

# **News Coverage of Domestic Violence in Serbia**

By

Milos Resimic

Submitted to

Central European University

Department of Political Science

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts  
in Political Science

Supervisor: Professor Robert Sata

Budapest, Hungary

2014

## Abstract

In this thesis I investigate the effects of state influence in imposing a new media framework for coverage of domestic violence in Serbia. I start from framing as a baseline theory for my research, and hence adopt the position of authors arguing for framing being separate media theory rather than merely “second-level” agenda setting. I use quantitative content analysis and qualitative framing analysis on three national daily newspapers in order to capture both the extent and type of media coverage of domestic violence in two time periods, before and after the adoption of relevant state policies and action programs. The results of the quantitative content analysis suggest that there is a positive shift towards more responsible coverage of domestic violence, especially for semi-tabloid *Blic* and tabloid *Kurir*. The results of the framing analysis suggest that the media has its own logic, and market orientation of the dailies and the resulting sensationalist tone prevents a meaningful shift with respect to framing domestic violence, except in the case of the more analytic daily *Politika*. The thesis concludes that it seems easier to influence the content of articles about domestic violence than changing how the issue is framed because editorial boards adjust newspapers content to the readership tastes that reflect the embedded patriarchal social norms of Serbian society that still need to change.

## Acknowledgments

I would like to thank to my supervisor Robert Sata for several reasons. I am thankful for his quick replies on my e-mails during the thesis writing process and for his patience to correct my definite articles placement. Also, his advices were extremely helpful during the writing process and he made an important contribution to the quality of the thesis. Finally, I was lucky to have a supervisor with both competence and a good sense of humor.

I would like to thank to my parents, to my brother Nenad and to my sisters for all support they gave me. To my parents for supporting me financially and morally, to Nenad, who gave me his only laptop to use it at the CEU, and to my sisters, for all the wonderful meals I had when I was visiting Belgrade during this academic year. Also, I am thankful to Kristina for all the help, love and support she gave me.

I would like to mention a small group of people with whom I occasionally escaped from political correctness of everyday academic life. It was a pleasure hanging out with: Ana, Raluca, Ela, Nemanja Matej, Juraj and Stas.

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity and congratulate to FC Red Star on the new champions title in Serbia and to the basketball club Red Star for all amazing games in the Euroleague. I know I annoyed my neighbors with yelling and screaming during the games but this passion for my club helped me to remain focused and do my job well here at the CEU.

# Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgments .....	ii
Chapter 1 – Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2 - Literature review and theory building.....	8
2.1 Violence against women: capturing the essence of the problem.....	8
2.2 Media and domestic violence: Towards a baseline theory for analyzing news coverage of domestic violence.....	10
Chapter 3 - Teaching journalists on domestic violence coverage .....	16
Chapter 4 – Methodology.....	19
4.1 Sample .....	22
Chapter 5 – The state of newspapers coverage of domestic violence - Where were we and where are we know? .....	25
5.1 Results .....	25
5.2 Discussion .....	38
Chapter 6 – Framing domestic violence coverage: between changing stereotypes and pleasing the readership .....	42
6.1 Justificational frame .....	42
6.1.1 Justifying domestic violence or keeping the “status quo” .....	42
6.1.2 From justifying perpetrators to condemning the crime: where are we on the way towards responsible coverage of domestic violence? .....	46
6.2 The use of sources in preserving stereotypes on domestic violence .....	49
6.2.1 The role of identificational frame in maintaining “status quo” .....	49
6.2.2 Including more sources to address domestic violence as a social problem: towards responsible coverage of domestic violence.....	52

6.3 Examining societal frame: Domestic violence is a social problem but do the media present it in that way? .....	55
6.4 Discussion .....	58
Chapter 7 – Conclusion .....	61
Appendix .....	64
Bibliography.....	73
Primary documents.....	75

## Chapter 1 – Introduction

“Attacked his wife with an axe” read the title of an article published in January 5, 2006 of the Serbian daily *Kurir*. Readers were shared the story that “Milosavljevic admitted to hit his wife with an axe. He also admitted that he was drinking that night... He stood up, took an axe, came back in the house and hit his wife while she was watching television”<sup>1</sup> (P.R.-D.M). A sensationalist story on violence against women, portrayed as extraordinary only because abuser used an axe on his wife, not because violence against women is something intolerable. Although by this time Serbia has signed and ratified a number of international agreements condemning violence against women and more specifically forms of domestic violence, as this excerpt shows, media coverage of domestic violence remained stereotypical, reinforcing the subordinated position of women in society, without any recognition of domestic violence as a social problem. For Serbia, a country aspiring for EU membership, this portrayal and ignorance of domestic violence is a very serious problem especially since this form of violence is widespread into all segments of society.

The first empirical study on domestic violence in Serbia conducted by the Victimology Society of Serbia in 2001 showed that one in three women in Serbia was a victim of physical violence within the family or an intimate partner relationship (Muric and Ostojic 2011, 20). A more recent study from 2009 showed that more than a half of women in Serbia were victims of some form of domestic violence at least once in their lifetime (Babovic et al. 2010, 45). As a member state of the Council of Europe and the United Nations and a signatory of practically all relevant conventions dealing with the problem of violence against women such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination

---

<sup>1</sup> Newspapers articles analyzed are published in Serbian. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of the articles' excerpts are mine.

Against Women (CEDAW), Serbia was pressured to show a firm stand on the problem of violence against women and gender equality issues and show progress in dealing with gender stereotypes and patriarchal relations.

Representation of women in the media is one of the most important pillars in improving women's position in society. Based on agenda-setting theory, the media has an important role in shaping public opinion. Cohen's famous argument that the media might not tell us what to think but they certainly tell us what to think about (1963) is an appropriate illustration of this perception. Going beyond this notion, McCombs recently argued that the media's role is not only in telling us what to think about but in suggesting us how to think about it as well (see 2005, 546). Indeed, certain issues largely depend on how they are framed. Violence against women is one of the social problems that heavily rely on media coverage for achieving change both in policy and society. However, for sensitive issues like violence against women merely covering different cases of violence is not enough. What at least equally matters is the way how these cases are covered and framed. As the article excerpt from the beginning of the chapter suggests, the Serbian newspapers' coverage of violence against women was highly stereotyped, sensationalist and incident based.

Binding conventions that Serbia signed clearly demand that women should be represented in the spirit of gender equality. For example, the Council of Europe Recommendation from 2002 in the section referring to the media, states that, among other duties, states should "encourage the elaboration of codes of conduct for media professionals, which would take into account the issue of violence against women..." (2002).<sup>2</sup> Hence, as a signatory, Serbia was obliged to change the way that issue of violence against women is portrayed and covered in the media.

---

<sup>2</sup> Available from: <https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=280915>, last accessed on May 20, 2014.

In 2009, Serbia adopted the *National Strategy for advancement of gender equality*<sup>3</sup> (hereinafter: the Strategy), a policy document aimed at removing gender stereotypes in media coverage with specific focus on violence against women. One of the major goals of the Strategy was to “...influence the media to respectfully and without sensationalism approach topics such as domestic violence, women harassment, human trafficking and sex trafficking” (2009, 64). The Strategy consists of six National Action Plans, of which two are relevant for my research. The first deals with combating violence against women in the family and in intimate partner relationships and the second deals with removing gender stereotypes from the media. As part of the activities on improving the perception of women in the media, a number of concrete policies and action programs were organized after 2009 for news personnel. In the National action plan aimed at removing gender stereotypes in media, among the main activities were: (a) encouragement to produce more articles with a social focus aimed to remove gender stereotypes and misogyny, (b) establishing an annual award for articles related to removal of gender stereotypes, (c) creating a Handbook on media coverage of domestic violence and violence against women for journalists (Aleksic and Djorgovic 2011), (d) continuous monitoring and sanctioning of discriminatory media coverage<sup>4</sup> and (e) trainings for journalists on violence against women coverage, organized from 2009 to 2011.

What were the effects of the state influence in imposing a new media framework for domestic violence issues in Serbia? This question will be the central focus of my research in exploring how the media covers and frames violence against women in Serbia in the periods before and after the adoption of the relevant state policies and action programs. I will use framing from media theory as a baseline for my research. In arguing for framing as a

<sup>3</sup> Document in Serbian available from: <http://www.cmv.org.rs/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/NACIONALNA-STRATEGIJA-ZA-POBOLJ%20ANJE-POLO%20DAJA-%20BDENA-I-UNAPRE%20IVANJE-RODNE-RAVNOPRAVNOSTI.pdf>, last accessed on April 24 2014.

<sup>4</sup> Document in Serbian available from: <http://www.gendernet.rs/files/dokumenta/Domaci/NAP.pdf>, pp. 124-141, last accessed on April 24, 2014.



theoretical starting point, I will evaluate the debates between scholars arguing for agenda-setting as a core theory and framing as an extension of it and those who argue for equivalence between agenda-setting and framing as media effect theories (see McCombs 2004; Scheufele 1999; Entman 1993).

The aim of this thesis is to assess the overall direction of the effect of policy on media and specifically the effect of state policies on media coverage of violence against women. Contrary to research on media agenda in the Western countries, Serbia seems to be a different example. Namely, it seems that the state provided a more responsible media framework, rather than the media pressured the state to change its policies regarding the problem of violence against women which was often the case in Western Europe, where changing social norms and corresponding media coverage called for new policies. Accordingly, this research will hopefully be a good starting point for future research on media coverage of violence against women in the post-communist context.

As shown above, 2009 is taken as a critical juncture for this research because this was the year the Serbian state started to cope seriously with the problem of how media covers violence against women. My aim is to answer whether news articles after the adoption of the new public strategy show more of the indicators of responsible media coverage. If so, that will indicate that the media framework has shifted towards a more systematic approach of the problem of violence against women. For example, a significantly larger number of articles presenting violence against women as a social problem might indicate media orientation towards broader social implications of the problem rather than to the incident itself. Furthermore, the analysis will indicate how stereotyped newspapers in Serbia are, and whether state policies influenced any positive change in the reducing gender stereotypes within news articles.

I will argue that the new state policies and the Strategy provided a new enriched framework for the media with regards to violence against women. Before the new policies the problem of violence against women was not addressed at all. Namely, violence against women in the family was not even a criminal act in the Serbian Criminal Code before 2002. News coverage of violence against women was highly stereotyped, with predominance of incident based stories without any engagement with the social aspect of the problem. Media's ignorance of the social problem thus only contributed to the maintenance of gender stereotypes and patriarchal structure of Serbian society.

So far there is no research measuring the effect of the state policies on media coverage of violence against women in Serbia. One qualitative analysis of the subject was published last year (Mrsevic 2013). However, this analysis did not deal with the potential effect of the state policies. Hence, this thesis will be the first research aimed to discover and evaluate the effects of state policies and thus contribute not only by filling this gap in the literature but it will show whether media coverage of violence against women changed after the adoption of the strategy.

The main research question is:

**RQ1:** What were the effects of the state's influence on the news coverage of domestic violence in Serbia?

- What happened with the amount of coverage of domestic violence when comparing two time periods, three months in 2006 and three months in 2013?
- Was there a change in the amount of stories covering domestic violence as a social story?
- Are there differences in the amount of coverage between the analyzed newspapers?

The main hypotheses that follow are:

**H1:** There will be an increase in the number of social focus articles regarding domestic violence after 2009 in all analyzed newspapers.

**H2:** The majority of articles regarding domestic violence before 2009 will be incident based.

**H3:** There will be more articles in the second time period that contain information on factual rather than sensationalist aspect, such as statistics of crimes, available services and a legal framework for victims and expert sources quoted.

**H4:** There will be fewer articles in the second period that contain justifications for crime (e.g. alcohol abuse, jealousy, poverty).

**H5:** There will be more articles in the second time period that contain information on criminal consequences for the abuser.

In order to answer the research question and to test the hypotheses, I will use quantitative content analysis and qualitative framing analysis on three national daily newspapers in three months periods, before and after the adoption of the new state policies. The analysis is aimed to provide information about effects of the state policies on the news coverage of violence against women in Serbia providing new data that was not collected before. Moreover, I will try to explain not only whether but also how state policies influenced media by analyzing media content. Quantitative content analysis is relevant for showing the frequencies of incident based and social focus articles, whereas qualitative framing analysis is a logical method for testing framing as a media effect theory. Qualitative framing analysis is convenient due to its flexibility and the possibility to use it in both inductive and deductive research. As such, I will develop indicators of responsible media coverage when analyzing

news articles based on theory, but certainly some patterns will be identified inductively in the data during the analysis.

The structure of the thesis is as follows. After this introductory chapter, second chapter will address the question who sets the media agenda and the most prominent debates within the field. Moreover, I will provide the justification for choosing framing as a baseline theory for this research by providing an overview of the debates between the scholars arguing for the agenda-setting theory as the baseline theory and framing as mere extension of it, and those scholars who argue for framing as equivalent and separate media effect theory. The third chapter will address and justify the methodology used, both for sampling the articles for analysis and for using both quantitative content analysis and qualitative framing analysis. The fourth chapter will explain the logic of the trainings organized for the journalists and the structure of the Handbook on media coverage of domestic violence and violence against women for journalists. The fifth chapter will deal with the quantitative content analysis that will present the main findings regarding variables measuring responsible coverage of domestic violence. Finally, the sixth chapter will present the framing analysis of the three most prominent frames identified for articles covering domestic violence.

## **Chapter 2 - Literature review and theory building**

In this chapter I will provide the justification for choosing framing as a baseline for my research. As suggested in the introductory chapter, I will evaluate the debates between scholars arguing for agenda-setting as a core theory and framing as an extension of it and those who argue for equivalence between agenda-setting and framing as media effect theories (McCombs 2004; Scheufele 1999; Entman 1993). Moreover, I will explain why both quantitative content analysis and qualitative framing analysis are relevant for understanding news coverage of domestic violence. However, before I begin with theory building, I will briefly discuss the specificity of violence against women and define the basic concepts I use in this thesis.

