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CONTENTS

IX-1-2017

FOREWORD	1
AN INTRODUCTION: COMMUNICATION BETWEEN DOMINATION AND EMANCIPATION Aleksandar Bogdanić	5
SUBVERSIVE POSTERING (DOMINANCE AND CONSUMERISM CULTURE JAMMING) Tatjana Đermanović	19
DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF PREGNANCY IN PATRIARCHAL PARADIGM Dijana Gajić & Milana Piljak	41
GENDER STYLES IN ONLINE COMMUNICATION IN THE ONLINE SOCIAL GAME <i>LUDO</i> Ljubica Janjetović.....	67
POLITICAL PUBLIC RELATIONS AND SENSATIONALISM IN NEWSPAPERS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA Danijela Lukić	91
ON STUDENTS AND ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATION: E-MAILS TO A PROFESSOR Tatjana Marjanović	109
POZIV ZA PREDAJU RADOVA.....	133

FOREWORD

This special issue of the journal presents the contributions from the international conference *Communication between Domination and Emancipation* which was held in Banja Luka, from June 24 to 26, 2016. The conference was organized to mark fifteen years of communication education at the Banja Luka College of Communications Kappa Phi, which hosted the event. The cohosts were the Faculty of Political Sciences and the Department of English and Literature at the Faculty of Philology of the University of Banja Luka.

A diverse group of scholars reported on their research at the conference, from discursive investigations of gender and identification of educational pitfalls and paradigms of communication, to media and dominance relationships and challenges of journalism practices, and political reconciliation in our time.

The theme of the conference – communication between domination and emancipation – also subsumed an educational dilemma the Banja Luka College of Communications faced when it was founded in 2000. The main idea behind the school was to introduce communication studies to higher education, including those of strategic communication, as well as to introduce dialogic communication to classes at the school. In order to do this, among other things, podiums, desks and benches were not used in the classrooms. The idea was that a different setup was more conducive to teachers and students talking to each other. That is what the school has stood and struggled for ever since. Fifteen years on, it seemed that the importance of talking to each other only became more germane, and not only in education.

As to the theme, communication can and has been viewed, analyzed and conceived of as a means or even form of domination. Communicative domination can be operationalized as control, persuasion, propaganda or influence, as well as different forms of “strategic” communication. At macrosocial levels, communicative domination has also been viewed as hegemony.

Communicative emancipation, on the other hand, is often associated with the liberating potential of communication. The liberating potential of communication can be embodied in knowledge, truth, empathy, education, play, ritual and, at macrosocial levels, in democracy.

These are vast areas of human experience and of corresponding communication research. Thus, the idea of communication at the opposite ends of the spectrum sometimes may seem as having few discernible common features. The goal of the conference was to explore the various aspects of the theoretical concept and practice of communication, as well as to probe the middle ground and offer research that would shed more light on the most defining feature of humanity, community and society.

In this context, language and other communication media are especially important because they often reflect various communicative intents or contain specific features that can be identified and related to different communicative intents, i.e., “dominational” or “emancipatory,” for example, in communication analysis.

Especially interesting and valuable research can also be found in the area of identifying relationships of certain forms of domination or emancipation with forms and content of communication, at various communication levels, from interpersonal to mediated (public) communication.

The question of relationship between communication and democracy being perennial, the potential of either dominational or emancipatory communication in bettering democracy is equally pertinent.

Our keynotes and participants explored these themes from different paradigms, in diverse contexts and on various issues and topics, such as the communication codes and media, media and society, political communication, educational communication, journalism studies, and interethnic communication.

The keynote speakers at the conference were Nick Couldry, Stig Hjarvard and Thomas Allmer, while Tomislav Longinović was a special guest speaker.

Nick Couldry is a Professor of Media, Communications and Social Theory at the Department of Media and Communications at

The London School of Economics. The title of his speech was *The social construction of reality – really!* Stig Hjarvard is Professor of Media Studies at the Department of Media, Cognition and Communication, University of Copenhagen. His speech was the *Dynamics of conflicts in a mediatized world*. Thomas Allmer is a Lecturer in Digital Media at the Department of Communications, Media and Culture at the University of Sterling. He spoke on *Social media and capitalism: Communication between domination and emancipation*. Tomislav Longinović is Professor of Slavic and Comparative Literature and Visual Culture at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. He spoke on *Intercultural communication as translation*.

While not copyedited, the papers selected for publication among those that had been presented at the conference have been double blind peer-reviewed and recommended for the inclusion in this issue. We hope you will find them interesting and stimulating as much as did the participants of the conference.

Aleksandar Bogdanić
Organizing Committee Chair

AN INTRODUCTION: COMMUNICATION BETWEEN DOMINATION AND EMANCIPATION

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The article aims to provide an introduction to two different paradigms in conceptualizing communication in light of the different roles that communication can have – that of emancipation and domination. The brief review reminds us of the dominant themes that shaped ideas about communication from ancient philosophies to contemporary theories. The article suggests that the two paradigms do not necessarily cancel out but complement one another.

Keywords

communication theory, dominant paradigm, communication research history, dialogue, non-strategic communication

Communication is what makes us human. We have heard this so often. However, communication is also what sometimes makes us inhuman. Communication is, among other things, a tool, faculty, or technology we can use to different ends. Conceiving of and interpreting this tool is not an easy task, not only because of the different ends or effects its use may imply.

Certain paradigmatic features of two distinct lines of thinking about human communication seem to be discernible, however, from as far as the ancient philosophies both in the East and the West. And the yin and yang of communication have been studied and discussed ever since, most often within philosophy, and later on, in sociology, anthropology, psychology, linguistics, and, obviously, in communication studies.

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One line or – to use a more common term in communication studies – tradition originates with the ideas promoted by the sophists and criticized by both Plato and Aristotle, but also systematized by Aristotle in his *Rhetoric*. This line is, to a certain degree, similar to Confucianism in the Far East (Yum, 1987). Aristotle sees rhetoric as practical communication which serves specific purposes, in public and in private life. Its goals, at least in Aristotle, are practical and often noble, and the methods diverse. Namely, while seeing rhetoric as (a philosophical) part or counterpart of dialectics, he shuns the discussion of dialectic and defines rhetoric as “the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of *persuasion*.”

This line of reasoning about one aspect of human communication was later taken up by Cicero, partially by Quintilian, and many other rhetors, philosophers, logicians and communication scholars. I refer to this rhetorical tradition in communications as *formal-esthetic* (Bogdanić, 1996). Of course, there are schools in contemporary rhetorical criticism, critical rhetoric and communication theory that have swerved away from this tradition and lean towards the other – the *logical-ethical* one, focusing on the dialectics and dialogue.

In communication theory and research, the *formal-esthetic* tradition has had many labels, from the effects tradition to the control paradigm (Krippendorff, 1987), but the most prevailing one has been the *dominant paradigm* (Gitlin, 1978). I like the use of the latter term in communication studies, not mainly to suggest that the paradigm is dominant but that within the paradigm communication is largely viewed and studied as dominance or control. Thus, that communication serves the function of control is the main ontological trait in this paradigm. Also, I find this tradition mainstream not to suggest that it is predominant today, but because much of contemporary communication research and theory is historically rooted in it (Hardt, 1992; Pooley & Park, 2013; Rogers, 1997).

Wilbur Schramm (1963), for example, identified major interests of the four “founding fathers” of communication science in the U.S. – Paul Lazarsfeld, Kurt Lewin, Harold Laswell and Carl Hovland. And they were influence and attitude change (pp. 2–6).

Lowery and De Fleur (1995) also pointed to some related topics which have played a prominent role in the history of research – from motion picture industry *influence* on children, through *persuasion* of the American soldier, to television *influence* on children.

McQuail (1983) summarized the sources which shaped the direction and scope of theory in this paradigm in communication: “the interests of governments and lawmakers; the needs of industry; the activities of pressure groups; the purposes of political and commercial propagandists; the current concern of public opinion; the fashions of social science” (p. 176).

By examining the work of Lazarsfeld, Gitlin (1978) stressed similar influences that produced the so-called “administrative point of view.” While Gitlin focused on historical, social and ideological influences and methodological problems in Lazarsfeld, he also noted the presence of the dominant theme in this approach to communication research. It was *attitude change*.

Likewise, Wright’s “functions of communication” reiterated some of the intents expressed implicitly by the early researchers, through a scholarly legitimization of questions to which the military, advertising industry and media organizations wanted answers. For, “functional theory focuses on the processes that contribute to social order, to maintenance and stability of societies” (1986, p. 24).

In early communication scholarship, communication seems to have not been conceptualized as a neutral tool of human interaction, with diverse possibilities and outcomes, but, rather deterministically, as a functional social act with preconceived intents and corresponding results. And the intents of influence, persuasion, or behavior change often became determinants of academic definitions of human communication. Thus, various historical research demands not only determined the locus of research, but also somewhat shaped ideas and, indeed, basic assumptions of what “all communication” is all about. The intent of communication as control has been embraced and stated in speech and interpersonal communication subfields as well.

Miller and Steinberg (1975), for example, in their then renowned interpersonal communication analysis spelled it out most clearly. They stated that “the basic function of all communication is to con-

trol the environment so as to realize certain physical, economic, or social rewards from it. ... By our definition, intent to communicate and intent to influence are synonymous” (pp. 5, 73).

The paradigm of communication conceived of as control – as an approach to observing phenomena of human symbolic interaction at various levels (interpersonal, group and macrosocial) and in different contexts – has been notably prominent, as well as useful to individuals and organizations in gaining certain social benefits – by applying strategies, techniques and language extracted from such contexts. In this sense, the theory has also been predominantly sender-centered (Krippendorff, 1987), i.e., not posited from the receiver’s point of view (such as, for example, the approach that O’Sullivan has proposed (2009)).

It can be argued, however, that the diverse debates and special issues of communication journals, from the “Ferment in the field” onwards (e.g., Anderson & Cissna, 2008; Huspek, 2007; Introduction, 1983; Levy & Gurevitch, 1993; Pfau, 2008; Stanfill, 2012), have demonstrated an absence of the domination of the control paradigm (cf: Anderson & Baym, 2004; Bryant & Miron, 2004). There also have been changes in dialogic communication theory acceptance, such as the debates about Habermas (Huspek, 2007); or dialogue (Anderson & Cissna, 2008).

Yet, but merely glancing at the editions of leading college texts such as DeVito, Griffin or Littlejohn (e.g., Adler, Rodman, & Hutchinson, 2011; DeVito, 2011; Griffin, 2012; Littlejohn & Foss, 2011; West & Turner 2009), or at relevant subdisciplines, research topics and methods in the leading journals of communication, the idea of planned communicative behavior or strategic communication is still quite pronounced and suggests that the ontology of control prevails. Em Griffin (2012) suggests that one reason for this may be lack of “dialogic communication” in real life (pp. 483-484). Gitlin, on the other hand, echoing Thayer (1987), laments that because of this important issues are not even being raised in the communication field (Sjovaag & Moe, 2009, p. 137).

While offering certain disciplinary advantages – such as the application of scientific procedures and quantitative methods cognate with those in natural sciences – the mainstream ontological position

seems to have been barely able to accommodate research in a number of areas of communication.

What has happened to dialogic communication and the study of dialectics as viewed by the ancient Greeks? Of course, the logical-ethical tradition has lingered on. Similar to some ideas of communication in Buddhism and Daoism (Cheng, 1987), one of its heydays was in Plato's time. However, after Plato the study of dialogic communication has been gradually suppressed by the exigencies of social demand, only to be occasionally rekindled, for example, during the Renaissance, the Enlightenment or modernity. It was taken up and studied by philosophers and diverse scholars such as Kant, Rousseau, Hegel, Marx, Dewey, Buber, Bakhtin, Grice, Rogers, Habermas, Carey, Freire and many others. Of course, a number of contemporary communication scholars could be aligned with this paradigm, from the interpretative to critical ones (Carragee, 1990; Hardt, 1992).

Interestingly, among scholars, communication conceived of as control would seem unproductive: accuracy of data enhances understanding of the phenomena studied and communicated about (National Academy of Sciences, 2009; Roffi, d'Andrea, Pasveer, & Bufon, 2005). A scholar cannot plan and arrange for a desired reaction of a fellow scholar, for example, to a certain scientific problem if the actual dilemma is fully and accurately communicated to the latter. Similarly, communication among physicians about a serious problem in their contexts would be detrimental if it were communicatee control oriented. The intent of one communicator to influence the behavior of the other can often impede the accuracy and completeness of information about a shared context, rational discussion, *joint* plans of action, and even the freedom of expression. So, scientists, among others, employ non-strategic or *epistemic* communication (Bogdanić, 2014b).

This resembles, more or less, the type of communication that Thomas Kuhn also had in mind in the *Structure*. The communication implied by Kuhn seems to be on different ontological grounds from the theoretical communication conceived of as control. First, it is non-strategic because communicators aim at reaching mutual agreement on the state or changes in a common reality, seek viable

solutions to certain joint problems and tasks, which, if effective, often results in practical solutions or new knowledge. Likewise, it is paradigmatic, i.e., bound by shared communication codes and experiences. Such communicative paradigm is a community of shared knowledge, perceptive tools and communication codes. And the stronger the paradigm, the more effective or more substantial communication may occur (Kuhn, 1970, pp. 176–187; Longo, 2002; Rorty, 1979).

Kuhn's ideas are also somewhat reminiscent of those of general semantics. Korzybski's physical existence and logical existence, his "standards by which we judge existence" (1973, p. 79), could function as defining elements of a paradigm in a scientific community. The standards, to Korzybski, enable us to differentiate between "the valid symbols" and "non-senses," as well as to be continuously connected with a (shared) reality. Korzybski also believed science had been successful because those who practiced it were *extensionally* oriented and communicated their ideas and findings accurately, coherently, and according to some agreed-upon standards.

Grice (1975), too, outlined a comprehensive paradigm of epistemic communication, although his maxims may comprise only a segment of the epistemic paradigm of Kuhn's. His "cooperative principle" maxims, comprising *quantity* (be accurate), *quality* (share only true and validated data), *relation* (be relevant), and *manner* (be clear and orderly), define an epistemic communication code (pp. 45-47). Similarly, Habermas's pragmatic conditions for dialogue as communicative action yield a code for dialogic and epistemic communication. His criteria are the "validity claims," "comprehensibility," "truth," "appropriateness" and "sincerity" as well as equal conditions for communication among participants (Habermas, 1984, p. 301; 1979, p. 58).

Habermas also makes non-strategic communication requisite for communicative action (1984, p. 333). Non-strategic communication is the one without a preconceived intent serving only the sender's interest, i.e., it is non-instrumental. He suggested that the paradigm of the knowledge of objects had to be replaced by mutual understanding of subjects capable of speech and action. Mutual understanding is reflected in the "performative attitude of participants

who coordinate their plans for action by coming to understanding about something in the world” (p. 298).

In the two traditions I discuss here Habermas saw an ontological distinction between two polarized forms of human action: strategic action oriented toward control and success and communicative action oriented toward consensus and mutual understanding. Though communicative action serves as a condition of possibility of social life and its democratization, it is continuously threatened by its opposite: strategic action that takes on a life of its own, suppressing communicative action. The origins of domination can be traced to the concealed forms of strategic action communication that emerge in the context of either manipulative, strategic actions that curtail dialogue or systematically distorted communication that undermines it altogether. The communicative logic of strategic action can be understood in terms of critiques of technology and bureaucracy, whereas distorted communication can be understood in terms of analogies drawn from pathological communication in the psychiatric literature. (Morrow & Torres, 2002, p. 41)

“Dialogic” or “cosmopolitan” communication is also proposed by Pearce (2007) in relation to his theory of coordinated management of meaning. Carey (1989) explains the nature of ritual communication also as non-strategic. Bakhtin also saw the monologization of society as an obstacle to communication and mutual understanding – which can be achieved through dialogic communication (Bakhtin, 1984).

In education, Paulo Freire proposed dialogue as the tool for building a learning community as a vehicle of emancipation (2000). Freire believed the emancipatory knowledge could be achieved through equal dialogue of the teacher and student while the knowledge oriented towards control was received through his “banking” model of education (Morrow & Torres, 2002, p. 47).

Similarly, over thirty years ago Ivan Illich wrote of learning webs and now we can observe various processes of “deschooling society” on the web (Illich, 1971). And today, in the age of social media, it would seem that we have never had this much communication in the history of our civilization. Yet chauvinism, homophobia, hooligan-

ism, wars and terrorism remind us that we may not have it enough. Or that there is still something wrong with the ways of our communication.

Here, in the region of former Yugoslavia, we have had communication problems galore – from patriarchal discourses and practices of oppressive and defensive communication to refeudalization of public discourse by ethnic branding and other communicational consequences of the last war, such as vicarious victimization (Bogdanić, 2014a; Bogdanić, Karanović, & Ćurguz, 2016; Cvjetičanin, Sali-Terzić, & Dekić, 2010).

Some also argue that the postindustrial version of the meeting place – the Internet – does not seem to offer human beings full opportunity to experience and gain knowledge about their personal and social lives (Bugeja, 2005; Turkle, 2012, 2015). Other consequences of social life – such as the break-up of family or traditional community – can lead to a life without understanding of and bonding with other human beings, which, in turn, can lead to different forms of anti-social behavior. The traditional networks which have been giving people, throughout history, ample opportunities for mutual first-hand experiences, authentic communication, self-identity, empathy and understanding of others, and sharing of public spaces are being extended or gradually supplanted by social media.

Some warn it is still too early to claim that social media are a full functional equivalent to active social life, first-hand experiences and dialogue (Turkle, 2015). In the *Brave New World*, Huxley wrote, the libraries “contained only books of reference.” Many other books still abound, but people ever more trust and rely mainly on reference sources or mediated information rather than on authentic experiences. Even the internet of things is still largely referential.

Yet, (re)searching the adaptable communities that extend into the digital realm, and enable or disable dialogic communication can broaden and extend our knowledge of human communication (Bugeja, 2005; Habermas, 2006; Illich, 1971; Jones, 1999). For example, early users found Facebook to be an extension of or complement to their active offline social life (boyd & Ellison, 2007; Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007).

To place the idea of communication between the two paradigms does not necessarily imply one should argue for one or the other. We can also discuss their implications and possibly methods of their reconciliation in the areas such as education, public communication and everyday social life. Some of the pertinent questions that have been recently raised also focus the new media and the mediatization of social life (Couldry & Hepp, 2016).

For example, new technologies enable us, but they also direct us to new modes of communication and perception of reality. And we quickly adapt to the new ways. Thus a useful question here may be whether the new media force us to do everyday things in a certain way or they actually empower us to do them in a more efficacious way? In other words, do they empower or overpower us? Also, if they do both, under which conditions are the new media tools of domination on the one hand, or emancipation, on the other? Postman's cautionary questions also seem to be in order here. Namely, whenever considering a new technology, he suggested that we should try to think of the problem "to which such a technology is a solution." Also, we should consider possible new problems that the solution may create and the people or institutions most affected by those new problems. He recommends we should also ask how new technologies change language and who gains "special economic and political power from this new technology" (Postman, 2000, pp. 42-53).

On the other hand, the liberating, emancipating potential of the new media is enormous in the areas of direct democracy, economy, education, science and public services, as well as in other realms of social life. Yet, Curran, Fenton and Freedman (2012) warn us that we should stress the word "potential" in the above sentence.

Thayer (1987) used the analogy of the Sufi story on the ants who stray on a piece of paper and try to figure out the origin of writing. The ants eventually do understand the mechanics of writing but never its purpose and meaning. For that they needed "a new method of investigation." And so do we.

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Original article

SUBVERSIVE POSTERING (DOMINANCE AND CONSUMERISM CULTURE JAMMING)

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The aim of this paper is an analysis of posters containing anti-consumerism ideas. The method used is critical discourse analysis with an application of visual grammar. The objects of analysis are posters created within the project "Postering" by the association "Vizkultura" from Zagreb. It has been shown that there is an anti-consumerism awareness which refuses to accept the dominance of media culture whose main goal is profit and the imposition of a specific view of the world that serves the interests of commercial forces. The analysis has also revealed that it is possible to express resistance and offer an alternative idea to the consumerist media culture using the same medium that the dominant consumerist culture uses.

Keywords

anticonsumerism, cultural jamming, media culture, poster, critical discourse analysis

Introduction

Culture jamming is a strategy that includes various ways of resistance against the dominant media culture and its institutions. The aim of culture jamming is to discover the true power relations and interests in contemporary society in order to achieve certain changes in the world we live in. Culture jamming tends to raise awareness of people about persuasive intensions of power structures in consumer society. When awareness is achieved, it is possible to realize the changes. Plurality, freedom of speech and true democracy are changes which become possible when people have the opportunity to express different viewpoints. When passive audience, given the

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opportunity to send their own messages, becomes an active participant in social life, there is potential for achieving equality in communication and other fields of life. Culture jamming, among other things, includes tactics of reshaping and “distorting” existing media messages in order to achieve an unexpected outcome.

This type of activity includes a parody of consumerism and domination through posters, the media that are normally used for propaganda and advertising purposes. Subversive posters that are the subject of this research aim to undermine the power interests. Naturally, posters are just one example of culture jamming activities, because we live in the age of multimedia and meaning can be created and transformed in any available media in many ways.

The phrase culture jamming in this context was coined by a rock band, Negativland, in 1984. On the album *JamCon '84*, they promote anti-consumerism ideas (Deri, 2009, p. 15). Of course, this type of activity occurred in the past under different names.

The term *jamming* was originally used to describe “practice of interrupting radio broadcasts” of legal radio stations by adding illegal content in the form of music, conversation, weird sounds or simply noise (Deri, 2009, p. 15). Resistance to the dictates of one-sided media culture was expressed by manipulating the content of a radio program. Later, the term *culture jamming* started to be used for interrupting signals of different media, from radio and television to the Internet and billboards on city streets.

Culture jamming intention is to subvert and question the forms of dominant culture, while offering an alternative way of thinking. This kind of practice uses the artifacts of the dominant culture and gives them a new context. Culture jamming includes not only transformation of existing content, but also creation of a new one, always related to dominant culture patterns. Culture sabotage is also a term often used to describe this phenomenon, though culture jamming is a more general term. In this context, sabotage is not an end in itself. On the contrary, it has a particular purpose to draw attention to emancipation and freedom of speech.

Mark Dery explains the role of culture jamming and the importance of media literacy as “the desperate project of reconstructing meaning, or at least reclaiming that notion from marketing departments and P.R. firms, (that) requires visually-literate ghostbusters” (Deri, 2009, p. 15).

The power of culture jamming lies in the fact that it simultaneously subverts and changes meaning by disrupting the dominant

media culture and revealing the true intentions of power structures. Dery uses the term “guerrilla semiotics” in order to describe culture jamming activism, because activists “read between the lines of culture considered as a text” (Deri, 2009, p. 23). Therefore, it is necessary to obtain certain enlightenment, considering the vast amount of information in the information age. This means that it is necessary to acquire an awareness of the possible ways of understanding and deciphering the enormous amount of messages to which we are daily exposed. The power of culture jamming comes from many different factors. One of the factors is the broadness of the phenomenon activities, because it includes different groups of society (e.g. from environmental activists to street artists). Another important factor is the ability to use the power of opponents against themselves. For example, when modifying existing logos activists count on established recognition of a brand and adding new elements they create a whole new context. In such way, which is often fun, attention of message recipients is attracted. Therefore, shock, surprise and fun are important characteristics for the efficiency of culture jamming. Activists create alternative views of the world and possibilities of choice, thus insisting on the “true plurality,” as Dery states (p. 27). The increasing diversity of tactics, techniques and new media also contributes to the viral spreading of culture jamming, which is an additional strength of this phenomenon. Because of the diversity and broadness, it is difficult to classify all culture jamming practices under one movement. However, they all share a critical attitude towards the hegemonic consumerist ideology and they attempt to provide an alternative point of view.

In the article “I hack, therefore I am or How to fight the empire of symbolic misery,” Branislav Miltojević (2009) provides a comprehensive description of the culture jamming phenomenon. Miltojević argues that culture jamming activists are “pioneers on the front line for the liberation of our lives from advertising invasion” (Miltojević, 2009, p. 31). He notes that some kind of resistance to the hegemony appears globally, and that culture jammers are warning about the danger of disappearance of diversity, which is a part of the globalization process. Slow disappearance of originality, creativity and diversity leads to “symbolic misery.” This concept of saving common sense and reality itself from the occupation of imaginary projections is very similar to Debord’s concept of resistance to the spectacle which is mediated by images (Debord, 2002). Nevertheless, the way of resistance to global consumerist culture differs in form

and content. Sending feedback messages in a world of one-way mass communication can be a real challenge. Critically evaluated media culture is the common factor of resistance against consumerism. Miltojević described the state of today's society as "vertigo" caused by massive amounts of information. However, culture jammers are those who are trying to regain a sense of stability and balance. Another interesting point is that culture jammers do not see the difference between culture and life itself, and culture jamming is described as a "deviation from the official culture" (Miltojević, 2009, pp. 32-34). Miltojević also highlights the creative potential of culture jamming. The aim is not to destroy the dominant signs, but turn them around and use them against omnipresent commercialization. This extensive article provides a definition of the culture jamming phenomenon: "...we can characterize it as a form of public activism which is, generally speaking, in constant opposition to the universal commercialization and global view of the world" (p. 35).

Typical Representatives

Adbusters, Canada

Adbusters are Media Foundation gathered around the eponymous Canadian magazine that promotes anti-consumerism ideas as well as anti-consumerism activism. Adbusters have become famous by making spoof ads of the world's biggest brands. The group identifies itself as "a global network of artists, activists, writers, pranksters, students, educators and entrepreneurs who want to advance the new social activist movement of the information age" (The Media Foundation, n. d.). They also point out that their "aim is to topple existing power structures and forge major adjustments to the way we live in the twenty-first century" (The Media Foundation, n. d.). Why mention this group as a typical representative of the culture jamming movement? The magazine and the group itself have become recognizable by serious-humorous spoof ads. Using existing advertising forms, logos and visual identities of well known corporations, Adbusters create a new context of advertising that exposes the real interests of the corporations behind those ads. And the real interest of the corporations is a profit. A variety of advertising parodies can be found on their website (Spoof Ads, n. d.).

Not only that Adbusters have gained worldwide popularity with spoof ads, they have also become an inspiration for like-minded people who want to fight back advertising industry with their humor-

ous imitation of commercials. Spoof ads, among other things, make the content of the Adbusters magazine, which is, allegedly, a non-profit group and supports itself by subscribers (The Media Foundation, n. d.). In addition, the magazine includes serious analyses, articles and viewpoints, which oppose the consumerist values of contemporary society. The magazine also highlights its activist dimension because their aim is to encourage readers to do something against today's dominant power structures (The Media Foundation, n. d.). To achieve this goal, the group and its founder Kalle Lasn devised campaigns aimed at raising awareness about anti-consumerism. The names of these campaigns are: "Buy Nothing Day", "Digital Detox Week", "Blackspot Unswoosher" (shoes with "do it yourself" logo) and they also initiated the action "Occupy Wall Street" (Campaigns, n. d.).

These campaigns show that the movement has a strong activist dimension because it motivates people to gain awareness of corporate propaganda, modify lifestyle and transform themselves from passive observers to active participants in creating a better and more sincere world (The Media Foundation, n. d.).

