

Violence against women in Serbian newspapers:

The analysis of the print media reports on violence against women in Serbia [*Kurir, Blic, Vecernje Novosti, Politika, Danas*]

Anja Rakić

Department of Media Studies

Master thesis (30 ECTS)

Media and Communication Studies (120 credits)

Spring Term 2018

Supervisor: Kristina Riegert



Abstract

The problem of violence against women in Serbia is connected with the position that women hold inside of the discourse of family and society in general. Also, the general atmosphere in media implies the lack of media freedom, specific structural organization, and ownership relations in media companies. From this starting point, this paper investigates how different newspapers in Serbia are reporting about violence against women. This study outlines the most common topics and social actors that are represented inside of the articles. The analysis is divided in two parts. A content analysis of the five different newspapers in Serbia (*Kurir*, *Blic*, *Vecernje Novosti*, *Politika* and *Danas*) and critical discourse analysis of the most relevant articles inside of those. Part of the study is devoted to identify how these articles are most commonly framed among the chosen newspapers. Another part of the study looks at the comparison of the newspapers, with special emphasis on the social actors and the way they are represented among the articles. Results showed that newspapers report on violence against women differently when it comes to the category of frame. Most commonly used frame among overall sample is human-interest frame which implies reports connected to the individual cases of violence against women that often generate feelings of outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy, or compassion. The background of the cases is almost in all of the articles used to portray the human-interest perspective. The reports are somewhat similar when it comes to the way how social actors are represented in the articles. For example, in the analyzed articles it is most often that the victims are presented as passive agents. The discourse of guilt around the social actors is often shared between the perpetrator and the victim. According to the latest statistics, eight women were killed during the first 58 days of 2018¹. Thus, practical implication of this study is to potentially point out more and less effective ways for Serbian news media to approach this serious social issue in the future.

Keywords

Framing, newspapers, violence against women, Serbia, representation, domestic violence, patriarchal societies, content analysis, CDA.

¹ One of the strongest and loudest initiatives for fighting violence against women in Serbia is the non-governmental organization Autonomous Women's Centre, founded in 1993. Based on their statistics, the numbers are presented to underline the problem of violence against women in Serbia.

Table of Contents

1.Introduction.....	1
2. Background.....	5
2.1. Brief overview of the newspapers	5
2.2. Socio-cultural context of violence against women	7
3. Theoretical framework and earlier research.....	11
3.1. Community, gender, and violence.....	11
3.2. Violence against women and media	13
3.2.1. Theory of framing	13
3.2.2. Framing the violence, previous research.....	15
3.3. Media context in Serbia	17
3.3.1. Significance of the laws, strategies and media – measures for the prevention of violence against women.....	21
4. Method	23
4.1. Mixed methodology.....	23
4.2. Quantitative content analysis: method & overview of the sample.....	24
4.2.1. Frames as a category in the content analysis:	25
4.3. Critical Discourse Analysis	26
4.4. Limitations for the methods	30
5. Analysis and results	31
5.1. Content analysis.....	31
5.1.1. Frames.....	33
5.1.2. Comparison of newspapers: Kurir, Blic, Vecernje Novosti, Politika, Danas	35
5.1.3. Actors and sources – who tells the story?	39
5.2. Critical Discourse Analysis	42
5.2.1. Morality frame.....	43

5.2.2. Human interest frame:	46
5.2.3. Consequences frame	51
5.2.4. Responsibility frame.....	53
6. Discussion and conclusions	56
6.1. The specifics of reports on violence against women in Serbia	56
6.2. Social agents in the discourse of violence against women in Serbia...	58
6.3. Final discussion	59
6.4. Practical implications and limitations of the research	60
7. References	61
8. Appendix.....	68
8.1. Appendix 1: Code book + instructions.....	68
8.2. Appendix 2: Frames.....	73
8.3. Appendix 3: The list of newspaper articles analyzed from <i>Kurir, Blic, Vecernje novosti, Politika, Danas</i>	75

List of figures

Figure 1: Indicators of risk to media pluralism in Serbia.....	20
Figure 2: Distribution of frames inside of newspaper <i>Blic</i>	28
Figure 3: Distribution of frames inside of the whole sample.....	29
Figure 4: The age of the victims.....	31
Figure 5: Frequency of the articles inside of different newspapers.....	32
Figure 6: Distribution of frames inside of the newspapers <i>Kurir</i>	34
Figure 7: Distribution of human interest frame in the whole sample.....	34
Figure 8: The types of violence against women inside of <i>Kurir</i> , under the human-interest frame.....	34
Figure 9: Different type of violence in different newspapers.....	37
Figure 10: Representation of sources inside of the articles.....	40
Figure 11: Representation of different relationships between victims and perpetrators.....	42
Figure 12: The representation and viewer network (van Leeuwen 2008...)	46

List of tables

Table 1: The frequency and percentage of the frames in the whole sample	33
Table 2: The number of articles under each frame in different newspapers	33
Table 3: The frequency and present of articles in different newspapers.....	35
Table 4: Distribution of articles according to the article type in different newspapers.....	36
Table 5: The types of violence in different newspapers.....	37
Table 6: The frequency and percentage of articles that reveal the identity of the victims.....	39
Table 7: The frequency and percentage of authors of the articles in the whole sample (known author, referred to, unknown).....	39
Table 8: The table with representation of social actors in the articles – who speaks inside of the texts, and how.....	41

1.Introduction

“Violence against women is any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary detention of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.” (United Nations, General Assembly, December, 20, 1993)

From ancient times, women were killed and sacrificed as an act of pleasing the Gods. The World Health Organization estimates that about 1 in 3 (35%) of women worldwide have experienced either physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence in their lifetime². Experiences of women in Serbia do not differ much. Study conducted by Serbian Directorate for Gender Equality determined that, for example, in 2010, 37.5% of women in Serbia were victims in cases of domestic violence. In nearly three-quarters of all cases that include violence against women, the perpetrator was detected as current or ex-husband or partner. Also, it is noted that perpetrators repeated violence more than once in 75% of cases, and more than five times in 50% of cases. It is defined that violence against women includes all acts of physical, sexual, psychological or economic violence that occur within the family, domestic unit or between former or current spouse or partners, whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the victim³. At least 192 women were killed by family members or partners in Serbia between January 1st of 2010 - December 31st 2015. It is important to mention that the government does not track official data on femicides⁴. Gender-based violence presents a specific issue in Serbia due to the deeply rooted patriarchal attitude within society. This further produces an atmosphere in which this kind of violence is defined as a private problem of women [and children] who survived the violence. Because of the increased number of cases of violence against women, the new amendment on Law on Domestic Violence came into force (June 1st 2017.)⁵. What differs from the old version of this Family Violence Act is possibility to ‘*act to prevent the violence*’. For example, this Law defines that if there is a *direct danger* (Article 3, paragraph 2) the police have the right to act, and to apply some of the precautionary measures (such as 48-hour

² <http://www.who.int/en/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-women>

³ Council of Europe convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, Istanbul, 2011.

⁴ https://www.womenngo.org.rs/images/publikacijedp/2017/Implementation_of_Serbia_Domestic_Violence_Legislation.pdf

⁵ https://www.paragraf.rs/propisi/zakon_o_sprecavanju_nasilja_u_porodici.html

detention for perpetrator)⁶. One of the strongest and loudest initiatives for fighting violence against women in Serbia is the non-governmental organization Autonomous Women's Centre, founded in 1993. Based on their statistics, during the first 58 days of 2018., eight women were killed in domestic violence cases (which equals almost one murder per week).

One of the inspirations for this study was found in the publication "*How Can We Fight Against Violence? – The Role of Media*"⁷ by Zorica Mrsevic, which was created within the framework of the project "Integrated Response to Violence over Women and Girls in Serbia II", and it was implemented by UNICEF, UN Women, UNFPA and UNDP, in partnership with the Government of the Republic of Serbia. The project was supported by the Government of Sweden, and it includes analysis of media texts (from Serbian daily newspapers) produced during the year of 2015 and 2016, with special focus on media coverage of violence against women. One of the recommendations of the project's study implies an open call for researching the role of media in the process of reporting violence against women in Serbia today. We are all aware that media holds a significant function in society, and one of their crucial functions is to disseminate information [which has been gathered ethically, objectively, and in a fair manner].

In order to understand the problem of violence against women within Serbian culture, it is necessary to consider position that women have in patriarchal cultures, since the values of patriarchy are still very present in Balkans in general. Patriarchal culture emphasizes attitudes and values that glorify the man, his abilities and the importance that man [as a gender] has. At the same time, it diminishes and often ignores the role and importance of woman in society and family unit. Environments that are considered to be patriarchal are building a solid ground for the development of social issues such as violence against women. Media's ignorance of the social issues can only contribute to the maintenance of gender stereotypes and patriarchal structure within society. Because of that, it is of great importance to research the way how media in Serbia [in this case, print newspapers] represent and frame the problem of violence against women.

The **aim** of this study is to identify how Serbian media, in this case printed editions of five different daily newspapers, are portraying cases of violence against women. In particular, I am going to investigate what are the most common frames that are used to portray cases of violence against women. Also, I will research how newspapers differ between themselves (if they do), and

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ [UNDP SRB Uloga medija.pdf project report](#) accessed 30.03.2018.

which social actors are present in connection to this topic. One of the inspirations for this study, that drew my attention and provoked a lot of media, is the case of murder of Jelena Marjanovic. The crime happened on 2nd April of 2016, when Jelena Marjanovic was found dead [murdered] in the forest near her apartment. Today, we still have reports and news about this case. During the monitoring for this particular research, 15 articles about this case were found in all five of newspapers. During the process of criminal investigation, Jelena's husband was one of the suspects (Zoran Marjanovic). In September of 2017 he became a participant of one reality show that aired on TV channel with national frequency. After two weeks in this reality show, he got arrested. The official announcement was that police had found new evidence of Marjanovic guilt. The case of the murder of Jelena Marjanovic is still open. Experts interested in the topic of violence against women in Serbia are emphasizing this case, in a negative way, as one of the top cases that shows how "media exceed all boundaries of taste during reporting about this case" (Zorica Mrsevic "How Can We Fight Against Violence? – The Role of Media" (March 2018.))⁸.

Research questions

RQ 1 Which frames are most frequently used by different newspapers (*Blic*, *Kurir*, *Vecernje Novosti*, *Politika*, *Danas*) in Serbia to cover the topic of violence against women?

RQ 2 What are the differences (if there are any) in the coverage of violence against women in the chosen newspapers in Serbia?

RQ 3 Who tells the story in the articles that report about violence against women?

RQ 4 How are actors and sources represented in the articles about violence against women?

The **RQs** will be answered with the help of quantitative content analysis. The data will be obtained from the printed versions of five different newspapers in Serbia (*Kurir*, *Blic*, *Vecernje Novosti*, *Politika*, *Danas*) and systematized based on a developed codebook. Additional insight into how Serbian newspapers are approaching the news about violence against women will be provided with the help of another (qualitative) method – critical discourse analysis.

⁸ <https://jugpress.com/u-borbi-protiv-nasilja-nad-zenama-uloga-medija-duvac-u-pistoljku/>

Next chapter will present the brief overview of the material, as it is necessary to understand the background of the chosen newspapers for the analysis conducted in the paper. Also, it will further describe the socio-cultural context of violence against women in Serbia. In the chapter named “Theoretical framework and earlier research”, the theoretical basis for the study will be created. First part of this chapter will describe violence against women in the context of Serbia and media representation of the issue. The second part will be devoted to the description of the media situation and laws that are currently active in Serbia. Methodology chapter will be devoted to the description of research methods used and developed for the purpose of this study. Each method used in the paper (content analysis, frames and CDA) will be more closely described along with weaknesses and possible ways to overcome them. This chapter will also provide an overview of the codebook and the criteria that was created to apply CDA to the specific number of articles from the sample. The fourth chapter will present the analysis of collected data, in order to give the answer to the previously formulated research questions. In the chapter with discussions and conclusions, the key insights of the study will be summarized. Lastly, practical implications of the study will be signalized.

2. Background

To understand the material and the context for the analysis, it is necessary to understand the background of the *Kurir*, *Blic*, *Vecernje Novosti*, *Politika* and *Danas*. This is followed by a section explaining the relationship between socio-cultural context and violence against women in Serbia, to gain deeper understanding of this specific social issue in the environment of patriarchal society that still in the process of transition, as Serbia is.

2.1. Brief overview of the newspapers

Politika is the first, modern, civic-oriented daily newspaper in Serbia. It was launched in 1904. After the Second World War, Serbia (at that time, part of the socialist state Yugoslavia) was trying to build a Soviet-type social system, in which media (press) functioned as a tool of propaganda. The ruling party was the Communist party, and newspapers with highest circulation were *Borba*, and they were under the influence of the political leadership views. *Politika* was considered to be paper of the anti-fascist and socialist forces. Until 60s, Serbian media was under the absolute dominance of the ruling party. When the 90s came, with the rise of Milosevic's government, media split into, as well as everything across the region, the ones that supported the ideology of nationalism and those who strongly opposed the idea. During 90s *Politika* became a servant of the ruling political elite. *Politika* today have a circulation of around 45.000 copies. As Andric (2000) says, it seems that the pressures had reached the top just in the second half of 2000 (Andric in Milosevic 2000: 125). From Andric's point of view, the regime's attention was especially drawn to the editorial staff of the three independent daily newspapers – *Blic*, *Glas javnosti* (Voice of Public) and *Danas*. Fights between the regime and the newspapers went in two directions: as psychological propaganda (libeling, threats, accusations) and economic war (artificial shortage of newsprint, or more exactly, prevention of the purchase of paper) (Andric in Milosevic 2000). After the 5th October, and the breakdown of Milosevic, came the period of privatisation and foreign capital.

Kurir (circulation today is of approximately 60.000 copies) appeared on the newsstands on May of 2004. Some of the facts that are connected to the history of the development and especially on the ownership of *Kurir*, can be found in the research of ANTIDOT (Independent Media Campus & Network) “*Kurir – A media paradigm in Serbia after the*

assassination of Zoran Djindjic”⁹. Regarding the chosen material, it is interesting to mention that *Kurir* started the campaign “Stop the Violence” (2016) with the support of the Government of Serbia and Social Center Against Violence in the Family, which is still running¹⁰. The aim of the campaign is to support the victims [especially women] and encourage them to report the violence.

Blic first appeared on September 16th 1996, when it became the 10th daily newspaper to be published in Yugoslavia at the time. Starting out, *Blic* was a typical stripped-down tabloid with short and simple stories, as well as a lot of entertainment content. Its first issues were circulated in 50,000 copies per day. In November 1996, local municipal elections were held across Serbia. The opposition made great results but Milosevic refused to recognize them, which provoked protests on the streets. During the time, *Blic* was giving a fair coverage of the events ignored by the government-controlled media. The decision turned out to be a business winner in the short term as circulation rapidly grew to 200.000 copies a day, but it also drew the ire of the Milosevic authorities. In the circumstances when state media made virtually no mention of the protests and the reporting of the independent media was insufficient on the subject, *Blic* decided to devote a sizable part of its paper every day to the protests. The government responded immediately by restricting *Blic*'s access to printers and distribution facilities as the state printing house refused to print any more than 80.000 copies of the paper. This provoked journalists, the editor and his deputy to resign in protest. *Blic* decreased reporting on the protests and drastically reduced the number of political pages. In early 2004, it was sold to the Swiss multimedia communications group Ringier. Today, circulation of *Blic* is around 60.000.

One of the leaders of the independent papers, from 90s until now is *Danas* (circulation today approximately 5.000) but the paradox is that, because of the financial crisis that is provoked by economic dependence of newspapers, these types of newspapers are less influential than daily editions of *Kurir* or *Blic*. It is important to mention that during the collection of the material it has been noticed that *Danas* does not have a section of chronicle in their edition of newspapers. That implies that they do not report on crimes and accidents that much, which is important to evaluate too [especially in connection to the framing of violence against women]. The

⁹ <http://www.anti.media/en/istrzivanja/files/kurir-medijska-paradigma-srbije-posle-zorana-inica/> accessed on 05.04.2018.

¹⁰ <http://www.kurir.rs/vesti/drustvo/2946989/godinu-dana-kampanje-stop-nasilju-vesna-stanojevic-kurir-je-ohrabrio-zene-da-prijavljaju-nasilnike> accessed 10.04.2018.

newspaper explain that their editorial concept is more focused on social, political, economic and cultural daily news. Motivation to include this newspaper in the material for the analysis can be found in the fact that the newspaper is considered to be one of the rarely independent, left-oriented papers in the country. During the process of monitoring, although only 5 articles were found in the connection to the topic of violence against women, one of the articles was precisely about the mentioned murder of Jelena Marjanovic. The article is in the form of a critique of how the media, especially the newspapers, approached the topic of this murder. Also, it was important to compare as much as different newspapers as it was possible in accordance to the media market, especially because corner stone for the analysis are frames as a category.

Vecernje Novosti was founded in 1953. It was also remembered as one of the newspapers that was connected with the regime of Slobodan Milosevic. The circulation today is around the number of 70.000. The ownership of the newspapers is divided: 30% belongs to the state and 70% is divided between different private shareholders.

2.2. Socio-cultural context of violence against women

Violence against women presents a deeply-rooted problem on a global level. Many cultures, beliefs, families, religion, sometimes even governments perpetuate and legitimize this social issue. Some of the concerning factors that determine the life of women in Serbia today are domestic violence, influence of Church on public and political life, patriarchal construct of female sexuality along with general media repression [coming from the ruling political power], media sensationalism and censorship (Momcilovic 2006). According to the document “Mapping Family Violence Against Women”¹¹ (2010) every third woman in Serbia has experienced violence in her lifetime. Physical violence is manifested through various forms of physical attacks on women, from shaking, hair-pulling, physical attacks, strangulation, to severe forms of attacks by the use of tools and weapons or physical torture of any kind. Data on the prevalence of individual forms of domestic violence indicates that physical violence is most spread, and that sexual violence [rape in the family] is the least present. According to the same research 45% of women have experienced multiple forms of violence during their lifetime. The violence against women showed as most present in Belgrade, and least present in Central and Eastern Serbia. It should be taken into account

¹¹ https://www.sigurnakuca.net/upload/Mapiranje_porodicnog_nasilja_prema_zenama_u_Centralnoj_Srbiji.pdf accessed on 30.03.2018.

that these differences may come from the differences in the readiness to recognize such experiences, because it may happen that women in larger urban centers, such as Belgrade, may feel as they are more anonymous or open to talk about such experiences.

Different persons can be the perpetrators in the case of violence against women: husbands, partners (present or former), fathers, mothers, relatives, totally unknown perpetrators or friends. According to the statistics in Serbia (NGO, SeConS 2010, “Mapping Family Violence Against Women”) men are more often perpetrators in the cases of violence against women than women. The hardest form of physical violence against women [murder] is almost exclusively committed by men (96%), and in 80.8% violence is committed by husband or partner¹². According to the latest official data from January to April this year, 18 women were killed in the cases of domestic violence, which presents the highest number of cases in the last ten years¹³.

In order to better understand the context of violence against women in Serbia, it is important to understand social environment that Serbia as a country keep. In relation to that, authors Jugovic, Jugovic and Bogetic (2016) are writing how certain value beliefs of society [in Serbia] are closely connected with the problem of violence against women. Authors Jugovic, Jugovic and Bogetic are dividing: general social and cultural beliefs, institutional beliefs and beliefs that comes directly from an abuser (Jugovic, Jugovic, Bogetic 2016: 110). Some of the general social and cultural beliefs in connection to violence against women are: man should be the head of the family (man is the authority); woman should listen and obey (man’s authority); divorce represents woman’s failure to preserve the marriage; violence is also woman’s failure to maintain the relationship, etc. Most common institutional beliefs are: man doesn’t know how to hold back anger; man cannot withstand frustration and stressful situations; man does not know how to express positive feelings; violence stems from the insecurity and jealousy of a man; violence represents a part of the sadomasochistic relationship between women and men; along with the common narrative of “why did not you (woman) choose better?” (Jajcevic 2007) etc. Regarding the beliefs that are coming directly from the abuser, most common are considered to be “I have the right to use force to change you (woman)”, “Man has the right to control woman, and

¹² https://www.sigurnakuca.net/upload/Mapiranje_porodicnog_nasilja_prema_zenama_u_Centralnoj_Srbiji.pdf accessed on 05.05.2018.

¹³ <http://rs.n1info.com/a398072/English/NEWS/Media-important-in-reporting-on-violence-against-women-in-Serbia.html> accessed on 01.06.2018.

woman must obey”, “She was warned to stop doing that, so she is guilty for the outcome - violence” (Jugovic, Jugovic, Bogetic 2016: 110).

There are a lot of factors that are correlated to violence against women in Serbia, and their influence is very complex and inter-twined. Some of the most important are:

- Social characteristics of women victims of violence. According to the previous research, women who are younger (between age 18-24), unemployed or financially unstable are the most common victims. Also, physical violence is the most common type of violence.¹⁴
- Psycho-social characteristic of the perpetrator. According to the analysis of homicidal violence against women in Serbia, authors Simeunovic-Patic and Jovanovic are dividing the perpetrators in 4 different categories: a perpetrator who is punishing the victim (e.g. ‘betrayed husband’), a perpetrator who is revenging (e.g. rejected possessive lover), a perpetrator who is punishing the victim because she decided to confront the violator (e.g. husband tyrant) and a perpetrator who has some of the motives of the above described categories (Simeunovic-Patic, Jovanovic 2013).
- Reasons why women stay in violent relations. Women in these situations are mostly emotionally and economically dependent on partners. Also, it is often the case that women already seen or suffered from violence in their prior family.
- Structural factors. The most influential structural factors are region and deprivation. Financial situation is the factor that is the most influential because it cuts woman’s possibility to free herself in the situation of violence.
- Cultural factors. These are visible in patriarchal societies, where it is common for society to share norms that are positioning men as dominant over women. Some of the beliefs in situation when violence occur could be that violence is an acceptable way for conflict resolution.
- Individual factors. When it comes to individual factors, as it was said, women who are financially dependent are more likely to become victims of violence.
- Family factors. Women who are living in families that are sharing patriarchal beliefs for generations are more likely to accept the violence as a normal way of behavior of male

¹⁴ Babovic M, Ginic K and Vukovic O, “Mapping of family violence against women in Serbia, SeConS, Beograd”, 2010.

individuals, especially when help from official institutions seems inefficient (Bartholini, Jugovic 2014: 25-38)

- Communication with official institutions, police, NGOs, social institutions etc. One of the most important factors when it comes to violence of any kind is the strong system of laws, courts, police and penalties for perpetrators.

