

TRENDS OF CONTEMPORARY CRIME: ETHNOCRIMINOLOGICAL APPROACH AND INTERPRETATION OF GENDER DIFFERENCES, SOCIAL CLASS AND MIGRATION

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ABSTRACT

Purpose: The aim of this paper is to point out the importance of the ethnocriminological interpretation of crime in relation to these characteristics. In the division of criminology into phenomenology and etiology, general and clinical, ethnocriminology is a part of general criminology because the scope of its study includes the characteristics of ethnicity, that is, the characteristics of certain marginalized social groups, by race, gender, certain religious characteristics and the influence of these characteristics on the occurrence of crime, as well as the ways of social reaction to these phenomena according to the ethnic characteristics of the perpetrator or victim.

Design/Methods/Approach: The main methods that will be used in the paper are description, historical method and analytical method in the theoretical observation of phenomena, in a cause-and-effect sense, related to the ethnocriminological concept, as well as in the analysis of individual cases of media reporting in which elements of the ethnocriminological or ethnovictimological approach can be observed.

Findings: As early as the 19th century, the term criminal saturation was used in anthropological theory, and in the synthetic concept of modern criminology, it is possible to single out a series of phenomena that are described and directly related to race and ethnicity and crime, which also includes explanations related to interactionism and labeling, as well as parts of critical criminology in relation to the crime of marginalized social groups.

Originality/Value: The ethnocriminological approach, in a cognitive and methodological sense, indicates that when it comes to issues of ethnicity in criminology, it is noted that in older sources this concept is most often linked to a critical attitude towards discrimination expressed in relation to certain ethnic groups and their characteristics and in terms of criminal etiology, i.e. a direct causal connection with certain types of crime. It is noticeable that attention is drawn in detail to the position of minority groups, critically reviewing various forms of discrimination committed against them. It links "ethno features" to ethnic minorities, and before that it writes about segregation, as well as minority groups in relation to race, ethnicity, religion. Criticism of ethnocentrism is a mandatory way of noticing certain ethnological characteristics of the population, potential perpetrators or victims of crime in order to prevent and combat crime. Rigidity of attitudes is ethnocentrism, and the concentric circles of knowledge about customs, with their rules, with their trappings do not represent their abolition, but rather an understanding and introduction of modern forms of combating crime while respecting diversity.

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Movements of migrants in the first quarter of the 21st century represent an additional reason for drawing attention to ethno-criminology. In the literature, it is possible to find a connection between ethnocriminology and the criminology of colonialism. In particular, the questions of epistemology and research methodology were critically observed because this would achieve a critique of the social and historical denial of colonialism and racism.

Keywords: ethnocriminology; method; victimology; gender; class; racism.

About the author

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INTRODUCTION

In the hitherto unsolved dilemma about the question what will prevail in humans - destruction or creation, a large number of gloomy topics arise that have not answered the question, which would be based at least on a firm belief in one or the other ultimate solution. There is almost no question of social life, with the hope of completion, as there is an ideological grounding in an individual or a group, around what is right and what is wrong. The wide encompassing expanse of human actions without interruption expands the scientific field of criminology in whose research, which is based on the observation of illegal behavior, it is not always possible to give answers, but it is always possible to ask questions - why something happened (Kostić, Simović & Obradović, 2019). In writings on scientifically based research, it is not a common practice to be able to read clearly and boldly expressed views, which are sometimes described as: "Science and blissful ignorance" (Radovanović, 2021). In different essayistic approaches to some topics, contemporary intellectuals in Serbia, such as S. Crnobrnja, attract attention with their works on various current topics. Thus, writing about ethnocide, Crnobrnja raises the issue of the destruction of the culture of racial minorities, and emphasizes that "ethnocide represents the systematic destruction of a way of life and opinions different from those of the one who carries out that destruction" (Crnobrnja, 2024: 56). In this context, it is necessary to re-examine the issues of the ethno-criminological and ethno-victimological approach to crime and the victim, only as a part of the interactionist approach to the study of delinquency, and to re-state the criticism of the ethnocentric observation of social phenomena.

Therefore, being carried away by the daily events of the turbulent world should influence some knowledge from the field of well-defined science, criminology, to return to the original thinking. Thoughts on criminality, from the oldest sources until today, have not been just in legal terms, more exactly, not only in the criminal law point of view. In public discourse, crime and criminals are represented heterogeneously, indefinitely, sensationalistically and inaccurately. Experts of various other sciences, psychologists, biologists, doctors, anthropologists, sociologists, who used the knowledge of their sciences and scientific disciplines as a source for the interpretation of various facts that stood out by



observing the criminal phenomenon, or the criminal himself (Kostić, 2011: 265), first began to deal with criminological issues.

Criminological literature, whether textbook or monographic, contains an immense number of articles that primarily depend on the target group for which they are intended - students and their mentors in research work, or as specially researched topics that at some point in time occupied the attention of criminologists in their observation of the studied phenomenon, and then were forgotten. Because there is a lot of new normality to write about, and in fact, classical knowledge forms the basis of everything.