Using the analogy with the environmental movement, Adbusters often express concerns about the threat to the physical and mental environment of a contemporary man. As modern industries are polluting the natural environment, global "corporate disinformation" is polluting our mental environment. Kalle Lasn, the founder of Adbusters magazine, points out that "our mental environment is a common-property resource like the air or the water." That's why "we need to protect ourselves from unwanted incursions into it" (Lasn, 1999, p. 13). Lasn also emphasizes that with our actions we have brought the world to the brink of destruction. In the 20th century in particular, forest area on the planet has drastically decreased. Selective fishing in rivers and seas has disrupted the natural biosphere of these habitats and some species are almost extinct. We consume fossil fuels as there are unlimited quantities and at the same time we pollute the air we breathe. "We've sold off our planet's natural capital and called it income. And now the earth, like the economy, is stripped" (Lasn, 2009a).

Nature and its resources are not the only things taken away from us. Lasn argues that culture is unfairly deprived from us too. Therefore, decisive battle that remains is the battle for culture. Culture jamming is one way of fighting for culture. Lasn points out that Culture jamming represents interference of signals which throw people

into a trance. Therefore, it is necessary to spread true information to achieve a certain cognitive dissonance in order to understand reality, change a way of life and topple power structures (Jensen, 2001).

While explaining the phenomenon of subvertising, Lasn says that it means placing ideas which sabotage advertising with the aim of exposing the system. Advertising plays the central role in creating a consumer culture and maintaining consumer lifestyle and therefore represents a legitimate target for sabotage (Lasn, 2009b). Mental environment should not be colonized by the private interests of corporations. Subvertising should confuse and awake dormant consciousness of modern consumers.

Billboard Liberation Front, USA

The Billboard Liberation Front is one of the long-lived groups that practices culture jamming and it exists since 1977. The Front was founded by a group of enthusiasts from San Francisco, USA.

The name of the group reveals a lot about its mission. The group members believe that our environment is occupied by billboards of commercial forces, so the billboards need to be liberated. In their manifesto they point out that billboards should belong to everyone. Thus their goal is every citizen having a personal billboard (Napier & Thomas, 2009). Manifesto starts with the sentence: "In the beginning was the Ad" (p. 211), so it could be said that it was written in a religious-humorous style. In accordance with such style, they imply almost divine status of commercials in contemporary society. In addition, the manifesto explains why billboard as a medium was chosen for "liberation" from the advertising industry occupation. "You can switch off/smash/shoot/hack or in other ways avoid Television, Computers and Radio. You are not compelled to buy magazines or subscribe to newspapers" (p. 212). However, billboards belong to those advertising media that cannot be avoided if you move in the modern environment. Since they are located in public spheres, the Billboard Liberation Front believes that the public has a right to send their messages through billboards too. It is interesting that in their manifesto, liberators write words "advertisement" and "billboard" in capital letters. With the quasi-religious tone they say that "It is clear that He who controls the Ad speaks with the voice of our Age." (p. 212). Therefore, they invite citizens to join "The High Priesthood of Advertisers," modify, improve and embellish billboards in their environment. This call clearly points to activist dimension that the Front has.

In their manifesto, billboard liberators further stand out that we live in a world where the commodification of everything, including art and culture, has happened. They express their disappointment with the fact that art and artists are at the service of the advertising industry. "Spiritualism, literature and the physical arts: painting, sculpture, music and dance are by and large produced, packaged and consumed in the same fashion as a new car" (Napier & Thomas, 2009, p. 211). Also, they named advertising moguls "new shamans" who successfully re"spun" human knowledge and achievements of philosophy "as marketing strategies and consumer campaigns" (p. 211).

The Billboard Liberation Front has a spoof corporate message on their website. In that message they "offer" extraordinary services of their team of professionals. Due to obvious reasons names of the expert team are listed under pseudonyms. The team covers a wide range of expertise: copywriters, graphic designers, engineers, technicians, and even bodyguards (Corporate message from the Billboard Liberation Front, 2012). It is interesting that some members of the Billboard Liberation Front make a living in advertising industry. This is supported by the fact that billboard modifications are pretty convincing. "Improved" billboards are never amateurism, but creatively and technically convincing solutions (Segal, n. d.). These people use activities in BBF as an "exhaust valve" for sending thoughts that are not limited by commercial forces of today. They also emphasize that their creative solutions are "unfettered by the petty demands of clueless executives and weak-kneed middle managers" (Corporate message from the Billboard Liberation Front, 2012). The Billboard Liberation Front openly admits that their goal is the subversion of advertising messages. Sabotage is not an end in itself. The front wants to unmask the false notions that the advertising industry gives to citizens. They, in fact, believe that corporations and marketing agencies deceive and mislead the public, and their role is to uncover the truth hidden behind the "images of the spectacle" displayed on the billboards of our consumer culture. Their manifesto and corporate message represent culture jamming, because there is an ironic message behind an apparent business tone.

The Billboard Liberation Front made its action well known through photographs on their website, which means that messages are visible not only to those who are physically present in the vicinity of modified billboards. In this way, a liberated billboard is available to the general public, but also can be inspiration for those who

want to do something similar in their community. That is the way of showing resistance to one-way communication on a billboard as a medium, and resistance to dominant structures that send one-sided messages. Since advertising plays the central role in creating a consumer culture, it is necessary to strike back in this sphere. It should be noted that the Front is not destructive, but encourages constructive action by reclaiming public space occupied by commercial forces. If we analyze the impact of this group, it could be said that the Front is fairly well known and that it has probably inspired similar actions around the world. Nevertheless, it seems that their actions are just a drop in the ocean of advertising messages and that their improvements do not significantly affect the advertising industry as a whole. Billboard liberations are still individual actions carried out by small groups of enthusiasts.

Research problem, objectives, sample and method

One of the objectives of this paper is to describe and explain manifestations of culture jamming and to achieve understanding of the culture jamming phenomenon. Therefore, the first part of this section explores a theoretical framework in order to clarify the phenomenon. The second part of this section is a qualitative research with the analysis of specific examples of culture jamming. The aim is to explore whether Project "Plakataranje" represents communicating resistance to the dominant discourse, since the dominant discourse tends to colonize public sphere and promote the values of consumerism.

Research samples of this paper are five random posters created within the project "Plakataranje" ("Postering") by association Vizkultura from Croatia. The goal of this project is to encourage artists to return to the poster as a medium, and to engage people in critical reflection of current social topics. In addition to the presence on the Internet, posters are also placed on streets.

Since selected texts are multimodal, semiotic strategies for analyzing multimodal messages were engaged (multimodal discourse analysis). In the book *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) present method of studying visual content with the use of visual grammar.

The theoretical framework of this paper consists of different concepts such as culture industry (Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer), public sphere (Jürgen Habermas), hegemony (Anto-

nio Gramsci), media culture (Douglas Kellner), society of the spectacle (Guy Debord) and encoding/decoding process (Stuart Hall). In the next part of this paper, these theoretical concepts will be briefly described.

Theoretical framework

The era we live in is characterized by consumerism and consumer lifestyle. Since there is consumerism, there is also certain awareness of the nature of this phenomenon. Theorists Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer created the term commercial totalitarianism. Commercial totalitarianism denotes the imposition of values that have a common ideological foundation, and that is profit. The existing notion of consumers' free choice is nothing but an illusion. Powerful corporations create meaning, ideas and consequently culture that serve their interests (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1989). Therefore, the objectives of the culture industry are commercial and they are similar to the objectives of any other industry. All efforts are aimed at achieving economic success at massive scale.

In the book *Media Culture*, a contemporary theorist Douglas Kellner works in the wake of these ideas. Kellner's standpoint is that the media have colonized the culture, that the mass media have replaced the earlier methods of communication such as oral expression, and that we live in a dehumanized world where media dominate our free time and our culture (Kellner, 2004). Culture jamming is a phenomenon which refuses to accept this colonization of the culture and domination of one-sided media messages.

According to Habermas, the public sphere is a domain of social life where citizens gather to discuss issues of common interest. The basic principle of the public sphere is that it is available to everyone and that everyone has the right to participate. Without the full implementation of this principle, the public sphere cannot be achieved. "Access is guaranteed to all citizens" (Habermas, 1974, p. 49). Habermas points out that there is a problem with the public sphere in the late capitalism. The private interests invade the public sphere and occupy it unfairly. In the light of this, culture jamming can be seen as a response to this occupation and as an attempt to reclaim basic principles which make this sphere public.

Antonio Gramsci elaborated on the notion of cultural hegemony. To put it simply, hegemony denotes imposing a certain ideology by the dominant social groups. Gramsci described the way in which the

dominant structures in a capitalist society use the cultural hegemony in order to impose their ideology and to pursue their interests. Culture jamming practice marks this imposition of the ideology in contemporary capitalist society and wants to show that there are alternative ways of apprehending the world. Therefore, it is necessary to raise public awareness of their subordinate position, which requires engagement of culture resources (Gramsci, 1999, pp. 131-177). Here, we can clearly see the basic correlation of Gramsci's description with the way culture jammers see culture. Culture jamming activists fight in the field of culture with the aim of raising public awareness on certain issues of the social order that we perceive as normal, while, in fact, it is quite arbitrary and imposed.

Guy Debord's theory of the spectacle is important for studying culture jamming phenomenon for several reasons. The first reason is that many contemporary movements that practice culture jamming refer to Debord and Situationist as their precursors. For instance Kalle Lasn, the founder of the Canadian organization Adbusters, in his book *Culture Jam* mentions Debord and Situationists as visionaries who foresaw what would happen to the society led by consumer capitalism (Lasn, 1999, p. xvi). The second reason is Debord's significant description of the late capitalist society, where he established the term "society of the spectacle" (Debord, 2002). Besides that, the entire Debord's opus is pervaded by anti-consumerist attitude, which makes the third reason. The fourth reason is the formation of the term *détournement* (sabotage, distorting and creating new meaning for existing artifacts of the media culture).

Stuart Hall is one of the key theorists of cultural studies and some of his concepts were used in this paper. One concept includes an explanation of the complex process of encoding and decoding. The second concept includes the view that the dominant groups in society communicate messages with ideological background. The third concept includes the theory about different reading positions regarding the interpretation of communicating messages. Furthermore, Hall applied the thesis of ideology in visual messages in the case of advertising, pointing out that purely denotative communication does not exist in advertising discourse.

We might take an example from advertising discourse. Here, too, there is no "purely denotative," and certainly no "natural", representation. Every visual sign in advertising connotes a quality, situation, value or inference, which is present as an implication

or implied meaning, depending on the connotational positioning. (Hall, 2006, p. 168)

This is especially important for a case study of this paper that deals with advertising and anti-advertising messages (strong denotative advertising references are co-opted and transformed into entirely different meaning). Since culture jammers express their resistance to the subject of jamming, it can be assumed that they take an oppositional reading position.

Project Plakatiranje (Postering)

The poster in the public space was an important medium of communication in the time leading up to the digital age. However, as advertising has evolved, advertisements are taking more and more space which previously belonged to the public. “No postering” signs have become common in places where posters once were. As a result, public participation in communication through this medium has decreased. With the advent of new media that were not much present during the existence of former Yugoslavia, such as billboards and citylight advertisements, the poster as a medium has become even more neglected in our region (former SFRY). Therefore, it is unusual when you come across a sign “Postering allowed”, which was the title of an exhibition held in March 2014 in Zagreb. We learn a lot about this project and exhibition from the description of the exhibition (Golub, 2014).

“Postering” is a project initiated by the association “Vizkultura” from Croatia. The aim has been to encourage artists to start using this medium again and to engage themselves in critical reflection of current social topics. This project has had a great response and it has become a regular feature on the website, where a new poster of selected artists from the region is published every week (since April 2013). In addition to the presence on the Internet, posters have been placed in public spaces (the city of Zagreb), which gives the poster the role of the medium that it once had.

Artists have total freedom in designing the content of posters. Still, there are some general guidelines in accordance with the objectives of the project, which give activist dimension to the whole endeavor. To be specific, the poster should communicate an answer to the current sociopolitical circumstances. According to the profile of the organization “Vizkultura”, works can be related to issues dealing with the status of visual art, which is too often in the function

of advertising. The importance of preserving cultural heritage is also one of the “Postering” themes.

In order to successfully communicate these issues in the public space, which is flooded with advertising messages, it is necessary to draw attention. Attention is gained with the subversion of usual elements of visual communication (Golub, 2014), which corresponds to the concept of culture jamming. This factor of subversion in meaning, but also in the visual elements of posters, made this project distinctive. The project “Postering” is an alternative to the dominant consumerist media culture. This project promotes media activism that is important for the democratic functioning of society. As such, the project brings everyday communicative space to life, which is crucial for the functioning of the public sphere and democratic society. This fight in the field of culture is necessary in order to change the way in which reality is perceived and engage culture resources against imposing certain ideologies.

Poster 1

Poster title: “Luksuz” (“Luxury”)

Designer: Ena Baćanović

Source: <http://vizkultura.hr/luksuz/>

Luxury is a word that denotes wealth, abundance, but also something that is not necessary for life. The poster shows a product that looks like a bottle of “Chanel” perfume, which represents a luxury product. The shape of the bottle itself is a match to the original, which is often used in “Chanel” perfume commercials.

The label on the product is a fragment which has been modified from the original. Instead of the title “N°5 CHANEL PARIS PARFUM” the modified version says “1.5% MILK CROATIA”. It is noticeable that instead of geographical determinant “PARIS” the modified poster says “CROATIA” (Baćanović, 2013b). From the poster description we learn that the work was inspired by the frequent rise in prices of basic foodstuffs in Croatia, which have thus become the domain of luxury (Baćanović, 2013a). Perspective has been used to demonstrate the distance, which suggests the unavailability of the displayed product. The irony is that, in this case, the luxury product is milk, which should be available to everyone.

Perspective is achieved by displaying the road that narrows up with the product being the final destination. It seems that this symbolically represents Croatian journey in the time of transition from

Southeast Europe to the European Union. The transition of Croatia, as well as other countries in the region, should be the way to progress, but this road is full of contradictions. This poster clearly shows the difficulties the countries of the former Yugoslavia, that had the characteristics of socialistic societies, have gone through – painful war and post-war period, and then the process of transition towards a notional way to a better life. This process involves the acceptance of market values of Western capitalist societies which are role models.

This fragment of anti-advertising discourse is a classic example of Debord's *détournement* or culture jamming (Debord, 2002). The aim of placing posters in the public sphere is similar: to wake up in-different masses and to give new meaning to the existing artifact. The use and appropriation of the well known reference (luxury perfume), should reveal the persuasion of advertising and consumer culture in general.

This poster deals with Gramsci's concept of hegemony that knows no national boundaries and, among other things, imposes market values and puts population in the role of consumers. All of this is happening in the process of transition, and the dominant rhetoric is accompanied by implied consent of the majority (Gramsci, 1999). The poster, which depicts the luxury product with an unexpected label, questions the dominant discourse. Subvertising in this case undermines not only the depicted product or brand, but has wider implications relating to the state, market values, and consumerism in general. Subvertising functions by appropriating the visual identity of a famous luxury product and surprising with unexpected textual content on the product label, thus gaining attention and encouraging critical thinking. Imitation and improvisation create anti-advertising discourse that does not follow the usual message direction from sender to receiver, but changes the meaning and thus the essence of the expected messages. Advertising discourse is dominant in consumer culture and an alternative point of view, like this poster, is questioning the legitimacy of this dominant discourse. In this case, strength of the opponent (brand recognition and omnipresence of advertising) is used against it, thereby undermining consumerism in general.

Thorstein Veblen, in his analysis of the emergence of the consumer society, wrote about luxury in terms of spending too much money to highlight a certain status. This trend spreads rapidly to all social classes (Veblen, 1966). The paradox of our society and the so-

cieties of the region is that the status is placed first, even ahead of basic needs. To be, to have and to appear are three phases of consumer culture which Debord described in his *Society of the Spectacle*. This paradoxical equalization of needs and luxury, where it becomes unclear what is the priority, is characteristic of passive public of the spectacle (Debord, 2002). Poster "Luxury" effectively and illustratively encourages meditation on contradictions underlying the modern consumer society where market values are increasingly becoming the imperative.

Poster 2

Poster title: Lilliput

Designers: Karlo Kazinoti and Mišo Komenda

Source: <http://vizkultura.hr/lilliput/>

It is obvious, at first glance, that this poster is an allusion to *Gulliver's Travels* by Jonathan Swift. In this case, two young men (the authors of the poster) are captured by a miniature nation, Lilliputians (Kazinoti & Komenda, 2013b). The main difference from the original is that the "prisoners" are in a plastic wrap. From the description of the work we learn that the authors, self-ironically, want to find out how it feels to be a product (Kazinoti & Komenda, 2013a). Here we can see a reference to the consumer society in which everything can be turned into a product. Furthermore, the authors of this poster use the medium of the poster for their own advertising. Stuart Hall calls this reading position negotiated position (between dominant/hegemonic position and oppositional position). This position is full of contradictions because it recognizes the real nature of consumerism, but still has its own interpretation (Hall, 2006).

Gulliver's Travels was a parody of travel books, a popular genre at the time. Similarly, this poster is a parody of commercials, the dominant genre of our time.

The book *Gulliver's Travels* contained serious criticism of its time and values of that time. Similarly, this poster criticizes values of the system where consumerism and marketing dominate. Same as Swift's novel, this poster deals with relations between power and size. It seems that Lilliput represents a system that has the power over an ordinary man (Gulliver), though Lilliputians are smaller and their power is more imaginary than real. Ordinary people are "trapped" and "intoxicated" by images of the spectacle, therefore it is very hard

for them to achieve freedom, although they are, in fact, more powerful than the system.

These concepts are consistent with Debord's theory of spectacle. In Swift's novel, Lilliput is such a vain country that it believes it has the right to dominate others. In this poster the metaphor is transferred to the forces of consumerism and advertising industry because they impose their values to society at large. Gulliver is, however, depicted as rather naive and impressed by Lilliput's demonstration of power, just as consumers are impressed by images of the spectacle in the consumer society (Debord, 2002).

In addition to all of this, the poster is concerned with the relationship between art and marketing that are increasingly intertwining in today's society. From the description of the work we learn that the poster is "analogy to marketing which is packed into culture" (Kazinoti & Komenda, 2013a). Once again, we see contradictions and self-irony, because the authors of the poster are artists who work in advertising industry too. Instead of a conclusion, we can say that this poster is a classic example of culture jamming that uses existing knowledge and cultural patterns to create a new message.

Poster 3

Poster title: "The New Ignorance / Miss End of World"

Designers: POOP Studio

Source: <http://vizkultura.hr/the-new-ignorance-miss-end-of-world/>

The poster "The New Ignorance / Miss End of World" is a collage which uses the synthesis of visual elements to represent visible manifestations of consumerism and consequences that consumer lifestyle has on society. In the upper part of the poster there is a photograph of fast food that has become an integral part of contemporary life. The lower part of the poster shows fashion industry models who wear fur products. There are emojis on the faces of models, which are widely used in communication on social networks, though they reduce human expression to few simplified emotions. In the center of the poster there is an illustration of half-open mouth that symbolizes admiration and passive consumption of products displayed in the top and bottom parts of the poster. The illustration of the mouth is followed by the comment from social networks: "Love them... don't care what everybody says" ("The New Ignorance / Miss

End of World", 2014). The comment reflects the numbness and short-sighted thinking about the consequences of consumerism.

Designers of this subversive poster emphasize that it is intended to show what type of information attracts most attention in contemporary society. Despite the existence of a global network of information and knowledge that has never been more accessible, today's generation spends time following trivial news. In this way, the new media remain unused for the knowledge acquisition and the development of democracy ("The New Ignorance / Miss End of World", 2014).

The atmosphere of the poster corresponds to Debord's description of the society of the spectacle where images create notion of reality that encourages passive consumerism. Celebrities create the illusion of unattainable happiness that contributes to the maintenance of the society of the spectacle and its status quo (Debord, 2002). The authors of this poster have some interesting claims in verbal description of their artwork. They state that:

the most irrelevant and stultifying news evoke the biggest interest, which emphasize the excessive consumerism and voyeuristic following the rich and famous, while on the other hand extreme poverty, the destruction of natural resources and extinction of entire species are overlooked. There is a new wave of inertia, insensitivity, superficiality and the absence of any liability, which is imposed as a cool and acceptable behavior. ("The New Ignorance / Miss End of World", 2014)

The poster with its title "The New Ignorance / Miss End of World" indicates that such a fascination with spectacle could lead to the end of the world in the spiritual and in the physical sense. It seems that we live in a world that is becoming more and more dehumanized, where even our free time is dominated by the media, as Douglas Kellner puts it. This subversive anti-consumerist poster, placed in the public sphere, represents resistance to such notion of the world. Kellner encourages such media activism in order to spread the values of democracy and freedom (Kellner, 2004).

This poster is an example of culture jamming, because it takes over popular culture references and gives them a whole new meaning and context. With its "chaotic" composition it indicates the crisis of late capitalism which Habermas described (Habermas, 1984, 1987). In such society, the system manages meaning, so it is difficult to identify the real needs and authentic identity. It is much easier to

accept the imposed concept of the world and become a passive consumer.

Antonio Gramsci called this passive consent of the majority (Gramsci, 1999). Adorno and Horkheimer, however, postulated that the culture industry, like the culture presented in this poster, deprives people of the ability of critical thinking. The opposite of the culture industry is an authentic culture which “fosters the capacity of human imagination” (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1989).

Poster 4

Poster title: “Parking 1:0 kulturna baština” (“Parking Lot 1:0 Cultural Heritage”)

Designer: Lana Grahek

Source: <http://vizkultura.hr/parking-10-kulturna-bastina/>

The poster shows a parking lot under construction and a building in the background in the phase of demolition (Grahek, 2014b). From the description of the poster we find out that the building in the background was demolished and no longer exists. The building is “Paromlin” in Zagreb, which has a value of cultural heritage, as a “masterpiece of industrial architecture of the early 20th century” (Grahek, 2014a). The curiosity is that the former industrial buildings eventually get cultural and historical value. From the description of the poster we also learn that the demolition of the building was done very quickly, without the consent and knowledge of the public and in spite of legal procedures. Physical evidence of this act (the remains of construction materials) is quickly removed to achieve maximum functionality of the parking lot (Grahek, 2014a). The poster title reveals the outcome in the form of sports results, where parking is a winner and cultural heritage is a loser. Through news discourse, the public is informed that the commercial forces profited at the expense of cultural heritage. The composition of the poster suggests the same, because the parking lot is in the foreground, while “Paromlin” building is in the background. The poster is black and white which emphasizes the deterioration, atmosphere of the ruins and impersonality of space marked for parking cars.

This case is a typical example of Debord’s impersonal architecture at the service of capital (Debord, 2002). The destroyed building, which was converted into a space with taking toll, was once a part of the history and culture of Zagreb. Public participation in this space is possible only through the role of consumers. This represents

oppressive and one-sided imposition of market values which Antonio Gramsci described (Gramsci, 1999). Also, Habermas's description of the late capitalism society in which private interests occupy the public sphere, can be literally applied in this case. In the public sphere (Habermas, 1974), access is free and guaranteed to all citizens who are in this case reduced to passive consumers under conditions dictated by capitalism (charged time and space).

However, the author of this poster encourages the acquisition of knowledge about the history, culture and civil rights, which corresponds to Habermas's concept of communicative action. With the publication of the poster that shows the battle of culture and consumerism, the potential for polemical speech is achieved, and that is an important factor to resist the forces of the system (Habermas, 1984, 1987).

Poster 5

Poster title: "Za plakat" ("For Poster")

Designers: Zoran Đukić and Jan Pavlović

Source: <http://vizkultura.hr/za-plakat/>

This poster shows a trash can on a street, whose front is used as advertising space. In this case the text of the ad is a parody and says: "Not only that I'm a poster, I'm trash too" (Đukić & Pavlović, 2013b). In the description of the work the authors report that they want to emphasize how "the government institutions treat the poster as a medium" (Đukić & Pavlović, 2013a). Also, the authors express their protest because most of the places for free postering no longer exist. In this way, the participation of citizens in the public sphere is limited, as well as their democratic freedoms. The content of the poster is a statement about the way visual culture is treated in our society. We can notice that visual art is at the service of marketing and advertising industry. The commercialization of the public space is going so far that even a trash can be used as advertising space.

The work which is essentially a photo of the poster (picture in picture) has certain properties of mirrors. This image reflects reality, but it is also a result of that reality. The reading of this discourse fragment corresponds to the concept of critical discourse analysis, where the discourse is constituted by the society, but at the same time it constitutes the society. From the text "Not only that I'm a poster, I'm trash too", we can read that the state of the visual arts is miserable, and advertisements on trash cans are even more miser-

able. Still, the creation of this subversive message and a sabotage of advertising space create a certain counter-culture that has the potential to reverse the balance of power, as Gramsci argued. Despite the apparent invasion of the public sphere, the creation of these culture jamming acts with contrasting views, represents the potential for Habermas's force of the better argument (Habermas, 1984, 1987). The use of trash cans for advertising testifies in favor of Gramsci's thesis that the dominant ideology seamlessly incorporates itself into daily life (Gramsci, 1999). This poster is interesting because it implicitly and explicitly deals with something that is a consequence of consumer lifestyles: garbage. Contemporary civilization produces more waste than ever because most industrial products are consumed and quickly thrown away. Before the Industrial Revolution, people lived in better harmony with nature and they didn't produce so much waste. Today, urban garbage dumps are becoming a big problem because they represent an ecological threat and jeopardize the quality of life. This work illustrates that cities are literally (garbage) and symbolically (advertising) overwhelmed with by-products of a consumerist lifestyle.

Conclusion

The Postering project, Adbusters and Billboard Liberation Front use similar visual media (posters, billboards) in their activism. Techniques for designing messages are also similar. They use well known references where elements are combined in such way to give new meaning. All three organizations place their artworks in the public sphere with the aim to raise citizens' awareness of certain social problems. We live in a world of media culture where one-sided communication dominates. That is why the emergence of culture jamming projects, which attempt to send feedback messages, is important. Adbusters and Billboard Liberation Front are globally known organizations which exist longer than Postering project and whose impact is bigger. Postering project was initiated by the association "Vizkultura" from Croatia, and poster authors are mainly from countries of the former Yugoslavia. The emergence of such a project is significant because the culture jamming does not occur often in this region.

The three organizations do not limit their activities to a parody of corporate advertising, but express resistance to the establishment, dominance and a one-way communication as well. Adbusters and

the Association "Vizkultura" are officially registered and they use official channels of communication. Their authors are not anonymous. Billboard Liberation Front is different because it acts anonymously and uses guerrilla methods. Also, Billboard Liberation Front activists take over billboards that others have paid for and then reshape their message. However, what is common to all three organizations is that they operate online, which means that they have their own websites where they present their actions. All three organizations emphasize the importance of raising citizens' awareness of the possibilities of sending feedback messages.

The project "Plakatiranje" is an alternative to the dominant consumerist media culture. The project promotes media activism that is important for the democratic functioning of society. In this case, the authors meet the "requirement" of Kellner's media literacy because "Vizkultura" editorial selects artists that are established in the field of visual arts (Kellner, 2004). "Plakatiranje", taken as a whole, represents a certain social movement which arose as a reaction to the dominance of culture industry that imposes market values in all spheres of life. As such, the project brings everyday communicative space into life which is, according to Habermas, crucial for the functioning of the public sphere and democratic society (Habermas, 1984, 1987). Gramsci also emphasized the necessity of a battle in a field of culture in order to change the way reality is perceived and to engage the resources of culture against the imposition of a certain ideology (Gramsci, 1999).