Due to the high number of cases of violence against women, new Family Violence Act came into force on June 1st 2017. One of the reasons for conducting this research is this new form of law, with hope that it brought the improvement when it comes to the number of cases of violence against women.

3. Theoretical framework and earlier research

This paper is researching how media in Serbia, more precisely printed versions of the five most read newspapers, are approaching the topic of violence against women. For that reason, it is important to define the key terms (violence against women, media representation of violence, and parts of framing theory) and place them in the social context of Serbian society. This will be done in the first two parts of this chapter. The third part of the chapter will be devoted to description of media system of Serbia, as it presents research gap in this paper.

3.1. Community, gender, and violence

As Cohen points out, community means an expression of boundaries through ‘symbolic constituents’, which correspond with particular ‘categories’ and ‘rituals’ (Cohen 1995: 14, 15). Frazer notes that a paradigm of community can be defined through parameters such as: local politics, governments, social movement organization, neighborhood, controversies over sex roles, parenting, and general family relations (Frazer 1999: 6). Delanty emphasizes how community “is not something spatially fixed and corresponding to a particular kind of social arrangement”, it is rather understood as “a particular mode of imagining and experiencing social belonging as a communicative public happening” (Delanty 2003: 26). When it comes to Serbia, it is important to underline that the country was a part of Yugoslavia, and that after the collapse of this large socialist state with many different ethnic groups, the notion of community changed within a very short period of time. In connection to that, nationalism in ex-Yugoslavia states appeared as a form of communal feeling, which influenced genre norms within many types of institutional, media and everyday discourses. Nationalism in Serbia was reconstructed as ethno-nationalism. Ethnicity, in this case, is observed as “method of classifying people (both self and other) that uses origin (socially constructed) as its primary reference” (Levine 1999: 168). Nationalism according to Anderson and within European context is constructed through a common share of culture, language, and print technology, where nationalism is more a matter of destiny over choice (Anderson 1992: 37). Representation of women in this kind of social atmosphere is often ambiguous. Authors like Yuval Davis (1989), Mayer (2000), Papic (2002), Zarkov (2007) connected construction of nation (state, identity) and the gender roles that they involve. As Mayer writes, “...control over access to the benefits of belonging to the nation is virtually always gendered: through control over reproduction, sexuality and the means of representation authority

to define nation lies mainly with men” (Mayes 2000: 2). In other words, women in nationalist context are mostly visible in debates about motherhood, family, victimization [and violation] of female body, especially in the context of war-conflicts (woman’s body used as represent of the enemy in war) (Yuval-Davis 1997, Mayer 2000, Zarkov 2007). To point out, women are central to those issues, but their needs and desires are not (Bracewell 1996: 31). This leads to the situation where male hegemonic patterns are becoming a primary way of governing the society, both on social and symbolic level.

Authors like Gavrilovic¹⁵ point out that patriarchy, in all its varieties, was somehow present from the earliest time of human society - from ancient state communities to the modern societies. Classic form of patriarchal family has its roots in *pater familias*, that is, antique Roman law [and tradition] that expressed the absolute power of fathers within the family [not only the power over the lives of their slaves, but also of their loved ones – family members – that were considered to be subordinate].

In patriarchy, the privileged position is given to the male child. Through such form of gender socialization, women are brought to the position where it is normal to accept those values as a natural state of things in the family, as well as in the future relationships within society. This is further supported by learning about woman's role through the identification process with the mother, whose position is inside the home, in the so-called ‘private’ sphere. According to this model of gender socialization, a woman is expected to be modest, obedient, enduring, sacrificed, hidden, less valuable than a man, and she has to leave all important decisions that are often considered to be a part of ‘public’ sphere to a man.

In connection with these allegations, author Petrovic-Desnica is emphasizing discourses which are reflecting the invisibility of violence against women, and which are based on socially constructed gender roles that exist inside of Serbian society (the notion of “moral woman”, “spouse problems are their own private thing”, “she must have caused it”, “nobody trusts me (because I am a woman)”) (Petrovic-Desnica 2011: 7).

¹⁵ <http://www.doiserbia.nb.rs/img/doi/0350-0861/2005/0350-08610553195G.pdf>, accessed on 10.06.2018.

3.2. Violence against women and media

The way the media represent the world directly affects identities, cultural values and social relations. The way in which media approach the topic of violence against women have an important role in public understanding of this social issue. As it was said, this study will adopt the definition of violence against women drawn from The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993) which says:

“Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in the public or in private life.”

3.2.1. Theory of framing

Stuart Hall describes how identities are actually a product of certain *strategies of expression* (2001: 219). In that sense, media framing and agenda-setting are tools for creating the framework. Goffman (1972) argues that individuals interpret what is happening in the world primarily through the use of frameworks, which are often taken for granted. Many times, the media serve as the mentioned framework. People attach meaning to events by using media's interpretation of those events. Since the time when Shaw and McCombs explored the power of mass media agenda-setting (1972), using as an example the US presidential campaign, it became more obvious how media have an influence on public opinion. Later authors argued that “both the selection of objects for attention and the selection of frames for thinking about these objects are powerful agenda-setting roles” (McCombs, Shaw: 1993: 62). Using this as an argument, we can argue that both the number of articles covering violence against women and the way of how the problem is portrayed inside of them are relevant for the analysis.

It is important to make a distinction between framing and agenda-setting theory. Authors like McCombs argue that framing is an extension of agenda-setting. Tewksbury and Scheufele write that framing “is based on the assumption that the way an issue is characterized in news reports may have an influence on how it is understood by audiences” (2007: 11). According to Robert Entman, “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (1993:

52). That means that certain angles of the issue (e.g. who is the source, what are the consequences for the perpetrator, is it individual-based or social focus story...) and how they are presented are both important for reporting about violence against women.

Following Entman, frames are defined by two elements at the same time. They are defined by what they include and what they omit. For example, if we have incident-based stories on violence against women, it gives a possibility for people to perceive it more as a private problem than a serious social issue. As argued by Carli, “maintaining this mirage of individual pathology, the news media denies social roots of violence against women and absolves the largest society of any obligation to end it” (2003: 163). The analysis of media frames will help the author to see what is the ‘quality’ of coverage of violence against women. In this respect, the quality is understood as accuracy, attribution, fairness, brevity and clarity. Framing will also help to see how violence against women in Serbia is embedded in its patriarchal structure. Marin and Russo argued that patriarchal attitudes are also transmitted and reinforced through mass media, as a powerful socialization agent (1999: 32).

As Meyers (1997) argue, feminist scholars emphasized that status quo of the media preserve frames that are based on predefined gender roles and patriarchal structure of the society. Framing analysis can help in locating the underlying meanings by looking at e.g. facts that are included or not, actors that are used as sources (or not) (Byerly 1999: 391). In this research, an approach similar to the one that was done by Pan and Kosicki (1993) and Entman (1993) will be used. This paper will try to provide the analysis of media frames as inputs in relation to a particular social issue (Scheufele 1999). Although this method focuses more on how the content of a news is presented than directly investigating the influence of media frames on audience, it is still considered significant in the realm of media effects research as investigating the content of a story is a critical step to holistically understanding the communication process (Knudsen, 2014).

Investigating framing of news that are in connection with social issues is justified by the fact that this method is emphasizing “how news frames draw upon a *shared* store of social meanings” (Reese in D’Angelo, Kuypers 2010: 18). There are five most common frames that are utilized by media (Neuman, Just, Crigler 1992: 74):

- the human impact frame focuses on “descriptions of individuals and groups affected by an issue”;

- the powerlessness frame refers to “the dominance of forces over weak individuals or groups”;
- the economics frame reflects “the preoccupation with profit and loss”;
- the moral values frame refers to “morality and social prescriptions”; and
- the conflict frame deals with the news media’s “game interpretation of the political world as an on-going series of contests, each with a new set of winners and losers”.

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) identified: conflict frame; human interest frame; attribution of responsibility; morality; and [economic] consequences. The difference in definition of these frames can be found in the explanation of human interest frame, which they defined as “bringing a human face or emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem”. They describe conflict frame as “conflict between individuals, groups, institutions, or countries”. Also, they do not have powerlessness, instead they are introducing responsibility frame defined as “presenting an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility of causing [or solving] to either the government or to an individual or group” (2000: 56). This study, in its analysis of the newspaper articles employed frames as identified by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), with minor adjustments (see Appendix 2). The change is concerning the frame that presupposes economic consequences. Instead of concentrating on the economic, material prism, criminal consequences were considered, in accordance with the topic of violence. Also, conflict frame wasn’t used in the analysis, as there was an insignificant number [at the time when I decided not to use it, and went over more than a half of the material, 0] of articles that could be coded with it. More detailed description of the frames that were used for the purposes of this analysis can be found in the methodology chapter.

3.2.2. Framing the violence, previous research

Newspaper editorial power in setting the news agenda with their own story, coupled with journalist’s influence on framing popular understanding (Butler 2009), aims to ensure that the appropriate ‘take home’ message (Wozniak & McCloskey 2010) is communicated to readers. This study has special focus on how violence against women is framed in the five most read newspapers in Serbia –*Kurir*, *Bilc*, *Vecernje Novosti*, *Politika*, and *Danas*. How the mentioned topic is framed in the context of newspapers in Serbia is important because it influences how general public will understand the issue of violence against women. Policies of representation of female identities in

public and media discourse can be seen as an expression of relations of power. Badarevski writes: “as well as representation in the media signifies social existence, at the same time insufficient representation and trivialization, or in other words condemnation, shows symbolic annulment”. (Badarevski 2007:224).

Scholars from the past studies noticed the similar patterns of how media misrepresented the reality of violence against women. For example, coverage of the cases is likely to address violence against women as an individual or family problem, rather than as a broader social problem (Bullock and Cubert 2002). If we take in consideration the influence of the media in political and social aspects of every society, it is clear that regulation and constant improvement of the media field is necessary. Certain standards must be fulfilled in order to build good practice of media reports on social issues: responsible approach to journalism, a deeper understanding and knowledge of the phenomenon of violence, a loud voice of all actors in the community who are working to suppress and reduce the violence, a set of standards that are built to protect the victims, and constant work on raising public awareness of the problem (Visnjic 2012: 156).

In Serbia, the problem is not anymore that there is no coverage. A more problematic matter is that the framework of coverage is stereotypical, stories are incident based, and there is often a lack of commitment. Authors like Jugovic, Jugovic & Bogetic (2016) claim that media approach towards violence against women in Serbian newspapers with “three S”: sex, scandal, and spectacle. Previous study of the issue, titled “*News coverage of violence against women*”, showed that news coverage of violence against women in Turkey’s four mainstream newspapers “depicted women in a negative way, emphasizing them as faulty” (Alat, 2007). The study also found that women were blamed for the crimes committed against them while perpetrator responsibility was often overlooked or diminished (Alat, 2007). The study focused on the frames that were most commonly used in connection to the gender roles. Alat (2007) furthermore discovered in the study that women are often placed “at the bottom of social hierarchy” and that society “honors women as mothers and wives but provides them with no power” (2007: 297). This is important because, in societies where patriarchy is strongly present [as Turkey, but also Serbia], problems regarding representation of women appear as similar.

Recent study (2016) on how media report about violence against women in Bosnia and Herzegovina showed that approximately 78% of analyzed articles were framing the problem more

as individual rather than a broader social issue (2016: 25). It is often the case that reports about violence against women do not include enough of contextual, statistical, preventive or practical information about the issue. Thus, these news reports, especially when it comes to sexual violence, often look sensationalistic (Gill 2007). Gill argues that “the available evidence shows that most rapes are not reported as news at all; only the most typical cases, often with bizarre or horrific violence, received prominent coverage” (2007: 144). Also, it is common to blame female victims for the violence perpetrated against them. Another distorted portrayal is when news reports describe perpetrators as “identifiably sick and depraved strangers”, as Gill (2007) notes. In reality, in many cases, perpetrators are actual partners, friends, neighbors, relatives, who are very familiar with the victim. Cases of violence against women in Serbia are often in connection with cases of domestic violence. One of the purposes of this study is to see how many cases of domestic violence [where the perpetrator is a family member] are present in the collected sample. As Visnjic says, to build a good practice of media reporting (opposed to sensationalism, stereotyping and discriminatory mechanisms) it is important to have cooperation and coordination of all social actors (journalists, courts, police, health and civil sector) that are included. In Serbia, every second woman is exposed to some kind of family violence during her lifetime. Authors like Meyers (2010) suggest that it is important to critically reflect upon reports of violence in the media, not just because of the strong influence on public perception but also because it directly influences governmental policy making (2010: 94). Serbia has made significant progress in enacting multiple laws and protocols that address domestic violence. The most recent Law on Prevention of Domestic Violence (LPDV) is another step forward in addressing domestic violence in Serbia, that possibly came as a result of increased media attention towards cases of violence against women (especially after Marjanovic case in 2016).

3.3. Media context in Serbia

This section will introduce the reader with the media context in Serbia in connection with political economy. It is aimed to contribute to better understanding the need to analyze media contents that are dealing with the topic(s) of gender-based violence in Serbia.

While doing so, it is important to point out the main characteristics of political economy as an approach to media and communication studies. Some of the general themes that political economy as an approach is interested in are: “media as business model” where the emphasis is on

consumer culture, with tendency of media to develop as commercialized space, for example, through advertising & PR. Some of the concepts inside of this model are: commodification/commercialization [privatization of media, and use of media for commercial purposes]; diversification/synergy [domination of one huge media-entertainment conglomerate instead of large number of differentiated companies]; horizontal/vertical integration [adding same business company + different stages of production]; concentration [and how it influences the quality and availability of news]. Of course, not all of the political economic studies related to media and communication are devoted to documenting media concentration and ownership. Most of the studies devoted to political economy of media are also incorporating historical analysis, the connection of labour and media, state relations with media and of course, democracy and its relation to media.

As it was said, for political economy is important to deal with ownership relations, structure and organization of media, and with its dependence on power. Authors like Wasko claim that: “through studies of ownership and control, political economists document and analyse relations of power, class systems and other structural inequalities” (Wasko 2014: 260). Mosco writes that most of the political economy approach to media are at least trying to decenter media and to emphasize capital, class, contradiction, conflict and oppositional struggles (Mosco 1996: 20-21). That can lead to possible conclusions regarding corporate policies, which is an important feature of political economy as an approach for analysis. Topics that interest political economist are those that are focused on media as a business model, but also those that research the relation between media and state. Wasko argues that this approach combines business issues with public matters, and that also involves moral concepts such as justice (Wasko 2014: 62). We can analyze power sources which influence media and practically guide the whole media industry using the example of newspapers in Serbia [such as *Politika*]. As Mosco writes, political economy can be seen as a study of social relations (especially power relations) that make up the process of production, distribution and consumption of media resources (Mosco 1996: 25).

After the downfall of Slobodan Milosevic’s government, the change in the political life in Serbia. Started. The change supposed to bring democratic values and freedoms in Serbian society. One of the most important changes was connected to the reformation of the media system which, in that moment, needed a radical reconstruction. The most important task was to introduce a new

legal framework that will set the base for European values of media industry. In 2002, Serbia got the Broadcasting Act¹⁶, and in 2003 the New Public Information Law¹⁷. The Law on Free Access to Information of Public Importance¹⁸ was adopted in 2004 and the Law on Advertising¹⁹ in 2005.

These laws supposed to bring new democratic values to the media system. Unfortunately, despite the effort invested, legal media framework is still incomplete and inconsistent. Problems of media ownership transparency and media concentration kept being a huge stumbling stone. In 2014, set of media laws supposed to provide a framework for settling the media scene. Under the new Law on Public Information and Media, that in theory regulates issues of ownership, all media need to be signed into the Media Register, which is supposed to be public. However, the problem of non-transparent ownership is persistent. The ownership of media in Serbia is often hidden through a maze of connected companies and individuals who hold different amounts of shares, sometimes even registered to publicly unknown persons, without any reputation or previously verified work in the media industry. For example, the oldest newspaper in the Balkans, *Politika*, that is also chosen as a part of the material for this research, is owned with 50% of shares by the government. But nobody is sure who owns the other 50% of the newspaper. The confusion over the ownership of *Politika* began when the German WAZ media group (from 2002, the company owned a 50% of newspaper, after the former PM Zoran Djindjic and German politician Bodo Hombach – who joined WAZ in 2002 – achieved an agreement on political level) sold its shares in 2011 to a company with an undisclosed owner. After the change of government in 2012, it turned out that the actual buyer was a Serbian businessmen Miroslav Bogicevic (who was later arrested, and is undergoing a trial) connected to the Democratic party (ruling party at the time of the transaction). However, the businessman claims he is not behind the ownership of the shares of newspaper. Although WAZ had a right to retake its 50% of shares if the money was not paid in time, the company refused to do so, and there are claims that other Serbian businessmen and media owners are involved in the case. The situation is so complicated that the State Attorney's office is trying to resolve it. These and similar examples of blurred media ownership structures are not a rare phenomenon in Serbia. Some of the figures regarding the indicators of risk to media pluralism

¹⁶ <http://www.arsetnorma.com/documents/Zakon%20o%20radiodifuziji%20RS.pdf>

¹⁷ <http://www.arsetnorma.com/documents/Zakon%20o%20javnom%20informisanju%20RS.pdf>

¹⁸ <https://www.minrzs.gov.rs/files/doc/porodica/ostali/Zakon%20informacije%20od%20javnog%20znacaja.pdf>

¹⁹ [http://mtt.gov.rs/download/1\(2\)/Zakon%20o%20oglasavanju.pdf](http://mtt.gov.rs/download/1(2)/Zakon%20o%20oglasavanju.pdf)

are shown in the table from the research of the three-month-long investigative research that *Balkan Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN)* and *Reporters Without Borders* have jointly carried out²⁰.

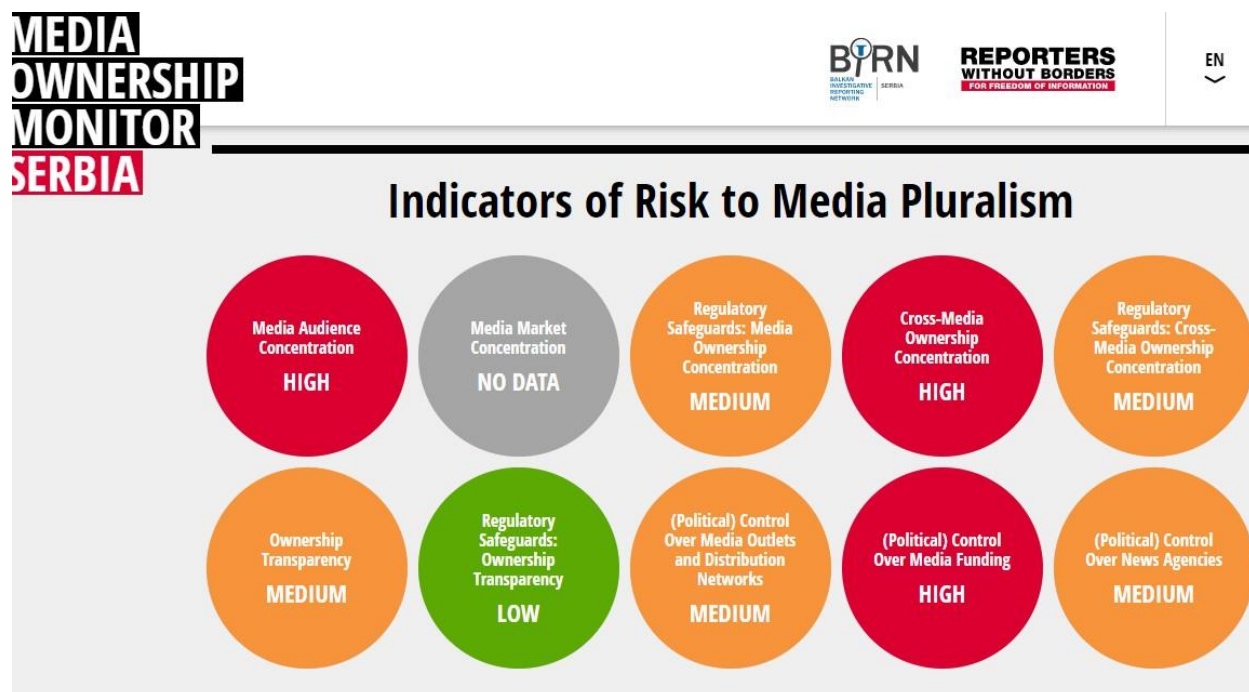


Figure 1. Indicators of risk to media pluralism in Serbia

According to the latest statistics, Serbia has 2 034 registered media, of which 863 are considered to be printed media (newspapers), 309 radio stations, 211 TV programs and 432 internet portals²¹. Even though it sounds like a huge number of running media, Agency for Business Registers informs that 123 of these media ‘channels’ are listed as undefinable, as they didn’t provide all the required information (regarding the type of media, law permits etc.). In 2016, the number of registered media channels in Serbia was around 1788, as they say in Association of Journalists of Serbia²², which means that the number of media channels has increased.

Because of the absence of the free market, strong dependency on financial flows that are involving the state, indefinite regulations, illegal concentration regarding media ownership, as well as hidden ownerships and non-transparent trading in the media sphere, the current situation reflects

²⁰ <http://serbia.mom-rsf.org/en/> accessed on 10.05.2018.

²¹ <http://www.uns.org.rs/desk/UNS-news/55981/u-srbiji-registrovano-2034-medija.html> accessed 28.04.2018.

²² Ibid.

a growing dependence of the media on the state, as well as on the political parties and their individual goals (Matic, Valic Nedeljkovic 2014).

3.3.1. Significance of the laws, strategies and media – measures for the prevention of violence against women

Representation of women in media is one of the most important pillars in improving women's position in society. An argument as the following, that the media might not tell us what to think but they certainly tell us what to think about (Cohen 1963), is an appropriate illustration of this perception. Authors like McCombs (2005) went beyond this notion and argued that media's role is not only in telling us what to think about but *how* to think about as well. Violence against women is one of the social problems that heavily rely on media coverage for achieving the change on how people are approaching the topic. Some of the prior research showed that news coverage of health issues (including violence) has an influence on public policy (Yanowitzky 2002) as well as on public opinion (Sotirovic 2003). One audience study in USA showed that news that report about rape cases using myths constructed around rape are influencing readers in a particular way, e.g. men showed to be less sympathetic to the victims of rape (Franiuk et al. 2008a: 299-300). This kind of coverage is affecting both levels of conviction (Marhia 2008) and policy making (Yanowitzky 2002). Thus, the way how cases of violence against women are covered and framed presents very sensitive and important issue.

