2020	May 2020	March 2019	January 2020	November 2018	October 2020
Host	Journalists	Beta	Fonet	Journalist, Danica Vučenić	Krik	Istinomer	Nova.rs
Format	Commentary of main headlines of the week	News	One story	Interview	"Behind the story"	Commentary	Interview
Length	30-35 mins	5 mins	5-30 mins	35-40 mins	15-25 mins	5 mins	25-60 mins

Although podcast as a new media form in Serbia appeared very quickly after it appeared everywhere else in the world and regardless of the fact that the number and

type of content is growing, there is still no monetization of this content (Martinoli, 2020). Only one crowdfunding-based podcast is sustainable[6] and some are trying to generate revenue from advertisers (*Agelast* and *Podcast Nova RS,* for example). Some podcast authors in Serbia believe that podcasts should stay outside of the media business. This refers to those podcasts that affirm the alternative and underground social and art scene. "Podcasts should be *underground*, alternative, other sounds..." (Nebojša Krivokuća, podcast *Prešlicavanje*, in Martinoli, 2020: 187). The main reasons why podcasts do not make money yet are that the audience does not know enough about this media form, the offer is still not wide, there are financial barriers on the part of users, technological barriers that make access to content difficult and low response of advertisers (Martinoli, 2020). This is how Newman and Gallo present the situation on the global media scene: "Some commercial publishers are already deriving significant revenue from podcasts, especially in the United States. More than half of *Slate's* total revenue now comes from podcasts. NPR is expecting to earn $55M from podcasting next year, overtaking radio in terms of sponsorship income. But outside the English-speaking world and in smaller markets, monetization is far more challenging, with lower consumption and much lower interest from advertisers. But short-term revenue is often not the only motivation. Publishers see podcasts as a good way to build brand awareness and loyalty, which some hope may eventually transfer into subscriptions or donations" (Newman and Gallo, 2020: 6).

Podcast audience research as part of the overall media scene in Serbia was for the first time conducted by the Center for Media Research of the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade (2020) *Informing in the digital environment in Serbia*. "The research was conducted on a dedicated sample –people who use the Internet at least once a week to learn about current events were surveyed. The findings presented in this research refer to the Internet population older than 16 years of age (without the upper age limit) on the territory of the entire Republic of Serbia, taking into account gender, age, education, region and type of settlement" (Center for Media Research, 2020: 13). The results highlight this area of media scene:

- 35% of participants listened to podcasts in the previous month.
- The largest share is made by those users who listened to the news podcasts, politics and international events (17%). Those who listened to podcasts related to science, technology, art and health (15%) (Center for Media Research, 2020) came second.
- "Those who listen to podcasts point out their advantages: more than one half think that podcasts allow them to better understand various topics than it is the case with other media services (57%); they offer a more interesting approach to news (56%) and give a wider range of topics and perspectives (52.5%). Slightly less than one half of the participants think that podcasts are more suitable than other media services to provide information (49%)"

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[6] See more about this podcast (*Alarm*) in the article: *Alternativni izvori finansiranja medijske produkcije: studija slučaja alternativnog onlajn audio formata "Alarm"* [*Alternative Sources of Media Production Funding: Case Study of Alternative Online Audio Format "Alarm"*] (Drašković& Prodanović, 2017).

(Center for Media Research, 2020: 23).
-    Looking at age groups, young people listen to podcasts the most (45%), but also approximately a third of online users are older (Table 2).

Table 2 Podcast listeners in Serbia by age group

Podcast listeners by age group	
16-24	45%
25-34	41%
35-44	31%
45-54	31%
55+	25%

Source: Center for Media Research (2020: 23)

5. Conclusion

The results show that podcasts as a new media form are a growing field in Serbia - their number is increasing, there is an audience that is interested in this type of content presentation and points out that podcasts allow a certain topic to be explained in more detail. Since podcast technology is cheaper than radio and television broadcasting and since its broadcasting does not require the permission of the regulatory body, it is run by other companies, not just media companies. Such an example is the podcast *Protok* which has been founded by a company working in the field of new technologies with the aim of analyzing topics related to the relationship between society and technology (Mihajlov Prokopović, Jevtović & Jovanović, 2019).

When it comes to the relationship between journalism and podcasts in Serbia, the results show that there are podcasts that broadcast journalistic content. The initiators of these podcasts are the mainstream media and journalists who work outside the media organizations. Media organizations launch podcasts as part of their specific media offer that is in line with the type of journalism nurtured in the parent medium. For example, on the front page of the *Danas podcast*, there is only one sentence: "Journalists of the *Danas* daily comment on the most popular news from the previous week". Most of these podcasts were launched in 2020. If we compare the number of daily news podcasts in Serbia with the development trend in the developed world which is on the rise, there are still very few daily news podcasts. These are: *FoCast*, *Beta podcast* and *Podcast Nova.rs.*

It can be concluded that the podcast that we called the individual endeavor of the author, considering that it is realized outside the media institution, is a freer form of expression and is often very popular - for example, podcasts *Daško and Mladja* and *Agelast*. Both of these podcasts are produced by journalists who have launched their own podcasts. As an example, we quote a part of the text from the title page of the *Agelast* podcast: "Through conversations and travels, this is my search, my attempt to escape from nonsense. The *Agelast* podcast is a project by Galeb Nikačević".

Also, when we talk about the diversity of content that is placed through podcasts, it can be noticed that some traditional journalistic genres, while adapting to the new media form, can also be found in podcasts. Such is the case, for example, with film critics who have found their place in podcasts through a specific discourse on art - for example, the podcast *Remarker: Zadovoljstvo u tekstu* (engl. *Remarker: Pleasure in Text*).

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PODKASTI I NOVINARSTVO

Apstrakt. *Primena novih tehnologija u novinarstvu doprinosi razvoju novih formi za novinarski sadržaj. Podkast koji predstavlja sadržaj postavljen onlajn i omogućava onlajn korisnicima da mu pristupe kad žele i koliko puta žele doživljava kontinuirani*

uspeh u svetu (Newman, 2021). Ovaj razvoj doveo je i do sadržajne raznovrsnosti podkasta, a pristup temama samo je kod nekih podkast serijala novinarski. Autori podkasta mogu biti novinari, kao i drugi ljudi, korisnici interneta, a ponekad i slavne ličnosti. Tako na primer, predviđa se da će se ove godine među platformama i velikim medijima voditi ,,bitka za zvezde". Cilj ovog rada je da mapira upotrebu podkasta u Srbiji, pošavši, pre svega, od podkasta kao tehnologije novinarstva. Pre nekoliko godina tradicionalni mejnstrim mediji u Srbiji pokušavali su da održe korak u onlajn okruženju i da povećaju posetu na svojim onlajn izdanjima. Rezultati ovog istraživanja pokazuju da se podkast kada je novinarstvo u pitanju razvija na dva načina: kao deo onlajn medija i kao individualni poduhvat autora. Može se zaključiti da podkast koji smo nazvali individualni poduhvat autora s obzirom da se realizuje van medijske institucije predstavlja slobodniju formu izražavanja i često je veoma popularan. Najzad, s obzirom na to da je podkast tehnologija jeftinija od radijskog ili televizijskog emitovanja programa i da za njegovo emitovanje nije potrebna dozvola regulatornog tela pokreću ga i druge kompanije, a ne samo medijske kompanije..

Ključne reči: *podkast, novinarstvo, digitalne tehnologije, onlajn publika, mediji*

Dušan Aleksić[1][2][3]
Ivana Stamenković[4]
Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia

PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES IN FAKE NEWS PUBLISHED BY SERBIAN MAINSTREAM MEDIA

Abstract. *Observing propaganda as an essential part of the mass-communication process, its techniques and characteristics are changing constantly, both verbally and visually, adapting to the new trends. As Philip Taylor noted, propaganda is 'a deliberate attempt to persuade people to think and behave in a desired way' which is based on 'the conscious, methodical and planned decisions to employ techniques of persuasion designed to achieve specific goals that are intended to benefit those organizing the process' (Taylor, 2013: 6). If we accept a definition of fake news offered by the Cambridge Dictionary which states that those are 'false stories that appear to be news, spread on the internet or using other media, usually created to influence political views or as a joke', then the relation between the two terms becomes more prominent, especially in the modern age. In that context, the goal of this paper is to examine which propaganda aspects are dominant and in what way they are implemented into contemporary fake news, published in Serbian mainstream media. The theoretical framework will be based on findings of contemporary research in the domain of propaganda communication. Through the qualitative analysis approach the authors will conduct the research focusing on detecting and analyzing propaganda techniques used in confirmed fake news articles in Serbian mainstream media which were discovered and deconstructed by reliable and certified fact checkers (Raskrinkavanje and Fake news tragač). The unit of the analysis will be a deconstructed text which is labeled as fake news. The results of the research are expected to provide an insight into the mechanisms of creating and spreading fake news through popular mainstream media that still play an important role as a public opinion creation agent. Therefore, those results can be used as guidelines for detecting and combating fake news as well as raising awareness about media literacy as one of the most essential competencies today.*

Key words: *fake news, propaganda, fact checkers, mainstream media*

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1. Introduction

Although the 20th century is considered a century of propaganda thanks to the scientific achievements in this area, persuasive action as one of the basic propaganda components is as old as the civilization itself. For example, in the 17th century the Catholic Church founded Congregatio de Propaganda Fide for the purpose of spreading ideas and messages among believers, but also for coping with the Protestant movement, by which the propaganda activities were practically institutionalized. This indicates that throughout history propaganda has been a crucial element in important events and communication processes, whose manifestations mostly depended on technological development and the ability to send certain messages to a larger number of people in order to provoke the desired reaction. The development of technology, especially the media, has contributed to the fact that propaganda power and the influence on public opinion only strengthen over time (Soules, 2015). As Jurgen Habermas suggested, the media do not represent the core of a democratic dialogue, but are actually focused on influencing public opinion in order to satisfy elite interests (Habermas, 1991). It can be concluded that propaganda communication is an essential part of public communication, which includes the largest cultural, social and historical context, as well as the dominant communication paradigms at a certain point. One of the definitions of propaganda also refers to a wide range of activities, as proposed by a British author Philip Taylor, which he defines as a "deliberate attempt to persuade people by any available media, to think and then behave in a manner desired by the source" (Taylor, 2013, p.6). Such a broad definition indicates to us that the essence of propaganda action is constant, while only the manner of manifestation changes. For example, in medieval times, the focus was on mass gatherings, placards, pamphlets since those were the available means of communication. Regarding the modern age, we should also take into consideration the change of the communication paradigm, which is based on the change of a one-way communication process to a two-way communication process. In addition, it implies that there is no strict boundary between the communicator and the receiver of the message. For instance, thanks to the virtual space and contemporary media technologies, users also have the opportunity to create content that can influence the opinions and attitudes of a large number of people and contribute to the formation of public opinion. In this regard, the focus of this paper is a media phenomenon that is certainly not new, but which is dominant in the modern media environment. Furthermore, there is the issue of fake news, while the main goal is to examine which propaganda elements are present and how they are used in the creation and distribution of such messages, which directly influences the audience's actions and reactions.

2. The propaganda function of media coverage

In their research on the media propaganda and its impact, Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman concluded that the main goal is to "distribute and defend the economic, social and political agenda of the dominant group in the society and

the state. The media perform this function in several ways: through the selection of topics, spreading concerns, framing problems in a certain context, filtering information, highlighting certain parts and the tone of reporting, directing debate and maintaining the established boundaries" (Herman & Chomsky, 2010, p.298). The propaganda function of the media in this context shows us that manipulation is never entirely based on lies. Fragments of facts which are upgraded and shaped to provoke a certain reaction are applied. In addition, Marshall Soules calls such propaganda features 'anchors' (Soules, 2015). Also, Darko Tadić writes: "the anchor is, in fact, the starting point for change because it represents something already widely accepted by potential audiences" (Tadić, 2005, p.40). Anchors include beliefs, values, attitudes, behaviors and group norms. Therefore, before every propaganda activity, it is necessary to analyze the target group, its specifics and adjust the action accordingly in order to achieve the desired effect. Also, it should be emphasized that the goal of propaganda is not the dissemination of information, but emotions (Steuter & Wills, 2009). Propaganda does not rationalize reality and does not provide answers about complex relations and questions. Moreover, it simplifies the image of the world which is created by provoking various emotional reactions (anger, hate, pity, hysteria). Using emotions for the creation, spread and desirable reception of media content has been a part of media production since its occurrence, which indicates a close relation between propaganda communication and media frameworks. Thanks to this principle, numerous media contents are uncritically adopted, which can result in drawing conclusions based on manipulation and deception. In that way, it leads to the activation of propaganda anchors, which in such cases, change in accordance with the preferences of the source of information. Every propaganda action is essentially based on the mythical dimension. Therefore, myths as an important factor of the collective identity make the world more comprehensible and help to create logical models for overcoming contradictions (Lule, 2001; Lévi-Strauss, 1968); they particularly create a factor of recognition and a motive of security in shared experiences (Mead, 1934). The most common way of exploiting myths is the use of stereotypes. Although there are various definitions of stereotypes, in this context we can define them as a kind of simplification by which all members of a certain group are defined with the help of a simply recognizable set of characteristics. In other words, we use stereotypes to draw conclusions and judge people and events on the basis of indirect information, in which the media play a crucial role and not on the basis of personal experience. Also, they are deeply rooted in social consciousness and determine the way we see other cultures in relation to ourselves (Tanikawa, 2019; Stangor, 2016). According to Mirjana Vasović, the use of stereotypes in propaganda communication causes people to search for "the qualities they expect to find when they meet a representative of a given category; therefore, it is an effective method of inducing certain attitudes and controlling behavior" (Vasović, 2004, p. 262), which makes them an ideal means of achieving a propaganda goal. Since myths, as a framework of stereotypes, have an important role in determining the characteristics of collective consciousness, as well as social, cultural and moral frameworks, they are sometimes difficult to detect in media texts. However, for a successful propaganda

action, the propagandist must know the audience and the specifics of each group in order to be able to predict the answer. Therefore, each propaganda message should be adjusted to the specifics of the intended group otherwise the desired effect will not be achieved. For example, the framework of a propaganda activity based on the mythical dimension of collective consciousness of Serbian citizens will be ineffective in the societies of another cultural model. This feature is one of the key connecting elements between propaganda communication and fake news, which will be discussed in more detail later in the paper.