These subversive posters prove that the creation and transformation of the dominant culture messages are still possible. According to Stuart Hall, the authors of these posters take the oppositional reading position and refuse to accept discourse that was imposed upon them (Hall, 2006). Nevertheless, it is questionable how big the reach of these messages is, because advertising messages are more numerous and create a spectacle that blurs the vision of a potentially different world.

In the project "Plakatiranje" the trigger for action is colonization of streets and cultural heritage by commercial forces. Based on the analysis of the individual posters, we have seen that posters are the attempt to communicate resistance to the dominant discourse that tends to colonize the public sphere and to promote consumerism. The project "Plakatiranje" shows a wide range of cultural jamming examples, from typical subvertising to criticism of urban planning. A detailed analysis The analysis of the posters shows that there is

awareness of domination and consumerism which dominant discourse promotes. The content of the posters communicates resistance and provides an opportunity for diverse visions of the world.

We have also demonstrated that within the dominant media culture that promotes the values of consumerism, there is a certain culture of resistance that opposes the consumer ideology. Culture jamming is a phenomenon which proves that a contemporary man is not just a passive consumer who uncritically accepts what power structures impose. A variety of posters in this paper illustrates the creative potential of people who are able to create alternative cultural patterns between domination and emancipation.

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Original article

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF PREGNANCY IN
PATRIARCHAL PARADIGMUDK 004.738.12:37.018.1
doi:10.7251/ZIP09117041G*Dijana Gajić**

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In this paper we are interested in discourse on pregnancy and the way roles of mothers and fathers are represented in the texts of the websites for parents. We use critical discourse analysis to analyze 121 texts which deal with characteristics of pregnancy week by week. Authors of the texts put great responsibility on women by putting in front the well-being of the fetus. They put women in a certain social and biological environment, in which they have to obey strict rules, and only then they will give birth to a healthy child. Women themselves lack subjectivity in discourse; the fetus is seen as a social being in need of protection. Fathers are usually represented as confused and in need of help and understanding in this, to them unnatural situation. We also discuss how such websites portray the social construction of a pregnant woman, what roles they put her in, and through various techniques (imperative sentences, suggestions, presuppositions, advising, etc.) create a strong, patriarchal model of behavior of women during pregnancy.

Keywords

discourse analysis, parenthood, patriarchy, pregnancy, websites for parents

Introduction

According to the patriarchal paradigm, one of the most important roles of women is a role of a mother. This role creates her own identity, and the lack of it makes her incomplete, unfinished, in a way in debt to the society, because the role of a mother is both biological and social (Vasiljević, 2008, p. 101). Motherhood can be defined as

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a social construct, something that protrudes out of the realm of biology. As a social construct, motherhood is strictly defined by social norms and expectations, and it usually perfectly fits into patriarchy. In patriarchal societies, the mere potential of a woman to give birth to child/children sets an imperative for her to do so in the course of her life (Tripković, 1995, p. 22) and “The idea that only women with children are ‘proper’ women is remarkably pervasive even during a period of history publicly committed to gender equality” (Oakley, 1980).

Although the belief that a woman is the primary parent is outdated from the perspective of feminism, when talking about American society bell hooks says that “Most people in our society still believe women are better at raising children than men” (hooks, 2000, p. 83) and to think otherwise is still to some extent taboo in many societies¹. The idea of equal parenting slowly enters the media discourse, where the ideologies behind the dominant idea of motherhood are frequently reproduced (Luke, 1994, p. 294), which results in domination over women (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 255). One reason for this, among other things, is the potential of the traditional concept of motherhood to be used in marketing (Sunderland, 2004, p. 121), which also shows how neoliberal ideology uses elements of patriarchy for gaining more profit. Given the strong presence of these beliefs, it is not surprising that “many feel that they know what a good mother is, but they are not so sure that they could tell what a good father is without a lot of thinking” (Vasiljević, 2008, p. 115). The “real” mothers or the “good ones” are selfless, self-sacrificing creatures. This complex role, with a number of imposed features, starts very early, even with the beginning of pregnancy.

The mother’s role is much more than to “simply give birth”. People around her and society in a broader sense tend to evaluate to which extent she is a good mother, in other words – whether her approach to maternal obligations, such as breastfeeding, preparing food, upbringing, ultimately sacrificing for a child (Nenić & Zaharijević, 2013, p. 267), are considered good enough (The Voice Group, 2010, p. 386). Thanks to technological progress in the last century (the use of an ultrasound, for example), the fetus is now often considered an individual being (Lupton, 2013, p. 35), therefore even the behavior of women during pregnancy is the subject to this evaluation by medical personnel as well as people in her environment. Deborah Lupton has done a lot of research on the subject. She says: “Preg-

nant women often articulate the discourse that the wellbeing of their unborn should be placed above their own needs and desires. The discourse of 'maternal self-sacrifice' or 'self-denial' is frequently used in pregnant women's account of how they discipline themselves in the interests of the unborn" (Lupton, 2003). The women are, so to speak, hostages of their reproductive life, and their reproductive rights are, at the same time, threatened. If access to the individual woman's body expands in this manner and "If women do not have the right to choose what happens to our bodies we risk relinquishing rights in all other areas of our lives" (hooks, 2000, p. 29).

In this research, we have in mind one assumption essential for understanding the treatment of pregnant women in modern societies, and that is that in everyday discourse, including the public discourse, the embryo/fetus is seen as a social being (Lupton, 2013, p. 18) that has certain rights, and accordingly requires adequate protection. In the US, for example, the concept of prenatal child abuse is in use. This term implies the responsibility of a mother for the health of a fetus, her legal responsibility for her actions that could possibly endanger the fetus, as well as forced caesarean section if the court decides it is in the interest of the fetus (Steinbock, 1992, p. 4). Such practices show the need to control women's reproduction at any stage of pregnancy, with the ultimate stage of possible criminalization because of possible insufficient care for the fetus, as well as intervention of institutions. One cause of this is the need of society and the state to protect the fetus, seen as the future person, from his potentially dangerous mother (Lupton, 2013, p. 94). This way, a woman is almost instantly put in a subordinate position in relation to society and institutions, giving them the right to intervene. The scope of her duties and responsibilities is expended, and her behavior is directed towards socially desirable one, thus diminishing her right to act according to her own wishes. Therefore, the authors of this paper argue that "there are compelling policy reasons not to recognize fetal rights, as the use of legal coercion will do little to protect the not-yet-born while seriously endangering women's rights to privacy and self-determination" (Steinbock, 1992, p. 129).

Institutional control also exists at smaller scales, even in the form of a normalized submissiveness. Women leave their body during pregnancy and childbirth in the hands of health experts and try to behave according to their inputs (Street, Gold, & McDowell, 1995, p. 211). Doctors direct women towards the desired behavior and warn them about the importance of following the recommendations.

Such control is particularly present at the very birth within national health institutions in Bosnia and the surrounding countries, where the medical staff has a very mechanical approach to birth, and women are not seen as individuals but as patients that need to be unquestioningly obedient and show no signs of pain, discomfort or any need². Women usually comply because “women who are ‘non-compliant’ are often punished, shamed, and manipulated into believing that they are putting themselves and their infants in harm’s way if they do not do as they are told, even if it feels wrong” (Legget, 2014, p. 26). As personal stories of women show, they often experience a sense of guilt if, for example, they express any pain during childbirth, because that way they are excluded from the “good mothers club”, since endurance is seen as an integral part of being a good mother (Hager, 2011, p. 36).

As we have argued, when it comes to the reproductive life of a woman, institutions, particularly health institutions, represent the main spot of implementation of the dominant patriarchal beliefs, and the same ideology is also reproduced in everyday discourse, mainly the media discourse.

What media produces is always discourse, and the way it presents the topic is always only one version of events (Ber, 2001, p. 87). The dominant mode of representation of motherhood in the media usually overlaps with existing discourses because “a text which constructs femininity in a particular way will be made understandable ‘because it is reinforced by a range of other texts and discourses on femininity’” (Mills, 1992, p. 191, in Sunderland, 2004, p. 523). More specifically, the instructions given to mothers in the media texts “are highly prescriptive, leaving mothers little room to find their own ways of adapting to new challenges. As an example, mothers are instructed to monitor and adjust their behavior long before any baby is born (The Voice Group, 2010, p. 390). Representation of a mother in the media, with all her obligations, is important to us as part of the process of building and strengthening our beliefs about what motherhood is (Milivojević, 2003, p. 17; Webb, 2009, p. 9), given that all “dominant notions about gender (as well as about race, or ethnicity, and other factors of differentiations among people) are strongly dependent on the media, since the process of representation is central to the media itself” (Isanović, 2006, p. 49). Of course, the authors of this study bear in mind that there are several types of readers and

the influence of media texts cannot be considered absolute (Sunderland, 2004, pp. 119–120).

Hypothesis

Our hypothesis is that the main ideology behind the discourse on pregnancy and the role of mother and father in the texts of the web-sites for parents is patriarchy. In this paper, we are primarily concerned with advice given to women regarding diet, daily activities and organizing their everyday life. One of our goals in this paper is also to determine to what extent a fetus is constructed as a social being in the analyzed corpus since the freedom of a pregnant woman to make decisions regarding her own body and life also depends on how emphasized wellbeing of the fetus is. What is of greater importance to authors of analyzed texts – the well-being of a fetus or that of a woman and why? In which position does this kind of control put a woman? What linguistic features are used to describe fetus and a pregnant woman's body? How are women persuaded to change their habits so they are more suitable for pregnancy and protection of their future child?

Since “behavior that is protective of the fetus may impose sacrifices or even risks on the pregnant woman” (Steinbock, 1992, p. 128), the authors argue that holding the pregnant woman responsible for the health of the baby might lead to limitation of the will and integrity of a woman. We would like to find out in what way certain patterns of behavior are imposed to a woman when we consider the benefit of the child/fetus, what the aim of imposing such attitudes and objectifying women is, or if this is actually just framing woman in traditional patriarchal forms in which her primary role is to provide healthy offspring.

Methods

To help us answer the main questions and prove our hypothesis we use CDA method (Fairclough, 1989) and analyze certain linguistic features to show and prove how certain patriarchal model of motherly behavior is imposed to future mothers, as well as to future fathers (speech acts, presuppositions, implications, dominant vocabulary, metaphors, meaning etc. which clearly lead into dominant patriarchal discourse). The first stage deals with lexical and syntactic features, for example what experiential values words have (ideologically contested words, over wording etc.; Fairclough, 1989). Then there

are experiential values of grammatical features, specially agency and nominalization. Then we deal with the relational values such as modes and pronouns we and you, as well as the metaphors. In the end, all these features are put into certain social context which proves to be perfect for the support of the existing patriarchal paradigm. We will see certain potential changes caused by trends and technology and how this “divine” role fits into them. We will also raise the question of male/fathers’ emancipation, if there is one at all.

We also use Van Dijk’s understandings of power relations in discourse. We wish to see how ideologies are reproduced in everyday discourse; that controls the production of discourse; how dominant groups are shaping knowledge, values, norms and ideologies; how these actions “change the mind of others in one’s own interests” (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 254).

Sample

The sample for this research is made of 121 texts dealing with characteristics of pregnancy week by week collected from three websites: Bebac.com (Serbia), Klokanica.hr (Croatia) and BHbebe.com (Bosnia and Herzegovina). The unit of analysis is a text. All the data were collected in the period from January to April 2016, including the information on the number of followers on the social networks.

The websites for analysis are chosen randomly, although two of them turned out to be some of the most visited, if not the most visited, websites for parents in Croatia (Klokanica) and Serbia (Bebac), with 53,000 and 140,000 followers on Facebook, which means they have a greater impact on the audience and the reproduction of discourse. The websites had to have the section Pregnancy Week by Week, in which advice and descriptions of bodily changes are given. Our goal was to choose sites from the three countries since internet doesn’t recognize borders the way printed magazines do. The languages in use in these countries are highly similar, so many people, especially women, follow Facebook pages of websites for parents from other countries.

Website Klokanica.hr is designed for pregnant women and parents. According to the impressum, the website has a female editor, one female journalist, while the chief editor is a man. It is owned by the company “24sata”, which publishes one of the most read daily papers in Croatia “24 sata”, owns several specialized websites and a TV station. It is owned by the Austrian media company Styria Media Group AG.

Bebac.com is the website for parents whose editorial board is based in Novi Sad. The website shows no impressum. The print edition has also been published since august 2015. The website has existed since 2007 (copyright 2007–2017).

BHbebe.com has just under 17,000 followers on Facebook page, which makes it much less visited in comparison to the other two websites, and there is also a lot less activity of the site. Nevertheless, the Google search showed this website on the first page of results when we use the keywords “trudnoća po sedmicama” (pregnancy by weeks), which is not the case with other similar Bosnian websites.

Results

These sites, as they say, “are committed to promoting reproductive and pregnancy wellness through education, support, advocacy, and community awareness.” So, we can see that they advocate certain type of behavior, that they have consulting roles, and when the language is concerned, mostly filled with suggestive, imperative sentences. Most of them consist of several parts/paragraphs for each week of pregnancy. The first one is mostly medical and relates to developmental changes of the fetus, the second one relates to physical changes of mothers during pregnancy followed by certain pieces of advice. Third and fourth paragraph vary from site to site. Some of them have a part aimed at fathers, some don't. Some of them have a paragraph consisting only of certain pieces of advice given to women, mostly related to her conduct and lifestyle management. These paragraphs are the most interesting ones for this study, since they are the ones that usually warn women about a number of potential threats to pregnancy, instruct them about “right” or preferable behavior in pregnancy, not only when theirs and fetus's life is concerned, but also how to cope with the society while pregnant.

Pregnancy is often observed by dualistic approach. In some cases, fetus is considered as an inseparable part of woman's body, which for woman can be especially stressful, while “Using the term ‘pregnancy’ also positions the unborn as distinctly part of the maternal body, a physiological condition of her body, rather than configuring it as a separate entity with its own identity” (Lupton, 2013, p. 27). Such notion of the fetus is used when women are advised or warned about various threats potentially made by their own body. On the other hand, when they describe the fetus they usually give it individual features which make it an independent creature.

Social construction of a fetus

The moment in which the authors are beginning to build a discursive relationship between a mother and a child in the analyzed corpus is the conception itself. For example, in a part of the text “Baby development” we can identify several linguistic features that underpin social construction of the fetus: possessive pronouns, diminutive, hypocoristic, metaphor and others.

Your baby is now a blastocyst – a *tiny ball* made up of several thousand cells that are multiplying like crazy. The tiny ball is now *nesting* in your womb. In the meantime, the amniotic fluid is produced – the liquid that will make *your small* blastocyst used as a *comfortable bed* for weeks and months.” (italic is the author’s, Bebac, week 3)

In the main part of the first sentence, the subject is a noun *baby*, while the noun *blastocyst* is a part of predicate, a predicative complement, given in the present tense. With regard to the declarative character, adverbial clause of time *now* and, most importantly, the fact that a noun *baby* actually signifies a step in the development which begins at birth (a newborn), the sentence structure is not time logical. Specifically, what is yet to occur – a *baby* – is used here as term of a higher order, superordinate, in relation to the concept *blastocyst*, although the truth is the two terms mark separate stages in the development of human beings, one being a medical term, while *baby* is used in everyday language to refer to a very small child, infant. The fact that the authors use noun *baby* to describe the fetal development shows social construction from the earliest stages of its development. The concept of the fetus is given meanings that are associated with the newborn and it becomes a social being. By doing so, the author marks this stage as the starting point of motherhood and increases mother’s responsibility for the unborn child. The woman is not only pregnant – she already is a mother, responsible both for her own body and even more for that of the fetus, which is discursively given physical and mental characteristics, as will be seen in other examples from the sample.

Already in the third week of pregnancy a pregnant woman who reads the text is in position to connect with the fetus thanks to the use of hypocoristic *tiny*, which helps building an emotional relation to what is still in the earliest stages of its development. The same effect is achieved by a metaphorical description of the processes tak-

ing place in (*your*) the womb using the verb *nests*, verb used in the meaning “to find a comfortable position”. It could be associated with *to nest*, meaning “to start a family”, and originates from the basic meaning – that of the noun *nest*, which marks the spot where the birds lay eggs and raise their young. This suggests practice of nesting, care of the eggs and of the young birds. This again points to the phase of life that is still to come after the baby is born.

The same metaphor is used on the website Klokanka (week 3): “Blastocyst is *implanted*, that is *nesting* inside of the uterus”. The first term used here is a medical term *to implant*, but the metaphor again describes the same situation as described above. Description given on the website BH bebe (week 4) is as follows: “This is the time of *implantation* – *burying* of the embryo in the lining of the uterus, and pregnancy officially begins,” which is based on medical terms and does not provoke an emotional reaction of mother toward the fetus as the previous examples do. *Burying* does not bear the potential for it as *nesting* because it does not provoke the same range of associations. However, on the same website, use of this metaphor is recorded in the context of other topics, and is given in quotes to emphasize figurative meaning: “Mom will this time also begin to feel the need for ‘nesting’”.

The phrase *your little blastocyst*, used in one of the texts in sample, is somewhat awkward since the goal is to present fetus as something close to mother by using possessive pronouns on the one hand and a purely medical term on the other. In the similar example, medical term is accompanied with the phrase *gently floating*: “*Your* blastocyst is from this week on called the embryo and it’s *gently floating* in the amniotic fluid” (BH bebe, week 5). *A comfortable bed* is another metaphor that refers to something that is outside of the uterus and what comes after the baby is born, and thanks to the author that moment in the mind of a mother may already be happening. In Serbian language, the medical term *placenta* (posteljica) is derived from the noun meaning *bed/sheet* (postelja), and this is an example of how even some medical terms are actually metaphors which build their meaning through similarities with the objects of “external” world, which makes them discursive. *A comfortable bed* is associated with something that is warm, clean, and safe.

Similar to the above example, the name of the segment on the development of the fetus in the fourth week is “The *baby* has become the *embryo*!” (Bebac, week 4), which is a structure in which the process, that is the sequence of events when it comes to fetus devel-

opment, is completely reversed. Instead of an embryo is becoming a baby – here a baby is becoming an embryo, since the notion of a baby is conceived as superordinate. This logic is also used as follows: “*Your baby* is an embryo that has two layers” (Bebac, week 4). In the text of the fifth week, the author/s continue to use the noun *baby*: “*Baby* (a fertilized egg or an embryo now) is in the womb” (Bebac, week 5). Use of the word *toddler/small child* is recorded in a similar function: “the embryo is called fetus now, which means *toddler*”.

Previous analysis is the basis for the claim that the social being of the fetus is being built in the very early stages of pregnancy. Diminutives, possessive words and specific metaphors help creating image of the embryo who has the needs of a baby – safety and comfort, while a pregnant woman is in a position to emotionally connect to it and perceive it as a born child. All these examples also show that, even when using medical terminology, authors of text tend to give it sentimental value using possessive pronouns and metaphors.

The other way identifying with the fetus is secured, including in some cases emotional connection, is by comparing physical characteristics of a fetus with known objects from everyday life or abilities of adult human beings, as well as by emphasizing the significance of certain development phases when the baby acquires individual skills, like heart beats, lung function etc. For example, authors use nouns denoting fruit when describing the stages of development, in order to represent the size of the fetus: “Your baby is now the size of raspberry” (Bebac, week 7); “The fetus is now about the size of small strawberry” (Klokanica, week 10); “It is about as plum” (Klokanica, week 12) and so on. Authors also show need to prove that a fetus shares common, anthropomorphic characteristics with a mother to be: “The head is still large compared to the body, but takes on more human characteristics” (BH bebe, week 10); “The little man who looks more like you” (Klokanica, week 20). On the other hand, there’s this example from Klokanica.com for the fifth week of development: “The embryo now resembles more a tadpole than a man”. Instead of a noun *baby* medical term *embryo* is used and it’s compared with tadpoles. We can argue that the author did not intend to provoke a sense of familiarity with the fetus here.

Fetus as an individual (Lupton, 2013, p. 22) has the social status constructed in advance, and therefore the responsibility of pregnant women for that entity gets multiplied in discourse. By comparing

fetus with the phenomenon of the “outside world”, it gets not only physical characteristics but elements of emotional life too. According to the sentence “Turn on your favorite music and dance, and also *delight your baby*” (Klokanica, week 23), parents are even encouraged to take actions to meet the emotional needs of the fetus, which might be redundant since some research has shown that “the emotional relationship between the pregnant women and the unborn developing inside her is a product of sociocultural context” (Lupton, 2013, p. 66). In the example: “The baby’s increasingly complex and freer movements, because of the space it now takes in the womb, resemble underwater ballet...” (Klokanica, week 11) condition in the woman’s womb is compared with the situation in the outside world so a certain quality can be enrolled in it – not only the complexity of movement but also the grace of it. It can be argued that notions of tenderness and gentleness are present here too.

There are other similar examples, like: “You must have recognized that your baby has its own rhythm of sleep, which almost never coincides with your own” (BH bebe, week 34). Parents are also told to talk to their babies when their hearing is developed: “Since the fetus now can recognize external noises, you can talk to him about everything” (BH bebe, week 26), and play music for them: “But if you play music to her or talk to her gently, the baby will calm down and enjoy” (BH bebe, week 23). It is an attempt to involve the baby in the actions that are typical of grown, socialized people.

We can argue whether this practice is used due to the fact that the fetus actually doesn’t have many human characteristics to the late stages of development, which is why there may be a presumption that the reader of the text will not be able to identify with it without help of certain linguistic features. Deborah Lupton believes that “In direct contrast to this notion of unborn entities as somewhat repellent and unsettling and not quite (or yet) human, however, is the increasingly common portrayal of them as already loveable and cute ‘babies’” (Lupton, 2013, p. 16). When talking about the early stages of development, when fetus still has no human form, the authors use diverse linguistic resources, such as metaphors, diminutives and comparisons, whereas they often use declarative sentences and biological terms to describe it in later stages of development.

The fetus is an individual, women are selfless

Together with the discourse which initiates an emotional connection between a mother and a fetus, the analyzed corpus also includes

discourse of the woman's responsibility for the health of the fetus on one hand and the separation of one individual (a woman) from the other (a fetus), as well as the separation of women from her own body on the other. While fetus is given certain identity in advance, the woman is stripped from some of her own – the control over her body.

The fetus is seen as a person who is by accident located inside the woman's body and his wellbeing to a large extent depends on her habits and behavior: "*Since your baby is entirely dependent on you and it receives all the food through your bloodstream, it is very important to have a healthy diet during pregnancy*" (BH bebe, week 4), "*Even if you don't mind lying on your back, avoid it because this way it takes more time for blood to come to baby*" (Bebac, week 29). Subordinate clauses and the amplifiers (very important, even) urge the need to correct behavior towards eligible and expected one.

Claim that well-being of a fetus is placed somewhere above the woman's is backed up by examples of use of the term *baby* instead of fetus, thus all the meanings that *baby* implies (infant, toddler) are included in meaning of the word fetus, which is at the lower level of development. This practice gives additional importance to him. Thanks to the perception of relationship between a pregnant woman and the fetus, analyzed texts abound with advice for a woman that is intended to direct her behavior for the wellbeing of the fetus. An example of this are instructive tips on diet, alcohol consumption and smoking, the regulation of body weight and the like, with the use of imperatives, exclamations, intimidation, conditional clauses and other forms that emphasize the importance of certain practices.

Example for this follows: "It is very important to get enough protein for normal development of the brain" (BH bebe, week 29). This sentence contains a vital assumption – the intake of a certain amount of protein allows/helps normal brain development, while insufficient protein intake causes inadequate brain development. In addition to the question how do we know that a certain amount of protein intake allows normal brain development, there is another one: How much protein is enough? Although it is very important that women meet certain expectations according to author of text, he/she doesn't give any proof for this statement such as list of researches on the subject. We must simply believe in what is said.

"The pregnant woman is increasingly portrayed as separate to and the adversary of her own pregnancy/fetus (Petchesky, 1987, p. 65, in Lupton, 2003, p. 166)" and when it comes to our sample,

the body of a woman as a potentially dangerous habitat for the baby is explicitly shown in the sentence: “Your body then releases immunosuppressive protein known as ‘early pregnancy factor’ that helps your body not to recognize your yet conceived baby as an intruder” (BH bebe, week 3). *The body* as the subject is the threat and a cure at the same time, while *baby* is an object in the sentence. Possessive pronoun *your* is also used three times. If the sentence is simplified: “Your body recognizes your baby as an intruder,” we can see how possessive forms enable the readers to establish a personal relationship with what is said. The characteristic of discourse in this sentence is the fact that the concepts of body and baby are confronted, as well as the fact that in both cases action takes place without the participation of a woman. She can merely observe these processes.

The distance that is constructed in the discourse between the woman and her body is present in the section in which the author is addressing the man, and the topic is the effect of the hormones on a woman's mood: “(...) let me point out that it is not pleasant to feel that your body is not only yours. But the good news is that the placenta will soon take over the production of hormones and the future mother will feel better” (BH bebe, week 35). If we focus on the meaning of the quoted text, a woman has a passive role – she can only feel that something is happening to her body, that certain changes occur, but she's not the one who acts here, she's not even controlling these changes, she can only passively tolerate this situation – her body is alienated from her, but all the changes will be accepted, author says, when the placenta (the subject) takes over certain roles.

Personification of woman's body parts or conditions is also spotted in the analyzed sample, especially when it comes to hormones, which usually are the subject of sentences, again separated from the woman's will and she's not able to control it. “*Tiredness will probably really hit* because of the extra effort of your body to allow your baby normal and rapid development” (BH bebe, week 8); “*It is obvious that your breasts begin to prepare for breastfeeding*” (Bebac, week 14); “*your legs are heavy*”; “*Hair can become unruly*” (Bebac, week 21), “*Your blood circulates faster and burns more calories, and you will probably constantly feel warm*” (BH bebe, week 37).

The subject of control of the body and psyche are hormones, that cause innumerable changes in the life of a pregnant woman, while she only passively endures these changes: “The hormone acts on your hands and feet and can make you clumsier than usual” (Klokanica,

week 13); “You will feel very sensitive and exhausted because of all the changes in your body caused by the operation of hormones” (BH bebe, week 52); “Hormonal changes may affect your taste and digestion, and your ligaments will soften to allow your baby to grow and to spread” (BH bebe, week 9); “Hormones make intestinal muscles work slower and less effective” (Bebac, week 14); “As the hormones start to ruffle, you may have problems with memory and concentration” (BH bebe, week 24). Subjectivity of women in the discourse is suppressed in favor of the changes that will protect the fetus in her body.

The use of medical terminology

Since the sample selected for analysis is actually the description of each week of pregnancy and contains a description of fetal development and bodily changes through which the woman goes, the authors use a multitude of medical terms in order to present these processes from the science perspective. By using technical terminology and medical description in the context of the analyzed media discourse, the authors build authority which is partly based on the fact that medicine is a science which bases its knowledge on the “truths” obtained by scientific research, and is considered exact and objective.