The recommendation of the Council of Europe (2002) states that states should “encourage the elaboration of codes of conduct for media professionals, which would take into account the issue of violence against women”²³. Serbia, as a signatory, is thus obliged to adjust the way that issue is portrayed and covered in the media. In 2009, Serbia adopted the *National Strategy for advancement of gender equality*, a policy document aimed to positively influence gender stereotypes in media coverage with specific focus on problem of violence against women. One of the major goals of this strategy was to “...influence the media to respectfully and without sensationalism approach the topics such as domestic violence, women harassment, human trafficking and sex trafficking” (*National Strategy for advancement of gender equality* 2009: 64). Before these new policies, the issue of violence against women was very low addressed or not at

²³ https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectID=09000016805e2612 accessed on 05.04.2018.

all. For example, before 2002, violence against women in families was not even a criminal act in Serbian Criminal Code. As Walgrave and van Aelst argue “the power of mass media lies not in the direct influence of the mass media on the general public, but in the perception of experts and decision makers that the general public is influenced by the mass media” (Walgrave, van Aelst 2006: 100).

4. Method

The aim of the chapter is to describe the empirical material [in this case, chosen newspapers] and to define and describe methodological approaches that will be used for its collection and analysis. For this study, methodological framework consists both quantitative [content + frames] analysis and qualitative [critical discourse] analysis that will be used to capture both the extent and type of media coverage of violence against women in Serbia.

4.1. Mixed methodology

After describing the problem of violence against women in social environment in Serbia, it was outlined how much importance role media have in the same context. In accordance to that, four research questions are raised:

RQ 1 Which frames are most frequently used by different newspapers (Blic, Kurir, Vecernje Novosti, Politika, Danas) in Serbia to cover the topic of violence against women?

RQ 2 What are the differences (if there are any) in the coverage of violence against women in the chosen newspapers in Serbia?

RQ 3 Who tells the story in the articles that report about violence against women?

RQ 4 How are actors and sources represented in the articles about violence against women?

In order to answer these questions, a mixed methodology approach will be applied. Both content analysis – to check the quality of information in the articles [e.g. is the journalist signed, is it identity of the victim revealed, who speaks about the case etc.] – and framing theory will be used to answer the question of how the issue is framed and if it does it differ between different news sources or not. A qualitative part of the study (critical discourse analysis) will build on the results from the content analysis, with special focus on frames of the articles. According to Creswell (2014), this model is known as two-step sequential method design. The idea is to apply CDA on six different articles, one article from each of the chosen newspapers. *Politika* will present an exception – two articles will be used in analysis, as it will be explained a bit later. The aim of CDA is to get a deeper understanding of the discourse of violence in connection to the social actors that are represented, but also to see more clearly how newspaper outlets differ if they do.

4.2. Quantitative content analysis: method & overview of the sample

As Hansen & Manchin (2013) explain, content analysis is a quantitative method that reveals trends and patterns in communications and symbolic content characteristic of modern societies (Hansen & Machin, 2013: 85). Therefore, content analysis is not only about quantifying data but also about interpreting the meanings attached to it: "...the purpose of the method is to identify and count the occurrence of specified characteristics or dimensions of texts and, through that, to be able to say something about the messages, images, representations of such texts and their wider social significance" (Hansen & Machin 2013: 89). Content analysis has been identified as a fast-growing technique in the world of quantitative study for a long time now, as stated by Neuendorf (2002: 1). It has been used a lot to study various issues focused on how the media can influence perceptions of objects, individuals, or social issues.

In this research, categories of content analysis are organized around counting the specifics of five different newspaper articles. The material is gathered in order to help to research the topic of how is violence against women represented in newspapers in Serbia. Printed versions of newspapers are used because it was the most reliable way to collect and justify the choice of material. The aim was to develop a set of indicators that are in connection with responsible coverage of violence against women. The argumentation for choosing proposed categories can be found in the fact that developed codebook (see Appendix 1) contain relevant factors taken from previous studies, and it was inspired by the document *Handbook for the media coverage of domestic violence and violence against women* by Aleksic and Djorgovic (2011)²⁴. Here, authors suggested the most important factors that are crucial to consider when it comes to the writing of report about violence against women in Serbia. It presents sort of the guidelines for the journalists/media when it comes to the reporting about this specific social issue.

Sample

The sample for content analysis was constructed around three weeks during the period from January to July 2018 (six months period). The days of the weeks that are chosen for the analysis

²⁴ <http://ravnopravnost.org.rs/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Prirucnik-za-medijsko-izvestavanje-o-nasilju.pdf>
accessed on 01.04.2018.

start with 22nd of January and finish with 1st of July. The three weeks, seven days of the week were monitored, Monday of one week, Tuesday of the next week, Wednesday for week after and so on. As Hansen and Machin suggest, this type of sampling is good because it is random, while still fulfilled with different days that are forming the week. Also, it reduces the possibility for a specific event to influence the material.

As it has been already stated, this paper presents the analysis and comparison between five different newspapers in Serbia: *Blic*, *Kurir*, *Vecernje Novosti*, *Politika* and *Danas*. The argument for the choice of material lies in the fact that all of the chosen newspapers consider to strongly influence previously described media market in Serbia as they present one of the most read and, at the same time, most diverse papers on the market. During the period of Jan-1st of July, 184 articles that are involving violence against women as a topic are collected. The argumentation for choosing this period of time lies in the fact that it gives the opportunity to track the number of cases of violence against women after the new law regulation that was adopted at the beginning of the second half of 2017. Also, it gives the possibility to look into most recent data. What is important to mention is the possible outcomes and expectations regarding the material. As it was described, the situation regarding media ownership, high rate of domestic violence cases, new laws in connection to that, general media approach to the topic of e.g. murder of a woman (Marjanovic case) all leads to the conclusion that it is expected to find e.g. high number of partner relation crimes, with an emphasis on individual cases. This was also a reason more to choose as much as different newspapers, for example, *Blic* and *Kurir* as semi-tabloids, *Politika* as the oldest, *Danas* as the most independent, *Vecernje Novosti* as the one with the highest rate of circulation. Where will the actual analysis lead will be clearer in the following chapters.

4.2.1. Frames as a category in the content analysis:

It is important to explain that framing analysis was one of the categories inside of the content analysis, especially as this presents the base for the choice of articles in the second level of the analysis. That means that frames were counted at the end as quantitative data. According to the results, four types of frames were included in the choice for the articles used for qualitative discourse analysis. The unit of the analysis is the whole article. Frames that were used are the ones defined by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) with few adjustments. This study considered four different frames – responsibility frame, morality frame, human interest frame and consequences

frame (Appendix 2). In order to describe the process of coding as close as it is possible, the questions that were used to argument the choice of the frame will be presented:

- 1) responsibility frame: Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem? Does the story suggest that some level of government is responsible for the issue/problem? Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue? Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue/problem? Does the story suggest that the problem requires urgent action?
- 2) morality frame: Does the story contain any ‘moral’²⁵ message? Does the story refer to morality, God, and other religious or ethical tenets? Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?
- 3) human interest frame: Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue? Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy, or compassion? Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem? Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors? Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy, or compassion?
- 4) consequences frame: Is there a mention of criminal consequences? Is there a reference to consequences of pursuing or not pursuing course of action? This frame must be consisted of the articles in which the main emphasis is on the criminal consequences, for how long the perpetrator is sentenced, the criminal procedure etc.

What is important to mention is when it comes to the coding for different frames, it may happen that one article falls under two frames at the same time. In that case, coder will choose to code for the violence that is in the main focus of the article. Also, it is always useful to pay attention on what is used for the headline of the article, because it could indictate the overall frame.

4.3. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is the method that emphasizes relationship between society and language. It is suitable for this study as the topic of the study is a specific social issue,

²⁵ In this case, morality defined as ‘a set of principles that characterize behavior as right or wrong – good or bad.’

and the aim is to see how this issue is reported in different newspapers. As Fairclough and Wodak write “discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, social identities and relationship between people and groups of people” (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258). As discourses are social categories that are influential inside of one society, they are logically connected with the issues of power. As this paper is organized around topics of violence, women, power relations, social inequality and (social) abuse, application of CDA seemed appropriated.

In this study, CDA will be mostly used to emphasize the ways in which social actors are used and described. Through that, we will be able to conclude more than just which social actors are present and how are they represented. What will happen is that: a) the differences between newspapers (if any) will be more obvious b) the differences between frames will be outlined through intentionally chosen articles with different frames that will be used as a source. Choice of the articles and frames will be more closely described under the section *sample*.

The analysis will be conducted with the help of linguistic and visual features that were used in texts (Van Leeuwen 1996: 34). As content analysis considered photographs as one of the categories, here we will be able to pinpoint the relation of the chosen articles with the photographs used inside of those articles. As it was said, special emphasis will be on social actors presented in photographs (in most cases victims, perpetrators). Categories used for the study of social actors represented in the discourse will be inspired by Van Leeuwen’s (1996) model. The author (Van Leeuwen 1996, Chapter 2 and Chapter 8) proposes researching categories such as:

- role allocation (active/passive): who is represented as “agent” (“actor”), who as “patient” (“goal”) with respect to a given action?
- exclusion (suppression and backgrounding): details which readers are assumed to know already, or could be the detail which are deemed irrelevant to them; when it comes to backgrounding, the exclusion is less radical: the excluded social actors may not be mentioned in relation to a given action, but they are mentioned elsewhere in the text, and we can infer with reasonable certainty who they are.
- nomination, and categorization: social actors can be represented either in terms of their unique identity, by being *nominated*, or in terms of identities and functions they share with

others (*categorization*), and it is, again, always of interest to investigate which social actors are, in a given discourse, categorized or nominated.

- categorization (Functionalization and identification): functionalization occurs when social actors are referred to in terms of an activity, in terms of something they do; Identification occurs when social actors are defined, not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what they are.
- overdetermination: occurs when social actors are represented as participating, at the same time, in more than one social practice.
- visual representation of social actors (social distance, social relation, social interaction, exclusion, roles, specific/generic, individuals/groups, categorization).

Sample

As it was mentioned before, critical discourse analysis will be used in this research to get a deeper understanding of the results that came from the content analysis. Four research questions are raised in this paper, with special focus on frames that are used in articles about violence against women in Serbian newspapers. In order to answer the questions, one article with a different frame will be chosen from each of the newspapers except for *Politika* where two articles will be presented. While doing so, the results of the content analysis will be considered – the frame that is most frequent in each of the newspapers will be used as a guideline for the choice of articles for further analysis. For example, in the newspapers *Blic*, the most frequent frame is the human-interest frame (see figure 2). In this part of the study, frames are presenting the basis for the choice of the articles. As it was said, the emphasis of this part of the analysis [CDA] is on social actors, and how they are represented.

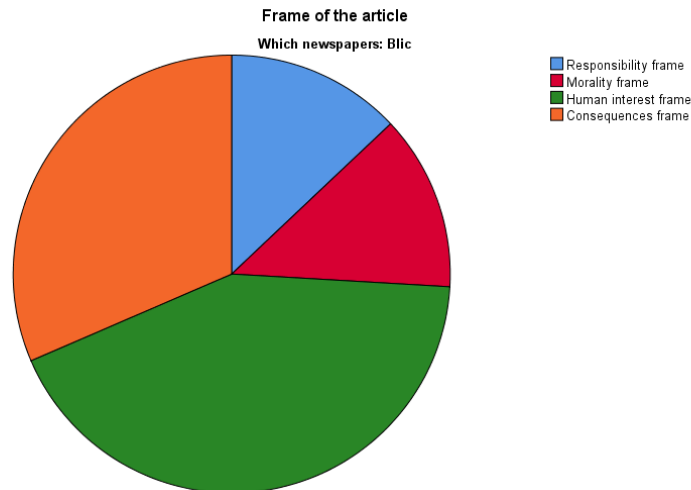


Figure 2. Distribution of frames inside of newspapers Blic

Obviously, as there are five newspapers and four frames, one of the frames will be analyzed more closely two times. That will be the human-interest frame, as it is the frame with the highest percent of representation inside of the sample (Figure 3). According to the results that will be described in detail in the next chapter, *Kurir*, *Blic* and *Vecernje Novosti* have the same frame (human interest frame) as the most common one (see Table 2 page 30). As none of the newspapers are displaying morality frame as the most common frame, it was decided to take article with this frame from *Kurir* (the newspapers with highest number of articles). Argumentation can also be found in the fact that from overall number of articles under morality frame, *Kurir* have the highest number (9 articles) (Table 2 page 30). Also, two articles from *Politika* will be chosen and analyzed, as most of the articles from *Politika* come without photographs, and as very short articles (at least the ones that are fitting the consequences frame, which is the most common frame in *Politika*).

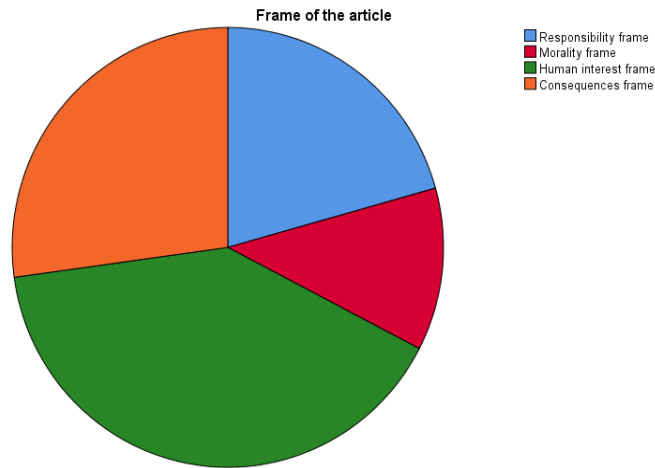


Figure 3. Distribution of frames inside of all 5 newspapers

4.4. Limitations for the methods

The material for this study is gathered in the process of monitoring chosen newspapers outlets during the period of three weeks. The person who collected and coded the material is the author herself, which results in the possibility that something in the material could be missed, or miscounted during the analysis. That doesn't mean that the data and information collected and analyzed in this research are less valuable. Regarding the period that was chosen to collect the material for this study, it was decided to look only into articles that were selected during the first six months of 2018 (using a constructed three-week sample, in the way that was explained earlier in this chapter). The reason to do so can be found in the fact that time and space for this research are limited. When it comes to frames, they present a separated category inside of the content analysis. Because of that it may happen that it seems confusing or hard to code them. In order to try to overcome this limitation, specific explanations on how to code for frames is included in Appendix 2. When it comes to the qualitative part of the study, the CDA as all the other qualitative methods has been criticized. One of the critiques of this method lies in fact that examples that authors analyze come from their random choice of much broader material. Yet, most of the critical discourse analysis are analyzing material that already went through some kind of quantitative check. The same thing applies to this study, where the choice of articles for CDA is in accordance with the results of the first level of analysis (content analysis and frames).

5. Analysis and results

The way in which violence against women is represented in print newspapers in Serbia is in direct connection with how this social issue is approached to. How media, especially chosen newspapers, are reporting on cases of violence against women is of vast importance for to understand this social issue because domestic violence is something that is very present in the social life of its citizens. It is worth highlighting how a great amount of media power derives from the cumulative effect the media have on the audience – the repetition of a particular way of handling things and of particular ways of positioning the readers gives the media a pervasive and very powerful influence (Fairclough 1989). This chapter is devoted to the analysis of the content of five newspapers in Serbia (*Kurir, Blic, Vecernje Novosti, Politika, Danas*). More precisely, the analysis will be devoted to collected texts that are reporting about violence against women.

The analysis will be divided in two levels – counting the characteristics of these kind of reports (content analysis), and looking at texts more closely (CDA). Criteria that is particularly significant in this study is the category that describes different news frames in reports. Frames will be used as an umbrella for both levels of analysis.

5.1. Content analysis

Collected material is consists of 184 articles. One of the first categories that was of interest of the research was the age of the female victims in the collected sample.

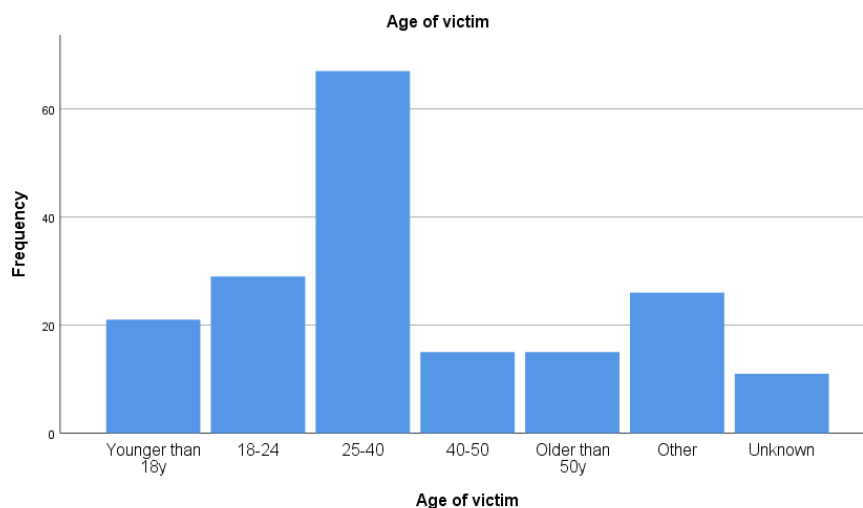


Figure 4. The age of victims in the overall sample

As it can be seen (Figure 4), in 36,4% of cases, the victim was between age of 25-40. In 15,8% the victim was in the group of younger females, 18-24 years old. In 11,4% cases the victim was underage. Equal number of cases included females that are older than 40 (8,2%) and 50 (8,2%) years. Out of the overall sample 6% are placed under the category ‘Unknown’, which implies that the age of females was not indicated. 14,1% of the cases fell under the category ‘Other’. Even though it may seem as that is a significant number of cases (26), I must note that in the sample there were articles that reported on violence against women in general, as well as several articles organized around the same topic (e.g. slogans about the birthrate in Serbia, and how women are affected by it).

Articles were collected during the period of almost six months (Jan 22nd-July 1st) and three whole weeks within it. Frequency of the articles about violence against women inside each of the newspapers is presented below (Figure 5). What could be interesting to mention is that February is the month with the greatest number of articles in all of the five newspapers (*Kurir*: 12, *Blic*:10, *Vecernje Novosti*: 7, *Politika*: 7, *Danas*:1).

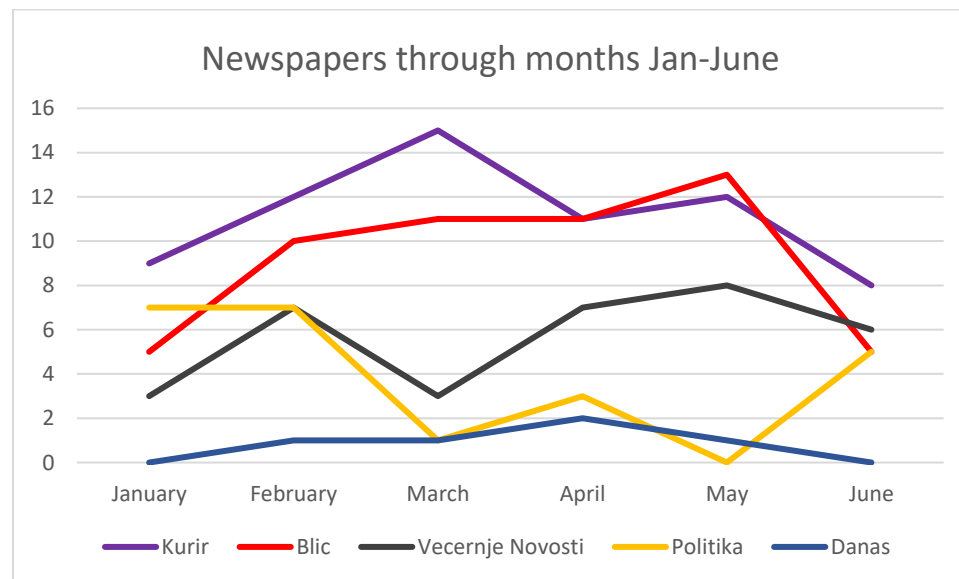


Figure 5. Frequency of the articles inside of different newspapers (Jan-June 2018)

In order to have a clear overview of the results of the content analysis, different sections will be used for *different* RQs.

5.1.1. Frames

In order to answer the question *What are the common frames used by the different newspapers (Blic, Kurir, Vecernje Novosti, Danas, Politika) in Serbia to cover the topic of violence against women?* four frames were defined in accordance with the material: responsibility frame, morality frame, human interest frame, consequences frame (see Appendix 2). The next step was to check the frequency of the frames inside the sample. Looking into the results, at first what can be concluded is that human interest frame is the most common frame among the sample of all articles (Table 1, Table 2).

Frame of the article					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Responsibility frame	38	20.7	20.7	20.7
	Morality frame	22	12.0	12.0	32.6
	Human interest frame	74	40.2	40.2	72.8
	Consequences frame	50	27.2	27.2	100.0
	Total	184	100.0	100.0	

Table 1. The frequency and percentage of the frames in all articles

		Frame of the article				Total
		Responsibility frame	Morality frame	Human interest frame	Consequences frame	
Which newspapers	Kurir	11	9	33	15	68
	Blic	7	7	23	17	54
	Vecernje Novosti	10	1	16	7	34
	Politika	7	4	2	10	23
	Danas	3	1	0	1	5
Total		38	22	74	50	184

Table 2. The number of articles under each frame in different newspapers

It can be clearly seen from the results (Table 2) that *Kurir* is the newspaper with the highest number of articles. Inside of all the articles from *Kurir*, human interest frame is, again, the most common frame, with 44,6% (Figure 6). In *Blic*, this frame is taking 31,1%, in *Vecernje Novosti* 21,6%, in *Politika* 2,7% and, what is interesting, *Danas* don't have articles under this frame (Figure 7). What must be taken into account is that *Danas* is the newspaper with the lowest number of articles (5).