2.1. Dominant propaganda techniques

The Institute for Propaganda Analysis, founded in 1937 in the United States, greatly contributed to the study of propaganda. It was also the first organized and systematic attempt for researchers from the field of social sciences to analyze the significance, techniques and effects of propaganda (Tadić, 2005, p. 87). Although modified, the obtained results are still being used today as the basis in the research of propaganda communication, especially in the domain of defining dominant propaganda techniques (Soules, 2015). In national literature, these techniques are defined as the "seven horsemen of the apocalypse" (Tadić, 2005, p. 141-143) and they include:

1. Name calling – Assigning a set of negative characteristics to a person or a group marked as an enemy. It can be the basis for demonization and dehumanization;
2. Glittering generalities – The opposite of name calling. It is used when it is necessary to form a highly positive opinion about a person or group;
3. Transfer – Assigning symbols or a set of characteristics to persons or groups who do not necessarily possess them in order to use them for creating the desired image in the public (often used during public speaking of politicians and other public figures from other fields);
4. Testimonials – Making true or false statements about which the conclusion is not reached based on the arguments, but based on the credibility sources and a person who makes those statements (for example, when successful actors and athletes promote a certain product, statements of experts, etc.);
5. Plain folks – Refers to situations when people who are the subject of propaganda are placed in a context to which they do not belong. It is often used in political campaigns when candidates visit rural areas, meet and spend time with ordinary people, do their jobs, etc.);
6. Card stacking – A propaganda technique that belongs to the domain of logical manipulation. For the purposes of this technique, information or fragments of information which are true are selected after which a message with a propaganda purpose is constructed (Christians believe in God – Muslims believe in God – Christians are Muslims). This is one of the most convenient techniques for creating fake news;
7. Bandwagon – A propaganda technique based on the fact that our actions are conditioned by the accepted patterns of the group we belong to,

specifically, we do something just because others do it, but without critical analysis.

These propaganda techniques are often combined with a category called "special propaganda techniques" which includes: appeal to fear (induction of fear as a strong emotional reaction that controls group actions), appeal to emotion (creation and distribution of messages that provoke emotional reactions instead of rational), repetition, red herring (diverting attention, spin) and factoids (spreading rumors with the aim of discrediting a certain person or group) (Tadić, 2005, p.153-167). According to Soules, propaganda messages often contain a combination of several propaganda techniques so their framework in the modern context of misinformation and alluring images and videos are often manipulative – the same features that characterize fake news (Soules, 2015, p. 37-64).

3. Fake news – searching for truth in a digital labyrinth of information

With the opening of new communication spaces, a modern man is faced with an abundance of diverse information, which they can neither adequately process nor analytically reexamine. The absence of a critical distance towards media contents and information disseminated on social media is associated with the loss of an active attitude towards the interpretation of social reality. Information "disorder" in media recipients, indicated by a large amount of information rapidly spreading and multiplying, causes a state of anxiety, fatigue and a disturbing feeling that all content cannot be followed; therefore, a complete observation of events in a dynamic social environment seems unattainable. A great deal of information comes from unreliable sources, media users or entities who want to deceive or mask a particular problem by focusing the attention of the public on other topics, or want to create and impose a positive or negative impression on an individual or group.

For theorists and researchers of various social disciplines, in the last few years, the phenomenon of fake news has been in the center of interest.

Although this notion and phenomenon has become popular in public discourse, there are difficulties in properly defining it[5]. There are many definitions of the term *fake news,* but an essential feature refers to the presence of deceptive content and their various goals and effects. While there is an interpretation among Serbian authors that fake news actually represents misinformation (Surčulija Milojević and Kulić, 2010), foreign authors associate it with various phenomena such as satire, parody, fabricated news, photo manipulation, advertisements, promotional content and propaganda (Tandoc, Wei Lim & Ling, 2018, p.141-146). In the media and political practice, in addition to misinformation, different forms of manipulation belong to the category

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[5] The phrase fake news became extremely popular in public discourse after the 2016 presidential elections in the United States (Vamanu, 2019). The analysis conducted by the New York Times database showed that this phrase appeared 319 times in the period from July 1 to December 31, 2016 (Barclay, 2018).

of fake news, as well as bad journalism with errors in reporting. Also, fake news can be defined as an unacceptable opinion (Kulić, 2019), specifically the opinion of a person or group we want to discredit. It is about the misuse of the term "for what is false, *fake*, another thing was presented; the unacceptable, non-dominant opinion was presented to one side, as opposed to the ingrained and dominant image of the world, in other words, a certain, dominant policy (Kulić, 2019, p.6). Hunt Allcott and Matthew Gentzcow interpret fake news as "journalistic texts that are deliberately and factually false and can deceive readers (Allcott & Gentzcow, 2017, p. 213). After analyzing the examples from journalistic practice, Milica Kulić reached a conclusion that a distinction should be made between the terms close to fake news and suggests a division that separates a satire/parody and wrong news/fake news. While in satire and wrong news there is no intention of deceiving the recipients of the message, the main component of fake news is a conscious and intentional deception, fabricated with a specific goal (Kulić, 2019, p.13). Similarly, other authors make a distinction between certain types of fake news, while emphasizing paid fake news (profit-oriented, regardless of the content), fake news with an agenda (propaganda) and satirical fake news (humorous or in the form of political or social criticism) (Barclay, 2018, p. 55-56).

Significant social and political events are the trigger for the intensive production of fake news. In accordance with that, every election process or a crisis in the society is followed by an overproduction of fake news. The growing number of such information diverts the audience's attention from one aspect of reality to another, deceives it and assures it is the truth and the only possible interpretation of the social world. This reveals the fact that fake news participates in the construction of social reality and the interpretation of social phenomena. Considering that they influence the informing of citizens and the decision-making process and undermine the democratic system, fake news is an issue which the media, the audience and actors who organize and implement the election process encounter (Surčulija Milojević & Kulić, 2020).

In addition, the circumstances of communication are different and the production and transmission of fake news in the digital environment require an urgent solution. Changed communication ecology, digitalized media and new communication platforms have transformed the way of creating and spreading fake news by giving the impression of a new phenomenon (Surčulija Milojević & Kulić, 2020). Taking into account the change in the model of communication from the vertical, one-way to the two-way, horizontal type, fake news is easier to transmit and multiply and it is harder to reveal their deceptive character.

The properties of communication, limited by the users' anonymity, the profile of interest and the worldview contribute to this. In technologically advanced media ecology, the role of algorithms is also important since they govern the audience's information about topics they are interested in. By leaving "digital fingerprints", users of digitized media leave traces used by search engines or interested subjects primarily for advertising purposes. "Closing" users in the so-called *echo chambers* which are shared with the like-minded people, or overflowing them with

information in accordance with the previous user activities *(filter bubbles)*, the possibilities for spreading and accepting fake news are increased. The term *echo chamber* is a metaphorical way of describing a situation in which only certain ideas, information and beliefs are shared (Sunstein, 2001; Jamieson & Cappella, 2008), so the communicators in these filtered balloons only enhance their existing beliefs, without those who do not share the same opinion and question attitudes. Selective exposure can be viewed as the primary cause of creating filtered balloons on social media, which is intensified in the secondary way, particularly by the influence of algorithms, so these mechanisms result in network personalization. The algorithm gives priority to the type of content with which users interact to a large degree, either by commenting, expressing emotional reactions in posts or sharing with other users. This coordination of content with interests and desires of an individual is a consequence of the constant need of a network capital holder to keep the users "involved".

Eli Pariser calls the filtering mechanisms that enable this "prediction engines"; they create a unique universe of information for every user and fundamentally change the way users obtain information (Pariser, 2011). Social media significantly contributes to the information abundance by accelerating the transmission of news and different information, including the false ones, to the unperceivable limits. By placing an individual into a "capsule" of information coordinated with existing mental models, with previous knowledge and memory, social media creates a distorted notion that the image of the world the users receive is credible, complete and reliable. Outside this informative zone different information remains, which could cause a reconsideration of the existing knowledge and beliefs. Users of these information services are, therefore, already misled because they are not familiar with the mechanism of filter operation through which information passes, believing that information they receive represents a "wider universe of data existing online" (Cook, 2018, p.27). Echo chambers and echo balloons can increase the probability that an individual transmits fake news in several ways. Among the connected people there are always those who tend to believe the news, which affects social credibility and strengthens beliefs. Secondly, individuals are more likely to be exposed to fake news and the exposure intensifies the existing belief, while information that is not in accordance with the ideologically consistent, but false news will be less frequent. Finally, there is the possibility of normative pressure to spread fake news (Ackland & Gwynn, 2021, p.30). This is evidenced by the data on fake news that were used in the presidential elections in the United States in 2016. Fake news in favor of Donald Trump was shared on Facebook over 30 million times, while in the case of Hillary Clinton such news was shared 7.6 million times on the same social media (Allcott & Gentzcow, 2017).

3.1. The "encounter" of propaganda and fake news

There are numerous difficulties in establishing the limits of certain, very close concepts such as fake news and propaganda. While some authors equate fake news

with propaganda (Tandoc et al., 2018), others believe there is a relationship between them that does not have to be identifiable. Milica Kulić believes that political propaganda can use fake news, however it should not be claimed that everything in propaganda is based on fake news. In addition, they can indirectly influence political decisions and voter behavior, although fake news can also have non-political content (Kulić, 2019, p.12). However, some political figures often label the content they want to discredit as fake news, using this phrase as a manner of political conflict. In spite of being placed in the political sphere, fake news, as a form of fabricated, invented information is predominantly present in the domains of consumption, health and finance (Greifeneder, Jaffé, Newman & Schwarz, 2021, p.2). Furthermore, there are opinions that propaganda can be interpreted as a subset of fake news. Propaganda is intentionally created in order to advance a political, organizational or commercial agenda, which cannot be said for all fake news (Barclay, 2018, p. 30).

In accordance with the notion that fake news can occur in any area of society, there are two dominant motives for imposing fake news; the first is of economic nature, the second is ideological. In the first case, the creators of fake news can earn a lot of money from advertising if the news goes viral on social media, because every click on the original page brings profit. The second motive is ideological and serves to improve the position of political candidates (Allcott & Gentzcow, 2017, p. 217). Although neither propaganda nor fake news is a new phenomenon, there are new things about them caused by digital technology, such as: the abundance of information and the difficulty of adequately evaluating them, the facilitated way of distributing fake news to a large audience at low prices and the facilitated way of the change of data (photograph, audio and video materials) with the aim of deceiving message recipients. In addition, misinformation spreads rapidly as a result of the sophisticated tools for deceiving the audience. A particularly prominent place among them belongs to political bots, to programs which generate political messages with the help of algorithms. Instead of people, the software is progressively creating articles that mislead the audience. Also, the optimization of search engines can also deceive the audience by ranking a searched item of information, so that less credible information is at the top of the search results, while the more credible one is at the bottom (Barclay, 2018, p. 48-56).

Although there is a difference between fake news and propaganda, their domains overlap, so fake news can be used for propaganda purposes, but can also be part of the agenda of authoritarian political leaders (McIntyre, 2018). Relying on the argumentative theory and a critical analysis of discourse, Iulian Vamanu (2019) emphasized ten ways in which fake news can be used for propaganda purposes, such as: the dialogue structure (the key issue is the credibility of the source of the message), message content (what is claimed and with what evidence), the goal-oriented structure of the message (whether it is about "supporting" or "undermining" propaganda), the involvement of social groups (fake news oriented towards a specific social or political group, where the opposing group is attacked), the indifference to logical reasoning (using logical reasoning only if it is in line with propaganda's goals), one-sided argumentation (alternative viewpoints are not used in propaganda), the involvement of persuasion dialogue (there are several important elements: the central topic and stating the cause of a problem; consequences are considered in relation

to certain values and principles (reference values); certain individuals or groups are held responsible for their acts (responsibility), ways of solving problems are presented (need for action) and the authors of false news can position themselves and others (the other side) in ways that support their statement; justification by results (action will lead to expected results), emotive language and persuasive definitions (fear is the most present emotion in fake news) and eristic aspect (reliance on the dichotomy in defining specific groups) (Vamanu, 2019, p.201-207). Keeping in mind that the term "fake news" is used by different individuals and groups and that it may contain the elements of truth, although deprived of context and politically manipulated, Siva Vaidhyanathan warns that the main problem must not be neglected. It is not solved by noticing and refuting such problematic contents, but refers to the endangerment of civic norms and institutions. "Misinformation divides and weakens the state. When the exposure to them lasts, the notion of trust becomes comical, the notion of truth irrelevant and the notion of justice is compared to a tribal revenge or retaliation" (Vaidhyanathan, 2018, p.189).

Taking into consideration the omnipresence of fake news, various solutions to the problem of misinformation are suggested, which can be classified into four categories: algorithmic, corrective, legislative and psychological (Van der Linden & Roozenbeek, 2021, p.150). While the first three ways of combating fake news are not effective enough in practice, the psychological perspective which empowers individuals to deal appropriately with misinformation represents a promising opportunity. This primarily refers to the role of education, media literacy and critical interpretation of harmful media content. The disadvantages of the traditional approach to media literacy are reflected in the fact that not all content with fake news can be corrected. Also, despite the developed techniques of better detection of such content, the invasion of fake news cannot be prevented. Moreover, adopted misconceptions obstruct the subsequent change of attitudes. One of the psychological models of exposing fake news is found in the inoculation theory which is based on the analogy with immunology. The mechanism of a vaccine and information's effect is the same: if a weaker version of misleading information is presented to somebody, the person develops "mental antibodies" which makes that person resistant to unwanted persuasive influences. The inoculation theory offers a framework for the "development of a broad-spectrum immunization against fake news" (Van der Linden & Roozenbeek, 2021, p. 163). Donald Barclay introduced a list of nine questions that should be asked in the evaluation of information sources. These are the following questions:

1. Who is the creator of the information?
2. Who released the information?
3. How is the content related to the headline?
4. Which sources are cited?
5. When was the information created?
6. What do others have to say about the information?
7. Does the information come from a primary source or a secondary source?
8. Is the information satirical?
9. Is the information different from everything you have seen so far? (Barclay, 2018, p. 101-110).

In media education, many authors recognize the key to solving problems caused by fake news. However, according to Danah Boyd, the concept of media education should be adjusted to the current communication environment whose foundations were developed on the networked type of communication (Danah Boyd, 2018). While the first wave of media literacy was a response to propaganda in the context of the mass media, in the second wave of devising an acceptable and effective strategy, the intertwining of networks and the understanding of information which is produced and transmitted in a different way than before should be taken into account, as Boyd suggests. Feedback in the process of media literacy of the audience can indicate criticism and distrust towards the traditional media. This would lead to new paths of misinformation and deception of different kinds on the web. In that way, a vicious circle of harmful content is created, from which it is hard to escape.

