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Persuasive-Communication and Manipulative-Communication Concepts in Television Programme of the Reality TV Genre

ABSTRACT

The study explores determinants of the nature of communication concepts. A communication concept is a communication access which is used by communicators to reach their goal. In text a communication concept is realised by communication tools. There are three types of communication tools: persuasive techniques, arguments and stereotypes. Communication tools are the main determinants of a communication concept's nature. A communication concept can be persuasive-communication and manipulative-communication. The nature of communication concept as whole is determined by the position of its components on an axis between persuasion and manipulation. The aim of this study is to characterize and theoretically determine components of communication concepts in reality TV programmes of reality TV in Slovakia.

KEY WORDS

Communication concept. Communication tools. Persuasion. Manipulation. Reality TV.

1. Introduction

Television is an everyday companion for many people. It provides not only information about the world, but also a regular dose of entertainment. The entertainment is usually offered by a television series or television shows. Various reality television shows are often very popular as well. The reality television show is observed as a global phenomenon. It has been appearing on TV in various forms throughout the world up to the present time. The study focuses on the language and speech analysis of Slovak television programmes, specifically on the reality television genre. It analyses several episodes of five Slovak reality TV programmes – *112 (112)*, *Sladký život (The Sweet Life)*, *Zámena manželiek (Wife Swap)*, *Farma (The Farm)* and *V siedmom nebi (Seventh Heaven)*. These five television programmes represent five different genre forms of reality TV produced by Slovak television. As the goal of the analysis is to define the particulars of language and speech patterns utilized by Slovak television producers to attract viewers, it can improve the understanding of the Slovak media market and therefore raise awareness of the most widely used strategies. Based on the findings, researchers and viewers can then form their own critical analysis of these media products. The study deals with the determinants of the nature of the communication concept in reality television shows.

2. Reality television as a media genre

Reality television is a global phenomenon that appeared on the Slovak media market relatively late in comparison to other European countries. There are two possible definitions of the term “reality TV”. It can be either reduced to one specific television genre or it can be perceived as a more complex phenomenon of the television development process. By the concept of reality television we understand: relatively undemanding programmes in terms of production with no professional actors, either with or without a script, which display people in real situations with at least a partial aim of entertaining. Programmes like *Big Brother*, *Vyvolení (The Chosen Ones)*, *Zámena manželiek (Wife Swap)*, *Farma (The Farm)*, *112 (The 112)*, *Love Island*, *Hotel Paradise (Paradise Hotel)*, *V siedmom nebi (Seventh Heaven)*, etc. can be classified as reality television.

P. Mikuláš distinguishes four genres of reality television – reality magazine, docu-soap, reality game show, and reality series. This study also acknowledges a fifth genre form – charity TV show. *112 (The 112)* can be classified as a reality magazine, *Sladký život (The Sweet Life)* as a docu-soap, and *Farma (The Farm)* as a reality game show. The programme *Zámena manželiek (Wife Swap)* represents a reality series. *V siedmom nebi (Seventh Heaven)* is a distinctive representative of charity TV shows. All reality television genres are expected to provide audiences with the possibility of watching people in extraordinary situations. Reality television is a hybrid genre of a factual-fictional nature.¹ J. Rusnák claims that reality television is often a personification of crossing the borders between a public space and a personal space.² E. Moravčíková also writes about losing the sense of what is public and what is intimate. She points out the increasing popularity of programmes that emphasize misery, mock the imperfections of others, or have a sexual undercurrent.³ In reality television emotional information often dominates the factual aspects.⁴

¹ MIKULÁŠ, P.: *Reality TV*. Bratislava : Vydavateľstvo IRIS, 2011, p. 66.

² RUSNÁK, J.: "Let's go Pravda." Hry na realitu v súčasných elektronických médiách. In MAGÁL, S., MISTRÍK, M. (eds.): *Masmediálna komunikácia v interdisciplinárnom výskume*. Trnava : FMK UCM v Trnave, 2006, p. 54.

³ MORAVČÍKOVÁ, E.: *Vybrané megatrendy v súčasnej mediálnej zábave*. Nitra : Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre, 2013, p. 56 – 57.

⁴ RUSNÁK, J.: *Homo popularis: homomedialis? Popkultúra v elektronických médiách*. Prešov : Filozofická fakulta Prešovskej univerzity v Prešove, 2013, p. 212 – 213.