### **2.1 Violence against women: capturing the essence of the problem**

As already noted, violence against women in the family and in intimate partner relationships (hereinafter: domestic violence) in Serbia affects one in three women in the form of physical violence, and every second in any other form (e.g. psychological violence). The term ‘violence against women’ might be best to capture the core of the problem, however, I will use the term ‘domestic violence’ in this thesis, being aware that it is a gender-neutral term, for two main reasons. First, “domestic violence is the most common form of violence against women” and violence against women includes other forms of violence besides domestic violence (Muric and Ostojic 2011, 13). Second, statistics show that among the victims of domestic violence, women are the vast majority. In accordance with the international standards and with the Serbian legal framework, domestic violence in this thesis will be defined as: “all acts of physical, sexual and psychological violence that occur within

the family or domestic unit or between former or current spouses or partners whether or not the perpetrator shares or has shared the same residence with the victim” (see Muric and Ostojic 2011, 18; Council of Europe 2011<sup>5</sup>).

Since the legal documents Serbia adopted in order to improve gender equality refer to women victims of violence, the analysis part of the thesis will deal with articles reporting on female victims of domestic violence in the family and in intimate partner relationships. It will include articles on violence of a husband abusing his wife, of male intimate partner against his female partner and of parents against female children or against any female family member. This selection will be in accordance with the definition of the family members in the Serbian Family law, which in order to increase the “circle of protected persons” includes: spouses or former spouses, children, parents and other blood relations; persons in-law or in adoptive relations; persons living or who used to live in the same family household; extra marital partners or former extra marital partners, persons in a former or current emotional or sexual relationship, or having a child, together, or a child on the way to be born, even though they have never lived in the same family household as a family members (see Muric and Ostojic 2011, 19; Family Law 2005<sup>6</sup>).

Feminist scholars made a major contribution in relocating the issue of domestic violence from the private to the public sphere. As argued by Harway and O’Neill, “From a feminist perspective, male-perpetrated violence against women is considered to be a form of social control used to maintain a subordinate social and political status for women” (1999, 19). Drawing on statistics, the authors strongly argue that it is crucial to know and understand the way gender roles are constructed in order to anticipate the violence (Harway and O’Neill

---

<sup>5</sup> Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence available from: <http://www.conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/210.htm>, last accessed on May 20, 2014.

<sup>6</sup> Document in Serbian available from: <http://www.ombudsman.ils.rs/attachments/Porodicni%20zakon.pdf>, last accessed on May 20, 2014.

1999, 22). Bullock and Cubert go along similar lines in arguing that a number of research dealing with wife battering, find the explanation in “the setup of society and the household” (2002, 476).

As already indicated, media’s role in raising awareness of the social problem of domestic violence is perceived to be significant. Hence, one of the six National Action Plans that Serbia adopted deals specifically with the ways in which women representation in the media should be improved. The following section will shed a light on the interconnectedness of domestic violence and the media.

## **2.2 Media and domestic violence: Towards a baseline theory for analyzing news coverage of domestic violence**

Substantial work has been carried out on the role of the media in mass communication and media studies since the seminal article by Shaw and McCombs in 1972, *The Agenda-setting function of mass media*. Starting from this paper in which the authors explored the agenda-setting power of mass media in the U.S. presidential campaign of 1968, it was assumed that the media has an influence on public opinion. As later argued by McCombs and Shaw: “Both the selection of objects for attention and the selection of frames for thinking about these objects are powerful agenda-setting roles” (1993, 62). Applying these thoughts to the news coverage of domestic violence, we can argue that both the presence of news and articles covering domestic violence (priming of the subject) and the way these news and articles are portrayed (framing of the subject) are relevant for analyzing the coverage of domestic violence.

As indicated in the introductory chapter, the main interest in this research will be on the way that news and articles are framed in order to assess the effect of state policies on news coverage of domestic violence in Serbia. To achieve this goal, the traditional understanding of agenda setting theory is not enough. There are two main reasons. First, a vast majority of research based on the agenda-setting theory was conducted in the Western context, focusing on media effects on public opinion. As Walgrave and Aelst correctly argue referring to previous studies in the field of mass communication, "...the power of the 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" (2006, 100). This is surely one of the reasons for state interest in imposing the framework for more responsible coverage of domestic violence. If the media framework is perceived as important, one of the main questions of interest in my research is whether the state managed to impose its will.

Second, there are serious debates on the importance of differentiation between agenda-setting and framing as two separate theories. Regarding this second reason, on the one side are those scholars, such as McCombs, who argue that framing is merely an extension of agenda-setting, or the "second-level agenda-setting" (see Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007). According to this understanding, the crucial difference between agenda-setting and priming, on the one side, and framing on the other, "...is therefore the difference between whether we think about an issue and how we think about it (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007, 14). On the other side are those scholars who argue for framing as a theory of media effects. Namely, Scheufele distinguishes between studies dealing with media frames and individual frames and between frames as independent and dependent variable (see 1999, 106-108).

In my thesis I will deal with media frame as a dependent variable and I will analyze the role of the state in imposing the media framework for coverage of domestic violence in



Serbia. Scheufele suggests that when analyzing media frames as a dependent variable we should ask: "...what factors influence the way journalists or other societal groups frame certain issues?" (1999, 108). Further, drawing on previous research, he offers possible factors explaining the way journalists are framing different issues. Namely, he argues that those factors are "...social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines, and ideological or political orientations of journalists" (Scheufele 1999, 109). I will concentrate on the state's role in the process of "frame building" (see Scheufele 1999, 115). Accordingly, choosing the media frame approach with the frame as a dependent variable will help in providing an answer to the question what was the effect of the state influence on the change of the media framework for covering domestic violence in Serbia.

In order to justify the choice of framing as a baseline theory for my research rather than agenda-setting in its traditional meaning, I have to point out important defining features of this concept in comparison to agenda-setting and its major advantage for the type of the research I am conducting. Baumgartner and others make an important point in arguing that the main focus of all agenda-setting studies is "...on the dynamics by which new ideas, new policy proposals, and new understanding of problems meets resistance from the prevailing political arrangements but sometimes breaks through to create dramatic policy changes" (Baumgartner et al 2006). The idea behind these thoughts is in the influence of the media on policy makers to achieve certain policy changes. The core point is that the effect is assumed to be unidirectional, coming from mass-media.

This kind of framework is questionable for the post-communist context and as mentioned above in explaining predominantly Western context of the agenda-setting research, there were no research examining the direction of the effect in forming the media framework of coverage. This is of course not to say that agenda-setting theory was not

challenged, developed and in some way adapted to different contexts. Namely, Scheufele and Tewksbury offered some important dimensions for comparing agenda-setting, priming and framing (2007, 9). They argue that framing "...is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences." (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007, 11). This point is very important for the perception of domestic violence as it is portrayed in media. Moreover, framing has its relevance in light of its constructivist role. Namely, as authors suggest, framing also refers to the mode of presentation which is in accordance with the existing "frames" among audience (2007, 12).

Crucial defining features of framing come from Robert Entman, who argues that: "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (1993, 52). Hence, framing includes not only selection of certain angles of the issue but it presents the issue in a specific way as well. In the case of domestic violence, framing is both the covering of different angles of the issue (e.g., legal consequences for perpetrator, statistics of crimes, services for victims present in the article) and gender sensitive covering (e.g. victim centered approach). Accordingly, Scheufele and Tewksbury emphasize that focus of framing is on the specific way different issues are presented (2007).

In the example of domestic violence in Serbia, the problem was not that there was no coverage. Rather, the problem was that the framework of coverage was stereotypical and that stories were incident based, without a broader framework to provide the social problem aspect of the issue. How this framework changed and how the state influenced it will be explored in the thesis. To answer this question framing is more appropriate theory to start with than agenda-setting in its traditional sense is because, as argued by Entman: "Frames call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements, which might lead

audiences to have different reactions” (1993, 55). The main point here is about the perceived importance of the media frame, which leads the state to influence its shape to achieve a more responsible coverage of domestic violence that might lead to change in social norms.

Following Entman, frames are defined by two elements at the same time. Namely, they are defined by what they include and by what they omit (see 1993). For example, if we have incident based stories on domestic violence that give us a picture about the status of the issue and about the possible perception of domestic violence as a private problem rather than a serious social problem. As argued by Carli, “Maintaining this mirage of individual pathology, the news media denies the social roots of violence against women and absolves the larger society of any obligation to end it” (2003, 1603). The analysis of media frames will help to see whether there was a positive change in the quality of coverage of domestic violence. Hence, I will analyze media frame as a dependent variable and I will examine the role of the state in developing the media framework for the news coverage of domestic violence in Serbia.

The framing analysis will also help to see how embedded in patriarchal structure the issue of domestic violence is in Serbia. As argued by Marin and Russo, “Patriarchal attitudes are also transmitted and reinforced through the mass media, a powerful socialization agent” (1999, 32). Hence, quantitative content analysis (priming) will help us examine whether the quality of information present in the articles covering domestic violence improved (e.g. more articles with information on services for victims), whereas framing analysis will provide an answer to the question how much have stereotyped coverage of domestic violence changed between the two time periods analyzed.

For issues such as domestic violence, framing has crucial importance. There are two main reasons. First, drawing on Gramscian ideas on hegemony and dominant ideology,

feminist scholars emphasized the “status quo” role of the media in preserving the frames based on predefined gender roles and the patriarchal structure of society (see for example Meyers 1997). Second, as argued by Byerly: “Framing analysis allows one to locate the underlying meanings in stories by identifying which facts are included or omitted, which persons are used for sources, and how information is arranged” (1999, 391). Hence, the main focus in this thesis will be on the media frames and on the difference these show between the two analyzed time periods.

I will deal with the priming role of media as well, through a quantitative content analysis of the two time periods. The importance of priming is emphasized by McCombs, who argues that: “Following the general lead of content analysis in mass communication research, most agenda-setting studies have emphasized attention, the number of news stories devoted to a particular topic, and secondarily, the prominence of the news about an issue...” (2005, 550). Hence, I will examine the difference in the coverage of domestic violence in the two time periods through the quantitative content analysis of specific indicators of responsible coverage of domestic violence, which I will describe in greater detail further in the methodological part of the thesis.

### Chapter 3 - Teaching journalists on domestic violence coverage

One of the possible strategies states can use in order to improve media portrayal of domestic violence is to train journalists how to cover such cases. As argued by Byerly, “Analysis of the early news coverage of violence against women reveals several trends. ...the news tended to improve as reporters became better informed about the facts surrounding sexual assault and domestic violence” (1999, 392). Moreover, as argued by Meloy and Miller, teaching reporters could be a useful practical strategy, and as some previous research show, handbooks on domestic violence presented to journalists had positive effects in improving the quality of domestic violence coverage (2009, 199). Serbian authorities used this strategy, by (a) organizing trainings for newspapers personnel in the period from 2009 to 2011 and by (b) writing and publishing the Handbook on media coverage of domestic violence and violence against women for journalists (Aleksic and Djorgovic 2011).

First, trainings on gender sensitive reporting were organized throughout Serbia with an aim to cover as many cities and municipalities as possible. In the period of one and a half years, seven trainings were organized for news personnel. As argued by Tamara Petrovic Ranitovic, former coordinator of the project “Combating sexual and gender based violence” at the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy of Serbia:

Our focus was to increase the number of stories on domestic violence... not to chase the women victims of violence, but to write analytically, not to write only when violence happens. We wanted to shift their focus from their tendency to write about the incident itself. (Interview 1, p. 1)

Experts on domestic violence were hired to give lectures to journalists on the nature of domestic violence, specificity of the issue and the problem in its media coverage. Journalists were taught about the phenomena of domestic violence, the delicate position of victims and hence the ways and some practical rules on how to interview victims of domestic violence. Moreover, they were discouraged to find stereotyped justifications for acts of

domestic violence (e.g. jealousy, alcohol abuse, poverty) and they were rather taught that there is no given profile of the perpetrator but anybody could be an abuser and this form of violence is widely dispersed in Serbian society. Namely, as argued by Petrovic Ranitovic:

Domestic violence is not specific for any social group, and alcohol, jealousy, poverty can't be used to justify the violence. What they should do is to condemn the violence and the violent perpetrator. (Interview 1, p. 2)

Second, journalists were familiarized with the above mentioned Handbook on media coverage of domestic violence and violence against women. This Handbook consisted of practical examples of good and bad practice in covering domestic violence and the authors offered precise guidelines on how to write about domestic violence cases. This Handbook consists of recommendations to write more social focus stories, to include statistics on violence, to avoid justifications for the crime and not to use stereotypes. As Petrovic Ranitovic argues:

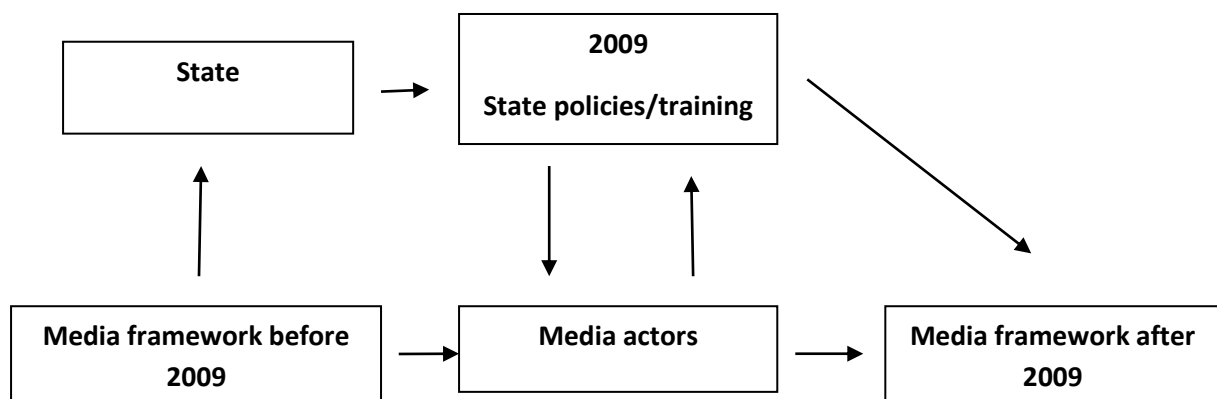
Since there is no profile of perpetrator, it often happens that he was drunk, it happens that person is alcoholic and different things happen, but none of them is so often that we can say there is a pattern...we say to journalists to never look for the reason neither in the perpetrator nor in the victim, but rather to report that someone committed a crime of murder which is murder and at the same time a criminal act of domestic violence for which the only one to blame is the perpetrator like in all other crimes. We completely discourage them to find any reasons. (Interview 1, p. 2)

The aim of the trainings and of the Handbook was to change the way journalists cover domestic violence cases and to influence the shift towards a social focus of the problem. However, the main problem in succeeding in these attempts was the refusal of the editors to participate in the trainings. This is especially important since it is the editors that decide what will be published. As the main coordinator, Petrovic Ranitovic argues that their goal was to motivate editors to participate, but they did not succeed in this attempt as the editors often refused to participate (see Interview 1, p. 2). Rather, trainings were organized with journalists.