Questions related to ethno-criminology, that is, the ethno-criminological concept of the criminal phenomenon and its causality, represent the basic theme of this work, with reference to the criticism of ethnocentrism. In the methodological sense, a description of the theoretical observation of certain phenomena will be applied, in a cause-and-effect sense, related to the ethnocriminological concept, along with the method of analysis of individual cases of media reporting in which elements of the ethnocriminological or ethnovictimological approach to gender differences, belonging to social class and migration of the population can be observed. As pilot research on this subject matter, this paper aims to set the initial structural framework for future research on this phenomenon by providing a comprehensive coverage and analysis of the available research sample. The research was structurally organized in two parts: 1) theoretical research, and 2) qualitative research and analysis of the content of selected texts.

The author first presents the theoretical framework of the research, including the results of some previous research on this subject matter, and clearly defines the research sample and the motive for the research. A special motivation arose from the author's intention to draw attention to the methodological procedure of studying delinquent behavior, or unacceptable behavior in the positivist sense, which is clearly described in the Anglo-Saxon literature on criminology, and is called ethnomethodology. In the domestic literature, the observation is more limited to distinguishing the distribution of crime according to the principle of ethnicity, such as the village and the city or the ecology of crime in urban areas. With the ethnocriminological approach, attention is paid to race, sex, gender and migration movements of the population. Public attention, with media portrayal of marginalized social groups (Димовски, Костић & Милић, 2016), or, in the last twenty years, with the insistence that the public's attention be drawn to domestic violence, but less often with reference to the application of the clinical method in observing this phenomenon (Dimovski & Kostić, 2016). Thus, the influence of the ethnocriminological approach on crime and to the process of victimogenesis, then the success or failure of social control can be observed through three correlated systems: 1) theoretical content; 2) consequences of media coverage about ethnology, victims of crime, gender approach and migrations as key words of our observation (KWO); and 3) small public interest about the subject.

ETHNO-CRIMINOLOGY APPROACH IN CRIMINOLOGY

Numerous questions related to the basic premises of criminology as an independent science, such as subjects, methods, ideological starting points of criminologists when interpreting the empirical results of research, at first glance represent standard topics that belong to the starting points of criminological literature. Dealing with criminology, like any other social science or scientific discipline, implies a clear, precise determination of the subject and goal of theoretical and empirical research, as well as the application of adequate methodological procedures, in order to gain knowledge of the subject being studied. Various questions, from the fields of: sociology, criminology, penology, victimology, as well as the answers to them, are covered by some of the leading ideas of the intellectual tradition in the West, or in the East, primarily about the nature of scientific knowledge and the ways to reach it. Similarly, the thought that "for criminology there is no absolute knowledge - theoretical or empirical,



they constantly overlap, go from one level to another, so that criminology is a theoretical-empirical science” (Avanesov, 1981: 39-43).

Criminology deserves its status as an independent, theoretical-empirical, social and interdisciplinary science with its independent subject and methods applied in research, regardless of whether it is viewed in its pluralistic or synthetic basis. However, just as several scientific, related disciplines deal with the same object of research, a certain phenomenon in the external world, so also several of them use the same methods in the study of that phenomenon. Therefore, in science, the question arises of a clear demarcation of two separate, independent sciences, which have the same subject and research method. As emphasized by Ž. Horvatić (1981), viewed from orthodox positions, it could be demanded that only “a special subject and specific methods are conditions for the formation of a special scientific discipline” (Horvatić, 1981: 22). Illustratively, the words of Packer should be singled out: “Concepts are allowed to collide and mix. Boundaries are erased between documentary and fiction, ecology and economy, individual and community, food and living beings, oysters and people, past, present and future... like recursive waves that return to brief encounters with subjects, and each re-examination reveals new possibilities” (Lakić, 2024).

Often, perhaps most often, the carefully avoided questions of the relationship of one discipline with another, that is, the relationship of criminology with related sciences and scientific disciplines, in fact, return to the foreground the beginning of the separation of criminological thought, as separate, independent, that is, its first definition as Garofalo did. In his book *Criminology*, Garofalo writes in the preface to the English edition of the book in 1913: “From the earliest days of my legal studies, the question began to arise in my mind: how does a lawmaker arrive at an accurate knowledge of the type and amount of punishment that is suitable to be imposed for various forms of crime. With what meaning does the lawmaker/judge impose a sentence of five years’ imprisonment in a penitentiary in one case for theft, and in another case, for example, is a three-year sentence in a medium-security facility sufficient?” (Garofalo, 1968: XIX).