The authors’ authoritative position allows them to, under the auspices of it, express standpoints, their own opinions and recommendations, resulting in moving the limits of “objective”, which means that the reader can interpret these personal attitudes as objective and unavailable for questioning. The question is to what extent the parts of discourse are correct and to what extent they are ideologically colored, even when they are presented as “pure” science.

Here’s an example where, under the auspices of scientific discourse, subjective standpoints are hidden: “Do not worry if you notice that you forget a lot – some studies have shown that the brains of women *actually shrink* in the third trimester. *Fortunately*, it *returns to the normal size* several months after giving birth” (Klokanica, week 37). The idea that woman’s brain shrinks during pregnancy is presented as a scientifically proven fact, although the data are not supported by a research, which makes this statement questionable. Verb *shrink* used in this context carries a negative connotation. The difference in level of individual abilities and intelligence between women and men as a result of different brain size is still a subject of

various research, but it was never actually proved (Mitrović & Trogrlić, 2014, p. 50-51). Moreover, some research shows that the exploitation of brain resources is more effective in women (Gur et al., 1982, in Mitrović & Trogrlić, 2014, p. 51). This makes debate on the impact of brain size on intelligence and capabilities much more complicated than its usually presented in the media. In this text, we find out how the changes, if there are any, influence the process of memory. Information is given very briefly and without scientific foundation. In the second sentence, the author uses the expression *normal size*, from which we deduce that while pregnant the brain size of a woman is not normal, and that, generally speaking, something is not normal with the woman's body and functions even some time after giving birth.

The study of power relations within the doctor's office between a doctor and a patient shows that "For a variety of reasons (egg, the doctor's social status and medical expertise), physicians and patients typically assume that communicative control and the consultation primarily rests with the doctor" (Stiles, 1993; Street, 1992a, 1992b – in Street et al., 1995, p. 211). One can, therefore, discuss on how authors of these texts, whether they are medical professionals or journalists taking their role, exert the same kind of control in the communication that occurs in the doctor's office. This is why it is of great importance to analyze these types of media discourse and their impact on readers.

If we know that "patients typically follow the doctor's lead and choose not to force discussion of health-related quality of life" (Street et al., 1995, p. 227), the use of such discourse in the media, where communication is mostly one-way (except on the Internet, where there is an option to comment on the content), the author sends the message to the reader, and the reader is able to read with minimal further interaction with authors. Although "Medical policies, legislation, and media representations of pregnancy and motherhood all fuel the vulnerability that women often feel during their pregnancy and that follows them into motherhood" (The Voice Group, 2010, p. 384), we should take into account that part of the readers forget the content or have a critical attitude toward what they read (Sunderland, 2004, p. 119), which can, to some extent, diminish the power of discourse to influence the behavior of recipients of the message.

It is important to add that BHbebe and Bebac have additional advice for readers regarding the information given in the texts: "Of course, the texts are for information purposes only, and nothing can replace the advice of your doctor gynecologist" (BH bebe), and "All information and advice on Bebac.com serve exclusively to educational purposes. The content of the web portal is not a substitute for medical examinations and diagnosis. If you care for your health and your baby, we recommend that you be sure to consult with your doctor" (Bebac). The websites distance themselves from the given information but still give them in a manner of advice, instruction, often mimicking the tone of a professional.

Dominant discourse while advising future mothers

As we have mentioned, the analyzed sites mostly contain three main paragraphs relating to pregnancy. The first one is related to the fetus and it seems that it uses quasi medical discourse (it describes the fetus with all of its changes), the second one mostly deals with physical changes of the mother, and it uses both medical/advisory and social discourse, while the third one uses advisory discourse but less from medical and more of social point of view. The third one is especially interesting for this study, since it straightforwardly shows preferable patriarchal behavior of women while pregnant. It advises, warns, forbids or imposes certain rules.

The preferable type of behavior is the one that puts the fetus in front of the mother in every possible way. That means that any kind of individual woman's identity is a threat to the fetus, she must put all her urges aside, and for the sake of the baby, socially adapt to the society she lives in. The woman's body is being constantly policed, regulated and many of them think that they have completely lost their autonomy. This is often difficult for them to admit, since it is in opposition to the preferable attitude to motherhood.

The most dominant syntax and vocabulary relates to the speech acts of warnings, ordering, reminding, advising and forbidding, and all of them seem to have the pursuit to establish the complete control over woman's body. The texts very often contain sentences such as:

"Don't forget regular dental hygiene" (reminding, BH bebe, week 11)

"Avoid stress" (warning, BH bebe, week 12)

"You should stop smoking and persuade your partner to stop it as well" (advising, BH bebe, week 16)

“Eat healthy and regularly” (giving certain rules, BH bebe, week 19)
“Pay attention of how much you eat” (warning, BH bebe, week 18)
“Don’t stay in rooms full of smoke” (forbidding, BH bebe, week 17)
“Don’t forget about Kegel’s exercises” (reminding, BH bebe, week 31).

These words are ideologically contested, with strong experiential value, and showing the dominant discourse of control. There is overwording of expressions such as *don’t*, *avoid*, *pay attention to*, *don’t forget*, generally with words which are used to allow or forbid something. On the syntax level, most of these sentences are imperative sentences. Other than imperative there are sentences showing general rules with SVO or SVC or passive structure. Certain sentence movements, agency and nominalization contribute to the depersonalization of women:

“Your baby will be born 40 weeks from your last period” (passive construction, depersonalization of women, BH bebe, week 6)

“Tiredness in first trimester is the problem of most pregnant women” (agency related to the processes not people – depersonalization, BH bebe, week 9)

“Excess or loss of weight can prevent the normal development of your baby” (agency related to the processes not people – depersonalization, BH bebe, week 9)

“(At your first exam), doctor (s) will ask (v) you (O) about your health (C)” (BH bebe, week 8).

It seems that woman should be constantly engaged in a complex process of gestating a baby, making it sure all the time that everything will be all right. It makes her responsible for every stage of development of the fetus, her identity and physics becomes less important than identity of the fetus. This ideology is created on insecurities imposed on women. As previously explained, good mother is selfless, self-sacrificing creature who always puts her family (children and husband) first.

“Pregnant women are represented as engaging in the most worthwhile pursuit a woman can achieve: gestating a new human. As long as the pregnant woman conforms to societal norms and expectations of what a ‘pregnant woman’ should be (that is, not too old or too young, ideally married or at least in a stable heterosexual relationship, not already the mother of too many children), pregnancy is revered and honored for this reason. To conform to the norms and ideals of pregnancy, pregnant women are expected to adopt the

'Madonna' style of impending motherhood, behaving with decorum and heightened self-discipline, presenting a motherly, asexual self" (Longhurst, 2000, 2005).

The other dominant model of woman represented is a model of a housewife, also inseparable from a preferable representation of a good mother. We can see this in a process of advising women when the household management is concerned. Good mothers are pre-supposed to be good housekeepers, this traditional patriarchal role is commonly interpellated in presenting good wives, but this can interfere with the process of developing a fetus. Even during this "critical" period, women are not expected to stop being housewives, but only to adopt some chores to the present condition, or share them with men (another presupposition that women are in relationship or married, preferably married), mostly in a way in which men try to find help for them:

"It wouldn't be a bad idea to find someone who can help with the house chores" (BH bebe, week 27)

"You should buy things for cleaning the house, but not the chemical ones" (BH bebe, week 23)

"Make it easier for yourself, share the house chores and avoid excessive stress" (BH bebe, week 12).

Priority is still given to pregnancy/motherhood over the household management, even though this is something inseparable from women, and women should still be the main housekeepers.

This priority stays on even when her femininity is concerned. Femininity is considered from partly oppositional points of view. On one hand, women should always have their pregnancy in mind, and put it in front of their needs to look beautiful. Comfort and habits beneficial to fetus should come first, but on the other hand, women must not stop caring for themselves or lose their identity.

Future fathers

When counseling of the fathers is in question we have completely different situation from ideological, discursive and linguistic point of view. Paragraphs written and meant for fathers are much smaller in size, and we can even ask, who they are really for (we don't know if fathers use them at all or they are actually also meant for mothers). These paragraphs usually consist of one or two sentences and strongly differ in issues dealt with.

As we have already seen, paragraphs meant for mothers have as their main goal to control and direct future mothers how to preserve their pregnancy and create the best possible human being, as if it is their main and the most important job to do, fulfillment of their biological and social function. They don't discuss mothers' pleasures or interests unrelated to parenthood or pregnancy, nor do they see the lack of it as a problem. Father's role in the process is seen completely different. Most of the counseling (there is counseling, but with the completely different tone) mostly relates to the preserving already existing lifestyle. Most of the counseling is related to sex with a pregnant woman and the potential anxieties related to it:

"Sex or not? If it is a low risk pregnancy..." (BH bebe, week 14)

"This period can be a sexual Renaissance for a woman who never felt an orgasm (surly that is not your wife)" (paragraph for women on the same page is related to keeping preferable body mass for that period of pregnancy, BH bebe, week 14)

"There can be a decrease of libido of future mother at this stage of pregnancy. Do not despair!" (BH bebe, week 33)

"Many future fathers are afraid that by having sex with future mother they could injure the fetus. There is no reason for such kind of worry" (BH bebe, week 22).

Counseling the men in these cases is actually making sure that fatherhood or parenting won't interrupt with men's established lifestyles. Although counseling is definitely involved even when men are in question, the tone is completely different. Experiential and relational values of words are different, as well as grammatical features and sentence structures which are used. When we speak about relational features, the tone is getting milder (as oppose the one used for women) by broadening the sentences with additional words, which make orders less strict. They would use "It wouldn't be so bad" instead "You should" or "Make sure". In this case, we don't have real warnings or orders, more like cases of comforting, support, encouraging, etc.

The rest of advising is rather trivial, and suggests that men have poor knowledge of households, care and health care. These things are related to the private sphere, in which (as we can see) they are not really involved, and are not expected to be involved except for these exceptional cases:

"It wouldn't be a bad idea to get to know with the shortest route to the maternity ward, and possible detours" (BH bebe, week 31)

“You can help the expectant mother by bringing her pillows and putting them under her stomach...” (BH bebe, week 27)

“Although most of the expectant mothers are already on maternity leave, don’t let her spend most of her time cleaning the house and doing other difficult chores. You are the one that should let her rest” (BH bebe, week 36).

We can see that certain involvement of a father in a private sphere is suggested, but the language and the tone are still milder and less strict, presupposing that men are unfamiliar with the private sphere, so only smaller general activities can be expected from them.

Discussion

Our hypothesis was that the main ideology behind the discourse on pregnancy and the role of mother and father in the texts of the web-sites for parents is patriarchy. To help us prove our hypothesis we have used CDA method (Fairclough, 1989) and analyzed certain linguistic features. The sample for this research was made of 121 texts which deal with characteristics of pregnancy week by week collected from three pregnancy-related web sites: Bebac.com (Serbia), Klokunica.hr (Croatia) and BHbebe.com (Bosnia and Herzegovina).

If we start from the idea that the most important role of a woman is being a mother, it is not surprising that the pregnancy itself is inseparable from this primarily social construct. Motherhood is not only a necessary part in the construction of woman’s socially acceptable identity, but also the main feature of femininity in general (Oakley, 1980). Therefore, pregnancy can be considered the beginning of motherhood, and the same as motherhood, extremely responsible function. What many authors cited as the most important attributes of a mother in a patriarchal society are that the mothers are selfless and self-sacrificing (Benn, 1998; Gill, 2007; Lupton, 2013) and this is at the same time applied to the process of pregnancy. This is a period in which the female identity is overridden by the identity of the fetus. The fetus is considered as biological-social construct in the process of making, and the mother’s body, potentially dangerous for this process, a kind of incubator subordinate to the fetus. That is why expectant mothers should be aware of a number of procedures related to their life habits, in order to learn how to bring alive and healthy child. What we find particularly interesting is how mothers learn these procedures, how they receive information about them and the consequences for the mothers and their lifestyles if

they disobey them. What we notice in analyzed advisory part of the application is the use of a specific language with some strong experiential values and imperative sentences with a threatening tone: women are constantly warned and reminded of something, suffering a series of prohibitions. The language used is concise, concrete with a direct instruction given in the form of speech acts such as threats, warnings, prohibitions, advice, etc., so the most common expressions are imperatives and verbs do and do not.

On the other hand, the use of diminutives/hypocoristic (*a tiny ball*), possessive adjectives (*your little blastocyst*) and specific metaphors (for example, those that are built around the concept of a *nest*) help to generate image of a fetus as a delicate creature that needs protection. It seems that, according to the authors of these texts, which we consider the carriers of the dominant ideology, it is crucial that a woman connects emotionally with the fetus. They are expected to see the fetus as a person (*your baby, little man*), and see themselves as already mothers with all the responsibilities that this role carries. Using the noun *baby* to refer to a fetus at the earliest stage of development inevitably contributes implying multilayered meanings that this term carries – a newborn, a being who can develop only with the help of adults of which it depends, whose birth helps form a family or expand one, a being that, according to the understanding of the patriarchal society, is a necessary puzzle of our identity, particularly the identity of a woman.

In addition to the opposition created in discourse between the woman's body and the body of the fetus, we also noticed the discursive separation of women as the subject and her own body (*your body is not only yours anymore*), which means that she does not manage the processes in her body and passively suffers the consequences of these processes which she can only feel happening. In other words, the body of a woman is going through changes, alienation for the benefit of the child, it becomes a separate entity and does not belong to the woman. Moreover, each "intervention" that comes from the outside, by her own will (for example: stress, careless movement, too much sitting, use of "unnecessary drugs", insufficient water intake, consumption of certain foods, cigarettes, alcohol in any quantity, certain poses during sleep, etc.) – poses a danger to the fetus in this newly formed system.

Examples given in this analysis show that the medical terminology is used discursively, with a tendency to represent what is being said as objective, true and undeniable. Although editorial boards of

these websites, as shown earlier, distance themselves from the given information, it is still given in a manner of advice, instruction, often mimicking the tone of a professional, which creates a confusion and we can ask ourselves – to what extent can we take these texts seriously, to what extent authors take any responsibility for what is being advised and do the conditions that are referred to actually only serve for gaining more readers and sell more advertorial space while reproducing dominant discourses. The truth is probably somewhere in-between.

This discourse may correspond to the one at the doctor's office, where the patient usually does not ask questions but is often put in the position of passive listener who needs to adopt and apply what is advised. Such rhetoric does not allow a woman a choice, but it puts her in socially preferred model of behavior and strict discipline. The woman is no longer able to express her own identity or freedom, but all her socio-biological functions are subordinate to the development of the fetus, as if she could significantly affect this type of development. Any behavior of women that does not comply with this is considered irresponsible, harmful to the fetus, socially unacceptable and points to a potentially bad future mother. Given that such a discourse has often menacing character, very easily it can lead to fear and anxiety of future mothers in the case that she cannot comply to a series of given rules. Such a discourse, by its nature, very often goes against her other social roles and her overall identity, which perfectly fits in socially dominant patriarchal paradigm.

Although the fathers are also included in this pre-parental training, applied discourse over them is totally different and has a different purpose. It is not so frightening and anxious; on the contrary, it serves to comfort the man in this new for him and stressful situation. It helps him to overcome the fears and insecurity associated with pregnancy. When we say fears, this time we are not talking about fears related to pregnancy outcome, but about a potential violation of the existing lifestyle. Thus, the language is different, speech acts are also of an advisory type, but the tone is comforting. Experiential features are also completely different, often associated with the comfort of living or sex. The development of the fetus is significantly less presented to a man than to a woman. The sentences are concessive and are used to promise continuation of lifestyle without major sacrifices, which is almost contrary to the discourse used when it comes to women. Such a discourse, as opposed to the previously

mentioned, does not contribute to anxiety and submissiveness of a man; it does not bind him to the fetus, which fully supports the established structure of gender roles.

On the other hand, website BH Bebe, which has a special section of advice for dads, tends to promote the significant involvement of the father in the parental role and more than other sites emphasizes equal relationship with the partner (“Participation in the examinations with the future mother is a good way and to become equal participant in pregnancy”). Although there’s the question of the extent to which expectant fathers visit websites for parents, and although a father is often seen primarily in the role of a helper, we believe that it a gesture of including the father in the story from the beginning of pregnancy is a very good practice.

This study has showed that the dominant ideology behind the texts of pregnancy on the analyzed websites is patriarchy, with certain elements that are new. Compared with the traditional notion of patriarchal roles and responsibilities, there are traces of the idea of equal parenting. However, it is clear that the patriarchal maternal role as is promoted in the magazines for mothers (Gajić, 2013) is being transferred to the period of pregnancy. What is specific for this period is that now the body itself becomes a place of conflict between a pregnant woman as the subject of her own life and meanings that patriarchy attribute to this body by the dominant discourse on pregnancy, including the notion of a fetus as an individual – the pregnant body does not belong to the woman, her subjectivity is a threat. The subject is the fetus, and the fetus is under the authority of society.

Notes

¹ Different views on the parenthood, particularly motherhood, in Bosnia and Herzegovina and neighboring countries can mainly be read in the feminist media. The extent to which the vision of motherhood that is different from the dominant is in fact controversial was seen, for example, in the reactions to the article “Motherhood doesn’t satisfy me”, published on the feminist Croatian website Libela (<http://www.libela.org/sa-stavom/5561-majcinstvo-me-ne-ispunjava/>). Many people have found outrageous the fact that a mother is speaking negatively of her new role and the responsibilities as a mother. On the other hand, this text was also considered very important for breaking the taboos on the subject.

² There are several initiatives that have been initiated by citizens in order to raise the question of what is called the obstetric violence. Two of them are Facebook page Experience of childbirth in Banja Luka (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Breaking the Silence (Croatia), which helped collecting a great number of women's stories of their experience of childbirth. The vast majority of them shows that absolute submissiveness is demanded of women during childbirth and the period of recovery in the hospital.

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Original article

**GENDER STYLES IN ONLINE COMMUNICATION IN
THE ONLINE SOCIAL GAME *LUDO***

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The task of this research was to identify and analyze the linguistic and semantic features of the communication process among participants in the online social game Ludo and to observe their dependency on the gender of the speakers. The content of communication was analyzed among thirty participants in the online social game Ludo, using the evaluation criteria such as vocabulary, tone, players' communication topics, and communication goals. These criteria are derived from previous studies of similar topics.

Keywords

online identity, online games, gamer communication, gender styles, Ludo

Introduction

An important characteristic of contemporary humanistic, social and cultural studies, especially of socio-linguistic research, is the problem of identity. The construction of identity (or identities) in the contemporary society is diverse. The most important means of identity expression are language and communication. The emergence of technology, screen culture, and Internet (which is the most common instrument of cultural expansion) adds a new dimension to the problem of communication and identity that needs to be fully apprehended and explored. The last two decades of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century are marked by new technologies. Innis (2008) and McLuhan (2008), for example, realized that societies are changing due to the dominant technology in the communication process. Briggs and Burke (Briggs & Berk, 2006) also argue that the history of human society is closely associated with the history of

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communication. Communication, being one of the most important social processes, was greatly influenced by technological development. Biocca (1992), for example, states that virtual reality is a "new medium that alters existing patterns of communication" (p. 6). The phenomenon of modern communication is considered to be characterized by a new form of communication, which is defined as *on-line communication* in literature and research papers. Some researchers, like Schroeder (1997) and Herring (1994), use the terms such as computer-mediated communication (CMC) or network mediated communication (NMC) to define such phenomenon. Considering the nature of this research, the term *online communication* was used to characterize the analyzed communication.

Considering the aforementioned context of the contemporary society and changes in the communication process, the problem of online identity was analyzed in the upcoming theoretical framework. It included Cheris Kramarae's muted group theory, Deborah Tannen's genderlect styles theory, and Julia Wood's theory of speech community. In addition, this research is partly based on Susan Herring's studies of online communication; also, the initial premise that the most important way of identity expression is through language and communication is based on George Herbert Mead's theory of symbolic interactionism. Finally, the results of the research were analyzed and discussed through the perspectives of numerous studies dealing with online communities and the specifics of online communication environments (Allwood & Schroeder, 2000; Boellstorff, 2008; Kaplan & Haenlein, 2009b; Lea & Spears, 1995; Schroeder, 1997; Terkl, 2011; Turkle, 1999, 2002, 2005, 2011; etc.). Nonetheless, before one can look at online community, one has to look at theoretical ideas of *self* and *identity* and their intended structure through language and communication.

George Herbert Mead (1934) explores the process of symbolic interaction in the context of the evolving *self* as a multidimensional personality trait, while other theorists of interpersonal communication, like Paul Watzlawick, Judee Burgoon and Leon Festinger, explore the types of communicative relationships between individuals within various communities (Griffin, 2003). Mead (1934) stated that the identity is constructed in interaction of the perceived 'I' as a subject and the conceived 'me' as an object. According to Mead, the *self* is a multidimensional category that develops through language and social interaction. Griffin states that a 'being' is a function of language (2003). He does that by interpreting Mead's theory of so-

cial interactionism. According to Griffin (and, indirectly, to Mead), without speech there would be no concept of being. A person must belong to the society to develop awareness of the *self*. According to Mead (stated in Griffin (2003)), symbolic interactionism is not only a means of intellectual expression; it is the way we interpret the world and, thus, ourselves. 'I', as a constituent of the *self*, interacts with other *selves* – it is in the constant process of negotiation with others. 'I' observes 'me' and shapes it in the way others see it (Mead, 1934). Each of the above-mentioned theorists, regardless of the approach used, advocate that the *self* grows from the society through the process of social interaction. The most common form of social interaction is communication. Communication as a symbolic social interaction is present in modern online environments, such as online games on the Internet. Thus, communication is also discussed here on the basis of Mead's theory of communication as a way of identity construction.

Kaplan and Haenlein (2009b, 2010), Schroeder (1997), Schroeder, Huxor and Smith (2001), Salazar (2009) and others researched various online social media. Among other media, they explored YouTube, Facebook, and a variety of online games. Their studies showed that online social games (such as Ludo, which is studied here), not only have the function of entertainment, but they also provide a special type of social experience and interaction through which participants build online identities. The results of the research conducted by Kaplan and Haenlein (2009a) showed that "users do not consider SL [Second Life] as a mere computer game but as an extension of their real lives" (p. 93). In his studies of social interaction in different online social games, Schroeder (1997) states that users "present or 'stage' themselves" (para. 19) and that "computer-mediated-communication allows users to misrepresent their real 'personality'" (para. 19). Schroeder (1997) also states, "[o]utsiders', in contrast, act like tourists. They only engage in novice or 'superficial' conversations and remain on the periphery of conversations or 'the action'" (par. 20). Schau and Gilly (2003), on the other hand, explore personal web sites in order to observe how consumers create their online identity, while Boyd (2011), Parks (2011) and others investigate social relationships on online social sites (Papacharissi, 2011). The primary function of the selected game was not a conversation – it was social interaction through entertainment, which is the purpose of other games, as well. However, this particular game differs from other online games of the same type (multi-user games)

because it enables a good environment for communication (as stated in several other similar studies, e.g. Lea and Spears (1995)). This feature of the game defines it as an adequate social environment for this research project.

In addition, the emergence of the feminist theory generated the concept of linguistic characteristics of communication as a manifestation of gender relations in society. One of the first theorists who dealt with the relationship between language and gender was Cheris Kramarae. Starting from the assertion that language is not neutral and that reality is defined by language, Kramarae wants to show that women are 'muted' (Griffin, 2003). Kramarae argues that language and reality are men's creation. Men, who have a greater impact on the construction and the development of language, create words and meanings according to their needs. Dominating the process of communication that defines society and social relationships, men gain power over institutions and become superior to women, who remain powerless.

Deborah Tannen, who claims that conversation between men and women is redolent of intercultural communication (Tannen, 1991, p. 8), was less exclusive and critical. According to Tannen, the term *gender dialects* or *styles* denotes gender characteristics of language. Her socio-linguistic theory points to differences in speech between men and women and insists on the acceptance of different "culture of communication". Exploring types of speech, Tannen (1991) claims that in conversations between men and women experiences are similar to misunderstandings in intercultural communication. It is important to emphasize that Tannen (1991) does not consider dissimilarities between different styles of speech to be indicators of men's tendency to dominate women. Tannen (1991) claims that male and female styles of discourse can be seen as cultural dialects, and not as superior and inferior methods of communication. She defines male and female discursive styles in the following manner: for men, speech is a weapon, and conversation is a competition, whereas women involve in conversations to provide support and achieve intimacy and closeness with other participants, and confirmation of their views during conversations regardless who they are speaking to. When involved in conversations, men customarily provide advice to other participants, often using command words. Furthermore, instead of discussing abstract notions, they deal with specific information. Additionally, they tend to keep their independence. In contrast to men, women seek to connect in the com-

munication process and express feelings more easily. They want to appeal to the interlocutor, often talking about emotions (Tannen, 1991). They are full of sympathy for their interlocutors, and are ready to make suggestions and compromises. Tannen (1991) based her discussion of intercultural male-female dialogue, among other things, on the findings of cultural linguist Walter Ong who claims that men in their behavior more often involve fighting, conflict, competition, contest the other, and so on. Tannen (1991) also states that the difference between male and female speech style is in the fact that men in conversation behave aggressively, although generally friendly, but women often interpret it as a true aggressiveness (Tannen, 1991, pp. 72–73).

The work of Deborah Tannen influenced the analysis of communication between men and women (for example, Wood (1995) and Herring (1994)). This issue became a basic problem of the contemporary feminist research in all environments. Research conducted by Susan Herring (1994) deals with the differences in the way men and women communicate via the Internet. Herring's studies of gender communication styles prove that communication via computer is not anonymous and gender-insensitive. Speech communication styles used by men and women on the Internet are recognizably different. By analyzing a series of messages in different posts on the Internet, Herring concluded that men are more prone to criticism and ridicule of others, emphasizing their own importance, unlike women, who are more attentive and supportive of others. According to Herring, women are more likely to apologize and reveal their feelings. Additionally, Herring concluded that women expose themselves emotionally more easily and tend to apologize more often than men. Moreover, men commonly use rhetorical questions, offensive language and are more conflict-prone and belligerent. On the other hand, women usually avoid conflicts, ask open-ended questions and seek support from other participants in conversations. It is important to note that Herring's studies performed analyses of communication between English-speaking participants. Several other studies, however, such as Allwood and Schroeder's (2000), analyzed communication between non-English speakers. The research topic was intercultural communication among visitors of online and virtual environments. These authors explored the characteristics of online communication such as: duration of interaction periods among participants, duration of contributions (i.e. the amount of textual conversations), participants'

origins, languages used, percentage of non-English contributions, topics, types of introductions, and types of verbal expression, as well as vocabulary and communication management (Allwood & Schroeder, 2000, para. 12).

Julie Wood's views on this topic significantly contributed to the analysis of relations between male and female speech styles. Wood (2009) stated that men show signs of aggression even in early childhood. Aggression manifests in their performance of masculinity (pp. 174–175). On the other hand, women are expected to be caring and sensible. This type of behavior is reflected in speech styles that participate in the construction of socially assumed gender identities. Wood's research findings regarding male and female speech styles indicated that female behavior, similar to their language style, is emotional, supportive, and tentative. Seeking for intimacy and understanding, women participate in conversations longer. On the contrary, men are assertive, speak mainly about facts, and do not discuss emotions, nor any intimate details, which is perceived as 'being cold' by women. Men tend to solve problems, as well as to control and dominate other participants of conversations. Their goal is preserving independence and improving the social status. In a society governed by stereotypes, men tend to show aggression, which is obvious even in conversations (Wood, 2010).