Quantitative content analysis and qualitative framing analysis will help in evaluating how much the coverage of domestic violence in the two times period has changed. The guidelines from the Handbook were used in developing indicators of responsible coverage for measuring the quality of domestic violence coverage in the analyzed articles. In the following methodological part of the thesis, I will describe in detail these indicators before I present the results of the analysis.

## Chapter 4 – Methodology

In this chapter I will explain the methods which will be used in order to answer the research question and to examine whether there is a difference in the quality of coverage of domestic violence before and after the new state policies were adopted. Figure 1 depicts the possible directions among factors responsible for building the media framework. The analysis of the two time periods will help in understanding the role of the state policies in providing the media framework for the coverage of domestic violence.



**Figure 1.** The direction of the effect in the media framework building

I will conduct both quantitative content analysis and qualitative framing analysis to capture both the extent and the type of media coverage of domestic violence in Serbia. Quantitative content analysis is aimed to discover differences in the number of articles between the two time periods. Qualitative framing analysis is aimed to show the nature of the media framework in two time periods, within newspapers and in respect to one another. As argued by Braun and Clarke, “Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (2006, 79).

I developed a set of indicators of responsible news coverage of domestic violence for quantitative content analysis. The rationale for choosing the indicators was twofold: first, to



capture practices propagated by the Handbook for the media coverage of domestic violence and violence against women (Aleksic and Djorgovic 2011) and second, to include relevant factors from previous studies dealing with this subject.

The Handbook suggests the main examples of good and bad practices in the Serbian media covering domestic violence and what should be changed in how this issue is covered. It was emphasized that articles should not contain rationalizations for violence, such as jealousy, poverty, alcohol abuse. Hence, one of the indicators tested in this research is (a) the presence of the crime justification in the articles (e.g. jealousy, alcohol abuse, poverty). Moreover, one of the recommendations was to write about criminal consequences for the abuser, namely the sentence for the perpetrator, which would suggest to the readership that the state has a firm stand of condemnation of domestic violence and this indicator was labeled as (b) the abuser consequences. Finally, yet another important suggestion was to question the work of the relevant state authorities (e.g. police) in order to emphasize the social component of domestic violence and the necessity for clear response from the state institutions, and this indicator is labeled as (c) the state authority's response.

The most important indicators borrowed from previous studies on the media coverage of domestic violence (see Maxwell et al 2000; Bullock and Cubert 2002), include: (d) social focus stories (this was also suggested in the Handbook), (e) incident based stories, (f) information on statistics, shelters, services for victims and legislation of domestic violence and (g) expert sources present in the articles.

Methodologically, the difference between social focus stories and incident based stories is that in the former there is no particular incident as a core of the article, but rather the article presents a social problem approach to domestic violence issue (e.g. editorials, articles offering an analytical approach to the issue indicating broader social frame). Information on

statistics, services for victims and legislation are believed to raise awareness of the problem and the existence of systemic solutions for the victims of domestic violence. Expert sources are considered an important indicator as well since they indicate that the problem of domestic violence is approached from different angles and that traditional sources in these stories (neighbors) are complemented with the expert's opinion.

Changes in the amount of specific indicators of responsible news coverage of domestic violence in newspapers' articles were tested with a Fisher's exact one-tail test. This choice is made because this test provides an exact calculation of the significance of the deviation from the null hypothesis. Moreover, in comparison to the chi-square test, Fisher's exact test is a better option with smaller samples, such as the one used in this thesis, consisting of approximately 300 articles (N=330).

For the qualitative framing analysis I observe the three most prominent frames identified in the articles: (a) *justificational frame*, which refers to portrayal of domestic violence cases through stereotyped rationalizations for domestic violence (e.g. jealousy, poverty and alcohol abuse). This framework is relevant because it is recognized in the feminist literature as well and it refers to the "status quo" role of the media in preserving stereotyped gender roles based on unequal relations of power between men and women (see Meyers 1997), (b) *identificational frame*, which refers to the way perpetrators of domestic violence are presented in domestic violence articles. This frame was examined in some previous studies on media portrayal of domestic violence (see Bullock and Cubert 2002) that showed that perpetrators are usually presented as easily identifiable, although studies on domestic violence clearly show that this is not the case and abuser can come from any segment of society (see Buzawa and Buzawa 2003) and (c) *societal frame*, which refers to the more social focus approach to domestic violence issue, including an analytic approach, several sources — including expert sources — for information, presence of statistics on

violence, discussion of the role of state authorities in dealing with the problem, condemnation of the perpetrator, or information on criminal consequence or options available to the victim.

## 4.1 Sample

The sample consists of 330 articles from three national daily newspapers. I have selected three newspapers, one serious, one semi-tabloid and one tabloid paper, because they have different orientation in terms of the readership and in the way they are covering different issues. This kind of newspapers selection helps to avoid a bias which might occur if one chose only serious, issue oriented newspapers, or only yellow press. More importantly, it enables us to examine every segment of the Serbian newspaper scene.

The analyzed newspapers are: *Politika*, *Blic* and *Kurir*. *Politika* is an issue oriented serious paper, the oldest daily newspaper in the country with a 110 years long tradition. As argued by Katarina Djordjevic, journalist of Society section in *Politika*:

I think we all know to whom we are writing, and which audience we are trying to reach. *Politika* is read by highly educated people with somewhat broader perspectives. Yellow press is usually read by those with mostly elementary school education. (Interview 2, p. 1)

Moreover, Djordjevic claims that *Politika* has a lot of space in terms of length for each article, hence there are more options to approach every topic analytically (see Interview 2, p. 1). *Blic* is privately owned semi-tabloid leaning towards a tabloid approach with a majority of short articles without much of analytical stories. *Kurir* is a typical yellow press newspaper and as argued by its journalist Natasa Stojanovic they try to reach a broad reading audience, hence "...the key is that everyone understands the message, the point is how something is written" (Interview 3, p. 1).

The articles were obtained from the *Ebart* electronic database<sup>7</sup> which contains complete articles of all Serbian newspapers from 2003 until today. For the three months in each period, complete search of the Chronicle and Society sections was conducted, since these sections contain a vast majority of articles regarding domestic violence issue. The search of other sections was conducted through the following search terms: violence, family, quarrel, jealousy, murder, rape, beaten. The search has shown that the choice of complete search of the Society and Chronicle sections only, was justified, since all the other sections together in both time periods and in all newspapers had only 5 articles out of 330.

Regarding the nature of the sections, the Chronicle section usually contains articles on different tragedies (e.g. murders, crimes), whereas the Society section usually contains articles on different social problems (e.g. domestic violence, youth problems, social policy). This distinction is straightforward in the case of *Politika*, which has firm issue orientation, whereas in the cases of *Blic* and *Kurir* the difference is often blurred, since their Society section could contain short, incident based articles as well.

I selected the first three months in 2006 for the period before the adoption of the new state strategy. In this time period *Politika* had overall 44 articles dealing with domestic violence, 8 in the Chronicle section and 36 in the Society section. *Blic* had 37 articles overall, 20 in the Chronicle section and 17 in the Society section. Finally, *Kurir* had 63 articles overall, 31 in the Chronicle section and 34 in the Society section.

For the period after the adoption, I decided to avoid 2009, since it might cause bias, being the year in which trainings were organized. Another reason is the possible snow-ball effect of intensive campaign for responsible media coverage after the adoption of the Strategy. Also, in both time frames I avoided the period of the “16 days of activism” against

---

<sup>7</sup> Available from: <http://www.arhiv.rs/>, last accessed on April 26, 2014.

domestic violence (November 25 - December 10) characterized by intensive campaign and media coverage, which is a result of a global annual campaign against violence against women rather than an indicator of responsible coverage. Hence, for the period after the adoption of the new state strategy I selected first three months in 2013 which also provided reasonable time since the 2009 to 2011 a series of trainings for journalists and the 2011 Handbook. In this time period, *Politika* had 48 articles overall, 9 in the Chronicle section and 39 in the Society section. *Blic* had 60 articles overall, 21 in the Chronicle, 34 in the Society and 5 in other sections. Finally, *Kurir* had 78 articles overall, 34 in the Chronicle and 44 in the Society section.

Beside the quantitative content analysis and the qualitative framing analysis I conducted semi-structured interviews with the trained journalists and the relevant state representative engaged in the process of policies implementation. These interviews have an explanatory purpose. Namely, they provide additional information regarding the state's and the journalists' understanding of the problem of domestic violence. Furthermore, they offer additional information on the data obtained through quantitative content analysis and qualitative framing analysis. Finally, the interviews help in better understanding the differences in media coverage before and after the Strategy adoption. The interviews were conducted with Tamara Petrovic Ranitovic, former coordinator of the Combating Sexual and Gender Based Violence Project, at the Gender Equality Directorate within Ministry of Labour and Social Policy of Serbia. Further, interview was conducted with Katarina Djordjevic, journalist of *Politika*, with Natasa Stojanovic, *Kurir* journalist and with Katarina Kovac, who works in the press service of the Journalists' Association of Serbia. Unfortunately, no journalist from *Blic* responded to my calls for an interview.

## Chapter 5 – The state of newspapers coverage of domestic violence -

### Where were we and where are we now?

In this chapter I will present and discuss the results of the quantitative content analysis of *Politika*, *Kurir* and *Blic* articles in order to evaluate and compare the two time periods of analysis. As explained in greater detail in the methodological chapter of the thesis, I was looking for not only in how many articles they publish on domestic violence but changes in the following indicators: (a) social focus stories, (b) incident based stories, (c) information on statistics, shelters, services for victims and legislation of domestic violence, (d) expert sources, (e) presence of the crime justification in the articles in the two time periods (e.g. jealousy, alcohol abuse, poverty), (f) abuser consequences and (g) state authorities response.

### 5.1 Results

As shown in Table 1, the number of articles covering domestic violence increased in the second time period in all analyzed newspapers, although significantly in the cases of *Blic* and *Kurir*. The similar increase in percentages can be observed in *Blic* and *Kurir*, from 2.8% of domestic violence related articles to 5.2% of those articles in the former, and from 4.5% to 7% in the latter. One of the potential explanations for *Politika*'s insignificant rise of domestic violence related stories is the fact that this daily is mainly an issue oriented newspaper which approaches different social problems from an analytical point of view. Hence, the number of the incident based stories for this newspaper was much lower in comparison with *Kurir* and *Blic*. For example, in 2006, *Politika* had only 8 incident based stories in the three months period covered, whereas *Blic* had 20 and *Kurir* had 30 incident based stories published. Although the number of domestic violence related stories increased in the second period in all

newspapers analyzed, this amount of coverage is still below the satisfying level, bearing in mind already mentioned disturbing statistics related to domestic violence in Serbia.

**TABLE 1**

*Domestic violence related articles in the two time periods compared to the overall number of stories for Blic, Kurir and Politika*

	1/06-3/06	1/13-3/13	Fisher's exact (one sided)
Blic	37/1305	60/1139	0.001**
Kurir	63/1396	78/1099	0.004**
Politika	44/1273	48/1183	0.248

\*\*p < .01, one tailed; \*p < .05, one tailed.

The quantitative content analysis shows that there are differences in the amount of terms indicating domestic violence as a criminal act. Namely, the term domestic violence was used more in the second period in *Blic* and *Kurir*, whereas *Politika* had a decrease in the use of the mentioned term (see Table 2). However, *Politika* had a significantly higher amount of the use of the domestic violence term in both time periods in comparison with *Blic* and *Kurir*, well in line with the above indicated expectation that *Politika* is the more serious daily newspaper, with a more analytical approach. The highest difference between the two time periods surveyed was observed in *Blic*, in which the increase of the use of the term 'domestic violence' was 15%. This increase is especially important since in the first period in *Blic*, domestic violence was not mentioned at all in the incident based stories. These results might suggest that with the newly adopted and clearer legal framework of domestic violence, it is easier for the journalists to recognize the acts of domestic violence, and hence to mention this information in the articles.

**TABLE 2***The amount of articles mentioning the term 'domestic violence' in two time periods*

	Blic	Kurir	Politika
1/06-3/06	5%	9%	34%
1/13-3/13	20%	15%	31%

We see a shift towards a more social problem approach to the issue of domestic violence in all newspapers. The main hypothesis, that there will be an increase in the number of social focus articles regarding domestic violence after 2009 was supported for *Blic* and *Kurir*, but not for *Politika*, although here we observe similar levels of coverage possibly due to the seriousness of the daily that triggered interest in providing responsible coverage of domestic violence even before the changes that I examine. The highest increase in the number of social focus stories was in *Blic*, from only 8% percent in the first period, to 28% of social focus stories in the second one (Table 3).