Reality television genres

A reality magazine genre can be described as a periodically broadcast programme of a journalistic nature. It presents real-life situations and has real-life footage. Typical examples are the programmes *112 (The 112)*, *The Cops*, *Ambulance*. The reality captured in a reality magazine is entirely independent of the medium's existence. The medium does not actively interfere in the programme and plays no part in creating extraordinary, often life-threatening situations, i.e. the medium does not provide any special conditions or give instructions or provides stimuli to the protagonists. The display of serious accidents and rescue missions has the aim of shocking the audience. The reality magazine directly displays reality. P. Mikuláš writes about a direct factual reality reference which is, like every media product, framed into the required media stencils, i.e. 'the law will always prevail', even though its absolute validity does not match the reality. The reality portrayed in reality magazines does not correspond with the reality we live in. The construction of this medial reality is determined by the selection of extraordinary events and in terms of the institutions involved. These focus on displaying the negative aspects of social affairs such as crime, traffic accidents, criminal activities related to drugs, prostitution, and etc. There are two opposites – 'the good' represented by professional rescuers, police officers, and fire fighters, and 'the evil' represented by people living on the fringes of society. These are often portrayed as criminals, drug addicts, or other outlaws. The programme *112 (The 112)* depicts a dramatization of the eternal conflict between good and evil.

The characteristic feature of the docu-soap genre is the exhibition of authentic people in their own, familiar environment, which may be related to localities, institutions, or hobbies. The name of the genre is made up of two words: *docu* – document and *soap* – soap-opera. It is a hybrid of two traditional television genres – a document and a TV series. The documentary part of the genre is represented by the recording of protagonists' everyday lives and just like documentaries, the docu-soap also represents the social reality of the protagonists. The serial nature of the docu-soap refers to a TV series. This genre is primarily focused on the characters of participants, the story line is secondary. In contradistinction to a reality magazine, the docu-soap concentrates on an everyday routine that usually does not include extraordinary situations. The docu-soap genre is defined as a melodrama with real people in real situations instead of actors. It does not produce fictional stories, but rather focuses on real, everyday life. It is the melodrama of everyday life. The tone of the docu-soap genre varies from slightly amusing to lightly informative. Programmes such as *Nora a Braňo (Nora & Braňo)*, *Sladký život (The Sweet Life)*, and *Keeping Up with The Kardashians* belong in the docu-soap genre.

The reality game show can be marked as the most famous and popular genre. It includes programmes such as *Vyvolení (The Chosen Ones)*, *Farma (The Farm)*, *Big Brother*, and *Love Island*. P. Mikuláš sees this genre as a commercially entertaining programming with the possibility of winning the largest amount of prize money in TV history. The reality game show genre includes controversial formats that have caused serious discussions not only about reality television, but about television as such. The primary nature of the genre is competitiveness and it is exposed not only through the knowledge of the contestants, but also through their skills. There is a purpose behind the selection of contestants – they are mostly extroverts, people from a sexual or religious minority, people with different opinions, etc. The contestants often represent various social stereotypes emphasised by their matching nicknames.

The fourth genre is the reality series, e. g. *Zámena manželiek (Wife Swap)*. This genre depicts reality based on the reactions of participants to artificially induced stimuli that create imbalanced situations. The participants are real people usually in a natural, real environment confronted with experimental conditions. *Zámena manželiek (Wife Swap)* is focused on the observation of different social groups, lifestyles, etc. It surveys the coexisting attempts of diametrically different people. It frequently includes very different families, thus ensuring a multitude of conflicts. The conflicts arise from the deliberate pairing of families in every episode. The families have to be as different as possible, e.g. ethnically, religiously, socially divergent, etc. The medium plays an active role in pairing. The only characters displayed in the programme are real, ordinary people in the real homes of the swapped families. The reality series has an episodic nature – there is a new pair of families in each episode.⁵

⁵ MIKULÁŠ, P.: *Reality TV*. Bratislava : Vydavateľstvo, Iris, 2011, p. 72-117.