Wood also stated (basing her ideas on Mead's theory of social interactionism) that the experience of the self is the process which results from communication with others (Wood, 2010, p. 53). She points to the reductive essentialisation of the male/female division. In her opinion, there is a significant number of other factors, including race, class, sexual identity, experience, culture, etc. that shape communication (Wood, 2009, p. 19). Wood admits that this simplified approach leads to overgeneralised views on inter-gender communication, since not all individuals can be characterized simply by having either male or female speech style (Wood, 1995). However, this reduction is required in order to facilitate this research. Wood argues that different social groups use different ways to communicate and defines "speech communities" as groups of people who share speech norms and goals (Wood, 2010, p. 109). One such speech community is a "gender speech community" (Wood, 2010, p. 109).

Although the division between male and female discourse in communication and analysis of (gender) identity is criticized and debated in recent feminist and other research papers and discussions as claimed by Meyrowitz (1985), we believe this research is still le-

gitimate because it aims to provide a verification of the feminist theory of gender discourse in communication and new media environments. That is, according to Meyrowitz (1985), who argues that the use of electronic media led to “the homogenization of gender roles” (p. 188), “it is still legitimate for us to examine possible reasons for this development and to look for the forces that supported the old distinctions in gender behavior” (p. 188).

In addition, the basic theoretical concepts used in this study were designed according to the feminist and linguistic studies of language and gender, as well as cultural and other contemporary studies of games and communication. The concepts of identity and gender are analyzed in the context of online communication as an important communication phenomenon of the modern Internet age. For the purposes of this research, the following basic concepts were defined and used in the study: *gender styles*, *online communication*, and *social games*.

For defining *gender style*, the above cultural-linguistic approach of feminist studies is used. Thus, a gender style implies a specific type of verbal expression, which is sex-conditioned, and it was analyzed through the vocabulary, topics, tone, and aim of a communicative act. The sex/gender simplification was done only for the convenience of the research, but the possibility of a deviation from this qualification is also noted and it requires additional research.

The second theoretical concept used in this study is *online communication*. Communication generally means all “individual and social phenomena and processes of conscious exchange of symbols” (Bogdanić, 1996, p. 15), which, among other things, includes variations of verbal and nonverbal communication. “Verbal and nonverbal communications are essentially inseparable, and we split them only for scientific studies” (Mandić, 2003, p. 34), as also presented in this study. Additionally, this research was done in the online environment that includes the Internet, computers, and other forms of information technology as an intermediary medium. Finally, this study deals only with written verbal communication mediated by the media in an online environment, as defined above. Goffman (Gofman, 2000) differentiates between verbal and non-verbal communication, i.e. ‘communication’ and ‘expression’ and this research is focused on ‘communication’ exclusively.

The third theoretical concept essential to this research is the term *social games*. It involves social skills of participants (such as communication) in order to amplify the experience of playing. It also in-

cludes a physical or mental activity, as well as competition by certain rules. The purpose of these activities is gaining pleasure, as occasionally described in literature. The term *online social game* represents a digital game on the Internet platform with a simplified approach that involves using the simplest computer or similar technology with an Internet connection. Communication about the game itself, as well as on topics that are not specifically related to the game, is facilitated and encouraged in online social games, which is exactly the subject of this study.

Methodology

The study was limited to one social game (Ludo) for easier implementation of the methodology. The goal was to identify and analyze the linguistic and semantic features, themes, and tone of the communication process among participants of the game, as well as its objectives, and to recognize the dependency of these elements on the gender of the speakers. The goal of this research is to understand and further investigate the construction of speech styles with regard to the gender of the speakers.

The main premise in this study is that the differences in communication in the test game exist and that speech styles depend on the gender of the users. This hypothesis was evaluated according to the following four criteria: vocabulary, communication topics, tone, and goal. The final analysis was performed considering the competitive context in which the communication takes place. It is assumed that the competition itself is not related to the participants' gender. However, it is strongly related to the structure and the concept of the game. Since many games are designed as a form of competition, such atmosphere could produce a competitive tone of conversations.

Considering the above mentioned points, this research was conducted with the aim of gaining knowledge on how identity is manifested and how speech styles are constructed with the respect of gender and the specifics of online environments. The described theoretical concept constitutes a framework for interpreting the results of this research. This study dealt with the analysis of discursive features of online communication in social games on the Internet and investigated the manifestation of gender through speech. Therefore, the results of this study should be considered relative and dependent on conditions stated in this specific research.

The game Ludo is selected for the research purpose. The game involves four players. Each player 'throws the dice' when he gets his turn. The resulting number on the dice shows how many spaces a player can move his figure. The goal is to place all the figures in the box. The first player, who put his four figures in the box, wins the game. The game is located on the online platform igre123.net, which corresponded to the desired test conditions according to its parameters. When choosing the game, the following parameters were taken into account: a) there is the possibility of easy communication among participants, b) the environment in which participants communicate is similar to 'everyday' communication context, which is not restricted to any particular topic c) the participants may, but need not, disclose information about their private lives, d) the game is not too violent (this is important because violent games could create a ground for 'violent' conversations that are not common in everyday speech) and, finally, e) the environment is equally visited by men and women, which is crucial for the research.

The simplicity of this game allows easy and good communication. Participants are logged in using their Facebook or e-mail accounts. Discussion and each individual round of the game are held in rooms, which represents a virtual environment for communication. Referring to the words of Joshua Meyrowitz, the rooms represent social settings and "permit focused interaction among some people while isolating the participants from other people" (Meyrowitz, 1985, pp. 35-36). The rooms are online places that define social situations where the identity of the groups (including gender groups) is constructed. The players use their avatars in order to be visible to other players in the rooms. On this platform (igre123.net), users can select their own photo or they can use a default image as their profile photo. Avatars can reveal identity, gender, and other information about participants. However, this is not mandatory. Participants' gender and other data important for the conclusion of the study were available in the deeper layer of the structure of the game, on the layer of the platform behind the rooms. Communication in the rooms is exclusively textual (verbal and non-verbal). The text is displayed in a chat window on the left side of the room. Names of participants are added to any written text. Participants in the game had plenty of time to chat among themselves or to engage in ongoing conversations, between the two 'rolls of the dice', digitally speaking.

Beside participants who were logged in as members, guests also had access to the rooms. According to the rules of the platform, guests are allowed to play but not to participate in conversations. Therefore, a user account was created for research purposes. This account was used for accessing the game and participating in the communication process with members of the game. It means that this research was conducted as a structured experiment which included the participation of researchers in the test process (Fajgelj, 2005). It was necessary to engage directly in the process of the game (to log in as a user, not as a guest) in order to gain access to the research material. It was also necessary to 'play' a larger number of rounds in order to collect information on the optimal number of subjects who corresponded to the required profile. Thus, methodologically speaking, the study obtained the elements of ethnographic research in online communities that were developed and used by other researchers of virtual social environments, such as described by Tom Boellstorff (2008).

A combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques of gathering and processing data was used in the study, even though the focus was on a qualitative analysis. The combination of "quantitative and qualitative approaches sought to expand validity and reliability" (Papacharissi, 2012). The main body of the research was the content of the written verbal conversations among 30 participants. The communication environment was multilingual, i.e. participants spoke Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian or any other language of the former Yugoslav republics, all belonging to the Slavic language family. The data collection process lasted for seven days and it took place in December 2013. The gathered data on participation in online communication provided approximately 120 pages of the research material. Demographics, such as sex and age (available to the researcher in user accounts of participants), were used for the assessment of the communicative discourse. The existing restrictions in the research process prevented researchers from gathering data on social status and education of respondents, therefore the correlation between these variables and tested styles could not be verified. The study included 17 women (57%) and 13 men (43%), thus making it a relatively uniform gender structure, essential for this research. The age structure of respondents was as follows: age 26–35 years accounted for the largest part of the sample (about 36%); 30% of participants were older than 35, 27% were aged 16–25; while the age could not be determined for two respondents.

In order to achieve the validity of the results, the content of conversations was interpreted from different aspects (for example linguistic approach, Communication Studies approach, Gender Studies approach, etc.). There is a common criterion for each of these fields, which implies that the identity is seen as a process of social interaction that is achieved through language and communication. The theoretical framework comprised findings from various theoretical and empirical studies (Allwood & Schroeder, 2000; Herring, 1994; Tannen, 1991; Wood, 1995, 2009), which were used to form criteria of analysis of the data. Several criteria were developed by the author, as well as sub-criteria, which were used to describe the main criteria. The analysis was based on the four main criteria: the vocabulary used in conversations, communication topics, the tone of communication, and communication goals. Conversation topics are one of the most commonly analyzed characteristics of online communication, as discussed in Herring (1994) and Allwood and Schroeder (2000). According to Herring (1994), Wood (1995, 2009) and Tannen (1991), women discuss emotions and tend to achieve intimacy with other conversation participants, whereas men talk about precise information, problem solving, etc. Consequently, the male speaking style included topics related to politics, sports, war, the economy, and society whereas the female speaking style comprised topics related to family, intimacy, emotions, weaknesses, culture, as well as music (as an aspect of culture). This research also included schooling as one of the conversation topics, due to the fact that some participants belonged to young population. Allwood and Schroeder (2000) introduced the vocabulary used in conversations as a criterion of data analysis and named it "types of expression and vocabulary" (p. 8). This research provided an analysis of vocabulary used in conversations by participants. Several sub-criteria for the analysis developed by the author were based on research conducted by Tannen (1991), Herring (1994) and Wood (1995, 2009). The sub-criteria were used to assess the meaning and frequency of use of the following types of expressions: imperative and negative verb forms, self-promotional words, words related to fighting and winning, curses, expressions related to aggression, conflict and uncertainty, confirmatory statements and verb forms, terms such as wonderful, lovely, beautiful, love, heart, kiss, and expressions of gratitude. Tannen (1991) and Herring (1994) discussed communication goals, which provided a basis for the author to develop further characterization of communication goals in the analyzed conversa-

tions: the author assumed that domination, exchange of information, and troubleshooting were the main characteristics of communication goals of men, whereas women preferred understanding, support, affection, and emotional connecting as characteristics of the female speech style. Furthermore, the author developed an analysis criterion based on the tone of conversation in order to assess the overall communication context and as well as to discuss other characteristics of speech styles discussed also by Herring (1994) and Wood (1995). This criterion was mainly based on characteristics of the male and female speech styles derived from the research conducted by Herring (1994) and Wood (1995, 2009), which defined speech styles as either aggressive, conflicting, cold, self-promotional, authoritative, mild, supportive, gentle, or grateful. For the purpose of developing this criterion further, the author developed several sub-criteria, including the following speech style characteristics: uncertainty, obedience, humility, apologizing, abuse, and taunting. The set of sub-criteria listed in Table 5 was developed by the author with the aim to assess the participants' readiness to initiate and continue communication, based on their gender and age. According to Wood (1995), women tend to prolong conversations, regardless of their age. Age, however, is a relevant element in the analysis of communication in this study.

Collected data was further analyzed and evaluated with regard to the previously defined four-dimensional conceptual framework, i.e.: vocabulary used, as well as topics and tone of communication and its goals. After defining the list of sub-criteria, which included features of male and female speaking styles, the gender discourse used by each respondent was determined. Subsequently, the results were presented in the form of tables and qualitatively interpreted and the analysis of the content was performed. The qualitative analysis of the data was performed in accordance with the recommendations provided by Spiggle (1994), LeCompte (2000) and Branković (2007). Textual materials collected in each game were stored in digital form, classified and labeled. Furthermore, the items of analysis were identified and analyzed. At the end of the game (and sometimes during the game), the participants were told that this is a research study, and were asked to permit the use of their written conversations for research purposes (LeCompte, 2000). They were also told that they are not obliged to participate in conversations. The players were informed that neither their names nor any other private information would be disclosed publicly.

Results and analysis

The quantitative data show the frequency of the occurrence of certain terms in female and male speaking styles.¹

Table 1 Vocabulary analysis based on gender

	F	M
Imperative verb forms	7	11
Negative verb forms	1	4
Self-promotional terms	12	2
Words related to fighting and winning	11	13
Curses, aggressive and conflicting expressions	2	4
Uncertain and blurred statements	0	1
Confirmatory statements and verb forms	9	6
Terms such as <i>wonderful, lovely, beautiful</i>	11	0
Terms like <i>love, heart, kiss</i>	12	3
Expressions of gratitude	11	5

The results are classified and analyzed based on gender. The analysis of vocabulary items used in speech styles is illustrated in Table 1. The first part of the table lists the presumed characteristics of the male speaking style. In the second row of the table the presumed characteristics of the female speaking style are listed. These results show that the thesis is confirmed only by several criteria.³

The use of the imperative verb forms appears to be significantly a characteristic of the male speaking style, which is consistent with the previous studies. Statements regarding conflict occur as a quality of both female and male speaking style. However, they appear more frequently in the male speaking style. Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that these results could partly be influenced by the perception of the game as a competitive communicative environment. Offensive, aggressive, and conflicting expressions, as well as negative verb forms, appear to be significant in the male speech, which is consistent with the initial assumptions. According to the findings based on the evaluator's observations, expressions of aggression, insults, and curses were not well accepted by other participants in the game, regardless of their gender. Generally, they reacted

negatively to members who misbehaved and condemned their behaviour.

Expressions of self-promotion as a presumed quality of the male style refuted the initial assumption. The results show that, contrary to the assumed, women use self-promotional expressions in their speech much more frequently than men. Words such as *wonderful*, *lovely*, *beautiful*, as a part of the research body, were used exclusively by women, whereas uncertain and blurred statements appear in a negligible degree in both gender speech styles. The female speaking style for the most part consisted of expressions such as *love*, *heart*, and *kiss*, affirmative verb forms, expressions of agreement and gratitude. These results confirmed the initial assumption.

Table 2 Analysis of discursive tone as a semantic feature of gender speech

	F	M
Aggressive	0	6
Conflicting	3	7
Cold	3	5
Self-promotional	3	1
Authoritative	0	0
Abusive	3	8
Taunting	1	4
Gentle and mild	7	2
Supportive	7	4
Grateful	10	4
Uncertain	0	0
Obedient	7	3
Humble	4	0
Apologizing	7	2

The discursive tone, analyzed and presented in Table 2, confirms the claims in the initial assumption regarding the differences between male and female speaking styles, according to several criteria. As previously mentioned, in the first part of the table the presumed characteristics of the male speaking style are listed, while the second part of the table shows the assumed characteristics of the female speaking style. The top and the bottom part of the table are divided into rows that show the results obtained from the analysis of materials with regard to the gender of participants in the communica-

tion. The results indicate that men are cold, reserved and sarcastic during the conversations. Offensiveness, aggression, and conflict are also more likely to be present in the male speech style, as well as in conversations with other males. However, authoritative tone of speech could not be determined on the basis of the obtained results. Self-promotion, in contrary, was more commonly a female feature, not a feature of the male style, which is consistent with previous results from Table 1; despite the assumptions from the previous studies of similar problems. Kindness, gratitude, obedience and apologising may be considered as characteristics of the female style in this study. Women were eager to give support to other participants, but they also sought it for themselves, while men provided support exclusively for women. Elements of humility and uncertainty did not appear in the body of this research.

Table 3 Conversation topics based on different gender groups

	F	M
Politics	0	2
Sports	0	1
War	0	1
Economy	0	1
Society	1	1
Themes with sexual connotations	8	6
Family	1	0
Intimacy	4	0
Emotions	8	3
Weaknesses	5	1
Culture	1	2
Music	0	4
School	1	1

In this study the topic itself proved to be a poor criterion for assessing gender styles as assessed in the game Ludo as a communication environment. Topics discussed among participants of the game Ludo are analysed and listed in Table 3. Within the research body, there was no significant diversity of topics; the main discussion topic was the game itself. Other topics appeared only occasionally. Talking about the game sometimes served as a pretext for a conversation not related to the game itself. Topics related to politics, sports, war,

the economy, and society, as assumed characteristics of the male speaking style, appeared rarely. Topics concerning culture, families, and schools (assumed characteristics of the female speaking style) were present among both genders. Women mainly talked about emotions, their weaknesses, and private life, while men talked more about music, which was not assumed to be a characteristic of the male speaking style. It is important to emphasize that school, as a conversation topic for members of the online game Ludo, was mainly the topic discussed by respondents aged 16 to 25 years.

Sexuality was a frequent topic among women. The men willingly accepted the topic of sexuality, but it was usually imposed by women. Women frequently discussed men; men were less likely to talk about women during the game. At the end, topics with sexual connotations revealed the presence of a significant degree of homophobia in the game Ludo, as a communicative environment. Most thematic data did not allow the differentiation of the male speaking style from the female speaking style.

Table 4 Communicative objectives based on gender

	F	M
Domination	8	5
Exchange of precise information	1	1
Troubleshooting	1	1
Understanding or support	12	3
Liking	9	2
Emotional connecting	6	2

In terms of communication objectives (the results shown in Table 4), the premises are also only partly confirmed. Again, in order to facilitate comparisons and draw conclusions, the three presumed characteristics of the male and three of the female speaking styles were shown in Table 4. The results show that the common goal of conversations initiated by women was to gain sympathy from other participants. Also, as previously assumed, women tended to connect with others. The presumption of participants' tendency to gain dominance as a communicative goal, opposed the initial assumption. In this study women had tendency to dominate, while men occasionally assumed protective roles (toward female participants). Men showed a desire for domination only in contact with other male par-

ticipants. The exchanged information among participants was related mainly to the game itself. Therefore, it did not constitute an essential feature of either male or female speaking style. The content of conversations aimed at problem solving did not prove significant for consideration.

Table 5 The dependence of the flow of play and communication on age and sex of communicator²

Age/readiness to make contact	Speed of joining the conversation (M/F)	Duration of participation in a conversation (M/F)	The rate of initiating conversations (M/F)	Repeating a game with previously contacted participants
16–25	3/3	1/2	2/1	5
26–35	1/3	2/3	3/1	6
36–	1/1	1/2	3/2	6
rest	–	2/2	–/1	–

The results in Table 5 show somewhat different approach to the research. In addition to the classification of gender-related characteristics, the table shows the category of age as a factor that determines a communicative style. The results indicate the relation between gender and willingness to communicate. In general, men were initiating conversations more often. However, younger men (age group 16-25) initiated conversations more frequently, while more mature women (35 and older) often exhibit more willingness to talk than younger women. On the other hand, women of all ages more readily accepted already initiated conversations and became more involved in communication. Women remained much longer active in the process of communication than men, even when men were the initiators of conversations.

Discussion and concluding remarks

This study was aimed at identifying and defining elements of gender in speaking styles in an online game setting. The results showed that there is a difference in verbal expressions used by men and women, and that men and women use different types of discourse. However, in order to determine whether or not these differences are significant, it is necessary to perform a precise statistical analysis of the results, since some of the results provided small and possible insufficient amount of quantitative data. The study showed that the

discursive tone and vocabulary can indicate the differences between gender speech styles in online communication. In contrary, the game Ludo, selected as a communicative environment for the research purpose, did not appear to be a good platform to evaluate the linguistic elements of gender from the aspects of conversation topics and communicative goals. The variety of conversation topics did not provide enough valid results for a relevant conclusion, while the results regarding communicative goals showed significant deviations from those presented in the previous research (Herring, 1994; Tannen, 1991; Wood, 1995). Although the results of this research only partially confirmed the hypothesis, several additional conclusions were drawn from the study. This study confirms findings from the previous studies (Herring, 1994; Tannen, 1991; Wood, 1995) on characteristics of the female speaking style. However, features of the male speaking style identified in this research showed several deviations from the original analyses.

In addition, this study reveals that there is a great desire of participants, both male and female, to communicate. Men were more eager to start a conversation, while women remained involved in conversations longer. Men came into contact more readily than women, but women were more prepared to resume a conversation. The research also showed that there was no gender discrimination in the communicative process, but elements of ageism were noted, mainly among men. Also, men often behaved protectively toward women.

The last two diagrams are the most important parts of the research. Firstly, they show that there are more factors to be taken into account when talking about identity; not only gender, but age influences speech style as well. Secondly, the online environment proved to be a good environment for communication, and revealed the desire of participants to communicate. In the room, beside the players, members who did not play were often present. Many members, while waiting for a turn in the game, participated in conversations. In general, participants were more motivated to play if there was interaction between members of the platform and they preferably chose rooms with 'acquaintances'. On the aforementioned online platform participants had the option of virtual friendships. Participants who were also members of the platform, were usually becoming 'close' to those participants with whom they had come into contact and were more eager to repeat the game with them.

The above mentioned environment proved to be extremely homophobic, which may be an indicator of the patriarchal dimension of the physical world in which participants live. The greatest contribution of this study are the findings that indicate the specificity and the potential problems of communication in online environment. However, further conclusions require more detailed theoretical and statistical analysis. The findings of this research also point to the phenomenon that Joshua Meyrowitz called "the merging of male and female roles" (1985, p. 193).

This study has certain drawbacks. The most significant drawback of this study is a small surveying sample, as well as the research body. In order to draw a relevant conclusion, further similar researches should include the same number of male and female respondents from a uniform age group. Additionally, there are time limits, as well as specificity of communication processes in the selected online communication. Communication in the online board game Ludo was fragmented and there was a lack of clear and diverse topics. Grammatically complete sentences appeared rarely. Participants used abbreviations, along with other means of communication. In addition, the study shows that conversations in the selected online game, beside the analyzed verbal communication, contained a significant proportion of visual language. Images, signs, and symbols used in conversations, as well as other characteristics of online environments, significantly contributed to the semantic level of information exchange. Therefore, it is suggested that the future research may consider only this type of communication as one of its topics.

The limitation of this research is the assessment of gender speech styles, since the factors of homosexuality, transgenderism, and transsexualism were not taken into account. Although recent cultural studies show a significant impact of sexual orientation on communication, the relationship between these characteristics and dependent variables was not considered, due to lack of data on sexual orientation of respondents. Since the environment showed to be homophobic, i.e. patriarchal, the results could be considered relevant. Further, some of the results of the study could be considered valid only if the participants presented accurate demographic information about themselves. Likewise, certain issues and problems presented in this study were not related to the lack of data necessary for the conclusion. Therefore, the results of this study must be taken into consideration with respect to the above mentioned restrictions and

specificity of the environment, as well as the theoretical framework given at the beginning of the paper.

Online social games constitute an environment that is different from the physical. Therefore, their users behave differently than offline. Social relations in an online environment are not a result of translation of relationships in the physical world into relationships in online environment (as some theorists, such as Hawthorne (1999), suggest). The identity in online environment has its own characteristics needed to be studied further in order to keep pace with new technologies. Consequently, understanding the process of creating an identity in the modern age will be improved.

Notes

¹ F indicates female speaking style and M indicates male speaking style.

² The values of the speed of contact acceptance, numerical values of conversations initiated, as well as duration of participation in conversations are scaled at values from 1 to 3.

³ The data presented for the purpose of assessment of vocabulary used in each gender speech style represent the number of respondents who used the above expressions or statements, rather than the total number or frequency of their occurrence. These data were analyzed in relation to the total number of members of each sex who participated in the study.

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Original article

**POLITICAL PUBLIC RELATIONS AND
SENSATIONALISM IN NEWSPAPERS IN BOSNIA AND
HERZEGOVINA**

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This paper explores the manner in which the content and form in newspapers in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is influenced by political public relations and sensationalistic elements, undermining the potential of democratic function in journalism. In this study content analysis was used on the sample of five newspapers in BiH. The goal was to determine the quantitative and qualitative variables, such as genre, thematic areas, headings, citations and coverage objectivity. The statistical data reveals, among other things, that the newspapers in BiH are dominated by short news, a low level of actual information and plural viewpoints. The results show a tendency to sensationalism, as well as a lack of media autonomy from political and economic structures, which are disappointing results given the democratic potential of communication. In spite of the potential positive theoretical media functions, newspapers are facing an uncertain future, given the many economic and social changes which have influenced journalism and the newspaper quality in the last few decades. This kind of media environment presents serious challenges in maintaining journalistic principles and standards.

Keywords

sensationalism, tabloidization, public relations in newspapers, newspapers in Bosnia and Herzegovina, content analysis

Introduction

The potential of democratic communication in newspapers
An independent and fair press is generally regarded as one of the

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main pillars of contemporary democracies. The liberal approach, in which the role of the media is seen as reflecting the society rather than shaping it, is the dominant way of regarding the media (Curran, 2002). According to the theory of social responsibility the media should mirror the diversity of the society and to form and maintain high standards of professional journalism such as informativeness, truth, accuracy and objectivity (McQuail, 1983, p. 91). McQuail (1983) states that normative theories deal with matters such as: regulation and control of the media, tasks of the media and its contribution to the society. He mentions the example of the theory of free press as the leading principle for the print media in liberal democracies, whose main thought is that an independent press is a fundamental factor for a functioning society and finding the truth.

This role, with its emphasis on the democratic potential of communication, is especially attributed to newspapers, as they are in the heart of journalism, providing local, national and international news and therefore contributing to an informed society and a sense of community (Getler, 2001). The role of the print media is to give a critical review of daily events, enable citizen participation in political and cultural life by collecting, selecting and disseminating information (Bardoel & Deuze, 2001), as well as raise awareness about social problems and ways to solve them (Vlainić, 2012). McQuail (1983) defined the purpose of the media as providing: information, correlation (for example, explaining and interpreting events), continuity, entertainment and mobilization (pp. 80-81).

There are many other social functions of the press that can be found in the literature, such as creation of publics, complexity reduction, socialization and critique (Kunczik & Zipfel, 2006). The well-known principles of contemporary journalism, defined by Kovach and Rosenstiel, emphasize the duty and loyalty of journalists towards the truth, the society, independence, fact checking and their own conscience (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001). Their list of principles is regarded as a standard in journalism (Vehkoo, 2009).

Journalism today

Theories which emphasize the democratic role of the media in societies have been a subject of debate for a long time, given the conditions of the contemporary media. Many journalistic norms were developed in a different time, where the newspapers were mostly political publications with a small circulation and governments were the dominant center of power (Curran, 2002). The media evolved

among many social and technological changes, with the emergence of journalism as a profession and a higher sense of social and ethical responsibility (McQuail, 1983, p. 21). As a result, certain norms in journalism were developed which are difficult to maintain in contemporary states.

Today we are confronted with a media situation where entertainment dominates the content, economic power is in the hands of managers and shareholders, the media is owned by big corporations and media concentration is on the rise (Curran, 2002, p. 219).

Still, even though it seems that the changes are more radical than ever, it should be noted that newspapers have never completely been independent from the political and economic structures. Relying on subsidies, advertising, market forces and other factors have always made the press an instrument of control, however, today the problem is not only that there is a link between the media and big corporations, but the fact that "the media *are* big business" (Curran, 2002, p. 220). Therefore, it is no longer just a question of *whether* the media holds power to influence public opinion, but who has access to that power and influence (McQuail, 1983, p. 21).

The ever-increasing market orientation and the internet have led to news being produced even faster, while journalists are faced with a difficult and challenging job. The traditional role of journalists is being questioned in the new digital environment, as there have been fundamental changes to the whole profession. New media has created a paradoxical space where there is potential for more contextualization and speed of news which is impossible to get in newspapers, but at the same time readers are overwhelmed with information.

