

UNIVERZITET CRNE GORE FAKULTET POLITIČKIH NAUKA

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Broj: 01-575/3

Podgorica, 11.05.2022. godina

UNIVERZITET CRNE GORE CENTRU ZA DOKTORSKE STUDIJE - S E N A T U -

Uvaženi,

Dostavljamo Prijednog Vijeća Fakulteta političkih nauka za Komisiju za ocjenu doktorske disertacije kandidatkinje MSc Jovane Davidović, sa neophodnim prilozima:

- Prijedlog Vijeća Fakulteta političkih nauka za imenovanje Komisije za ocjenu doktorske disertacije;
- Obrazac D2 Ispunjenost uslova doktoranda;
- Potvrda o predaji doktorskog rada;
- Saglasnost mentora;
- Zahtjev za ocjenu doktorske disertacije;
- Rad objavljen na SCI listi;
- Biografiju doktoranda;
- Biografije članova Komisije.

S poštovanjem,

D E K A N,

Prof. dr/Milan Marković

UNIVERZITET CRNE GORE FAKULTET POLITIČKIH NAUKA Broj: 01-575/1 Podgorica, 10.05.2022. godine

Na osnovu člana 64. stav 2. tačka 9. i člana 65. Statuta Univerziteta Crne Gore, i člana 41. stav 1. Pravila doktorskih studija, Vijeće Fakulteta političkih nauka je na 304. sjednici, održanoj 10.05.2022. godine, utvrdilo je sljedeći

PRIJEDLOG

Senatu Univerziteta Crne Gore da imenuje Komisiju za ocjenu doktorske disertacije MSc Jovane Davidović pod naslovom *Patrijarhalna uvjerenja i medijsko portretisanje rodnih odnosa na primjeru selektivnog abortusa u Crnoj Gori*, u sastavu:

- Prof. dr Dubravka Valić-Nedeljković, redovni profesor Filozofskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Novom Sadu;
- Prof. dr Tanja Oblak-Črnič, redovni profesor Fakulteta za družbene vede Univerziteta u Ljubljani;
- Prof. dr Sonja Tomović-Šundić, redovni profesor Fakulteta političkih nauka Univerziteta Crne Gore.

Komisija je dužna da Vijeću Fakulteta političkih nauka i Senatu Univerziteta Crne Gore podnese Izvještaj o ocjeni doktorske disertacije u roku od 60 dana od dana imenovanja Komisije.

Dostaviti

-Centru za doktorske studije

-Senatu Univerziteta Crne Gore

-a/a

DEKAN,

of. dr/Milan Marković





UNIVERZITET CRNE GORE

20_22_god. ObrazacD2: Ispunjenost uslova doktoranda

ISPUNJENOST USLOVA DOKTORANDA

	OPŠTI PODACI O	DOKTORA	NDU	
Titula, ime, ime roditelja, prezime	MSc Jovana (Goran) Davidović			
Fakultet	Fakultet poliričkih nauka			
Studijski program	Političke nauke			
Broj indeksa	1/18			
	NAZIV DOKTORSK	E DISERT	ACIJE	
Na službenom jeziku	250	i medijsko por ktivnog abortu		nih odnosa na primjeru Tori
Na engleskom jeziku	Patriarchal Beliefs and Media Portrayal of Gender Relations through Sex-Selection Abortion in Montenegro			
Naučna oblast	Medijske studije i studije roda			
	MENTOR/M	IENTORI		
Prvi mentor	Prof. dr Tanja Oblak- Črnič	Fakultet za družbene vede, Univerzitet u Ljubljani		Medijske studije
KOMISIJA ZA	PREGLED I OCJEN	U DOKTO	RSKE DIS	ERTACIJE
Prof. dr Dubravka Valić-Nedeljković		Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Novom Sadu		Medijske studije i studije roda
Prof. dr Tanja Oblak-Črn	dr Tanja Oblak-Črnič Fakultet za družbene vede Univerziteta u Ljubljani		Medijske studije	
Prof. dr Sonja Tomović-Šundić		Fakultet političkih nauka Univerzitet Crne Gore		Filozofija i studije roda
Datum značajni za ocje	nu doktorske disertacij	e		
Sjednica Senata na kojoj je kandidata			10	.07.2020. godine
Dostavljanja doktorske di saglasanost mentora	sertacije organizacionoj j	edinici i	21	.04.2022. godine
Sjednica Vijeća organiza prijedlog za imenovanje doktorske disertacije			10	.05.2022. godine
First III	SPUNJENOST USLO	VA DOKTO	RANDA	

U skladu sa članom 38 pravila doktorskih studija kandidat je cjelokupna ili dio sopstvenih istraživanja vezanih za doktorsku disertaciju publikovao u časopisu sa SSCI liste kao prvi autor:

Jovana Davidović (2022) "My dear unwanted": media discourse on sex-selective abortion in Montenegro, Feminist Media Studies, DOI: 10.1080/14680777.2021.2018620



UNIVERZITET CRNE GORE

ObrazacD2: Ispunjenost uslova doktoranda

Spisak radova doktoranda iz oblasti doktorskih studija koje je publikovao u časopisima sa SSCI liste.

Ime i prezime autorke: Jovana Davidović

Naziv rada: "My dear unwanted": media discourse on sex-selective abortion in Montenegro

Ime izdavača: Taylor&Francis

Mjesto i godina izdavanja: Milton Park, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire United Kingdom,

2022.

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Dokaz za JRC: https://mjl.clarivate.com/search-results

Obrazloženje mentora o korišćenju doktorske disertacije u publikovanim radovima

Rad "My dear unwanted: media discourse on sex-selective abortion in Montenegro" sadrži značajne segmente medijske analize doktorske disertacije i predstavlja prvo istraživanje medijskog portretisanja selektivnog abortusa u Crnoj Gori. U radu je predstavljena kvantitativna analiza sadržaja, kao socio-kognitivna kvalitativna analiza iz doktorske disertacije, u kojoj je autorka istraživala efekte mišljenja, emocija i metafora u medijskom diskursu, u kontekstu selektivnog abortusa. Rad je baziran na sedmogodišnjem medijskom uzorku od 245 objava i 285 komentara, što dodatno obezbjeđuje reprezentativnost rezultata. Rad prikazuje ilustrativne primjere novinarskog sadržaja i komentara publike, time u velikoj mjeri doprinoseći razumijevanju različitih diskursnih strategija. U radu je takođe identifikovano na desetine tzv. emotivnih riječi i metafora koje su osnova za 16 diskursnih strategija, od kojih je polovina novoformulisanih. Rezultati rada su pokazali da mediji svojim pasivnim pristupom i sporadičnom naturalizacijom ženskog identiteta ojačavaju patrijarhalne tendencije, dok od njihovih diksursnih strategija zavisi kognitivni odgovor publike. U radu je konstatovano da je svega 7,85% medijskih informacija u uzorku zauzelo proaktivan stav i pokušalo da istraži složenu sociološku, ekonomsku i kulturološku pozadinu selektivnog abortusa. Zaključni dio publikovanog rada naročito naglašava naučni doprinos doktorske disertacije, koja je rezultirala nizom konkretnih preporuka i strategija za analiziranje medijskog diskursa, posebno u kontekstu rodne problematike. U zaključnom dijelu rada, koji sumira najznačajnije nalaze medijske analize doktorske disertacije, autorka naglašava da je medijska publika demonstrirala nepotpuno razumijevanje polne selekcije i njene patrijarhalne pozadine, te da nedostatak analitičkog medijskog izvještavanja može da dovede do dugoročnog gubitka društvenog interesa za rješavanje problema selektivnog abortusa. Rad je time pružio važan kritički osvrt na medijski sistem u Crnoj Gori i diskursnim strategijama i indikatorima za rodnu analizu u medijima, koji imaju primjenjivost nezavisno od konteksta. U konačnom, jedan od najvažnijih ishoda rada je izrada preporuka o medijskom izvještavanju o rodnoj problematici, posebno u domenu diskriminatornih i stereotipnih obrazaca ponašanja, poput selektivnog abortusa.

Datum i ovier	a (nečat i	nothis ode	govorne osobe)
Datum i ovje	a (pecai i	horbra ons	govorne osobej

U Podgorici, 11.05.2022. godine

DEKAN

Prof. dr Milan Marković



UNIVERZITET CRNE GORE

ObrazacD2: Ispunjenost uslova doktoranda

Prilog dokumenta sadrži:

- 1. Potvrdu o predaji doktorske disertacije organizacionoj jedinici
- 2. Odluku o imenovanju komisije za pregled i ocjenu doktorske disertacije
- 3. Kopiju rada publikovanog u časopisu sa odgovarajuće liste
- 4. Biografiju i bibliografiju kandidata
- 5. Biografiju i bibliografiju članova komisije za pregled i ocjenu doktorske disertacije sa potvrdom o izboru u odgovarajuće akademsko zvanje i potvrdom da barem jedan član komisije nije u radnom odnosu na Univerzitetu Crne Gore.



UNIVERZITET CRNE GORE FAKULTET POLITIČKIH NAUKA

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Broj: 01-578

Podgorica, 21.04.2022. godine

Na osnovu člana 40 Pravila doktroskih studija Univerziteta Crne Gore, izdaje se sljedeća

POTVRDA

Mr Jovana Davidović, broj dosijea 1/18, studentkinja doktorskih studija Fakulteta političkih nauka Univerziteta Crne Gore, studijski program Političke nauke, predala je doktorsku disertaciju pod naslovom *Patrijarhalna uvjerenja i medijsko portretisanje rodnih odnosa na primjeru selektivnog abortusa u Crnoj Gori*, arhivi Fakulteta političkih nauka u Podgorici, dana 21. aprila 2022. godine.

Prof. dr Boris Vukićević

Predsjednik Komisije za doktorske studije

Primijeno: 21.04.00	20	. N.	AUK
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61 576		1	ednos

Na osnovu člana 37. Pravila doktorskih studija Univerziteta Crne Gore dajem sljedeću

SAGLASNOST

Rad pod nazivom "Patrijarhalna uvjerenja i medijsko portretisanje rodnih odnosa na primjeru selektivnog abortusa u Crnoj Gori", autorke mr Jovane Davidović, zadovoljava kriterijume doktorske disertacije propisane Statutom Univerziteta Crne Gore i Pravilima doktorskih studija.

U Podgorici, april, 2022. godine.

Mentorka

prof. dr Tanja Oblak-Črnič

Olic



VIJEĆU FAKULTETA POLITIČKIH NAUKA UNIVERZITETA CRNE GORE

Predmet: Zahtjev za formiranje Komisije za ocjenu doktorske disertacije

Uvaženi članovi/ce Vijeća Fakulteta političkih nauka,

U skladu sa Pravilima doktorskih studija na Univerzitetu Crne Gore, podnosim zahtjev za ocjenu doktorske disertacije pod nazivom:

"Patrijarhalna uvjerenja i medijsko portretisanje rodnih odnosa na primjeru selektivnog abortusa u Crnoj Gori".

Objavom rada u časopisu indeksiranom na SSCI listi, koji sadrži rezultate dijela sopstvenih istraživanja sprovedenih tokom izrade doktorske disertacije, ispunila sam predviđene uslove za ocjenu doktorske disertacije, te se obraćam Komisiji za doktorske studije Fakulteta političkih nauka, da inicira prijedlog Komisije za ocjenu doktorske disertacije.

Uz ovaj zahtjev prilažem:

- 1) pismenu saglasnost mentorke da rad zadovoljava kriterijume doktorske disertacije;
- 2) štampani primjerak doktorske disertacije;
- 3) fotokopiju rada objavljenog u časopisu indeksiranom na SSCI listi;
- 4) CD sa cjelokupnim sadržajem doktorske disertacije u PDF formatu;
- 5) Potpisanu izjavu o autorstvu.

U Podgorici, april, 2022. godine.

Studentkinja doktorskih studija,

Jovana Davidović

Horana Davidoric



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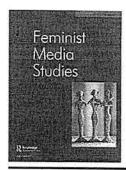
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"My dear unwanted": media discourse on sexselective abortion in Montenegro

Jovana Davidović

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"My dear unwanted": media discourse on sex-selective abortion in Montenegro

Jovana Davidović

Department of Political Science, University of Montenegro, Podgorica, Montenegro

ABSTRACT

Beliefs based on patriarchy have different manifestations, from gender-insensitive language to discriminatory and prejudiced behavior. While the consequences of patriarchal beliefs are observable and well-studied, more attention is required to unravel the role of societal actors that contribute to both their development and their suppression. The present research applies the novel Sociocognitive Discourse Studies to investigate how the media acts as a significant mediating public structure that has the potential to enable or disable the reproduction of patriarchy. I investigate the media discourse on sex-selective abortion (SSA)—the practice of the targeted elimination of female fetuses. The study takes the case of Montenegro, listed among the leading countries in the world with a significantly distorted sex ratio at birth. Besides confirming that the majority of the media encourage the status quo through its passive approach to SSA, the socio-cognitive analysis also established the relationship between the media and consumers, revealing how the different discourse strategies the journalists use trigger? different cognitive responses among their audience. This study discovered discursive patterns in the public presentation of women while pointing out the crucial role the media plays in disseminating analytical and balanced information on significant and worrisome tendencies, such as SSA.