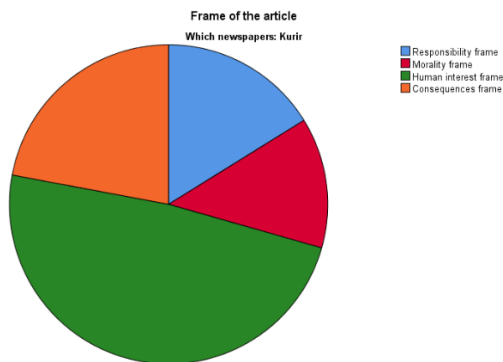


Figure 6. Distribution of frames inside of newspaper Kurir

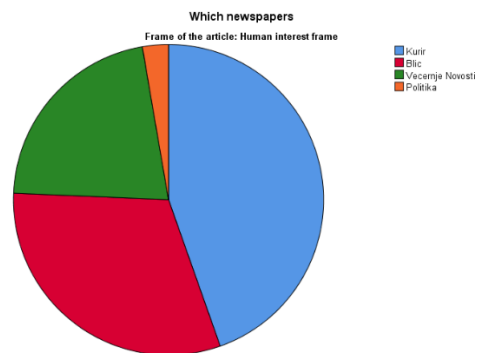


Figure 7. Distribution of human interest frame

As it was said, *Kurir* is the newspaper with the highest number of articles. In this section, it will be used as an example in further analysis of frames. According to the results, the types of violence that are present [in *Kurir*] under the umbrella of human interest frame are: beating/abuse/assault (27,3%), rape/attempted rape (12,1%), murder/attempted murder (48,5%), economic violence (6,1%) and kidnapping (6,1%) (Figure 8).

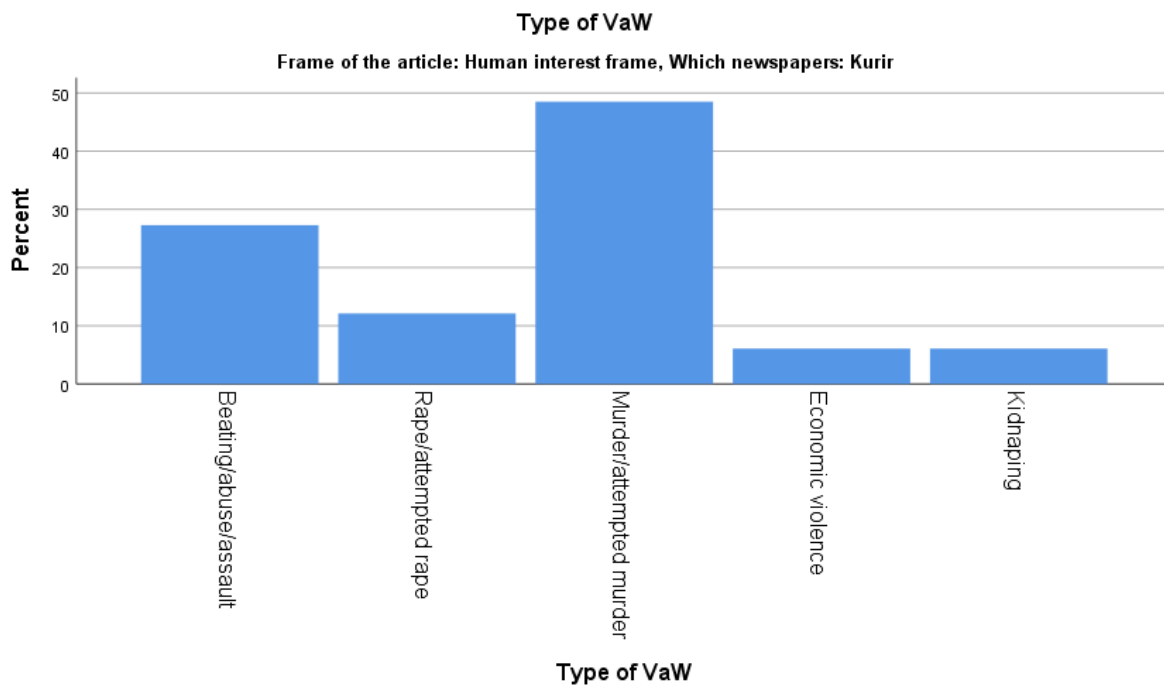


Figure 8. The type of violence against women (Kurir, human interest frame)

The themes of the articles inside of the mentioned frame in *Kurir* are presented as: 15.2% have social focus; 84.8% is the incident-based story. This is important, because articles with social focus raise the awareness and duly inform public about violence against women.

5.1.2. Comparison of newspapers: Kurir, Blic, Vecernje Novosti, Politika, Danas

From the overall number of articles (184), 68 articles were published in *Kurir*, 54 in *Blic*, 34 in *Vecernje Novosti*, 23 in *Politika* and 5 in *Danas* (Table 3).

Which newspapers					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Kurir	68	37.0	37.0	37.0
	Blic	54	29.3	29.3	66.3
	Vecernje Novosti	34	18.5	18.5	84.8
	Politika	23	12.5	12.5	97.3
	Danas	5	2.7	2.7	100.0
	Total	184	100.0	100.0	

Table 3. The frequency and percentage of the articles in different newspapers

The most dominant section inside of all of the articles, and all of newspapers, was *Black Chronicle* (60,9%). This was something that was expected. Surprisingly, the second ranked section is the category *Entertainment [Stars]* (15,2%). This goes well with the notes of authors like Jugovic, Jugovic, Bogetic, that claim that problem is not that there is no coverage of cases of violence. It is far more problematic *what* is the coverage of the issue. Again, *Danas* as a newspaper don't have a *Black Chronicle* section. Articles from *Danas* could be found only in: society section, and news and politics. What's interesting is that *Politika* don't have not even one article about violence against women in the section of *Entertainment [Stars]* even though that is the second largest category in the overall sample.

When it comes to the type of articles inside of overall sample, and between different newspapers, *news report* is the most common category (51,1%) (Table 4).

		Kurir	Blic	Vecernje Novosti	Politika	Danas	Total
Article type	News report	37	21	21	15	0	94
	Interview	21	14	2	0	1	38
	Commentary/column	2	3	2	3	2	12
	Feature article	4	12	8	5	2	31
	Other	4	4	1	0	0	9
Total		68	54	34	23	5	184

Table 4. The number of articles according to the article types in different newspapers

Out of all five newspapers analyzed in this paper, *Danas* don't contain *news report* as a type of article. As it was said, it is connected with the overall number of articles appeared in *Danas* (5), which is much less than the number of the articles that appearing in the first listed newspaper - *Kurir* (68).

Inside of the category connected to different types of violence against women, six articles appeared under *Other* (Table 5). Those are articles mainly focused on controversial slogans that caused stirrance in public: "Women are not machines for birth giving!" *Kurir*, "Controversial slogans!" *Vecernje Novosti*, "In prison because of dance" *Vecernje Novosti*, "Big critique of slogans about birthrate" *Politika*, "Strategy for the higher birthrate or mortality?" *Politika*, "Conflict of the ministers around the campaign that is supposed to stimulate birthrate" *Danas*.

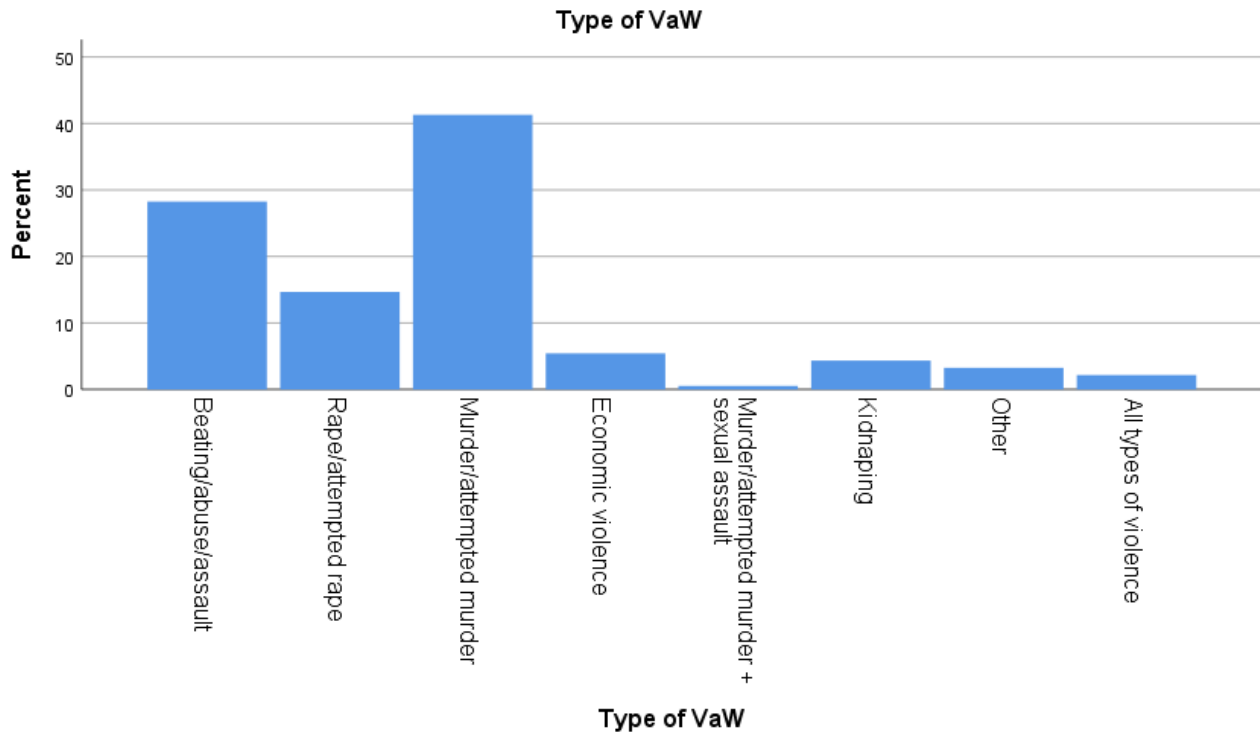


Figure 9. The percentage of the different types of violence in Serbian newspapers

Although *Kurir* have the highest number of articles about violence against women, inside of the sample, two categories of violence don't appear at all – *murder+sexual assault* and *all types of violence*. On the other hand, *Blic*, even though it have less quantity of overall articles, have reports with all types of violence that are categorized. There is only one article that contains *murder + sexual assault*, in *Blic*.

		Which newspapers * Type of VaW Crosstabulation									
		Type of VaW									
		Beating/abus e/assault	Rape/attempt ed rape	Murder/attempt ed murder	Economic violence	Murder/attempt ed murder + sexual assault	Kidnaping	Other	All types of violence		
Which newspapers	Kurir	20	10	28	5	0	4	1	0	68	
	Blic	20	6	22	1	1	1	0	3	54	
	Vecernje Novosti	6	8	14	2	0	1	2	1	34	
	Politika	4	3	11	1	0	2	2	0	23	
	Danas	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	5	
Total		52	27	76	10	1	8	6	4	184	

Table 5. Types of violence and different newspapers

The type of violence that is most common in all five newspapers is *murder/attempted murder* (41,3%). The difference in the types of articles that are reporting about murders/attempted murders is as follow: in *Kurir*, out of 28 articles, 17 are *news reports*, 4 are *interviews*, 1 *column*, 4 *feature articles* and 1 that is listed under *other*. In *Blic*, *Vecernje novosti* and *Politika* the frequency between articles regarding this type of violence is approximatly the same. Mostly, articles are in the form of *news reports* and *feature articles*, few are *interviews*. *Danas* have only one article about murder, and the article type is *commentary article*.

The overall ratio of all newspapers in terms of whether the story is covered as a local or international case is 82,6% (local) in oppostion to 17,4% (Figure 10). Ratio in every newspaper separately is quite similar, around 80% in opposition to 20% for each.

The number of articles that are on the cover page of the newspapers is 23. Articles that are taking the most of the cover pages are about murders (10 articles). *Kurir* have 6 cover pages (all about murders), *Blic* 4. *Politika* don't have any cover page articles. *Vecernje Novosti* have one cover page in connection with rape. *Danas*, interestingly, have 4 out of 5 cover page stories, and none of them are about murders (*Conflict of the ministers around the campaign that is supposed to stimulate birth; Miletic: I was harassed for a month; Vucic humiliated women; Worker from open-pit mine in an international scandal*).

In 109 articles, the identity of the victim is completely revealed (Table 6). *Kurir*, *Blic* and *Vecernje Novosti* in more than a half of the articles reveal the full identity of the victims. *Poltika* respects ethical standards, and in 10 articles it uses the initials of the victims, while in 10 more it doesn't reveal their identities at all. Of course, this may be connected with the topic of the article, as not all of the articles from the sample are about serious crimes. Some are approaching the topic of violence against women from the perspective of a social problem, while others are feature articles about the same violent case (the murder of Jelena Marjanovic, or the assault on Natasa Bekvalac). *Danas* is using their full name and surname in three of the articles (e.g. one of the articles is the interview with the victim), while in two of them the victims are not identified.

Identity of the victim		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Victim marked with initials	20	10.9	10.9	10.9
	Fully identifiable identity of the victim	109	59.2	59.2	70.1
	Unnamed	49	26.6	26.6	96.7
	Photograph	3	1.6	1.6	98.4
	Through the identity of the perpetrator	3	1.6	1.6	100.0
Total		184	100.0	100.0	

Table 6. The frequency and percentage of revealing the identity of the victims

In *Politika*, most of the articles do not have a photograph, while in *Kurir*, *Blic* and *Vecernje Novosti* it is not rare to see the victim on the photograph that goes with the article.

5.1.3. Actors and sources – who tells the story?

Results of the content analysis showed that in 82,1% of cases, the author of the text is signed or marked with initials. In 4,3% newspapers used text that was translated or recycled from other sources (with clear references). In 13,6% we have articles that are not signed at all, so the source is unknown (Table 7).

Author of the article		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Name, surname of journalist/known source	151	82.1	82.1	82.1
	Another source e.g. reference to a different newspapers	8	4.3	4.3	86.4
	Unknown source	25	13.6	13.6	100.0
	Total	184	100.0	100.0	

Table 7. Frequency and percentage of authors of the articles (known, referred, unknown)

This goes well with the conclusion that, in most of the cases [and inside of all five newspapers], the source who tells the story is the media itself [journalist] (Figure 11).

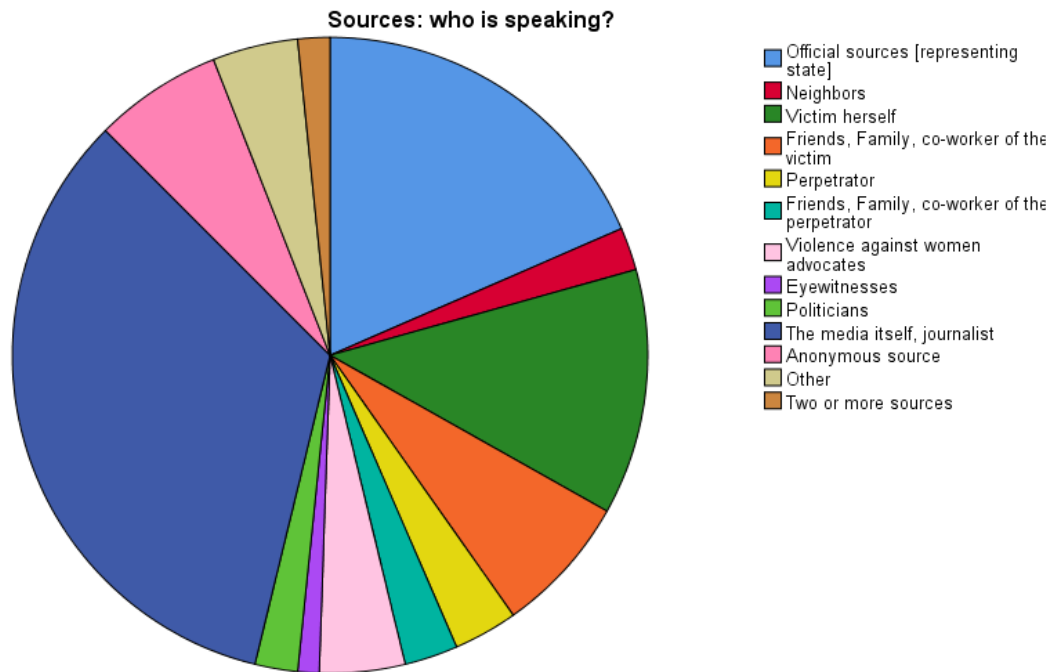


Figure 10. Representation of sources inside of the articles

In connection to that (Figure 11), it is important to measure how the sources are used inside of the text. If they do speak directly, only mentioned, if media refer to the source using their own words, or if there is no direct mention of the source inside of the text. Results showed that in 47,3% of the cases the source speaks directly (Table 8). On the other hand, in 21,7% of the cases there is no direct mention of the source inside of the text (Table 8). This may come as a strange result, so it is important to explain why. If, for example, an article [brief news report about crime] is signed, without any social actor included, it was coded as there is *no direct mention of the source/mention of the source without direct speaking*. It means that correlation between media as a source and *how and does this source speaks* was mostly presented as *without source*, except when article was a direct opinion of the journalist (e.g. commentary article) (Table 8).

		How and does source speaks?				Total
		Mention of the source, without direct speaking/quotation/reference	Source speaks directly	Referring to the source	Without direct mention of who is the source	
Sources: who is speaking?	Official sources [representing state]	4	21	8	1	34
	Neighbors	0	3	1	0	4
	Victim herself	0	18	4	1	23
	Friends, Family, co-worker of the victim	0	13	0	0	13
	Perpetrator	0	5	1	0	6
	Friends, Family, co-worker of the perpetrator	1	4	0	0	5
	Violence against women advocates	1	6	1	0	8
	Eyewitnesses	0	1	1	0	2
	Politicians	0	3	1	0	4
	The media itself, journalist	20	5	5	32	62
	Anonymous source	2	6	3	1	12
	Other	2	0	1	5	8
	Two or more sources	0	2	1	0	3
Total		30	87	27	40	184

Table 8. Who speaks inside of the texts, and how

When it comes to the victims and perpetrators, it is also interesting to comment on the results (Table 8). Mostly, they speak directly - in 78,3% the victim speaks for herself, while in 83,3% the perpetrator is talking directly. One of the most important findings lies in the results about the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator. In a great number of cases, the relationship is *partners* and *parents* (Figure 12).

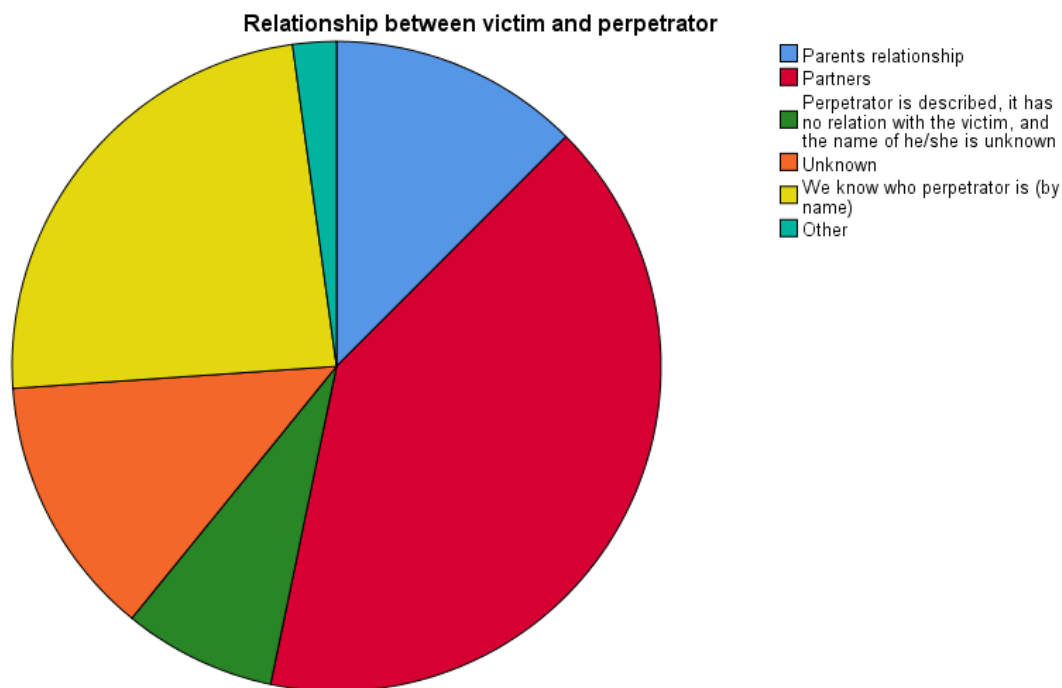


Figure 11. Representation of relationships between victims and perpetrators

This is an important finding, because, in accordance with previous studies, domestic violence presents one of the most serious social problems in Serbia today.

5.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

In accordance with the results of the content analysis, and the category that implies frames, six different articles were selected for further analysis. As it is explained, the articles were chosen in accordance with the most commonly used frame inside of different newspapers, with some exceptions (as it was explained in the section *sample*). To state again, the articles from *Blic* and *Vecernje Novosti* are under the umbrella of human interest frame, article from *Kurir* is under morality frame, the articles from *Politika* [two articles are presented to more closely describe the frame as well as the newspaper style] are under consequences frame, and the article from *Danas* falls under the umbrella of responsibility frame. The selection of articles within the frames was random (the list of all articles collected for the purposes of analysis is available in appendix 3).

The analysis will focus on both the language and visuals used inside of the articles, with main purpose of researching the representation of social actors involved in the case. For that purpose, the articles will be attached below, in original language [Serbian], and with photographs.

5.2.1. Morality frame

Article 1 – Kurir – The confession of the mother of the abused girl: We gave him bread and he raped our child! (Jelena Ivic)

JELENA IVIĆ
mat. vezanica

Gordana smo primili u kuću, jeo je naš hleb, spavao ovde, sve je delio sa našom decom, a kako nam je vratio! Tako što mi je silovao ćerku, i to dok smo svi bili u kući!

Ovim rečima za Kurir počinje ispovest D. P. (26), majka sedmogodišnje devojčice iz sela Kasidol koju je prošlog četvrtka napastovao Gordana Kašarić (49).

Gledali „Slagalicu“

Pedoofil je devojčici skinuo pantalone, a potom je jezikom i prstima dodirivao po intimnim delovima, nakon čega joj je zapretio da će je ubiti ako ikome kaže šta se dogodilo. Devojčica se ipak požalila

majci, pa je manijak iste večeri uhapšen i određen mu je pritvor do 30 dana. Majka devojčice ispričala je šta se dešavalo kobne večeri.

- Gordana je sekao drva kod nas, pa je ostao u kući. Suprug i svekrva su u dnevnoj sobi gledali „Slagalicu“, dok sam ja prala veš. On je iskoristio pet minuta koliko je moja ćerka bila u sobi, usao i zlostavljao je - priča D. P.