4. Methodological framework

For the purpose of the analysis, a quantitative-qualitative content analysis was applied, while the unit of analysis was the text. The corpus included 42 texts published in Serbian mainstream media from January 1 to April 30, 2021 for which the verified fast checkers Raskrinkavanje and Fake News Tragač found out that they were fake news, by using the process of deconstructing the published material. Quantitative analysis was used to classify propaganda techniques from the theoretical part of the paper and to determine their number in each of the analyzed texts. In addition, the qualitative analysis examined the way in which the dominant propaganda techniques were applied.

4.1. Quantitative analysis

As pointed out in the methodological part, a total of 42 texts published in Serbian mainstream media were analyzed, which were confirmed to be fake news. The propaganda techniques that appear in them are classified as follows. It is important to note that a text may contain several propaganda techniques.

Table 1 General propaganda techniques

Misinformation	42
Photo manipulation (a photograph or video)	14
Mythological dimension	4
Stereotypes	3

Predictably, each of the analyzed texts contained misinformation, which essentially makes the core of fake news. Photo or video manipulation was used in 14 cases, which makes up a third of the analyzed corpus, while the texts with a principal stronghold in the mythological dimension as an important element of collective identity were noticed in four cases. Stereotypes were expressed in only three cases.

Table 2 "7 war tactics"

Name calling	10
Glittering generalities	1
Transfer	2
Testimonials	4
Plain folks	0
Card stacking	11
Bandwagon	11

Regarding the dominant propaganda techniques, also known as the seven war tactics, Card stacking, Bandwagon and Name calling were mostly represented. As mentioned previously, Card stacking is a convenient technique for creating fake news because it is based on the manipulation of facts. In addition, the fragments of true statements are being used, which are later combined and/or upgraded into a desired propaganda message. In this case, Bandwagon greatly refers to the publication of certain information without the previous evidence of accuracy, specifically the texts that are published just because others have also published them. Name calling is one of the oldest and the most used techniques in propaganda communication in general, which, according to the results of the research, appears in fake news in a significant percentage.

Table 3 Special propaganda techniques

Appeal to fear	10
Appeal to emotion	1
Repetition	8
Red herring	1
Factoids	2

Among the special propaganda techniques, as expected, the most common was the appeal to fear. Spreading fear and panic is one the main characteristics of fake news. Taking into consideration that the research was conducted during the coronavirus pandemic, such circumstances contributed to the spread of fake news with such features. All texts in which the motive of repetition was noticed can also be connected with the pandemic. Although only one text containing the dominant technique of the appeal to emotion was detected, it should be emphasized that propaganda communication itself is based on the spread of emotion. Therefore, it can be concluded that the motive of emotional manipulation is actually present in all analyzed texts.

4.2. Qualitative analysis

In this part of the analysis, several examples of the practical implementation of the propaganda techniques described in the previous chapters will be presented.
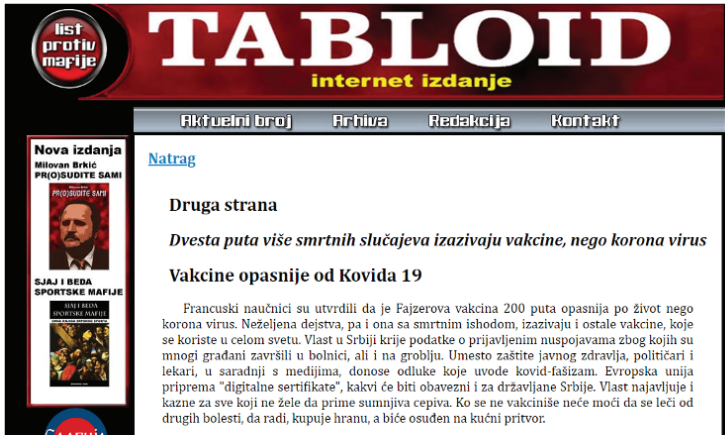
Photo 1 The text published in the weekly magazine Tabloid about the vaccines' harmful effects

In the text published in the online and print version of the weekly magazine Tabloid, it is stated that French scientists have confirmed that the vaccine against the coronavirus is 200 times more harmful than the virus itself. Precisely those texts or the ones with a similar content were used for spreading fear and panic during the pandemic, which is another example of the propaganda technique called the appeal to fear, as well as repetition. The intensity of emotional manipulation and its induction, which is expected to cause a strong negative reaction of the public, is intensified by the technique name calling. In this case, all measures aimed at suppressing the virus are called Covid-fascism.

Photo 2 The false statement of a Japanese Nobel laureate

This text is an example of the propaganda technique testimonials, because the Japanese Nobel Prize winner is used as the source of credibility, despite the fact that it was proven he had never declared that the Covid-19 was an artificial creation and that laboratory workers in Wuhan were murdered.

However, some readers do not check these statements, since content constructed in such a way may appear convincing, which may lead to its massive dissemination. Given that the text is also ab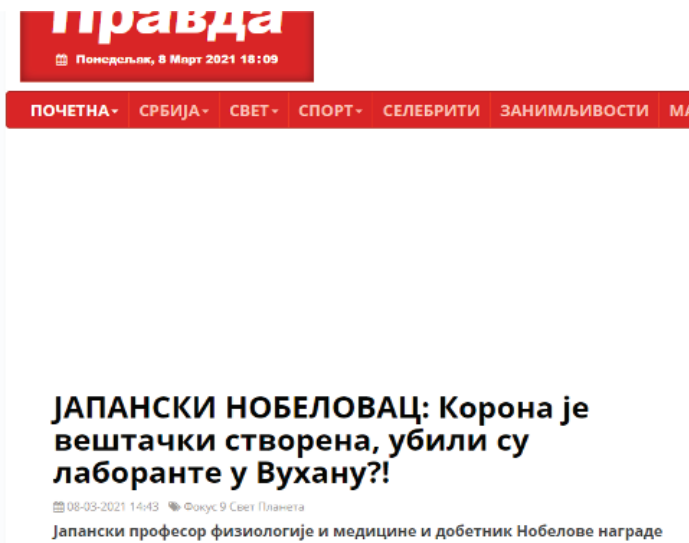out the pandemic, it can be an example of the combination of the testimonials technique with the appeal to fear and repetition techniques.

Photo 3 The fake tweet about trophies taken away

The fake tweet posted by a sports journalist, Fabrizio Romano, about UEFA's plan to take away the trophies of the teams which won the European Cup/ the UEFA Champions League, if they happen to play in the new Super League, went viral in the Serbian media. The main reason is that the trophy would then be awarded to the national club Partizan. Although a maximum of 280 characters is available on Twitter, 420 characters here indicated that it was a photomontage. However, it did not stop the national media from massively spreading this information as credible. In addition to the apparent photo manipulation, the bandwagon technique was also present here.
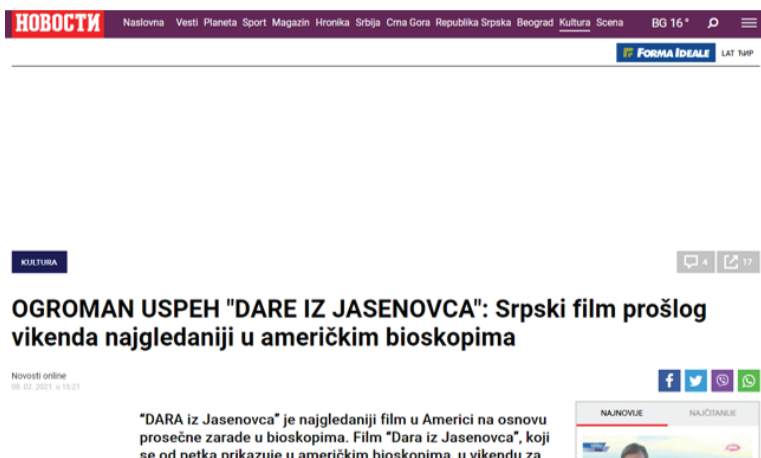
Photo 4 Fake news about "Dara of Jasenovac" being the most watched film in the United States

The text published by numerous portals which stated that the Serbian film "Dara of Jasenovac" was the most watched film in American cinemas is a typical example of the propaganda technique known as card stacking. Namely, the text stated that the film achieved the highest average revenue in cinemas across America, which is accurate information. However, out of several thousand cinemas that exist in the United States, the fact that the film was shown in only 12 selected cinemas was disregarded. Considering that this is a film of great emotional value for its people, the publishing and the effect of this information have a mythological dimension. The film's central theme is the suffering of the Serbian people that took place at the Jasenovac concentration camp. In addition, the film caused the reinterpretation of those events in collective consciousness, so such misinformation contributes to the strengthening of national pride and achieving historical justice, which is a feature of the propaganda technique called the appeal to emotion.

4. Conclusion

Even though in the modern age fake news is associated with misinformation spreading through various online platforms (for example, social media), the analysis revealed their presence in the discourse of the mainstream media. Given that important events and significant social changes, such as the coronavirus pandemic, are triggers for the mass production of fake news, it can be concluded that we are living in the era of infodemic which implies a huge influx of information from several sources, many of which are not true. On the issue of the mainstream media, as a platform for distributing fake news, we can identify the double principle of their distribution. Fake news published in this way may be a result of an abuse of a media platform for the deliberate spreading of misinformation. This is not necessarily related to the spread of fear and panic in order to achieve economic and political interests, actually the medium is used for expressing one's personal beliefs and attitudes in the form of credible information according to the echo chambers principle. On the other hand, with speed having a primary role in modern journalism, as well as the need to publish essential information as soon as possible without previously checking it only indicates a lack of professionalism to verify information. With this model being a typical example of the bandwagon technique, the audience also remains deprived of another important feature in journalism – accuracy. The analysis of the very texts that were found to be fake news has indicated that the principle of creating such content does not differ much from other forms of propaganda communication. In this case, in order to achieve the desired effect, it was necessary to apply the appropriate propaganda techniques. As pointed out by the findings of the quantitative analysis in the analyzed corpus, the techniques appeal to fear and name calling were dominant – the same techniques predominantly used and which manipulatively provoke strong emotional reactions. For the very structure and form of the message, the card stacking technique was used for the purpose of logical manipulation. Also, the use of visual manipulation was detected.

The transformation of the communication model from the vertical to the horizontal one has enabled everyone to become a content creator, which increases the amount of false information that can be found in the public discourse. However, as the research has shown, even the professional media which possess the higher degree of credibility are not impervious to the creation and distribution of such content, which can lead to general confusion and deception of the public. In addition, this is particularly dangerous in times of crisis. Moreover, the results unequivocally showed there is a lack of competences in the field of media literacy, not only among the audience which accepts this information, but also among those who are considered to be professional media workers. Therefore, in order to suppress infodemic and information chaos, the activities of both content creators and users must be focused on the acquisition of these skills and competences.

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PROPAGANDNE TEHNIKE U LAŽNIM VESTIMA OBJAVLJENIM U SRPSKIM MEJNSTRIM MEDIJIMA

Sažetak: *Posmatrajući propagandu kao esencijalni deo masmedijskih procesa, njene tehnike i svojstva, kako verbalna, tako i vizuelna, konstantno se menjaju i prilagođavaju novim trendovima. Kako je primetio Filip Tejlor (Philip Taylor), propaganda je: „namerni pokušaj da se ljudi nateraju da se ponašaju i misle na određen način“, što se bazira na: „svesnim, metodičkim i planskim odlukama da se implementiraju određene tehnike persuazije stvorene da postignu specifične ciljeve kako bi korist imali organizatori takvih procesa“ (Taylor, 2013: 6). Ukoliko prihvatimo definiciju lažnih vesti u Kembridžovom rečniku koji ih definiše kao: „lažne priče koje izgledaju kao vesti, šire se internetom ili preko drugih medija, obično se kreiraju sa ciljem da utiču na političke stavove ili u humorističke svrhe“, onda relacija između dva pojma postaje posebno izražena, naročito u modernom dobu. U tom kontekstu, cilj ovog rada je da ispita koji propagandni aspekti su dominantni i na koji način su implementirani u savremene lažne vesti koje su objavljene u srpskim mejnstrim medijima. Teorijski okvir je baziran na rezultatima modernih istraživanja u domenu propagandne komunikacije. Kroz kvalitativnu analizu autori su sproveli istraživanje fokusirajući se na detekciju i analizu propagandnih tehnika korišćenim u potvrđenim lažnim vestima u srpskim mejnstrim medijima, a koje su otkrili i dekonstruisali pouzdani i verifikovani fekt čekeri (fact checkers) - Raskrinkavanje i Fake news tragač. Jedinica analize je tekst označen kao lažna vest. Od rezultata istraživanja se očekuje da pruže uvid u mehanizme kreiranja i širenja lažnih vesti kroz popularne mejnstrim medije koji su i dalje važan agens za kreiranje javnog mnjenja. U tom smislu ovi rezultati mogu biti iskorišćeni kao pokazatelj za bolju detekciju i borbu protiv lažnih vesti, ali i da podignu svest o važnosti medijske pismenosti kao jedne od najvažnijih kompetencija modernog doba.*

Ključne reči: *Lažne vesti, propaganda, provera činjenica, mejnstrim mediji*

Ilija Milosavljević[1][2]

Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia

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

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 feuillet 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. It 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 konstutuisanju 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 Jerotic 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 portal[5] 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.

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[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

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[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.

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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 senzaconalnog, 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 obražuje 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 istraživnje 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 njh 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 poltika, i da postoje značajne razlike između istih feljtona u novinama i na internet poralima tih novina.*

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

Katarina Damjanić[12]

Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia

VAGUENESS AND DISSOCIATION IN ENGLISH POLITICAL NEWS DISCOURSE

Abstract. *The main goal of this paper is to indicate the importance of the issues of vagueness and dissociation in discourse interpretation. The discourse that is taken into consideration is the discourse of political news written in the English language. This particular discourse is widely available to readers and deals with important political issues, which is why the choice of words and phrases should ideally be unbiased and accurate. If not, the readers may misinterpret the discourse and have a wrong impression of the political issue. In this research, newspaper articles are taken as an example of political news discourse. All articles analyzed were written in online British and American broadsheet and tabloid newspapers and they all dealt with the migrant crisis and 2019 Hong Kong protests. By taking into consideration the political context and the theoretical framework used in this research, 44 instances considered to be examples of vagueness and dissociation were identified, which were found in 14 newspaper articles.*

Key words: *dissociation, vagueness, broadsheet newspapers, tabloid newspapers, political discourse, pragma-dialectics*

1. Introduction

Newspapers are daily read by people around the world wanting to know the latest news and trends. Considering their availability and big readership, newspapers can also be conveniently used to spread propaganda. Additionally, they can be used as an instrument for swaying public opinion by presenting biased information and by supporting a certain world view. Consequently, readers become engulfed with articles and reports that can easily affect their understanding of events and situations.