If we take a look at the first period in *Blic* and *Kurir*, we can notice that incident based stories make 92% for *Blic* and 97% for *Kurir* (see Table 3 and 4). These findings suggest that predominant focus of the articles in the first period was on the particular incidents, rather than on the social focus of domestic violence issue, fitting my expectation for low quality coverage of domestic violence before the changes that I examine. As will be shown further, the incident based focus of the articles in the first period, negatively affected the quality of the reporting in a sense that the articles often contained individual explanations for violence rather than showing the social problem.



**TABLE 3**

*Percentage of the indicators of responsible news coverage of domestic violence present in **Blic** in the two time periods*

<b>Variable</b>	1/06-3/06 N=37	1/13-3/13 N=60	Fisher's exact test (one sided)
Social focus stories	8%	28%	0.014**
Incident based stories	92%	72%	0.014**
Statistics, shelters, legislation	2%	20%	0.012**
Expert sources	2%	12%	0.117
Crime justification	35%	18%	0.054*
Abuser consequences	24%	8%	0.032**
State authorities response	5%	15%	0.131

\*\*p < .05, one tailed; \*p < .10, one tailed.

In contrast to *Blic* and *Kurir*, *Politika* shows different trends regarding social focus stories on domestic violence (see Table 5). Namely, already in the first time period *Politika* had 50% of the social focus stories, more than 15 times higher than *Kurir*, and more than 6 times higher than *Blic*. These findings could be explained by the seriousness of *Politika*, which has stable reading audience that is educated and can understand more analytical stories. Hence, the incident based stories with sensationalist approach have never been the trade mark of *Politika*. Nevertheless, there was an increase in the social focus stories in *Politika*, although insignificant. Namely, after 50% percent of the social focus stories in the first time period, there were 65% of these stories in the second one. These findings suggest

that even an issue oriented newspaper such as *Politika* dedicated more space to the problem of domestic violence in social focus stories.

A closer look to the articles with the social focus in the second time period indicates that *Politika* went well beyond *Kurir* and *Blic* in dealing with domestic violence issue. Namely, only *Politika* had an article dealing with the punishment for abuser, such as therapy for perpetrators (see Djordjevic *Politika*, February 26. 2013). Moreover, in the second time period, *Politika* dealt with the problem of gender stereotypes and social norms which are preserving the subordinated position of women in society (see Djordjevic, *Politika*, March 27. 2013). These findings suggest that the quality of coverage is higher in *Politika* in comparison to *Blic* and *Kurir*, since the nature of the newspaper shaped the approach to domestic violence issue in all the newspapers. Accordingly, *Politika* already had issue oriented approach which was only upgraded after the adoption of the state policies in addressing domestic violence, whereas *Blic* and *Kurir* had practically to start from the bottom.

If we take a closer look at the specific indicators of responsible coverage of domestic violence, we can observe several important trends (see Table 3, 4 and 5). First, we can notice a significant increase in the variable measuring the presence of statistics, shelters and legislation within the article in the cases of *Blic* and *Kurir*. Unlike the first period in which only 2% percent of the articles contained information on statistics on domestic violence, shelters for victims and legislation, a fifth of the articles in the second period (20%) contained this information in *Blic*. These 2% percent of articles from the first period covered merely statistics on domestic violence (see N.B.J., *Blic*, Feb. 13. 2006), whereas the articles from the second period dealt with the services for victims, namely safe houses, and the legal framework, in addition to the information on statistics on domestic violence (see for example Surla, *Blic*, March 16. 2013). These findings suggest that the approach of the articles

regarding domestic violence in *Blic* in the second period was more systematic, emphasizing the seriousness of the problem not only through statistics, but through information on the services for victims and the legal framework as well. Since some of the articles refer to the openings of the safe houses in the period after 2009 (see Vuckovic, *Blic*, March 11. 2013) this might suggest that the state's commitment to deal with the problem of domestic violence had an influence on the media framework on domestic violence in the second time period.

---

**TABLE 4**  
*Percentage of the indicators of responsible news coverage of domestic violence present in Kurir in the two time periods*

Variable	1/06-3/06 N=63	1/13-3/13 N=78	Fisher's exact test (one sided)
Social focus stories	3%	15%	0.014**
Incident based stories	97%	85%	0.014**
Statistics, shelters, legislation	2%	10%	0.03**
Expert sources	0%	8%	0.03**
Crime justification	29%	18%	0.09*
Abuser consequences	24%	13%	0.07*
State authorities response	6%	3%	0.24

\*\*p < .05, one tailed; \*p < .10, one tailed.

---

We can notice that there is a significant increase in the variable regarding statistics, shelters and legislation in the case of *Kurir* as well (Table 4). However, unlike in the case of *Blic*, we can observe that statistics on violence dominate in the second period as well in *Kurir*, with almost no mentioning of the services for victims and the legal framework. Nevertheless, the findings suggest that the second period articles are much more engaged in emphasizing the spread of domestic violence within society, with specific focus on the

disturbing statistics on domestic violence related murders and beatings (see for example Nikolic, *Kurir*, March 23. 2013). In evaluating the quality of available statistics, Katarina Djordjevic, journalist of *Politika* argues that:

What changed is greater availability of statistics...state institutions which did not have any statistics whatsoever or did it only sporadically, and did not intersect data, so that prosecutor's office had one data, the Center for Social Work had different data, the police yet again, different one...No one tried to compare that or to run database. In the last years, since domestic violence is recognized in the Criminal Code, in the Family law, now they all have to be more careful in running statistics, so they are helpful.... (Interview 2, p. 2)

Unlike *Blic* and *Kurir*, *Politika* had a decrease in the variable regarding statistics, shelters and legislation. However, if we take a closer look in the data, we can observe that already in the first time period *Politika* had a significantly larger number of articles mentioning statistics, services for victims and legislation on domestic violence (50%) than *Blic* and *Kurir*. As mentioned above, the coverage in *Politika* shifted to issues that were not addressed at all in *Blic* and *Kurir*, such as therapy for abusers and the issue of gender stereotypes and gender roles in preserving the subordinated position of women. Hence, the hypothesis that there will be more articles in the second time period that contain information on statistics of domestic violence, available services for victims and the legal framework was supported in the cases of *Blic* and *Kurir*, but not in the case of *Politika*.

Second, there was a significant increase in the expert source variable in the case of *Kurir*, it was close to be statistically significant in the case of *Blic*, whereas for *Politika* we observe insignificant decrease in the number of articles quoting an expert source. Only 2% of the articles in the first time period contained expert sources in *Blic*, whereas 12% of articles in the second time period contained these sources (Table 3). What could be noticed in the first period is that police and neighbors dominate as the sources for the articles' story. Large part of the incident based stories in the first period contains merely police sources and factual information on the crime without any social component whatsoever. The only story which

contained an expert source in the first period in *Blic* was dealing with domestic violence in which a woman is a perpetrator. The title of the article, “Women rape too” (see Golosin, *Blic*, January 22. 2006), had an obvious aim to offer sensationalist story without any serious commitment to systematically address the problem of domestic violence.

In contrast, expert sources used in articles of the second period gave an additional strength to the story emphasizing the problems in addressing domestic violence institutionally, and pointing out the spheres which should be improved in order to combat domestic violence in Serbia (see for example S.P.S., *Blic*, February 25. 2013). In the case of *Kurir*, we can observe that there was no single article with an expert quoted as a source in the first time period (Table 4). Bearing in mind that 97% of the articles in the first period were incident based, these findings are not surprising at all. In the vast majority of the stories the police was the only source, which indicates the factual approach to the stories covering domestic violence without any social problem focus, which could indicate the shift from the incident based approach. This trend has slightly changed in the second period, with 8% of the articles containing experts as a source for the article. However, this increase does not indicate any dramatic improvement in the coverage of domestic violence, but only shows that there is a small positive, and statistically significant shift.

Similarly to the previous indicator, we can observe a statistically insignificant decrease for *Politika* for the use of expert sources (Table 5). However, already in the first time period *Politika* had 40% of the articles containing expert source, much more than *Blic* and *Kurir*, which based on the newspaper orientation was expected. Hence, the hypothesis that there will be more articles in the second time period containing expert source, was supported in the case of *Kurir*, but not in the cases of *Blic* and *Politika*, with the side note that in the case of *Blic* it was close to being statistically significant.

**TABLE 5**  
*Percentage of the indicators of responsible news coverage of domestic violence present in Politika in the two time periods*

Variable	1/06-3/06 N=44	1/13-3/13 N=48	Fisher's exact test (one sided)
Social focus stories	50%	65%	0.11
Incident based stories	50%	35%	0.11
Statistics, shelters, legislation	50%	33%	0.08*
Expert sources	41%	33%	0.29
Crime justification	9%	2%	0.15
Abuser consequences	27%	21%	0.32
State authorities response	11%	12%	0.56

\*\*p < .05, one tailed; \*p < .10, one tailed.

Third, there was a decrease in the number of articles justifying the crime through jealousy, poverty and alcohol abuse in all newspapers, statistically significant in the cases of *Blic* and *Kurir*. Unlike the first period in which more than a third of articles tried justifying the crime (35%), in the second period in *Blic* less than a fifth of the articles contained attempts of justification of domestic violence (18%). On the one side, justification of domestic violence is a consequence of the patriarchal structure of society in which there are defined gender roles and violence is tolerated (see Babovic et al. 2010, 59-64). Hence, the news coverage is based on the pre-established framework which is preserving “the status quo” (see more in Meyers 1997), and this decrease suggests a weakening of the status quo of domestic violence.

On the other side, as argued by Bullock and Cubert, who were drawing on previous feminist studies, the problem lies in the "...journalists' attempts to explain the "why" of domestic violence; whether the victim or the perpetrator is blamed depends on the underlying ideology" (2002, 478). The "why" of domestic violence in the first period articles of *Blic* was mostly found in jealousy, whereas poverty was the most often mentioned justification in the second period. The findings suggest that much less articles in the second period are striving to find the reason or justification for the crime, which indicates moving away from the incident based approach and the individual explanations to the more social approach with more general explanations. However, in the second period as well, a high number of articles still justify domestic violence, although the recommendation in the governmental Handbook clearly states that the perpetrator is always to be blamed for the violence.

Regarding *Kurir*, in comparison to the first period in which almost a third of the articles contained some form of justification of domestic violence, there were 18% of this kind of articles in the second time period. Bearing in mind that *Kurir* is a typical yellow press newspaper, which is based on the sensationalist approach, this shift is a positive and important step towards more responsible coverage of domestic violence that challenges the status quo.

Taking a closer look in the specific articles containing justification, we can notice that jealousy is the main justification used in the both time periods. However, it can also be noticed that in the second period the number of sensationalist titles is much lower, whereas in the first period titles and the leads of the articles were justifying the crime. For example, one of the articles in the first period titled "To death because of love" (see B.O.-J.S., *Kurir*, March, 10. 2006) deals with the murder of a woman from the individual explanation point of view, without any social reference whatsoever. These kinds of examples are almost nonexistent in the second time period in *Kurir*.

In the case of *Politika*, we can observe a decrease in the amount of the articles mentioning different crime justifications. Unlike the first period, in which there were 9% of the articles that contained some form of crime justification, in the second period there were only 2% of such articles. These results suggest that *Politika*'s coverage of domestic violence goes well beyond the incident based approach in which individual explanations for violence dominate, rather than social focus. Hence, the hypothesis that there will be fewer articles in the second period which contain justifications for domestic violence was supported in the cases of *Blic* and *Kurir*, whereas in the case of *Politika* the number of those articles decreased, but this decrease was not statistically significant.

Fourth, information on abuser consequences is significantly less present in the second period articles in *Blic* and *Kurir*, whereas the number of articles containing this information decreased in *Politika* as well, but insignificantly. Namely, unlike the first period, in which there were 24% of articles containing the information on the abuser consequences, only 8% of articles in the second period contain this information in *Blic*. The first potential explanation could be found in the newsworthiness of mentioning criminal consequences for the abuser in the first time period articles. Bearing in mind that, as earlier suggested, domestic violence is a criminal act in Serbian Criminal code only from 2002, by 2006 (first period articles) a number of cases reached court decisions, which along with newsworthiness contributed to the amount of mentioning the information on the abuser consequences. Accordingly, by 2013, mentioning the abuser consequences was not newsworthy anymore. One additional interpretation is in the fact that most of the articles in the second period were “fresh cases”, with no court decision being announced yet, which influenced the lesser use of information on the abuser consequences in the second period articles. In the case of *Kurir*, the reference to abuser consequences is much less present in the second period, same as in *Blic*. Namely, unlike the first period, in which almost fourth of the stories contained abuser



consequences (24%), there were only 13% of the stories in the second period mentioning this information. Similar results could be observed in the case of *Politika*. Hence, the hypothesis that more articles in the second time period will contain the information on the abuser consequences was not supported in any of the newspapers analyzed.

Finally, the variable labeled as state authorities' response, which refers to questioning of the work of the relevant state authorities (e.g. police) was close to being statistically significant for *Blic*, whereas it was insignificant in the cases of *Kurir* and *Politika*. Unlike the first period, in which only 5% of the articles questioned the work of the state authorities responsible for combating domestic violence, 15% of the articles in the second period in the case of *Blic* did so.

What could be noticed in the second period articles is that there is more questioning of the police' and the Centre for Social Work responsibility in responding to the cases of domestic violence. Namely, one of the articles criticizes the Centre for Social Work for refusing to initiate the building of another safe house for the victims of domestic violence (see Vuckovic, *Blic*, March 11. 2013). This example suggests that there is a broader social reference of domestic violence, rather than the merely incident based approach. However, although there was an increase in the number of articles questioning the role of state authorities, 15% is still quite low number, which only indicates that news coverage of domestic violence improved little. Hence, the hypothesis that there will be more articles with the information on the state authorities' response in the second time period was not supported.