In his definition of natural crime, Garofalo does not mention ethnology, nor ethnicity, unless people on the entire surface of the planet Earth are viewed ethnocentrically in relation to the rest of the living world. He does not link the concept of natural crime to ethnicity, but to the entire human race as a whole, so “the word natural is given in the meaning of what is not conventional, but in the sense of what exists in human society independently of the circumstances and needs of a given era or the special attitudes of legislators” (Garofalo, 1968: 4). Garofalo actually refers to the understanding of what is considered a crime in all developmental periods of human society and in all parts of the world. He cites murder as an example (Garofalo, 1968: 5). It seems that these thoughts, independently of ethno-criminology, can be determined in a similar way in the literature of a recent date that deals with the concept of modern law. If the work of the criminal court is observed, for example in the present, as well as in the past, the following questions can be distinguished: the position of the court in relation to known facts, the role of the court, the role of the court in obtaining information in relation to the facts and the question of what facts this information contains, in relation to the type of facts for a specific case (Žbikovska, 2019: 151), but again in the context of the prevailing understanding of an illegal phenomenon (the views of professionals in the field of criminal justice on domestic violence twenty years ago and five years and today).

Lombroso, whose students were Garofalo and Ferri, in his study on the causes and treatment of crime, writes about emigration and immigration as the causes of crime, subsuming these phenomena under the concept of population density (Lombroso, 1968: 63-64). He uses Ferri’s term “criminal saturation” when he mentions immigrants and foreigners in Italy and their participation in increasing the volume



of blood offenses that, according to their cultural patterns, are carried out out of duty or even from their belief in having the right to kill (Lombroso, 1968: 63-64).

In the synthetic concept of criminology, it is possible to single out a number of phenomena that are described and directly related to race and ethnicity. It is interesting how modern criminological literature clearly emphasizes this. For example, Reid (Reid, 2003:116) through the general index of terms with the words race and ethnicity, lists as many as thirty-eight related terms. Some of them are expected, such as: child abuse and police brutality, while others draw more attention to the reader because at first glance they are not connected to the ethnic element, such as: selection of jurors, fear of crime, disparity in the criminal justice system, etc.

In the further search in the Anglo-Saxon criminological literature on issues of ethnicity in criminology, it is noted that in older sources this term is most often associated with a critical attitude towards discrimination expressed in relation to certain ethnic groups and their characteristics and in terms of criminal etiology, that is, a direct causal connection with certain types of crime. Clinard (Clinard, 1963: 635) draws attention in detail to the position of minority groups, critically referring to various forms of discrimination against them. He relates ethnic characteristics to ethnic minorities, and before that he writes about segregation, as well as minority groups in relation to race, ethnicity, and religion. At the same time, it describes individual cases of their discriminatory position in society and explains the origin of most immigrants in the USA, starting from the end of the 19th century. Similarly, but related to the conditions in penal correctional institutions, it is also found in the book by Scott and Flynn (Scott, Flynn, 2014: 142), written in the first fifth of the 21st century, where they write: "Incarceration, surveillance and immigration policies must be understood within the context of racism at the state level", while emphasizing that the roots of racism in the United Kingdom are deeply rooted in the history of the Prison Service, in which in the 1970s 20th century was dominated by members of racist organizations, such as the National Front (Scott, Flynn, 2014: 142). In the sociology of American prisons, the words of Wacquant are striking, who writes: "the predatory culture of the street... entered and reshaped the social structure and culture of prisons and correctional institutions, which, in the reverse direction, transformed the urban areas of the "Black Belt" to which the majority of ex-African-American convicts return after leaving the institutions (Wacquant, 2001: 110).

Here we should also mention the works that in their subtext specifically consider the issues of ethno-criminology in the context of colonialism and the ethno-racist approach to delinquency, as well as penological issues. The author Kitossa even uses the term colonialist criminology, and draws attention first of all to a series of issues related to the ethno-racist approach to delinquency in Canada, calling on universities to introduce issues of ethno-criminology and criticism of ethnocentrism into criminological topics. She even states that criminology in Canada has a *white face* (Kitossa, 2012: 219).

In domestic literature, it is interesting to draw attention to articles about media reporting on violence against women, with the connotation of articles in print and electronic media on the topics of discrimination based on personal characteristics, such as: gender, race, disability, poverty, old age, belonging to sexual minorities (Mršević, 2019). Although the texts on violence against women do not distinguish the notion of an ethnographic approach to this study, it is enough to notice other terms that may point to it: brutalization of the audience, social invisibility, marginalized social groups, penological populism, gender discrimination, gender stereotypes, gender identities. The concept of an impervious system stands out, which the author brings into the context of belonging to a certain social group with such strong patriarchal notions that it turns a female victim into a killer of a torturer, and then into a suicide. That patriarchal ideology of a narrow social group, an ethno-group, imposes an impervious system of behavior "which is so resistant to change that it leads rather to the loss of one's own life than



to questioning the further applicability and justification of that anachronistic ideology in modern reality” (Mršević, 2019: 125).