Where this can be most apparent is the discourse of political news. Generally, in politics and political news discourse, a difference of opinion is expected, which means all parties are ready to present their standpoint as the only acceptable one. However, this also means that interlocutors can test the acceptability of standpoints if they do not agree with what was advanced.

Therefore, misunderstandings and misinterpretations are a common occurrence because judgements may vary. Specifically, the use of vague, ambiguous,

indeterminate or dissociative meanings of words can be regarded as a good example of the confusion and disagreement that arise from different interpretations and conceptualizations of words.

This paper investigates broadsheet and tabloid newspaper articles that reported on two political topics – the migrant crisis and the 2019 Hong Kong protests, in order to detect the differences and similarities in the use of vocabulary between the formats.

The following chapter is called Language Use Rule and it is focused on the most important notions regarding this rule; the next chapter is Strategic Maneuvering and it explains how parties can deliberately affect other parties' opinion and viewpoint on an issue; the next two chapters are called Vagueness and Dissociation, which give definitions and interpretations of these two notions; the following chapter is called Tabloids versus Broadsheets and it compares and contrasts the two newspaper formats. The next chapter is called Methodological Framework, followed by Research results and Discussion and finally, the Conclusion.

2. Language use rule

The rule that this paper is particularly interested in is the Language Use Rule (van Eemeren, 2018, p. 61). The Language Use Rule is the tenth rule belonging to a set of rules that regulate and describe the conduct of argumentative discourse in all four stages of a critical discussion. More precisely, van Eemeren (2018, p. 61) states that this rule is focused on preventing misunderstandings that may result from both "non-transparent, ambiguous, vague or equivocal formulations" and "inaccurate, sloppy or biased interpretations". Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004, pp. 195–6) imply that the most important thing is that discussants should not use any "partly clear or confusingly ambiguous formulations" and that they should not misinterpret the other party's formulations on purpose. In other words, all participants in the discussion need to strive to express their intentions and to interpret the other participants' intentions as accurately as possible if they want to resolve their difference of opinion. If not, they add, inaccurate formulations and problems with interpretation may lead to the creation of a "pseudo-difference" in the confrontation stage or "pseudo-solution" in the concluding stage. Still, absolute clarity is impossible and problems of formulation and interpretation are not linked to any particular discussion stage but may appear in all stages of a critical discussion.

A discussant is guilty of the violation of Rule 10, or the fallacy of unclearness, if he/she makes use of certain unclearness in their wording to improve their own position in the discussion. Unclearness can occur in various forms. As van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2016, pp. 197–8) note, the violation may result from structuring unclearness at the textual level, or from the obscure structure, "illogical" order, lack of coherence and so on. Unclearness can also emerge at the sentence level, during the performance of speech acts. However, this does not lead to any problems of interpretation, but sometimes the context and situation will leave too many possibilities open and the function of the implicit speech act will be obscured.

3. Strategic maneuvering

Van Eemeren explains (2010, p. 41) the concept of strategic maneuvering. According to him, strategic maneuvering refers to efforts performed in argumentative discourse in order to keep the balance between reasonableness and effectiveness. The term maneuver, in this case, means moving toward the best position in view of the argumentative circumstances; the term strategic means that the goal aimed for in the maneuvering has to be reached by clever and skillful planning. They distinguish three aspects of strategic maneuvering, which are all associated with distinct types of choices that are made in the maneuvering. According to van Eemeren (2010, pp. 93–4), the choices are:

1. The choice from the available "topical potential." Topical potential is a name for the range of options available for making an argumentative move;
2. The choice of how to adapt the argumentative move to satisfy "audience demand." Parties which strategically maneuver may be expected to choose what pleases the audience;
3. The choice of how to use "presentational devices," or a choice as to how the argumentative moves are to be presented in a way that is strategically best. Arguers who strategically maneuver will choose the communicative means they reckon to have the most beneficial effect.

The expression "audience demand" (van Eemeren, 2010, pp. 108–10) refers to the requirements that must be fulfilled in the strategic maneuvering in order to achieve a rapport with the people the argumentative discourse is aimed at. If a party wants to be both reasonable and effective, the strategic moves the party makes must connect well with the views and preferences of the people they are directed at. The argumentation can be directed at the persons that are his immediate addressees, but it may also have an effect on many others. In the first case, the antagonist is called the "official" antagonist and s/he is reached directly and intentionally. In the second case, the antagonist is called the "third" party and can be reached intentionally or unintentionally but s/he can also judge the acceptability of the argumentative moves. This party can be constituted of people who are, for example, a regular audience, accidental listeners, television viewers watching a speech that is directed to a different public, etc. When it is apparent which audience the arguer considers the more important to reach, they are given the name the "primary audience"; on the other hand, the person or persons instrumental in reaching them are the "secondary audience."

4. Vagueness

In philosophy, Williamson notes (2001, p. 61), vagueness is used as a name for the phenomenon of borderline cases. This means that an expression or a concept is vague if and only if it has borderline cases, that is, cases in which it neither

clearly applies nor clearly fails to apply. Using an example that Williamson gives, a borderline case for the term "tall" would be a person who is neither clearly "tall" nor clearly "not tall." The application of the term may vary among speakers. Therefore, someone may apply the term "tall" to a person, whereas someone else may not, even with the same view of the person.

According to Fenstad (2011, p. 696), vagueness is an "important source of indeterminateness in language use". The most important question is whether an entity falls under a concept or not, as it mostly deals with the meaning of lexical items. Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2016, p. 200) give the following example of vagueness: one discussant called a person a kleptomaniac as soon as they had stolen one thing, whereas the other discussant only found the term appropriate when the person was guilty of persistent theft. Both agreed that theft was involved, but the question is how often it must take place. This form of vagueness is called linear because it is caused by possible differences in the degree to which something or someone has to fulfill a criterion before a description becomes applicable. Examples of linearly vague words are the terms such as "bald", "rich", etc.

Another form of vagueness that van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2016, p. 201) give has to do with family resemblance. Examples for this would be "nice" or "intelligent." The problems can arise because different people may apply different criteria to describe someone as nice or intelligent. They also notice an important feature here, which is that two or more criteria have to be fulfilled, instead of just a single criterion, before the word becomes appropriate. It is not always immediately apparent that different people give different meanings to the same word, leading to misunderstandings that may be difficult to clarify. If one person thinks that an individual is nice because he is honest, personal and warm, whereas another likes him for being honest, helpful, and friendly, a dispute can easily arise about whether that individual is nice or not, without there being any actual disagreement about the traits attributed to him.

5. Dissociation

Broadly speaking, the word dissociation means separation. However, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) introduced the term to refer to a technique used in argumentation. In their book *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation*, they make a distinction between two types of argumentation schemes – a group of schemes that rely on association and a group of schemes that rely on dissociation. As they point out, in association, the speaker connects two distinct elements, which enables the audience to derive their own judgement about one of the elements from a judgment about the other one. Van Rees (2009, p. 3) gives an example of deriving your own judgement of an action by assessing the consequences that the action might have. On the other hand, in dissociation, something that is believed to be a conceptual whole or unity by the audience is split up by the speaker into distinct elements. The example given by them shows just what is meant by this definition –

the single notion of "law" can be split up by dissociation into two distinct notions, the letter of the law and the spirit of the law, as they have noticed. The dissociation of this particular notion enables the argument in favor of one, or the other, depending on which one of the two is regarded to have a predominant force.

The authors draw attention that dissociation is not the same as breaking an association because the elements connected in association were considered to be separate units. By breaking their association, it is just shown that these separate units have been connected incorrectly. However, in dissociation, a unity that was until then considered to be "an indissoluble whole is broken." A single notion that was considered to be a conceptual unity and that was referred to by a single term is split up into two new notions, which are referred to by two different terms. Dissociation, therefore, always involves a more or less fundamental restructuring of our conception of reality. The process of dissociation, in the end, results in having two distinct notions which are indicated by two terms, as Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca named them, "term I" and "term II."

6. Tabloids versus broadsheets

The differences between the two formats are significant, Preston (2004, pp. 50–5) notes. Broadsheet papers rely on investigative approaches that emphasize detailed coverage and a rational tone in articles and editorials. Some of the visual features of broadsheet articles are smaller headlines, fewer pictures and longer texts. On the other hand, tabloid content tends to expose misconduct and explore conservative topics. In terms of article composition, Rowe (2011, p. 455) notes that tabloid articles on average emphasize headlines and images. Turner (1999, p. 60) acknowledges that the tabloid press sacrifices information for entertainment, accuracy for sensation and uses tactics that draw the audiences' attention. Richardson and Stanyer (2011, p. 991) believe that tabloids and broadsheets appeal to different audiences with limited overlap. Articles about salient issues, rather than human interest and lifestyle themes, will most likely appeal to the readership of British broadsheets. Likewise, commentaries concentrated on lifestyle issues such as sport, celebrity and gardening receive comparatively fewer comments in comparison with commentaries concentrated on domestic politics and party policy. On the other hand, most comments made in British tabloids are concentrated on religion, with the majority of online posts focusing on lifestyle themes such as sport, celebrities and gardening. Relying on Rowe (2011, p. 460) and Andersen's (1997) characterizations, broadsheet newspapers are those that emphasize reliable news coverage, fast-checking and research based on a timeline in which the story unfolds. In addition to this, broadsheets offer political coverage with many details, which appeals more to a readership that is interested in politics. On the other hand, tabloid newspapers present less detailed articles often directed by marketing departments and heavily influenced by demographic appeal and audience share, which on average appeals more to younger and less educated population. Moreover, Rowe (2011, p. 460) notes

that while broadsheet journalists devote an extensive amount of time refining codes of ethics, tabloid journalists put less emphasis on how the product is collected, how it is presented and why it is presented in such a way.

7. Methodological framework

The analysis is based on the Language Use Rule, which proposes that interlocutors may not use formulations that are unclear or ambiguous. The examples for the analysis were taken from the online British and American broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. Five newspapers come from the United Kingdom, three of which are broadsheet and two tabloid newspapers. Three newspapers come from the United States of America, of which one is a broadsheet and two are tabloid newspapers. The articles deal with two political issues and they were posted in 2018, 2019 and 2020. In total, 14 articles were analyzed – seven from broadsheet and seven from tabloid newspapers. The words and phrases that were identified were assumed to be problematic from the aspects of vagueness and dissociation and the context in which they were used. Two topics were taken into consideration because of their temporal proximity, relevance and applicability. The topics are the migrant crisis that has been happening since 2014 and the 2019 Hong Kong protests. The examples for the analysis were taken from the following newspapers:

Table 1 Overview of the newspapers used as sources of the identified examples

Name	Country	Format
The Guardian	The United Kingdom	Broadsheet
Reuters	The United Kingdom	Broadsheet
iNews	The United Kingdom	Broadsheet
The Sun	The United Kingdom	Tabloid
Express	The United Kingdom	Tabloid
Politico	The United States of America	Broadsheet
The Blaze	The United States of America	Tabloid
CNN	The United States of America	Tabloid

8. Research results and discussion

The examples identified are presented in Table 2 and Table 3. More precisely, examples of vagueness and dissociation that were identified in both newspaper formats on the topic of the migrant crisis are listed in Table 2. In Table 3, examples of vagueness and dissociation identified in both newspaper formats on the topic of 2019 Hong Kong protests are presented.

Table 2 Examples of vagueness and dissociation identified in broadsheets
and tabloids on the topic of the migrant crisis

	Broadsheets	Tabloids
Vagueness	• Deconstruction of immigration policy • Detained in underground cells • Elsewhere • "High risk" countries • "High risk" nationalities • "Hostile environment" • Need another step • "Risk" • Somewhere else • Thwarted • "The undesirable" nations • Undesirable countries	• Legally • Criminal aliens • Immigration violators
Dissociation	• Asylum seekers • Asylum-seeker status • Economic immigrants • Refugees • Migrants	• Asylum seekers who do not depart • Failed asylum-seeker • Genuine refugees • Illegal immigrants • Illegal population • Probable overstayers • Visa-overstayers • Unauthorised immigrants • Unauthorised migrants

Table 3 Examples of vagueness and dissociation identified in broadsheets
and tabloids on the topic of Hong Kong protests

	Broadsheets	Tabloids
Vagueness	• Democracy • Democratic tsunami • Increasing erosion of freedoms • Peaceful, safe and orderly situation • Sometimes violent protests • Strongly resourced opposition • Criminal activity • Demonstrators as rioters • Issue of human rights and democracy • Suppressing human rights or democracy	• Rabble-rousers • Some senior US politicians and diplomatic officials • Wanton, fact-distorting and inflammatory • 'Human rights', 'democracy' and 'beautiful sights' • Pretentious cover for Western interference

The first hypothesis of this paper claimed that the choice of words and phrases in the broadsheet newspapers would be more precise than in the tabloid newspapers. However, the results obtained were different from what had originally been claimed. Looking at the 44 examples identified, we can notice that 27 examples of vagueness and dissociation were identified in the broadsheets, which is 10 more than the

number of examples identified in the tabloids. Correspondingly, the broadsheets contained more examples of vagueness than the tabloids. Interestingly, the examples of dissociation were predominant in the tabloids when compared to the examples of vagueness in the tabloids and compared to the examples of dissociation in the broadsheets.

In total, 44 examples were identified:

1) There are 27 examples from broadsheets (of which 22 were examples of vagueness and 5 examples of dissociation) and 17 examples from tabloids (of which 8 were examples of vagueness and 9 examples of dissociation);

2) There are 30 examples of vagueness and 14 examples of dissociation.

Table 4 Number of examples identified

	Broadsheets	Tabloids	Total
Vagueness	22	8	30
Dissociation	5	9	14
Total	27	17	44

The results were more unexpected if we focus only on the topic of the migrant crisis. When describing people who fled their home countries, a concurrence in the choice of words with dissociative meanings was identified – the notions of asylum seekers, refugees, migrants and immigrants were present in both formats. Similarly, both broadsheet and tabloid newspapers repeatedly used adjectives to pre-modify the aforementioned nouns and nouns such as, for example, *countries*, *population*, *nations*, *nationalities* and other. Taking into consideration that these adjectives could, to someone's judgement, seem uncommon and confusing, they were identified as examples for the analysis. In the broadsheets, the words *countries* and *nations* were pre-modified with the adjective *undesirable*, the words *countries* and *nationalities* with *high risk*, whereas in the tabloids, the words *migrants* and *immigrants* were pre-modified with *unauthorized*, and the words *immigrants* and *population* with *illegal*. One interesting example was found in a tabloid – the adjective *genuine* was used to modify the noun *refugees*. The adjective itself is usually used in positive contexts, however, what it indicated here was that there were refugees that were considered genuine (real, legitimate) as they possessed all the essential characteristics of a refugee, whereas the others, who were not denoted as genuine, did not.