**TABLE 6**

Comparing the level of responsible news coverage in two time periods between *Politika*, and *Blic* and *Kurir* combined

Variable	Daily	%	%	Fisher's exact
		1/06-3/06	1/13-3/13	
Social focus	Politika	50%	65%	0.11
	Blic+Kurir	5%	21%	0.0003***
Statistics, shelters, legislation	Politika	50%	33%	0.08
	Blic+Kurir	2%	14%	0.0005***
Expert source	Politika	41%	33%	0.29
	Blic+Kurir	1%	9%	0.004**
Crime justification	Politika	9%	2%	0.15
	Blic+Kurir	31%	18%	0.015**
Abuser consequences	Politika	27%	21%	0.32
	Blic+Kurir	24%	11%	0.006**
State authorities response	Politika	11%	12%	0.56
	Blic+Kurir	6%	7%	0.485

\*\*\*p < .001, one tailed; \*\*p < .01, one tailed; \*p < .05, one tailed.

Since *Blic* and *Kurir* are close in respect to their approach, leaning towards tabloid and sensationalist covering, in contrast to *Politika*, which has clear issue oriented approach, Table 6 shows in comparative perspective *Politika* on the one side and *Blic* and *Kurir* combined on the other, in order to illustrate the difference between dailies' orientation. The results are well in line with the above mentioned expectations based on characteristics of the dailies. We can observe that in the cases of *Kurir* and *Blic* all variables of interest except state authorities' response are highly statistically significant, with only abuser consequences variable going in the unexpected direction, namely decreasing.

The biggest change could be observed in the case of social focus articles that increased from 5% in the first period to 21% in the second one. These results suggest that in the more or less tabloid daily press such as *Blic* and *Kurir* we can observe a shift from a merely incident based approach to a social focus one, which stresses the social problem dimension of domestic violence in Serbian society. As already discussed in detail above, *Politika* had much higher number of practically all indicators of responsible coverage already in the first period in comparison to *Blic* and *Kurir*, which is in accordance with the expectations based on the daily's orientation towards serious journalism.

## 5.2 Discussion

The results lead us to conclude that all analyzed newspapers have shifted their coverage of domestic violence towards a more social focus approach. The quality of social focus articles differs among newspapers and the framing analysis in the following chapter will offer us more insight on the nature of the social focus stories in each daily. The main hypothesis that there will be an increase in the number of social focused articles regarding domestic violence after 2009 was supported for *Blic* and *Kurir* but not for *Politika*, which can be explained with the seriousness of the latter daily. Although we do not observe significant increase in the number of social focus articles in *Politika*, this daily had more social focus stories already in the first time period than *Blic* and *Kurir* combined. Although both *Blic* and *Kurir* show significant increase in the social focus stories in the second period, with 28% in the former and 15% in the latter, these results indicate that the condition of domestic violence coverage was very poor in the first period and that it is only slightly positively changed now.

Nevertheless, *Kurir's* and *Blic's* orientation towards shorter information and incident based stories is leading us to conclude that there was a positive significant shift in the

direction of a social focus approach in the two dailies since the number of social focus articles significantly increased in the second period. Bearing in mind that one of the main recommendations formulated in the Handbook was to approach analytically the issue of domestic violence and that trainings for journalists were aimed to shift the focus from merely factual incident based stories of domestic violence, we can conclude that teaching journalists how to cover domestic violence cases was effective, at least in this part.

Observing specific indicators of responsible news coverage of domestic violence showed important changes in the cases of *Blic* and *Kurir*. Namely, there was a significant increase in the number of articles containing information on statistics, shelters and legislation for both dailies, there was an increase in expert sources variable for *Kurir* and significant decrease in the crime justification variable for *Blic* and *Kurir*. These results seem to suggest that the state's influence on domestic violence coverage was effective and positive.

Especially relevant is the significant increase in the articles reporting on the statistics of domestic violence, services for victims and the legal framework in *Blic* and *Kurir*, which goes well in line with best practices suggested by the Handbook. Although the number of the articles with the above mentioned information in *Blic* and *Kurir* was lower than in *Politika* in the first period, bearing in mind semi-tabloid and tabloid orientation of these dailies in contrast to *Politika*, they are still suggesting that there is a positive shift and recognition of the importance of combating domestic violence.

One unexpected result was a decrease in the information on the abuser consequences present in articles in all analyzed newspapers, significant in the cases of *Blic* and *Kurir*, and insignificant for *Politika*. Hence, the hypothesis that there will be an increase in talking about the abuser consequences in all analyzed newspapers in the second period was not supported. How can we explain these results? As mentioned earlier, one of the possible explanations of

these results is the newsworthiness of this information in the first period, bearing in mind the timing when domestic violence was introduced as a criminal act in Serbia. Moreover, these results could be explained in light of the fact that the most of the articles in the second time period were “fresh cases”, with no court decision of the criminal procedure yet available.

Justification of domestic violence included in the articles was lower in all analyzed newspapers in the second period, although significantly lower in the cases of *Blic* and *Kurir*. These results might suggest that attention has shifted towards more of a social focus explanations from the individual focus, which searches the explanation of domestic violence in the particular case. However, except *Politika*, both *Blic* and *Kurir* contain nearly a fifth of the articles in the second period with some justification of domestic violence. Bearing in mind that *Blic* and *Kurir* have similar, more or less sensationalist approach and that editors did not participate in the trainings, stereotyped explanations of domestic violence could be explained as a consequence of editorial policy and orientation to mass readership. The evidence for this claim is also supported by the state representative in charge of the gender mainstreaming project for journalists. As Petrovic Ranitovic argues:

...when journalists talked about their problems, they said that even if they wrote responsibly, the editor comes and changes the title and writes something sensationalist and if we write an article which is not like that, it won't be published, and we have to write bloody and in the way we know is not the right way to write". (Interview 1, p. 1)

Hence, changing the frame of coverage was much harder to accomplish due to editors resistance to change stereotyped approaches to domestic violence that lead to sensationalist titles that sell the newspapers. In the following chapter I will explain how the frame of crime justification changed between the two time periods in greater detail.

Table 6 which compares *Politika* on the one side and *Blic* and *Kurir* on the other, clearly illustrates the difference between dailies orientation. First, *Politika* did not have significant change in any variable of interest. However, its quality of articles is much better in both time periods than in the cases of *Blic* and *Kurir*, which, as argued earlier in the thesis, goes well in line with the issue orientation and with the analytical approach of *Politika*. Second, all variables except state authorities response significantly changed in the cases of *Blic* and *Kurir* in the second time period, when combined, with only abuser consequences variable going in the unexpected direction. These results suggest that the Handbook guidelines and trainings for the news personnel were effective in shifting the focus of the sensationalist oriented dailies towards social focus of domestic violence issue. What is more, factual information on statistics, shelters, legislation and expert sources quoted have enriched the framework of news coverage of domestic violence, which might suggest that trainings and the Handbook guidelines were effective for *Blic* and *Kurir*. This factual information could be expected to go through editors much easier and enrich the framework of domestic violence coverage. In the case of crime justification, as suggested above, this was much harder to accomplish, due to editors resistance.

## **Chapter 6 – Framing domestic violence coverage: between changing stereotypes and pleasing the readership**

In this chapter I will present the framing analysis of the three most prominent frames identified: 1) *justificational frame*, referring mostly to justifications of domestic violence present in the newspapers articles analyzed, which consists of three main features: (a) stereotyped explanations of domestic violence (alcohol abuse, poverty, jealousy), (b) individual explanations for the crime and ‘family tragedy’ label, indicating that domestic violence is a private rather than a social problem and (c) neighbor sources providing crime justification, 2) *identificational frame*, which, through the use of neighbor sources mostly, suggests that violence happens only to certain types of people. They are usually labeled as “nonsocial”, “weird”, “living in poverty”, and this frame consists of the following features: (a) perpetrator-centered approach rather than victim-centered one, (b) portrayal of domestic violence as an extraordinary one-time incident and (c) the majority of neighbor and relative sources present in the articles providing stereotyped picture of domestic violence cases and 3) *societal frame* consisting of the following features: (a) multiple sources used, (b) victim-centered approach and (c) additional information indicating social aspects of domestic violence. I will evaluate similarities and differences between the two periods in respect to the mentioned frames and I will present the differences in the nature of the frames regarding the features each frame consists of.

### **6.1 Justificational frame**

#### **6.1.1 Justifying domestic violence or keeping the “status quo”**

Feminist scholars emphasize especially the problem of the “status quo” preservation (see Meyers 1997) in journalists’ articles in the sense that: “The popular media play a key

role in maintaining hegemonic consensus by helping those in power win the consent of the governed...” (Meyers 1999, 7). In the Serbian portrayal of domestic violence this hegemonic consensus is reflected in the established gender roles and through traditional unequal power relations between men and women (Babovic et al. 2010). As showed in the quantitative content analysis in the previous chapter, justification of domestic violence through reasons such as poverty, jealousy and alcohol abuse decreased in all newspapers in the second time period.

A closer look at the articles justifying domestic violence shows that the most mentioned motive for crime was jealousy in the first time period in all newspapers analyzed. Moreover, it could be noticed that the majority of articles is using neighbors or relatives as sources providing certain motive of the crime. Finally, all these alleged “motives” for crime are embedded in traditional patriarchal perceptions of society regarding the established gender roles of men and women.

As argued by Carli, “By presenting stories of violence against women as separate isolated events, the news media reinforces the idea that the violence was an isolated pathology or deviance” (2003, 1603). Most of the articles in the first time period are built around particular incidents, aiming to find specific reasons or motives for domestic violence. As shown in the quantitative content analysis, the vast majority of the articles of *Blic* and *Kurir* were incident based in the first period, with only *Politika*, being more socially focused due to its issue orientation. For example, one of the *Blic*’s articles reported that neighbors claimed that the murderer wanted to end the relationship but the victim was stalking him (see Vujanac, Adzic *Blic*, March 10, 2006). This example clearly shows that the journalist is trying to find the reason why someone committed a murder without even stating that this is a case of domestic violence which is a criminal act in the Serbian Criminal Code, besides being a murder. One more article from *Blic*, reporting on a husband murdering his wife uses



citations from neighbors saying that: "...he was drinking heavily" and "in that state he tended to be aggressive" (I.I. *Blic*, February 1, 2006). The way the sentence is constructed is leading us to conclude that "the state of drunkenness" is the reason "why" the crime is committed. This kind of justification for domestic violence is only reinforcing stereotypes and traditional understanding of domestic violence as an isolated incident for which alcohol abuse or jealousy are to be blamed.

The additional problem that occurs in the articles dealing with domestic violence is that these crimes are labeled as a "family tragedy" in the lead of a large number of articles. In this way, domestic violence is situated into the private sphere of the family indicating that it is not crime as other crimes are, and that it does not have a social component. What is more, "family tragedy" often implies that it is an accident, behind which usually there is a reason "why" the incident happened, making domestic violence something extraordinary rather than a social issue. This way of portraying family violence, labeling it as a "family tragedy" rather than domestic violence, is putting the blame on the individuals, and often provides justification for the actions of the perpetrator, without emphasizing the social focus of the problem.

*Kurir* shows even more serious problems regarding the coverage of the "why" of domestic violence in the first time period. One of the articles reporting a father's attempt of murdering his daughter states that: "...he wasn't drunk when he attacked his daughter" (I.C. *Kurir*, January 27, 2006). This example indicates that even in the cases in which stereotyped reasons are not present, journalists are following the pattern of finding the reason "why" for the violent behavior. What is more striking, the above mentioned excerpt from the article suggests that if the father was drunk we could justify his violent behavior as something part of normal life.

*Kurir*'s articles show the highest level of stereotyped explanations for domestic violence in the first time period. One article dealing with a man who hurt his intimate partner with the knife has "Jealousy" as a subtitle (see *Kurir*, January 6, 2006). By putting stereotyped motives in the leads or titles of articles, justification for violence is even more emphasized and the crime itself is justified. For *Kurir* articles in the first time period, emphasis of the "justification" of domestic violence was largely present in the leads of the articles as well. In the article reporting on the attempt of murder in the family, it is stated in the lead that:

...he hit his wife several times in the head with an axe and smashed her head because he suspected that she was cheating on him. (P.R-D.M., *Kurir*, January 5, 2006)

This and above mentioned justifications along with the label "family tragedy" present in the majority of the articles are clearly indicating a different approach to domestic violence in comparison to the other types of violence. Moreover, only a small number of articles mention explicitly that the crime is a case of domestic violence. This pattern can be interpreted as the clear "status quo" maintenance of old social norms. Hence, labeling domestic violence as a 'family tragedy' and not recognizing wife beatings, intimate partner murders as domestic violence in the first period articles could all be seen as maintaining the status quo for this social problem.

*Politika*, as an issue oriented daily newspaper, shows much better quality of the articles when it comes to the justification frame of domestic violence, and already in the first period has only 9% percent of the stories justifying the crime in some way. Moreover, most of the articles in *Politika* are explicit in stating that domestic violence is a criminal act. However, stereotyped explanations for the violence are present in *Politika* as well. Similarly to *Kurir* and *Blic*, jealousy and alcohol abuse are most often mentioned justifications for domestic violence. In addition, one can notice that some other justifications, which are

reinforcing patriarchal social norms, are present. For example, one article reporting on the case of father murdering his daughter is paraphrasing the father who is saying that:

...he attacked his daughter because she was “acting immoral and in this way she was discrediting his and the reputation of other family members. (M.D., Politika, January 27, 2006)

In this example we can clearly see that predefined and traditionally established gender roles are used in order to justify the crime. The perception of “immoral behavior” is widely accepted in the Serbian society, which is still to a large extent conservative. “Immoral behavior” is based on the perception of gender roles that men and women have, which are keeping women in subordinated position, prescribing them ‘moral’ ways of behavior, often much stricter than those applying to men. Hence, articles containing this patriarchal framework are contributing to the preservation of the above mentioned “status quo” (see for example Meyers 1999).