ARTICLE HISTORY

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KEYWORDS

Media discourse; patriarchal beliefs; sex-selective abortion; Socio-cognitive Discourse Studies; Montenegro

Introduction

The academic research on the media portrayal of gender frequently presents the media as "contemporary mediators of hegemony" (Ingrid Bachmann, Dustin Harp, and Jaime Loke 2018, 4), with the substantive authority over public opinion, and the ability to affect the preexisting gender-based beliefs of the audience (Lana F. Rakow 2001). The initial attempts to investigate the media and gender were dominantly politically driven, and they identified the subordinated, condemned, and objectified position of women in media discourse (Kathryn Cirksena and Lisa Cuklanz 1992; Carolyn M. Byerly and Karen Ross 2006). Recent studies claim that the media presents the "part of symbolic power" (Maria Edström 2018, 79) and the space for exercising power differences in gender relations (Mary Angela Bock, Paromita Pain and JhuCin Jhang 2019), while also being the "main source for understanding" (Madeline Mitchell and Merryn McKinnon 2019, 178)

the gender representations. Niall Richardson and Sadie Wearing 2014 further state that the media construction of gender is never "innocent" (Richardson and Wearing 2014, 6) since it affects our perceptions about "appropriate femininity and masculinity" (Richardson and Wearing 2014, 6).

The gender-based notions we receive from the media are not value-neutral. Consequently, the media, as the highly important public actor, has the special duty to provide the unbiased and analytical exploration of different societal issues, where gender-related topics should not have the marginal importance (Richardson and Wearing 2014). Accordingly, the position of the media in unraveling negative phenomena in a society becomes especially visible when it is tested in the context of discriminatory practices. The goal of this research is to untangle the role of the media when depicting the issue of sex-selective abortion (SSA), labeled as one of the most worrisome and contested topics in contemporary gender-based analyses (United Nations Population Fund—UNFPA 2018; John Bongaarts and Christophe Z. Guilmoto 2015; Christophe Z. Guilmoto and James Tove 2015). I take the example of Montenegro—a country in Southeast Europe, which is listed among the 12 leading states in the world with a significantly distorted sex ratio at birth (Chao et al. 2019).

SSA is the intentional elimination of female fetuses through abortion (Bongaarts and Guilmoto 2015). The existence of prenatal sex selection is dominantly demonstrated by a skewed sex ratio at birth, where any significant deviation from the average ratio (100 girls per 105 boys; see: Bongaarts and Guilmoto 2015, 241) indicates a directed intervention related to the sex of the offspring. SSA has been viewed as one of the leading causes of "missing girls" (Amartya Sen 2003) globally, with projections that suggest around 150 million missing women by 2035 (Bongaarts and Guilmoto 2015, 262). The complex nature of SSA is visible through the contested discourse on the topic. Namely, the impulse to ban the abortion of female fetuses has been scrutinized in abortion rights discussions, where the pro-abortion stream emphasized the woman's freedom in deciding for her own body (Bruce P. Blackshaw 2020, 446), while advocates of SSA bans argued that the pressure of patriarchal societies prevents women from being able to make free decisions (Magdalena Grzyb, Marceline Naudi and Chaime Marcuello-Servós 2018).

Despite their differing perspectives, both supporters and critics of banning SSA agree on the need to treat the underlying *cause* and not solely the *consequences* of SSA (Diana EH. Russell 2012). For son-preference societies, SSA is never simply an autonomous choice but rather a complex outcome of systematic *patriarchy*, defined as the long-term subordination of women in both public and private societal structures (Sylvia Walby 1990). Accordingly, it is not the sex, as a biological characteristic, what drives the decision to prevent a female life. It is the expectation that the girl "will conform to assumed (...) gender roles" (Seavilleklein et al. 2007, 11 cited in Tamara Kayali Browne 2017, 2) that patriarchy promotes as unwanted. The sustainability of patriarchal beliefs is in turn significantly dependent on public structures, where the media has a pertinent position (Dustin Harp 2019).

This research argues that although patriarchal beliefs have always been exercised in the private and family context, it is precisely through their *re*production in the media sphere that we acquire new understandings of gender relations. These reproduced meanings are subsequently transmitted to the audience as desirable or undesirable behavioral models (Bachmann, Harp and Loke 2018, 4). Building upon the assumption that the public

discourse depends on "individual mental models1" (Teun A. Van Dijk 2017, 7), I use Sociocognitive Discourse Studies (SDS) (Van Dijk 2017) as a specific approach within Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), to investigate the discursive structures of the media, used to portray the issue of SSA. SDS focuses on the role of opinions, attitudes, and emotion words in media discourse, and presupposes a cognitive interface between the journalists and consumers, where their mental models interact (Jasmina P. Đorđević 2020, 1). This study, thus, highlights the function of the media in the reinforcement or suppression of patriarchy through the analysis of SSA discourse in Montenegro—a country that is understudied in this context. Further, the research aims to show how different mental models translate into different discourse strategies that are necessities in media analysis due to their ability to systematize qualitative findings into comprehensive conclusions.

The structure of this paper is as follows—the first section presents the conceptual framework, where I clarify the significance of the socio-cognitive approach for media analysis, while the second section examines the characteristics of the Montenegrin case in the context of SSA. The subsequent sections of the paper explore the methodology and the results. These results are discussed in the last section that addresses both the implications and the limitations of this research.

The conceptual framework

The claim that the media has a potential to reconstitute gender relations in society stems from the argument that gender is never a fixed category, but rather a socially constructed phenomenon, which is reinforced in media language (Bachmann, Harp and Loke 2018, 4). Sylvia Walby (1990) talks about patriarchal beliefs as being derived from the continuously inferior position of women in public and private structures. These patriarchal beliefs include the institutional domination of men, and the inferiority of women, which reduces her to predefined household and reproductive roles (Eunju Yoon, et al. 2015). It is beyond doubt that the media occupies an important position in the public structures, operating as an intersection of competing ideological manifestations of "patriarchy and feminism" (Harp 2019, 14). To untangle the media role in the revivification of patriarchal beliefs, it is not enough to focus solely on the different presentations of women, but rather on the systems and strategies the media uses in these presentations (Rakow 2001, 44).

CDS represents a well-established field in media research, which subsumes different approaches dedicated to investigating the relationship between language and society. The goal of the CDS is to reveal "(...) a form of power" (Michel Foucault 1982, 781) that directly affects media content and, consequently, shapes consumers' behavior. CDS uses language to detect the abuse of power in a society (Van Dijk 2017) since any social misbalance cannot exist without its discursive dimension. CDS, thus, claims that discourse and society are in a codependent relationship (Van Dijk 2017).

This research uses the novel SDS (Van Dijk 2017, 4) as a particular field within CDS. SDS goes beyond the standard CDS approaches² in one essential aspect: it introduces social cognition as the "crucial dimension missing" (Van Dijk 2017, 3) from the poweroriented CDS perspective. SDS claims that media discourse is not limited to the influence of power structures since social cognition is an additional element that mediates the relationship between discourse and society. Social cognition represents a set of the individual "mental models" (Van Dijk 2017, 22) identified in the media language as "subjective representations of events or situations" (Van Dijk 2017, 7). These mental models are consisted of individual opinions, attitudes, and emotions that must be detected in discourse analysis since they have considerable persuasive potential. The media discourse is always intentional and, in the context of SDS, the intention is to "transmit the mental model of a speaker or writer" (Đorđević 2020, 3). Simultaneously, the reception of the transmitted discourse is affected by the consumers' preexisting opinions and attitudes. Although the SDS cannot determine what exactly people thought prior to engaging with the discourse, it assumes a cognitive interface, or a meeting point, between the journalists' and consumers' discourse, where the mental models of the two groups interact (Đorđević 2020; Van Dijk 2017). The purpose of SDS is to question the nature of this interaction and evaluate the attitudes, opinions, and emotions of those who create the media content and those who consume it (Đorđević 2020, 3). Consequently, this study argues that SDS analysis is incomplete without the socio-cognitive dimension of both journalists and consumers. It is important to investigate whether those who make a substantive impact on public opinion in fact also contribute to the resurgence of patriarchal beliefs. In parallel, it is equally relevant to evaluate the audience and their discursive interaction with the media. Media consumers are more susceptible to latent manifestations of journalists' attitudes, opinions, and emotions than to explicit persuasion (Van Dijk 2017), especially if they do not have any personal experience with the topic (Van Dijk 2017, 23). This is why SSA represents a challenging subject for media analysis.

First, despite the considerable academic interest in media reporting about gender-based topics, we still have limited knowledge on the discourse strategies used in media language. It is important to investigate how the media frames the practice of SSA, and the role of women in it. For an example, it would be worrisome if women are portrayed as crucial culprits and moral sinners (Yvonne MacPherson 2007), who do not fulfill their "major" purpose—reproduction (Jelena Višnjić 2016). Endangered reproduction has become perceived as the primary long-term consequence of SSAs since a lack of females equals a lack of women who will give birth (Bongaarts and Guilmoto 2015). Reducing a woman to her reproductive function highlights one of the most ingrained patriarchal beliefs. In patriarchal societies, a woman's value is "tied to her body" (Bock et al. 2019, 54), and the rhetorical strategies used in the public sphere infrequently serve to "keep [women] in their place" (Bock et al. 2019, 54). It is very important to determine whether the media discourse reinforces such attitudes and presents the consequences of SSA through endangered reproduction exclusively.

Second, it is essential that the media is an actor that begins the discussion about topics of public interest. We cannot speak about responsible journalism if governmental or non-governmental actors motivate the majority of media stories. Considered one of the core pillars of a democratic society, the media is expected to show continuous and genuine interest in relevant social problems. It should go where the "silences are in a society" (Victor Pickard 2019, 165) and amplify the voices of those who are discriminated against. Thus, there is a substantive value in examining what triggers media stories and whether significant topics are regularly or occasionally present in the public discourse.

An additional important indicator of media interest in a topic is the media genre, which represents the linkage between the language and the communicative intention (Dubravka Valić-Nedeljković 2020). There are two major types of the media genres: the factual genres, with the purpose to inform the audience without profound insight into the topic (Valić-Nedeljković 2020); and the analytical media genres, where the goal is to affect "people's opinions on public matters" (Mihály Gálik and Artemon Vogl 2015, 68). Factual genres consist of news and reports, while analytical genres include complex media forms such as articles, columns, commentaries, and interviews (Valić-Nedeljković 2020). Analytical media forms require an investigative approach, knowledge about the topic, a variety of sources, and, above all, media initiative. News and reports, by contrast, are simply a reproduction of already existing information. In order to capture whether the media truly dedicates attention to relevant social issues, it is necessary to analyze the prevalence of these different genres in the media discourse.

This research, thus, evaluates both journalists' and consumers' discourse on SSA through the following hypotheses:

H1: Media discourse reinforces patriarchy by condemning SSA solely through endangered reproduction.

H2: There is no continuous media interest in reporting about SSA—SSA articles are predominantly motivated by the current actions of the government and the NGO sector.

H3: Factual genres dominate over analytical genres in the media reporting.

The case of Montenegro

Montenegro, a small Balkan country with around 620,000 citizens, has experienced an intense debate about SSAs. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA 2012) report placed Montenegro, along with Albania at the top of the list of European countries with the greatest imbalance between male and female newborns. The Statistical Office of Montenegro established an average sex ratio of 100 girls per 110 boys over the last 20 years, while the sex imbalance at birth reached its peak in 2009 with 114 boys born for every 100 girls (Montenegrin Institute for Statistics 2017). The United States Institute for Population Research (PRI) estimated that 50 girls were intentionally aborted in Montenegro annually from 2000 until 2014 (United States Institute for Population Research 2014), while the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) advised Montenegro to "strictly (...) prohibit sexselective abortions" (United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women 2017). Finally, a recent longitudinal study that analyzed gender proportions across the world from 1950 until 2017 identified Montenegro among the 12 countries, which showed "strong statistical evidence of sex ratio at birth imbalance" (Chao et al. 2019, 9303).

The current projections indicate the absence of 3000 women in this country due to prenatal selection (Women's Rights Center-WRC, 2017). Further estimates predict a deficit of 8000 Montenegrin women before 2035 (WRC, 2017). Concurrently, Montenegrin legislation strictly prohibits SSA (through the Law on Conditions and Procedures for the Termination of Pregnancy, "Official Gazette of Montenegro," 53/09, Article 18.1) and the usage of "early genetic tests (...) to determine sex, unless there are risks of hereditary disorders indicated exclusively by a clinical geneticist" (Article 18.3).