The examples identified for the topic of Hong Kong protests were more unified – no example was labeled as an example of dissociation. They were vague in the sense that it could not be claimed with certainty to what they were alluding to or whether they were used to obscure the real situation. Namely, the protests were described conflictingly, which could easily cause perplexity. For example, the protests were labeled as *democratic* and *safe,* but also as *sometimes violent* and *riotous*.

The second hypothesis stated that the choice of words and phrases used when reporting the news about the same event and topic would differ between the formats. More precisely, it was expected that the choice of words and phrases that the tabloids

made would be driven by the wish to draw the readers' attention, regardless of their specificity and definiteness. This hypothesis turned out to be correct.

Regarding the words and phrases identified in the broadsheets, the choice seemed to be less dramatic and catchy. The only phrases that could be described as exaggerated would be *high risk countries*, *high risk nationalities*, *hostile environment*, *undesirable nations* and *undesirable countries*. All the examples, except the last one, were put under the quotation marks. The importance of this will be discussed later. Another thing to notice is the fact that some phrases appeared both in the broadsheets and tabloids, with a slight important difference. Namely, the noun *asylum seeker* appeared in the unmodified form in the broadsheets. However, the tabloids used the noun phrase in an environment that added to the meaning (*asylum seekers who do not depart*, *failed asylum-seekers*) and could have been used to draw the attention of readers. The nouns immigrant and migrant were used in a similar manner. In the broadsheets, they had a natural tone, whereas, the tabloids added the adjectives (*illegal*, *unauthorized*) that gave it more of a negative, eye-catching effect.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the words and phrases in the tabloids seemed to be more direct, straightforward and blunt. The best examples for this would be *criminal aliens* and *immigration violators* for the topic of the migrant crisis and *rabble-rousers* and *wanton*, *fact-distorting* and *inflammatory* for the topic of Hong Kong protests.

The third hypothesis claimed that by using particular words and phrases, the newspapers could show their attitude towards the political issue in question and that, by doing this, they could try and affect the readers' viewpoint. Regarding this, there was one interesting detail. It was noticed that the analyzed words and phrases were put under the quotation marks in the broadsheets more frequently than they were in the tabloids. This may hint that the broadsheets were reporting someone's exact words, that they did not agree with what was implied by choosing that particular word or phrase, or that the choice of words was rather uncommon. When reporting someone's speech, particular words or phrases were put under the quotation marks, e.g. "[…] Foxglove said the Home Office refused to publish its list of what the campaign group labelled "the undesirable" nations […]". Interestingly, even when quoting someone's exact sentences, the particular words or phrases were additionally marked with quotation marks, e.g. "[…] it is likely that information about 'high risk' nationalities will be biased by definition […]". Looking at these examples, one implication may be that the use of quotation marks suggests that the broadsheets refrained from showing their attitude towards the problem. Having put certain words and phrases under quotation marks, the broadsheets only copied what someone else had said and avoided taking the blame if the choice of words was not appropriate. Another implication may be that they did not agree with the choice of words and wanted to signal that to the readers. This was rarely the case with the tabloids. All but one of the examples were used without the quotation marks which may imply, if we compare it to the previous interpretation, that the tabloids agreed with the choice of words and phrases.

The presumed difference between the two formats was more difficult to notice in the examples that were not put under the quotation marks. However, if we connect the previous hypothesis where it was claimed that the choice of words in the tabloids

was more direct, the interpretation given in the previous passage can be solidified. Namely, having picked the words that were extreme and prominent, the tabloids tried to compose articles that were eye-catching and discernible. Hence, it can be concluded that the analyzed words in the tabloids may have been selected to draw the readers' attention and as a consequence, affect their attitude towards the issue. Therefore, influencing someone's attitude and stance towards a political problem could be established as the main priority of the tabloids.

The reason why the hypotheses which dealt with the precision regarding possible choices of words and phrases were inclined towards the broadsheet newspapers was the belief that the differences in quality (as discussed by the authors mentioned in the theoretical background), would result in clear differences in vocabulary. It was assumed that the more effort the broadsheet newspapers put into their articles (from the examination of topics to the composition and the writing of articles itself), the more it would reflect in how well the articles were written.

To sum up, the first hypothesis proved to be wrong. The choice of words and phrases was not much different when it came to the clarity and precision. Examples of both vagueness and dissociation were found both in the broadsheets and tabloids. In fact, more examples were found in the broadsheets. Furthermore, both formats used modified nouns, even if the combination of words may have been uncommon or the source of confusion in the readers. The second hypothesis turned out to be correct. The choice of words and phrases in the broadsheet newspapers was not as catchy as it was the case in the tabloids. Therefore, the tabloids try to draw readers' attention by choosing to use the words that are noticeable, unusual and vague. Similar words appeared in the broadsheets as well. Still, there was one difference, which brings us to the third hypothesis. Namely, some words and phrases were put under the quotation marks in the broadsheets, which was rarely the case with the tabloids. Having added the quotation marks, the broadsheet newspapers might have had the intention to refrain from using their own words or to indicate that those combinations might not have been the most adequate referring expressions.

9. Conclusion

By analyzing the broadsheet and tabloid articles written on two political topics, this paper has shown the difference between the formats when it comes to the use of the words and phrases that can be identified as the examples of vagueness and dissociation. The articles analyzed were the online versions of the eight selected British and American broadsheet and tabloid newspapers which concentrated on the topic of the migrant crisis and the Hong Kong protests. The theoretical framework and the context were taken into consideration when identifying and analyzing the examples.

Findings from this thesis show that the differences between the formats resulted in the differences in the use of vocabulary. One reason for this may be that due to the fact that the broadsheet newspapers should ideally focus on presenting

news as factual and accurate, there is no space for using vagueness and dissociation as attention-grabbers. Tabloids, on the other hand, used eye-catching language to attract readers' attention as this could be one of the methods to engage readers and change their outlook on the issue. These results agree with the discrepancy between the formats' audiences. The broadsheets target people who want to get updated about serious subject matters, such as, for example, politics. Yet, tabloids attract casual readers with different interests, mainly sports, pop culture, rumors, etc.

The most noticeable limitation of the research was the number of articles analyzed. However, regardless of this limitation, the results led to the conclusions that may be useful for further research. Still, it would be of significant importance if similar research would use a larger sample of articles to analyze. Statistically examining the examples would give us a better insight into the prevalence of vagueness and dissociation. Also, the theoretical framework used for this thesis was concerned with the Language Use Rule, strategic maneuvering and pragma-dialectics. Aside from this theoretical framework, the problem that this thesis tackled could be examined within different theoretical frameworks and in different analytical manners. For example, the research could involve subjects who read the articles and decide whether certain words and phrases lack clarity and precision. That way, the decision whether certain meanings of words were vague or dissociative would not be made by the researcher only, but instead would illustrate what readers detected as suitable examples.

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NEJASNOĆA I DISOCIJACIJA U DISKURSU POLITIČKIH VESTI NA ENGLESKOM JEZIKU

Apstrakt. *Glavni cilj rada je da istakne značaj problema nejasnoće i disocijacije u interpretaciji diskursa. Diskurs koji je uzet u obzir u ovom radu je diskurs političkih vesti na engleskom jeziku. Ovaj diskurs je lako dostupan svim čitaocima i bavi se važnim političkim pitanjima, što nameće potrebu da korišćene reči i sintagme budu nepristrasne i precizne. U suprotnom, čitaoci mogu pogrešno protumačiti diskurs i stvoriti pogrešan utisak o političkom problemu. U ovom radu, novinski članci su uzeti kao primer političkog diskursa. Svi članci koji su u ovom radu analizirani su objavljeni u onlajn verzijama britanske i američke informativno-analitičke štampe i tabloidima i bavili su se dvema temama – migrantska kriza i protesti u Hong Kongu 2019. godine. Uzimajući u obzir politički kontekst i teoretski okvir koji je relevantan za ovaj rad, identifikovana su 44 primera nejasnoće i disocijacije koji su pronađeni u 14 novinskih članaka.*

Ključne reči: *disocijacija, nejasnoća, informativno-analitička štampa, tabloidi, politički diskurs, pragma-dijalektika*

Mirza Mehmedović[12]

University of Tuzla, Faculty of Philosophy,
Department of Journalism, Bosnia and Herzegovina

INTEGRATION CHALLENGES OF MEDIA POLICY IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Abstract: *In the process of political transition of the Western Balkan countries, the non-EU countries in particular, the reform of communication systems occupies one of the primary places within the implementation of economic, cultural, political and integration processes of each country. Communication research that seeks to define the dilemmas of the current communication situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a determining framework of the media system, includes many socio-political factors conditioned by structural changes within the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the last 25 years. The complete cultural and political deconstruction of the Bosnian society at the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century destabilized the internal organization of the political, cultural and economic system, especially in the domain of public communication and organization of the media subsystem. Apart from the numerous current challenges, the development of a unified media policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the establishment of a public media system in accordance with the requirements of the European Union and the interests of all citizens, are among the key issues that state institutions are facing at the moment. This paper primarily deals with the analysis of the European Commission's annual reports on Bosnia and Herzegovina's progress in the process of implementing reforms in the media policy sector and based on these annual reports it suggests the key factors for future national media policy definition. The goal is to establish a national media policy and reform the communication system in a broader context as a political, cultural and economic issue, i.e., as an institutionally agreed path for political compromise, integration of society and definition of collective identities.*

Keywords: *integration, media, politics, transition, identity*

1. Introduction

General research on public communication in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as those concerning the current organization model of the media system, takes place in a complex cultural and historical context in which modern public and commercial media in Bosnia and Herzegovina have developed. Therefore, we can say that in the process of defining the national media policy of Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e., its

adjustment to European principles, all specific factors that limit the development of the media must be taken into account, especially the establishment of a unique and transparent model of the public broadcasting system.

When we talk about the historical factors that influenced the current situation in the B-H media system, it is necessary to pay special attention to the end of the twentieth century, i.e., the breakup of the former Yugoslavia and interethnic conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The beginning of the 1990s meant the complete deconstruction of the prior social norms for Bosnia and Herzegovina, the collapse of the political system and the establishment of new models of public communication, which served the newly established political and military centers. Similar changes have taken place in other territories of the former Yugoslavia, where war conflicts and changes in the political system have brought about a complete reorganization of the media and the disintegration of the media market, both in engaging human and technical resources and shifting political and economic influence on the media. These changes have largely affected the current organization of the media system and resulted in the challenging application of European principles in the process of developing stable public media. However, the fact that the war conflicts affected the neighboring Yugoslav republics to a lesser extent and that social changes in these countries were marked by a milder migration and ethnic divisions, led to a faster political transition and stabilization of the media system than in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The communication changes that took place during the 1990s focused on the deconstruction of public media in the former socialist Yugoslavia, which until the end of the 1980s functioned as a state service within the chain of public communication established to preserve the political order and social relations. The ownership issues, more precisely the relationship between the state and the media in the socialist self-governing model and the relationship between private capital and the public interest in free markets, are burning communication dilemmas, especially for countries in transition between the two models. In addition to questioning the transparency of certain stages in the deconstruction of the socialist concept of mass media, an important factor in the process of defining new national media policies is the process of changing the perception of the role of the media in involving citizens in political flows. The transformation from representing the collective interest through the state mechanism of control over the media system to the stratification of public interests and strengthening the individual attitude of citizens towards current political processes is a major obstacle to taking on democratic roles in defining national media policies. Thus, Stjepan Malović, analyzing the transition of the Croatian media system, wrote in 2007: "Even seventeen years after the fall of the socialist self-governing society, we cannot rationally accept or apply some general categories of the free market" (Malović, 2007: 54).

At the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, that is, with the growth of new national political movements, there was a stratification of the homogeneous communication system and the extremely pronounced efforts of political centers to control media resources in the newly formed republics. In this process, the former

unified communication space was divided and all available media resources were mobilized for the purpose of public advocacy of national ideologies and political divisions in the former Yugoslav republics.

In addition to this communication turn, which preceded the armed conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is important to analyze other factors that decisively guided the development of public media in the newly formed republics. It is extremely important to record other social movements, i.e., historical features in which the roots of modern communication stagnation on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina lie. Both throughout history and today, Bosnia and Herzegovina is by far the most limited by various cultural, ethnic, economic and political relations that are reflected in the definition of a unified media policy and progress in establishing a unified public media service. Armed conflicts, the emergence of new national ideologies and huge migrations of the population inside and outside the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, conditioned the establishment of a new political structure of the country, as well as the establishment of new territorial and political units. The new political organization, defined by the war conflicts that ended in the mid-1990s, represents the most significant obstacle to the process of overall society integration, defining the common interests of all citizens, and especially the practical implementation of political reforms.

Even in historiographical works dealing with the contemporary history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the instrumentalization of the media is cited as one of the key frameworks for establishing new communication habits of the audience and verifying ethnic divisions. Thus, the British historian Noel Malcolm separates the political effects of ethnic cleansing and the role of the media in broadcasting: "The fact that there was no mass return of refugees to their homes, which over time was only 'sealed' by many selling their pre-war houses to new tenants, consolidated the effects of ethnic cleansing. The fact that education and the media were under the control of the entity authorities contributed to the distorted portrayal of recent history becoming widely accepted among the population of the Republic of Srpska" (Malcolm, 2011: 27).

Similar observations on the role of the media in the war during the 1990s can be found in the reports of the United Nations Special Rapporteur Tadeusz Mazowiecki, which state the following as a general impression of the situation in the media system: "The media of the former Yugoslavia are one of the most important means of propagating the military conflict in that region. It is believed that the media were even active participants in the conflict itself and that they themselves encouraged or provoked many violations of human rights and international human law" (Mazowiecki, 2007: 403).

The mentioned media analysis, which Mazowiecki conducted during the 1990s and published its results in the form of summary reports, can be accepted from the communicology aspect only as a historiographical record of the specifics of the Bosnian communication situation at the end of the twentieth century. Similarly, Kurtić observes specific reports, in which he does not see a significant contribution to communication research related to the propaganda role of the media and adds:

"The history of civilization is full of similar examples of the transformation of a peacetime, even the media subsystem of democratic societies, into the war-propaganda subsystem of a militarized society. In that sense, communicology research cannot count on new scientific information, even at the level of war propaganda techniques" (Kurtić, 2011: 99).

2. Media policy issues

The aim of this paper is not to explain the causes or ways of political instrumentalization of the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the twentieth century, but to identify their reflections on the modern public communication system and current perspectives/foundations on which to build an acceptable European media policy. One of the key preconditions for defining a unified media policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the harmonization of all complex (heterogeneous) cultural characteristics, as well as specific features of the modern communication situation, aiming to reach a model that would meet the specific needs of citizens and standards applied by the European Union.