Kako navodi, monsturno je nakon toga pitao njenog supruga da li može da povede devojčicu do prodavnice.

- Oni su krenuli u prodavnicu, nije nam ništa bilo čudno jer je to svakodnevno radio. Ponašao se kao da voli dete, nikad nije opsovao pred njom, verovali smo mu. Među-

Seoske priče
NAPADA O I RAN IJE?

• D. P. tvrdi da su i ranije po selu kružile priče da je Gordana pre desetak godina napao petnaestogodišnju devojčicu koja je živea u drugom mestu.

• On se mom mužu kleo da nikada više neće prići mladim devojčkama jer je svestan da je to lažnjivo. Kad god ima neki problem, on počne da kula kako nema porodicu i dom, pa se ljudi sažale na njega i oprostite mu - rekla je majka devojčice.

Uhapšen na spavanju

Međutim, Kašarić je uhapšen iste večeri, a pronađen je u napuštenoj kući u selu.

- Za njega ne postoji odgovarajuća kazna. Tog dana sam mogla da ga ubijem, ali sam shvatila da zbog budale i monstruma ne vredi ići u zatvor. Policija je bila kod nas, dete su vodili na pregled. Hvala bogu, nije povređena, ali ovo nije stvar koju je trebalo da doživi sa samo sedam godina. Bojimo se da će ga pustiti iz pritvora i da će je napasti u školi ili selu - zaključuje naša sagovornica.

This article is reporting about sexual harassment on an underage girl. The text is in the form of an interview with the mother of victim. In the title of the article, as well as in the beginning of text, the journalist is using the expression ‘*confession*’ which is immediately associated with religious atmosphere. As the text is organized as an interview, the only live voice is the voice of the girl’s mother.

Firstly, the article gives the reader the most important facts that are incorporated in a short report about the unfortunate event (who did it, to whom, where it happened, and how). Following that, the details of the case are described. The accent of the text is mostly on the perpetrator, and the fear of the mother for her child. This all comes from the mother’s point of view. It is important to explain why this article is coded under *morality* frame and not under *consequences* frame. The main reason, that can be seen from the very beginning [the title of the article], is that this is a personal story that includes fragments of ethical and moral [“we gave him bread – he raped our child”] tenets. Also, as it was mentioned, the journalist uses the word *confession* to describe the atmosphere of the interview. The urge for stricter criminal consequences inside of the article is used more as a critique of the current situation in the state and society, and as a tool to draw attention to this particular case [“we fear that he will be released soon, and that he will attack her again, in the

school or in the street”]. In this article, the main social actors are: the mother, perpetrator, girl, and a somewhat mentioned husband.

The victim’s mother is described as an active agent in the case of sexual harassment of her daughter. For example, while she describes the order of events, she is explaining how she was “shocked by the things that little girl told her, so she immediately reacted (and told her husband what happened)”. The way how she tells the story is implying that she was the savior or agent who ‘rescued’ the girl. Goran (the perpetrator) is described as a well-known neighbor. The girl is mentioned because logically she is the victim, but here we can separate her active role in the actual case from her passive role inside of the article. It can be said that even though she is the victim, she is excluded. This may be connected with her age. The perpetrator is presented as an aggressor and at the same time story suggests the certain take-home message “open your eyes, it can happen to anyone, and anyone can do it!”:

“We accepted Goran, we welcomed him in our house, he ate our bread, he slept here, he shared everything with our children, and look how he returned it to us?! He raped our daughter, while all of us were there, in our own house!”

The husband is described as the head of the family, that reacted after his wife told him what has happened:

“Me and my daughter told him what happened, and he immediately called our friend, who is a policeman. We suspect that bastard heard everything, so he ran away before police came.”

The identity of the perpetrator is fully discovered, the mother is presented with initials, the name of the girl is not mentioned, neither the name of husband. On the other hand, the name of the village is openly mentioned inside of the text. That implies that there are small chances that someone who read article didn’t realized which family was written about. Also, there is a side-story which is connected to the previous incidents with neighbor Goran. The mother says:

“He was telling my husband that he never approached young girls, and that he is aware that those things are illegal. Whenever he has a problem, he starts to cry about how he doesn’t have family and home, so people feel sorry for him, and forgive him.” (sub-title *He attacked before?*)

When it comes to overdetermination, all of the social actors in this article are simultaneously participating in the case of violence against the girl and in their natural social habitats (family unit, neighborhood...). The perpetrator is at the same time the good neighbor

Goran, the victim is also a little daughter, and the ‘rescuers’ are simultaneously the mother and the father of the harassed girl.



As we can see, the photograph used in this article is the picture of the mother with a blurred face [probably in front of their house], which again indicates that the identity of the family is supposed to be hidden. Considering the characteristics of visual representation defined by van Leeuwen, what can be concluded from the photograph is: a) social distance is more a close shot than a long shot b) the mother is photographed from the frontal angle, which gives the impression of involvement with the viewer c) the angle of a viewer is positioned somewhere in-between high angle and eye-level d) and the interaction presupposes mother's direct look at the viewer (even though it can't be claimed for sure as the face is blurred) (Figure 13). What is also important to consider is the 'role' in which the social actor on the photograph can be depicted. In this case, the only thing that we can see is that woman is presented with the cigarette in her hand, which may imply negative associations.

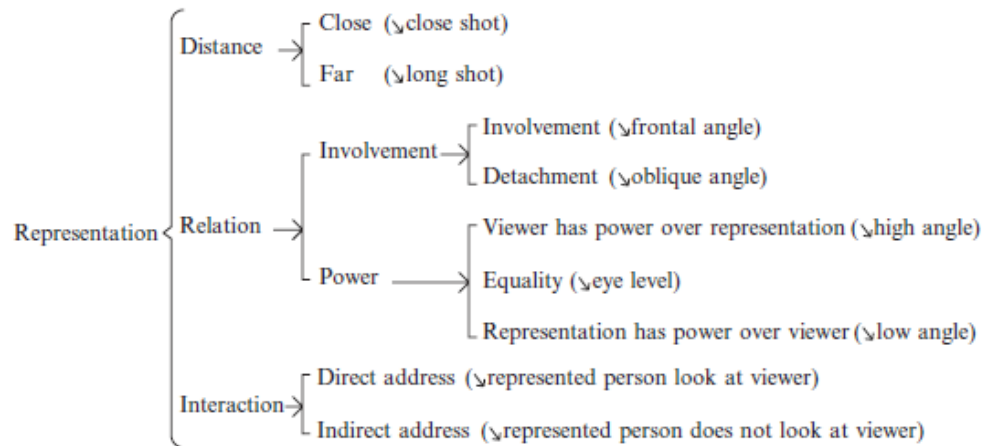


Figure 12. Representation and Viewer Network (van Leeuwen 2008: 141)

5.2.2. Human interest frame:

5.2.2.1. Article 2 – Blic – *The monster said: “She will be mine or God’s!” And then he slaughtered her!* (Biljana Vuckovic)

This article also presents a dialogue between the journalist and the mother. The main difference here is that the mother of the perpetrator is the interlocutor. The text is mostly structured like an interview, but the perspective that is taken is of human interest. The text starts with the words:

“I am his mother, but I don’t feel sorry for him. I feel sorry for the girl he killed. He threatened me too, how he would kill me, but we didn’t believe that he was capable of doing such thing.”

The main focus of the article is not on the unfortunate event but more on the things that happened after. As the mother is telling the story, the impression that the reader get is that we don’t know for sure what, and how, happened:

“Versanski, according to the words of his mother, murdered the girl on Monday night in a locker room of the village stadium. He killed the girl with six stabs of a knife, one of it was in her forehead.”

This kind of atmosphere is present in the whole article, as the only source is the mother and her view of the event.

Social actors in this text are the perpetrator, his family, mother, girl, and the neighbors. The main emphasis is again on mother. One of the reasons why she is talking is that she was also a victim of her son:

“She says for her son that he was violent. He had beaten her and grandma, and just a few days ago he went out of jail. He had a restraining order forbidding him from seeing the girl.”

The identities of all the actors (perpetrator, victim and mother) are fully discovered. The perpetrator is presented as the villain, even though the story is coming from his mother. He is presented as “dangler, odd, violent, detached from the family”. On the other hand, the discourse around the girl is possibly telling us that she is equally guilty for what happened:

“I don’t know for sure why he was in jail. Reportedly because of kidnapping, but I can’t say that I understand the reason because the girl was coming to the village by her own decision. I heard that she was waiting for him in Sombor, on Saturday when he went out of jail. On Sunday they met even though he was under restraining order.”
“...I think they were in a relationship for 9 months. I don’t know how they met, but he was always telling that she is the only one for him, that she is his goddess. Once he even said - she will be mine or God’s - and I always commented how their relationship can’t be good, that something bad will happen. But, what really happened between them, nobody can say.”

The mother is portrayed both as a victim, and as a mother of the perpetrator who condemns his actions. As there is a part of the text that is involving the voice of neighbors, an overall impression is that the whole family wanted to emphasize that they are not supporting this kind of behavior:

“I entered the police station and told police officers to move, to let me kill him. I asked him why he did it and he just said: ‘I had to do it.’”

Other members of her family are mentioned very briefly, the other son is described as a hard-worker, the daughters as scared because of the event, and husband was mentioned because the perpetrator actually lived with him. It is not openly said that the mother and father are separated.

The photograph that is used in this article is showing both the victim and the perpetrator, together. The photograph looks like it was taken while they were “in love, happy together”. They are both smiling, the shot is very close, and they are looking from an eye-level to a viewer, directly, which gives an impression of closeness (in both a physical and psychological way).

Monstrum rekao: „Biće moja ili božja“ i zaklao devojkicu

BILJANA VUČKOVIĆ

„Ja sam mu majka, ali mi ga nije žao. Žao mi je deteta koje je ubio. Danima je i meni pretio da će me zaklati, ali nismo verovali da je u stanju da zaista ubije.“

Ovako za „Blic“ priča Arijana Vukas, majka Jovana Veršanskog (24) iz Stanišića, koji je preključke ubio svoju devojkicu Bojanu Miletić (21) iz Sombora.

Veršanski je, prema rečima svoje majke, zločin počinio u ponedeljak uveče u svlačionici seoskog stadiona, a devojkicu je ubio sa šest uboda nožem, od čega je jedan bio u čelo.

Posle ubistva došao je u kuću kod oca sa kojim je živeo i rekao je: „Ubio sam Bojanu, morao sam“. Bio je sav krvav i onda je otišao do svoje kuće. Unutra su bile ćerke, a nisam bila kod kuće, a bivši suprug me je nazvao i rekao mi da je Jovan ubio Bojanu. U tom trenutku nisam razumela šta govori, mislila sam da ju je pretukao i pitala sam „je li ju je mnogo tukao“, ali kada sam čula da ju je ubio sa šest uboda nožem i život je stao – potresena je Arijana Vukas.

Dok je stigla do kuće bivšeg supruga deca su je nazvala da joj kažu da je Jovan u dvorištu i da lupu na vrata. Došla je neposredno

je u dvorištu uhapšen.

Ušla sam u policijsku stanicu i rekla sam policajcima da se razmaknu, da mi dozvole da ga ja ubijem. Pitala sam ga zašto je to uradio, a on je rekao: „Morao sam“.

Za sina kaže da je bio nasilan. Tukao je i nju i baku, a pre samo nekoliko dana izašao je iz pritvora. Imao je zabranu prilaska devojkici.

SASTAJALI SE KRIŠOM ZBOG ZABRANE

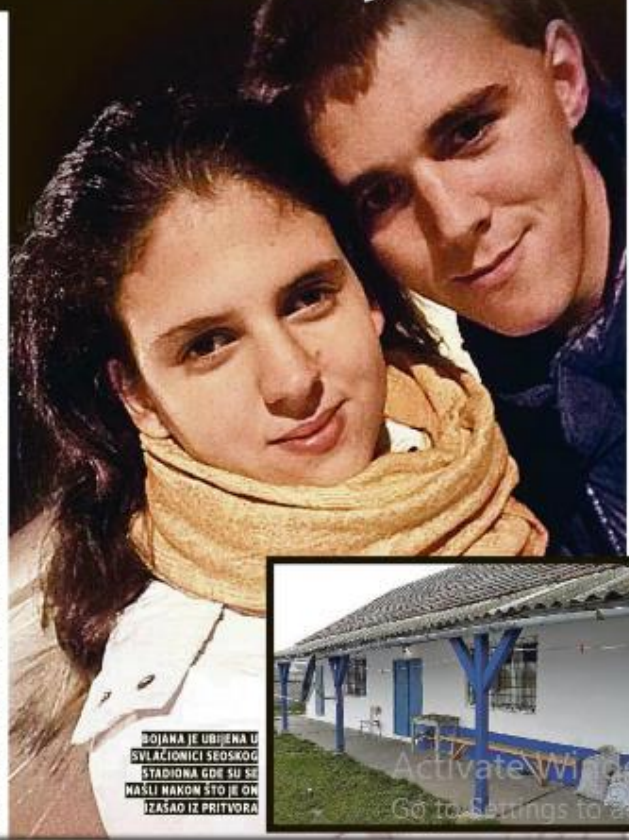
Meštani Stanišića potvrđuju priču njegove majke. Svi znaju za njegovu lošu narav i fizičko nasilje u porodici.

Ovo je strašno. Malo je mesto i svi se poznajemo. Problematičan je bio oduvek. Sastajali su se na stadionu, verovatno krišom jer je on imao zabranu prilaska. Tukao je majku, baku i nesrećnu devojkicu. Zasluzio je najveću kaznu – zaključuju meštani.

Ne znam zašto je tačno bio u pritvoru. Navodno zbog kidnapovanja, ali mi to nije jasno pošto je to dete samo dolazilo u naše selo. Čula sam da ga je u subotu nakon izlaska iz zatvora u Somboru sačekala. U nedelju su se isto našli na stadionu iako je on imao zabranu prilaska. Osećala sam da neće na dobro izći i pozvala sam bivšeg komandira policije. Prijavila sam da su se našli, međutim, rečeno mi je da su oni učinili sve što je u njihovoj moći i da oni ne mogu ništa ako se oni vole. Sutradan ju je ubio na istom mestu, a ja verujem da je to moglo da se spreči – priča kroz suze Arijana Vukas.

Jovan nije nigde radio, a prema rečima njegove majke, mogao je, ali nije hteo. Do fizičkog nasilja nad majkom je dolazilo jer je tražio stalno novac, pogotovo kada bi čuo da je njegov brat dobio platu. Osim njega, Vukasova ima još jednog sina i dve ćerke.

Mislim da su u vezi bili oko devet meseci. Ne znam ni kako su se upoznali, ali je uvek govorio da je ona jedina devojkica za njega, da je ona njegova boginja, da nijedna druga ne postoji. Čak je rekao: „Biće samo moja ili božja“ i ja sam uvek na to skretala pažnju, kao da sam slutila da to ne može izći na dobro, ali šta se zaista dogodilo između njih, niko ne zna – potresena je Arijana Vukas.



What is mostly depicted in this article is ‘the story of the murderer (and his family)’ more than the story of the actual crime. Because of that, human interest frame was the most suitable option. At the same time, we have basically two victims – the girl and the mother, which underlines the problem of violence even more (through a human face – mother). Both the language and visual presentation are generating personal feelings on the reader/viewer.

5.2.2.2. Article 3 – Vecernje Novosti – *He slaughtered his grandmother after fight* (J.D. Ljusic)

УХАПШЕН ДЕЈАН СТАНКОВИЋ (37) ЗБОГ СУМЊЕ ДА ЈЕ УСМРТИО ЗОРКУ СТАНКОВИЋ (85) У КОВАЧЕВЦУ КОД МЛАДЕНОВЦА

ЗАКЛАО БАБУ ПОСЛЕ СВАЂЕ

Напао је ножем и више пута ударио штангом у главу. Од детињства имао психичких проблема

ДЕЈАН Станковић (37) ухапшен је јуче око 13 часова због сумње да је на прагу породичне куће у селу Ковачевцу код Младеновца заклао баку Зорку Станковић (85), а потом је више пута металном шантом ударио по глави. После злочина је позвао полицију и испричао шта је урадио. Када су припадници МУП стигли, није се отпријео хапшењу.

У кући Станковића, у којој се догодила трагедија, дуго је трајао умишљај, а како незванично сазнајемо од комшија, убиство је претходила свађа баче и унука. Напољно, Зорка је умишљај рекла да иле да тражи посао и да мора нешто да ради. Пребацивала му је тврде комшије, и то што је ушао у неке године а

Зорка је Дејана кришћиковала што не ради

не жени се и не ствара породицу.

Дејан је био психички болесник. Зорка је често инсистирала да иле да се лечи и да пије лекове. Међутим, он није иоле да му се то говори и тада би побеснео. Претпостављамо да је и сада тако нешто довело до кулминације - каже једна од комшија.

Мештани Ковачевца кажу да готово сви који живе у овом селу знају да је Дејан још од детињства имао одређене психичке проблеме.

Напољно, лечио се и примао је терапију, а комшије веле да је умео сазнати да

беснило вози бицикл по селу. Мештани, су, знајући како ствари стоје, углавном склањали децу са улице, а и сами су се "евакуисали" када би он наишао.

Коначно, према њиховим тврдњама, Дејаново стање се погоршало када му је једном умрла мајка, за коју је био врло везан. Запао је у још већу

та кон-тролише. Према причи Зоре Станковић, Дејанове и Зоркине рођаке поја живи у кући поред њихове, ова породица није имала баш лак живот. Зорка је била стара и болесна, али се максимално трудил да одржава домаћинство

и брине о болесном унуку.

Зорка је имала пензију од које је издржавала себе и унука. Дејан није имао никакве примана и никад ништа није радио. Видела сам га јуче пошто је Зорка примила пензију да је ишао да им купи неке потрештине. Није деповао ништа више нервозно него уобичајено.

Умишљај у селу Ковачевцу код Младеновца трајао је готово пет сати, након чега је полиција извела Дејана из куће. Он је приведен и

Знало се да има психичких проблема, а вероватно није узимао лекове

после задржавања до 48 сати биће саслушан пред надлежним тужилашвом. У међузаконичном ће вероватно бити проценено и његово ментално стање, односно да ли је способан да изнесе одбрану.

Према једној верзији догађаја, Дејан је после свађе с баком пришао баки и позем јој пререкао

тркљан. Учинило му се да она паде знаке живота па ју је потом више пута по телу и глави ударио металном шантом и усмртио је. Према другој верзији, пак, Дејан је Зорку онесвестио металном шантом, а онда је преклао.

Ј. Д. ЉУТИЋ

СЕСТРЕ ДОШЛЕ У СЕЛО

Од комшија Лепосаве Прокић (на слици) сазнали смо да Дејан има и две сестре које су јуче, чим им је јављено за трагедију, дошло у бакину кућу.

Оне имају своје породице и ретко су долазиле у село код баке и брата, али колико знам, редовно су посећивале очев и мајчин гроб. Чујем да су и сад дошле кад им је јављено да је Дејан убио Зорку. Јадне жене. Ипак, грехота је осуђивати га јер је болестан, а умео је некад и да попије. Он једини поропатио и не зна шта је урадио.

ЛИСНИЦЕ Полиција привела Дејана

СТРАВИЧНО Кућа у којој се догодила злочина



This article is also categorized as human-interest frame. It will be interesting to see how it will differ from the previous article that was categorized under the same frame, especially as it comes from different newspapers. In this article, the text is organized as a dialogue with the neighborhood. All of the information, regarding the crime, background of the story, family relations etc. are coming only from the sources that are living in the neighborhood of the Stankovic family. They present the only live voices in this article. The perpetrator is described as:

“Dejan had mental issues. Zorka often insisted that he should go to therapy, and take medicaments. However, he didn’t like to listen when she was talking about that. And he often got mad because of it. I suppose that something similar happened this time – says one of their neighbor’s.”

“I heard that his sisters came when they heard that Dejan killed their grandmother Zorka. Poor women. Yet again, it is a sin to judge him, as he was sick and an alcoholic.”

On the other hand, his role is represented through the material process of ‘beating’, ‘killing’, ‘slaughtering’ his grandmother Zorka. Activation through *participation* is the clearest way of foregrounding agency and the role of the perpetrator in the event (van Leeuwen 2008: 33).

The main emphasis of this article is the background of the crime – Dejan’s mental state, his relation with his mother who has died recently, will he be able to defend himself in the court (as he is sick) etc.

The victim is presented as a *passive* agent, she was described as someone to whom the perpetrator done harm. Also, she was described as someone who isn’t strong enough to control her sick grandson. van Leeuwen defined that *activation* occurs when social actors are represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity, and *passivation* when they are represented as “undergoing” the activity, or as being “at the receiving end of it” (van Leeuwen 2008: 33). Zorka’s active role was connected to taking care of her grandson, but also as a participant [initiator] of the fights they often had.

Visually, the perpetrator is presented in the situation where police came to arrest him. That gives the impression that the viewer is at the crime scene almost immediately after the crime has happened. What we can see is the perpetrator from the side and his back, not a frontal angle. As the police officers are with him on the photographs, the overall impression is that ‘everyone is safe, that there is no need to panic’. On the other side, we can see that the photo was taken from a long distance, which may imply the danger of being close to him. Also, because of that angle he looks like he is social outcast, especially in connection with the text and emphasis of his mental state. A photograph of one neighbor is included in the article. The photo is taken from a very close shot, she is looking directly at us. This may be understood, according to van Leeuwen, as the intention to produce a feeling of closeness between the actor and the viewer. The neighbor is an old woman, so even though the victim is not showed on the photograph, the feeling of her presence is live.

5.2.3. Consequences frame

Article 4 and 5 – Politika – *Indictment is sent to Zoran Marjanovic (M.D.) & For passion crime, 40 years of jail* (T. Todorovic)

Оптужница послата Зорану Марјановићу

Кривично ванрасправно веће Вишег суда у Београду утврдило је јуче, после вишесатног већања, да је оптужница против Зорана Марјановића, осумњиченог да је 2. априла 2016. године убио супругу Јелену, прописно састављена, па је она послата њему и његовим браниоцима. Иако је оптужница „изашла“ из суда, односно послата странкама у поступку, она вероватно браниоцима неће бити уручена до понедељка јер је експедована поштом.

Петорица Марјановићевих адвоката имају право да одговоре на оптужницу у року од осам дана од дана када је приме. Уколико они то не ураде, веће ће преиспитивати оптужницу. У супротном, односно

уколико сви браниоци поднесу одговор, КВ веће одлучује о основаности оптужнице.