### **6.1.2 From justifying perpetrators to condemning the crime: where are we on the way towards responsible coverage of domestic violence?**

Previous studies on the media coverage of domestic violence have indicated that the process of learning about the complexity of domestic violence is crucial for responsible coverage of this social problem. As indicated in the chapter on journalist training, Serbia used the strategy of teaching journalists how to report on domestic violence cases by organizing trainings and putting up the Handbook for the journalists. As we could observe in the previous chapter, the new focus of the state on how to deal with domestic violence provided to journalists an enriched framework to write about. Hence, the priming part of domestic violence stories had much more factual information in the second time period. However, it could be expected that frames are much harder to change due to their embeddedness in the traditional patriarchal structure of Serbian society with pre-established gender roles. One of the main goals of journalist trainings was to eliminate the frame of justification of domestic

violence through stereotyped explanations and rather focus on the social aspect of the story and on the victim's experience. The state Handbook for media coverage of domestic violence refers to this problem as well, offering the examples of good and bad practices for journalists to understand the existing problems in the coverage of domestic violence.

Although the number of the articles justifying domestic violence has significantly decreased in all newspapers analyzed in the second time period, the nature of the frame used by the journalists to talk about domestic violence did not change much. Jealousy, alcohol abuse and poverty remained the most often mentioned justifications of domestic violence. In one article reporting on a husband murdering his wife, it is stated, using neighbors sources that: "...the couple argued for years because of poverty and Istvan's alcohol abuse" (Ivanoska, *Blic*, January 15, 2013).

Basically, the framework of justification in *Blic* remained the same, only the quantity of the articles justifying domestic violence decreased. What is more troubling is that those articles containing justification of domestic violence have this justification even more explicit than the articles in the first time period. For example, one of the *Blic*'s headlines in the second time period is "Slaughtered his girlfriend because of jealousy" (see Taskovic, *Blic*, January 15, 2013). This negative shift regarding the framework justifying domestic violence could be possibly explained by the recent change towards more tabloid and sensationalist approach of *Blic*.

*Kurir* goes along similar lines as *Blic* regarding the "why" of domestic violence in the second time period. In addition, it often labels domestic violence cases as "family tragedy" same as in the first time period. In one of the articles reporting on a man killing his girlfriend, one of the sources was captured stating that:

He said he was in love with Stela, but he suspected she was cheating on him. The guy was jealous and possessive.... (joint article, *Kurir*, February 15, 2013)

This example clearly shows that justification of the crime against women is a typical pattern in domestic violence cases, unlike in other violent crimes. The above mentioned excerpt is from the article on the story which drew a lot of attention of the media in all Serbian daily newspapers since both the murderer and the victim were young students and as one of the rare stories with a follow up on the same incident, this story was portrayed in a dramatic way in order to attract the reading audience (see: joint article, *Kurir*, February 15, 2013; Subota, Radisic, *Blic*, February 15, 2013).

For newspapers such as *Blic* and *Kurir*, which are much less issue oriented in comparison to *Politika*, the pressure to write sensationalist stories comes very often from the editors themselves. Kristina Kovac, from the Journalists' Association of Serbia talking about editorial policy in the newspapers, argues that:

What matters to the editors is that the stories are read, and people simply tend to find appealing those lowest values...and unfortunately this is how it is, people would rather read stories with sensationalist titles, which I don't justify at all. But then again, it's not journalists' fault often. I know from my own experience, not only about these topics, but many others, editors tend to return the article and say to journalists to write something that draws attention. (Interview 4, p. 2)

What could be concluded is that there is a tendency to adjust the style and language of the newspaper articles to the audiences' tastes. Hence, even when journalists are trained how to write about domestic violence, editors could be those gatekeepers who prevent responsible coverage since it does not sell the newspapers. This takes us back to maintaining "status quo" role of the media in preserving traditional values and social norms which are deeply embedded in society and which are keeping women in a subordinated position.

Although quantitative content analysis shows that factual information that is important for the victims of domestic violence are much more present in the second period articles, media frames are much harder to change since they are reflecting the social norms embedded in society. Only *Politika* shows major improvement in the media framework regarding justification of domestic violence, since only one article mentions any justification for the crime. Nevertheless, *Politika*'s readership is the most educated segment of Serbian society, thus this affects little changing the general "status quo". Hence, the media framework regarding justification of domestic violence changed only in its quantity but not in its nature. Reasons "why" the perpetrator committed the crime remained roughly the same for *Blic* and *Kurir* in both time periods, whereas only *Politika* showed significant improvement in how it covered the topic of domestic violence.

## **6.2 The use of sources in preserving stereotypes on domestic violence**

### **6.2.1 The role of identificational frame in maintaining "status quo"**

Framing perpetrators of domestic violence in a certain way, as different from everyday citizens, could be observed as a pattern in the first time period articles. This pattern suggests, through the use of neighbor sources quoted mostly, that violence happens only to certain types of people. They are usually labeled as "nonsocial", "weird", "living in poverty". Aside of neighbors, police and so called unidentified "newspaper sources" are the most often cited in domestic violence cases in the first time period, and they are reinforcing the idea that domestic violence happens only to certain kinds of people. Newspaper articles reinforce stereotypes of how perpetrators' profile is supposed to look like although the literature suggests that there is no special profile of a domestic violence perpetrator, as strongly argued by Buzawa and Buzawa in their study on domestic violence:

At a minimum, we know that batterers should not be considered a homogeneous group. It appears that life course events and interpersonal dynamics all tend to influence milder forms of physical aggression, whereas more violence batterers are more likely to display significant psychopathological disorders. (2003, 50)

As shown in the quantitative content analysis in the previous chapter, there were practically no or few expert sources quoted in the first time period in *Blic* in *Kurir*. Rather, police and neighbors made up the vast majority of sources cited in domestic violence related articles. In the article reporting on a husband murdering his wife and committing suicide it is stated, using neighbors' sources that:

On the tragic night, before coming home, Aleksandar was in the local store with friends, he was drinking wine, but he wasn't drunk. They didn't want to say their names, but they claim that Aleksandar was a good man, and that they never had troubles with him. (I.I., *Blic*, February 1, 2006)

This example suggests that there is a tendency in the articles covering domestic violence to move away from the main point of the story, and that is, that someone was murdered, and rather to focus on the perpetrator. Quoting the neighbors saying that "he was a good man" is shifting the focus from the victim and leads us to the explanations of the reason "why". Hence, when perpetrator is not perceived as "unsocial" or "weird" but rather as a "good neighbor", the articles tend to portray a crime as "an unexpected tragedy" and to conclude with the statements like "only they know what really happened" (see for example Miric, *Blic*, March 24, 2006). In this way domestic violence is placed to a private sphere, without any reference to the social component of the problem.

As argued by Byerly, "News stories about violence against women (...) can be considered to have a feminist frame when they place feminist language and analyses about women's victimization central to the story, and when victims are allowed to talk about their experiences in their own words" (1999, 391). As suggested above, articles in the first time period in the newspapers analyzed dedicate attention mostly to the perpetrator and to the

neighbors' perception of the perpetrator, whereas the experience of the victim in the majority of articles is neglected. Moreover, neighbor sources claiming that they did not expect the crime to happen are identified as a common pattern in the first time period articles. For example, in the article reporting on a son killing his parents, neighbor sources are quoted saying that:

...Dragan was reticent, with no much contact with the neighbors, but no one in the building, according to the neighbors, heard anything bad about him, which scared them even more. (H.D., *Blic*, March 5, 2006)

This example indicates that articles are quoting sources which are supporting the perception that there is a particular profile of the perpetrator of domestic violence. This perception of the perpetrator is similar as in some of the previous studies in which it is argued that in the articles: "...quiet, nonsocial couples and individuals were set apart from those more neighborly or social. This helped characterize such people as likely to be involved in domestic abuse" (Bullock and Cubert 2002, 490). What is more, most of the cases of domestic violence which find their way to the newspapers are those with the fatal outcome. In the case of *Blic*, for example, there were 57% of stories with the fatal outcome in the first period analyzed, with less than a fifth reporting on battering. Literature suggests and experts confirm that domestic violence is not a one-time incident. Women are usually victims of physical or psychological violence for a long period of time. However, almost no articles are indicating that the victim was suffering violence long before the actual story and cases of domestic violence are rather portrayed as extraordinary one-time events that are 'unexpected'. There is only one example in *Blic* in the first time period indicating the responsibility of police for not reacting on time:

Policemen were telling her every time that they cannot react until something happens to her. My daughter was afraid for us too, because she knew what they are capable to do.... (Adzic, *Blic*, March 24, 2006)



*Kurir* goes along similar lines of *Blic* in using neighbor's sources to indicate that there is a certain "profile of the perpetrator". In the article reporting on a husband murdering his wife, it is written that:

As we found out, Peric was known as calm and peaceful guy at work, but completely different outside the work. He liked to party and to shoot with a gun in the air. (Milisic, *Kurir*, January 23, 2006)

This excerpt suggests that we should easily identify the perpetrator, although as mentioned above, literature suggests that this is not the case. In addition, by focusing on the perpetrator and on neighbors' description of him, the focus is shifted from the victim and thus the social perspective of the problem of domestic violence and situated into private sphere. Although the more issue oriented newspaper, *Politika* used as well neighbor's sources that contributed to the perception of perpetrators as a particular types of persons. In the article reporting on a father murdering his daughter, neighbors are paraphrased:

No one knows what happened to him. We were sitting with him that night and he was cheerful. He was a bit strange, but hard working and a good neighbor. (Djuric, *Politika*, January 9, 2006)

This example suggests that there is a predefined perception how a perpetrator looks like and how he behaves and if the perpetrator does not fit the profile then the case is presented as something unexplainable. In addition, this excerpt shifts the attention of the victim and emphasizes the perpetrator and the motives of the crime.

### **6.2.2 Including more sources to address domestic violence as a social problem: towards responsible coverage of domestic violence**

One of the goals of the trainings and one of the important guidelines in the Handbook was to encourage journalists to add more sources other than neighbors'. Moreover, journalists were not to quote neighbors if they are supporting or justifying the crime and when they are offering stereotypical explanations of the violent act. As Tamara Petrovic Ranitovic argues:

They (journalists) should include more sources, not only one or even worse, “unnamed source” or “source known to newsroom”... so basically you have one source and it is unreliable. The general quality of journalism is worse, and we want something new to bring in, which is hard to accomplish. (Interview 1, p. 3)

As already noted, the additional problem is that there is a resistance from the editors to publish stories with a social aspect. What quantitative content analysis shows is that there is an increase in the expert sources and most of the other variables measuring responsible coverage. However, changing the overall framework is much harder to accomplish. First, due to deeply embedded stereotypes and second, although editors might allow the change in the factual elements of the article (e.g. inclusion of services for victims, legislation, statistics on violence), and content analysis shows they did, interviews with the state representative and journalists indicate that there is a clear resistance regarding the change of the overall framework used to address the issue (e.g. justification of crime, stereotyped neighbor sources) in sensationalist terms.

Although the number of expert sources increased in the second time period in *Blic* and *Kurir*, neighbor and relatives’ sources remained present, a pattern in most of the longer articles. In the article reporting on a man murdering his intimate partner and her child, a relative was used as a source:

He wasn’t the same anymore. I thought it is because of the glory for getting many awards since he is a goat grower. (Milenkovic, Blic, January 11, 2013)

This article is another example of shifting the focus of attention from a terrible murder to the perpetrator and to the possible explanations of what made him commit the crime. As indicated earlier, journalists of *Blic* and *Kurir* especially are pressured to bring into the story completely irrelevant information, which is believed to increase the newspapers’ readership. In one article reporting on a husband murdering his wife, a neighbor’ source was quoted saying that: “None of them had regular job, so they lived from part time jobs in agriculture”

(Ivanoska, *Blic*, January 15. 2013). In this article it is suggested that the fact the couple lives in poverty is an explanation for the murder, although as emphasized earlier, this is not supported by the literature on domestic violence.

*Kurir* articles in the second time period are using neighbor sources with stereotypical explanations for violence as well, but it could be noticed that the framework around sources is enriched with the inclusion of expert sources. Unlike the first period in which there were no expert sources at all, articles in the second period in *Kurir* seem to be more victim-centered and less concentrated on the explanations of the possible motives for the crime from the side of the perpetrator.

However, sensationalist articles are typical for *Kurir* and often have labels such as “Monster” (see for example Dudvarski, *Kurir*, January 10, 2013) or “Beast” which still suggest that domestic violence happens only to certain types of people who are different from ordinary people. *Kurir*’s articles in the second period are still quoting neighbor sources who offer stereotypical explanations of the violent act. For example, in the article reporting on a son murdering his mother neighbor’s source is quoted saying that: “Dane was very strange and grumpy and he wasn’t socializing with almost anyone” (Stojanovic-Rakocevic, *Kurir*, January 10, 2013). This excerpt goes along the same lines as the articles in the first time period placing perpetrators in the group of the people who are not friendly.

With the much higher number of social focus articles in comparison to *Blic* and *Kurir* in the both time periods, *Politika* has shown improvement in the quality of sources. In the social focus article dealing with the problem of victims of domestic violence, one of the experts is talking about the problem of tolerating violence in Serbia:

People have the need to understand a terrible crime and motives someone had to kill someone and on some level they reason “if I am good no one will

have a reason to kill me, hence victim did something bad when someone decided to kill her”. (Djordjevic, *Politika*, February 28, 2013)

Accordingly, one of the important problems with the frame that violence happens to certain people is in the fact there is a vicious circle from which it is hard to move forward. Namely, the traditional understanding of gender roles is deeply embedded in society, and as this expert argues, people expect to read these stereotyped stories. On the other hand, as indicated above, journalists are often pressured by the editors to bring in those kinds of stories in order to attract the readership. Only *Politika* resists to this tabloid approach since it is well established, issue oriented newspaper, with more or less stable readership.