In attempts to fulfill this, but also all other conditions, it is important to primarily define the very concept of media policy, i.e., the etymological origin and interpretation of the concept in the current social context in which the position of media and communication in general is considered. In addition, having in mind the specific problems that characterize the current communication situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, this paper seeks to update the definition of a unique model of media policy which is acceptable for the current socio-political system, able to adapt to modern media market and resist external pressures of political and economic centers.

After the deconstruction of the social order and the collapse of the internal structure of the media system of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the current communication dilemmas are mainly related to the (non) existence of relevant and operational institutions/organizations that would manage the process of defining media policy, i.e., the development of public communication. However, taking into account the already mentioned complexity of the current communication situation, this dilemma opens up a number of other related questions which need to be answered.

Which laws or professional regulations govern the media market, especially the public service broadcasting system? How is the regulation implemented in practice and how is the work and development of the media system monitored? To what extent have the communication (media) conditions prescribed by the European Union for potential member countries been met? What is the position of media policy in public discourse and in what way? To what extent do the existing media (primarily public) resources correspond to the information needs of citizens?

In order to offer answers to these questions, it is important to understand the term itself, but also the contemporary context of media policy, especially for countries undergoing radical changes in the political and social system, such as

Bosnia and Herzegovina. In terms of content, the concept of media policy can be viewed as a continuous process of managing development and responding to changes in the public communication system, and we primarily refer to the process of adapting to technical-technological and socio-political changes in modern media and other subjects of public communication. The concept of media policy unites two extremely broad terms, the first being "media", which primarily refers to the mass media, i.e., channels of mass communication, and the second being "politics", which, as Milardović states, originates from the Greek words polis, politea, politic, politics:

- polis: city-state, city area, also a set of citizens that make up the city;
- politeia: state, constitution, political regime, republic, citizenship (in terms of law citizenship);
- politics: a neutral plural of politikos, political things, civil things, everything related to the state, constitution, political regime, republic, sovereignty;
- politics tehne: political art; (Milardović, 1996: 6).

Politics is basically the ability to manage public affairs and this ability is reflected in an adequate and timely response to social changes and sensitivity to the different interests of all participants in social (public) processes. Additionally, media policy is a phrase which implies the ability to manage the media, i.e., the public communication system and adequately respond to technical-technological, social and market changes, taking into account the interests and needs of all participants in public communication, such as governmental and non-governmental organizations, political parties, citizens and various social groups through the mass media.

3. European Union and media policy

Since its founding, the European Union has gone through various stages of political evolution with the aim of creating an ever-closer alliance among the peoples of Europe and establishing modern common institutions based on democratic decision-making of common interest to the member countries.

The historical continuity and political strengthening of the European Union are indicators that this alliance was constituted primarily on common economic interests, which led to the unification of markets, the introduction of a single customs system and a new currency. From a legal point of view, many competencies are still left to the governments of the member states, provided that they follow certain EU directives defined with the aim of strengthening the common market and interconnecting individual countries. The governments of the member states, as well as the countries aspiring to join the European Union, are left with the competence to adopt the media/communication regulations, which must be harmonized with the EU directives, defined through the decades of experience of European democracies and harmonized common communication interests.

In the field of activities of the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union regarding the media policy of the European Union and in accordance with the proposals of the European Commission, the Directive on Audiovisual Media Services is especially important for the future development of the media system of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the public broadcasting sector.[3] Although in the regulatory sense many competencies in the field of organization of audiovisual media services are left to the member states, the Directive encompasses elementary principles of media policy, both in the field of application of modern technologies and representation of cultural and democratic principles in public communication.

In this segment, it is particularly important to single out Recital 5 of the Directive, in which audiovisual services are treated as cultural services, which is particularly important in national public broadcasting systems and their basic principles: "Audiovisual media services are as much cultural services as economic services. Their growing importance for societies, democracy – in particular ensuring freedom of information, diversity of opinion and media pluralism – education and culture justifies the application of special rules to these services."

It is clear from the mentioned article that the European Union, taking into account the specific cultural characteristics of different societies, encourages the establishment of specific regulatory frameworks for audiovisual media services, with the aim of protecting pluralism and the role of the media in the democratization process.

Taking into account the stated social conditions in which the modern Bosnian media system is developing, the EU policy defined in this way focuses on future development in the competence of state institutions which are obliged to harmonize the provisions of future development of a common media system capable of ensuring pluralism and cultural diversity.

The Directive also suggests that the member states should take responsibility for preventing the creation of dominant positions between television programs, or in the information sector as a whole, as defined in Recital 8: "It is important that member states ensure that any conduct that could prove detrimental to the freedom of movement and trade in television programs, or that could promote the creation of dominant positions, would lead to restrictions on pluralism and freedom of television information and information sector in whole." These articles of the Directive basically offer elementary frameworks in which the future development policy of the B&H media system should operate, both in the domain of satisfying specific cultural differences of the Bosnian society and in the domain of enabling the free flow of information as the foundation of a democratic political system.

On the other hand, in this part of the paper we must mention the mechanisms of cooperation between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the European Union, i.e., the role of the European Commission, as a body that constantly monitors Bosnia

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[3] *Directive 2010/13 / EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 10 March 2010 on the coordination of certain provisions laid down by law, regulation or administrative action in Member States concerning the provision of audiovisual media services (Audiovisual Media Services Directive), Official Journal of the European Union (January 15 2010)*

and Herzegovina's progress in applying European principles. The Commission's responsibilities are set out in the regular periodic progress reports which are mainly presented annually.

Having in mind the audiovisual recommendations of the European Union, based on democratic values and experiences of member states, as well as defined mechanisms of Bosnia and Herzegovina's relations with EU institutions in the process of accession and application of European communication standards, we can say that Bosnia and Herzegovina's institutions must respond the following challenges:

1. harmonization of the normative/legal framework for the functioning of audiovisual media with the directives of the European Union
2. harmonization of specific cultural and traditional values that must be represented in the operation and production of audiovisual media (commercial and public)
3. development of information and communication technologies in accordance with modern market requirements, as a prerequisite for networking with the European media system

If we look at the above development elements of the B&H media policy, which are the essence of approximation to the prescribed EU directives, it is clear that they also represent the main challenges of the process of stabilization and integration of the public and commercial media system of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

4. Monitoring of reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Although the European Union leaves the focus of defining media policy to the national governments of the member states, the European Commission provides direct assessments of the internal stability of the political system and related subsystems, including the public communications sector, in periodic progress reports on Bosnia and Herzegovina. The parts of the European Commission's report dealing with the public communication system mainly cover the activities of state institutions and the application of modern principles of management and technical training[4]; from the perspective of EU enlargement, the contents of the report can be seen as political qualifications for the accession process.

Although the European Commission monitors the reform of the national communication system in Bosnia and Herzegovina as part of the monitoring of the overall situation in the country, the conclusions and suggestions of the European Commission show that the European Union requires internal political stability, defined national cultural identity and an autonomous public communication system based on the application of modern technologies and the preservation of cultural property.

Given the specific cultural and historical context that has conditioned the current characteristics of Bosnia and Herzegovina's national identity, it is understandable

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[4] Currently available reports of the European Commission on the progress of Bosnia and Herzegovina are in the period from 2010 to 2018.

why the European Union views Bosnia and Herzegovina as a specific region for future enlargement. The available annual reports of the European Commission on progress in Bosnia and Herzegovina show a gradation of attitudes from simple notes of the overall situation, to criticisms of the stagnation of reforms and proposed measures. From shifting the positions of the European Union, we can draw conclusions about the doubts of international institutions about the need to be involved in resolving current political and cultural dilemmas of the B&H society, although, judging by the report, the current dynamics of reforms is not in line with the EU expectations.

Through the analysis of the annual progress reports of Bosnia and Herzegovina, published by the European Commission from 2010 to the end of 2018, there is an obvious continuity in the negative elements that slow down the process of reforming public broadcasting and approximation to European media policy principles. Also, the reports show an uneven level of interest of the European Commission for a detailed analysis of the situation in certain sectors, which could ultimately result in a more complete picture of Bosnia and Herzegovina's progress, or even concrete proposals of European institutions to overcome certain issues. By comparing these sections of the annual reports, it is possible to identify several key elements that need to be overcome in order to make progress in the reform of the public broadcasting sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina:

1. Harmonization of entity laws on public broadcasting with the state Law on Public Broadcasting System of Bosnia and Herzegovina
2. Adoption of legal frameworks that would increase the level of RTV fee collection and provide a stable source of public funding for public broadcasters
3. Establishment of the Corporation of Public Broadcasting Services
4. Ensuring the independence of the Communications Regulatory Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina
5. Completion of the process of digitalization of radio and television broadcasting
6. Digital connection of production centers of the public radio and television system
7. Strengthening the administrative capacity of the Ministry of Transport and Communications of Bosnia and Herzegovina
8. Harmonization of the state Law on Electronic Communications of Bosnia and Herzegovina with modern European regulatory frameworks

5. Conclusions

Having in mind the current domestic and international political relations that directly define the dynamics of social, cultural and economic reforms needed for stabilization and accession of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Euro-Atlantic integration, the reorganization of the public communication system is positioned at the very top of EU demands. However, the reform of the public broadcasting sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina has not seen adequate progress in the past ten years, i.e., in a period

in which this issue has become the interest of domestic political interventions and international analysis of Bosnia and Herzegovina's progress.

Contrary to the expectations of international reform monitoring bodies, the public service broadcasting system still reflects the country's complex political system, based on the basic principles of the Dayton Accords, which partly defined cultural relations and collective identities as subjects of political processes. Although the reports confirm the stagnation of the reform and integration of the public broadcasting system in Bosnia and Herzegovina, key shortcomings of the current organization have been identified, as well as potential foundations for future development and approximation to the European Union standards. Within the complex cultural and political changes that modern Bosnian society is going through, destabilizing elements of the communication system have been recorded, the strengthening of which can lead to the integration of management structures while satisfying the various communication interests of all citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The annual reports of the European Commission, which present the progress of Bosnia and Herzegovina in implementing reforms in the public broadcasting sector, show that primary attention is paid to the need to harmonize the entities with the state Law on Public Broadcasting System. Practice shows that the legal framework ensures complete autonomy of individual parts of the public broadcasting system, i.e., special management and editorial policy bodies within three public broadcasters (two entity broadcasters and one state broadcaster).

The missing regulatory framework that would regulate the overall electronic media market in Bosnia and Herzegovina is certainly the state law on electronic media, which would determine the conditions under which licenses are granted and allow the distribution of electronic media programs to users in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Certain parts of the reports confirm that Bosnia and Herzegovina still does not have defined mechanisms for monitoring the establishment and operation of electronic media, as well as an adequate model for protecting the domestic market from the continuous penetration of foreign media.

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INTEGRACIJSKI IZAZOVI MEDIJSKE POLITIKE U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

Abstrakt: *U procesu političke tranzicije zemalja Zapadnog Balkana, prvenstveno zemalja koje još uvijek nisu članice Europske unije, reforma komunikacijskih sistema zauzima jedno od primarnih mjesta unutar provođenja ekonomskih, kulturnih, političkih i integracijskih procesa svake zemlje pojedinačno. Komunikološka istraživanja koja nastoje definisati dileme aktuelne bosanskohercegovačke komunikacijske situacije, kao determinirajućeg okvira medijskog sistema, uključuju mnoge društveno-političke faktore uslovljene strukturalnim promjenama unutar bosanskohercegovačkog društva u posljednjih 25 godina. Potpuna kulturna i politička dekonstrukcija bosanskohercegovačkog društva na kraju dvadesetog i početku dvadeset prvog stoljeća destabilizovala je unutrašnju organizaciju političkog, kulturnog i ekonomskog sistema, posebno u domenu javne komunikacije i organizacije medijskog podsistema. Među mnogim aktuelnim izazovima, razvoj jedinstvene medijske politike na području Bosne i Hercegovine, te uspostava javnog medijskog sistema u skladu sa zahtjevima Europske unije i interesima svih građana, spadaju u ključna pitanja sa kojima se suočavaju državne institucije. Ovaj rad se primarno bavi analizom sadržaja godišnjih izvještaja Europske komisije o napretku Bosne i Hercegovine u procesu provođenja reformi u sektoru medijske politike, te na osnovu ključnih elemenata godišnjih izvještaja sugeriše ključne faktore budućeg definisanja nacionalne medijske politike. Cilj je pozicionirati pitanje uspostave nacionalne medijske politike i reforme komunikacijskog sistema u širem kontekstu, kao političko, kulturno i ekonomsko pitanje, odnosno kao institucionalno usaglašen put za politički kompromis, integraciju društva i definisanje kolektivnih identiteta.*

Ključne riječi: *integracija, mediji, politika, tranzicija, identitet*

Neda Necić[1234]

Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš, Serbia

ETHICS IN PUBLIC RELATIONS: ETHICAL THEORIES, CODES AND CONFLICTS

Abstract (bold). *Public relations, an important element of the media society, is a management function which helps establish and nurture the links of mutual communication, understanding, acceptance and cooperation between the organization and the surrounding public. The development of the public relations profession is commonly seen as a progressive evolution from unsophisticated and unethical early practice to the planned, strategic, ethical campaigns of the modern age. However, when discussing the practice of public relations in the XXI century, there are certain doubts, or rather, ethical conflicts. Being the key moral principle and the fundamental philosophical concept, truth should be the goal of every relationship and communication. However, in the public relations practice, truth is occasionally suppressed due to its partial placement. The process of communication itself functions to a significant extent through the mass media, and the violation of ethics in that respect is the trade in media space, which is a difficult form of violation of the philosophy of morality. The main purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of ethics and its development in public relations. This paper analyzes the ethics of public relations as a self-regulation platform for this profession. The application of ethical theories based on utilitarian and deontological approaches has also been discussed. In addition, codes of ethics applied in the PR profession are presented, as well as examples of unethical actions in the public relations profession.*

Key words (bold): *public relations, ethics, morality, codes, ethical conflicts*

1. Introduction

More than a century ago, a group of pioneers began what we now call public relations. Today, public relations is recognized and accepted around the world; it is seen as an important part of management and a useful contribution to the successful

operation and profitability of companies of all kinds. Many believe that the best way public relations activities serve an organization is when they act as its ethical conscience (Voza, Vuković, Riznić, 2009; Black, 2003).

Early public relations practice introduced many ethical problems as the media approach at the time emphasized hyperbole, sensationalism and the frequent absence of truth. There were also concerns as they sought to create publicity at all costs. All of this undoubtedly influenced the unethical reputation of public relations today (Bowen, 2007). It is also widely believed that the profession and the public relations industry itself cannot be ethical in any way, moreover, the term "ethics in public relations" is perceived as an oxymoron.