Programmes such as *Modré z neba* (*The Moon for You*), *Sladký život* (*The Sweet Life*), *V siedmom nebi* (*Seventh Heaven*), and *Extreme Makeover: Home Edition* are classified as charity TV shows. These shows arise from real situations portraying reality in the way seen by the participants themselves.⁶ The charity TV shows portray ordinary people in difficult life situations. They often face social, financial, health, or lifestyle issues and somebody has decided to help them by means of the programme. This type of reality television in Slovakia is closely connected to host Viliam Rozboril. In the first place, charity TV shows and host Viliam Rozboril are perceived by the audience as a personification of care for people in need. These programmes arise from real situations, i.e. they portray reality in the way it is seen by the participants themselves. They portray the grave stories of people facing major social, financial, health, or lifestyle issues, or people who have survived extreme situations (tragic traffic accidents, diseases, difficult life stories, etc.).

3. Communication concept as a research subject

A communication concept is a communication approach used by the communicator to attain their goal by means of communication tools (persuasive techniques, arguments, and stereotypes).⁷ The communicators are the television show creators, whose goal is to gain and maintain the visual and auditory attention of the audience, thus meeting the economic target of the media communication creators.⁸ Furthermore, the media communication creators are trying to reach desired viewer ratings. There are two types of communication concepts based on the way individual television shows try to meet their targets: persuasive communication and manipulative communication. Persuasive-communication concepts have a persuasive nature while manipulative-communication concepts have manipulative natures.

The nature of the communication concept is determined by the communication tools implemented in the text via language and media tools. Language and media tools are parts of the communication tools.⁹

There are three types of communication tools – persuasive techniques, arguments, and stereotypes. These are functional tools used to achieve the character of utterance and are considered elements of the communication concept as well as its determining unit. They can be marked as a means used by the communicator to reach their goal.

Persuasive technique

Persuasive technique is a specific method used to persuade people¹⁰. The literature offers various concepts and classification of persuasive techniques (e.g. Beck¹¹, Cialdini¹², Edmüller – Wilhelm¹³, Henčeková¹⁴, Shabo¹⁵). When determining the nature of the communication concept, the most significant persuasive techniques are reality-related techniques. There are two types – the persuasive technique of reproducing reality and the persuasive technique of constructing reality. The persuasive technique of reproducing reality has a persuasive nature. The medium does not actively interfere in the creation of

⁶ Remark by the author: In the case of people living in disastrous conditions, the programme shows their environment, e.g. a latrine, no running water, etc. If the people have health issues, the programme focuses on various medical procedures, surgeries, or related photographs.

⁷ ODALOŠ, P.: Teleshoppingová reklama ako manipulačno-komunikačná koncepcia. In AFELTOWICZ, B., PAJEWSKA, E. (eds): *Dyskurzy trzeciego tysiąclecia III*. Szczecin : Uniwersytet Szczeciński, 2016, p. 229.

⁸ McQUAIL, D.: *Úvod do teorie masové komunikace*. Praha : Portál, 2009, p.83.

⁹ GONDEKOVÁ, V.: Manipulativnosť a persuzívnosť v televíznych reláciách reality TV. In ODALOŠ, P. (eds): *Manipulačno-komunikačné a persuzívno-komunikačné koncepcie*. Banská Bystrica : Vydavateľstvo Univerzity Mateja Bela – Belianum, 2017, p. 167.

¹⁰ ODALOŠ, P., ŠEDOVIČOVÁ, S.: Manipulations et persuasion dans les spots publicitaires français et slovaques. In HÖHN, E., POLIAK, P. (eds): *Cudzie jazyky a kultúry v teórii a praxi. Foreign languages and cultures in theory and cultures*. Banská Bystrica : Univerzita Mateja Bela, 2016, p. 48.

¹¹ BECK, G.: *Zakázaná rétorika. 30 manipulatívnych technik*. Praha : GRADA Publishing, 2007, p. 17-24.

¹² CIALDINI, R. B.: *Vplyv. Psychológia presvedčania*. Bratislava : EASTONE BOOKS, 2014, p. 1-13.

¹³ EDMÜLLER, A., WILHELM, T.: *Velká kniha manipulatívnych technik*. Praha : GRADA Publishing, 2011, p. 123-242.

¹⁴ HENČEKOVÁ, E.: *Persuzívne techniky – o jazyku presvedčania*. [online]. [2018-10-24]. Available at: <[¹⁵ SHABO, M. E.: *Techniques of propaganda and persuasion*. Clayton : Prestwick House, 2008, p. 13-61.](https://bit.ly/2Apts9>.</p>
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extraordinary events portrayed by the programme. A montage is used mainly due to objective reasons, e.g. the lack of time.¹⁶ This type of reality-related persuasive technique can be found in the programme 112.