### **6.3 Examining societal frame: Domestic violence is a social problem but do the media present it in that way?**

Shifting the focus from the merely incident based approach to a social focus one was one of the major goals of the trainings for journalists and one of the main advices of the Handbook. Quantitative content analysis showed that the number of the social focused articles increased significantly in *Blic* and *Kurir*, from 5% to 21% percent of articles if we observe dailies combined. It increased in *Politika* as well, but not significantly. What were the topics in the social focus articles and have they changed between the two time periods will be presented in the remaining part of the framing analysis.

A closer look at the small number of social focus articles of *Blic* and *Kurir* in the first time period (8% in former, 5% in later) suggests that even in the stories not built around a particular incident there is mostly a factual approach rather than an analytic one, raising societal issues. Namely, one article from *Blic* reporting on the research on domestic violence conducted by the Judges Association of Serbia provides only statistical data on domestic violence and remains on the pure factual level (see N.B.J. *Blic*, February 13. 2006). The same

story was covered in *Politika* but with additional reference on the social aspect of the problem, which is a clear illustration of the difference in dailies' orientation:

The aim of this research is to protect the victims of domestic violence and to punish the perpetrator. Disruption of public order is a felony, whereas domestic violence is a criminal act. (Basovic, *Politika*, January 26, 2006)

*Kurir's* social focus articles from the first period show a similar factual approach as in the case of *Blic*. In one article reporting on the rise of domestic violence cases, the journalist is offering statistical data on domestic violence (see *Kurir*, January 30, 2006). In contrast to *Blic* and *Kurir*, as already suggested above, *Politika* had much more social focus articles (50%). Aside of factual information, the number of articles referred to the state's responsibility and indicated that domestic violence is a serious social problem. In one of the articles reporting on the International victims' day, the journalist is quoting an expert on domestic violence saying that:

...there is no exact data on the number of persons victims of violence in our country; police, judiciary and Center for Social Work are running incomparable statistics. (Djordjevic, *Politika*, February 2006)

This example is an appropriate illustration of *Politika's* commitment to responsibly cover domestic violence as a serious social problem, which demands better state's engagement. As argued by Katarina Djordjevic, journalist of *Politika* and the author of the article from which is above quoted excerpt:

We try to be the partners of I won't say the state, but rather those women who are victims of violence. We want to believe that by writing some articles we can affect the change of the state's policy regarding such an important topic. (Interview 2, p.1)

If we take a closer look at the second period articles we can observe important changes. Namely, as already suggested in the quantitative content analysis, social focus stories in *Blic* and *Kurir* increased significantly in amount, but what happened with the nature of the frame? In *Blic's* articles we can observe a shift in quality, from merely factual

approach to more social problem oriented one. Namely, one commentary titled “The root of violence” is questioning the problem and harmfulness of embedded patriarchal stereotypes in Serbian society (see Petkovic, *Blic*, January 13. 2013). One more commentary is clearly indicating how serious social problem domestic violence is:

Last year nine murdered women reported violence to the police and to the Centre for Social Work. The state cannot protect them, friends are turning their back and tap their shoulder, and in the family the violence is hidden. Women in Serbia are helpless. (Vukovic, *Blic*, February 25. 2013)

This article is an example of the newspapers attempt to influence the state’s reaction. The above mentioned examples are in accordance with one of the major guidelines in the Handbook, and that is to write about domestic violence not only when an incident happens. *Kurir* also had commentary on domestic violence suggesting how serious this problem is in the Serbian society (see Tadic, *Kurir*, March 3. 2013).

However, in the second time period as well, the difference in the quality of coverage could be easily observed between *Blic* and *Kurir* on the one side and *Politika* on the other. Namely, *Politika* went well beyond the other two dailies in terms of topics covered related to domestic violence in social focus stories. In an article reporting on the problem of domestic violence, an expert source is quoted saying that:

...in our society there is still a high level of tolerance of violence and domestic violence becomes the topic only in time of convenient dates in the human rights calendar. (Djordjevic, *Politika*, January 10. 2013)

This example draws attention on the problem of domestic violence in the Serbian society and situates the violence in the public sphere, rather than as a private isolated problem. Furthermore, *Politika* dealt with the topics not even mentioned in the other two dailies, such as therapy for abusers in one article that reports on the opening of the Centre for work with the perpetrators of domestic violence (see Djordjevic, *Politika*, February 26. 2013).

Hence, unlike the other two frames, societal frame appears to be improved in the second time period in all three newspapers, not only in amount of coverage but in its nature as well. However, the difference between semi-tabloid *Blic* and tabloid *Kurir* on the one side and issue oriented *Politika* on the other is clearly affecting the difference in the quality of domestic violence coverage.

## 6.4 Discussion

The frame analysis of the three most prominent frames in *Blic*, *Kurir* and *Politika* is leading us to conclude that meaningful changes in the nature of the frames used by journalists could be observed in the case of the societal frame, but not in the other two. The justificational frame has changed in its extent used but not in its nature between the two time periods. The nature of the frame has not changed much, except in *Politika* which has almost no articles in the second time period justifying domestic violence. As mentioned earlier, issue orientation provides for *Politika* more space to approach any topic from a more analytical point of view.

*Kurir* and *Blic* continue to use stereotypes in their explanations of the reason “why” for domestic violence. What is more, *Blic* seems to indicate even worse conditions for reporting in comparison to the first period. The possible explanation lies in the recent shift of *Blic* towards more tabloid approach. The interviews with the state representative and with journalists of the analyzed newspapers suggest that changing the quality of articles through adding factual information relevant to the story such as services for victims, legal framework and statistics on violence was much easier to accomplish since they did not “disturb” stereotyped frameworks of the coverage of domestic violence. However, the change of the overall framework justifying domestic violence was much harder to accomplish. Although journalists were advised on the trainings not to use stereotypical justifications for domestic

violence (e.g. jealousy) and the Handbook's guidelines offered examples of good practice regarding domestic violence coverage, they indicate in the interviews that they faced pressure from the editors. Editors acted as the gatekeepers who prevented the shift towards more responsible coverage in these attempts of changing the frame. In the cases of *Blic* and *Kurir*, the explanation is that tabloid and sensationalist approach of these newspapers is based on the stories which draw attention. Hence, the tastes of readership influence editors' rigid attitude in the cases of *Blic* and *Kurir* and they are choosing to offer what is expected without any will to show social responsibility.

The identificational frame, suggesting that domestic violence happens to only certain types of people, changed in the cases of *Kurir* and *Blic* in the sense that there were more expert sources included in the articles, which might suggest the social component of domestic violence. However, neighbor sources offering stereotypical explanations of the perpetrator remained the pattern of the coverage of domestic violence cases. What is more, all these neighbor sources are much more focused on the perpetrator. Second period articles show some improvement regarding victim-centered approach. However, stereotypical explanations usually presented as a "family tragedy" are contributing to the shifting the focus of attention from the central problem, which is widespread and tolerated violence in Serbian society.

The only frame that shows positive and meaningful change is the societal frame, especially in the cases of semi-tabloid and tabloid oriented dailies, *Blic* and *Kurir*. Unlike the first period social focus articles that remained at the level of factual approach, second period articles included much more the social component of domestic violence, such as the critique of the level of tolerance of violence in Serbian society and the pressure on the state to more clearly address domestic violence. *Politika*, well in line with the expectations based on its orientation, went well beyond topics covered in *Kurir* and *Blic*. Namely, it contained a number of expert sources which questioned the harmfulness of gender stereotypes and the



work of the state on addressing this problem. In addition, it contained an article dealing with the therapy for perpetrators of domestic violence.

In sum, the quantitative content analysis and the frame analysis show that there was a significant change in the factual information on domestic violence presented, whereas frames did not change much, except the societal frame. The most plausible explanation lies in the editors' resistance to show social responsibility and to accept the challenge of trying to affect the readership to change rigid stereotypes and patriarchal norms. Editorial policy and semi-tabloid and tabloid approach, especially of *Blic* and *Kurir*, are preventing the shift in the quality of frames and that is why the major improvement was identified only in the quantitative part of the analysis.

## Chapter 7 – Conclusion

The state, on the one side, has adopted the new strategy and action programs with an aim to change the news coverage of domestic violence, assuming that the media has an influence on the general public. Media's role as an agenda setter for public opinion is well known, yet the interplay between the state and the media with an aim to improve the news coverage of domestic violence in Serbia has shown that state involvement in media does not lead to straightforward results. I have shown in this thesis what the reaction of the Serbian media was to state initiative on covering domestic violence, let me summarize the most important findings in the paragraphs to follow.

First, the quantitative content analysis showed significant positive shift towards responsible coverage of domestic violence. Namely, in the cases of semi-tabloid and tabloid newspapers *Blic* and *Kurir*, we could observe a significant positive change in most of the variables measuring responsible coverage of domestic violence. The articles in the second time period are enriched with information on statistics on domestic violence, services for victims, expert sources used, with much less stereotyped crime justifications present. Hence, the state with its adopted Strategy, organized trainings and the Handbook, managed to some extent to improve the coverage of domestic violence with regards to the factual information present in the articles. Although significant, this increase in the quality of coverage does not suggest any dramatic improvement, but rather small positive shift for the overall situation. This is especially true for *Blic* and *Kurir* with their more sensationalist approach, and less for *Politika*, an issue oriented newspaper, where the coverage of domestic violence was much better than in *Blic* and *Kurir* already in the first time period analyzed.

Second, the framing analysis and the interviews suggest that the media has its own logic which prevents a significant shift in respect to the overall framework of covering

domestic violence. Namely, justificational and identificational frames have not changed meaningfully between the two time periods, although trainings and the Handbook recommended that justifications for and categorization of perpetrators of domestic violence should not be used in articles. What are the reasons? One possible explanation could be that the editors refused to participate in the trainings and they prefer sensationalist coverage. Since they are the gatekeepers deciding which content can be published and which has to be changed, their role cannot be underestimated. On a more positive note, the societal frame shows important positive trends and this might suggest that a slow change of the traditional Serbian understanding of domestic violence has started, although there is much room for improvement.

Differences in the dailies orientation could to a large extent explain the difference in the quality of coverage and the type of frames used. *Politika*, on the one side, has a stable readership consisting of the most educated part of Serbian population. *Blic* and *Kurir*, on the other side, aimed towards as many as possible readers, adjust the coverage to readership tastes. Bearing in mind that Serbian society has deeply embedded patriarchal norms and that women are in a subordinated position, with violence being tolerated and widely dispersed in the country, one can conclude that Serbian newspapers write in accordance with market demands. Unfortunately, this logic of market demands without social responsibility of the editorial boards of *Blic* and *Kurir* is preserving the “status quo” and contributes to the widely accepted perception of domestic violence as a private rather than a serious social problem.

In sum, a positive shift is observed in the quantitative part of analysis regarding factual information, whereas the overall framework has not changed much except in the case of *Politika*, which goes in line with daily’s issue orientation. The attempt of the state to influence more responsible news coverage of domestic violence has shown some positive effects, but for the overall framework to change, much more time is needed due to the social

embeddedness of patriarchal norms in Serbian society, which in turn, affects the editorial boards who adjust newspapers content to the readership tastes. Although the state showed a clear stand with regards to the social problem of domestic violence, Serbian society is still to a large extent characterized by patriarchal norms and unequal relations between men and women, hence for a major improvement of media portrayal of domestic violence more time has to pass.

## Appendix

### The list of newspaper articles analyzed from *Blic*, *Kurir* and *Politika*<sup>8</sup>

#### (a) Blic

1. January 27, 2006. M. Prelic, OPTUŽENI SE KAJE.
2. January 27, 2006. B. Janackovic, ZLOČIN U ALEKSINCU, SUĐENJE U SLOVENIJI.
3. January 24, 2006. V. Trtovic, „JANA BILA ŽIVA KAD SAM JE ZAKOPAO“
4. January 23, 2006. D. Markovic, BRAK JE ODVEO U SMRT
5. January 22, 2006, N. Golosin, I ŽENE SILUJU
6. January 21, 2006, D. Markovic i D. Milosevic, ŽANDARM UBIO I ZAKOPAO NEVENČANU SUPRUGU,
7. January 19, 2006, M.P., UBIO ŽENU SEKIROM
8. January 18, 2006, A.A., “ADILA NIJE BILA NARKOMANKA“
9. January 23, 2006, Preneto, PRESUDA ZA ZLOSTAVLJANJE PETOGODIŠNJIH DEVOJČICA
10. January 11, 2006, Milan Prelic, DEVOJČICI STAO NOGOM NA LEĐA I POCEPAO JETRU
11. January 9, 2006, Baco Cetkovic, OTAC RUKAMA ZADAVIO ĆERKU NA SPAVANJU
12. January 6, 2006, Sasa Trifunovic, SKALPELOM POKUŠAO DA UBIJE BIVŠU LJUBAVNICU
13. January 5, 2006, M.P., POKUŠAJ UBISTVA
14. January 5, 2006, Preneto, RANIO SUPRUGU
15. January 5, 2006, Preneto, SILOVANA DEVOJČICA
16. February 28, 2006, H.D., MALOTNICI SILOVALI DEVOJČICU
17. February 27, 2006, S.D., SIN I SNAHA UBILI STARICU
18. February 10, 2006, S.B. UBICI SUPRUGE 14 GODINA ZATVORA
19. February 7, 2006, N. Radisic, OD TRI SILOVANE ŽENE DVE PREMINULE
20. February 24, 2006, D.M., SUPRUZI PRETIO BOMBOM
21. February 20, 2006, T.M.S., DEVOJKU IZ LJUBOMORE TUKAO ŽARAČEM
22. February 16, 2006, M.G., POKUŠAO DA SILUJE MAJKU
23. February 13, 2006, N.B.J., NASILJE U PORODICI
24. February 2, 2006, T. Spajic, OCU PODVODAČU ODUZIMAJU DECU
25. February 1, 2006, J. Ilic, OTAC TERAU MALOLETNE ĆERKE NA PROSTITUCIJU
26. February 1, 2006, I.I., PIŠTOLJEM UBIO ŽENU I SEBE
27. March 24, 2006, Ana Z. Adzic, GODINAMA SU JE MUČILI, SAD MI JE UBIŠE
28. March 24, 2006, S. Miric, PUCAO U TAŠTU I ŽENU, PA PRESUDIO SEBI
29. March 20, 2006, UBO SUPRUGU U VRAT
30. March 18, 2006, I.I., POKUŠAO DA UBIJE NEVENČANU ŽENU
31. March 14, 2006, Preneto, H.D., UBICA OCA I MAJKE NA POSMATRANJU

---

<sup>8</sup> The list of articles is provided in Serbian since the articles were analyzed in the original language.