Similar to other developing professions, the public relations practice shows progress throughout its historical development towards more self-aware and ethical models of communication. If we observe the "evolution" of public relations, we can notice the maturing of the profession from the one that dealt with the simple dissemination of information to the profession involved in creating ethical communication. However, despite the steps taken and the efforts to make modern public relations ethically correct, this sphere still has a "lackened history", as described by Parsons (Parsons, 2004: 5). As Wright describes, ethics requires personal engagement, the search for best practice, understanding the rational decisions to be made and a good understanding of the consequences. Ethics cannot be enacted by legislation, it comes from within and is nurtured by life experiences and the standards and codes of conduct that are followed (Wright, 1993).

The main purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of ethics and its development in public relations. This paper analyzes the ethics of public relations as a platform for self-regulation of this profession. The application of ethical theories based on utilitarian and deontological approaches was also discussed. In addition, codes of ethics applied in the PR profession are presented. However, when it comes to discussing the practice of public relations, certain doubts arise, particularly ethical conflicts. The process of communication functions to a significant extent through the mass media and the violation of ethics in that respect is the trade in media space, which is a difficult form of violation of the philosophy of morality.

2. Determining the concept of public relations and their function

The term public relations was used in 1882 for the first time (Grunig, Hunt, 1984: 14). The Greek philosopher Socrates insisted on the correct definition of words before their use and believed that such definitions would remove possible misunderstandings. Therefore, it would be useful to define the term public relations by using the keyword method. If the word relations is understood as reciprocity or connection of individuals, objects or concepts, then it is clear that it relates to communication. Another word in the concept is public, which is the totality of the informed and knowledgeable individuals that form a general opinion. Based on these keywords, public relations denote communication between the organization and its public (Tomić, 2016).

There are numerous definitions by PR practitioners, scientists and professional organizations in the literature. Rex F. Harlow has sublimated almost 500 definitions written between 1900 and 1976 and determined the main elements in each of them, aiming to explain what public relations are, not what they do. His definition has united both theoretical and practical elements: "Public relations are a distinctive management function that helps and cares for the relationships of mutual communication, understanding, acceptance and cooperation between the organization and its surrounding public; they also include managing of problems, help the management to be familiar with the public opinion and to react timely; they define and emphasize the responsibility of the management in the service of public interest, and they serve as an "early alarm system", by helping the management through their prediction of changes and using them effectively. For all of that they use research as its basic tool, as well as wise and ethical communication" (Harlow, 1976: 36).

Cutlip, Center and Broom define public relations as a "management function, whose aim is to establish and nurture mutually beneficial links between the organization and the different public, and the success or failure of the mentioned organization depends on them" (Cutlip, Center and Broom, 2006: 11).

The British Institute defined the role of public relations as an effort to establish and cherish "mutual understanding between an organization and its public" (Cutlip, Center and Broom, 2006: 8).

In the book *Today's Public Relations - An Introduction* (2006), R. L. Heath and W. T. Coombs state and define five public relations functions. They are: strategic planning, research, publicity, promotion and decision-making through cooperation. Upon closer inspection of the listed functions, it can be concluded that each individual function helps to build mutual understanding needed in the development of relationships between individuals, groups or institutions and they all help an individual or organization (Heath, Coombs, 2006).

3. Historical overview of public relations

Modern public relations activities have their roots in the distant past. Persuasion of the public in order to change attitudes and behavior, as a segment of public relations, can be found in the practices of ancient Sumerians, Assyrians, Persians and Egyptians. The technique of persuasion was developed in both ancient Greece and ancient Rome. The historical development of public relations techniques was described by Edward Bernays in his book Public Relations. Bernays considers the period of the French Revolution important, considering that the term "public opinion" came into use in Europe and both Americas. At that time, the Declaration of Human Rights publicly proclaimed the right to free expression of thought as one of the most important principles. Public relations was one of the most effective tools of the French Revolution, since books, pamphlets, newspapers, the stage, satire, hairstyles, and military insignia were used to shape public opinion (Black, 2003).

Although the roots of public relations go back to the ancient past, the modern practice of public relations dates back to the beginning of the 20th century. It is a developing profession today and one of the management functions in organizations. This profession experiences changes and struggles through time in search of its own identity. It is considered that the term public relations was first used in the United States, consequently spreading to other countries (Tomić, 2016, Black, 2003; Broom, Sha, 2012; Bowen, 2007).

Cutlip, Center and Broom (2006) cite seven main periods in the development of public relations, and note that the dividing lines are blurred: the initial period (1900-1917), World War I (1917-1918), the twenties, the era of the rise (1919-1929), the era of Roosevelt and World War II (1930-1945), the post-war era (1946-1965), the period of protest and authorization (1965-1985) and the Digital Age and Globalization (1986 to the present) (Cutlip, Center and Broom, 2006).

The development of the public relations profession is usually seen as a progressive evolution of "unsophisticated unethical early practices to planning, strategic ethical campaigns of modern times" (Lamme, Russell, 2009: 281). Hoy and associates speak of the development of public relations as of progressive evolution "from a manipulative to a two-way, dialogic communication process" (Hoy et al., 2007: 191). Edward Bernays was identified as the main bearer of this historic perspective of public relations and he proposed three phases of public relations development that coincided with the historical development of the USA. The first phase started after the civil war and lasted until 1900. He called it "the public be-damned-era". The second phase started from the beginning of the 20th century and the beginning of Public Relations, when the country entered the "public-be-informed-era". The period after the First World War marked the third phase as an era of "mutual understanding", when the knowledge of behavioral sciences was applied to public relations practice (Hoy et al., 2007; Broom, Sha, 2012). There was a change in the late 1960s. Various movements such as anti-war, consumer protection, human rights, environmental activism and other indicators of the increasing civil power growth and rights – including minorities – were a challenge for the existing status quo. Those who demanded changes were no longer satisfied with the fact that there was an understanding for their views, but required factual changes. This paradigm shift in society affected the change in public relations at the end of the 20th century, as well as later in the XXI century (Broom, Sha, 2012; Grunig, Hunt, 1984).

Lamme and Russell state three equivalent phases of the public relations development, and these are: representations in the press (press agentry), which was based on the principle of public deception; the publicity, according to which the public needs to be informed, decisively influenced by the work of Ivy Lee in the USA; and an advisory phase based on public understanding (Lamme, Russell, 2009: 287).

Based on these periods, James Grunig and Todd Hunt (1984) generated a synthetic-analytic model of the public relations development and left a far-reaching impact on the development of PR theory. Although it was the generalization of the already established public relations periods, this model became a dominant paradigm

in the scientific sphere of this area (Lamme, Russell, 2009; Tomić, 2016). They integrated the modern development of public relations into four historical models, also the current public relations models:

1. The Publicity Model (1850 - 1900) in which attracting public attention was subordinated to the demands of truth in communication;

2. The Public Information Model (1900 - 1920) during which the principle of true information was rising as a reaction to publishing scandalous information on famous people obtained in a dishonest manner. It was a time when Ivy L. Lee appeared and he pointed out the importance of speaking the truth. Lee developed a publicity policy known as "Let the public be informed", so that the policy "Let the public be damned" was replaced.

3. The Two-Way Asymmetric Model (1920 - 1960) marked the public opinion-based communication strategies. Their results were used to optimize the process of persuasion and obtain public consent, i.e., produce the mass consent;

4. The Two-Way Symmetric model (1960 -) emphasizes mutual understanding between communicators and audiences, in terms of communication rather than persuasion. Therefore, this model is more ethical and more efficient in public relations practice. Unlike the third asymmetric model, the feedback is strongly emphasized, with two-way communication. The role of PR in this model is the role of a mediator between an organization and the public. With the development of this model, modern public relations begin (Grunig, Hunt, 1984; Tomić, 2016).

4. Theoretical foundations of ethics in public relations

In order to better understand business ethics and other principles, it is important to point out the meaning of the terms ethics and morality. In recent years, these two concepts have been intertwined to such an extent that they cannot be distinguished; due to their similarity, they are often used as synonyms. This is not necessarily a bad thing, since professional ethical behavior cannot be completely separated from the general moral standards of society.

The term ethics is derived from the Greek word ethos, which means custom, use or character. Day defines ethics as a branch of philosophy that deals with the moral component of human life and is usually called the philosophy of morality (Day, 2004). Ethics refers to the formal study and codification of moral principles into certain normative frameworks. Based on this, decisions about what is right or wrong can be made in a rational, structured and reasoned way (Day, 2004; Juka, 2006; Tench, Yeomans, 2006; Gregory, 2006).

The term morality is derived from the Latin word mos, moris, which means a way of life or behavior, often associated with religious beliefs and personal behavior. Morality is a concrete form of human behavior that derives from human freedom and

it is regulated by certain written or unwritten codes. Simply put, morality is made up of our personal values and principles (Day, 2004; Juka, 2006; Tench, Yeomans, 2006; Gregory 2006).

Cutlip, Center and Broom cite utilitarianism and deontology as two approaches to the philosophy of morality in ethical decision-making. Although they use different approaches, both utilitarianism and deontology help with public relations, assessment and advice related to making ethically correct decisions in an organization (Cutlip, Center and Broom, 2006: 138). Grunig, Grunig and Dozier also propose consequential and non-consequential theories in ethical decision-making in public relations (Grunig, 2014).

4.1 Utilitarian philosophy and the consequential ethical concept of public relations

Consequential theories focus on the consequences of behavior. This approach is known as teleological and the most well-known consequential theory is utilitarian (Tench, Yeomans, 2006). Utilitarian philosophy or utilitarianism is based on the principles set by English philosophers Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill. Utilitarianism takes into account the usefulness, that is, the expected result or effect of a certain decision in order to determine what is right. Therefore, ethically correct moves should bring the greatest possible amount of benefit to the greatest possible number of people. The utilitarian approach in ethical decision-making should maximize the benefits of society and reduce harm, i.e., the overall balance of good consequences over bad is important (Tench, Yeomans, 2006; Cutlip, Center and Broom, 2006; Juka 2006; Trevino, Nelson, 1995).

Utilitarianism is also important in the ethics of public relations, so public relations experts must take this principle into account when making ethical decisions. "In order to determine how moral an act is, as seen from a utilitarian perspective, a PR expert must take into account all alternative decisions and determine which option brings favorable outcomes to the largest number of people. The best option will be chosen by the overall positive effects and the minimal negative consequences" (Cutlip, Center and Broom, 2006: 138).

Some authors state that the classical understanding of utilitarianism has several problems that limit its usefulness: utilitarianism can be used to maintain a status quo in which the majority is happy but not all. Therefore, the interests of marginal groups are neglected, i.e., some groups are always privileged (Cutlip, Center and Broom, 2006; Kurtić, 2009). Another problem is that it is difficult to arrive at facts on the basis of which consequences can be predicted – that is, many consequences cannot be predicted and thus create the possibility of serious and costly erroneous calculations during a utilitarian analysis; (Juka, 2006). The third problem is that utilitarianism implies that the goal justifies the means (Kurtić, 2009; Tench, Yeomans, 2006; Cutlip, Center and Broom, 2006).

4.2 Deontological philosophy and the non-consequential ethical concept of public relations

Acting on a certain principle and a motive, with universal moral values and regardless of the nature of the consequences of these actions, forms the core of duty-based theories. These are deontological, i.e., non-consequential theories. The most famous deontologist was the German philosopher Immanuel Kant and his theories are called duty-based moral philosophy. This means the obligation to tell the truth, regardless of whether we will hurt others (Day, 2004; Juka, 2006; Cutlip, Center and Broom, 2006; Tench, Yeomans, 2006). In deontology, the ethical value of an action does not depend on its outcome, since predicting accurate outcomes is beyond human capabilities and control (Cutlip, Center and Broom, 2006). Kant points out that being truthful out of duty is very different from doing so out of one's concern related to harmful consequences. He defined universal principles of morality based on a categorical imperative, which he defines as a "moral law that is directly within us as an a priori requirement of our mind, which it sets by its structure to will or intention" (Juka, 2006: 189). Since they emphasize the commitment to rules, duties, they are also called absolutists, because they do not recognize exceptions (Day, 2004).

Both the United Nations Declaration, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the American Declaration of Independence uphold deontological principles by guaranteeing the individual rights that should not be violated, such as the right to life, liberty, security and equality before the law. It is the duty of society and individuals to preserve these rights (Tench, Yeomans, 2006).

Tench and Yeomans list three main problems with deontological decision-making. The first problem is what will happen if two good moral principles clash; another problem is fulfilling a moral obligation regardless of the consequences; the third problem is that moral principles are not universal, and differ from society to society (Tench, Yeomans, 2006).

Najil Kurtić (2009) sees the solution to ethical challenges in returning to basic moral principles – do not lie, do not cheat and do not be dishonest. "The problem of lying, deception, insincerity and dishonesty is at the center of every ethical discourse, even the one about the ethics of public relations. Are there cases in which a corporation should lie? Consequentialists say: Yes, if it is a way to bring maximum happiness, that is, to avoid misfortune (to oneself or to the majority of one's public). Non-consequentialists say: Yes, if "lying" is a generally accepted principle, which the organization can accept in relation to itself. However, since the organization cannot function on the basis of misinformation and lies, the answer is NO. Do not lie under any circumstances. Fraud cannot be justified by any ultimate goals. A request that does not tolerate exceptions is decisive not to lie" (Kurtić, 2009: 133).

Some authors also cite the good sides of deontology: using a deontological approach in ethically controversial situations means that decisions are made based on what is good or bad and not based on the principle of who benefits the most. In this regard, the public relations expert may consider the positions of different stakeholders. Furthermore, the deontological approach allows public relations to

advise management on what to do, but on the basis of moral principles and not on the basis of price and cost, personal interest or benefit. Another advantage of using a deontological approach in public relations is a more open approach to change through an open model of communication. Thus, the organization can respond to the pressures for change that come from the external environment, regardless of who is in the majority. This allows the minority to have as much influence on issues and problems as the majority (Cutlip, Center and Broom, 2006).

5. Ethics and public relations

The ethics of public relations deals with moral behavior of PR experts, as well as norms in which this behavior is framed and grounded. What the ethics of public relations specifically deals with is transparency, keeping secrets, truth, objectivity, precision, problems and limits of influence on politicians (lobbying) and journalists (Milas, 2012).