The persuasive technique of constructing reality has a manipulative nature. Through this technique the medium interferes and participates in the creation of extraordinary events portrayed by the programme. The montage is used mainly for the purpose of making the televised material more attractive. The final media product consists only of highly selected material that will attract an audience. It particularly includes conflicts between participants, intimate scenes, etc. Thus the television programme creators come up with a highly edited product, mainly to meet their economic targets. Under certain circumstances, they create a huge number of cuts and a small number of important events. Such a case leads to an intensified editorial presence and makes the final media product more attractive. By using montage and other editing processes, the creators create a medial reality from the television product. The medial reality is not original in comparison to genuine reality and thus can be marked as a secondary concept that should never gain an autonomous status.¹⁷

The media product of reality television shows contains not only reality-related persuasive techniques but also participant-related persuasive techniques. The participant-related persuasive techniques consist of techniques such as plain folks, celebrities, experts, a circle of acquaintances, labelling and beautiful people. Another group of persuasive techniques is directly connected with the way television show creators try to reach their goal. Such techniques are: simple solution, warm & fuzzy, distraction, fear, nostalgia, and populism in parliamentary democracy. Persuasive techniques like humour, repetition, association, and intensity are implemented in reality television shows by means of lexical tools.

Each programme constantly uses only one persuasive technique, namely the reality-related persuasive technique. This technique consequently determines the final shape of the communication concept. Other groups of persuasive techniques as well as individual persuasive techniques can be found in the programmes in diverse manners. Their use is determined by the genre of the individual television shows.

Arguments

Arguments are a communication tool and with persuasive techniques and stereotypes they form the communication concept. There are various types of arguments used in the media. In reality television shows, arguments can be found in the commentaries and in the utterances of participants.

An argument can be defined as a proof given in support of an idea¹⁸ and J. Dolník considers the argument to be a persuasion tool.¹⁹ According to M. Klapetek the basis of an argument is logic and logic together with emotionality constitute the crucial components of persuasion. Emotions, however, cannot be put down on paper. They greatly depend on the recipient and lose their intensity with time.²⁰ The nature of argumentation is to search for causal relations between events and formulate them. Hence it is necessary to distinguish whether the argumentation searches for causal relations or tries to find them and convince the audience of their validity.²¹

The programmes as implementations of individual genres usually contain one dominant type of argument. The type of argument depends on the communication tools used in the programme. Reality-related persuasive techniques significantly contribute to the arguments used.

From the five analysed programmes corresponding to five genres, the programme 112 (*The 112*) is the only one with the domination of ad rem argumentation (*The paramedics use a vacuum mattress for transportation more suitable for manipulation with the afflicted. The ambulance takes the patient to the ICU. The paramedics put the Schantz collar on the man and move him to the stretcher. The extent of injuries will be known after the examination in the hospital.*). The ad rem argumentation or so called factual

¹⁶ MIKULÁŠ, P.: *Television is vertically limited to real, linear time: one broadcasting channel can 'accommodate' no more than 24 hours of a daily broadcast. Television deals with this situation by means of montage. The montage is a partial transformation of the montage used in dramatic performance. Reality TV.* Bratislava : Iris, 2011, p. 59.

¹⁷ MIKULÁŠ, P.: *Realita, mediálna realita a realita reality TV.* In FICHOVÁ, K. (eds.): *(Ko)médiá. Monografia odborných a vedeckých štúdií.* Nitra : Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre, 2007, p. 86 – 88.

¹⁸ BUZÁSSYOVÁ, K. et al.: *Slovník súčasného slovenského jazyka.* Bratislava : Veda, 2006, p. 160.

¹⁹ DOLNÍK, J.: *Všeobecná jazykoveda. Opis a vysvetľovanie jazyka.* Bratislava : Veda, 2013, p. 322.

²⁰ KLAPETEK, M.: *Komunikace, argumentace, rétorika.* Praha : Grada, 2008, p. 101.

²¹ KRAUS, J.: *Jazyk v proměnách komunikačních médií.* Praha : Karolinum, 2008, p. 151.

argumentation is based on undeniable facts.²² The dominant argumentation fully corresponds with the reality-related persuasive technique, which can be found in 112. The factual argumentation is typical for the reality-related persuasive technique.