THE METHOD THAT DETERMINES THE DIRECTION

Criminology, understood in a synthetic or pluralist sense (Konstantinović Vilić, Nikolić Ristanović & Kostić, 2012: 25), is a scientific study of crime/criminality, especially in the part that relates to the causes that influence the occurrence of criminal behavior. Authors such as Schram and Tibbets (Schram & Tibbets, 2021: 3) use the word “scientific” which distinguishes their definition of criminology from definitions based on different perspectives and research on crime. The philosophical and legalistic observation of criminality is based on logical and deductive reasoning, the development of what makes logical sense, as the authors explain. It is interesting that they also highlight the work of journalists, who, according to them, have a key role in investigating crimes by investigating events in criminal justice and exposing injustice, as well as new forms of crime (green crime, ex. author). However, the philosophical, legalistic or normative perspective of crime, according to Schram and Tibbets, does not provide justification for the scientific understanding of criminology, because they do not use appropriate scientific methods in their observation of crime (Schram & Tibbets, 2021: 3).

The dilemma, formulated by the question, what is more significant in terms of obtaining scientific results, the application of qualitative or quantitative research into the criminal phenomenon, almost overcomes the need for clarification and presentation of a valid argumentation, precisely because it depends not on such a dilemma, but on what is set as the subject of criminological research, and at what level (macro or micro) the criminal phenomenon is observed. The path to knowledge is important, both for criminology, as an independent science, and for the practice of criminal justice. The value, suitability and necessity of using a qualitative method are open to debate. Because of their own unique contributions - the depth of understanding of the phenomenon, as the primary goal - that can be provided by applying qualitative methods, there is a debate among criminologists about how often these methods can be used, and if research is conducted according to those rules, how and in what way it can contribute to the creation of criminological knowledge and the practice of criminal justice. Due to the diversity in data acquisition, the way data is collected and analyzed, and how the data and data analysis shed light on the research subject, the findings obtained through qualitative research are “much more informative, richer and offer increased understanding, compared to those obtained through quantitative research” (Tewksbury, 2009: 38). In the criminological literature, it is emphasized that qualitative research is directed towards the essence of a criminological phenomenon, its peculiarities, determining the characteristics of: events, people, interactions, cultural settings and experiences. Also, Berg, as one of the leading proponents of qualitative research in criminology, explains: “Quality refers to what phenomenon, where, when and how it happened - to its essence and its environment. Therefore, qualitative research refers to meaning, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols and descriptions of things” (Berg, 2007: 3). Qualitative research achieves a true understanding of the social aspect of how crime occurs and how the state structure and processes, related to it, react to the committed crime, in a culturally based context. However, the results of criminological research, in which qualitative methods were applied, are very rarely published. According to data from 2005, for example, less than 11% of scientific articles in criminology, published in high-ranking journals in the field of criminology and criminal law, contain research results obtained by applying qualitative methods, while less than 15% were published in lower-ranking journals (Tewksbury, 2009: 40).



In the qualitative research of criminological/sociological phenomena, the field of ethnography occupies an important place. Ethnography is the process of describing the culture or way of life of a people. The meaning is that each person is a reflection of his culture and that all gestures, symbols, songs, statements of one person, as a member of that culture, have an implicit meaning for all other people who belong to that nation. Ethnographic approach involves observing and keeping notes, for example, about the observed phenomenon, or a group of people, or the displayed customs and rituals. In doing so, the researcher should follow some instructions, such as: write everything down immediately and do not discuss anything before writing it down; the rules and sequence of events should be followed carefully, as well as how long each sequence lasts; the perceived should be separated from one's own feelings or thoughts. Ethnography was developed by anthropologists, the most famous being Bronislaw Malinowski (Bronisław Kasper Malinowski, 1884-1942) at the beginning of the 20th century. He presented his model of participatory observation in the book *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* in 1922 (Karanović, 1979). But at the same time, members of the Chicago School also adopted the ethnographic method, as a way of observing phenomena in cities, since they were pioneers in the field of urban sociology. Since then, ethnography has been one of the basic methods of sociological research. The aim of the ethnographer is to develop a rich understanding of how and why people think, behave and communicate as they do in a given community or organization (field of study), and most importantly, to understand these things from the point of view of those studied (known as the "emic perspective" or "insider point of view"). Thus, the goal of ethnography is not only to develop an understanding of practices and interactions, but also their meaning for the population under study. Importantly, the ethnographer also works to situate what they find in a historical and local context and to identify connections between their findings and the larger social forces and structures of society (Crossman, 2019).

In modern textbook literature on criminology, the application of the ethnographic method is primarily related to participant observation as the best procedure for studying groups of people who encounter less understanding in society (Hagan & Daigle, 2020: 47), or, we can call them marginalized. The main advantage of the participant observation method is in the strategy of understanding the object of observation, where there is less opportunity to influence the naturalness of the occurrence of the phenomenon, because it is observed in its natural environment. Such an ethnographic approach provides observation of culture (Hagan & Daigle, 2020: 47). It is interesting that some criminologists call this method "first-hand observation", or as "field observation" where social behavior is systematically observed through ethnographic and social interactions in different families (Dillon, 2020: 275). In doing so, Dillon subsumes these explanations under symbolic interactionism and ethnographic research (Dillon, 2020: 275). Similarly, Barkan emphasizes that field studies or ethnography are qualitative methods that have taken root in many, as he emphasizes, classic criminological studies (Barkan, 2012: 17). Barkan especially points out that the most famous studies in the USA in which ethnography is applied are those on four categories of residents: on urban African Americans; on women living on city streets; on Chicago gang leaders and on male homosexual sex in public toilets (Barkan, 2012: 17). To this can be added theoretical and empirical research on convict gangs in Serbia, for example (Dimitrovski & Kostić, 2018).