As public relations became further recognized as a profession, specialized associations and organizations were formed in parallel. Although these associations do not include all those who deal with public relations, they still exert their influence through the printing of publications and the organization of conferences and seminars. These organizations can be of national, international or regional character and are divided according to the narrower expertise of their members. Some of the international, national and regional PR organizations are as follows: Public Relations Society of America (PRSA), International Public Relations Association (IPRA), International Association of Business Communicators (IABC), Chartered Institute of Public Relations (CIPR), Global Alliance for Public Relations and Communication Management (GA), Public Relations Institute of Southern Africa (PRISA), British Institute of Public Relations (IPR), Public Relations Consultants Association (PRCA), Confederation of European Public Relations (CERP), Public Relations Institute of Australia (PRIA), Public Relations Agencies Association of Mexico (PRAA), Spanish Association of Communicators (DIRCOM), American Latina Public Relations (PRSK), Romanian Public Relations Association (RPRA) and the Public Relations Society of Kenya (PRSK) (Terek, 2016).

5.1 Codes of ethics – instruments of self-regulation
in public relations

Due to the strong influence that public relations has on society, defining professional ethical rules is of paramount importance. National and international PR organizations, sometimes large PR agencies, define codes of ethics and ethical norms of conduct in the profession.

For more than 70 years, public relations and communications bodies have been establishing codes of ethics that help public relations and communications professionals detect, deter and condemn unethical behavior. Most professional

public relations and communication bodies have their own codes of ethics and offer guidance to their members.

Here are some of the codes of ethics:

- Ivy Lee drafted the Declaration of Principles in 1906, which was the first code of ethics for public relations (Tomić, 2016);
- The International Code of Ethics, informally known as the Athens Code, was adopted by the General Assembly of the European Confederation of Public Relations. The Athens Code was adopted by the International Public Relations Association (IPRA) in Athens on May 11, 1965. This code was amended in 1968 and 2009. The Code is a moral charter of the IPRA Association, and the principles of the Code were inspired by the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. All member states of the United Nations have pledged to abide by the UN Charter. The Athens Code prohibits the subordination of truth to other requirements and the distribution of information from unreliable sources. In addition, it prohibits activities that do not respect morals, human dignity, privacy, as well as the use of methods and means for the purpose of manipulation[5] (Mirosavljević, 2008; Tomić, 2016; Broom, Sha, 2012);
- The European Code of Professional Conduct in PR Practice (the so-called Lisbon Code) is one of the most well-known international codes. It was officially adopted at the General Assembly of CERP (Confederation of European Relations Public) in Lisbon on April 16, 1978, and amended on May 13, 1989. The Lisbon Code relies on the Athens Code and defines general rules of conduct as well as specific norms of behavior and nineteen points related to employers, public opinion and the media, colleagues but also to the entire profession. This Code obliges members to respect the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Freedoms. Special emphasis is placed on respect for freedom of expression and freedom of the media, which ensure the right of the individual to seek and receive information[6] (Mirosavljević, 2008; Tomić, 2016);
- In 2000, the Global Alliance published the guiding principles of the profession. The basis of this alliance is to develop a global standard in the form of a set of principles for ethical public relations practice. The General Assembly first adopted such a code in 2003, and updated it in 2018[7] (Parsons, 2004);
- The Serbian Public Relations Association (DSOJ) was founded on May 17, 2004, continuing the tradition of the Yugoslav PR Association. The Company's Code of Professional Ethics is in line with the Athens Code and the Code of the International Public Relations Association. This code prescribes the conditions of behavior of members and their attitude towards service users. An annual award has been established which is awarded to members for the best results in the field of communications;[8]

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[5] https://www.ipra.org/static/media/uploads/pdfs/ipra_code_of_athens.pdf (accessed April 23, 2021)

[6] http://www.eccom.info/index.php/toolbox/code-of-ethics-public-relations/141-european-code-of-professional-conduct-in-public-relations (accessed April 23, 2021)

[7] https://www.globalalliancepr.org/code-of-ethics (accessed April 23, 2021)

[8] http://pr.org.rs/o-nama/misija-i-vizija (accessed April 25, 2021)

- The Chartered Institute of Public Relations (CIPR) is the leading professional institution of the PR industry in the UK and the largest PR association in Europe. Members of the Chartered Institute of Public Relations (CIPR) have adopted a set of ethical principles, and have agreed to maintain the highest standard of professionalism[9] (Broom, Sha, 2012; Parsons, 2004).

5.2 Ethical conflicts in public relations

The implementation of ethical principles in practice is the most important responsibility of any public figure and the code of ethics should serve as a motivation model to other organizations and activities. Non-compliance with the codes of ethics and norms inevitably leads to ethical conflicts.

An example of how non-compliance with the codes of ethics and norms of conduct leads to ethical conflicts occurred on December 9, 2008. The Croatian Public Relations Association reacted strongly to a statement issued by a mayor. It could be concluded from the statement that he, through a public relations agency, financially secured his position in the shows of the Croatian Public Broadcasting company. The Croatian Public Relations Association responded with the following statement: "The working methods stated in this case are not a legitimate way of doing business for CPRA members and therefore do not reflect the nature of the profession. CPRA strongly condemns any form of manipulation of the public media space, corruption and unprofessionalism; rather, it achieves relations with the media through long-term cooperation and partnership, which includes the use of transparent means of communication". In particular, the PR agency in question was not a member of CPRA; nevertheless, the reputation of the public relations profession has been damaged. In this example, the Croatian Public Relations Association showed its role in the development of the public relations profession, because they reacted to the problem that the profession encountered.[10]

A similar example of ethical conflict occurred in Germany, in June 2008. At that time, a marketing and PR agency paid the editor of a well-known print publication the amount of 500 euros for publishing an article about opening a private business space in Duisburg. Shortly afterwards, the German Public Relations Council issued a public reprimand to a person from the PR agency, explaining the bribery of the editor-journalist because the representative of the PR agency sharply violated the ethical principles of the PR profession. In doing so, they referred to Article 10 of the Lisbon Code, which reads: "News and information must be written free of charge and without hidden rewards, all for the purpose of public use and publication" (Milas, 2012).

Some PR companies aggravate various situations with their unethical behavior. Namely, one of the most notable examples was "Citizens for a Free Kuwait". It was a scheme of a PR agency to organize a pre-group called "Citizens for a Free Kuwait", in order to cover up the role of the Kuwaiti government in this effort. This company created a false

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[9] https://cipr.co.uk/CIPR/About_Us/Governance_/CIPR_Code_of_Conduct.aspx (accessed April 25, 2021)

[10] https://www.jutarnji.hr/naslovnica/hrt-i-huoj-kontakti-novinara-i-pr-ovaca-ne-smiju-biti-stihijski-3996222 (accessed April 28, 2021)

statement and submitted it to the Congressional Committee on Human Rights. News later leaked that the Kuwaiti government sponsored this pre-group to persuade the United States to enter the Gulf War in 1992. Later, this campaign reached the media and the behavior of the PR company was severely criticized. After this controversy, the executive director of this PR company notoriously reminded the staff: "We would represent Satan if he paid"[11].

The first two examples are similar in nature because both examples are about the bribery of journalists. In these examples, there were ethical conflicts between the public relations profession and journalism. Namely, the mentioned relationship between these two professions can be explained by a model of determinism and the model of interest. When it comes to the model of determinism, Baerns (1985) states that journalism as an autonomous organisation backed over to public relations presentations. According to the determinism model, public relations greatly control the themes and time of media reporting, but not journalism as a whole, as opposed to the interefication model. Thus, the mentioned models are subject to different things (Baerns, 1985). The interefication model, on the other hand, is based on the fact that each side merely ensures the result for the other side. To be exact, according to this model, PR and journalism are perceived as related in terms of mutual influence, orientation and addiction between two relatively autonomous systems. That is, this model considers the interaction between journalism and public relations and analyzes it as a relationship between two professions (Bentele, Liebert, Seeling, 1997).

These examples of ethics violation in public relations can also be seen as acceptance and guidance of an utilitarian model of ethical decision-making. Since in these examples the goal justified the means, the result proved to be unethical as the means in the examples were money and untrue information. Najil Kurtić (2009) sees the solution for ethical challenges in the restoration of basic moral principles – do not lie, do not cheat, do not be dishonest, do not be insincere. "The problem of lying, fraud, insincerity and dishonesty is at the center of any ethical discourse, and also of public relations. Are there cases where the corporation would be lying? Consequentialists say: Yes, if this is a way to bring maximum happiness, ie. avoid accidents (related to self or public). Non-consequentialists say: Yes, if the "lying" is a generally accepted principle, which organization can also accept in relation to itself. However, since the organization cannot function on misinformation and lies, the answer is NO. Do not lie in any circumstances. Fraud (lie) cannot justify any ultimate objectives. Do not lie, is a decisive request that does not have exceptions" (Kurtić, 2009: 133).

6. Conclusion

It is certain that there are still many examples of unethical behavior in public relations. The code itself means very little if it is not consistently implemented in practice. However, codes of ethics and norms are self-regulatory bodies within the profession, so there is no adequate sanction for non-compliance. Thus, although codes of ethics and professional

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[11] https://prboutiques.com/how-public-relations-ethics-violations-undermine-trust/ (accessed June 10, 2021)

norms serve as evidence of the professional status of public relations, they are nevertheless voluntary in nature. Since PR is a developing profession, it still has shortcomings. What is also missing is the impossibility of detecting violations of ethical norms and codes, unlike journalism where violations of ethical norms and codes are more noticeable.

Some academic researchers criticize codes of ethics because they do not contribute to the realization of the ideals they advocate and because they believe that codes of ethics are often too general to be used in their practices (Parkinson, 2001; Wright, 1993). Although codes of ethics and professional norms validate the professional status of public relations, their implementation is difficult as they pose no threat and have no consequences. One of the key shortcomings is that most codes of ethics neither ensure the enforcement of provisions nor an adequate procedure in case of violation of the code which makes them inefficient; the only result can be the revocation of membership in the association (Cutlip, Center and Broom, 2006; Bowen, 2007).

On the other hand, some theorists are of the opinion that if PRs are ethical, then there is no need to impose codes of ethics (Kruckeberg, 2000), while others believe that a simple ethical statement is all that is needed because good intention is a much more rigorous guide than a code of ethics (Bowen, 2007; Parkinson, 2001). As Parsons illustrates: "Good people do not need laws to tell them to act responsibly, while bad people will always find a way to circumvent the laws" (Parsons, 2004: 67).

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ETIKA U ODNOSIMA S JAVNOŠĆU: ETIČKE TEORIJE, KODEKSI I KONFLIKTI

Apstrakt. *Odnosi s javnošću, kao važan element medijskog društva, predstavljaju funkciju upravljanja, koja pomaže da se uspostave i neguju veze uzajamne komunikacije, razumevanja, prihvatanja i saradnje između organizacije i javnosti koje je okružuju. Razvoj profesije odnosa s javnošću se uobičajeno posmatra kao progresivna evolucija od nesofisticirane i neetičke rane prakse do planskih, strateških etičkih kampanja savremenog doba. Međutim, kada je reč o raspravi o praksi odnosa sa javnošću i u XXI veku, javljaju se određene nedoumice, tačnije etički sukobi. Istina kao vrhovni moralni princip i temeljni filozofski pojam bi trebalo da bude cilj svakog odnosa i komunikacije. U praksi odnosa s javnošću se dešava da istina biva povređena, usled njenog delimičnog plasiranja. Sam proces komunikacije u značajnoj meri funkcioniše posredstvom masovnih medija, a kršenje etike u tom pogledu je trgovina medijskim prostorom, što je težak oblik kršenja filozofije morala. Glavna svrha ovog rada je da pruži pregled etike i njenog razvoja u odnosima s javnošću. U ovom radu je analizirana etika odnosa sa javnošću kao platforma za samoregulaciju ove profesije. Takođe je diskutovano o primeni etičkih teorija zasnovanih na utilitarnim i deontološkim pristupima. Pored toga, predstavljeni su etički kodeksi koji se primenjuju u PR profesiji, ali i primeri neetičkog delovanja u profesiji odnosa s javnošću.*

Ključne reči: *odnosi s javnošću, etika, moral, kodeksi, etički konflikti*

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

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All illustrations (figures, photographs, line drawings, graphs) should be numbered in series and all legends should be included at the bottom of each illustration. All **figures, photographs, line drawings and graphs,** prepared in electronic form, should be converted in TIFF or JPG (max quality) files, in 300 dpi resolution, for superior reproduction. Figures, line drawings and graphs prepared using elements of MS Drawing or MS Graph must be converted in form of pictures and unchangeable. All illustrations should be planned in advance so as to allow reduction to 12.75 cm in column width. Please review all illustrations to ensure that they are readable.
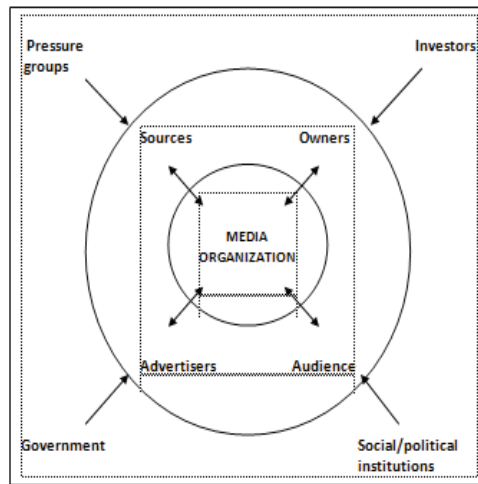
Fig. 1 The media environment: source of demand and constraint (McQuail, 1992: 82)

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) – <u>first time</u>

(Deibert et. al., 2008) – <u>every next time</u>

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
(APA Citation Style)

The list of cited literature should include only the original literature author refers to. References should be cited by Latin alphabet, by last names. If there is more than one cited work by the same author, than the years order of publication should

be followed. If the assertion contains more than one author, the reference should be positioned according to the last name of the first author.

The way of listing the references in the list of cited literature at the end of text:

BOOK
One author:
Jovanović, Z. (2015). *Virtuelna planeta*. Niš: Filozofski fakultet.

Two or more authors:
Despotović, Lj., Jevtović, Z. (2019). *Geopolitika medija*. Sremski Karlovci: Kairos.

Chapter or other part of a book
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

JOURNAL
Journal article
Article in a print journal
Carlson, M. (2007). "Order versus access: News search engines and the challenge to traditional journalistic roles". *Media, Culture & Society*, *29*(6), pp. 1014-1030.

Article in an online journal
Important: Include a DOI (Digital Object Identifier) if the journal lists one. A DOI is a permanent ID that, when appended to http://dx.doi.org/ in the address bar of an Internet browser, will lead to the source. If no DOI is available, list a URL. Include an access date only if one is required by your publisher or discipline.
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

(Accessed March 3, 2018).

Website

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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Abstract (bold). *Short abstract <u>in Serbian</u> (Style Abstract: 9 pt, italic, pt, justified, 0.75 pt left and right indentation).*

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

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