The dominant argumentation in *Zámena manželiek (Wife Swap)* is the *secundum quid* argumentation (*I don't like that gypsies live there and that my neighbours are gypsies. And that it's so small there. It doesn't look like a house of gypsies because it smells nice. It looks clean. But gypsy neighbours. Oh, God.*). These arguments are valid only under certain circumstances or at a certain moment and are perceived as absolute. This type of argument is also called an argument by generalisation. The dominant argumentation in the programme *Sladký život (The Sweet Life)* is *petitio principii* (*I'm used to eating. My mom taught me so. I know that there are people who don't do that but then they will die somewhat sooner.*). It is a circular argument with the premise whose truth has not been established yet.

The programme *V siedmom nebi (Seventh Heaven)*, which represents the charity TV shows genre, mainly contains emotional argumentation types, such as: *argumentum ad misericordiam* (*I was so sorry when I heard the story about what had happened to Štefan. And I'm so glad I can help him settle the debt with the health insurance company so that he can apply for a transplant to get a new kidney, which will allow him live his life to the fullest and take care of his daughter. I'll be really glad if he accepts it and that'll be a gift to all of us.*), *ad populum* (*Last time I was dressed as a big shot, now it's time to do something. My father and my grandfather taught me that if there's something to do, I've got to roll up my sleeves and not run around dressed up in a suit like a big shot. This time I could go there in my normal clothes, just like I'm usually dressed.*), and *ad auctoritatem* (*As a gift for your anniversary, for your fiftieth birthday I brought you a picture of the Holy Family because many families who are in a difficult situation can thank you. Such an exemplary social work with families is one of the subjects we have in our curriculum of master's degree study. And this family is a shining example. God bless you.*). All three types of arguments have an effect on the emotions of the audience. The argumentations *ad populum* and *ad misericordiam* appeal to sentiment and mercy while the argumentation *ad auctoritatem* has an intimidating nature. An appeal to the emotions of the audience is one of the characteristic features of the charity TV shows genre.

No dominant argumentation can be found in the reality game show *Farma (The Farm)*. The programme contains arguments such as *ad populum*, *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, *proton pseudos*, and *petitio principii*. Here is an example of the argument *ad populum*: *A hostile nature conceals many secrets and pitfalls. It does not favour the weak or spare the strong. The fight for survival can begin.* All types of the mentioned argumentation can be found in the commentaries as well as in the utterances of participants. Individual arguments used in the programme *Farma (The Farm)* have a common feature – the argumentation does not respect the chronological or causal order of arguments based on false or unverified statements.²³

Stereotypes

Stereotypes are usually associated with prejudices. However, there is a big difference between these two terms. Prejudice refers to attitudes and opinions which are only negative in relation to others. Stereotypes may include neutral and positive opinions and attitudes. While studying stereotypes and prejudices it is important to remember that even though a person has a prejudice against a 'different' group they do not necessarily discriminate. Prejudices and stereotypes are ideas, opinions, and attitudes of certain groups of people towards other groups (heterostereotypes) or towards themselves (autostereotypes).²⁴ Both types are passed on from generation to generation and are resistant to change. They are long-lasting, stable, hard to remove, and have an emotional nature.

J. Dolník in *Všeobecná jazykoveda* defines stereotypes as standardised judgments of a certain group on things, on themselves, or on others without corresponding or only partially corresponding to the truth. The observed stereotypes often function as support during the judging process on which the persuasion calculates. Even the value system is asserted by means of stereotypes. It can be said that stereotypes are behind the evaluation of perceived communications.²⁵

²² ŠERKOVIN, J.A.: *Psychologické problémy masových informačných systémov*. Praha : Novinář, 1977, p. 152.

²³ KRAUS, J.: *Jazyk v proměnách komunikačních médií*. Praha : Karolinum, 2008, p. 154 - 156.

²⁴ DARULOVÁ, J., KOŠTIALOVÁ, K.: *Multikultúrnosť a multietnicita*. Banská Bystrica : Univerzita Mateja Bela, Ústav vedy a výskumu, 2010, p. 53.

²⁵ DOLNÍK, J.: *Všeobecná jazykoveda. Opis a vysvetľovanie jazyka*. Bratislava : Veda, 2013, p. 323 -324.

Within reality television shows the stereotype is used during the selection of participants into individual formats. This is the way stereotypes are used in the reality series, e.g. *Zámena manželiek (Wife Swap)*, and reality game show, e.g. *Farma (The Farm)* genres. The programme *Zámena manželiek (Wife Swap)* usually pairs different families – e.g. they differ in the number of children, in social or financial situation, ethnic origin, religion, etc. These differences are the basis for potential conflicts between the swapped wives and their ‘new’ families.