These explanations of the ethnocriminological observation of delinquency/victimization correspond to the author's intentions to draw attention to classical criminological qualitative research, whose principles of field studies are more than necessary today for reasons of interaction and observation of circumstances in local communities.



PUBLIC DISCOURSE ON ETHNOLOGY, VICTIMS OF CRIME, GENDER APPROACH AND MIGRATIONS IN MEDIA REPORTING

Criminal behavior and crime in general have always been the subject matter of public interest. Reading crime reports in newspapers is driven by mere curiosity, and aimed at satisfying the readers' interest in the perpetrators of criminal offenses, their *modus operandi* and the ultimate punishment. Such accounts may generate different feelings: sympathy with victims, pleasure, frustration, anger, indifference, helplessness, etc. However, we may assume that media reports on crime are primarily aimed at raising awareness and making people think about the social phenomenon and initiate socially justified action.

The consumption of mass media content is most frequently associated with the consumption of entertainment content. For this reason, sociological literature emphasizes their "marginal" importance in people's lives, which can also be used as a form of mass manipulation because it is evident that mass communications are part of daily social activities. As noted by Giddens, "media such as newspapers or television have a strong influence on our perceptions and the creation of public opinion in general" (Giddens, 2005: 454). On the other hand, racial and ethnic stereotypes in media coverage of crime, the criminal and the victim continue to represent important themes in modern criminological literature. (Barkan, 2012: 33).

Hence, there is a need in domestic scientific and professional public to research how media reporting affects the creation of public opinion on certain social phenomena, such as: juvenile delinquency, refugees, human trafficking, domestic violence, violence at sports events, respect for human rights, ethnology, victims of crime, gender approach and migrations etc. The research would include the collection of data on the way of reporting in electronic media about ethnology, victims of crime, gender approach and migrations, as key words of our observation (KWO); since 2006 until today. In 2025 two important laws were passed in Serbia: Law on Public Information and Media (Zakon o javnom informisanju i medijima, "Sl. glasnik RS", 92/2023, 51/2025), as well as Law on Electronic Media (Zakon o elektronskim medijima Sl. glasnik RS", 92/2023, 51/2025).

The research included the collection of data from newspaper reports published by the daily newspaper *Politika* on the experiences of and about KWO. The Serbian daily newspaper *Politika* is an irreplaceable historical source of knowledge about the history and culture of the people in the Balkans. Thus, it is impossible to conduct research on media reporting on various social phenomena without referring to newspaper articles published in *Politika* as a source of archival material.

The research takes place at the time (and a little after the time) of some significant but diametrically different events. The first one is important in terms of national culture. On 25 January 2024, the daily newspaper *Politika* marked its 120th Anniversary since the publication of the first issue of *Politika* in 1904. Relying on the history, importance and influence of the daily newspaper *Politika* (Trklja 2024), the research focuses on the newspaper articles published in online form. For the purposes of this research, we used the *Politika* online archives dating back to 2 July 2006.

This approach to research was rooted in the experience of the previous research conducted: the one, during 2007-2014, for the monograph *Juvenile delinquency in light of newspaper reports in the daily newspaper Politika 1904-1941* (Kostić, Dimovski, Mirić, 2015); the other one, during 2021-2022, as the chapter: „Mapping Women's Role in the History of Wars in the Former Yugoslavia, as Depicted in the Daily Newspaper *Politika*”, (Kostić, M., 2023, p. 1-31), in the monograph: *The handbook on female criminality in the former Yugoslav countries* (Stanojoska, Dimovski, Maksimova, edt, 2023), and the last one: *Representation of Transnational Crime Victims and Their Legal Protection in the Serbian Media: Public Awareness or Indifference* (Kostić 2025, p. 107-118).



Qualitative research and analysis of the content of selected texts

What was included in the research was the analysis and the collection of data in newspaper reports published in the daily newspaper *Politika* about ethnology, victims of crime, gender approach and migrations, as key words of our observation (KWO). The research sample included the archived numbers of the daily newspaper *Politika*, which are available via the *Politika* online portal since 2 July 2006.

The following basic objectives of the work were set:

- to gain basic knowledge about the way of reporting in the written and electronic media in Serbia about ethnology, victims of crime, gender approach and migrations, as key words of our observation (KWO), and, more precisely, from the year 2006 when the *Politika* online portal has started until nowadays. (the *Politika* online portal, July 2, 2006);
- to determine to what extent the forms of socially negative behavior exhibited by the victims influenced/influences the manner of reporting on them.

The basic hypothesis, which will be verified by the research, is: the professional public has shown little interest in the way of reporting in written and electronic media about ethnology, victims of crime, gender approach and migrations as key words of our observation (KWO).