Even though problems are more eminent in transitional countries, they are present in Western countries as well, where the internet is one of the main reasons for the decline in newspapers' circulation (Biddle, 2014, p. 2). Also, the economic status of newspapers has been negatively affected by the global economic crisis and reduced income from advertising. All these problems influence the quality of journalism (Hodžić, 2010), which starts to suffer from a lack of independence and objectivity (Ugrinić, 2012, p. 88).

The political-economic media theories highlight these problems and focus more on the economic structure of the media than the ideological aspect of the content, and also study the ownership structures, the ways media is affected by market forces, etc. (McQuail, 1983). The biggest weakness of liberal functionalism is thought to be the ignoring of external and internal influences and pressures on

the media, which, among other things, include state censorship through the licensing of newspapers and legal limitations on freedom of media expression; media concentration; corporate ownership; dominant discourses and advertising influence (Curran, 2002, p. 148).

Sensationalism and political PR in newspapers

All the journalism functions also imply the potential dysfunctions of newspapers. For instance, the informative function may be jeopardized when there is a bias in the process of selecting news, the entertainment purpose may lead to news being presented in a trivial way, etc. (McQuail, 1983). The problem of infotainment is significant for newspapers, because it is possible that it encourages readers' expectations and appetite for this sort of content, while the newspapers lose their credibility (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001). Journalists are placed in an unenviable position where they are trying to protect the integrity of their profession and at the same time being confronted with numerous external and internal pressures on their work.

Primarily, market pressures can lead to investigative journalism being replaced with entertainment (Curran, 2002, p. 225). Furthermore, McChesney (2004) states inadequate journalism and hyper commercialism as the main problems in the media system in the USA. In BiH research also shows a tendency to sensationalistic journalism and commercialism of the content, being some of the key reasons for the low quality of journalism, as well as a focus on the media interests (and powers associated with the particular media) (Hodžić, 2010, p. 35). When these interests come from political entities, the role of public relations becomes more prominent. When political PR is being used in a manipulative way in order to dominate the public opinion, essentially the propagandists are taking advantage of the media system where young journalists often do not even enjoy basic employment rights. In addition to this, media dependence on political and economic powers result in "avoidance of certain topics, while forcing others, either through softening the tone of certain stories or critical interpretative framing of others, or simply by getting around 'unwanted' topics" (Hodžić, 2010, p. 23).

Lewis, Williams and Franklin (2008) found that at least 41% news texts had public relations in the background. Content analysis of eight newspapers in Serbia indicated that an increasing number of news is direct result of received press releases and information given by PR departments (Jevtović, 2011).

Journalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Studies of newspapers and print media in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) indicate even more difficult work conditions for the journalists and external circumstances which influence the credibility and professionalism of the media. Among other things, researchers have identified problems regarding economic and political pressures on the media, as well as financial dependence on the economic and political powers (Davor, 2014; Hodžić, 2010).

Also, a specific issue in BiH is the division of the media based on the territorial and ethnic affiliations of the employees and readers (Davor, 2014). Even though the media could contribute to a better understanding and cooperation between the entities, “mass media in Bosnia and Herzegovina perpetuate misunderstanding, fear and drama within the political structure of the society” (Kurtić, 2007, p. 119).

Furthermore, research about the quality of print media in BiH show that self-censorship directly influences the quality of newspapers (for example, see Davor, 2014). Hodžić (2010) notes that self-censorship actually is one of the most dominant problems in journalism in BiH and is a result of violation of journalists’ work rights, uncertain employment contracts and a disorganized labor market.

One of the more comprehensive studies of newspapers in our region was conducted by researchers and academics in Montenegro, Croatia and BiH. Different indicators of newspaper quality and credibility were analyzed and the results in all three countries were disappointing and showed a lack of professionalism (Malović, 2007). Generally, the authors concluded that readers do not have the opportunity to read serious informative newspapers in our region, that the information is not based on facts but rather on “sensational half-truths which can awaken curiosity, but in the long run they erode trust in the media and journalism” (Malović, 2007, p. 10). The study showed that the key characteristics of contemporary newspapers in our region are: short news, large headings and photographs, the use of one source and dominance of political news and a lack of sufficient information and citations (Malović, 2007). In BiH there are similar characteristics: the most common topic is politics; the most common format is short news; most often there is only one source and the citation of like-minded; and the use of photographs as a visual complement to the text (Kurtić, 2007). Also, the results show that a large proportion of news about social topics is not original

products of the analyzed newspapers. As Kurtić (2007) indicates, democratic societies would characterize media with these attributes as biased and non-credible. Jevtović (2011) states that “scandals, fights, death, sex, fame and sport make the core structure of the most read newspapers in Serbia, where shallowness, tabloidization and sensationalism threaten the traditional earnestness of the oldest journals” (p. 180).

Results which indicate a decline in the quality of press media in BiH are also supported in a recent yearly study of conditions and quality of media systems: Europe and Eurasia Media Sustainability Index 2014 for Bosnia and Herzegovina. The analysis of indicators for professional journalism (whether journalists follow ethical standards; do not practice self-censorship; cover key events and issues and receive pays that are sufficiently high to discourage corruption, etc.) indicated that the overall level of professionalism is unsatisfactory in BiH (Davor, 2014).

The main assumption of this study is that political PR and elements of sensationalism in terms of the choice of content and presentation are present in Bosnian newspapers, undermining the potential democratic function of journalism.

The methodological framework

The quality and the level of professionalism of Bosnian newspapers were analyzed within a comprehensive study at the PhD programme of Communication science at the University of Tuzla in 2015. 1987 units were analyzed from 12 to 18 May 2015 (all texts published on the first seven pages and the last page of all the daily newspapers in BiH (Dnevni Avaz, Oslobođenje, Glas Srpske, Nezavisne novine, Dnevni list) as well as a control sample of the two newspapers from Serbia (Večernje novosti) and Croatia (Jutarnji list) with the largest circulation. The number of analyzed units from BiH was 1402. In the main research the analyzed elements included indicators of content quality and form which indicate the level of professionalism and objectivity in the newspapers.

In this study the analyzed indicators regarded the potential influence on the newspaper's themes and topics and the tendency towards sensationalistic, tabloid reporting. These potential influencers were operationalized through the genre; distribution of the genre based on page numbers; topics; distribution of the topics based on

page numbers; objects of reporting; number of cited persons; sources; transparency of the sources; citation of different sides; the length of the text; the heading (length, prominence, function) and the use of photographs.

Thus, the study shows an overview of the state of newspapers quality, trends in the structure and topical preferences of the media. The focus of the research was on the newspapers from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Content analysis was performed, using appropriate indicators. The statistical analysis was performed in *SPSS Statistics 20*.

Results

The frequency analysis shows that the most common genre in newspapers in Bosnia and Herzegovina is news stories, in 35.4% cases. After the news stories, the most common genres are announcements (*najave*) (16.2%), news reports (9.5%) and news articles (8.9%). Official public relations press releases can be found in 0.6% of the analyzed units. It is clear that there is a relatively high presence of advertisements (5.9%), even though the distribution of the different genres based on page numbers in the newspapers indicates that the advertisements are most often found on the first (15.3%) and the last page (16.4%) of the newspaper.

The most common topics in the analyzed newspapers are domestic politics with 21.3% and society with 19.4%. After that following topics appear most often: crime (8.7%), economy (8.4%) and war consequences (6.7%). Marketing as a topic occupies 5.9% of the analyzed units. The topic that involves war consequences can mostly be found in the newspapers from Bosnia and Herzegovina (Table 1).

Distribution of different topics shows that the analyzed units about entertainment in 20.9% of the cases are on the last page of the newspapers, as well as 16.4% of the marketing pieces. On the first page the most common topics are: domestic politics (14.3%), society (19.1%), marketing (14.6%), sports (10.5%) and crime (9.7%).

Table 1 Analysis of the variable – Topic

<i>Topics</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Domestic politics	420	21.1
Foreign politics	124	6.2
Economy	166	8.4
Society	382	19.2
War consequences	133	6.7
Health	40	2.0
Culture	42	2.1
Science and education	43	2.2
Crime	172	8.7
Sports	108	5.4
Marketing	116	5.8
Entertainment	79	4.0
Other	149	7.5
Total	1975	99.4
Missing	12	.6
Total	1987	100.0

The most common objects of reporting in newspapers in BiH are government (28.93%) and political parties (17.47%). After that, objects of reporting that appear most often are international institutions (10.43%) and legislative institutions (6.71%).

Table 2 Analysis of the variable – Objects of reporting

	<i>Sample (%)</i>	<i>BiH (%)</i>	<i>Serbia (%)</i>	<i>Croatia (%)</i>
Political parties	14.44	17.47	7.96	8.20
Legislative institutions	7.79	6.71	9.55	10.54
Government	28.44	28.93	34.07	18.75
Judicial organizations	7.57	8.06	2.22	11.71
Companies	9.10	5.13	20.70	14.45
Public companies	4.95	3.08	5.73	13.28
Unions	1.52	0.86	2.86	3.12
NGO	3.92	5.45	0.31	0.78
International institutions	9.64	10.43	5.09	11.32
Other	12.63	13.88	11.51	7.85

Citations

In 58.4% of the analyzed units not one single person was cited. In the texts where there was a citation, in 65.8% cases only one person was cited.

When the units contain citations, they most often come from: domestic politicians (22.2%) and government officials (18.5%).

Overall, the study shows that PR practitioners were cited in 45 analyzed units, including public relations of both domestic (36) and international institutions (9).

The frequency analysis of the variable which indicates plurality of opinions shows that in 74.6% cases only one side is cited, and in only 25.4% are the opinions not like-minded.

In 75.8% of the analyzed sample, the sources are precisely identified, while the sources are not stated at all in 11% of the cases. Results indicate a lack of transparency of the sources, given that the sources were not identified in 11% of the cases, in addition to a combination (9.5%) and "hearsay" (1.8%).

The presentation of the content

The way in which the texts are presented shows whether there is a trend towards sensationalism and tabloidization in newspapers and among other indicators it can be seen in the length of the text, the heading (length, prominence, function) and the use of photographs.

The average length of the texts is 183.9 words. The average length of the headings is 9.81 words. In the analyzed newspapers very large headings are used, especially on the front pages. The frequency analysis of the variable that indicates the function of the heading shows that the heading is referential (points to the object of reporting) in 64.4% cases; in 15.7% cases it is expressive (subjective experience of the object of reporting by the journalist); in 3.5% cases moralizing (taking a moral stand against the object of reporting) and in 6.7% cases conative (taking a practical stand against the object of reporting).

66.2% of the texts have photographs. In 85.2% of the cases the texts with photographs have one photograph.

Discussion

The role of serious journalism for the society should be maintaining professional standards and norms with the purpose of informing citizens about relevant topics, with truthful, timely and objective in-

formation. The function of journalism should involve raising awareness of societal issues by reflecting the society and providing a critical overview of events (Bardoel & Deuze, 2001; Vlainić, 2012). Even though these functions clearly have been very much compromised in contemporary society (if they ever truly did exist) people expect the newspapers to provide meaning to the world around them and hence, trust that they do. The responsibility to objectivity and credibility is therefore greater for newspapers, as opposed to tabloids, where the reader might very well be aware of the lack of credibility of the sources.

The results of this study indicate that the journalistic norms of high quality are not fully considered and used in newspapers in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Even though there are characteristics of serious newspapers, in the analyzed sample one can notice a trend toward tabloidization and a sensational way of attracting the attention of the readers.

Though the length of the text, as an indicator of tabloidization, did not prove tabloidization in this study, another indicator of sensational approach was identified: the heading. In the newspapers in BiH emphasized headings with large fonts dominate and in almost 16% of the cases their function is expressive, which indicates an emotional bias from the journalist. This is not in line with the characteristics of serious newspapers, where headings should provide an insight into the texts and be informative and precise. Instead, both their content and graphic features indicate tabloidization of the presentation of the content. The way in which the photographs are used does not point to classic tabloid forms of papers.

Among other indicators, tabloids are characterized by texts with fewer sources, short news, a lack of contextualization, a focus on emotional content, etc. (Kurtić, 2007). The chosen genres and topics do show that domestic politicians and society are mostly represented. This is not a feature of sensational newspapers. Informative forms dominate, such as news stories, news articles, reports and features. Still, when the newspapers are dominated by short news (in 35.4% of the analyzed units) there is not enough possibility for deeper, critical analysis of the topics. The trend towards short news with one source decreases or removes the possibility of providing a more detailed background or explaining current news which the readers should expect from print media. Despite this, in most cases the topics that are being covered in the short news stories and news

articles (politics and society) do indicate a more serious approach to journalism.

However, a sensational approach to journalism can be noticed through the amount of news about crime, especially when analyzing the front page. Crime as a thematic area on the front pages is evident in 9.7%. Combined with the trend towards large headings, it seems as though the goal of Bosnian newspapers is to attract the attention of potential readers through the sensational use of topics such as crime and war consequences.

Analyzing the front pages further, a rather large proportion of marketing (14.6%) and sports (10.5%) related texts or announcements are evident. Also, viewing the ratio of the texts about entertainment on the front page (4.6%) as opposed to topics such as health (1.6%), science and education (1.6%) or culture (2.7%), it is clear that the educative function of journalism is not used to its full potential. The emphasis on entertainment and emotional content is a characteristic of tabloid papers. Generally, tabloidization and sensationalism of serious newspapers as a global problem is evident through the increasing emphasis on emotional stories, violence and tragedies.

The trend towards a certain level of tabloidization and a sensationalistic approach is similar to studies in the region. The results from this study largely confirm the findings of the earlier mentioned studies which found that the newspapers are dominated by short news, dominance of political news (Malović, 2007), one source or like-minded citations, use of photographs as a visual complement to the text (Kurtić, 2007). Given the competition newspaper are facing not only from other newspapers, but also from television, online editions and social media, newspapers in our region seems to have chosen the sensationalistic approach to gaining attention from readers, as opposed to increasing the quality of its reporting.

This study showed a relatively low number of *official* press releases (0.6%) and PR professionals being cited in the texts (45 analyzed units in the whole sample). However, it is difficult to determine the actual influence of public relations because methodological issues in measuring the political PR influence on journalists makes it hard to analyze their true relations. The lack of a reliable qualitative method of measurement of PR on journalism (Verčič & Mueller, 2007) results in a very conservative view and “almost *certainly underestimate* the true extent of PR activity, which many PR *specialists* suggest is very high” (Lewis, Williams, & Franklin, 2008, p. 3). In

this context, the relationship between the journalist and the PR practitioner may very well be at the core of the influence on newspapers and at the same time, extremely difficult to analyze and measure. Financial pressures, lack of time and staff, increased competition and similar reasons all lead to journalists becoming more prone to use help in the form of press releases. The problem is not when journalists critically analyze the received material, but when they use it without attributing it to its source or critically evaluating it. Printed news in particular is routinely used from other sources (agencies, PR departments, etc.) without being properly cited (Lewis, Williams, & Franklin, 2008, p. 18).

Even though this study did not prove the existence of a large amount of PR material *directly*, the potential influence of political PR may be implied by the vast reliance of sources such as the government, political parties, etc., as well as the coverage of pseudo-events. Previous studies indicate a strong reliance on official sources and a lack of transparency in citations (Jevtović, 2011; Laban, 2005; Lewis, Williams, & Franklin, 2008), as well as an overall unsatisfactory level of quality and use of relevant and pluralistic sources (Davor, 2014). A study in Serbia indicates that, even though the amount of texts that derive directly from PR is not vast, the use of official sources show how official institutions with their public relations professionals routinely create pseudo-events (Jevtović, 2011, p. 189). Both sides, the journalists and the organizations, try to create the impression that the texts and ideas originate from the journalists and editors of the newspapers (Lewis, Williams, & Franklin, 2008, p. 5).

In the analyzed sample a focus on the politicians is generally evident, as well as a lack of transparency of sources. In almost 60% of the news there is not even a citation. Even the articles or news stories that contain quotes only have one person cited in more than 70% of the cases. This, together with the fact that in over 20% sources are not clearly identified, implies the existence of biased journalism, as it clearly goes against the objectivity and credibility standards in journalism.

The government (28.93%), as well as political parties (17.47%), is the most common object of reporting in the Bosnian newspapers; the most common topic is domestic politics (21.3%); the most common texts and announcements on the front page are about domestic politics (14.3%) and politicians are the most quoted (22.2%). McChesney (2004) states the importance of sources when analyz-

ing the agenda setting theories in media, as they point to the fact why and how certain topics are being covered (p. 70). The fact that the newspapers are dominated by texts with only one or no source at all, in addition to the lack of transparency in citations, it is troubling when analyzing newspapers through the democratic potential and function of media. Objectivity is shown when journalists cite several sources with different opinions.

A possible conclusion from results of this study is that the influence of political public relations on the Bosnian newspapers can be seen through a typical agenda setting function, as opposed to a direct influence on the journalist. As such, the influence of political powers on newspapers is rather discreet and can also be "seen" in the absence of certain significant topics and critical analysis, as well as a focus on certain topics or people. Despite this, even when the journalist do rely on content from a PR practitioner, the still do contact other sources as well (Lewis, Williams, & Franklin, 2008, p. 8), but this only reaffirms the agenda setting role of PR. In this sense, it is worrying that the newspapers in Bosnia and Herzegovina force the topic of war consequences (overall 6.7%, while the distribution of the topics according to page numbers shows that the units about war consequences are to be found on 5.1% on front pages, 11.1% on second pages and 14.2% on the third pages). In BiH this decreases the democratic potential of communication and leads to tensions between readers of different nationalities. Bosnian newspapers are aware of the fact that their readers are "trapped in nationally defined communication sub communities and they dose the extent and depth of information that match their readers' expectations" (Kurtić, 2007, p. 151). The relatively high percentage of this kind of news on the front pages of newspapers, a general low level of professionalism and quality of print media deepens the existing social and political problems citizens are facing, instead of improving the democratic principles of journalism. This is especially worrying in a country where people are already divided and where an independent and objective media system could help mend the intolerance between different nationalities. Instead, the amount of texts highlighting war consequences and nationalistic statements from politicians keep any potential tensions intact.

A relatively high number of marketing messages (5.9%) was noted when analyzing the variable genre, which implies not only a political influence in the newspapers, but also economical influence. Any sort of dependence on economic or political forces shows what

type of journalism is probably encouraged (McChesney, 2004, p. 60). Even though developed countries face the pressure from companies which more or less influence the editorial policy, these are especially difficult problems for transition countries, where low quality of print media prevents citizens from getting objective and timely information (Hodžić, 2010).

It should be noted that the negative functions of public relations in this paper refer to the practitioners who use PR as a publicity tactic, a way to control the public opinion and manipulate it, which is not the essence of public relations. Some communication practitioners lack the educational background in public relations and hence practice PR as a propaganda tool. In other cases, the reason for inadequate PR is not the lack of knowledge and understanding of the positive social functions of PR, but a more deliberate deflection of attention from more serious topics that should be covered in the newspapers. Dinan and Miller (2009) state that PR theories highlighting symmetrical two-way communication (Grunig, Grunig, & Dozier, 2002) have been "used as an apologia or legitimation for the (mal)practice" (p. 258). PR professionals, on the other hand, maintain that the true role of PR is establishing compromise, promoting plurality of opinions and clarifying issues that are important to the society (Cutlip, Center, & Broom, 2006, p. 148). Despite these various contradictory views on the topic, the fact is that "no contemporary study of the relationship between political journalism and democracy can ignore the role of public relations" (McNair, 2000, p. 122).

Any kind of study about the political influence and sensationalism on journalism ultimately leads to a wider perspective and questions going beyond newspapers in this case. Many questions arise from this type of analysis, and these are not new questions, however contemporary they always seem to be. What is the potential solution to this media environment? What is the future of journalism, of newspapers? Would the problems that the media face in Bosnia and Herzegovina (ranging from dependence of political and economical centers to self censorship) be solved with more media privatization or less privatization? Who benefits from the current media environment?

Too often the journalists themselves are blamed, but unfortunately that removes the attention from other essential problems such as institutional control and governmental policies which enable contemporary media systems, which are made to create as much profit

as possible for media organizations and shareholders (McChesney, 2004, p. 65). This neoliberal approach to media is ultimately re-defining all social and democratic functions of newspapers. Pressures from various sources threaten serious journalism in different countries: state control (restrictive regulations, control of licenses, decrease in public funding, threat of privatization); economic pressures (control by shareholders, owners, managers, advertising); entertainment (free market system), etc. (Curran, 2002, p. 219-225).

Newspapers face a relatively uncertain future, and it is forecasted that the newspaper circulation in Europe will decrease by 50% until year 2020 (Biddle, 2014, p. 2). For instance, interviews with the management of four newspapers in Serbia showed a worrying picture of contemporary media environment in Serbia, which is characterized by a large number of print media, nontransparent ownership and profits of media companies, inadequate staff structure, inadequate education and poor technological equipment (Ugrinić, 2012).

At its core, the question about the solution for the current media system might involve the question: in what form are tendencies such as convergence, digitalization and privatization acceptable for the public, and not just the ones with power and money? (Veljanovski, 2011, p. 415). The solution might be found in a more "energized civil society, well developed alternative networks of communications, professionally oriented or radically oriented media staffs and consumer pressure" (Curran, 2002, p. 232). Though, given the characteristics of the contemporary neoliberal media and its many flaws, it is fairly ironic that it is the media that should be helping citizens form into a critical, informed public willing to influence their own social, economic and political reality.

Conclusion

The content analysis of five newspapers in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the control sample from the region showed that there is a tendency to sensationalism in newspapers, as well as lack of autonomy from political structures, which are dissatisfying results given the democratic potential of communication. The results of the study indicate that the most common object of reporting in the Bosnian newspapers are the government and political parties; the topic most often covered is domestic politics; news about domestic politics dominate the front page and the most quotes sources come from politicians.

Even though Bosnian newspapers do contain characteristics of serious newspapers where journalists try to provide an overview of social and economic events, the way in which the content is presented, the choice of topics and the lack of complete objectivity and transparency are a warning about the quality of newspapers and the influence of political public relations on the choice of thematic areas.

One of the reasons for this is the circumstances in which journalists in BiH work. Political and economic pressures followed by inferior employment conditions and a weak protection of journalists lead to auto-censorship (Davor, 2014) and censorship, hence, journalists lack the motivation to oppose various pressures and to treat the journalistic principles as a priority. Different issues that burden print media in BiH; market orientation and the increasing number of online editions force journalists and editors to various changes in their work. The environment in which journalists write and work is a serious barrier to maintenance of journalistic principles and standards. McChesney (2004) states that contemporary journalism does not meet any of its social democratic functions. This bears great implications for the society and given the democratic potential of mass communication and the lack in the use of this potential, the question of sensationalism, tabloidization and political and economic pressure on newspapers remains current and demands further analysis.

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Original article

ON STUDENTS AND ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATION: E-MAILS TO A PROFESSOR

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If it is true that the traditional letter as a form of written communication is becoming extinct, then surely e-mail is the new letter. Fast, free and ubiquitous, it occupies both ends of the formal–informal spectrum with its style aspiring to match the social context of correspondence. E-mails that are produced and received by parties bound by a set of mutual responsibilities into an institutional relationship are expected to follow more closely grammatical and other conventions of the language in which they are written. Since educational settings are well suited to conventionalized forms of electronic communication, the aim is to find out the extent to which these general principles are observed when students write e-mails to their teachers. For instance, there are Anglo-American university websites galore dedicating virtual space to the matter, along with some practical guidelines. On the other hand, fewer institutional websites are committed to the same idea in the region where my native Serbian is spoken (and also the neighbouring—and to a speaker of Serbian fully intelligible—Croatian language). There is, however, no shortage of more general usage and style guides as well as forum discussions geared towards the format and contents of e-mails whose senders are students, and recipients their professors. Following the assumption that these two different socio-cultural contexts share similar concerns as evinced by the suggested style sheets, I set about compiling and analyzing a corpus of e-mails in Serbian composed by my students and reaching my institutional e-mail address. The corpus comprises 100 e-mails written over the course of one academic year (2014/15) by students reading for a degree in English at the University of Banja Luka. Both form and content of the e-mails are taken into consideration, in both qualitative and quantitative terms. The research is meant to be of a descriptive rather than prescriptive kind: the idea is to document the electronic mail communication practices of a small segment of a much larger community at one point in time.

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Keywords

student e-mail, e-mail styles, communication politeness, academic communication

Introduction

The following description of the early days of electronic communication clearly does not hold any longer:

Electronic mail is known for its informality. This is partly because of the hacker culture whence email springs and partly because email is so easy to send. In some ways email has more in common with phone discussion than with paper memos, which are traditionally more formal in tone. (Shea, 1994, p. 47)

The e-mail of today can be anything from extremely informal to extremely formal: its style will be determined by the social context of correspondence. E-mails exchanged by a couple of close friends will clearly differ in a number of ways from those that are marked by more distance, either vertical or horizontal, between sender and recipient. In the case of business or institutional communication, conventions define the context as formal and serve as a reassurance that the parties involved understand and accept the rules of the game and the distribution of roles and responsibilities in it.

E-mail is taken so seriously in the professional world that netiquette recommends checking e-mail at work “preferably three or four times a day, but at least twice a day” (Shea, 1994, p. 91). The recommendation that before sending e-mail we should make sure that the time our recipients spend reading it is not wasted is somewhat out of kilter with the outrageous amount of e-mail most professionals nowadays receive and a corresponding amount of time they are expected to devote to sending out replies.

These conflicting expectations can easily apply to the context of university education and communication, which might be seen as just another professional context featuring service providers and their clients. As this paper was inspired by motives of a rather personal kind—the e-mails sent to me by my students would often make me

feel overwhelmed—I was curious to understand what exactly caused such a strong reaction on my part. As it turned out, it was not all about the number of e-mails received daily—what was in them was just as important.

As the paper does not aspire to be taken as a solid piece of empirical research in that it foregrounds the researcher's own experience in analyzing and interpreting the data, there is also no pressing need to follow a fully conventional format in the presentation of findings and conclusions. Instead, the research is based on tentative and mostly implicit hypotheses that have been shaped by my day-to-day communication—mostly electronic—with the students I teach. That also explains why little effort has been made towards neutralizing the presence of the researcher in this paper.

How to write e-mail to a professor: advice from the Internet

There is unanimous advice on the Internet that e-mail to a professor should be treated like a business letter, which is usually accompanied by a word of caution that being too informal can lead to many gaffes in this form of communication. Useful tips include those on how to address your professor (e.g. in various degrees of formality), as well as those that address issues of style (e.g. mind your spelling, write grammatically, and use paragraph breaks) and content (e.g. do not rant, and also remember that personal contact is preferable to e-mail when the issue at hand is of a delicate kind). Some of the evaluative words that dominate these pages are “overwhelming” (e.g. the amount of e-mail received), “shocking” (e.g. its offensive or otherwise inappropriate content), or “frustrating” (e.g. the amount of time spent reading and responding to e-mail), which implicitly invite students to be more understanding of their professors' busy schedules and heavy workload. Although this desperate put-yourself-in-my-shoes plea might not actually result in more understanding, it represents the voice of the oppressed—the teacher in this case—and is therefore a message worth sending.