However, the existing law has not shown itself to be very efficient in suppressing SSA. In 2017, the journalist Svetlana Slavujević published an investigative story featuring the anonymous testimonials of women that underwent SSA (Svetlana Svetlana Slavujević 2017). The story was followed by the campaign *Neželjena* or *Unwanted*, created by the marketing agency McCann, in cooperation with the Women's Rights Center in Montenegro, which highlighted the issue of female children that are not *željene* or wanted/desirable for their families (Photo 1):



Photo 1. The unwanted campaign in Montenegro.

Last Goodbye to

Dear #Unwanted.

Your parents wanted a boy and this is why you did not get the chance to be born.

Forgive them. Your grieving Montenegro.

Unwanted resulted in a petition (which was signed by more than 6000 people) that was delivered to the government of Montenegro, who promised to create an Action Plan that would systematically assess SSA. However, the government has so far done nothing to resolve this issue (Maja Raičević 2020). The passive approach to the problem of sex selection reflects the "never completed [gender] emancipation" (Raičević 2020) of Montenegrin society.

Recent research has shown that only 4% of Montenegrin women own a property (Daša Duhaček, Biljana Branković and Milica Miražić 2019, 23). This replicates the traditional patterns in the Montenegrin family, where daughters were excluded from inheritance rights (Bette S. Denich 1974, 250). These traditionalist patterns persist: in contemporary

Montenegro, it is very common for female children to give up their inheritance in favor of brothers—this withdrawal from inheritance rights became a demonstration of the love the sister had for her brother.

New data also shows the constant ascription of household work to women—out of the 11% of the Montenegrin population that had never performing any housekeeping, 96% were men (European Parliament's Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality 2019, 28). Even young Montenegrin citizens argue for a gender division of labor in the household-more than 60% of young people prefers the absence of gender equality in relation to household tasks (Westminster Foundation for Democracy—WFD 2020). The attitudes of the Montenegrin youth are a worrisome indicator of the underdeveloped gender-based awareness of the Montenegrin society, whose improvements in terms of legislation have not been accompanied by a transition in consciousness. Since the media plays a significant role in the lives of young people, it is their duty to help this societal transition with the analytical and nondiscriminatory rhetoric.

Furthermore, the patriarchal beliefs affect every layer of society, and especially politics, which is dominantly male-biased in Montenegro. The country is below the world average (24.9%) when it comes to the number of women in parliament—22.2% (IPU 2020), and it is ranked 26th among 30 European countries on the newly established Gender Equality Index (GEI) (Olivera Komar 2019, 11). The male-centered character of Montenegrin politics is additional proof of the prevailing attitude that women are not suited to influential social roles. Portrayed as gentle, emotional, and predominantly dedicated to the family, women are expected to find their place outside of the world of leadership. Regardless of their education level or capabilities, Montenegrin women are still alienated from important political positions and prevented from reaching their full professional potential.

The statistics mentioned above reveal the multidimensionality of patriarchy. The practice of SSA is the outcome of the long-term subordination of women in various social, economic, and political aspects. Patriarchy has placed Montenegrin women in an "anomalous position" (Denich 1974, 260), where their separate selves have never existed. Their fate was to transition between the roles of mother, wife, and daughter, frequently sacrificing their happiness for the sake of patriarchal expectations. Those rare moments when a woman felt satisfaction were usually related to the birth of a boy. A whole range of customs was invented to anticipate a male child. Women threw a "dried fish bladder on the fire; if it goes off pop, there will be a boy; if it only fizzles out, a girl" (Edith M. Edith Durham 1906, 68). Consequently, the birth of a girl was perceived as a misfortune for the family, while the boy was welcomed with long and joyful celebrations.

The inferior position of the female child is especially visible in the discourse. When a family consists of a daughter and a son, or several daughters and one son, it is common to say—he is jedinac (the only child) in the whole family. Moreover, parents usually address their daughter as sine (son) instead of ćerko (daughter). Even when the woman died, the obituary contained the husband's name along to hers, written with a suffix -ova, or -ina; such as Markova, Lukina, indicating that she was the wife of Marko/Luka, she was his.

Since language and behavior are interconnected, the patriarchy of Montenegrin society left traces in the public sphere as well. CEDAW recommended the constant gender sensitization of the Montenegrin media and the "adequate monitoring of (...) gendersensitive language" (United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women 2017, 5). Gender-based media evaluation exists in Montenegro and addresses the inadequate media treatment of Montenegrin women (Slavica Striković and Nataša Nelević 2013). However, the existing studies fail to identify the discursive patterns in the public presentation of women, especially in the context of discriminatory tendencies. Investigating media content in this sense is crucial since topics about discrimination present a relevant test for the gender-based awareness of the media.

Materials and methods

This research applies a Socio-cognitive Discourse approach to the quantitative and qualitative content analysis of media material in Montenegro. The incorporation of both methods (quantitative and qualitative) increases the validity of the research and provides a more comprehensive insight into the topic. The quantitative content analysis reports on data frequencies, while its qualitative aspect enables the constructivist interpretation of language.

Corpus and context

The corpus of this study contains 247 news items in the print, electronic, and online media of Montenegro. Additionally, the analysis comprises 285 comments as a reaction to online media articles. The press clipping involved the full-coverage media research, based on three keywords: sex-selective abortion (*selektivni abortus*) and unwanted (*neželjena*). The sampling frame is limited to 7 years—from 2012, when the UNFPA argued for a distorted sex imbalance at birth in Montenegro, up to the end of 2019.

The Montenegrin media context determined the sampling procedure in this research. There are 4 daily newspapers, 57 radio stations, 18 television stations, and 41 online media services in Montenegro (Tanja Kerševan-Smokvina, et al. 2017, 18). The Montenegrin media market struggles with diagonal media concertation, where several individuals, or members of their families, simultaneously own different types of the media (Dragoljub Duško Vuković 2016, 5; Kerševan-Smokvina et al. 2017, 76). Besides the cross-media ownership, the media in Montenegro faces the problem of deregulated advertising revenues and political polarization, which further results in non-transparent financing (Vuković 2016). The Montenegrin regulative system complies with EU media standards; however, indirect political censorship, the arrest of journalists, and self-censorship are clear prevailing problems (Freedom House 2019).

The reliable circulation and audience ratings of the Montenegrin media are scarce and frequently debated from a methodological standpoint (Kerševan-Smokvina et al. 2017, 20). In this study, I select those media outlets with the highest circulation and audience estimates, based on the European Commission media project research in Montenegro (Kerševan-Smokvina et al. 2017). Table 1 shows the print and electronic media with the largest circulation and audience ratings:

Table 1. Circulation and audience rates in the Montenegrin media.

Media	Type	Circulation	Audience Rates ^a
Dan	Print	8500	
Vijesti	Print	3000	
Pobjeda	Print	3000	
Dnevne novine	Print	2800	
Informer	Print	1700	
Pink	TV		23.5
RTCG	TV		12.8
Vijesti	TV		11.9
Prva	TV		10.5

aExpressed in percentages.

In addition to the nine media entities presented above, this research includes the four most visited online media platforms: Vijesti (vijesti.me), Analitika (analitika.me), Cafe Del Montenegro (CDM) (cdm.me), and IN4S (in4s.me). The sample is formed of 53.03% (131) print media articles, 41.70% (103) online media articles, and 5.26% (13) electronic media news from the main TV news shows. The units of analysis in this study involve print/ online/electronic media material in its entirety (subtitle, title, authorship, photo, main text and comments; headlines; illustration of electronic information).

The majority of the print media articles had a half-page size or longer (49.61%); 34.35% of articles were less than one half-page long, while there was 16.03% of short articles (consisting only of several sentences). The online media articles were generally up to one-half of the page (44.66%). The remainder was formed of long articles, of one-half or more than a half a page (38.83%) and short media articles (16.50%). The corpus included 342 min of electronic media material, with 7.32% (25 min and 4 s) of the news being SSA-related. The average length of the SSA electronic media news is 1 min and 92 s. Finally, the users' comments were generally medium in their length (61.05%; being of 15-60 words), followed by short (30.17%; up to 15 words), and long (8.77%; +60 words) comments.

Procedures

The study uses a self-designed code protocol with 30 categories based on Van Dijk's (2017) socio-cognitive discourse structures. I identify the major discourse strategies in the media, which restrict or encourage patriarchal attitudes. This research looks at the manifestations of journalists' and consumers' socio-cognitive dimensions through metaphors, opinions, and emotional words. I also evaluate the genre structures, topics, and news motives to demonstrate the media interest in reporting about SSA.

First, I identify the discourse strategies in the media material (print, online, and electronic). Second, I analyze the structure of the media stories and whether they are based on the media's initiative to investigate the topic, or they resemble events produced by governmental and non-governmental actors. Third, I investigate how consumers' comments resonate with the online media discourse. Ultimately, this study provides empirical evidence of social cognition as a connecting point between the media information and media audience.

Results

Media

The analysis identified the four most frequent discourse strategies (DS)³ in the media material.

Table 2. Discourse strategies in the media.

DS media	%
Factuality	35.95
Topic inferiority	23.96
Authority	15.70
Direct support	7.85

The strategies listed in Table 2 account for 83.46% of the discourse in the media sample. The first findings from this research demonstrate that journalists do not reinforce patriarchy by condemning SSA solely through endangered reproduction (H1). Namely, the dominant discourse strategy is factual—in 35.95% of published material, I did not observe opinions, emotional words, and/or metaphors. Factual discourse is passive—there is no analytical reporting in this strategy; the journalists instead reproduce information from other sources. 90.90% of the factual stories were either news (45.45%) or reports (45.45%). The remainder consists of interviews (6.81%) and press releases (2.27%). Furthermore, the media news and reports were entirely motivated by outside events—those initiated by political figures or other actors such as NGOs and international organizations.

It is encouraging that the majority of media articles do not contain patriarchal language. However, the factual discourse strategy has limited potential to empower public interest in SSA and contribute to the analysis of patriarchal practices. This is especially visible as we further interpret the results—23.96% of the media stories were not directly related to SSA. In particular, the discourse strategy of topic inferiority refers to information that satisfies the following criteria:

- (1) the SSA information is not in the title/subtitle/headline of the news;
- (2) the SSA information is not present in the lead;
- (3) the SSA information is not present a prevailing topic in the story;
- (4) the SSA information, if mentioned, is not initiated by the journalist.

Table 3 contains several examples of articles with a discourse strategy of topic inferiority.

Table 3. Inferiority strategy topics and examples

Topics	%	Headlines	Media
Non-gender based	63.15	Mihailo: Churches and Monasteries to be Returned to MOC ^a	Analitika
		Corruption at Every Level	Dan
		State Department: Despite Opposition Protests, Elections in Montenegro are Generally Free and Fair	CDM
Gender based	36.85	Give Compensation to All Mothers with Three Children	Dan
		Sex Should Not be Considered Taboo	Pobjeda
		Multidisciplinary Approach to Combating Violence against Women	Vijesti

^aMontenegrin Orthodox Church.

The majority of non-gender-based topics were mainly concerned with the relationship between the Montenegrin and Serbian Orthodox Churches, the EU accession process, and the position of journalism in this country. Gender-based articles usually covered gender-based violence, gender equality, sex trafficking, genetic disorders, and International Women's Day.

Further, the analysis found the DS of authority and direct support. These two SSArelated strategies involved subjective interpretations on the part of journalists manifested through opinions, emotional words, and metaphors. However, the substantive difference between the two strategies is their approach. The authority discourse provides statistical/ expert information, which indicates that SSA occurs but never asks why. It is worth remembering that a proactive media should not investigate the consequences exclusively, but rather the "context that creates a demand for sex selection" (Yvonne MacPherson 2007, 414). The most frequent sources used in this strategy are doctors (86.84%), international organizations (42.10%), and health facilities (31.57%), while 27.02% of the information relied on impersonal sources. There were no women affected by SSA cited in this category, as opposed to the direct support discourse, where 26.31% of the stories involved women's testimonies.

The authority discourse is mainly concerned with SSA statistics, never with the individuals affected by SSA. It instead emphasizes the attitudes of societal figures that have decisionmaking power. Furthermore, in this discourse strategy, journalists infrequently use the authority to impute their mental models and/or to provide an impartial argument:

Dan 26th November 2017:

Montenegro is one of the *leading* countries with the *harshest* treatment towards the gentle sex since the research shows that every other woman was the victim of some form of violence and that women in our country are unwanted, which results in high sex-selective abortions rates. (emphasis added).

Dnevne novine 16th December 2013:

'Let it be healthy and male!' - This is a saying that still seems to be valid when the baby is born in Montenegro. Statistics confirm the suspicion about sexselective abortions occurring in our country since 100 girls are born per 110 boys, while the natural sex-ratio is 100 to 102/104. (emphasis added).

Informer 31st March 2014.

The frightening practice of Montenegrins who sex-select at all costs was addressed by the Council of Europe! The EU is determined to prevent this scary practice, while the authorities in Podgorica have been warned that one of the conditions for EU accession is to ban and prevent all forms of discrimination, especially those related to children and women. (emphasis added).