Оптужница којом се Марјановићу на терет ставља убиство супруге, достављена је суду 9. фебруара. Поводом убиства Јелене Марјановић, министар полиције Небојша Стефановић рекао је јуче да овај случај полако добија свој епилог и да ће моћи да се иде на суђење које ће донети правду. Он је навео и да је, што се тиче конкретног случаја, полиција урадила свој део посла и да по налогу Вишег тужилаштва у Београду, спроводи све што је потребно.

– Да ли ће бити нових осумњичених за различита дела у вези са овим случајем, не могу да кажем, о томе ће

одлучити тужилаштво, када сагледа све доказе – рекао је Стефановић новинарима.

Важно је, подвукао је министар, да грађани схвате да је то био врло комплексан случај, да зна да је људима деловало да је трајало дуго, али наглашава да би много опасније било да се радило на брзину и да на крају, због недовољно добро прикупљених доказа, добијемо ослобађајућу пресуду.

– Онда то, свакако, није правда за Јелену, која је заслужила у најмању руку, после тако мучног убиства да добије неки вид правде, она и људи из њене породице, да се види да су починиоци добили заслужене казне – навео је Стефановић.

М. Д.

Article 4

In the article 4, it is clear that frame is in connection with the legal consequences, as it is related both to Marjanovic case, and with use of language - word *indictment*. The whole article is reporting about consequences for murder of Jelena Marjanovic. Social actors included in the text are: Zoran Marjanovic, the court, Zoran's lawyers, the victim, and the minister of police Nebojsa Stefanovic. The only live voice is given to the minister, which is not usual way to report about the case. It must be said that case of Marjanovic is one of the most controversial cases of violence, as the crime happened two years ago, and the media are still reporting about it. The emphasis of the whole article is on the indictment, it goes, for example, in details such as:

“The indictment will not be in the hands of Zoran's lawyers before Monday because it is being sent by the post office.” (first paragraph of the article)

The agent in this text is minister Nebojsa Stefanovic, and his voice is used to underline that justice needs to be seriously approached, especially when it comes to such complicated cases. Jelena is

mentioned only in one sentence as the victim, and Zoran is still described as a *potential* perpetrator. It can be noticed that nobody wants to claim for sure who is guilty for the murder:

“Will it happen that new suspects appear in connection to this case, I don’t know. Those are the things that the prosecutor’s office is going to decide on, based on the evidence they gathered by now. – Stefanovic told the press.”

The photographs are not used in this article, which is often case when it comes to report about violence in *Politika*.

За злочин из љубоморе 40 година затвора

Ниш – У Вишем суду у Нишу јуче је Миодраг Каралић (58) из Крушевца осуђен на максималну казну од 40 година затвора. Утврђено је да је он 5. децембра 2016. године, изнад села Брадарца, код Алексинца, из освете убио бившу девојку Гордану Јосифовић, рођену 1972. године, коју је претходно отео заједно са њеним момком Милуном Костићем (53) у центру Крушевца.

Каралић је злочин извршио из патолошке љубоморе пошто га је Јосифовићева, са којом је он био у вези, оставила и започела живот са Костићем. Трагични догађај почео је испред сервиса за технички преглед у којем је Гордана радила. Каралић је ушао у Милунов аутомобил, док је овај чекао Гордану, и претећи му пиштољем наредио му да ћути. Када је Гордана села у возило на место сувозача, Каралић је наредио Костићу да крене према излазу из Крушевца. Успут се свађао са Горданом захтевајући да раскине везу са Костићем, а када је она то одбила ударио је у главу и испалио хитац из пиштоља који је Јосифовићеву ранио у руку и натколеницу. Зауставили су се недалеко од Брадарца и Каралић је Гордану извео из аутомобила поред пута. Најпре јој је прислонио оружје на образ и пуцао, а када се она срушила на земљу испалио јој је и други хитац у потиљак.

Т. Тодоровић

Article 5

The second article presents a brief report about the crime that has happened some time before this particular text came out in newspapers. The main theme of the article is the fact that this perpetrator is sentenced to a maximal punishment according to Serbian criminal law (40 years of jail). The social actors are the victim, the perpetrator and the current partner of the murdered girl. The article is short, and most of the text offers a recapitulation of the event. There are no photographs, similar to the previous article. The victim is presented as a *passive* agent, the one to whom the things were done. The only time when she is referred to in an active role is: “she left him and she started a new life with a new man.” The perpetrator is described using the *active* verbs such as: “he kidnaped, he killed, he threatened, he argued, he shot, he pulled her out of the car” ...

As there is also one more figure present in this article, the victim’s boyfriend, the only thing that could be said about him is that he was there: “...whom he previously kidnapped together with her boyfriend in the center of Krusevac”. He is not portrayed neither in active nor passive role except for the fact the he drove the car at the time of the abduction.

5.2.4. Responsibility frame

Article 6 – Danas – Vucic humiliated women! (team of journalists of Danas)

The last article is categorized under the responsibility frame. One of the main concerns when it comes to this type of framing was, of course, *who is responsible*. Other components are questions such as: *is there any suggestions of how the issue could be solved*, and *is there a need for urgent action* (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000: 56). In accordance with these questions, the article from *Danas* falls under the chosen frame.

Stručna javnost kritikovala izjavu predsednika Srbije da lekar trudnici pre abortusa treba da pokaže ultrazvuk i pusti joj da čuje otkucaje srca bebe

Vučić ponizio žene

Tepić: Vučić poturio žene u fokus kako bi u danu sećanja na pogrom sve oko Kosova gurnuo u drugi plan **Pavlović:** Predsednik Srbije javno najavio nasilje države nad ženama **Rašković Ivić:** Način podizanja nataliteta koji predlaže Vučić predstavlja izživljavanje i ponižavanje žena **Trajković:** Ljudima je potreban posao i plata

U FOKUSU
Beograd – Predsednik Srbije Aleksandar Vučić je opet zloupotrebio žene, smatraju sugovornice Danasa. Porodice izjavu predsednika da lekar treba pre abortusa da pokaže ultrazvuk i pusti joj da čuje otkucaje srca bebe, jer da ona onda odlučuje da li fali da abortira.

Nakon sugovornosti protiv načina podizanja nataliteta koji predlaže predsednik Srbije, jer predstavlja izživljavanje i ponižavanje žena, a kako kažu, svojim stavovima o populacionoj politici Vučić je praktično nagurno nasilje države protiv žena. Ljudima je potreban posao i plata od koje mogu da izdržavaju svoje porodice, naglašavaju Danasove sugovornice iz oblasti zdravstva, politike i civilnog sektora i naglašavaju da Vučić, onakvim izjavama skraćuje plaćanja sa suštine problema, „a to je mala patenost koja prihvata u kojoj se radi u pedesetak za 100 evra mesečno“.

Podsetimo, Vučić je tokom vikenda, predstavljanju akcionog plana za populacionu politiku, rekao da će, u zavisnosti od ekonomskog problema, Srbija, 2026. godine imati do pet miliona stanovnika, te da za to nije kriva ni Amerika ni Evropska unija, „već mi sami“.

Prema njegovim rečima, ovi planovi su samo da se beživot, inače za 40 godina nećemo imati ni državu ni narod.

E. D.
Nastavak na 5. strani



Stručna javnost kritikovala izjavu predsednika Srbije da lekar pre abortusa trudnici treba da pokaže ultrazvuk i pusti joj da čuje otkucaje srca bebe

Vučić ponizio žene

Nastavak sa 1. strane

Kako je dodao, zbog toga je formiran Savet predsednika Srbije za populacionu politiku, koji će omogućiti novčanu pomoć svim majkama, naravno da ga ne interesuje šta će po tom pitanju reći bilo ko iz vladne ili nevladine stranke. „Majka koja rodi treće i četvrto dete imaće 30.000 dinara mesečno koje dobija od države, da ništa ne radi i da ima prebivalište na teritoriji Srbije“, navodi je Vučić.

Marinka Tepić, narodna poslanica Nove stranke, ističe za Danas da otkucanje srca - zvuči dobro, emotivno, ali samo kada bi li izgovorio partner te žene, nego kome je stalo, sve i da žena odbi drugacije svojim punim pravom.

Ali kada o tome govori Aleksandar Vučić, poznat po - u najmanju ruku - izrazitom nepoštovanju svojih partnerki, supruga, trudnica - talože, se tiče se samo kako je pre godinu dana izjavljiva o kako se trudnice izvlače da ne bi radile, onda je to odvratna propaganda u kojoj je bavljenjem našim ma-



Tepić: Vučić poturio žene u fokus kako bi u danu sećanja na pogrom sve oko Kosova gurnuo u drugi plan

Pavlović: Predsednik Srbije javno najavio nasilje države protiv žena, ali žene to neće dozvoliti

Rašković Ivić: Način podizanja nataliteta koji predlaže Vučić predstavlja izživljavanje i ponižavanje žena

Trajković: Ljudima je potreban posao i plata od koje mogu da izdržavaju svoje porodice

This article is positioned on the cover page of the newspapers. It talks about the speech which president of Serbia, Aleksandar Vucic, held. During the speech he said that “neither United States nor Europe are guilty for the fact that Serbia will have only 5 million people by the year of 2060”. As president said, “the guilt is “on us”, and we must take care of this problem because otherwise we will not have the nation in future”.

tericama, mešanjem i u naša prava da odlučujemo o radanju, Vučić opet zloupotrebio i poturio žene u fokus kako bi u danu sećanja na pogrom sve oko Kosova gurnuo u drugi ili peti plan. Još odvratnije mi je što je pored sebe namestio ministarku Đukić Dejanović, takođe ženu, koja ni je zračila, nit znam šta je uopšte tražila pored Vučića, jer je ona odgovorna sama predstavnica u Skupštini, a ne njemu, pa makar ga svi ljudi ovog sveta izabrali za predsednika države. Ona, kao članica Vlade, morala je naći snage i reći mu ne-neću saučestvovati u tome da pričaš kako će se izdržavati ovako ili onako novca za bilo šta! To je moj posao i nadležnost Vlade i parlamenta koji to odobrava ili ne, a ne tvoj. I kličući, to je novac građana, a ne tvoj, naglašava Tepić.

Sanja Pavlović iz Autonomnog ženskog centra ističe za Danas da je predsednik Vučić svojim stavovima „javno najavio nasilje države protiv žena“, naglašavajući da „žene to neće dozvoliti“.

Sandra Rašković Ivić, psihijatar i potpredsednica Narodne stranke, kaže za naš list da je apsolutno protiv načina podizanja nataliteta koji predlaže predsednik Srbije, jer predstavlja „izživljavanje i ponižavanje žena“.

Sandra Rašković Ivić, psihijatar i potpredsednica Narodne stranke, kaže za naš list da je apsolutno protiv načina podizanja nataliteta koji predlaže predsednik Srbije, jer predstavlja „izživljavanje i ponižavanje žena“.

Stojković: Najbitnije savetovalište
Milica Stojković, ginekolog i profesor Medicinskog fakulteta Univerziteta u Kragujevcu, ističe za Danas da je najbitnije da postoji savetovalište u kome će se ženi objasniti šta je plan, a šta minus predlažući, te da li iz nekog razloga to mora i treba da se uradi, a onda pusti njaj da sama donese odluku da li će to uraditi. „Na zapadu postoje takva savetovališta, ne znam da li ih ima kod nas. Postoje predstavnici koji moraju da se govore iz medicinskih razloga, jer ako je plac abnormalan buduću dete pusti buduću majku otkucanje srca. Medicinski razlozi su jako bitni u celoj toj priči, a ne samo savet i uticati na nekoga da promeni mišljenje“, ukazuje Stojković.

Stojković ističe da je abortus najgori vid kontracepcije i zbog toga treba preventivno raditi sa mladim devojkama i ženama da ne bi došlo u takvu situaciju. Ali, priča o guranju vladinih i vladinih efekata ženama i devojkama, kojima takva situacija prirodno nije ni malo laka, dodatno bi kod njih podstakla osećanje krivice i produžila de-

presiju u koju neminovno upada svaka žena koja je morala da se odluči na abortus - objašnjava Sandra Rašković Ivić.

Pitanje nataliteta i abortusa je, prema rečima Rađe Trajković, lekarke i političarke sa KiM, ozbiljna tema koja traži

„problem abortusa postoji, zato što i sami lekari, nažalost, vrše selektivne abortuse za novac“, ali ističe da je to velika stručna tema.

Potpuno sam zapanjena ovakvim izjavama, pogotovo što one skreću pažnju sa suštine problema, a to je naša patološka privreda u kojoj se radi u pedesetak za 100 evra mesečno. Ljudima je potreban posao i plata od koje mogu da izdržavaju svoje porodice, a ne da mladi ljudi masovno odlaze iz Srbije zato što je ne prepoznaju kao mesto koje će im ponuditi zaposlenje i platu u skladu sa stručnošću, i neradi u firmama sa primanjima ispod svih evropskih standarda - ističe Rađa Trajković.

Ona kaže da su se kao odgovor na predsednikove predloge za povećanje nataliteta tako što će za svako treće dete pa nadaće davati državne subvencije, na društvenim mrežama već pojavile fotografije žena kojima iz očiju vire simbol evra sa porukom „Za četvrto toliko“.

Ekipa Danasa

As the article portrays, his speech provoked a great amount of reactions among the public, especially women. The special accent of the president's speech was on the 'new rules' regarding the abortion policy in Serbia.

“Professional public criticized the statement of Aleksandar Vucic that doctors should show the ultrasound to the women, and let her hear the heartbeats of baby, before she decides to abort.”

This is reported as violence against women and their rights. Social actors represented in this article are: president Aleksandar Vucic, Marinka Tepic member of New Party, Sanja Pavlovic from Autonomous Women's Center, Sandra Raskovic Ivic, psychiatrist and vice president of the People's Party, Rada Trajkovic doctor and politician from Kosovo, Miodrag Stojkovic, geneticist and professor from the Faculty of Medicine in Kragujevac, and of course - babies. They are at the same time *nominated*, through the unique identity, in this case professional, and some of them are at the same time *categorized* [women]. As Leeuwen writes, “identification occurs when social actors are defined, not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what they, more or less permanently or unavoidably are” (van Leeuwen 2008: 41).

If we compare this case with other articles, it can be said that the president is the ‘perpetrator’, women voices are the victims, and the voice of Miodrag, as an expert, is used to underline the problem of women (especially as it is the voice of a man). The differences between ‘us’ and ‘them’ in this article is defined through ‘us’ – women and the people who are not supporting Vucic's politics, and ‘them’ – Vucic, his government, and the people who support him [“she thinks that the things that Vucic is mentioning, like ultrasound and heartbeats of baby, are acceptable only in poorly educated and almost unlettered sociological groups”].

As it is already discussed, many critical linguists underlined the *roles* of the social actors as an important aspect of representation (e.g. Fairclough 1989a; van Dijk 1991): who is represented as *agent*, who as *patient* in respect to a given action? In this article, in connection with how president Vucic, and his talk, defined role allocation of women, we see them as *passive agents*:

“A mother who gives birth to a third and fourth child will have 30.000rsd per month, she will receive it from the state, to do nothing, under only one condition – to have permanent residence in Serbia.”

From the perspective of women-victims this is unacceptable:

“...but when with Aleksandar Vucic – known as someone who doesn’t respect his partners, wives and pregnant women – it should be also taken into consideration how he one year ago said that women who are getting pregnant are trying to escape work, then I must say, this is must disgusting propaganda in which president Vucic uses our uterus, our rights as women to push the topic of Kosovo out of room.” (Marinka Tepic, member of New Party)

On the other side, the article represents both the president and women as *active*. He, as a perpetrator that “abuses women, publicly announces violence against women, humiliates women...” and women as actors who “will not let that happen, will not participate, are shocked, will fight against...”. Miodrag Stojkovic is presented as a neutral agent, an expert, that outlines medical reasons that could be important when it comes to the decision of women to abort:

“Western societies have those kinds of medical consultancy, I don’t know if we have those. There are medical reasons for abortion, where heartbeats of baby are not playing important role. Medical reasons are very important in the story about abortion, more than the questions of someone’s conscience or influence on a final decision”.

(professor Miodrag Stojkovic)

When it comes to the visual representation, photographs used in this article are showing babies. Both photos are taken from a very close shot, and on one photograph we see the hands of a person. The social relation between actors looks like it is more a doctor-patient than a mother-baby relation. Even though babies are social actors in this article, regarding language they are very passive and almost invisible. The accent is on the women, and of course, the president. Interestingly, the choice of photograph in this article is neither the women nor the president. So, it can be said that the visual context of the article is emphasizing babies as the most important social agent. The reason for that may be different. The topic of abortus is very sensitive especially in connection with the history of 90’s in Balkans. Both national politics and war used female body as instruments (Zarkov 2007). At the time when Yugoslavia disintegrated, biological survival of individual nations preserved the ethnic ‘purity’ of nations. Also, the important aspect of the article is involving medical arguments for potential abortion. That perspective, along with the photographs chosen to represent babies, can underline a positive attitude towards birth as such, but negative towards the president and his policy.

6. Discussion and conclusions

Last chapter of this paper is devoted to the discussion of results and findings that are important for this study. In accordance with the research questions, conclusions will be outlined. First, specifics of different newspaper reports on violence against women in Serbia will be described. After this, the aspects of representation of social actors included in the reports of different newspapers will be compared. Through that, it will be easier to see how exactly newspapers in Serbia are reporting about the cases of violence, and do they differ at all. Lastly, practical implications as well as limitations of the research will be presented.

6.1. The specifics of reports on violence against women in Serbia

States and nations often construct their subjects in gendered ways that constitute a critical part of the process of identity formation. Both gender and nation are social constructs and organizing principles of one society and as such they are both products and producers of power relationships that in turn produce difference and are produced by difference. National difference is represented through notions of gender difference, justifying hierarchies based on assumed natural gender hierarchy (Papić 2002, Zarkov, 2007). Serbia is one of the countries that not that long ago approached the nation, and the gender, in the similar way. Conflicts in Balkans produced solid ground for re-traditionalizing of the gender roles. Often cases of domestic violence may be considered as one of the consequences of this kind of approach. One of the most often relations between the women-victims and the perpetrators in the presented study is partner relations. The problem of violence against women in Serbia is closely intertwined with the cases of domestic violence, as previous research showed. Because of this, it is very important to see how media report about these cases. The voice of media can be very influential when it comes to the social issues (Yanowitzki 2002).

This study has showed that victims in the cases of violence against women in Serbia are most often between 25-40 years old. The type of violence that was most often reported in Serbian newspapers during the first six months of 2018 is *murder/attempted murder*. At the same time, these types of reports were most often on the cover pages of the researched newspapers in Serbia. In most of the articles, the identity of the victim was totally revealed. The most dominant section

inside of all of the articles was *Black Chronicle* section. The most common type of article used to portray the cases of violence is *news report*. In most of the cases, the story was positioned as a local rather than an international case. In the greatest number of cases, the media itself was the source who tells the story. Of course, most of the cases that newspapers reported about were an incident-based stories.

When it comes to the frames, the most common frame in the analyzed newspapers is definitely human-interest frame. That implies that individual stories, with human face and a lot of private/personal details, that provoke feelings and reactions are most common type of reports we can see in the newspapers in Serbia when it comes to the violence against women. The newspaper with highest number of articles in analyzed period is definitely *Kurir*, and the one with the lowest number of the articles is *Danas* (only five). The month that is marked as the one with the most frequent number of articles is February, but this can be discussed in connection with the choice of the method for collecting the sample.

Differences between the newspapers are present, but that does not diminish the presence of problems in connection to the overall sample. For example, second most present newspaper's section in the overall sample is *Entertainment [Stars]*. The newspapers *Politika* and *Danas* don't contain the articles about violence against women under this section. Also, in the most of the articles in *Politika* we cannot see any photographs, while it is not rare for *Kurir*, *Blic*, *Vecernje Novosti* and *Danas* to use photographs along with the text. It is not rare to see the victims on the photographs used in these newspaper reports.

As one of the emphasis of this study was to investigate which social actors are represented in the articles about violence against women, some of the main findings regarding this subject will be outlined. In most of the cases, the journalist is known and signed at the end of the article in all of the five newspapers. This is in accordance with the fact that in the most of the cases, the source was the actual media who reported about the case. In most of the cases when we have the live voices of the social actors, those are connected either to the victim or to the perpetrator. Mostly, when they are present in the articles, they speak directly for themselves. That may be connected with the number of the articles in the *Entertainment [Stars]* section, as it is logical that significant number of the victims from the *Black Chronicle* section weren't able to speak for themselves. Closer look into how these actors are used and portrayed, both visually and in the sense of

language, will provide more insights into the newspapers reports on violence against women in Serbia.

6.2. Social agents in the discourse of violence against women in Serbia

Frames that were most commonly used in the reports about violence against women are those connected to the notion of responsibility, consequences, moral and human interest. As it was underlined, human-interest approach was most common approach to the cases of violence against women among the analyzed newspapers in Serbia. In connection to that, it seems that the social agents in the cases of violence against women were often very familiar with the victims. The great number of reports include voices of family members, neighbors, often even the perpetrator or the victim herself. In-depth analysis of the articles showed that in the articles that were connected to the human-interest frame, victims were mostly presented as the passive agents. The three of six analyzed articles reported the case with the mother as the main social figure in the article. In one case it was the mother of the victim, in other the mother of the perpetrator, and in the third article all women in Serbian society were connected to the role of the mother. As the problem of domestic violence in Serbia has been already underlined for several times, it is important to mention that while approaching the critical discourse of social actors inside of the texts, four out of six analyzed articles were cases of violence inside of the family unit. When it comes to the visual representation of the social agents in the texts, the photographs that are used are most often of the perpetrators or the victims. The ways in which social actors are presented in those photographs is important for the discourses of violence in the text of the articles. One of the outlined discourses is the discourse of guilt, but often addressed in different terms. In the newspapers *Danas*, the discourse of guilt is organized around the questions of responsibility. In *Politika*, around the criminal consequences. *Kurir*, *Vecernje Novosti* and *Blic* are mostly persistent in the presenting the background of the violence, which often involves emotions and implies for the reader to choose on which side he/she is. For example, mental state of the perpetrator is emphasized, or victim's personal choices are involved in reasoning the way of why the violence happened. The sources in the overall sample were mostly the media itself, which is in accordance with the results that shows that in the half of the sample the source wasn't mentioned directly. In other words, in a high number of articles, journalists wrote the reports of violence against women, without clear mention of who is their

source, and how they gathered information. On the other hand, when social actors were represented inside of the articles with the live voices, they were often voicing people who were familiar with the victim or the perpetrator, or in some cases voicing the state (the president, the minister, the courts, the advocates etc.).