J. Rusnák sees the tendencies of reality television shows to replace celebrities and characters with participating models. The participants lose their uniqueness and due to dramaturgic interventions they gradually gain more universal features, which represent the hero ideas of the audience.²⁶ The contestants often get nicknames based on their appearance, etc. This is a persuasive technique called labelling and it can result in the stereo-typification of participants in such formats. The choice of contestants is one of the reality game shows features. The programme has an entertaining nature, hence the creators choose such contestants whose confrontations will capture the interest of the audience. The selection is thorough with an emphasis on extroverts, people from a sexual or religious minority, and people with different opinions. Reality game shows use the most stereotypes, mainly in the selection of contestants. The goal of these programmes should be a better understanding and a deconstruction of stereotypes.²⁷ However, the stereotypes are often pictured the way they are perceived by Slovak society.

The representation of participants in *112 (The 112)* is a typical case of stereotype confirmation according to public notion. The creators use the conflict between good and evil trope. The good is represented by the members of the integrated rescue system while the evil is represented by people living on the fringes of society, e.g. the homeless, drug addicts, or socially deprived groups. The programme almost always portrays these people as outlaws. It confirms the stereotypes within a society instead of deconstructing them.

The attempts to deconstruct stereotypes can be seen in the programme *Zámena manželiek (Wife Swap)*. The families in each episode are paired based on the vast differences in opinions, values, or financial situation. Matching different families makes the programme more attractive among the audience and at the same time offers the creators room for the deconstruction of social stereotypes. However, they only meet with partial success. The creators manage to deconstruct stereotypes and prejudices against the Roma minority in an episode where a wife from a Roma family in Detva and a wife from a family in Eastern Slovakia are swapped. The success can be deduced from what the participants say, e.g. *I don't like that gypsies live there and that my neighbours are gypsies. And that it's so small there. It doesn't look like a house of gypsies because it smells nice. It looks clean. But the gypsy neighbours. Oh, God. There was fear. I got scared. But after a few days I realized your life is completely different from the life of gypsies.* On the other hand, the programme trivialises and ironically comments on the drinking problem of one of the fathers (*Meanwhile after a neverending day of work Vlado's coming home. Guess what the weather will be like. It looks like swaying with spirit spells. The atmosphere at Víglašský family is more relaxed. Vlado is trying to find out how to open the wine as soon as possible. Next time we suggest using a bottle screw.*). Instead of trying to solve the evident problem of the participant, the commentary exploits the situation to amuse the audience. The stereotype of alcoholism is thus further confirmed.

4. Conclusion

The study described the theoretical definition of the communication concept process in reality television shows and determined the nature of the communication concept as a whole. The communication concept is formed through communication tools (persuasive techniques, arguments, and stereotypes). The major factors that determine whether the communication concept has a persuasive nature (persuasive-communication concept) or a manipulative nature (manipulative-communication concept) are reality-related persuasive techniques, the most represented argument in the media product, and the way of dealing with stereotypes (either a deconstruction or a confirmation of stereotypes).

²⁶ RUSNÁK, J.: Reality show ako karneval postmoderného veku. In *Universitatis : revue Masarykovy univerzity v Brně*, 2006, Vol. 39, No. 3, p. 51.

²⁷ MIKULÁŠ, P.: *Reality TV*. Bratislava : Vydavateľstvo Iris, 2011, p. 100- 107.

The study focused on reality television shows, which were or still are broadcast in Slovakia. The reality television show is a global phenomenon. It has various versions in many countries all around the world. The purchase of the broadcasting licence can be considered a manifestation of globalisation while the creators try to attune the programmes to the audience in the country. Unlike the American programme *The Cops* and the Czech programme *112*, the Slovak version of *112 (The 112)* does not use re-enactments but works with shots from the interventions and sometimes only with the testimonies of eyewitnesses. *Zámena manželiek (Wife Swap)* has a stable structure in all the versions we watched (the Slovak, Czech, American and British versions). The USA also has *Celebrity Wife Swap*, in which well-known women (actresses, singers) are swapped. This negates the characteristic feature of the programme – the portrayal of common, ordinary people²⁸. A specific feature of the Slovak programme *Farma (The Farm)* is a location where the seasons take place. The creators always choose remote places within our country.

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