These examples already demonstrate personal involvement in the discourse, expressed through opinions/emotional words (harshest, gentle, suspicion, frightening, scary), justified by the presence of authority (research, statistics, the Council of Europe, the EU). The visible

application of journalists' mental models is a mutual characteristic of both the authority and the direct support strategy. Table 4 contains examples of the opinions/emotion words and metaphors used:

Table 4. Discourse structures used in authority and direct support strategy.

Discourse strategy	Opinions and emotion words	Metaphors
Authority	Horrible, urgent, unprotected, worthless, patriarchal, painful, surprising, risky, destruction, intentional, blessing, selfish, incredible, bad, traditional, dangerous	Montenegrin Woman Takes Matter in Her Own Hands We Should not Gamble with Our Own Health The Cult of Male Child
Direct support	Reckless, touching, stereotyped, complicated, despair, pressure, costly, hidden, devastating, worrisome, negative, illegal, unpopular, complicated, misuse	Wall of Silence How to Win a Battle Provoking the Nature
aN	108	30

aTotal number of opinions/emotion words and metaphors identified in the analysis.

The discourse structures observed in these strategies are usually directed toward society, health facilities, and the government. However, authority, being a passive discourse, does not provide anything more than a mere subjective interpretation covered by a personalized/impersonalized source information, while the direct support strategy incorporates journalists' mental models into information that is mainly analytical and proactive. The examples mentioned below demonstrate the investigative approach and the use of media initiative to explore the mechanisms of SSA in Montenegro. The usage of opinions/emotions words (risky, expensive, painful) in the direct support strategy is not sensational—it rather serves the purpose of supporting the societal struggle against SSA and presenting the various consequences of this problem:

RTCG 28th September 2017.

Out of the public eye, there is a well-established pattern between Montenegrin gynecologists and their colleagues at private clinics in Belgrade, who 'help' women perform a painful and expensive chorionic sampling test and, thus, reveal the sex before the ten-week legal abortion deadline. The cost of these interventions is around EUR 350.

Dnevne novine 14th December 2013.

However, it is possible for an individual to have an amniocentesis earlier, by the 12th week, when abortion is permitted solely for determining the sex of the fetus, although illegally. Amniotic fluid sampling is done on an outpatient basis and costs between 400 and 500 euros, despite being risky for the fetus in terms of possible complications such as infections, bleeding, and miscarriages. The samples were sent to Belgrade, where it takes a few weeks to get the result, as was said by the Vikend novine interviewee, who wished to stay anonymous.

The differences between the strategies can be further examined by considering the relevance of genre and motive. First, general statistics indicate that the sample is dominated by factual genres and news not initiated by the media. 76.41% of news was a response to various forms of outside actors/events, such as the NGO sector (58.01%) and political actors (18.39%). This finding seems intuitive, since the Montenegrin NGO produced the majority of the awareness-raising SSA-related actions such as the campaign Unwanted. Additionally, the level of media initiative was very modest—23.58% of stories were motivated by the journalists/editors themselves. 77.44% of the stories in the sample belong to the factual genre, the remainder being analytical. These findings support the hypotheses of the supremacy of the factual genre over analytical reporting, and discontinuous media interest in SSA.

When applied to discourse strategies directly related to SSA (factual, authority, and direct support), the genres and motives help further differentiation. The factual and authority strategies dominantly use factual genres. Moreover, they are motivated by outside actors/ events, as opposed to the direct support discourse, which is mainly analytical and initiated by the media. In order to support my assumptions about the relationship between genre and initiative, I performed the Pearson's Chi-squared test, which indicates that these two variables are not independent (X2(1) = 121.64, p < 0.01). In fact, 86.95% of the stories initiated by the media were analytical, while 94.15% of the information motivated by external actors appeared in factual genres. Table 5 Summarizes the exposed differences between the three strategies:

Table 5. Differences between SSA-related strategies.

Discourse strategy	Approach	Genre	Motive	Mental modes
Factual	Passive	Factual	Outside actors	No
Authority	Passive	Mainly factual	Mainly outside actors	Yes
Direct support	Active	Mainly analytical	Mainly media initiative	Yes

Comments

The results from the analysis of the comments indicate the relationship between the media and its users' socio-cognitive dimensions. First, more than half (51.57%) of the comments had an explicit reaction toward the author/media and the subject of the story. The audience usually challenged the subjects of the news (78.70%) or the author/media that published the information (21.29%):

CDM

CDM watch your mouth! There is the continued practice of selective abortion, but not "non-selective" sure.

24/04/2018

Vijesti GODFATHER

How these gorgeous and beautiful creatures can be irrelevant and undesirable to someone. Shame on you for publishing a text like this! 24/04/2018

The analysis of the users' discourse strategies facilitates the interpretation of the socio-cognitive dimensions. Table 6 contains the four discourse strategies that account for 61.82% of users' comments⁵:

Table 6. Most frequent discourse strategies in users' comments.

DS comments	%
Condemnation	27.91
Naturalization of the female identity	12.01
Politicization	10.95
Marginalization/skepticism	10.95

The dominant users' reaction was condemnation of SSA, which in 42.85% of cases included a direct reference to the subjects in the media article. On average, every fifth (19.04%) condemning comment, mentioning the subjects of the article, blamed women for SSA:

CDM

Milena

Shameful!!!! I don't understand women that do this... Evil 28/09/2017

Vijesti

malilaki

The women who do this aren't mothers but rags that the family wipes the floor with. 28/09/2017

Almost a third (29.16%) of the comments in the direct support media articles showed condemnation as a major reaction. When translated into socio-cognitive analysis, the direct support texts, with personal statements from women that underwent SSA, triggered a negative socio-cognitive response in the audience. For example, the article published in the online media CDM, entitled "Montenegrin girls have gone missing?" contained the anonymous testimonials of Montenegrin women that revealed the disturbing patriarchal background of SSA:

"If she was a girl, I wouldn't know what to do. Fortunately, it was a son. I wanted a son to please my husband... I know women who had multiple abortions after the chorionic villus sampling, and found out they were carrying a girl." (CDM "Montenegrin girls have gone missing?" 28th of September 2017).

User reaction to such information was twofold. The readers either characterized SSA as "primitive, sad, wild, discriminating..." or labeled women as "cloths, culprits, conscious-free...". Their condemnation of women who admitted they had undergone SSA was very straightforward: "Then please him again. Do you even have your own attitude about the world?"; "God will judge you"; "No one can persuade a mother to do that, if she agrees anyway, then she is an accomplice."

The initial impulse for SSA condemnation is logical but very limited in its ability to enlighten the profound nature of the problem. Blame shifting, together with condemnation, represents a very passive form of reaction, which reinforces the stigmatization of the already stigmatized women that underwent SSA. Moreover,



through the examples mentioned above, we can see how the information presented by the media motivates the readers to communicate their mental models since the inclusion of the women's statements provoked the negative cognitive reaction. This indicates that the occasional analytical media approach is not enough to sensitize the media audience and increase their capability for comprehension instead of condemnation.

The limited audience awareness is evident in the second most frequent discourse strategy, the naturalization of female identity (Jelena Višnjić 2016). In this context, 12.01% of the comments tied the consequences of SSA to a potential lack of future wives and women that will give birth and "raise our sons":

Vijesti

Sikimiki

Who will give birth to male children if not women 20.11.2017,

CDM

Žix

Do these people wonder whom their sons will marry in 20-30 years if this continues to reduce the number of female children? But it's important to give a birth to male, right? 24/04/2018.

Naturalization accounted for 50% of the comments in the authority discourse, where the media usually presented the statistical data related to SSA without any kind of analytical approach or context. These comments were typically inspired by media articles that published the information about the "missing 3000 Montenegrin women in the reproductive lifecycle" (CDM September 162,014), "the tradition of the male child" (Vijesti November 202,017), or the "problems in Montenegrin society" (CDM September 302,018) caused by the lack of women. The media articles predominantly described the demographic distortions and the current sex imbalance existing in Montenegro. The readers responded with the strategy of naturalization, which reduces women to their reproductive function as the first and foremost purpose of their life (Višnjić 2016). The underlying tone of this strategy is patriarchal since it portrays women solely through their private sphere, where they predominantly exist as "mothers and wives" (Višnjić 2016, 126). Even when expressing anxiety for the reproductive future of Montenegro, users' comments were male-centered—they were worried about the lack of wives their sons should marry. Women as daughters, and above all, as human beings, were not in focus here.

Furthermore, in the strategy of naturalization, the woman is presented with her physical dimension and the emotional side of her character. 25% of the columns written by women contained a direct reference to their appearance in the comments; this conclusion was absent from male-authored columns:

CDM

semi

First take your hat off while in parliament, you're not fashionable at all, it reflects the lack of culture, so after that speak up

08/03/2018

Analitika

Dušan

Beauty ... I would like to have you for the first president of Montenegro. 08/03/2018/

The remaining strategies of *politicization* and *marginalization/skepticism* were equally present among users' comments. Politicized discourse treats SSA as an outcome of the actions and policies of the former government, the Church, the EU, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Council of Europe:

Vijesti

Zizi 25

It's all about reducing the population in Montenegro! And the way we are, let them be! Is it hard to understand that the main reason for distorted birth rates is the economic crisis caused by the fraud of the people in power! In other words, this is demographic genocide! CITIZENS, YOU ARE QUIET BECAUSE YOU ARE NOT AWARE OF WHAT'S HAPPENING!!

28.09.2017.

Vijesti

Dangerous

They found a way to make money, because EU funds it all. And for this unwanted thing, the same works for male children, I know at least 5 couples (close to me) who would give everything to have a girl. 25.04.2018.

51.61% of politicized comments were a reaction to columns that explicitly referred to some of the aforementioned actors as visible from the Table 7.

Table 7. Columns with the highest frequency of politicized comments.

Title	Media	%ª	Subjects ^b
LAJOVIĆ: Misogynist	Analitika	22.58	Montenegrin Orthodox Church
We are the Sons of Your Rocks	Vijesti	19.35	Council of Europe
MARAŠ: Accession Objection	Analitika	6.45	European Union
Unwanted Column	Analitika	6.45	Democratic Party of Socialists

aPercentage of politicized comments.

bSubjects dominantly mentioned by the author.

The remainder was usually a response to the campaign Unwanted, where users view the NGO activity as EU-driven and solely motivated by "lining their own pockets."

Finally, out of the 10.95% of comments in category of marginalization/skepticism, 29.03% perceive SSA as an unimportant topic, while 70.96% of users doubted the existence of this practice:



CDM

Milka

I don't believe these statistics, ok intentional abortions, but intentional because they are girls? 24/04/2018

Analitika

Popocatepetl

"Only in 2009, 113 boys were born, per 100 girls, which is a definite indicator of prenatal sexselection, resulting in selective terminations of pregnancy and decreasing number of newborn female children." Are you kidding people? The average has been the same for the last 50 years, although the testing is possible in the last ten years. The natural average is 105:100, and in our country, it is slightly higher because a certain number of families "drive to the male". There is none statistical evidence about prenatal sex selection in a more significant number of cases.

21/11/2017

CDM

Neko

Too much importance is given to this topic... I don't know anyone, and I didn't hear about anyone who did it ... 04/01/2018

Intuitively, every third comment in the authority discourse was marginalizing/skeptical. The articles that informed the audience about the birth of "314 more boys than girls" (CDM 24th of April 2018) or the ongoing "trends in sex-selective abortions" (CDM November 5 2017), frequently motivated the readers to reject or marginalize the practice of SSA. As argued before, the articles using the authority strategy never questioned the background of sex selection. Furthermore, 52% of the media articles published the view of only two sources or fewer. Instead of representing multiple opinions and giving a voice to the underrepresented, the media usually provided significant public space to well-known figures in society. Such a uniform approach contributed to the users' skeptical reaction. When confronted with statistical/expert information, the readers were unable to link their shared knowledge and personal experience with the occurrence of sex selection. Users' reactions could also indicate a dogmatic social cognition resistant to accepting/evaluating any information that deviates from previously established experiences. Consequently, the dogmatic social cognition is reinforced by the passive media approach described in the authority strategy.