The method of content analysis of newspaper articles on the way of reporting in electronic media in Serbia on the experiences of ethnology, victims of crime, gender approach and migrations as key words of our observation (KWO) since 2006, when the *Politika* online portal was established on 2 July 2006) will be applied.

The analysis of the content of selected texts included collecting data on the manner of reporting in electronic editions of the daily *Politika*, on ethnology, victims of crime, gender approach and migrations as key words of our observation (KWO). The following basic goals of the work have been set:

- to gain basic knowledge about the manner of reporting on ethnology, victims of crime, gender approach and migrations as key words of our observation (KWO);
- to determine which of these subjects are most often represented in the observed period;
- to determine the extent to which forms of socially negative behavior by and against victims of ethnological approach to someone, victims of crime, gender approach and migrations (KWO) influenced the way of reporting on them.

The material was first collected by keywords and years, by searching the online archive of *Politika*, and then, using the method of analyzing the content of articles, available data were collected on how journalists report on the experiences of ethnology, victims of crime, gender approach and migrations as key words of our observation (KWO) in our region. The orientation sample was made by searching the articles using keywords: ethnology, victims of crime, gender approach and migrations as key words of our observation (KWO). After collecting the basic research sample, the researcher analyzed and sorted out the selected newspaper articles into content areas by using the content analysis method. Then, the collected data on the experiences of the phenomena as ethnology, victims of crime, gender approach and migrations as key words of our observation (KWO) were thematically organized into several content-specific subtopics.

The spatial and temporal boundaries of the research were determined on the basis of the availability of newspaper reports on the research subject matter via the online portal *Politika*,² as well as the objective need to collect and present material directly related to the scope of the research task set within the framework of the article.

2 Given the fact that the *Politika* online archives date back to 2nd July 2006, this date was chosen as the starting point of online research. (See: *Politika* online, <https://www.politika.rs/sr/clanci/arhiva>).



Research results and discussion: Content Analysis of selected newspaper articles

This part of the paper presents the research results, including an overview of the selected newspaper articles from the daily newspaper *Politika* on the phenomena of ethnology, victims of crime, gender approach and migrations as key words of our observation (KWO). The collected data were thematically organized into several content-specific subtopics, which will be presented here with reference to specific newspaper articles. Each narrative account will be followed by a brief discussion on the way of media reporting and interpretation of events.

There must be a beginning to every story, including the story about ethnology in mass media. It is interesting to note that only 33 hits appeared with the keyword ethnology. All those articles are of different content and with different current topics, then from 2006 until now, with topics from culture, about exhibitions, films, sociological and philosophical or daily political discussions. But the combination of keywords with the word ethnology and the words: victim/s, gender and gender and migration/e did not give any hits.

Out of 33 hits, with keyword “ethnology” in the titles, in the *Politika* Archive, the oldest one was from 26, October 2006. The term “planetary hysteria” was used to explain the phenomenon of SMS messages as a new form of folklore communication: “Telephone messages are present in all languages of the world and they all have the same content. The same patterns, topics, methods of processing, linguistic means... This planetary phenomenon is obviously related to the merging of modern technologies and the human need to it symbolizes, aestheticizes everyday communication, human relations, rules of behavior” (Masniković, 2006).

After almost two decades later, in folklore communication, in looking at the ethnological and ethnic connotation of real actions, phenomena, we find an article in *Politika* entitled: “Why did the boy kill the lambs” (Đorđević, 2024). In an article under this title, the daily newspaper *Politika* also writes the following: “The higher public prosecutor’s office in Pančevo is acting on the incident in Markovac near Vršac, where a 13-year-old boy killed 12 lambs with an ax on Monday at 5:30 p.m. The case was reported by the injured party, P. T. (52) from Markovac, when he informed the police that he found 12 killed lambs in his barn in Markovac, reported to the Higher Public Prosecutor’s office in Pančevo. The police, as added in the statement, conducted an investigation, suspected that the lambs were killed by a boy born in 2010 with an ax that was taken from him. Since, as the prosecution further states, it was about a person who had not reached the age of 14 and was not criminally responsible, the prosecution ordered the police to submit a report on the incident, to inform the Center for Social Work in Vršac about the child’s behavior so that the institution could take measures within its jurisdiction. The child was not reported to the Higher Public Prosecutor’s Office in Pančevo before the aforementioned event because of committed crimes and misdemeanors, the Higher Prosecutor’s Office added” (Đorđević, 2024).

The use of the term ‘folklore contents’ in articles about research conducted by modern, young anthropologists and their achievements (Masniković, 2006) is certainly not new. The wild anthropological thought is attributed to Lévi-Strauss the Jew, who was absorbed in fieldwork in the countries of South America and was seized by “ethnology as a rebellion against Durkheim, who was not a man of the field, a man of expeditions, while I discovered ethnology through the English and Americans”. In this article in *Politika* from 2008, the following words are also mentioned: “The Sad Tropics is a masterpiece of anthropological writing, which became an anthropological bestseller: an intellectual autobiography, a travelogue and a philosophical reflection on travel, an ethnographic study and a philosophical-reformist treatise (homage to Rousseau and themes of the “noble savage”). The second level of the text consists of scientific ethnographic research in the field, and the third level contains traces of Lévi-



Strauss' later theoretical work in the form of an elaborate distinction between "hot", "mobile", "thermodynamic" societies and "cold", "static", "mechanical" societies" (Velimirović & Gorunović, 2008).