6.3. Final discussion

This thesis is organized around several research questions. The overall question is how news media in Serbia report about the violence against women, following which frames are most commonly used for those purposes, how the newspapers differ between themselves when it comes to these reports, which are the most common ways of sourcing inside of the articles, and how are those sources represented from a point of the power relations inside of the discourses of violence. The results in connection with these questions were presented in the previous sections of this chapter. However, it is important to pinpoint the results within the social and media context of Serbia. Authors like Momcilovic (2006) described the factors that are influencing the life of women in Serbia. In connection to these factors, the media reports show that almost all of the mentioned categories were depicted from the collected articles. The topic of domestic violence was one of the most present topics among the overall sample. A certain number of articles were connected with the topic of birthrate and abortion in Serbia, which well describes the influence of Church on public and political life of women, as well as the patriarchal construct of female sexuality (Momcilovic 2006). Media sensationalism is present, and more recent claims of Jugovic, Jugovic and Bogetic (2016) showed as accurate in the cases of news report on violence against women. *Entertainment* [Stars] section due to the Marjanovic and Natasa Bekvalac case offered a lot of articles in connection to the topic of violence against women. Sex, scandal and spectacle showed as very often used tools for approaching the discourse of violence in Serbian newspapers. Also, through the discourse analysis of the social actors and closer look into the six articles from the sample, institutional beliefs as the one that ‘man doesn’t know how to hold back the anger’, or that ‘he cannot withstand frustration and stressful situations as well as that violence stems from the insecurity and jealousy of a man’ (Jajcevic 2007) were recognized among media reports. The observations of authors Simeunovic-Patic and Jovanovic (2013) that perpetrators are almost always falling under the one of four of the defined categories also were recognized inside of the

news media reports (such as possessive lover, and a perpetrator who is punishing the victim because she decided to confront the violator).

6.4. Practical implications and limitations of the research

This study focuses on the analysis of the content of five different newspapers in Serbia. The analyzed content of the newspapers is connected with the topic of violence against women. The chosen period of three weeks in the first six months of 2018 was logical, as the interest of the study is to take into consideration the most recent policy change regarding the laws on domestic violence. As it is noticed, the number of cases of violence is still very high, especially when it comes to the domestic violence. Because of that, it could be interesting to research the period that consisted of the whole 2018-year sample in order to make a comparison with previous research or with the year before the law was effective.

As the frames presented the important category in the content analysis of the reports on violence, it was underlined that framing can influence public opinion, especially when it comes to the news that involve social issues. The practical implication of the study may be the new focus on the audience studies, and the use of frames in connection to that research. It would be useful to measure the actual impact of how news reports about violence are framed and how it influences public opinion on the issue, especially when it come to the topic of domestic violence in Serbia.

To repeat, certain standards must be fulfilled in order to build a good practice of media reports on the social issues: a responsible approach to the journalism, a deeper understanding and knowledge of the phenomenon of violence, a loud voice of all actors in the community who are working to suppress and reduce the violence, a set of standards that are built to protect the victims, and constant work on raising public awareness of the problem (Visnjic 2012: 156). In accordance to that claims, this study provides more insights on how Serbian news media are approaching the topic of violence against women, which may help to potentially point out more and less effective ways for future media reports.

7. References

Alat, Z. (2006) *News Coverage of Violence Against Women*. Feminist Media Studies, no. 6(3): pp. 295-34.

Aleksic, J. and Djorgovic, J. (2011) *Handbook for the Media Coverage of Domestic Violence and Violence Against Women*, Belgrade: Gender Equality Directorate, Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, Republic of Serbia [ONLINE] Available at: <http://ravnopravnost.org.rs/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Prirucnik-za-medijsko-izvestavanje-o-nasilju.pdf> accessed on 01.04.2018.

Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

ANTIDOT Independent Media Campus and Network (2017) *Kurir – a media paradigm in Serbia after the assassination of Zoran Djindjic* [ONLINE] Available at: <https://www.anti.media/en/istrazivanje/files/kurir-medijska-paradigma-srbije-posle-zorana-inica/> accessed on 05.04.2018.

Babovic, M. Ginic, K. and Vukovic O. (2010) *Mapping Family Violence Against Women in Central Serbia*, project *Fighting Sexual and Gender-based violence*, , Belgrade: Gender Equality Directorate, Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, Republic of Serbia [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.sigurnakuca.net/upload/Mapiranje_porodicnog_nasilja_prema_zenama_u_Centralnoj_Srbiji.pdf [accessed on 30.03.2018]

Badarevski, Bobi (2007) *Critical Discourse Analysis of Trade in Women in Printed Media in the Republic of Macedonia: Gender Perspective* in Stereotyping: representing the women in printed media in southeastern Europe, ed. Nirman Moranjak Bamburać, Tarik Jusić and Adla Isanović, pp. 219–249. Sarajevo: Media Center.

Bartholini, I. and Jugović, A. (2014) *Gender Violence in the Post-patriarchalization of Global Age: a Comparative Perspective of Italy and Serbia*, Journal of Criminological and Sociological Research, 33(2), pp. 25–38.

Bracewell, P. (1996) *Women, Motherhood, and Contemporary Serbian Nationalism*. Women's Studies International Forum, Vol.19, No.1-2: pp. 25-33.

- Bullock, C. F., & Cubert, J. (2002) *Coverage of Domestic Violence Fatalities by Newspapers in Washington State*. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, no. 17: pp. 475-499.
- Butler, J. (2009) *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?* London, New York: Verso.
- Byerly, C. M. (1999) *News, Feminism and the Dialectic of Gender Relations* in Mediated Women, Representation in popular culture, Marian Meyers (ed.), pp. 383-403.
- Carli, E. K. (2003) *News Portrayals of Violence Against Women: Implications for Public Policy*, American Behavioral Scientist no. 46: 1601.
- Cohen, Anthony P. (1995) *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, London: Routledge.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014) *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- D'Angelo, P. and Kuypers A. J. (2010) *Doing News Framing Analysis: Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*, London New York: Routledge.
- Delanty, G. (2003) *Community*, London-New York: Routledge.
- Entman, R. (1993) *Framing: Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm*, Journal of Communication no. 43(4): pp. 51-58.
- Fairclough, N. (1989a) *Language and Power*, London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. (1997) *Critical Discourse Analysis* in T. van Dijk (Ed.), Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Vol. 2, pp. 258-284.
- Fraizer E. (1999) *The Problems of Communitarian Politics: Unity and Conflict*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Franiuk, R. (2008a) *Prevalence and Effects of Rape Myths in Print Journalism*, Violence against women, Sage Publications. [ONLINE] Available at: <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.532.4579&rep=rep1&type=pdf> accessed on 20.06.2018.

- Gavrilovic, Lj. *An Individual and His Family*, Ethnographic Institute SANU, Belgrade [ONLINE], Available at: <http://www.doiserbia.nb.rs/img/doi/0350-0861/2005/0350-08610553195G.pdf> accessed on 10.06.2018.
- Gill, R. (2007) *Gender and the Media*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Gillespie, LK, Richards TN, Givens EM, Smith MD (2013) *Framing Deadly Domestic Violence: Why the Media's Spin Matters in Newspaper Coverage of Femicide* in *Violence Against Women*. 2013 Feb; 19(2), pp. 222-45. Goffman, Erving (1974) *Frame analysis*. New York: Longmans.
- Hall, Stuart (2001) *Who Needs Identity?* in *Word* 64/10: pp. 215-233.
- Hansen, Anders, Machin, David (2013) *Media and Communication Research Methods*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Harne, L. and Radford, J. (2008) *Tackling Domestic Violence: Theories, Policies and Practice*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Jajcevic, L. (2007) *Why Did Not You Choose Better?* Helsinki Citizens' Parliament and the United women, Banja Luka.
- Jugovic, A., Jugovic, J., & Bogetic, D. (2016) *Socio-cultural context and characteristics of violence against women in Serbia* in *Godisnjak* 2016., Faculty of Political Sciences, year X, no. 16, December 2016.
- Jugopress (March 6th 2018) *Fighting Violence Against Women, The Role of Media*, [ONLINE] Available at: <https://jugopress.com/u-borbi-protiv-nasilja-nad-zenama-uloga-medija-duvac-u-pistoljku/> accessed on 01.03.2018.
- Kellner, Douglas (2004) *Media Culture: Cultural Studies, Identity and Politics Between the Modern and the Postmodern*, London: Routledge.
- Knudsen, E. (2014) *Media-effects as a two-sided field: Comparing Theories and Research of Framing and Agenda-Setting in Media Practice and Everyday Agency in Europe*, edition Lumiere, pp. 207-217. [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.researchingcommunication.eu/book9chapters/C16_Knudsen1314.pdf accessed on 15.05.2018.

- Krippendorff, K. (2013) *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology (third edition)*, Thousand Oaks.
- Levine, H. B. (1999) *Reconstructing Ethnicity*, The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 5, No.2: pp.165-180.
- Marin, A. J. and Russo N. F. (1999) *Feminist Perspectives on Male Violence Against Women* in What Causes Men's Violence Against Women? Michele Harway, James M. O' Neill (ed), pp.18-35, USA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Marhja, N. (2008) *Just Representation? Press Reporting and the Reality of Rape*, The Lilith Project. London: Eaves.
- Matic, Jovanka, Valic Nedeljkovic, Dubravka (2014) *Serbia* in: *The importance of media integrity: returning the media and journalism to the serve of public*, ed. Jovanka Matic and Dubarvka Valic Nedeljkovic, pp. 57-137. South East European Media Observatory, Novi Sad, journalistic school of Novi Sad.
- Mayer, T. (2000) *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation*. London: Routledge.
- McCombs, M. E. and Shaw, D.L. (1972) *The Agenda-Setting of Mass Media*, the Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol.36 no.2: pp. 176-187.
- McCombs, M.E. (2005) *A Look at Agenda-setting: Past, Present and Future*, Journalism Studies 6:4, pp. 543-557.
- McCombs, M. E. and Shaw, D.L. (1993) *The evolution of Agenda-Setting Research: Twenty-Five Years in the Marketplace of Ideas*, Journal of Communication 43(2): pp.58-67.
- Meyers, M. (1997) *News Coverage of Violence Against Women: Engendering Blame*. Sage Publications.
- Milivojevic, Snjezana (2009) *Public and Ideological Effects of Media* [ONLINE] Available at: <https://pescanik.net/javnost-i-ideoloski-efekti-medija/> [accessed on 18.03.2018.]
- Milosevic, M. (2000) *Political Guide to Serbia 2000*, Belgrade: Media Center
- Momcilovic, Jelena. 2006. *Position of Women in the Labor Market in Serbia – Economic Aspect*. Beograd: UNDP.

Mosco, V. (1996) *The Political Economy of Communication: Rethinking and Renewal*. London: Sage.

Mrsevic, Zorica (2017) *How to Fight Against Violence – The Role of Media*, project report [ONLINE] Available at: <https://www.rodnaravnopravnost.gov.rs/sites/default/files/2018-06/Kako%20protiv%20nasilja%20-%20uloga%20medija.pdf> [accessed on 01.03.2018.]

Mujkic Jukic, W. (2017) *Research on Media Reporting on Gender-Based Violence Against Women in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, UN Women, [ONLINE] Available at: <http://eca.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2016/12/research-on-media-reporting-on-gender-based-violence-against-women-in-bosnia-and-herzegovina> accessed on 01.04.2018.

Neuendorf, A. (2002) *The Content Analysis Guidebook*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Neuman, W. R., Just, M. R. and Crigler, A. N. (1992) *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pan, Z. & Kosicki, G.M. (1993) *Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse*. Political Communication 10: pp. 55-76.

Papic, Z. (2002) *Europe after 1989: Ethic Wars, the Fascistization of Civil Society and Body Politics in Serbia* in: Gabriele Griffine (ed), *Thinking Differently: A Reader in European Women's Studies*, London: Zed Book, pp. 127-144.

Petrovic-Desnica, J. (2011) *Family Violence*. Adra, Belgrade [ONLINE] Available at: www.najboljamamanasvetu.com/wp-content/uploads/.../nasiljeuporodici-desnica.doc accessed on 05.05.2018.

Ross, K. (2010) *Gendered Media: Women, Men and Identity Politics*.

Sarnavka, S. (2003) *Using Master's Tools: Feminism, media and ending violence against women: Women reinventing Globalization*. Gender and Development. 11 (1): pp. 91-93.

Scheufele, D. A. (1999) *Framing as a Theory of Media Effects*, International Communication Association, Journal of Communication.

Semetko, H. and Valkenburg, P. (2000) *Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News*, Journal of Communication 50(2): pp. 93–110.

Simeunović-Patić, B. and Jovanović, S. (2013) *Women Victims – Partner crimes*, Institute for Criminological and Sociological Research, Belgrade.

Sotirovic, M (2003) *How Individuals Explain Social Problems: The Influences of Media Use*. Journal of Communications 53(1): 122–137.

Slaming, S. (2017) *One Year of the Campaign STOP THE VIOLENCE*, Kurir, [ONLINE] Available at: <https://www.kurir.rs/vesti/drustvo/2946989/godinu-dana-kampanje-stop-nasilju-vesna-stanojevic-kurir-je-ohrabrio-zene-da-prijavljuju-nasilnike> accessed on 10.04.2018.

Tewksbury, D. and Scheufele, A.D. (2007) *Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models*, Journal of Communication no. 57, pp. 9-20. [ONLINE] Available at: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/c7e5/5a100d5db4d3fab0e66dadee485059263e95.pdf> accessed on 01.04.2018.

Tuchman, Gaye (1978) *Hearth and Home: Images of Women and the Media*, New York: Oxford University Press.

van Dijk, T. A. (1991) *Racism in the Press*, London: Routledge.

van Gorp, B. (2007) *The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing culture back in*: Journal of Communication 57(1).

van Leeuwen, T. (2008) *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Visnjic, J. (2012) “*Killing Me Softly*” *Reporting of Printed Media on Violence Against Women* in journal *Genero* no. 16, pp. 141-156.

Walgrave, S. and van Aelst, P. (2006) *The Contingency of the Mass Media’s Political Agenda Setting Power: Toward a Preliminary Theory*, Journal of Communication no. 56: pp. 88-109.

Wasko, J. (2014) *Understanding the Critical Political Economy of the Media*, Christians, Clifford & Nordenstreng, Kaarle (eds.) *Communication theories in a multicultural world*. New York: Peter Lang, pp. 60-82.

Wasko, J. (2014) *The Study of the Political Economy of the Media in the Twenty-First Century*, International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics Volume 10 No. 3, pp. 259-271.

Wozniak, J. A., and K. A. McCloskey (2010) *Fact or Fiction? Gender Issues Related to Newspaper Reports of Intimate Partner Homicide*. Violence Against Women 16.8: pp. 934-52.

Yanovitzky, I (2002) *Effects of News Coverage on Policy Attention and Actions: A Closer Look into the Media-Policy Connection*. Communication Research 29(4): pp. 422–451.

Yuval-Davis, N. (1997) *Gender and Nation*. London: Sage Publications.

Zarkov, D. (2007) *The Body of War: Media, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Break-up of Yugoslavia*. Durham: Duke University Press.

8. Appendix

8.1. Appendix 1: Code book + instructions

Variable	Value	Description
1. Which newspapers	1,2,3,4,5	<i>Kurir, Blic, Vecernje Novosti, Politika, Danas</i>
2. Date		day/month/year
3. Title of the article		enter text

4. Age of the victim:

	1	Younger than 18 years	
	2	18-24	
	3	25-40	
	4	40-50	
	5	Older then 50y	
	6	Other	
	7	Unknown	

5. Article category [section of newspaper]:

	1	News and politics	
	2	Black Chronicle	
	3	Entertainment [Stars]	
	4	World [Planet]	
	5	Society	
	6	Culture	

6. Author of the article?

	1	<i>Kurir, Blic, Vecernje Novosti, Politika, Danas</i>	Name, surname of journalist/known source
	2	Another source	e.g. reference to different source

	3	Unknown	
--	---	---------	--

7. Cover page story:

	1	Yes	
	2	No	

8. Length of the text:

	1	Short	Up to 200words
	2	Medium	200-500words
	3	Long	500words or more

9. Case of violence against women as a part of:

	1	Local, national, regional or	
	2	International story, problem, case	

10. Article type:

	1	News report	*Report of any length, usually presented in a straightforward style and without editorial comment/opinion
	2	Interview	*if the article mainly represents dialogue between journalist/writer and “source”; If we have just quotes or one question-one answer citation in the article, it will not be considered as interview (for example, inside of the news report)
	3	Commentary/column	*A signed article containing the (writer's, editorial) opinion.
	4	Feature article	*An article that deals in depth with a particular topic.
	6	Other	

11. Theme of the article presented as:

	1	Incident-based story	
	2	With social focus	*the problem of violence against women presented as an social issue

12. Types of violence against women mentioned inside of the article:

	1	Beating/abuse/assault	Beating, assault or verbal abuse – anything that cause physical or psychological harm on women
	2	Rape/attempted rape	Connotation of sexual violence, attempted, or done
	3	Murder/attempted murder	Connotation of attempt to kill
	4	Economic violence	Defined as ‘ economic violence in the first place refers to unequal control over the access to joint resources, denying/controlling the access to money, employment or education. In a wider sense it refers to the destruction of property and theft.’
	5	Murder/attempted murder + sexual assault	
	6	Kidnaping	
	7	Other	
	8	All types of violence	

*when it comes to the coding for types of violence against women inside the articles, it will happen that one article describes/report about two different things at the same time: in that case, I will choose to code for the violence that is in the main focus of the article [for example, if woman is murdered, any other type of violence is less in focus of text, or in some cases not – e.g. if at the same time, women is raped; Also, I will for example pay attention on what is used for the headline of the article, if it is the case of report about violence [which mainly is the case].

13. What is the category of relationship between victim and perpetrator?

	1	Parents relationship	mother, father, son, daughter, grandmother/father
	2	Partners	marriage/divorce/former marriage/unmarried relationship/relationship/ex-...
	3	Perpetrator is described, it has no relation with the victim, the name of he/she is unknown	
	4	Unknown	
	5	We know who perpetrator is (by name)	It is directly mentioned inside of the article
	6	Other	When the article is e.g. talking about crimes against women in general

14. Identity of the victim:

	1	Victim marked with initials	
	2	Fully identifiable identity of the victim	
	3	Unnamed	
	4	Photograph	
	5	Identity of perpetrator	

15. Sources: who is speaking?

	1	Official sources [representing state]	Include: police, attorneys, judge, hospital workers etc.
	2	Neighbors	People described as living in the surroundings
	3	Victim herself	
	4	Friends, Family, co-worker(s) of the victim	
	5	Perpetrator himself	

	6	Friends, Family, co-worker(s) of the perpetrator	
	7	Violence against women advocates	Activists, NGOs, campaign leaders, supporters
	8	Eyewitnesses	
	9	Politicians	
	10	The media itself, journalist	
	11	Anonymous source	
	12	Other	

16. Sources: *does* and *how* source speaks?

	1	Mention of source, without speaking/quotation/reference	
	2	Source speaks directly	Quote, using his/her words
	3	Referring to the source	Without direct quotes, paraphrasing their words
	4	Without any mention of source	No source, for example, only newspaper that writes the article is 'source'

17. Photographs: *yes/no* and *what* is on the photograph

	1	No photograph	
	2	Yes, house/neighborhood of the victim/perpetrator	
	3	Yes, crime scene or surrounding of the crime scene	
	4	Perpetrator	
	5	Victim	
	6	Both victim and perpetrator	
	7	Their children, family, friends, relatives, neighbors	
	8	Other [what]	short description

8.2. Appendix 2: Frames

– *Description of frames, and what questions were used to argument the choice while coding for this category* –

1. *Responsibility frame:*

- Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?
- Does the story suggest that some level of government is responsible for the issue/problem?
- Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?
- Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue/problem?
- Does the story suggest that the problem requires urgent action?

2. *Morality frame:*

- Does the story contain any ‘moral’²⁶ message?
- Does the story refer to morality, God, and other religious or ethical tenets?
- Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?

3. *Human interest frame:*

- Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?
- Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy, or compassion?
- Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?
- Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?
- Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy, or compassion?

²⁶ Ibid.

4. *Consequences frame:*

- Is there a mention of criminal consequences?
- Is there a reference to consequences of pursuing or not pursuing course of action?
- This frame must be consisted of the articles in which the main emphasis is on the criminal consequences, for how long the perpetrator is sentenced, the criminal procedure etc.

*when it comes to the coding for different frames, it may happen that one article falls under two frames at the same time. In that case, coder will choose to code for the violence that is in the main focus of the article [in sample it rarely happend] and examples were similar to the: woman is murdered, they are mentioning criminal consequences but the main focus of the story is background of the relationship between girl and her partner [who is at the same time the perpetrator], so logically this was coded as human interest frame. Also, it was useful to pay attention on what is used for the headline of the article, because it could indictate the overall frame.

8.3. Appendix 3: The list of newspaper articles analyzed from *Kurir*, *Blic*, *Vecernje novosti*, *Politika*, *Danas*²⁷

(a) Kurir

1. January 22, 2018. Zaklao oca da zastiti majku [He slaughtered his father to protect the mother].
2. January 22, 2018. Bez naslova [Commentary article - No title]
3. January 30, 2018. U strahu: poslanica nove politicke partije je zabrinuta za svoju bezbednost [In fear: member of the new political party is concerned about her safety]
4. January 30, 2018. Prioritet je ekonomski osnaziti zrtve nasilja [Priority is to give economic power to the victims of violence]
5. January 30, 2018. Kraj istrazi: Snaja branila Marjanovica – voleo je Jelenu, nikada je ne bi ubio! [The end of investigation: the daughter-in-law defended Marjanovic - he loved Jelena, he would never killed her!]
6. January 30, 2018. Novopazarac tukao majku [Novopazarac beat his mother]
7. January 30, 2018. Ispovest majke maltretirane devojce: Dali smo mu hleb, a on nam je silovao dete! [Confession of the mother of the abused girl: We gave him bread and he raped our child]
8. January 30, 2018. Tuzno! Objavljena poslednja fotografija nastala pre Ksenijinog ubistva! [Sad! We discovered the last photo of Ksenija, moments before she died"]
9. January 30, 2018. Sokantne vesti: glumac iz Kasandre u centru skandala! Ignacio silovao Shakira [Shocking news: the actor from Kasandra in the center of scandal! Ignacio raped Shakira]
10. February 7, 2018. Za ubistvo bivse devojke dobio 40 godina zatvora! [For the murder of ex-girlfriend, he got 40 years of jail]
11. February 7, 2018. Nozem ubio devojku u svlacionici [He killed a girl with the knife in a locker room]
12. February 15, 2018. Zene nisu masine za radjanje! [Women are not machines for birthgiving!]