Additional analyses found emotion words to be the dominant structures in 74.03% of the comments. I present several examples of users' emotional words that vividly illustrate the nature of each discourse strategy:

Condemnation:

discriminating [diskriminatorno], uncivilized [necivilizovano], uneducated [neobrazovani], shameful [sramotno], abnormal [nenormalno], tribal [plemenski], irreversible [nepovratno], rude [nevaspitani]

Naturalization:

weaker [slabije], emotional [emotivne], desirable [poželjnije], childbirth [rađati djecu], caregiving [paziti], marriage [brak], motivating [motivišuće], beauty [ljepoto]

Politicization:

powerful [moćni], criminal [kriminal], controlled [kontrolišu], crisis [kriza], blackmailing [ucjenjuju], forcing [ćeraju], order [narede], prohibit [zabraniti]

Marginalization/Skepticism:

unimportant [nebitno], untrue [netačno], unclear [nejasno], wrong [pogrešno], disbelief [ne vjerujem], opposite [suprotno], lie [laž], defamation [kleveta], coincidence [slučajnost]

Metaphors were generally less present in the sample—25.61% of the comments contained both emotion words and metaphors, while 16.84% expressed their thoughts solely through metaphors:

Condemnation:

we need to escape from this jungle urgently... [pod hitno treba pobjeći iz ove džungle...], sexual slaves [seksualne robinje], beast [zvijer], we hit rock bottom [propali smo do samog dna]

Naturalization: the carrier of the human species [nosilac ljudske vrste], bring life into the world [donose na svijet ljudska bića], giving birth to "hawks" [rađa "sokolove"]

Politicization:

thieves [lopovi], monkeys on branches [majmuni s grana], line their pockets [pune džepove], double-edged sword [mač s dvije oštrice]

Marginalization/Skepticism:

this article is huge ... I got tired as I read it [golem ovaj članak ... umorih se dok sam pročitao], the story is blown up [priča je naduvana], you're making a mountain out of a molehill [od muve pravite međeda].

Discussion

This study applied the Socio-cognitive Discourse Approach to a sample of media information related to SSA in Montenegro. The research revealed several tendencies. First, the Montenegrin media is generally not interested in reporting about SSA. The majority of the media stories belong to the factual genre, and they are motivated by external actors. The media discourse is predominantly passive, with a very occasional analytical approach, while the most substantive proportion of media stories made the subject of SSA inferior to other published information. The analysis also demonstrated that journalists' usage of opinions, emotional words, and metaphors was rarely proactive, except for the direct support discourse strategy, when the media treated SSA as a public interest topic that requires continuous scrutiny and investigation. Although most media information did not contain patriarchal language, it must be acknowledged that journalists and editors were specifically instructed on how to report about SSA when the campaign Unwanted launched in Montenegro (Raičević 2020). The preventative approach intuitively affected the tone and the character of the subsequent media discourse. However, more explicit findings were present in the audience discourse, which was produced under minimal constraints. The research showed that the consumers' reaction is mainly judgmental, with every fifth comment portraying women as culprits. Furthermore, the audience envisions the consequences of SSA through endangered reproduction; thus, reviving patriarchal perceptions about women as mothers with predefined and strict gender roles in the household.

Several implications stem from this research. First, the combination of a passive media approach and a judgmental discourse can cement the already existing bias around the issue of SSA. Extensive effort is required to alleviate the ramifications of long-term gender inequality, such as the perception of the female child as less desirable, the institutional and economic domination of men, and the reduction of women to their physical appearance and their reproductive roles. The role of the media in this process is clear. Namely,

only 7.85% of the media information in the sample took a proactive stance and tried to explore the complex social, economic, and cultural background of SSA. It is worth reminding that it was in fact research carried out by a journalist that was one of the main motivators for the campaign Unwanted in Montenegro. These rare examples demonstrate the capacity of the media to produce social change. However, longitudinal research has shown that occasional positive practices are not enough. The media audience analyzed in this study demonstrated an insufficient understanding of both SSA and its patriarchal background. The lack of analytical media reporting might lead to the loss of societal interest in unraveling SSA and preventing its occurrence. If the Montenegrin media do not treat SSA as an important topic, they send a clear message to their audience that sex selection is not a priority. They contribute to the marginalization of this theme and cultivate judgmental reactions, whose outcome is the reinforcement of female subordination.

The second implication of this research relates to the established social cognition between those who produce the media content and those who consume it. Readers were mainly referring to either the authors or the subjects of the information while commenting on SSA-related articles. As previously argued, socio-cognitive analysis presupposes the cognitive interface as a space where journalists' and consumers' mental models interact (Van Dijk 2017). This point of connection was visible in the present study. In particular, when confronted with the statistical information, the audience typically showed two reactions: marginalization/skepticism and naturalization. In the first case, they were hesitant to accept the existence of SSA, while in the second case, the first SSA-related consequence that came to mind was the lack of mothers giving birth "to hawks" (sons). Simultaneously, when the media applied an analytical approach to investigating SSA, the public condemned this practice, while very few comments doubted its existence. Different journalists' discourse strategies, thus, triggered different cognitive responses in the audience. This research showed that analytical media articles predominantly produce condemnation, but not the rejection of SSA as an ongoing phenomenon in Montenegrin society. The acceptance that SSA exists to a worrisome extent represents the first stage of counteracting this problem. Consequently, the prevalence of analytical media information should increase the audiences' understanding of SSA and decrease the condemnation of women, which represents a necessary step towards combating this practice.

In parallel, cognitive responses in the audience also reflect the audiences' mental models. Consequently, marginalization, naturalization, and condemnation might be indicative of variant personality structures—a topic that requires further analysis. This research showed that mental models indeed "control discourse structures" (Van Dijk 2017, 21), while social cognition represents a valuable stream in discourse analysis, revealing the more profound nature of language presented in the public space.

Finally, in this research, we aimed at showing why it is essential to spot patterns in media discourse and form diverse discourse strategies that can synthesize numerous discourse practices into coherent structures. In this way, the discourse strategies established in this paper have applicability in various contexts. They also reveal the discourse elements that dominate in each strategy, which might act as indicators for further research.

Although the SDS applied in this research protruded the discursive aspects of SSA, it is important to note several limitations of this paper. First, as an approach, SDS are unable to investigate how consumers acquire their mental models or the extent to which these models modify when confronted with various pieces of information. Additional experimental research is required to establish a causal relationship that could clarify the impact of the media and address individual susceptibility to different forms of media content. In parallel, the sociocognitive approach is vital for creating a very vibrant empirical foundation for such research.

Second, further analyses should address the contextual factors that prevent continuous media interest in investigating important SSA practices. It is worth analyzing whether the concentrated media environment, together with political influence and financial dependence (Vuković 2016), might form several necessary contextual conditions that restrict media interest in "unprofitable" topics. Subsequent research could, thus, benefit from the evaluation of the Montenegrin media environment in relation to the lack of media involvement in reporting on SSA.

Notes

- 1. Expressed through opinions, attitudes, and emotional words.
- 2. Such as Systematic Discourse Analysis.
- I was prevented from including every discourse strategy in the analysis due to spatial limits. Appendix A contains the remaining discourse strategies with brief examples that clarify their classification.
- 4. I did not observe a significant difference between the TV and print material. Every third information shown on the TV was factual. The main Montenegrin news shows dedicated insufficient attention to SSA—only 7.32% of the analyzed news had SSA as the main topic.
- 5. See Appendix B.
- 6. In 9.13% of the comments I failed to identify expressions of emotion words and metaphors.

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Notes on contributor

Jovana Davidović is a teaching assistant and a doctoral student at the Faculty of Political Science, University of Montenegro. She was also the research associate at the Department of Communication, University Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain, and at the Center for Media, Data, and Society, Central European University (CEU), Budapest, Hungary. Jovana obtained an MA degree at the CEU's Department of Political Science. Her research interests include media psychology and gender, political psychology, political communication.

Data available on request from the author

Supplemental data for this article can be accessed here

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CURRICULUM VITAE Jovana Davidović MA

Poslovna adresa: 13 jula 2, Podgorica E-mail: jovanad@ac.me

DATUM I MJESTO ROĐENJA: 18. novembar 1993. godine, Podgorica, Crna Gora

Obrazovanje:

Istraživačica Feb. 2021 – Jul 2021

Odsjek za komunukacije, Univerzitet Pompeu Fabra, Barselona, Španija

Istraživačica Jan. 2020 – Mar. 2020

Centar za medije, istraživanje i društvo, Centralno-evropski univerzitet, Budimpešta, Mađarska

Doktorantkinja u oblasti političkih nauka

2018 -

Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet Crne Gore, Podgorica, Crna Gora Prosječna ocjena: 10/10

Magistarka u oblasti političkih nauka

2016-2018

Odsjek za političke nauke, Centralno-evropski univerzitet, Budimpešta, Mađarska

 $\label{thm:problem:eq:continuous} Teza: Unraveling the Black Mountain: Authoritarian Submission and Party Preference in Montenegro Prosječna ocjena: 3.81/4$

Specijalističke studije u oblasti ne vinarstva

2015-2016

Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet Crne Gore, Podgorica, Crna Gora Prosječna ocjena: 10/10

Osnovne studije u oblasti novinarstva

2012-2015

Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet Crne Gore, Podgorica, Crna Gora Prosječna ocjena: 9.92/10

RADNO ISKUSTVO:

Saradnica u nastavi na Fakultetu političkih nauka

Okt. 2021 - Feb. 2022

Univerzitet Crne Gore Predmeti: Istraživanje u komunikološkim naukama, Istraživačko novinarstvo, Analiza medijskog diskursa, Komunikacijski sistemi,

CURRICULUM VITAE Jovana Davidović MA

Poslovna adresa: 13 jula 2, Podgorica E-mail: jovanad@ac.me

Onlajn produkcija, Vizuelna kultura

Urednica Apr. 2021 - Sept. 2021

Niche Stack, Češka

Saradnica u nastavi na Fakultetu političkih nauka Okt. 2020 – Jul 2021

Univerzitet Crne Gore

Predmeti:
Istraživanje u
komunikološkim
naukama, Istraživačko
novinarstvo,
Komunikacijski sistemi,
Onlajn produkcija,
Vizuelna kultura, Štampa

Saradnica na projektu Jan. 2020 – Sept. 2022

"Perspektive aktivnog građanstva i digitalne pismenosti među mladima: poređenje Crne Gore i Slovenije"

Bilateralni projekat,

i agencije

Ministarstvo prosvjete, culture, nauke i sporta Crne Gore

Saradnica u nastavi na Fakultetu političkih nauka Okt. 2019 – Feb. 2020

Univerzitet Crne Gore Predmet: *Filozofija*

Saradnica u nastavi na Fakultetu političkih nauka Okt. 2018 – Feb. 2019

Univerzitet Crne Gore Predmet: Filozofija

Projektna koordinatorka Jan. 2017 – Jul 2018

Executive Approval Research Project for Central and Eastern Europe, Ryan Edward Carlin, Univerzitet Džordžija; Levente Littvay, Centralnoevropski univerzitet

Predsjednica Sep. 2015 – Jun 2016

Montenegrin Association of Political Science Students (MAPSS)

Novinarka Feb. 2015 –Feb. 2016

Studentski radio KRŠ (Creative Radio School), Podgorica, Crna Gora

Novinarka Mar. 2015 - Sep. 2015

Hronika Podgorice, Radio Crne Gore

Stažistkinja Jun 2014

Informativna sekcija, PRVA televizija, Crna Gora

CURRICULUM VITAE Jovana Davidović MA

Poslovna adresa: 13 jula 2, Podgorica E-mail: <u>jovanad@ac.me</u>

L'man. jovanau wae.me		
Stažistkinja Spoljna politika, Pobjeda, Crna Gora	April 2014 – Maj	2014
U rednica <i>Rubrika Kultura</i> , Studentski portal <i>Tragom</i> , Crna Gora	Nov. 2013 – Jun	2015
Novinarka Sept. 2008 – No Radio Crne Gore		. 2010.
TRENINZI:		
How to Read Media in Post-Truth Era, European Youth Press, Berlin, Njemačka	:	2018
Artificial intelligence, robots and media, Dubrovnik Media Days, Univerzitet u Dubrovniku, Hrvatska		2015
Media in Southeast Europe: Too much or too little information, Sout Media Organization and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Media Program for S Skoplje, Makedonija		2015
Combating hate speech on the Internet, Directorate of Youth and Sp NGO Forum MNE, Budva, Crna Gora	ortofMontenegro,	2014
Journalism in South East Europe, South East Europe Media Orga Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Media Program for South East Europe, Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina		2013
DODATNA EDUKACIJA:		
Investigative Journalism Course Centar za medije, istraživanje i društvo, Centralno-evropski univerzitet, Budimpešta, Mađarska		2022
OSCE Project Coordination Course Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet Crne Gore		2021
Regionalna škola medijske etike The Press Council in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Konrad Adenau Program South East Europe, Konjic, Bosna i Hercegovina	er Stiftung Media	2015

CURRICULUM VITAE

Jovana Davidović MA

Poslovna adresa: 13 jula 2, Podgorica E-mail: <u>jovanad@ac.me</u>

Škola euro-atlantskih integracija za mlade Centar za monitoring i istraživanje, Podgorica, Crna Gora

2014

Škola demokratije Centar za građansko obrazovanje, Podgorica, Crna Gora

2014

PREZENTACIJE & RADIONICE:

Davidović, Jovana. 2021. Media literacy and information challenges. EYCA Educo Camp, Plužine, Montenegro.

Davidović, Jovana. 2020. Mediated Emotions in Political Communication Discourse: the Case of Montenegro and Serbia. European Consortium for Political Science Research.