Apart from these newspaper articles about phenomena that individually have an ethnological resonance, we single out a few more with convincing examples of criminological/victimological understanding of behavior that can be brought into direct connection with the ethnographic approach in the victimogenesis of minority groups and hatred towards them.

In 2012, seventy years have passed since the murder of the painter Sava Šumanović. On the occasion of that event, *Politika* writes: "It has been 70 years since the brutal murder of Sava Šumanović, one of the most prominent Serbian and Yugoslav painters of the 20th century. In Sremska Mitrovica, on the night between August 29 and 30, in the area next to the old Orthodox cemetery, around 150 innocent men, women and children from Šid, among them the forty-year-old painter, were martyred." The author of the article, in addition to the original documentation about Sava's arrest, also states the following: "Sava's mother did everything to free her son, offered her captivity in exchange for his freedom, wrote to many addresses, but nothing helped. Marija Demšhar, a Slovenian internee, who spent the war in their house, recorded direct testimonies about the last days and arrest of the artist, as well as the grief of Persida's mother. She brought the warmest memories of the family that accepted her in harsh times, and her diary and letters were translated into the book "Ethnology in Letters and Pictures" (Krstić-Faj, 2012).

Some thoughts expressed long ago about the usefulness of crime from the aspect of social development, as emphasized by Durkheim in his concept of distinguishing between normal and pathological social phenomena, even emphasize that crime is a normal social phenomenon, which is a factor of social health (Konstantinović Vilić, Nikolić Ristanović & Kostić, 2012: 293). The questioning of the understanding that every evil has its good is also within the ethnographic observation of social phenomena and events, especially those where the victims are singled out because of their belonging to race, gender, and religious belief. Speaking in an interview given to *Politika* in 2016, B. Jovanović, one of our most famous anthropologists, touched on the topic of committing evil, on an ethnic basis, during the Second World War, but when asked about the benefits for a society that can have evil, such as normality (criminality), Jovanović declares: "There can be some benefit from individual, small evils. But proverbs exaggerate some truths to the point of inadmissibility, because if evil cancels the very assumptions of life, then from the victim's point of view, one cannot talk about no good that such evil brings. Perhaps a negative historical experience, such as genocide, can be a preventive against repetition, but such a positive effect of evil also assumes a huge price, which obscures any thought of the possibility of being labeled as something good" (Radisavljević, 2016).

However, in *Politika*, among those 33 selected texts for the keyword ethnology, an article about the views of the French philosopher Jean Baudrillard, written about by Z. Andrić, was noticed. In his article in *Politika*, this author quotes Baudrillard's words from 2001, which, in relation to Durkheim's view on the usefulness of evil, presents an even more radical position: "Metaphor gives way to the metastasis of repeating the same thing. Disaster does not mean death and end, but rampant and uncontrolled growth; the end of the dialectical arena between force and counterforce is certain; "evil" can no longer be defeated. "Systems regulate themselves through collapses, viruses, AIDS, cancer, terrorism" (Andrić, 2007).

The image of folk religion and spirituality is included in the dictionary of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the creation of which began in 1959 and is still ongoing (Ristić, 2016). And this text was among those containing the word ethnology. It explains that the excessive volume of the Dictionary is necessary because the wealth of culture and religion in our country is enormous. However, researchers will focus their attention on a specific research subject, so the volume of material will remain unnoticed in the selection of what is required. The author Ristić only points out an example of the

explanation of the word bliss, so she writes that “for example, the word “bliss” should be interpreted as “the feeling of greatest pleasure” and not as “feeling like in paradise” or the like. “regardless of the fact that the word most likely once referred to the idea of a state in paradise”, whereby “the church lexicon in the corpus of the Dictionary is confirmed by domestic or translated sources from other fields: fiction, philosophy, ethnological-ethnographic, dictionaries, encyclopedias, textbooks and collections of words from folk speeches” (Ristić, 2016). It would be interesting to explore what the dictionary contains in the explanations of evil that occurs in the form of illicit behavior. With the intention of “bliss” this segment of the work was completed because it points to countless questions of the application of the ethnographic method in the study of delinquency. It is necessary to use this method to study the hypothesis of a devil woman or an evil woman as to a delinquent woman who carries within her the basic discrimination of women in the retributive justice system. Given that the number of female criminals is so small compared to male criminals, it seems even more terrible (Barkan 2012: 231). Therefore, there is a dilemma. If the dictionary contains such explanations, it should be investigated.