The following paragraph is a summary of some of the online advice on how to write e-mail to a professor, posted either by writing specialists recognizing the need for such advice or by the many pro-

fessors who seem to be growing frustrated by their students' slovenly approach to e-mail communication. Some of the authored sources include Corrigan and Hunt McNabb (2015), Leddy (2005), McNair (2015), Neufeld (2015), Patton (2015), Roth (2012), and Stockslager (2015). Many of the texts quoted have institutional addresses behind them, such as Smith College (n.d.), the University of North Carolina (n.d.), the Writing Center at UNC (n.d.), and Wellesley College (2008), while some references are either implicitly institutional or otherwise associated with teaching and instruction, such as "Email Etiquette" (n.d.), "How to Email a Professor" (n.d.), and "How to Use Proper Email Etiquette" (n.d.). The recommendations had the potential to fill a few more paragraphs of the same length, but a line had to be drawn at some point. A general observation is that the advice tends to be compressed into short and relatively simple clauses for maximum effect, as illustrated below.

Read the syllabus. Make sure e-mail is really the best way to communicate your issue. Use your academic account. Use your college or university e-mail. Include a meaningful subject line with your course and section details. Choose an appropriate greeting. Always use a greeting. Briefly and politely state the reason why you are e-mailing. Address your instructors appropriately. Use a clear subject line. Use a salutation and signature. Be sure to identify yourself. Write your name at the end of the e-mail. Spell your professor's name correctly. Use standard punctuation, capitalization, spelling and grammar. Read it over. Proofread. Be aware of concerns about entitlement. Be formal. Be kind. Be polite. Be thorough. Be succinct. Be specific. Avoid rote apologies for missing class. Ask politely. When you get a reply, say thanks. Do not send unexpected attachments. Think about what you are saying. Keep your e-mail short, around 5–8 lines. Write a clear and concise message. Do not use abbreviations or text language. Use complete words in complete sentences. Do not write your e-mail like a text message on your phone. Do not write in capitals—it looks like you are shouting. Treat your professor as you would treat a boss. Expect a reply during business hours: Monday–Friday, 9.00–5.00—and if you get a reply outside that time, count yourself lucky. Do not expect a reply in the evening or on weekends. Allow adequate time for a reply. Do not expect an immediate reply.

Write from a full keyboard, not a phone—when your professor sees “sent from my Blackberry” at the end of a message, it is hard not to discount it a little. Avoid using too many first person singular pronouns because it can make you seem self-absorbed. Use the semicolon correctly in your e-mail to be noticed by a grammatically astute professor. Remember that your professor will grade your work one day, so make sure you create a positive first impression. Be sure to use the same font throughout your e-mail. Do not use e-mail to rant or to whine. Accept that not all concerns should be addressed by e-mail. Do not e-mail your instructors to ask about their office hours. Express your gratitude. When making a request, make sure it is written as a request and do not assume it will be granted. Do not send an e-mail at the last minute about why you cannot take an exam. Think about your message before you write it. Reflect on the tone of your message. Format your message so that it is easy to read.

Similar advice can be found on Serbian and Croatian web pages addressing general issues of netiquette as well as those specifically targeting e-mails to professors. Here, too, the sources are many and varied, e.g. Eduvizija.hr (n.d.), Forum.hr (2011), N. T. (2012), Savić (2016), Srpski jezik–Vokabular forum (2009), Stanojević (2015), Studentski.hr (2014), and Studentski Život (n.d.). One can easily get the impression that the dos and don’ts are even more strictly articulated and that the emphasis on formality is even stronger than it has been observed in the online recommendations coming from the English-speaking world. Nevertheless, it is true that in the case of English most sources were either educational institutions—departments, colleges and universities—or individuals with a teaching background (and usually experience) in communication, writing, and similar fields. In the case of Serbian and Croatian, the authors were usually not affiliated with official educational institutions—they were merely individuals with an interest in the subject matter and not necessarily experts on language and communication.

Not surprisingly, the right places to listen to dissenting and rebellious voices and opinions were online forum debates about how to address a professor and other problem areas in e-mail composition. Some posts in both Serbian and Croatian were quite picturesque in their expression of low esteem for authority figures, and

their users vented unabashedly against professors and their allegedly undeserved privileges. However, such comments are not uncommon when emanating from the ranks of students who may feel overwhelmed by the still pronounced vertical features of academia in the regional context.

A disrespectful e-mail will raise different issues in different socio-cultural contexts, but it will raise issues nonetheless. For some professors it is just a gripe about etiquette or poor writing and communicative skills of their students. Others, for example, may see it as an unwelcome reminder that if you are a woman or a professor of color, you are not entitled to the same amount of respect as your white male colleagues (Patton, 2015). Whatever concerns professors might have, it seems that such e-mail (mis)communication rarely goes unnoticed.

Student–professor e-mail correspondence in Serbian

In this section all the advice on how to write e-mail to a professor is put to a test by introducing a corpus of 100 student e-mails in Serbian. All 100 messages were addressed to the author of this paper, an associate professor of English at the University of Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The e-mails reached my institutional electronic address during the academic year 2014/15, and constituted but a fragment of the total number of messages I received from my students in that year alone. All the e-mails came from students attending one of the courses I taught at the time, regardless of the year and the programme—undergraduate and graduate alike—in which they were enrolled.

The students' identity was protected by deleting all personal information (such as the header and signature), keeping only a copy of the e-mail body in a separate file. The result was that—even though some e-mails were too memorable to forget who their senders were—most of them lost any easily identifiable features associating them with their senders and blended together with the rest of the corpus. In other words, in most cases I would not be able to guess which of my students was behind which e-mail. Nor did the students know anything about a corpus of e-mails to which they con-

tributed with their messages addressed to me as one of their instructors, which was for the best as such knowledge and awareness might have led to a different, more careful approach to e-mail composition and reduced its authenticity. If anything, it could have discouraged the students from writing e-mail altogether or otherwise affected both its content and style.

The number of e-mails collected makes for a small-sized corpus, but its relatively modest size is justified by the fact that it did not undergo any software-assisted analysis, with equal attention paid to every word, sentence, and paragraph of each of those 100 e-mails. This makes the research both qualitative and quantitative, at the same time precluding the researcher from making any far-reaching claims unwarranted by the size of the corpus.

No strict criteria applied in determining an acceptable word count or length of the messages entering the corpus. The shortest e-mail was only four words long, and the longest had a hefty word count of 277. However, both extremely short and extremely long messages were extremely rare, and most averaged about 100 words per e-mail. The 100 e-mails together amounted to a total of 6,491 words distributed across 342 sentences on 17 pages of an MS Word file.

The messages were analyzed for both content and style, and particularly targeted were the following aspects of e-mail composition: forms of address along with greetings and salutations; contents or reasons for writing e-mail; mindfulness of spelling, punctuation, grammar, as well as paragraph structure; and last but not least, awareness and implementation of politeness strategies. Theoretically speaking, the research was entrenched in the pragmatic end of the linguistic spectrum, both co-operatively Gricean and more specifically politeness-based. The former is applied in general terms avoiding much of the technical discussion, whereas the latter has been given a section-length treatment aimed at addressing the non-English data more specifically.

Forms of address and greetings

Most senders decided to address the recipient somehow, or at least use a greeting of some kind rather than go straight to the point.

These openings were quite diverse and therefore grouped into four broad and possibly overlapping categories: formal or formulaic, less formal to informal, mixed, and evasive. That they are likely to overlap means that they are not fixed or stable categories, but are rather used as *ad hoc* labels to help form a more general idea of potentially conflicting tendencies in e-mail etiquette—for example, sometimes the tone will vary between formal and informal. Overall, the figures indicate a preference for conventional forms although there is a great deal of vacillation that needs to be taken into account as well.

Amongst the most conspicuous greetings were the absent ones, in Table 1 below referred to as zero address. The void created by an evasive strategy was not always easy to explain or justify—even in the case of follow-up e-mails in an ongoing exchange between sender and recipient, the choice to circumvent any of the forms of address conventionally used in business-like correspondence certainly made itself felt. Perhaps the students did not know that a salutation is customary in electronic communication, perhaps they did not know how to address the recipient, or perhaps they simply chose not to.

Nevertheless, it is true that most e-mails opened with one of the conventional forms of address, most notably *Dear Professor* (in Serbian *Poštovana* or *Draga profesorice*, which is the vocative case of a feminine noun), occasionally followed by the recipient's surname. Some students preferred to use the unmodified or single-word honorific *Professor* (in Serbian *Profesorice*), possibly out of concern that anything more than that would make them appear overly cordial. Actually, those writing e-mail in Serbian can choose between *poštovana* and *draga*—the former is felt to be both more distant and emotionally neutral than the latter, which translates to English not only as *dear*, but also as *likeable* and even *sweet*. It seems as though in this case I was neither thought likeable nor considered worthy of (so much as a conventional expression of) respect!

Then there were those who shied away from using the recipient's name—possibly because they did not find its mention necessary, or because they could not remember it, or because they never knew it in the first place—conveniently resorting to a one-size-fits-all form of address such as *Poštovana*. This is a widely common form of ad-

dress in bureaucratese, which best translates to English as *Dear Madam* since it avoids specifying the recipient's identity.

Less conventional were the openings replacing a formulaic salutation with a more informal greeting such as *Zdravo!* (*Hello!*) used on its own. A more formal alternative to this greeting was *Dobar dan!* (*Good afternoon!*), which I personally find a bit unusual in the context of electronic communication, for how sure can one be that the recipient will open and read the message as soon as it has been delivered? There was only one instance of a highly informal greeting composed of the premodifier *Draga* and the recipient's first name, but that is in no way surprising given that being on first-name terms with your professors is still uncommon in many Eastern European countries.

There were also—as referred to by their shorthand label—mixed greetings, containing both formal and informal features in a single expression, such as *Poštovana* or *Draga profesorice* followed by the recipient's first name. It looks as if the students who used this opening tried to honour both the formality of academia and a more personal sentiment developed by their working closely with the same instructor over the course of time. For an overview of all forms of address and their distribution in the corpus, see Table 1 below.

Table 1 Forms of address in 100 student e-mails

<i>Form of address</i>	<i>Distribution</i>
Zero	13
Dear Professor	49
Dear Professor + surname	6
Professor	5
Dear Madam	5
Hello Professor	11
Hello	4
Dear/Hello + (Professor) + first name	7

Interestingly enough, Crystal's sample of 500 e-mails (2004, p. 101) did not contain a single sequence of a general word such as *hi* or *hello* followed by a formal name (e.g. *Hi, Professor Crystal; Hello Professor*).

Why proofreading is (not) overrated

Misspellings [...] occur, regardless of the educational background of the writer, in any situation where there is fast typing and a lack of editorial revision. For the most part, these errors cause little or no disruption to the communicative process [...]. Nor is the reader going to make a social judgement about the writer's educational ability, on the basis of such data—a contrast with what *would* happen if someone wrote a traditional letter containing such errors. (Crystal, 2004, p. 111)

Actually, I probably will make a judgement of that sort if and when I receive an e-mail with more misspellings than there are words in it, especially if and when it is written by someone supposedly studying the way language works. Firstly, I assume that the *laissez-faire* spirit, manifested in an excessive number of typos, misspellings, and punctuation mistakes, is not a particularly favourable trait to flaunt if one purports to be a dedicated student of language—and a foreign one at that—where attention to detail is of great importance. Secondly, such students should be aware that their e-mails often play something akin to a pretesting role in the course-long interaction (and even beyond that) between student and teacher. Sometimes an e-mail is the only piece of writing that they will have produced before taking their exams. As Shea (1994, p. 94) puts it, when you e-mail someone for the first time, you both make a first impression and leave a written record, so you want to be careful. This particular kind of writing sample often leaves me with serious doubts about some of my students' prospective success in the exams and what comes next.

As for spelling errors and netiquette, the advice is to be kind enough in assuming that the ones who have made them just do not know any better (Shea, 1994, p. 45). However, in a section dealing with business netiquette, Shea adds that although it is true that everyone makes mistakes, for your own sake and that of your readers—if you can—try to get it right (p. 96).

Crystal himself modifies the commonly held (and carefree) view that no-one reads e-mail with red pen in hand:

The evidence is growing that an awful lot of people actually do keep such a pen in mind, in educational, business, and other workplace settings, where e-mails are routinely seen as providing

a more convenient professionalism (one that can speed up decision-making and build strong daily working relationships) rather than just an opportunity for a chat. (Crystal, 2004, p. 128)

In other words, he concedes that all the hype about the importance of revision “has some force in the context of business communication, where prescriptive attitudes are likely to be strongly present, consciously or unconsciously” (Crystal, 2004, p. 112). There is no better proof of this than Crystal himself reporting that out of 50 messages from his inbox that he checked for accuracy of this kind, he was able to find only two spelling errors (p. 111).

There was only one e-mail in the entire corpus that was completely free of spelling mistakes, and the umbrella term is here used to cover both punctuation and grammar. Not all 99 of the remaining messages were intolerable—which is fortunate—but I am somehow not convinced that the students spent an awful lot of time revising and proofreading their e-mails before hitting the send button. Thinking about some of the e-mails, “sloppy” seems to be the first word that comes to mind and the best word to describe the result. For example, some students obviously composed their e-mails using an English keyboard, the result of which was the loss of all Serbian-specific diacritics (e.g. *greska*, *cas*, *sluzba* instead of *greška*, *čas*, *služba*). Or, as autocorrect would have it, the Serbian conjunction “i” was often capitalized and transformed into the English “I”. Most commonly, spelling and punctuation errors were related to typos, spaces, caps, as well as run-on and incomplete sentences. Some of these categories make it clear that punctuation errors did not refer to omissions alone; for example, the word-comma-space-word sequence was rarely executed without a few wrong strokes on a keyboard.

The following paragraph is representative of a run-on sentence at its best: one does not even have to read Cyrillic to understand that it is no easy task trying to fit so many clauses (nine?) into a single orthographic unit.

Здраво професорице, хтио бих да Вас питам када могу да упишем оцјену из фонетике осим данас за кад је то предвиђено, јер нисам у могућности да будем присутан на данашњем упису због тога што сам болестан, а исто тако нисам у Бањалуци већ у Приједору, а

управо сада сам сазнао када је упис, те не бих могао стићи уопште на вријеме.

Let me paraphrase it like this: the student is asking me whether he can have his grade registered some other day since he cannot make it today because he is ill, but also because he is not in town, and he has just found out that today is the day, so there is no way he can make it in time.

One of the reasons why I have struggled to come up with a mere paraphrase lies in the argumentative weakness of the piece. Spelling, punctuation, and grammar are prerequisites for good writing (and proofreading is a beautiful habit), but in this case it is the coherence of the message that offers more compelling evidence of the state of one's writing skills. Making one's message clear and easy to read is often easier said than done, but at this point so much as an attempt towards clarity and organization would have been greatly appreciated. However, only 13 e-mails had what I would call acceptable paragraph structure. If one or more sentences were grouped together in order to contribute to a single point, topic, or idea, with or without the recommended white space between paragraphs, that was already considered a step towards formatting in aid of comprehension.

Actually, writers are strongly recommended to mark off paragraphs by using a line-of-white between them. Crystal's paragraph survey revealed that only four out of 50 e-mails failed to use white space between paragraphs (2004, p. 110). This ratio suggests a very strong preference, which is probably an attempt by the e-mail writers to enhance the structure and readability of their messages. This is indeed a very sensible choice: e-mails that exhibit paragraph structure features of *any* kind are simply better organized (and possibly easier to read) than those that convey all the varied information in one stretch.

On reasons for writing e-mail

Just as the section on spelling, punctuation, and grammar evoked Grice's Cooperative Principle, especially his Maxim of Manner (Grice, 1975), reminding participants in communication to be orderly as opposed to vague and ambiguous, this section brings up his

Maxim of Relation, inviting speakers to make their contribution a relevant one. The two remaining maxims, Quantity and Quality, were not of central interest in this paper, mostly because the informativeness and truthfulness of the messages were taken at face value.

The reasons for writing e-mail, some of which were considered less legitimate than others, made for quite a diverse lot. The overall impression is that the students preferred e-mail communication to personal contact. I find support for this in the fact that I am rarely asked any questions in the classroom, especially during and about the lectures given—which is certainly not for lack of (both explicit and vocal) encouragement on my part. On a really good day I am presented with the odd query as I prepare to leave the classroom, but that is where the story ends. It is also true that I regularly spend my office hours without so much as a single knock on the door.

By contrast, I do receive a lot of e-mail from my students, and one of the main reasons they write to me has to do with paperwork and various administrative issues that I often even cannot help them with—most of these questions should ideally be addressed to the Administrative Office or Student Services. Otherwise, students often write to make sure they will get their class attendance rubric signed or their exam grade registered. Such activities usually take place in the classroom or by appointment, but electronic communication seems preferable to both class attendance and the notice board.

Table 2 Student e-mail contents

<i>Reasons for writing</i>	<i>100 e-mails</i>
Looking for assistance in administrative matters	50
Making an appointment	15
Inquiring about exam scores	9
Asking general and vague questions	8
Arranging a paper drop-off	5
Following up on something	4
Asking specific questions about coursework	3
Miscellaneous	6

Table 2 is derived from the contents of 100 messages sent to me by my students, summarizing and outlining a list of their reasons to

write e-mail to a professor. Amongst the most creative is the odd message in which I am kindly asked not to fail the sender. However, what I find most disheartening is the fact that only three e-mails contained specific and informed questions about any of the English language courses I teach.

Issues of politeness

This section explores some of the ways in which the students expressed their communicative intentions towards the recipient of their messages. There should be enough vertical distance between the participants in these exchanges to expect a greater degree of indirectness in communication, which in pragmalinguistic terms reads as politeness. The general idea is for speakers to avoid being too direct or imposing so that their interlocutors should feel free to choose how they are going to respond rather than being forced into complying. I believe that the kind of e-mails here discussed can be treated as direct speech acts because the messages are quintessentially requests—even if no further action was taken, feeling obliged to read the e-mail and/or send a reply was already considered imposition enough resulting in directive force. It goes without saying that this is a very generous interpretation of both directives and the entire model of politeness (Leech, 2014), but the model's description of indirect strategies and especially pragmatic modifiers associated with them proved easily applicable even to non-English data, which was clearly a bonus.

Nevertheless, a few adjustments had to be made in order to make this predominantly English model fully operative in a different language, which in this case was Serbian. Amongst the most important ones was treating performatives together with the other indirect strategies on account of the conflated forms of the politeness marker *please* in Serbian (*molim Vas*) and the performative verb in the e-mails taking the same form—the English performative *I ask you to X* reads as *Molim Vas da X* in Serbian. I personally see no difference between one and the other, but I am aware that a change in the semantics of the performative verb would make a difference in Serbian too. In the e-mails, however, every performative was of a polite

kind (nothing like the verb *demand*, for example), hence the decision to upgrade it to indirect status.

Direct strategies, then, were basically equivalent with imperatives, whereas indirect strategies dovetailed with both statements and questions as long as they hosted appropriate expressions of modality (e.g. modal verbs like *could* or *would*). Indirectness was further enhanced by the presence of pragmatic modifiers, which were integrated into both statements and questions in a number of forms. The list of pragmatic modifiers taken from Leech's politeness model was expanded to include a few more lexical and syntactic elements doing a similar job in Serbian. Downtoners, deliberative opening, appreciative opening, negative bias, happenstance indicators, past tense–hypothetical, progressive aspect are only some of the pragmatic modifiers found in Leech (2014, pp. 160–171).

As one would expect, not all work equally well in Serbian—for instance, tag questions, another category of pragmatic modifiers in English, were non-existent in the Serbian data. On the other hand, there were language-specific items and structures in the e-mails that seemed to be at the service of indirectness, too, so several provisional categories were added to the already existing list. Some of these modifiers were grouped together as modal verbs, nouns, and adjectives; others accounted for conditional, passive, future, impersonal, and nominalized structures, whose job was to take some of the directive force out of the speech acts. The additions were supposed to do no more than balance out the differences between the two languages and point to the richness of indirect address in the Serbian data.

The e-mails did not lack pragmalinguistic politeness, the expressions of which were both varied and numerous to the point of being virtually impossible to count. Some of the examples below were felt to be more polite than others, but all undeniably represented an effort towards making the requests less forceful: *Is there any chance...* (*Postoji li ikakva šansa...*); *I would like to ask you...* (*Zamolio bih Vas...*); *I would like to ask you something...* (*Upitao bih vas nešto...*); *I only wanted to ask you...* (*Htio sam Vas samo pitati...*); *I was going to ask you...* (*Mislio sam da Vas zamolim...*); *I was thinking...* (*Mislila sam...*); *Can you recommend...* (*Možete li preporučiti...*); *I hope...* (*Nadam se...*); *I would be grateful...* (*Bila bih Vam zahvalna...*);

Could you please... (*Možete li, molim Vas...*); etc.

Identifying a cluster of pragmatic modifiers within a single sentence was not a rare occasion, allowing for successive hedging to maximize its impact, as the following two examples suggest: *I would only like to ask you if you could let me know by Friday...* (*Samo bih Vas zamolio, ako možete, da mi javite do petka...*); *I just wanted to ask you if you could send me the scores...* (*Htio sam Vas samo pitati ako biste mi mogli poslati rezultate...*). The two examples in Serbian taken together contain three modal verbs, two downtoners, two conditionals, a past tense verb, a hedged performative opening, along with an embedded interrogative clause.

These, then, stand in stark contrast to a total of 34 sentences employing direct strategies, primarily four imperatives, but also 10 direct questions containing no strategies or pragmatic modifiers that could qualify them as tentative requests. Here are a few examples: *Look into it and let me know.* (*Pogledajte pa mi javite.*); *Have you started grading my paper?* (*Jeste li Vi počeli sa pregledanjem mog rada?*); *Have you notified the professor?* (*Da li ste javili profesoru?*); etc. The bluntness of these forms cannot be fully appreciated out of context, but some of them could be perceived as downright criticism targeting the recipient. The fact that direct strategies were relatively few did not readily dismiss a deeply personal feeling of unease—to say the least—when confronted with such e-mails.

Several additional categories had to be set up to accommodate some of the findings observed in the Serbian data: embedded imperatives, pseudo-imperatives, direct openings, I-starters, unmitigated negations, and infelicitous lexical choices. These *ad hoc* categories obviously reflect a very generous notion of what counts as a directive, and are meant to be treated accordingly. Although the following expressions could not formally be identified as requests, they did play a supporting role within the central category of direct speech acts in the e-mails: *You told me to let you know.* (*Rekli ste mi da Vam javim.*); *There.* (*Pa evo.*); *I have a question.* (*Imam pitanje.*); *I don't have any idea.* (*Nemam nikakvu ideju.*); *I forgot it.* (*Ja sam to zaboravila.*); etc. Here, too, one of the benchmarks was the emotional response that the wordings evoked in the recipient.

Finally, there were e-mails in which the presence of pragmalin-

guistic politeness was simply not enough to render the messages polite. The line *Is it possible to speed up the grading process a little?* (*Da li je moguće da se to pregledanje malo ubrza?*) does not read polite despite the joint effort of an interrogative clause, a modal adjective, an impersonal structure, and a downtoner. Nor does *May I ask you to give me a push towards a pass?* (*Mogu li Vas zamoliti da me pogurate za minimalnu ocjenu?*) despite the indirectness of an interrogative clause, a modal verb, and a hedged performative opening. This discrepancy was especially pronounced where the students miscalculated their rights and responsibilities by minimizing the latter and maximizing the former. In other words, pragmalinguistic politeness was often not accompanied by its sociopragmatic counterpart, as a result turning into something that does not necessarily go by the name of politeness any more.

Signing off

This time, too, as was the case with greetings, the most conspicuous were those e-mails that lacked a signing-off formula of any kind, along with those that were left unsigned. The unfavourable sentiment created by this void could not be easily dispelled either by the visibility of the sender's identity in the header or by the possibility that such e-mails at times formed part of a larger exchange between sender and recipient.

In addition, not all e-mail addresses were composed of the sender's full name and surname, which were occasionally replaced with a much less conventional mix of nicknames, aliases, numbers, and other symbols. This information occasionally came complete with a profile photo of the sender portraying, for example, a ravishing young woman lying on what looked like a pillow of rose petals, or a heavy metal fan wearing a graphic T-shirt and a lot of hair.

Eight messages were abruptly ended without a salutation, and 26 failed to add a signature. By way of comparison, there was only one instance in Crystal's files of a closing formula not followed by a name—which the sender perhaps considered unnecessary on account of its presence in the header—and not a single instance of the avoidance of a farewell, at least in his interpersonal e-mail sample as

contrasted to that of junk e-mail (2004, p. 103).

On a brighter note, a conventional salutation, either unmodified or intensified, was found in 73 e-mails, e.g. the likes of *Yours sincerely*, *Regards*, or *Best regards* (in Serbian *S poštovanjem*, *Pozdrav*, or *Srdačno*). Some of these forms were used alongside an expression of premature thanks (in Serbian, for example, *Unaprijed hvala*), giving the e-mails a double dose of politeness. Such overlaps are responsible for this section's total exceeding 100, which is also why there is no tabular data presentation available.

Finally, although 34 different ways of closing the e-mails identified in the data could be interpreted as creativity, it could also be a signal pointing towards the students' lack of exposure to the kind of correspondence described in this paper. In that vein, one e-mail closed with the Serbian equivalent of *Talk to you tomorrow*, which is *Čujemo se sutra*, while another student decided to add a little bit of human touch by signing off with a smiley.

A note on the social and educational context

Baron (2003, pp. 88-91) addresses the informal nature of e-mail usage in the United States and traces it down to the educational reforms fostering self-expression, creativity, and student-centred classrooms in America. The emergence of these pedagogical trends dovetails with other social phenomena that favour informality over formality, such as the tendency to play down the importance of social stratification, dissociate educational accomplishments from financial success, and put strong emphasis on youth culture.

Some of the issues Baron has raised apply even in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a post-war transitional country in Eastern Europe—especially the media-assisted cult of youth, which has in turn lessened the importance and understanding of what falls outside its scope. Although the majority of the e-mails analyzed in this study share a good deal of formal and institutional features evocative of business correspondence, there are signs that suggest an ongoing change in favour of the informal. This general trend has in some cases proved capable of stretching the notion of good taste even a bit too far. Still, some see this “decline in civility” as representing “an

increase in democracy” (Tolmach Lakoff, 2003, p. 43). It is possible that the students’ informal e-mails written in a formal context suggest the beginning of an end of educational practices relying on the unquestioned authority of the teacher.

I am not sure whether my students dissociate the idea of success (e.g. financial, social, and professional) from one’s educational background and accomplishments, but I very much hope they do not—since such views would clearly put good writing practices at a disadvantage! I am also unsure about my students’ priorities and aspirations, but what I have learnt is that in a country where life is precarious, and where lethargy is the most common response to a prevailing economic and social instability, bringing home the importance of intrinsic motivation—to enhance one’s writing and communicative competence, for instance—becomes quite a challenge. Responsible learners are few and far between—most of my students will settle for too little; critical thinking has met with some resistance—it remains unclear whether it has to do with putting too much trust in others or simply with old habits dying hard. For the time being, going online seems to be the only way to discover a renewed interest in the country’s education system, which is heralded by the availability of a few diagnostic and strategic reports, e.g. Adam (2011), Doyle (2010), and Centar za politike i upravljanje (2010).