Davidović, Jovana. 2015. Student Media in Montenegro – the Role and Importance. Artificial intelligence, robots and media, Dubrovnik Media Days, University of Dubrovnik, Croatia

STIPENDIJE & NAGRADE:

Stipendija za doktorska istraživanja	ı
Ministarstvo nauke, Crna Gora	

2018 - 2021

Nagrada za najbolju magistarsku tezu	
Odsjek za političke nauke, Centralno-evropski univerzitet, B	kudimnešta
Mađarska	radimpesta,

2018

Nagrada za akademsku izvrsnost	
Odsjek za političke nauke, Centralno-evropski univerzitet, E	Rudimnešta
Mađarska	dampesta,

2017

Nacionalna stipendija za izvrsnost
Ministarstvo prosvjete, Crna Gora

2016 - 2018

Nagrada za najbolju stude	ntkinju
Fakultet političkih nauka,	Univerzitet Crne Gore

2015

Stipendija za talentovane studente/kinje
Atlas fondacija, Crna Gora

2014

Studentska nagrada Glavnog	grada "19. decembar"
Podgorica, Crna Gora	

2014

CURRICULUM VITAE Jovana Davidović MA

Poslovna adresa: 13 jula 2, Podgorica E-mail: jovanad@ac.me

Nagrada za najbolje govorništvo

2014

Simulacija parlamenta, Crnogorsko udruženje studenata/kinja političkih nauka - MAPSS, Podgorica, Crna Gora

Stipendija za najbolje studente/kinje Ministarstvo prosvjete, Crna Gora

2013 - 2016

OBJAVLJENA NAUČNA IZLAGANJA NA KONFERENCIJAMA:

Davidovic, Jovana. *Unraveling Authoritarian Submission: Identity and the Media as Crucial Factors*. 6th International Scientific Conference of Young Doctoral Scholars, Novi Sad, Srbija, 15. februar 2022. godine.

Davidovic, Jovana. "Montenegro All in One": Montenegrin Tourism through the Lenses of Public Service Media. 12th Montenegrin Media Dialogues, Media and Tourism – Positive and Negative Consequences of Media Reporting, Žabljak, Crna Gora, 31. maj 2019. godine.

Davidovic, Jovana. *Activism as a Defense: Civic Journalism among Students in Montenegro*. Bridges of Media Education, Novi Sad, Srbija, 13. septembar 2019. godine.

PUBLIKACIJE:

Davidović, Jovana. 2022. My Dear Unwanted: Media Discourse on Sex-selective Abortion in Montenegro. Feminist Media Studies. Taylor & Francis, ISSN: 1468-0777, 1471-5902.

Davidović, Jovana. 2020. Unraveling the Black Mountain: Authoritarian Submission and Party Preference in Montenegro. Nationalities Papers: the Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity, Cambridge University Press, 1-19, ISSN 0090-5992, 1465-3923.

Davidović, Jovana. 2020. *Kako se odbraniti: emotivna komponenta medijske manipulacije*. predstoji u: Communications and Media - CM, ISSN 1800-7074.

Davidović, Jovana. 2020. Consistency of the European Media Politics: the Media Concentration in Montenegro and Serbia. predstoji u: Medijska istraživanja, ISSN 1330-0288, 1848-6096.

Davidović, Jovana. 2015. *Poštovanje prezumpcije nevinosti u crnogorskim portalima*. Medijska politika, ISSN 1800-7457.

ISTRAŽIVAČKO INTERESOVANJE: psihologija komuniciranja, rod, mediji, politička psihologija, politička komunikacija, psihološka i politička antropologija

JEZIČKE & KOMPJUTERSKE VJEŠTINE:

Crnogorski jezik: maternji

Engleski jezik: napredni nivo (C2 CEF nivo; Savjet

Evrope)

Italijanski jezik: srednji nivo

Španski jezik: osnovni nivo (A2 sertifikat)

Programski jezik: R Statistički softver: SPSS

PROFESSIONAL BIOGRAPHY (CV) TANJA OBLAK ČRNIČ, PhD

University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences, Department of Communication

Education, employment and degrees: Tanja Oblak Črnič (born 16 December 1973) lives and works in Ljubljana. She graduated in Sociology (1996), received her Master's (1999) and Doctor's degree (2001) in Communication Sciences at the Faculty of Social Sciences. During the course of the master's study she took advanced academic study courses at the University of Essex and the University of Oxford (UK), after her doctorate she worked as a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Helsinki (Finland), and in 2012, she was as a visiting researcher at the University of California, Berkeley (USA). She has been employed at the Faculty of Social Sciences since 1996, initially as a young researcher, and since 2005 regularly employed at the University of Ljubljana as a university professor.

Education, degrees and dates received

1992-1996 undergraduate studies of Sociology and Social Information Science, Faculty of Social Sciences (FDV), University of Ljubljana (UL)

1996 BA in Sociology with the thesis "The use of information technology and gender differences in the private sphere" (September)

1999 MA in Communication Sciences with Master's thesis "Social context of communication technologies: images of cyber society in the scientific and popular discourse" (April)

2001 PhD in Communication Sciences with doctoral dissertation "Images of electronic democracy: communication technologies and changes in communication and participation processes" (written in English, September).

2001-2002 scholarship holder at postdoctoral studies in the *Department of Communication Sciences* at the *University of Helsinki* (under the supervision of dr. Sinikka Sassi)

2002 promoted to the title of Doctor of Science in the field of Social Sciences (22 January 2002)

2011 Erasmus exchange professor in University of Helsinki (April 2011)

2012 visiting researcher at the *School of Information at the University of California*, *Berkeley*, USA (6 months, sabbatical)

Professional positions

1996-2001 Young researcher, Centre for Research on Social Communication, Institute for Social Sciences, FDV, UL

2002-2005 Research Assistant, Department of Media and Communication Studies, FDV, UL

2005- Assistant Professor, Department of Media and Communication Studies, FDV, UL

2007-2008 maternity leave (12 months)

2008- Associate Professor for Communication, FDV, UL

2010 maternity leave (6 months)

2014- Full Professor for Communication, FDV, UL (December 2014)

Faculty Career and elected functions: She has been working at the undergraduate and postgraduate teaching programmes in Communication Sciences, where she was elected for three mandates to hold the chair of Media and Communication Studies (2003-2005; 2005-2007, 2010-2013). Currently, she is the Head of Department of Communication and Custodian of Communication doctoral program (2015-2017). She actively led an overhaul of undergraduate programme of Communication Sciences (2003-2005) and she was coordinating a recent programme reform on the Faculty level within Department of Communication.

Elected and other functions

2015-2017 Head of Department for Communication

2015- Custodian of Doctoral program in Communication Studies

2013-2015 Member of the Senate of the Faculty of Social Sciences

2005-2007

2013-2015 Custodian of the Master's programme of Media and Law

2011-2013 Head of Chair for Media and communication studies

2003-2007

2011-2015 Member of the Commission for the amendment of the rules, FDV

2003-2005 Member of the Commission for the Prešeren awards for BA theses

2003-2005 Member of the Commission for the renewal of Web site of FDV

2005-2007 Member of the Commission for educational affairs, FDV

2007-2009 Member of the FDV Commission for textbooks

Teaching and mentoring: As a mentor she works at the undergraduate and master programmes, as well as at the doctoral level; she was also a mentor to a young researcher (2009-2013). Professionally and academically she also cooperates with other faculties within the University of Ljubljana (ALUO, FF - Department of German language, Department of English language, Department of Sociology, Department of Psychology) and actively cares for the visibility of Communication Sciences outside of UL. She has been actively involved in teaching several courses within different study programs at the Faculty of Social Sciences since 1996. She nourishes also constant international experiences as visiting professor and through hosting professors from abroad.

Teaching experiences & Courses taught

1996-2002 assistant within Media and Communication program and Sociology-social informatics studies

2001-2002 visiting assistant on Department for communication, University in Helsinki, within the course "Information Society Policy Programs and Applications" and student work-shop "Putting it all together"

2001-2002 assistant in the major course Introduction to communication studies

2002-2007 undergraduate level course Theories of Information society

2003- undergraduate level minor courses Communication and new technologies, E-democracy, Internet practice

2005 visiting professor in University in Klagenfurt, Austria, *Democratic potentials of electronic public sphere* (June 2005)

2008- undergraduate level major courses Introduction to communication research,

Communication Research Seminar, Research Practice

2008- graduate level: New Media and Society, Political participation and the internet

2015- doctoral seminar I in Communication study program

Mentor and supervisor

2003- mentoring and co-mentoring diploma theses and post-graduate master theses

2003- participation in mentoring committee in under-graduate and graduate level

2009- supervisor in doctoral program

2009-2013 mentoring young researcher

Research focus: With her research work within the framework of the Centre for Research on Social Communication (CDK) and in cooperation with other research centres at the Faculty of Social Sciences (CMI, CPR, CMO) she demonstrates herself particularly in the field of studying the social aspects of new media, which is shown by her participation in various research projects, several international conferences and regular publications in domestic and foreign journals and edited publications. She is the author of two monographs, the co-editor of a scientific book and two thematic journal publications and the author of various scientific contributions at home and abroad.

In the last period, her research attention has been focused on studying the role of interactivity in communication online environments, both on the level of political communication as well as communication among new audiences and Web-based media forms. In this regard, she continues and deepens her research in the field of online communication, political action and e-democracy, which she has also introduced as an important framework within the Slovenian communication sciences. Within two fundamental research projects she has been examining the amended roles of communication and interaction in the micro environment, particularly within families and in everyday life of young people, as the result of new mobile technology and contemporary digital culture. With that she has expanded her research focus into the field of sociology and cultural studies, and thus approached communication subjects to the interdisciplinary theoretical baselines. She continues her work in the framework of the

digital citizenship project, in which she intertwines and upgrades the scientific findings so far. Selected publications in last decade 2017

- LUTHAR, Breda, OBLAK ČRNIČ, Tanja. Media repertoires and discursive communities: studying audiences in the multimedia age. *Communications*, ISSN 0341-2059, Nov. 2017, vol. 42, no. 4, str. 415-439, doi: 10.1515/commun-2017-0028.
- * OBLAK ČRNIČ, Tanja. Neglected or just misunderstood?: the perception of youth and digital citizenship among Slovenian political parties. *Teorija in praksa : revija za družbena vprašanja*, ISSN 0040-3598, jul. 2017, letn. 54, posebna št., str. 96-111, 159. 2016
- · Oblak, Tanja. Mladi državljani in institucionalna politika v kontekstu participativne digitalne kulture/Young citizens and institutional politics in the context of participatory digital culture. *Annales, Series historia et sociologia*, 26, 1: 119-132.
- · Oblak, Tanja, Amon Prodnik Jernej. Online deliberation between the weak and strong public sphere. *eJournal of eDemocracy and open government*, ISSN 2075-9517, 2015, vol. 7, no. 1, str. 99-116 2015
- LUTHAR, Breda, OBLAK, Tanja. Medijski repertoarji in diskurzivne skupnosti. *Teorija in praksa*,
 ISSN 0040-3598, jan.-apr. 2015, letn. 52, št. 1/2, str. 7-30.
 2014
- OBLAK, Tanja, KUHAR, Metka. Everyday and family contexts of youth computer cultures: the case of Slovenia. *Annales, Series historia et sociologia*, 24, 1: 129-142
- · HAFNER-FINK, Mitja, OBLAK, Tanja. Digital citizenship as multiple political participation?: predictors of digital political participation in Slovenia. *Teorija in praksa*, 51, 6: 1284-1303 2013
- · OBLAK, Tanja, VOBIČ, Igor. Converging practices and discourses: obstacles in production culture for interactivity in Slovenian online newspapers. *Convergence*, 19, 3: 365-381
- · OBLAK, Tanja, OŠLJAK, Katja. Politically un-interactive web: transformations of online politics in Slovenia. *International journal of electronic governance*, 6, 1: 37-52
- · OBLAK, Tanja. Slovenians offline: class and cultural aspects of digital exclusion. *Sociologický časopis*, 49, 6: 927-949 2012
- · OBLAK, Tanja. Digitalne razslojenosti: spletna kultura skozi razredno in kulturno diferenciacijo v Ljubljani in Mariboru. *Družboslovne razprave*, 28, 71: 39-62
- · OBLAK, Tanja. Idea(I)s on e-democracy and direct online citizenship. *Southeastern Europe*, 36, 3: 398-42 2011
- · OBLAK, Tanja, AMON PRODNIK, Jernej, TRBIŽAN, Nika. Deliberation and online participation: The case of the Slovenian portal "I propose to the government". *Journal of comparative politics*, 4, 2: 90-110,
- · OBLAK, Tanja. The generational gap and the diverse roles of computer technology: the case of Slovenian households. In COLOMBO, Fausto (ed.). *Broadband society and generational changes*, (Participation in broadband society, vol. 5). Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 289-304
- · OBLAK, Tanja, JONTES, Dejan. (New) media culture among Slovenian youth. V: PANDO CANTELI, María J. (ed.). *Conjunctions and disruptions: communication, information and media studies in*

Europe, (Maior series, vol. 1). Bilbao: University of Deusto, 137-150 2010

- · OBLAK, Tanja. Preobrazbe na spletu: od infopromocijske k individualizirani politiki?/*Transformations on the web: from promotional to individualised politics?*. *Teorija in praksa*, 47, 1: 22-40.
- · OBLAK, Tanja (ed), LUTHAR, Breda (ed). *Mobilni telefon in transformacija vsakdana/Mobile phones and transformation of everyday life*, Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede, 230 pp. 2008
- · OBLAK, Tanja. O začetkih interneta na Slovenskem/The beginnings of the Internet in Slovenia. V: PUŠNIK, Maruša (ed.). *Prispevki k zgodovini slovenskih medijev*, (Javnost/The Public, vol. 15, supl.). Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede, 15, supl.: S151-S170. 2007
- · OBLAK, Tanja, ŽELJAN, Katja. Slovenian online campaigning during the 2004 European parliament election: struggling between self-promotion and mobilization. V: KLUVER, Randolph (ed.), JANKOWSKI, Nicholas W. (ed.), FOOT, Kirsten A. (ed.), SCHNEIDER, Steven M. (ed.). *The Internet and national elections: a comparative study of web campaigning*, (Routledge research in political communication, 2). London; New York: Routledge: 60-76.
- PINTER, Andrej, OBLAK, Tanja. Is there a public sphere in this discussion forum?. V: SARIKAKIS, Katharine (ed.), THUSSU, Daya Kishan (ed.). *Ideologies of the Internet*, (International Association for Media and Communication Research). Cresskill [N. J.]: Hampton Press, 99-113.
- · OBLAK, Tanja. The lack of interactivity and hypertextuality in online media. *Gazette (Leiden)*. 67, 1: 87-106.
- · OBLAK Tanja, Gregor Petrič. Splet kot medij in mediji na spletu/Web as a media and media on the Web. Ljubljana: FDV 2003
- · OBLAK, Tanja. Izzivi e-demokracije/Challenges of e-democracy. Ljubljana: FDV.