CONCLUSION

As early as the 19th century, the term criminal saturation was used in anthropological theory, and in the synthetic concept of modern criminology, it is possible to single out a series of phenomena that are described and directly related to race and ethnicity and crime, which also includes explanations related to interactionism and labeling, as well as parts of critical criminology in relation to the crime of marginalized social groups (Kostić & Mirić, 2016).

One paradox stands out in the criminological literature. The contemporary focus on communities has emerged at a historical moment in which the decline in the relevance of communities as a source of strong connectedness among its members is empirically observed. In most of the political rhetoric, aimed at the prevention of crime within the community, there is a frequent expression of ‘slippage’ between the community, the meaning of which has long been lost from the community as the point around which modern democratic institutions are built. The ideals of a community - reciprocity, intimacy and trust - seem to have an inappropriate connotation in today’s understanding of individuality, freedom and mobility. Accordingly, community-based initiatives sometimes tend to hold unrealistic expectations about what a community can do to reduce crime. Crime prevention literature even highlights the danger of communities becoming a party around which individuals and groups can be mobilized to take greater responsibility for their own well-being and safety. This abdication of responsibility by the state has implications for where the cost of providing security should lie in the same measure as the blame for failure. With the development of the market for security and with increasing funding for additional security patrols in communities, there is concern that some communities will have to do even better in how they shoulder the burden, while others may be criticized for their inability to prevent crime.

Focusing on communities bearing the burden of prevention raises a much more important question: to what extent are complementary aspects of community and society of the same rational range of management or differentiation and potential level of management competence? The justice of one community does not mean social justice. Certain solutions within the community tend to be particular and local, with little regard for the external and wider social environment. Well-defended local communities may have the purpose of dislocating crime to less well-defended residential areas. Or, as some criminologists claim, “the safety of one community can be at the expense of another.” Therefore, it would be desirable that security as a public good is not transformed into a local or exclusive good. Therefore, community



security is much less of a misnomer if it offers a space for political and ethical collective security, which together is much more than an individual security initiative (Костић, 2019: 132-133).

The ethno criminological approach, in a cognitive and methodological sense, indicates that when it comes to issues of ethnicity in criminology, it is noted that in older sources this concept is most often linked to a critical attitude towards discrimination expressed in relation to certain ethnic groups and their characteristics and in terms of criminal etiology, i.e. a direct causal connection with certain types of crime. It is noticeable that attention is drawn in detail to the position of minority groups, critically reviewing various forms of discrimination committed against them. It links ethno features to ethnic minorities, and before that it writes about segregation, as well as minority groups in relation to race, ethnicity, religion. A special status in this should be the study of aging and ethnography, i.e. the status of the elderly and society's attitude towards them, in terms of age discrimination and social visibility (Dimovski & Kostić, 2019). Criticism of ethnocentrism is a mandatory way of noticing certain ethnological characteristics of the population, potential perpetrators or victims of crime in order to prevent and combat crime. Rigidity of attitudes is ethnocentrism, and the concentric circles of knowledge about customs, with their rules, with their trappings do not represent their abolition, but rather an understanding and introduction of modern forms of combating crime while respecting diversity. Movements of migrants in the first quarter of the 21st century represent an additional reason for drawing attention to ethno-criminology. In the literature, it is possible to find a connection between ethnocriminology and the criminology of colonialism. In particular, the questions of epistemology and research methodology were critically observed because this would achieve a critique of the social and historical denial of colonialism and racism.

In the reviewed articles from *Politika*, a relatively small number of articles appeared on the keyword ethnography. Apart from careful reading and trying to distinguish ethnology while linking this term with delinquency (evil) and studying marginalized social groups as well as minority groups, it was not an easy task. However, the mentioned writings, as examples of good practice, demarcate phenomena and concepts, point to old acquired knowledge that must be renewed. The media, printed and electronic, and especially those that have the status of respectable, like *Politika*, must be interested in it more. The articles that have been singled out as representative for research purposes have two content groups. Some come from interviews with experts and/or descriptions of their contributions to ethnography. Others are based on real events that are commented by experts or a journalist describes the phenomenon.

The articles reporting on the jubilee celebrations of scientific institutions in our country are also significant. One of the oldest institutes at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts is the Ethnographic Institute, which celebrated seventy-five years of existence in 2022: "The key task that the academy then set before the new research unit was to "organize a systematic and planned study of settlements and the origin of the population, folk life, customs, beliefs and folklore in our country and among our peoples". At the end of the first quarter of the 21st century, the Institute's collaborators also deal with topics about new information technologies (among other things, folklore communication), environmental challenges and global migrations. In that *Politika* article, the conclusion made at the Institute's anniversary celebration is emphasized that anthropology must "interfere more" in society and play a more significant role in the process of making public policies (Pejović, 2022). Speaking at the Ceremonial Academy on the occasion of a significant jubilee, it was pointed out that ethnologists and anthropologists alike dwell in the past and in the present worlds: "Foreseeing the future, they know that cultures are continuums and that all events and changes have their beginnings somewhere and somewhere. The past is actually a road that forks towards different directions of the future" (Pejović, 2022).



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