Otherwise, many informal discussions about education still end with references to the country’s past. The generations that were undoubtedly disadvantaged in their early stages of primary education during and following the 1990s war—their formative years—are the same ones we have trouble teaching at university these days. The pessimistic view that what was lost then cannot be made up for now breeds more pessimism at all levels of the country’s education system. In other words, secondary education is stuck in a rut, too, partly as a result of the unfortunate events that took place over twenty years ago. Tertiary education puts forward the same arguments, blaming both primary and secondary schools for the failings and shortcomings of their students upon entering university. So far there seems to be no easy way out of that vicious circle. A proliferation of top grades in exchange for too little hard work and knowledge—either as an act of desperation or plain indifference—only helps widen the gap

between where we would like to be and where we find ourselves instead. More recently, however, the finger of blame has also been pointed towards incompetent teaching staff, outdated teaching methods, poor infrastructure, as well as issues of management, e.g. Dragnić (2013), Hamidičević (2015), and Centar za politike i upravljanje (2013).

Closing remarks

This topic raises intriguing questions about what it means to be literate in this day and age, about the current state of language and its future, about some of the ways electronic communication has changed the way we communicate, about the role of education in a rapidly changing world, and about where the journey will take us.

As electronic communication has become an integral part of our daily lives, Crystal (2004) expresses his hopes for e-mail to “take its place in the school curriculum [...] as [a medium] which offers a further domain within which children can develop their ability to consolidate their stylistic intuitions and make responsible linguistic choices” (p. 128). My hope is that this need will also be acknowledged at the level of tertiary education resulting in actual courses taught on the subject matter. There is no doubt that the medium could affect foreign language learners and their teachers in more than one way:

[F]oreign learners lack the intuitive sense of the boundary between standard and non-standard, or a sense of just how deviant a chatgroup usage might be, and by dint of exposure to repeated instances they may well end up misusing a construction, idiom, or other form. The bending and breaking of rules, which is a hallmark of ludic linguistic behaviour, always presents a problem to those who have not yet developed a confident command of the rules *per se*. Ironically, learners can sometimes give the impression that they are more fluent than they actually are, in that their errors can superficially resemble the deviant forms flamboyantly manifested by chatgroup users. (Crystal, 2004, pp. 236-237)

We have already seen that most students struggle with writing even when they write in their native language, and for those faced with

writing in a foreign language the struggle is at least twice as big. Speech is fast and transient, but writing is less forgiving, especially if it is geared towards the formal end of the spectrum. Precisely because not all writing is speech-like, writing an e-mail to a teacher, for example, is likely to expose weaknesses different from those mentioned in the quote above. It is possible, though, that the unprecedented variety and accessibility of language input has become a double-edged sword—sorting it all out means more hard work. We are also reminded that the breaking of rules makes more sense when preceded by an understanding of what it is that we are doing and why we are doing it.

The data studied in this paper targets a specific portion of native speakers of Serbian majoring in English, most of whom will end up teaching English in primary and secondary schools. That is why I have expectations that I would not have of those more removed from linguistic and educational matters. For now it is obvious that a great deal of work still lies ahead in trying to sensitize the students to the idea of language as a tool for accomplishing a number of different tasks. The know-how, which should follow from there, is of course no less important.

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Izvorni naučni radovi predstavljaju izvještaj o vlastitom istraživanju, odnosno opis, analizu, interpretaciju ili objašnjenje nekog konkretnog teorijskog pitanja utemeljeno na naučno prihvatljivoj argumentaciji. Radovi u časopisu i njima odgovarajući prihvatljivi načini argumentacije mogu biti logičko-teorijski, teorijsko-istorijski, interpretativni i empirijski/kvantitativni (pregledni/anketni ili eksperimentalni). Kod korištenja empirijskog metoda, neophodno je koristiti i statističku analizu i argumentaciju. Svi empirijski radovi slijede sljedeću strukturu poglavlja (tzv. *IMRAD*): *uvod* (koji sadrži: uvod u problem, objašnjenje važnosti problema, pregled literature, istraživačka pitanja i hipoteze), *metod* (opis procedura i načina istraživanja), *rezultate* (navođenje rezultata i statističke analize i argumentacije) i *raspravu* (analizu/raspravu o rezultatima, ograničenja istraživanja i zaključak). Preporučena dužina rada je od 5000 do 8000 riječi, zajedno sa bilješkama, tabelama i izvorima.

Izvorni ogledi i stručni radovi

Ogledi i stručni radovi u časopisu su originalna, opisno-interpretativna razmatranja naučnog, stručnog ili društvenog komunikološkog pitanja čija argumentacija ne mora biti utemeljena na naučnom istraživanju ili bibliotečkim izvorima, nego joj temelj mogu biti i tekuća društvena zbivanja i pojave, te vlastita ili tuđa opažanja ili stručna iskustva. Preporučena dužina ogleda i stručnih radova je oko 5000 riječi, zajedno sa bilješkama i literaturom.

Rasprave, osvrti i prikazi

Rasprave su kratki argumentovani stavovi o mišljenjima ili stavovima iznesenim u nekim od prethodnih radova u časopisu ili o nekom komunikološkom, naučnom ili stručnom pitanju. Osvrti su kratki opisi ili objašnjenja značajnih pojava, skupova ili drugih događaja u komunikologiji i srodnim oblastima. U prikazima se iznose opisi i mišljenja o studijama, udžbenicima, knjigama, filmovima i drugim društvenim događajima iz oblasti. Rasprave, osvrti i prikazi dužine su do 1000 riječi, zajedno sa bilješkama i izvorima.

Priprema rukopisa

Rad treba pisati *jednostrukim* proredom tako da na jednoj strani bude oko 600 riječi. Veličina slova je 12 pt, a širina margina 2,5 cm.

U rukopisu se ne navodi ime i prezime autora ili bilo kakvi podaci o autoru. U posebnom dokumentu se navede: ime i prezime autora, el. adresa, institucionalno sjedište (mjesto zaposlenja, istraživanja ili studija) i kratka biografija. U dodatnom dokumentu se, na srpsko-hrvatskom i engleskom jeziku, piše: naslov rada, sažetak rada dužine 80-120 riječi, kao i pet (5) ključnih riječi korištenih u radu.

Upute za navođenje izvora u radu i na kraju rada slijede šesto izdanje Izdavačkog priručnika Američkog udruženja za psihologiju (APA). Kada se rad piše na srpsko-hrvatskom jeziku, od uputa APA se djelimično odstupa kod pisanja pojedinih pomoćnih riječi u korištenim izvorima, koje se prevode i prilagođavaju našem pravopisu. Kada se rad piše na engleskom jeziku, priručnik APA se primjenjuje u potpunosti¹.

Paragrafi

Prvi paragraf u radu i prvi paragraf u svakom poglavlju se ne uvlače. Drugi i svaki naredni paragraf u radu i poglavlju uvlače se za 5 mm.

Navodni znaci

U radovima treba koristiti sljedeće navodne znake, u skladu s pravopisom:

1. jednostruki navodni znaci: oba gornja zakrivljena: 'riječ' (ne donje niti ravne: , ' ')
2. dvostruki navodni znaci:
 - a. srpsko-hrvatski jezik: prvi donji, a drugi gornji zakrivljeni: „riječ pod navodnicima“ (ne oba gornja niti ravna: ” ” ”)
 - b. engleski jezik: oba gornja zakrivljena: “riječ pod navodnicima” (ne donje niti ravne: „ ” ”)

Navođenje izvora

Kada se u vlastitom radu koriste tuđe ideje, pojmovi, rečenice, pasusi, hipoteze, rezultati istraživanja, interpretacije, teorijske podjele, izvorni pristupi i teorije, strukture, klasifikacije, formule, modeli, grafikoni, skice, šeme, slike, crteži, fotografije, oblici, zapisi, kadrovi, govori, kao i kad se dijelovi tuđih radova prepričavaju ili

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Navođenje izvora u radu

Korišteni dijelovi tuđih radova, djela, članaka i studija koji se koriste u vlastitom radu, u tekstu se dokumentuju tako što se, najčešće nakon navoda, u zagradi navede prezime autora, godina izdanja/objave i broj strane/strana tuđeg djela koje se citira, prepričava ili pominje.

Na primjer: Pojedini autori ističu da „postoje i druge, mnogo značajnije prednosti koje je sa sobom donela ekspanzija potrošnje na masovnom nivou“ (Kodelupi, 1995, str. 11). Ako se prezime autora izvorno već navodi u prethodnoj ili istoj rečenici vašeg teksta, isti citat se može navesti i ovako: Kodelupi (1995) ističe da „postoje i druge, mnogo značajnije prednosti koje je sa sobom donela ekspanzija potrošnje na masovnom nivou“ (str. 11). Ako se citat ili tema protežu na više posebnih strana, to se dokumentuje navođenjem svake strane ponaosob: (Kodelupi, 1995, str. 11, 23), a ako se protežu na više uzastopnih strana, navodi se opseg strana: (Kodelupi, 1995, str. 11-23). Kada se prethodni izvor navodi u radu na engleskom jeziku, primjeri iz zagrada bi glasili: (Kodelupi, 1995, p. 11), (p. 11), (Kodelupi, 1995, pp. 11, 23) i (Kodelupi, 1995, pp. 11-23).

Kada se citat može integrisati u vlastitu rečenicu ili stav (paragraf), onda se tuđe riječi, pojmovi, sintagme i rečenice navode uz pomoć, odnosno između navodnih znakova. Ako je citat, međutim, duži od četiri reda ili 40 riječi, odnosno ne može se integrisati u vlastitu rečenicu ili stav, takav citat se ne piše pod navodnim znacima, nego ga nakon dvotačke treba pisati u novom stavu koji treba uvući za 5 mm. Na kraju takvog citata stavlja se tačka, a zatim se u zagradi navede autor, godina i broj strane. Na primjer:

Na prvi pogled, razmatranja ove vrste spadaju duboko u oblast istorijske lingvistike, pa ne mogu biti u bližoj vezi s pitanjima savremene jezičke norme, koja čvrstu i odelitu sinhronu ravan ima za ideal. Međutim, dve daleke oblasti naglo će stupiti u vezu ako postavimo ovakvo pitanje: šta ako se naš jezik ili neki njegov segment nalazi baš danas, na naše oči, u stanju haosa pred promenu? (Nedeljković, 1998, str. 1)

Ako se dijelovi tuđeg djela ne navode, nego se preporučavaju ili parafraziraju, taj tekst se ne piše pod navodnim znacima, nego se na kraju parafraziranog dijela u zagradi navede prezime autora, godina izdanja i broj strane.

Kada se tuđe djelo navodi ili pominje kao cjelina, onda se u zagradi, nakon pominjanja, navodi samo prezime autora i godina izdanja: (Kodelupi, 1995). Ovakav metod se koristi i kod pominjanja filmskih, muzičkih i scenskih djela.

Kada neki rad ima više autora, kod navođenja u zagradi dva autora se odvajaju veznikom „i“, a više autora zarezima, s tim da se pretposljednji i posljednji odvajaju zarezom i veznikom „i“: (Cain i Burns, 1999), (Kodelupi, Cain, i Burns, 1999). Kada se prethodni izvor navodi u radu na engleskom jeziku, primjeri iz zagrada bi glasili: (Cain & Burns, 1999), (Kodelupi, Cain, & Burns, 1999).

Ako se koristi više djela istog autora objavljenih iste godine, tad se u tekstu (i na kraju rada) takva djela navode tako što se odmah iza godine objavljivanja rada napišu mala slova po abecednom redu. Na primjer: (Marković, 2005a), (Marković, 2005b).

Na prethodno navedene načine se u tekstu navode autori, odnosno knjige i studije, te članci u knjigama, časopisima i novinama, kao i filmovi i druga djela. Članci, tekstovi i druga djela bez autora navode se pisanjem naziva djela i godine izdanja („Kraj spora“, 2007).

Navodi iz radova sa interneta ili drugih elektronskih izvora navode se isto, s tim da se, kada nema broja stranice članka ili teksta, piše broj stava članka iz kog se nešto navodi (Marković, 2008, stav 2). Isti navod na engleskom jeziku se, prema APA, piše: (Marković, 2008, para. 2).

Strana imena se u radu pišu onako kako se izgovaraju na jeziku na kom se piše rad, s tim što se pri prvom navođenju u zagradi ime daje izvorno. Alternativno, strana imena mogu se pisati izvorno u cijelom tekstu, s tim što se, u tom slučaju, pri prvom navođenju u zagradi ime/prezime može napisati i onako kako se izgovora na jeziku rada. Prezimena autora se kod navođenja u zagradama uvijek pišu izvorno, tj. onako kako su napisana u naslovu djela koje se navodi.

Kada se u radu pominje naziv nekog djela kao cjeline (npr. knjiga, časopis ili film), njihov naziv navodi se ukoso (*Otpisani*), a kada se pominje djelo koje je dio nekog većeg djela (npr. članak u knjizi, rad u časopisu ili pjesma sa albuma), takav naziv se navodi pod navodnim znacima („Postmodern virtualities“). Drugim riječima, oni naslovi koji se u Korištenim izvorima na kraju rada navode

ukoso, tako se navode i u radu, a oni naslovi koji se u Korištenim izvorima navode običnim slovima, u radu se obilježavaju navodnim znacima.

Navođenje izvora na kraju rada

Na kraju rada, ispod naslova „Korišteni izvori“, ili “References” ako je rad na engleskom jeziku, uvijek treba navesti spisak svih navedenih i korištenih izvora koji se pominju u tekstu. Po pravilu, svi izvori spomenuti u radu moraju se navesti na kraju rada, a na kraju rada ne treba navoditi izvore koji nisu spomenuti u radu.

Korišteni izvori navode se po abecednom redu prezimena prvog autora, a za djela koja nemaju autora, po prvoj riječi u nazivu djela.

Ako izvor zauzima više redova, svi redovi osim prvog uvlače se za 5 mm.

Ako je neko djelo izdalo više izdavača, navodi se prvi izdavač. Ako izdavač ima više sjedišta, navodi se prvo sjedište (po mogućnosti glavno).

U naslovima izvora na engleskom jeziku na kraju rada samo se lična imena, nazivi i prva riječ pišu velikim slovom, a sve ostale riječi malim slovima, bez obzira kako je naslov napisan u samom izvoru. Izuzetak su nazivi naučnih i drugih časopisa i novina, koji se uvijek pišu onako kako izvorno glase.

Ako se u radu na engleskom jeziku koriste leksikoni, rječnici, atlasi ili enciklopedije na drugim jezicima, iza originalnog naslova se u uglastim zagradama daje prevod takvih knjiga na engleskom jeziku.

Upute za navođenje pojedinih izvora na kraju rada

1. Knjiga:

Prezime autora, zarez, Inicijal(i) imena, tačka, godina izdanja u zagradi, tačka, *Naziv knjige u kurzivu*, tačka, Mjesto izdanja, zarez, Država izdanja, dvotačka, Izdavač, tačka.

Obrazac za navođenje cijele knjige:

Autor, A., i Autor, B. (2000). *Naziv knjige*. Mjesto, Država: Izdavač.

2. Članak u knjizi:

Prezime autora, zarez, Inicijal(i) imena, tačka, godina izdanja u zagradi, tačka, Naziv članka, tačka, In, Inicijali(i) imena urednika, Prezime urednika, (Ed.), zarez, *Naziv knjige u kurzivu*, pp. i početni i krajnji brojevi strana u zagradi, tačka, Mjesto izdanja, zarez, Država izdanja, dvotačka, Izdavač, tačka.

Obrazac za navođenje članka u knjizi:

1) engleski jezik:

Autor, A., & Autor, B. (0000). Naziv članka. In A. Urednik & B. Urednik (Eds.), *Naziv knjige* (pp. 00-00). Mjesto, Država: Izdavač.

2) srpsko-hrvatski jezik:

Autor, A., i Autor, B. (0000). Naziv članka. U A. Urednik i B. Urednik (ur.), *Naziv knjige* (str. 00-00). Mjesto, Država: Izdavač.

Ako je urednik jedan, na engleskom jeziku se to označava sa (Ed.), a više urednika sa (Eds.).

3. Članak u časopisu:

Prezime autora, zarez, Inicijal(i) imena, tačka, godina izdanja u zagradi, tačka, Naziv članka, tačka, *Naziv časopisa u kurzivu*, zarez, broj časopisa u kurzivu, podbroj časopisa u zagradi neposredno iza broja samo ako svaki podbroj počinje od strane 1, zarez, početna i krajnja strana članka, tačka.

Obrazac za navođenje članka u časopisu:

Autor, A. (2000). Naziv članka. *Naziv časopisa*, 00(0), 00-00.

Ako je knjizi ili članku dodijeljen DOI, on se obavezno navodi na kraju iza posljednje tačke.

Obrazac za navođenje članka u časopisu sa DOI:

Autor, A. (2000). Naziv članka. *Naziv časopisa*, 00(0), 000-000.
doi:000000000000

Kod navođenja filmova, scenskih i muzičkih djela, kao i sadržaja elektronskih medija, koriste se slična pravila kao za navođenje knjige. Kod filmova i scenskih djela autorima se smatraju režiser i producent,

kod muzičkih djela kompozitor, a kod sadržaja iz elektronskih medija režiser, autor/urednik i producent.

Primjeri navođenja pojedinih izvora na kraju rada

a. knjiga

1) engleski jezik:

Kodelupi, V. (1995). *Tržišna komunikacija*. Beograd, Serbia: Clio.

2) srpsko-hrvatski jezik:

Kodelupi, V. (1995). *Tržišna komunikacija*. Beograd, Srbija: Clio.

b. knjiga čiji je autor pravno lice, koji je ujedno i izdavač

1) engleski jezik:

Komunikološki fakultet u Banjaluci. (2004). *Uvod u Komunikološki fakultet: 0405*. Banja Luka, Bosnia & Hercegovina: Author.

2) srpsko-hrvatski jezik:

Komunikološki fakultet u Banjaluci. (2004). *Uvod u Komunikološki fakultet: 0405*. Banja Luka, Bosna i Hercegovina: Autor.

c. knjiga bez autora

The world almanac and book of facts. (2006). New York, NY: World Almanac Books.

d. članak u knjizi

1) engleski jezik:

Poster, M. (2001). Postmodern virtualities. In M. G. Durham & D. M. Kellner (Eds.), *Media and cultural studies: Keywords* (pp. 611-625). London, England: Longman.

2) srpsko-hrvatski jezik:

Poster, M. (2001). Postmodern virtualities. U M. G. Durham i D. M. Kellner (ur.), *Media and cultural studies: Keywords* (str. 611-625). London, Engleska: Longman.

e. članak u naučnom časopisu

Woods, E. (1996). Association of nonverbal decoding ability with indices of person-centered communicative ability. *Communication Reports*, 9(1), 13-22.

f. članak u naučnom časopisu na internetu

1) engleski jezik:

Hutchinson, W. (2006). Information warfare and deception. *Informing Science*, 9, 213-223. Retrieved from <http://www.inform.nu>

2) srpsko-hrvatski jezik:

Hutchinson, W. (2006). Information warfare and deception. *Informing Science*, 9, 213-223. Preuzeto sa <http://www.inform.nu>

g. članak u ostalim časopisima i nedeljnicima

1) engleski jezik:

Nikšić, S. (2007, March). Ustav bez ustava. *NIN*, 2935, 70-72.

2) srpsko-hrvatski jezik:

Nikšić, S. (2007, mart). Ustav bez ustava. *NIN*, 2935, 70-72.

h. članak u dnevnim novinama sa autorom

1) engleski jezik:

Stanković, R. (2007, March 30). Privreda se vraća iz kome. *Politika*, p. 19.

2) srpsko-hrvatski jezik:

Stanković, R. (2007, 30. mart). Privreda se vraća iz kome. *Politika*, str. 19.

i. članak u dnevnim novinama bez autora, na internetu

1) engleski jezik:

Kartica kao poklon. (2007, March 30). *Politika*. Retrieved from <http://www.politika.rs>

2) srpsko-hrvatski jezik:

Kartica kao poklon. (2007, 30. mart). *Politika*. Preuzeto sa <http://www.politika.rs>

j. film

1) engleski jezik:

Ćulibrk, S. (Producer), & Đorđević, A. (Director). (1974). *Otpisani* [Motion picture]. Serbia: CFS Košutnjak – Avala film & Televizija Beograd.

2) srpsko-hrvatski jezik:

Ćulibrk, S. (producer), i Đorđević, A. (režiser). (1974). *Otpisani* [film]. Srbija: CFS Košutnjak – Avala film i Televizija Beograd.

k. televizijski program

1) engleski jezik:

Latin, D. (Editor), & Pavlinić, V. (Director). (2008, January 21). Mediji i mafija [Television news magazine episode]. In V. Vukašinović (Producer), *Latinica*. Zagreb, Croatia: Hrvatska radiotelevizija.

2) srpsko-hrvatski jezik:

Latin, D. (urednik), i Pavlinić, V. (režiser). (2008, 21. januar). Mediji i mafija [emisija informativnog televizijskog programa]. U V. Vukašinović (producent), *Latinica*. Zagreb, Hrvatska: Hrvatska radiotelevizija.

Svi zajedno:

1) engleski jezik:

References

- Ćulibrk, S. (Producer), & Đorđević, A. (Director). (1974). *Otpisani* [Motion picture]. Serbia: CFS Košutnjak – Avala film & Televizija Beograd.
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- Kodelupi, V. (1995). *Tržišna komunikacija*. Beograd, Serbia: Clio.
- Komunikološki fakultet u Banjaluci. (2004). *Uvod u Komunikološki fakultet: 0405*. Banja Luka, Bosnia & Herzegovina: Author.
- Latin, D. (Editor), & Pavlinić, V. (Director). (2008, January 21). Mediji i mafija [Television news magazine episode]. In V. Vukašinović (Producer), *Latinica*. Zagreb, Croatia: Hrvatska radiotelevizija.
- Nikšić, S. (2007, March). Ustav bez ustava. *NIN*, 2935, 70-72.
- Poster, M. (2001). Postmodern virtualities. In M. G. Durham & D. M. Kellner (Eds.), *Media and cultural studies: Keywords* (pp. 611-625). London, England: Longman.
- Stanković, R. (2007, March 30). Privreda se vraća iz kome. *Politika*, p. 19.

- Woods, E. (1996). Association of nonverbal decoding ability with indices of person-centered communicative ability. *Communication Reports*, 9(1), 13-22.
- The world almanac and book of facts*. (2006). New York, NY: World Almanac Books.

2) srpsko-hrvatski jezik:

Korišteni izvori

- Ćulibrk, S. (producent), i Đorđević, A. (režiser). (1974). *Otpisani* [film]. Srbija: CFS Košutnjak – Avala film i Televizija Beograd.
- Hutchinson, W. (2006). Information warfare and deception. *Informing Science*, 9, 213-223. Preuzeto sa <http://www.inform.nu>
- Kartica kao poklon. (2007, 30. mart). *Politika*. Preuzeto sa <http://www.politika.rs>
- Kodelupi, V. (1995). *Tržišna komunikacija*. Beograd, Srbija: Clio.
- Komunikološki fakultet u Banjaluci. (2004). *Uvod u Komunikološki fakultet: 0405*. Banja Luka, Bosna i Hercegovina: Autor.
- Latin, D. (urednik), i Pavlinić, V. (režiser). (2008, 21. januar). Mediji i mafija [emisija televizijskog informativnog programa]. U V. Vukašinović (producent), *Latinica*. Zagreb, Hrvatska: Hrvatska radiotelevizija.
- Nikšić, S. (2007, mart). Ustav bez ustava. *NIN*, 2935, 70-72.
- Poster, M. (2001). Postmodern virtualities. U M. G. Durham i D. M. Kellner (ur.), *Media and cultural studies: Keywords* (str. 611-625). London, Engleska: Longman.
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- Woods, E. (1996). Association of nonverbal decoding ability with indices of person-centered communicative ability. *Communication Reports*, 9(1), 13-22.
- The world almanac and book of facts*. (2006). New York, NY: World Almanac Books.

Bilješke

Bilješke, tj. fusnote, koriste se samo za propratna objašnjenja, a ne za citiranje ili navođenje izvora. Za sve ideje i objašnjenja koja se mogu uključiti u glavni tekst ne treba koristiti bilješke.

Tabele, slike i ilustracije

Tabele treba koristiti isključivo za one podatke koji se ne mogu uključiti u integralni tekst, a podaci koji se u njima iznose neophodni su za razumijevanje istraživanja, odnosno dokazivanje hipoteza. U radu se, po pravilu, može koristiti najviše jedna tabela veličine 9x15 cm ili dvije tabele veličine 9x6 cm. Ista uputa i dimenzije vrijede i za slike i ilustracije. Tabele, slike i ilustracije moraju se dostaviti kao zasebni dokumenti u tiff-formatu rezolucije najmanje 300 dpi. Slike mogu biti i u jpg-formatu. Treba imati na umu i da se tabele, slike i ilustracije štampaju crno-bijelo.

Ostale upute

Navođenje ostalih izvora, te oblikovanje sadržaja u tabelama, kao i šema, slika i drugih dijelova rada koji ovdje nisu objašnjeni, treba vršiti u skladu sa šestim izdanjem Izdavačkog priručnika Američkog udruženja za psihologiju (American Psychological Association. (2010). *Publication manual of the American Psychological Association* (6. izdanje). Washington, DC: Autor). Osnovne upute o navođenju izvora i oblikovanju radova mogu se pronaći na stranici www.apastyle.org.

¹ Upute o primjeni i korištenju APA pripremila Jelena Ćurguz.

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on other communicational, scholarly or professional issues. Summaries are short accounts of important developments, conferences and other events in communication studies and related fields. Reviews contain descriptions of and opinions on studies, textbooks, books, films and social events in the field. The length of commentaries, summaries and reviews is up to 1000 words including notes and references.

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Manuscripts should be prepared strictly in accordance with the sixth edition of the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (APA).

Manuscripts should be single-spaced, with 2.5 cm margins and 12 pt fonts. The name of the author or any other identifying information must not be included in the manuscript. A separate page should include the following information: author's full name, email address, institutional affiliation (place of work, research or study) and a short biography. An additional page should include the title of your manuscript, an abstract of 80 to 100 words and five (5) keywords describing your work, both in English and Serbo-Croatian.

Paragraphs

The first paragraph in the manuscript and first section paragraphs are not indented. Other paragraphs are indented 5 mm.

Quotation marks

Use double quotation marks for quotations and single quotation marks for quotations within quotations. Always use "smart" quotation marks.

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Tables should be used only for the data that cannot be integrated in the text and are indispensable for understanding the research or testing hypotheses. Only one table of 9x15 cm or two tables of 9x6 cm can be used in one manuscript. Figures and pictures should also be used sparingly. Tables, pictures and figures must be submitted as separate documents in the tiff format with the resolution of 300 dpi. Pictures are also acceptable in the jpeg format. Tables, pictures and figures are printed in black and white.

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Prof. dr Aleksandar Bogdanić, Univerzitet u Banjoj Luci, glavni i odgovorni urednik
Prof. dr Željko Bošković, University of Connecticut, član
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Pred. mr Milana Piljak, Komunikološki koledž u Banjaluci, član
Pred. dr Ognjen Radović, Komunikološki koledž u Banjaluci, član

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