Scientific research activities

a) participation in national research programs

1999-2003 Social information and communication processes

2003-2008 Mass media, public sphere and social changes

2008-2014 Mass media, public sphere and social changes

2015- Political research

b) participation in national research projects

1995-1996 Study Young and Aids, 1997. Ljubljana: FDV, ADP, 2001

1996 Study Social aspects of municipial Koper: survey among college students. (CPS, FDV)

1997-1999 Applicative project Analysis of media content on joining Slovenia in EU (CDK, CMO, FDV)

1999-2001 Basic project *Life styles in media society (CDK, FDV)*

2001-2002 *Analysis of governmental web sites*, financed by governmental office for communication and information (CATI, d.o.o.)

2003-2004 Postdoctoral project Democratic potential of electronic public sphere

2002-2005 Project CRP Media convergence: characteristics of media online and their effects (CDK, FDV)

2004-2008 Basic project Cultural and social aspects of virtual life-styles (CMI in CDK)

2010-2013 Basic project Class, culture and media consumption (CDK)

2013-2016 Basic project Digital citizenship (MI, FDV, ZRC-FHŠ KP)

c) international summer-schools and research meetings:

1998 summer school Social Science Data Analysis and Collection, University in Essex, UK.

1999 Wolfson College, Univerza v Oxfordu; Center for Socio-Legal Studies, participation in a project "Policy and regulatory responses to the use of electronic communication technologies by transnational communities in Europe".

2001-2005 International research network EU COST A20 "Impacts of the Internet on the mass media" 2012 Research visitor School of Information, University in Berkeley, USA.

d) Participation in international conferences:

1998 CATaC'98 Cultural Attitudes Towards Technology and Communication, London, 1.-4. August, Drury College, ZDA.

2000 "New Media - New Politics", december, Oxford Brookes University; with the title Electronic Democracy and New Spaces of Political Actions.

2001 "E-Networks: Arenas for Democratic Engagement?", september, Piran, with the title Dialogue and representation: The normalization of cyberspace or a new transformation of public sphere?.

2002 COST A20 The Impact of the Internet on the Mass Media in Europe, Nicosia: 27-28 March 2002, with the title *The interactivity of Slovenian on-line newspapers*.

"New media new politics?", 20th - 22nd June 2002, Tromso, Norway, with the title *Slovenian online newspapers in the electronic public sphere*.

"Electronic networks and democracy", 9-12 October 2002, Nijmegen: EURICOM, with the title *New spaces for political action*.

2003 "Towards new media paradigm", 27.-28. June 20, Pamplona, with the title *Aspects of cybertextuality: interactivity and hypertextuality of online media.*

2005 50th Years of Communication research, November, Amsterdam, with the title *The interpersonal culture of chat-room generation*.

2006 "Alternative media", 13-15. October, Ljubljana, co-authoring *Contribution of new media to dialectics between publics and counterpublics*.

2009 European on-line journalism: a tension between the "old" and the "new" media profession. ESA, Lisboa: ISCTE-IUL.

2010 | propose to the government: an e-participatory attempt towards deliberative governance? Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai Cluj, Romania, 25-27 July 2010

2011 From opinion expression to deliberation: a critical analysis of the I propose to the government deliberative e-tool. Ljubljana: Slovensko politološko društvo

To live together separately?: diverse roles of computer technology in Slovenian households: paper presented at *The 61st Annual ICA Conference, Boston, 26 - 30 May.*

2012 New class boundaries between media audiences? Class, cultural consumption and media culture in Slovenia: ECREA 2012, 4th European Communication Conference, 24-27 Oct., Istanbul

The biases of the internet and power constraints for online audiences: paper presented at *the 30th EURICOM Communication & Culture Colloquium, Piran, November 16-17.*

2015 Training citizens in populist participatory digital culture? *CEECOM*, *Zagreb*, *June 12-14*. Digital citizenship as multiple political participation?: predictors of digital political participation in Slovenia: presentation at the IPSA's RC 10, RC 22 and RC 34 Conference, Rovinj, 2 - 3 October What kind of participatory digital culture and for whom?: political institutions and young citizens in Slovenia: presentation at the Communication and Democracy ECREA Conference, 9 - 10 October, *Copenhagen*

Membership in professional and scientific associations

2008- member of professional board in the Institute for e-participation

2000- member of Slovenian communication association

2009- member of Slovenian sociological association

2009- member of ECREA

2011- member of ICA



Številka: 024-167/2014 Datum Ljubljana, 23 12 2014

Na podlagi Zakona o visokem šolstvu (Ur. I. RS št. 67/1993 in spremembe dopolnitve ter popravki, v nadaljevanju ZViS). 47. in 211. člena Statuta Univerze v Ljubljani z dne 21.12.2004 (Ur. I. RS št. 8/2005 in spremembe, dopolnitve ter popravki). Meril za volitve v nazíve visokošolskih učiteljev znanstvenih delavcev ter sodelavcev Univerze v Ljubljani z dne 25 10 2011 (in spremembi z dne 24 4 2012 in 21 10 2014) ter na podlagi sklepa 13 seje Senata Univerze v Ljubljani z dne 23 12 2014 izdajam

ODLOČBO O IZVOLITVI V NAZIV REDNA PROFESORICA

izr prof dr Tanja Oblak Črnič, univ dipl. soc. rojena 15.12.1973, je izvoljena v naziv redna profesorica za področje komunikologija, za neomejeno dobo

Obrazložitev

izr prof dr. Tanja Oblak Čmič, univ. dipl. soc., je dne 22.11.2013 vložila vlogo za izvolitev v naziv redna profesorica za področje komunikologija. Vlogi je priložila bio- in bibliografske

Dr. Tanja Oblak Črnič je zaposlena na Fakulteti za družbene vede Univerze v Ljubljani, od leta 2008 kot izredna profesorica za področje komunikologije. Doktorirala je leta 2001 na Fakulteti za družbene vede Univerze v Ljubljani. Gostovala je na University of California, Berkley (ZDA). Poročevalci: dva s Fakultete za družbene vede Univerze v Ljubljani ter eden z University of Helsinki, Helsinki (Finska).

Znanstveno delo in bibliografija (142 točk). 41 bibliografskih enot, v mednarodnih revijah in monografijah je samostojno ali v soavtorstvu objavila 17 del, ki jim stroka priznava mednarodno relevantnost. V slovenski in mednarodni znanstveni javnosti velja za priznano raziskovalko na področju komunikologije.

Pedagoško delo (40 točk), mentorica ali somentorica pri 71 diplomah, 3 magisterijih, mentorica pri enem doktoratu.

Pravní pouk: Skladno z 59. člepem ZViS se lahko zoper odločbo, izdano v postopku za izvolitev v naziv, sproži upravnj spor v 30 dneh od prejema odločbe.

> prof. dr. Ivan Svetlik rektor

Odločbo prejmejo

1 prof. dr. Tanja Oblak Črnič, Linharlova cesta 1, 1000 Ljubljana (vročitev po ZUP).

3. Arhiy UL.

po pooblastilušt, 008-1/2015 prof.dr. Martin Čepič, protektor

.. элог гафски подаци

Име, средње сто	
Име, средње слово, презиме. <u>Дубравк.</u> Датум рођења: <u>24.10.1952</u>	Валик и
=1.10.1952 .	сто и приме
1.1 Професиона	осто и држава рођења: <u>Сарајево, БиХ</u>

II.1 Професионална оријентација:

наставно-научна област: <u>Културолошке науке и комуникологија</u> ужа научна област; Новинарство

Сажетак биографије

др Дубравка Валић Недељковић, редовна професорица Одсека за медијске пр дуоравка разин педельковин, редовна професорица одсека за медијене студије Филозофског факултета универзитета у Новом Саду (основне и мастер студије). Предаје и на мастер и докторским Родним студијама на АЦИМС. Универзитета у Новом Саду, (предмете из групе Медији и род). Области истраживања: критичка анализа медијског дискурса, медији и маргинализоване групе са фокусом на жене и националне мањине медији и мултикултурализам. медијска етика. медијска регулатива, истраживачко новинарство, медији и телевизија, медијски жанрови. Објавила је више од стотину радова у домаћим и међународним публикацијама од тога три у часописима Indexed by: Thomson ISI Web of Science, и поглавље у међународном тематском зборнику у издању престижног међународног издавача Palgrave/MacMillan. Учествовала на многобројним научним и стручним окуповима у иностранству и земљи (120). Објавила осам стручних и научних књига и монографија. Руководила пелесетак међународних и домаћих стручних и научних пројеката.

Пре ангажмана радила на Универзитету у Новом Салу, као новинарка и уредница у Радио Новом Саду тридесет година. Добитница је многих новинарских награда за информативни рацио-програм и радио-репортажу. II.2 Кретање у професионалном раду:

установа, факултет, универзитет или фир. 1. Радио Нови Сал	3 - 3.5
	*Maldibe same
2. Филозофски факултет у Новом Саду	14.02.2005 НОВИНИО
3. Филозофски факултет у Новом Саду	од 14.05.2005 до Уредница 16.11.2009
SAN CARY	од 6.1.2009. до Ванрелия 6.1.201.1
	професорка

	Филозофски факултет у Новом Саду		
5.	Факултет политичких наука Универзитет Црна Гора Подгорица	од 6.11. 2014. Академска	Редовиа професори
6.	Banja Luka College De C	2009/2010	Гостујућа
-	Banja Luka College, Републиак Српска, БиХ Интернационални запис	2012/2013. и 2013/2014.	Професорица Гостујућа
8. 1	Интернационални универзитет у Трвнику, БиХ Факултет политичких наука Универзитет Црна Гора	Академска 2013/2014.	професорица Гостујућа
	пецијализације и стулијски с	Академска 2016/2017.	професорица Гостујућа професорица

11.3 Специјализације и студијски боравци у инострантсву (у трајању дужем од две недеље):

The Chelcan Cat	вву ну трајању дужем
School of Languages	
	TOPTON D
Усавршавање ауп-	Іондон, Велика Британија
Усавршавање енглеског језика	место и држава
врста (шиъ) боравка	1975-1976. (осам
2. Сапталь п	месеци)
2. Central European University (CEU)	период боранка
Simversity (CEU)	
	импешта, Мађарска
Diversity Curriculum Training	
raming	место и држина
врста (циль) боравка	2002. (октобар)
3. Данска школа новинарства	(OKTOOSD)
пола новинарства	периоз боранке
Vorgania	TO IT
тренинг за израду планова и програма за медијске студије врста (циљ) боравка	ус, Данска
програма за програма за	место и аржава
врста (циль) бораза	Lawren
	(criphi)
11.4 Докторске стулије (за кандидате који су докторирали по закону ко година пријаве: 1000	пернод боргака
попушна ступніе /го	
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урарали по закону ко	Oju je Bawko za 2000-
година пријаве: 1992	v
1992.	
универзитет: У	
универзитет: Универзитет у Новом Саду	
студијски програм: Српски језик и лингвистика звање*: доктор лингвисти	
зари. Српски језик и лингриски	100 CONT.
звање: доктор лингвистика	
звање": доктор лингвистичких наука	
наслов завршног рада": Пре	
11рагматичке особине уутого	
наслов завршног рада: Прагматичке особине интервјуа остварених на	pačini

II.5 Магистарске студије

година уписа:	977. Голин	на завршетка:			
универзитет: Унив факултет: Фак	ienarm.	и завршетка: 1	988.		
факултет: Факулте	орзитет у Београд	У			
студијски програм:	Мостичких нау	sas			
студијски програм: звање: магистар пол научна област	итипине комуниь	сације и публици	Стика		
научна област: Нова	/Unn				
наслов завршног по-	mupc180				
наслов завршног рад когишини развиј	а: Фили као средс	тво комуникациј	е: граматика ф		
			тика филм	ског језика и	
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·					

11.6 Основне студије

година уписа: 1971			
универзитет: <u>Универзи</u> факултет: Филогоф	година завршетка;	1975.	
факултет: Филозофски	пет у Новом Саду		
студијски програм: <u>Јуж</u> звање: професор јуж	факултет		-
звање: професор јужно	дословенских језика и књижевн		
	и книжевн	ости	
1.7 Знача			-

II.7 Знање светских језика (унети ДА или НЕ као оцену)

говори
да

Ш 1. НАУЧНО-ИСТРАЖИВАЧКИ РАЛ

Valic Nedeljkovic, Dubravka; Geler, Zoltan; Bala, Karlo (2016). New Learning Environment Model for Theoretical Lectures. eLearning and Software for Education. (12th International Conference) Vol 2. Buchaest: National Defence University 'Carol I'. pp. 374-379. DOI: 10.12753/2066-026X-16-125. ISSN: 2066-026X (Indexed by: Thomson ISI Web of Science).