²⁷ The list of the articles is provided in original language [Serbian], as well as in English [free translation]

13. February 15, 2018. Jelena je ubijena za 7 minuta! [Jelena was killed in seven minutes]
14. February 15, 2018. Ubio sam svoju zenu nozem [I stabbed my wife to death]
15. February 15, 2018. Sudjenje za monstruzan zlocin je opet odloženo [The trial for monstrous crime is postponed again]
16. February 15, 2018. Skandal! Katarina osamarila organizatoru serije Urgentni Centar! [Scandal: Katarina slapped the organizer of the TV show Emergency Center]
17. February 15, 2018. Ispovest: Decko me je tukao dok je njegova sestra gledala [Confession: My boyfriend beaten me while his sister watched]
18. February 23, 2018. Horor na Vozdovcu, nadjeno telo nepoznate zene [Horror in Vozdovac, found the body of an unknown woman]
19. February 23, 2018. Negotin: Osudjeni Denis Gasic (29) dobio 15 godina zatvora jer je iskasapio bivšu zenu [Negotin: Denis Gasic (29) got 15 years in prison for butchering his ex-wife]
20. February 23, 2018. Horor u Negotinu: Starac silovao pastorkinju, podvodio je za 100 evra [Horror in Negotin: The old man raped his stepchild, he pimped her for 100e!]
21. February 23, 2018. Ekstremisti kidnapovali 101 devojicu! [The extremists kidnapped 101 girls]
22. March 3, 2018. Cvecarka i dalje u teskom stanju! [Florist still in a tough condition!]
23. March 3, 2018. Unuk ubio babu koja ga je odgajala! [Grandson killed his grandmother that raised him!]
24. March 3, 2018. Monstrum uklonio tragove sa noza pomocu hemikalija [Monster destroyed evidences from the knife using chemicals]
25. March 3, 2018. Policajke van duznosti pomogle opljackanoj zeni [Off duty police officers helped women that was robbed on the street]
26. March 3, 2018. Moju majku je silovao kum! [My mother was raped by her godfather]
27. March 11, 2018. Ubrigzala je cijanid muzu jer je godinama mucio [She injected the cyanide to her husband because he tortured her for years]
28. March 11, 2018. Prete coveku koji je upozorio Jeleninu sestru Teodoru! [They are threatening the man who warned Jelena's sister Teodora]
29. March 11, 2018. Odlikovani veteran ubio tri zene pa sebe [Distinguished veteran killed three women and then himself]

30. March 11, 2018. Silovane zene kao zivi lesevi [Women victims of rape look like living dead]
31. March 19, 2018. Ispovest: Majka izgubljenog deteta – cim sam je videla, znala sam da je moja! [Confession: Mother found her lost child: When I saw her, I knew she is mine!]
32. March 19, 2018. Ubio zenu, a zatim i sebe! [He killed his wife and then he killed himself!]
33. March 19, 2018. Pomogaci u Jeleninom ubistvu otkriveni [Accomplices in Jelena's murder are discovered]
34. March 19, 2018. Trump zahteva 20 miliona dolara od porno zvezde! [Trump demands 20 million \$ from porno star]
35. March 19, 2018. Ne placa alimentaciju, ali zato ima para da kupuje stan na Vracaru! [He doesn't pay alimentation, but he has money to buy an apartment in Vracar!]
36. March 27, 2018. Jelena je ubijena iz fotelje! [Jelena's murder was ordered from a high place]
37. April 4, 2018. Nislije izvizdale Zoranu Mihajlovic [Nislije boo-ed Zoranu Mihajlovic]
38. April 4, 2018. Seselj: Maja je rođena da bude cetnicki vojvoda [Seselj: Maja is born to be duke of chetniks]
39. April 4, 2018. Miki napao trudnu Miljanu [Miki attacked pregnant Miljana]
40. April 12, 2018. Zvali su me corava! [They called me four-eyed]
41. April 12, 2018. Barbara je ziva, prepoznali smo je po oziljku na celu! [Barbara is alive, we recognized her from her forehead mark]
42. April 12, 2018. Ljupki Stevic prete smrću zbog Marjanovica! [Ljupka Stevic gets death threats because of Marjanovic]
43. April 20, 2018. Ubio devojkicu, a potom pucao u sebe [He killed the girl and then he shot himself]
44. April 20, 2018. HOROR: Prebio babu sa sipkom, pa je izbo s nozem [HOROR: He beaten his grandmother with the pipe and then he stabbed her with knife]
45. April 20, 2018. Sokantno: Intervju sa Lukom Lazukicem – Uzecu Natasi cerku, bila je sa mnom zbog para! [Shocking: Interview with Luka Lazukic – I will take Natasa's daughter, she was with me because of money]
46. April 20, 2018. Neko iz produkcije pokusava da me ubije! [Some of the producers are trying to kill me!]

47. April 28, 2018. Maja to Keni: Sramota me je sto vicete na mene! [Maja to Keni: I am feeling ashamed because you are yelling at me]
48. May 6, 2018. Bivsi igrac zvezde cupao zenu za jezik! [Former player of Zvezda pulled his wife's tongue]
49. May 6, 2018. 14 Indijaca silovalo i ubilo devojkicu [Girl was raped and killed by 14 Indians]
50. May 6, 2018. Natasa mi duguje 10 000 evra! [Natasa is owing 10 000e]
51. May 14, 2018. Upucaao me je tri puta, ali ja nisam prestala da trcim [He shot me with three bullets but I didn't stop running!]
52. May 14, 2018. Ko je bivsi ljubavnik koji je ubio Ukrajinku [Who is Ukranian ex-lover that murdered her?]
53. May 14, 2018. Muzika ubila manekenku [Music killed the model]
54. May 22, 2018. Jezivo: Horror u turskoj fabrici u Smederevu! [Creepy: Horror at Turkish factory based at Smederevo]
55. May 22, 2018. Serafim (72) uhapsen zbog seksualnog uznemiravanja maloletne devojke; Starac oteo devojkicu sa ulice [Serafim (72) is under arrest for sexual harassment of underage girl; Old guy kidnaped the girl from a street]
56. May 22, 2018. Manijak iz Bosne proganjao TV voditeljku Minu Miletic [Maniac from Bosnia stalked TV host Mina Miletic]
57. May 30, 2018. Kristinin otac: recite nam ko je ubica, ne zbog nas vec zbog drugih ljudi i dece! [Kristina's father: tell us who is the murder, not because of us, but because of other people and kids!]
58. May 30, 2018. Lazukic hoce da uzme 20 miliona od Natase [Lazukic wants to take 20 millions from Natasa]
59. May 30, 2018. Pretio je Goci da ce joj izvaditi oci! [He threatens to Goca that he will take her eyes out]
60. June 7, 2018. Jutka tvrdi da ga Vucic stiti [Jutka claims that he has protection from Vucic]
61. June 7, 2018. Pretukla je devojkicu, pa onda pokusala da se ubije! [She beaten the girl, and then she tried to kill herself]
62. June 7, 2018. Sokantna ispovest Jelice Dabovic: U Partizanu sam bila beli rob! [Shocking confession of Jelica Dabovic: In Partizan, I was a white slave!]
63. June 15, 2016. Stallone pod istragom [Stallone under investigation]

64. June 23, 2018. Zensko telo bez glave nadjeno u sumi [Headless female corpse found in the forest]
65. June 23, 2018. Jonasovo svedocenje ne oslobadja Zorana [Jonas testimony doesn't free Zoran]
66. July 1, 2018. Tukao cerku pesnicama [He beat his daughter with fists]
67. July 1, 2018. Hteo da siluje nepokretnu babu, ceka ga 15 godina zatvora [He wanted to rape immobile grandma, now facing 15 years in prison]
68. July 1, 2018. Smrtne kazne za silovatelje azilante [Death penalty for rapist who are asylum seekers]

(b) Blic

1. January 22, 2018. Skarlet, Mila and Natali: zajedno protiv nasilja! [Scarlet, Mila and Natalie: together against violence!]
2. January 30, 2018. Amanda Noks se obogatila od ubistva! [Amanda Noks got rich on murder!]
3. January 30, 2018. Zene sve vise prijavljuju nasilnike [Women are more openly reporting the perpetrators]
4. January 30, 2018. Dokazi o ubistvu i o porodici Marjanovic na 400 strana! [400 pages of evidence about murder and Marjanovic family]
5. January 30, 2018. Otac hteo da zakolje pedofila [Father wanted to kill the pedophile]
6. February 7, 2018. Muz i ljubavnik zajedno prebili devojkku [Husband and lover together beat the girl]
7. February 7, 2018. Monstrum je rekao: Bice moja il Bozija! I onda je zaklao. [The monster said: She will be mine or God's! And then he slaughtered the girl.]
8. February 7, 2018. Za otmicu i ubistvo 40 GODINA zatvora! [For kidnapping and killing he got 40 YEARS of jail!]
9. February 7, 2018. Smrt Natali Vud je jos uvek misterija [The death of Natalie Wood is still a mystery]
10. February 7, 2018. Hari Vajnstajn je pokusao da me siluje, Tarantino da me ubije [Harry Weinstein wanted to rape me, Tarantino to kill me]
11. February 15, 2018. Ubica zazalio zbog zlocina [Murderer repented for killing]

12. February 15, 2018. Optuzen da je ubio radnicu na benzinskoj pumpi zbog 10 000 dinara [Accused that he killed a worker at gas-station because of 10 000 rsd]
13. February 15, 2018. Ubio trudnu zenu i svekrvu, a potom presudio sebi! [He killed his pregnant wife and mother-in-law, after he killed himself!]
14. February 15, 2018. I izjava male Jane ce biti deo optuznice! [Statement of daughter Jana will also be a part of indictment!]
15. February 23, 2018. Zaklao zenu, dobio 15 godina zatvora! [He butchered the woman and got 15 years in prison!]
16. March 3, 2018. Sud: Ubijena zena nije bila trudna [The court: Killed woman was not pregnant]
17. March 3, 2018. Sasa je zestoko mlatio [Sasa beaten her real hard]
18. March 3, 2018. Ispituje se noz za koji se sumnja da je Sabo koristio da ubije zenu i dete [The knife that is Sabo potentially used in murder of his wife and kid is being examined]
19. March 19, 2018. Vlada usvojila paket za stimulaciju radjanja [Government adopted set of benefits for the stimulation of birth]
20. March 27, 2018. Pretili su mi Trampovi ljudi! [I was threatened by Trump's people]
21. March 27, 2018. Kancelarija tuzioca ispituje povezanost Julke i maloletnica [Prosecutor's office examines the links between Julka and the juveniles]
22. March 27, 2018. Ciji telefoni su locirani u vreme Jeleninog ubistva [Whose phones are located at the time and place of Jelena's murder]
23. March 27, 2018. Muz profesorke ostaje u zatvoru jos 30 dana! [Husband of teacher is staying at prison for 30 more days!]
24. March 27, 2018. Pedofil je iza rešetaka tako da ne moze da napadne opet [The pedophile is behind bars so he doesn't harm again]
25. March 27, 2018. Sonja me nazvala kurvom i otisla! [Sonja called me whore and went away!]
26. March 27, 2018. Pevacicu napao fan! [Singer was attacked by fan!]
27. April 4, 2018. Ostala bez specijalizacije zbog necake funkcionera PUPS-a [She lost her specialization because of the PUPS politician's niece]
28. April 12, 2018. Karatisti dali izjave policiji u vezi slucaja Marjanovic [New witnesses gave statements to the police about Marjanovic case]

29. April 12, 2018. Sudija pretucena u sred sudjenja [Female judge beaten in the middle of trial]
30. April 20, 2018. Pomoc zenama! [Help to women!]
31. April 20, 2018. Otkrivena dva razlicita DNK na Jeleninoj patici [They discovered two different DNKs on Jelena's sneaker]
32. April 20, 2018. Ocu u bonickom zatvoru [Stepfather is in hospital prison]
33. April 20, 2018. Unuk zaklao babu [Grandson slaughtered grandmother]
34. April 20, 2018. Crna statistika – tri puta vise ubijenih zena nego prosle godine [Black statistic – women are killed three times more than at the same time last year]
35. April 20, 2018. Sramota za Lazukica: Natasa jedan dan ima modrice, drugih dan ih odjednom nema [Shame on Lazukic: Natasa one day have bruises, the other they are all of a sudden gone]
36. April 28, 2018. Preliminarno saslanje za seksualno zlostavljanje zakazano za 10 maj [Preliminary hearing for sexual harassment to be held on May 10th]
37. April 28, 2018. Srpski drzavljanin izboo i tukao zenu u Italiji [Serbian citizen stabbed and beaten his wife in Italy]
38. May 6, 2018. Uhapseno 14 osoba zbog silovanja u ubistva devojke [14 persons are arrested and accused for raping and killing the girl]
39. May 6, 2018. Ubice zena posle 8 godina na slobodi [The killers of women are on freedom after just 8 years of prison]
40. May 14, 2018. Tirarnin se pravdao posetom manastira [Tyrant justified himself by telling how he was visited monasteries so because of that he wasn't at home]
41. May 14, 2018. Kancelarija tuzioca zahteva Janino svedocenje [Prosecutor's office is demanding Jana's testimony]
42. May 14, 2018. Ljubavnik ubio milionerku? [Lover killed the millionaire girl?]
43. May 14, 2018. Prebijena Kaja smestena u urgentni centar. [Beaten Kaja is situated in emergency center]
44. May 22, 2018. Nadrogirao je u kuci, potom zakljucao vrata i poceo da je dodiruje! [He drugged her inside of house, locked the doors and then started to touch her!]
45. May 22, 2018. Posle silovanja negovali je susedi [Victim was nursed by neighbors after being raped]

46. May 22, 2018. Proganjana voditeljka! [Stalked TV host]
47. May 22, 2018. Tukao me je set godina, a sada su moja cerka i sin pod njegovim starateljstvom [He beaten me for six years, and now our son and daughter are under his custody]
48. May 30, 2018. Sudjenje za ubistvo radnice [Trial for the murder of worker]
49. May 30, 2018. Lukas mi napravio dete, a sada mi preti [Lukas made me pregnant, and now he is threatening me]
50. May 30, 2018. Lazukic besramno trazi novac i nekretnine od Bekvalceve [Lazukic shamelessly demanding money and real estates from Bekvalceva]
51. June 7, 2018. Presuda za podvodjenje pastorka [Indictment for pimping his stepdaughter]
52. June 7, 2018. Uzasno! Brutalno pretukao devojkicu, zatim pokusala da ubije sebe! [Horrible! Brutally beaten the girl, then tried to kill herself!]
53. June 23, 2018. Porodica Marjanovic: Ima li pravih dokaza da je Zoran ubica? Marjanovic family: Are there true evidence that Zoran is the killer?
54. July 1, 2018. Uhapsen zbog pretnji devojcici [Arrested for threatening to a little girl]

(c) Vecernje Novosti

1. January 21, 2018. Sin branio majku pa ubio oca [While son was defending the mother he killed the father]
2. January 30, 2018. Nasilje u 25 000 porodica [Violence in 25 000 families]
3. January 30, 2018. Milica Marjanovic, poslednji svedok u ubistvu pevacice, snajka potvrdila Zoranovu pricu [Milica Marjanovic, the last witness in the murder of a singer; daughter-in-law confirmed Zoran's story]
4. February 7, 2018. Iskasapio devojkicu s nozem! [He butchered the girl with knife]
5. February 7, 2018. Za ubistvo bivse devojkice dobio 40 godina zatvora [For the murder of ex-girlfriend he got 40 year of jail]
6. February 15, 2018. Ubistvo pevacice konacno dobijas epilog! [The murder of a singer is finally getting an epilogue]
7. February 15, 2018. Kontroverzni slogani! [Controversial slogans!]
8. February 23, 2018. Izboo je majku svoje dece, dobio 15 godina zatvora [He stabbed the mother of his children, got 15 years in prison]

9. February 23, 2018. Negotinska policija uhapsila Lj.K. (71) – godinama silovao i podvodio pastorku godinama [Negotin's police arrested Lj.K. (71); He raped and pimped his stepchild for years]
10. February 23, 2018. DNK analize sprecavaju sahranu [DNK analysis are stopping the funeral]
11. March 3, 2018. U zatvoru zbog plesa [In prison because of dance]
12. March 11, 2018. U registru pedofila, 30 registrovanih manijaka [In the register of pedophiles - 30 registered maniacs]
13. March 19, 2018. Radjanje [Nativity]
14. April 12, 2018. Posle presude, prebila sudiju [After the veridiction, she beaten the judge]
15. April 12, 2018. I Rumuni tragaju za Barbarom! [Romanians are searching for Barbara too!]
16. April 12, 2018. Ubica majke poslat u mentalnu ustanovu [The killer of mother has been sent to the mental hospital!]
17. April 20, 2018. Veoma je vazno voditi racuna o majkama [It is very important to take care of women who are mothers]
18. April 20, 2018. Zaklao babu posle svadje [He slaughtered his grandmother after they had a fight]
19. April 20, 2018. Seksualno iskoriscavao devojkju! Nakon toga se nagodio sa sudom! [Sexually exploited the girl! After the crime he made a deal with the court]
20. April 20, 2018. Kada novca vise nema, prica o ljubavi je gotova [When money is gone, story about love is over]
21. May 6, 2018. 14 ljudi silovalo devojkju [14 people raped a girl]
22. May 14, 2018. Ukrajinku ubio decko! [Ukrainian girl killed by her boyfriend]
23. May 14, 2018. Udruzenje za zastitu zena istice losu praksu sudova [Association for women's protection points to the disastrous practice of the courts]
24. May 22, 2018. Briga o ljudskim pravima zena i hendikepiranih [Caring for human rights of females and handicapped people]
25. May 22, 2018. Barbara vidjena u Rumuniji [Barbara was seen in Romania]
26. May 22, 2018. Komsije pokusale da siluju dete? [Neighbors tried to rape a kid?]
27. May 30, 2018. Policaajka dobila noz u ledja [Female police officer stabbed in the back]
28. May 30, 2018. Porice ubistvo radnice [He is denying the murder of female worker]

29. June 7, 2018. Prebila devojcicu, pa pokusala da se ubije [She beaten the girl, the tried to kill herself]
30. June 7, 2018. Silovao pastorku? [He raped his stepdaughter?]
31. June 7, 2018. Nisam kriv za sta me optuzuju [I am not guilty for what they accuse me]
32. June 23, 2018. Nadjien zenski les [Female corps found]
33. June 23, 2018. Jana se seca kako joj je mama nestala [Jana remembers how her mom went missing]
34. June 23, 2018. Prvo je silovao, pa je podvodio [First he raped her, then he pimped her]

(d) Politika

1. January 22, 2018. Pogubljenje serijskog ubice devojaka u SAD-u: Slucaj 'Davitelj' [The execution of a serial killer of girls in USA: 'The strangler' case]
2. January 22, 2018. Oteta devojka poslala svoju lokaciju preko mobilnog telefona [Kidnapped girl sent her location via her phone]
3. January 22, 2018. Vudi Alen optuzen za seksualno zlostavljanje [Woody Allen is accused for sexual harassment]
4. January 22, 2018. Feminizam na crvenom tepihu [Feminism on the red carpet]
5. January 30, 2018. Poslednji svedok u istrazi protiv Zorana Marjanovica je svedocio [The last witness in the investigation against Zoran Marjanovic has testified]
6. January 30, 2018. Grejs Mugabe preti tuzba! [They are threatening Grace Mugabe with prosecution]
7. January 30, 2018. Ekonomsko osnazivanje je vazno za zrtve nasilja [Economic empowerment is important for the victims of violence]
8. February 7, 2018. Zlocin iz strasti – dobio 40 godina zatvora! [Passion crime – he got 40 years of jail]
9. February 15, 2018. Covek osudjen za zlocin na benzinskoj pumpi [Man is convicted for the crime at the gas-station]
10. February 15, 2018. Starateljstvo dodeljeno osumnjicenom za ubistvo partnerke [They gave custody to the suspect in the murder of partner]
11. February 15, 2018. Ogromne kritike na racun slogana o natalitetu! [Big critique of slogans about birthgiving!]

12. February 15, 2018. Optuznica poslata Zoranu Marajnovicu [Accusation is sent to Zoran Marjanovic]
13. February 15, 2018. Optuzen za ubistvo majke [Accusation for the murder of mother]
14. February 23, 2018. Nestalo 100 devojica! [100 girls gone missing!]
15. March 3, 2018. Jedini trag na nozu je DNK ubijene zene i bebe [The only trace on the knife is DNK of the killed woman and baby]
16. April 12, 2018. Strankinja prebila sudiju u Sremskoj Mitrovici [Foreigner beaten the judge in Sremska Mitrovica]
17. April 20, 2018. Osumnjicen za ubistvo starice [Found a suspect in the case of murder of an old woman]
18. April 20, 2018. Osudjen za ubistvo zene u Pancevu [He is convicted for the murder of wife in Pancevo]
19. June 23, 2018. Zenski les pronadjen u Vidikovackoj sumi [Female corps found at Vidikovacka forest]
20. June 7, 2018. Napala drugu devojicu, a onda pokusala da se ubije [She attacked the girl, then she tried to kill herself]
21. June 7, 2018. Mis Amerika: Bye bye bikini! [Miss America: Bye Bye Bikini!]
22. June 7, 2018. Strategija koja pospesuje natalitet ili mortalitet? [The strategy that produces birthgiving or mortality rate?]
23. July 1, 2018. Tukao cerku pesnicama [He beaten his daughter with his fists]

(e) Danas

1. February 15, 2018. Konflikt ministara oko kampanje za radjanje [Conflict of the ministers around the campaign that supposed to stimulate birth]
2. March 19, 2018. Vucic ponizio zene [Vucic humiliated women]
3. April 4, 2018. Sta je iza medijske hajke oko ubistva Jelene Marjanovic [What is behind media abuse of the murder of Jelena Marjanovic]
4. April 12, 2018. Slucuj radnice iz rudnika je internacionalni skandal [Case of a worker from open pit-mine is international scandal]
5. May 22, 2018. Miletic: Maltretirana sam mesecima! [Miletic: I was harassed for months!]

Department of Media Studies
Stockholm University
SE-106 91 Stockholm
Phone: 08 – 16 20 00
www.su.se