Valić Nedeljković, Dubravka (2014). **Debates as a distance-learning tool**. The 10th International Scientific Conference eLearning and software for Education Vol 4, Bucharest: Defence University Carol I Impact factor 10.12753/ UDK 2066-026X-14-

309 ISSN:2343-7669, ISSN-L 2066-026X, Volumen 4. Impact Factor:0.556 Ranking:48/72 in Communication | 5-Year Impact Factor:1.021 Source:2012 Journal Citation Reports® (Thomson Reuters, 2013)

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- А. Признања, награде и одликовања за научни рад:
- 1. Добитница две највише покрајинске награде за новинарску репортажу (1973. и 1989) и чланица тима који је два пута добио прву награду на Фестивалу матичних

југословенских радио-станица у Охриду у категорији информативно-политичких

- 2. Учествовала са репортажама по позиву (1991. и 1992) на међународном конкурсу научноистраживачког рада. новинарско остварење
- 3. Добитница прве награде (1993) на јавном конкурсу Идејно региење за новоуспостављени Други програм Радио Новог Сада.

В. Чланство у научним и стручним организацијама:

- 1. Чланица Етичког комитета Независног друштва новинара Војводине
- 2. Чланица Етичког комитета Клиничког центра Војводине, од 2004. до
- 3. Чланица Steering committee, Global Investigative Journalism Network, од

111.1 а Упбеници

аутори: Дубравка Валић Недељковић наслов: Практикум новинарства

издавач: Привредни преглед, Београд

ISBN: 86-315-0214-6

аутори: Дубравка Валић Недељковић

наслов: Практикум новинарства. друго допуњено издање

издавач: Привредни преглед. Београд

ISBN: 86-315-0258-8

Аутори: група аутора уредник Давор Марко

Наслов: Новинарски приручник: промицање медијске одговорности у мултикултуралним друштвима

Издавач: Медиа План институт, Сарајево, Босна и Херцеговина

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III.2 б Друга дидактичка средства

аутори: група аутора, уредница Дубравка Валић Недељковић

наслов: Практикум ТВ новинарства издавач: Новосадска новинарска школа

врста публикације: интерактивни CDR (моделиран као видео-игра)

111. З в Учешће и руковођење научним и другим пројектима

назив пројекта: Верски медији на простору БиХ, Хрватске и Србије финансиран (од кога): Pax Christi Nederland

врста пројекта: истраживачки

период: 2002-2004

руководилац: Дубравка Валић Недељковић

назив пројекта: Место и значај медијских студија за међурегионалну сарадњу финансиран (од кога): Извршно веће Војводине, секретаријат за науку, InterRegio

врста пројекта: истраживачки период: 2005-2009 и 2010-2012

руководилац; проф. др Вера Васић, проф. др Корнелија Фараго

назив пројекта: Трансформација Радио-телевизије Нови Сад у јавни сервис

финансиран (од кога): Извршно веће АП Војводине, секретаријат за информације

период: 2006-2009

руководилац: Дубравка Валић Недељковић

назив пројекта: Слобода изражавања у медијима Војводине у 2007. години финансиран (од кога): Омбудсман Војводине

врста пројекта: истраживачки

период: 2007-2008

руководилац: Дубравка Валић Недељковић

назив пројекта: Дигиталне медијске технологије и друштвено-образовне

финансиран (од кога): министарство просвете, науке и технолошког развоја Републике врста пројекта: истраживачки

период: 2010-2017

руководилац: руководилац целог пројекта проф.др. Милица Андевски, ван. проф. др Дубравка Валић Недељковић руководилан потпројекта "Технолошки и медиолошки аспекти дигитализације телевизијског програма"

назив пројекта: Media Discourse of Poverty and Social Exclusion

финансиран (од кога): Regional Research Promotion Programme Western Balkan/Swiss Agency for development and Cooperation SDC and Universitats Friburgensis

период: 2010-2011 први и од 2011-2012 други циклус

руководилац: Дубравка Валић Недељковић

назив пројекта: Europe, Here and There: Analysis of Europeanization discourse in the

финансиран (од кога): Regional Research Promotion Programme Western Balkan/Swiss

Agency for development and Cooperation SDC and Universitats Friburgensis период: 2012-2013

руководилац: Дубравка Валић Недељковић

назив пројекта: Успостављање дијалога између заједнице истраживача и доносилаца одлука ради унапређења квалитета истраживања у друштвеним

финансиран (од кога): Regional Research Promotion Programme Western Balkan/Swiss Agency for development and Cooperation SDC and Universitats Friburgensis врста пројекта: истраживачки период: 2012-2013

руководилац: Економски институт у Београду

назив пројекта: Minority and media in Western Balkan: regional comparative research project on quality of minority media content

финансиран (од кога): Regional Research Promotion Programme Western Balkan/Swiss Agency for development and Cooperation SDC and Universitats Friburgensis врста пројекта: истраживачки период: 2012-2013

руководилац: МедиаПлан Институт, Сарајево, Босна и Херцеговина

назив пројекта: South East Media Observatory (Медијска обсерваторија: јачање интегритета медија у земљама Западног Балкана)

финансиран (од кога): Европске комисије, ИПА пројекти врста пројекта: истраживачки

периол: 2012-2016

руководилац: Мировни институт, Љубљана, Словенија. Дубравка Валић Недељковић. шефица истраживачког тима за Србију

назив пројекта: Јавни медијски сервиси у служби јавности

финансиран: Фондација за отворено друштво, Србија врста пројекта: истраживачки

период: 2016

руководилац: Дубравка Валић Недељковић

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У НОВОМ САДУ Др Зораня Винјића 1 21000 Нови Сал Република Србија



UNIVERSITY OF NOVI SAD

Dr. Zorana Đinđića I. 21000 Novi Sad Republic of Serbia

Телефон / Phone: +381 21:485 2000, 485 2020 | Факс / Fax: +381 21 450 418 | E-mail: rektorat@uns.ac.rs | http://www.uns.ac.rs

Број: 04-29/33 Нови Сад, 29. октобар 2014. године



На основу члана 48 став 3 тачка б и члана 65 Закона о високом образовању ("Службени гласник РС" бр. 76/05, 100/07-аутентично тумачење, 97/08, 44/10, 93/12, 89/13), члана 73 тачка 5 и члана 136 тачка 9 Статута Универзитета у Новом Саду (Савет Универзитета, 28.12.2010, године, 23.03.2012. године, 11.10.2012. године, 26.02.2013. године, 15.11.2013. године и 30.05.2014. године) и члана 8 став 1 и 2 Правилника о начину и поступку стицања звања и заснивања радног односа наставника Универзитета у Новом Саду (Сенат Универзитета, 23.01.2006, године и 27.12.2013. године), Сенат Универзитета у Новом Саду на седници одржаној 29. октобра одлуку

о избору др Дубравке Валић-Недељковић у звање редовног професора на Филозофском факултету Универзитета у Новом Саду, за ужу научну област Новинарство.

Образложење

Након спроведеног поступка у складу са Законом о високом образовању, Статутом универзитета и Правилником о начину и поступку стицања звања и заснивања радног односа наставника Универзитета у Новом Саду, Сенат Универзитета је размотрио и прикватио Одлуку о утврђивању предлога за избор у звање и заснивање радног односа Изборног већа Филозофског факултета у Новом Саду од 03.10.2014. године и Закључка Стручног већа за хуманистичке науке и уметност од 23.10.2014. године и донео Одлуку као у диспозитиву.



Prof. dr Sonja Tomović-Šundić

Rođena je 28.05.1964. godine u Beranama. Školske 1982/83. godine upisala je Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, smjer za filozofiju. Postdiplomske studije na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu upisala 1987. godine i završila 1990. godine, a magistarski rad pod nazivom "Aristotelovo učenje o tragediji i njegov kasniji uticaj" odbranila u junu 1990. Doktorsku disertaciju pod nazivom "Produktivna moć recepcije u savremenim teorijama" odbranila 12.01.1999. na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu.

Iz oblasti antropologije, filozofije, estetike ima jedanaest stručnih knjiga i brojne tekstove objavljene u različitim naučnim publikacijama. Objavila je veliki broj članaka i priloga, učestvovala na brojnim domaćim i međunarodnim kongresima, simpozijumima i seminarima.

Stalni radni odnos zasnovala na Filozofskom fakultetu u Nikšiću 1989. godine. Za asistenta na Odsjeku za filozofiju i sociologiju Univerziteta Crne Gore izabrana 11.04.1996. godine.

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Bila je dekan je Fakulteta političkih nauka u Podgorici od 2010. do 2013. godine.

Stručna djelatnost

- Član autorskog tima i rukovodilac projekta "Problem vrijednosti" u okviru naučno-istraživačkog projekta "Crna Gora u XX stoljeću u eri kompetetivnosti", CANU, 2009.
- Član odbora za pozorište i film, CANU
- Član odbora za filozofiju i sociologiju, CANU
- Član grupe za izradu etičkog kodeksa lokalnih službenika/ca, projekat OEBS-a, Savjeta Evrope
- Član Senata Univerziteta Crne Gore (2010-2013)
- Član komisije za dodjelu Trinaestojulske nagrade Republike Crne Gore (2008/09)
- Predsjednik komisije za dodjelu Devetnaestodecembarske nagrade Opštine Podgorica, (2008/09)
- Član Upravnog odbora Nansen dijalog centra i organizator škole dijalog-tolerancija (2008/09)
- Pozivno predavanje "Danilo Kiš, život i literatura" u organizaciji ZAMTES-a, Kulturni centar, Pariz, 2009.

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УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ ЦРНЕ ГОРЕ

Ул. Цетињска бр. 2 П. фах 99 81000 ПОДГОРИЦА ЦРНА ГОРА Телефон: (020) 414-255

Факс: (020) 414-230 E-mail: rektor@ac.me



UNIVERSITY OF MONTENEGRO

Ul. Cetinjska br. 2 P.O. BOX 99 81 000 PODGORICA MONTENEGRO

Phone: (+382) 20 414-255 Fax: (+382) 20 414-230 E-mail: rektor@ac.me

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Na osnovu člana 75 stav 2 Zakona o visokom obrazovanju (Sl.list RCG br. 60/03) i člana 18 Statuta Univerziteta Crne Gore, Senat Univerziteta Crne Gore, na sjednici održanoj 24.06.2010. godine, donio je

O D L U K U O IZBORU U ZVANJE

Dr SONJA TOMOVIĆ bira se u akademsko zvanje redovni profesor Univerziteta Crne Gore za predmete: Politička antropologija, Estetika, Filozofija i Studije roda, na Fakultetu političkih nauka.

REKTOR of dr Predrag Miranović

21.04.100e

Izjava o autorstvu Potpisana: <u>Jovana Davidović</u>

Broj indeksa/upisa: 1/18

Izjavljujem

da je doktorska disertacija pod naslovom

- "Patrijarhalna uvjerenja i medijsko portretisanje rodnih odnosa na primjeru selektivnog abortusa u Crnoj Gor?"
- rezultat sopstvenog istraživačkog rada,
- da predložena disertacija ni u cjelini ni u djelovima nije bila predložena za dobijanje bilo koje diplome prema studijskim programima drugih ustanova visokog obrazovanja,
- da su rezultati korektno navedeni, i
- da nijesam povrijedila autorska i druga prava intelektualne svojine koja pripadaju trećim licima.

U Podgorici.

Potpis doktoranda

Hovana Davids