32. March 13, 2006, B.C., PRESUDA ZA UBISTVO TRUDNE ŽENE
33. March 10, 2006, P. Vujanac I A.Z. Adzic, NAPUSTIO ŽENU I DECU, PA UBIO LJUBAVNICU I SEBE
34. March 5, 2006, H.D., ISKASAPLJENA TELA OCA I MAJKE RAZBACAO PO GRADU
35. March 30, 2006, N.J., „MALIŠA JE SILOVAO MOJU ĆERKU“
36. March 29, 2006, N.J., ZA SMRT MALE KATARINE, MALIŠA OPTUŽUJE NJENU MAJKU ANU
37. March 28, 2006, N.J., SUĐENJE ZA UBISTVO TROGODIŠNJE KATARINE
38. January 15, 2013, M. Taskovic, ZAKLAO DEVOJKU ZBOG LJUBOMORE
39. January 12, 2013, Slavisa Milenkovic, DEVOJČICU SAHRANJUJU NA ROĐENDAN
40. January 11, 2013, Slavisa Milenkovic, MAJKA NA SAMRTI: DAJTE VODU MOM MALOM ANĐELU
41. January 10, 2013, Suzana Bozinovic, DROGIRAO, PA SILOVAO NEPOKRETNU DEVOJKU
42. January 10, 2013, S.M., UBIJENE MAJKA I ŠESTOGODIŠNJA ĆERKA
43. January 4, 2013, NI TRAGA OD SILOVATELJA
44. January 3, 2013, E.B., DEVOJKA SILOVANA U JAVNOJ GARAŽI
45. January 31, 2013, T.M.S., KRIVIČNA PRIJAVA SUPRUZI UBICI
46. January 31, 2013, Vesna Maric Brajkovic, OSTAVIO TRUDNICU BEZ POSLA PA JE OPET ZAPOSLIO
47. January 30, 2013, T.M.S.-B.V., ŽENA-UBICA ZARILA SEBI NOŽ U STOMAK
48. January 29, 2013, Boris Vukovic, UBILA MUŽA NA SPAVANJU, POKUŠALA SAMOUBISTVO
49. January 23, 2013, I.P., NAPAO ĆERKU I ŽENU
50. January 22, 2013, N.K., RAZBIJAO KUĆU I MAJCI PRETIO NOŽEM
51. January 16, 2013, I.P. SEKSUALNO ZLOSTAVLJAO MALOLETNU ROĐAKU
52. January 15, 2013, R. Ivanoska, BRAČNA SVAĐA OKONČANA SMRĆU
53. January 13, 2013, Radoslav Petkovic, KOREN NASILJA
54. January 12, 2013, OSUMNJIČEN ZA NASILJE U PORODICI
55. January 11, 2013, L.J.P.-Z.B., OTERAO SUPRUGU I DETE PA RAZLUPAO STAN
56. January 10, 2013, Suzana Bozinovic, DROGIRAO, PA SILOVAO NEPOKRETNU DEVOJKU,,
57. January 10, 2013, N.B., MASAKRIRAO MAJKU I SEBI PRESUDIO
58. January 4, 2013, V. Maric Brajkovic-L. Gedosevic, MLADE ŽENE NE ZNAJU DA NAPRAVE SARMU
59. January 3, 2013, Boris Vukovic-Ana Z. Adzic, SEKIROM UBIO MAJKU, BACALA MU ČINI
60. February 27, 2013, OSUĐEN PANČEVAC
61. February 22, 2013, Dusan Miletic, UBICA MANEKENKE JOŠ NIJE SASLUŠAN
62. February 21, 2013, D.M., SAHRANJENA UZ PESMU TOŠETA PROESKOG
63. February 20, 2013, Ana Lalic-Dusan Miletic, PORUKA UBICE: KADA OSETIŠ BOL, NEMOJ PLAKATI
64. February 18, 2013, B.V.-V.V., PROVEO NOĆ PORED UBIJENE DEVOJKE ISPIJAJUĆI VISKI
65. February 17, 2013, Boris Vukovic, STELA NIJE ZASLUŽILA DA JE UBIJEM
66. February 13, 2013, Tamara M. Subota – Nebojsa Radisic, UBICA CELU NOĆ PROVEO PORED MRTVE DEVOJKE
67. February 2, 2013, DEVOJKE SNIMAO DOK IH SILUJE

68. February 1, 2013, Slavisa Milenkovic, DVE GODINE ZLOSTAVLJALI DEVOJKU OMETENU U RAZVOJU
69. February 27, 2013, S.B., SILOVAO MALOLETNICU
70. February 25, 2013, NEMA DOVOLJNO ŽENA GDE SU NOVAC I MOĆ
71. February 25, Boris Vukovic, ZATVOR ZA KUĆNE SILEDŽIJE
72. February 22, 2013, A.DJ., OSUĐENI NASILNIK POVREDIO NEVENČAN ŽENU
73. February 22, 2013, POTREBNA BOLJA POMOĆ ZA ŽRTVE NASILJA
74. February 19, 2013, N. Kolundzija, KUHINJSKIM NOŽEM UBIO ŽENU, PA POZVAO ADVOKATA
75. February 19, 2013, SAMOHRANE MAJKE LAKŠE DO POSLA
76. February 15, 2013, DJ.B., „MILIJARDA USTAJE PROTIV NASILJA”
77. February 15, 2013, B.K. MAJKA ĆUTI O UBISTVU JEDNOMESEČNOG SINA
78. February 10, 2013, M.I., BIVŠI POLICAJAC UBIO SUPRUGU
79. February 8, 2013, M.DJ., PRIJAVE ZBOG ZLOUPOTREBE MALOLETNICA
80. February 8, 2013, UHAPŠENI ZBOG OBLJUBE MALOLETNICE
81. February 7, 2013, S.M., SILOVANA UČENICA SEDMOG RAZREDA
82. February 21, 2013, Biljana Vuckovic, BIVŠI MUŽ ME ZLOSTAVLJAO
83. February 25, 2013, S.P.S., U APATINU ZABELEŽEN PORAST NASILJA U PORODICI
84. March 29, 2013, B.J., AMNESTIRANI OSUĐENIK NAPAO STARICU
85. March 2013, LJ. Mitic, DEVOJCI ISTA KAZNA ZATVORA ZA ZLOČIN
86. March 5, 2013, Z.P., POKUŠAO DA SILUJE STARICU
87. March 5, 2013, SLAVIO IZLAZAK IZ ZATVORA I DEMOLIRAO KUĆU
88. March 2, 2013, UBICA DEVOJKE PREBAČEN U ĆELIJU
89. March 27, 2013, N.K., SUPRUGU UBIO ZBOG MLEKA
90. March 26, 2013, Nedeljko Colic, KOGA ĆE GRISTI SAVEST
91. March 26, 2013, Sladjana Anicic, NIJEDAN SILOVATELJ NE SME DA ŽIVI NA SLOBODI
92. March 26, 2013, M. Ivanovic, TINEJDŽERKU MESEC DANA SILOM PODVODILI
93. March 24, 2013, Svetlana Stefanovic, EKONOMSKO NASILJE NAD ŽENAMA
94. March 23, 2013, M.J., LJUBOMORNI MUŽ UBIO ŽENU, PA SEBE
95. March 11, 2013, Biljana Vuckovic, ZBOG SRAMA NEĆE DA PRIJAVE NASILJE
96. March 16, 2013, Slavko Surla, OSNOVALI FOND ZA ŽRTVE PORODIČNOG NASILJA
97. March 13, 2013, K.K., ZAUSTAVITI NASILJE

**(b) Kurir**

1. January 27, 2013, SILOVAO MALOLETNICU
2. January 27, 2006, I.C., UBICA SE KAJE
3. January 23, 2006, M.S.Milisic, SAHRANA UMEŠTO VENČANJA
4. January 21, 2006, Z.M., UBIO PA ZAKOPAO
5. January 18, 2006, V.N., TRI I PO GODINE ZA POKUŠAJ SILOVANJA
6. January 12, 2006, D.K., SILOVAO DEVOJČICE
7. January 10, 2006, A.R., BLUDNIČIO NAD DEVOJČICOM
8. January 5, 2006, Preneto, U NOVOGODIŠNJOJ NOĆI SILOVANA DEVOJČICA
9. January 5, 2006, Preneto, UHAPŠEN ZBOG POKUŠAJA UBISTVA
10. January 30, 2006, Preneto, PORAST NASILJA U PORODICI

11. January 30, 2006, PROTIV NASILJA U PORODICI
12. January 28, 2006, SILOVAO ROĐENU MAJKU
13. January 27, 2006, I.C., PLAŠIM SE OCA
14. January 23, 2006, D.N., PRETUKAO BABU
15. January 23, 2006, P.R., RANIO ŠURAKA ZBOG SUMNJE U ŽENU
16. January 21, 2006, Z.R.D., HRASTOVOM MOTKOM TUKAO BABU I ĆERKU
17. January 18, 2006, P.R. – I.C., PRIKRIVALA ZLOČIN
18. January 18, 2006, P.R., UMRILA OD PREKOMERNE DOZE
19. January 17, 2006, A.G., DEDA OBLJUBIO UNUKU
20. January 17, 2006, P.R., OVERILA U LIFTU
21. January 14, 2006, V.K., ĆERKI POLOMIO KIČMU METALNOM ŠIPKOM
22. January 11, 2006, I.C., SVIREPO UBISTVO
23. January 9, 2006, V. Konjevic, ZADAVIO ĆERKU
24. January 6, 2006, V.K., DEVER MANIJAK
25. January 6, 2006, POLICAJAC ISEKAO BIVŠU LJUBAVNICU
26. January 6, 2006, I.C., UBILI DETE
27. January 5, 2006, P.R. – D.M., SEKIROM U GLAVU
28. February 23, 2006, Preneto, BIVŠOJ ŽENI ZARIO NOŽ U SRCE
29. February 23, 2006, Preneto, ZADAVIO MAJKU I OTIŠAO U DOM
30. February 8, 2006, O.J., ŽRTVE UMRLE POSLE SILOVANJA
31. February 6, 2006, D.N., NEGIRA ZLOČIN
32. February 5, 2006, D. Novkovic, MALIŠA IMAO SAUČESNIKA
33. February 4, 2006, D.N., MONSTRUM
34. February 2, 2006, A.DJ., NOŽEM NA VANBRAČNOG DRUGA
35. February 28, 2006, D.N., POKUŠAO DA UBIJE UJAKA ZBOG LJUBOMORE
36. February 22, 2006, Preneto, POKUŠAO DA SILUJE MALOLETNICU
37. February 18, 2006, D.K., OSUĐEN ZA SILOVANJE DEVOJČICA
38. February 14, 2006, Z.G., BAKU TUKAO DO SMRTI
39. February 10, 2006, Preneto, ĆERKE NAVODIO NA PROSTITUCIJU
40. February 8, 2006, Preneto, MALIŠA NA OPTUŽENIČKOJ KLUPI
41. February 1, 2006, Z.G., UBIO ŽENU PA SEBE
42. March 31, 2006, V.K., UBIO SNAHINOG LJUBAVNIKA
43. March 24, 2006, Preneto, OSUĐEN ZA SILOVANJE MALOLETNE DEVOJKE
44. March 24, 2006, P.R., UBIJENA ZBOG DECE
45. March 14, 2006, V.K., NOŽEM BRANILA ČAST
46. March 11, 2006, Preneto, SEDAM GODINA ZATVORA ZA UBISTVO OCA
47. March 10, 2006, B.O. – J.S., U SMRT ZBOG LJUBAVI
48. March 8, 2006, A.L., UBICA SE NE SEĆA ZLOČINA
49. March 7, 2006, A.L., POMRAČENI UM
50. March 7, 2006, V.K., UBISTVO S PREDUMIŠLJAJEM
51. March 6, 2006, A. Lalic, KASAPIN MOŽDA NEURAČUNLJIV
52. March 5, 2006, K.K., SILOVAO ON NJU ILI ONA NJEGA?
53. March 2, 2006, A.L., OSTAO BEZ MUŠKOSTI
54. March 1, 2006, Z.S., DEVET GODINA ZA UBISTVO TETKE
55. March 1, 2006, M.S., UBIO PRIJATELJICU I OSUĐEN NA 12 GODINA
56. March 30, 2006, I. Cvetkovic, MALIŠA MONSTRUM
57. March 29, 2006, I. Cvetkovic, ANA JE UBICA
58. March 29, 2006, Preneto, ZLOSTAVLJAO SINA
59. March 28, 2006, Preneto, POČINJE SUĐENJE MALIŠI JEFTOVIĆU
60. March 27, 2006, I. Cvetkovic, MALIŠA NISAM MONSTRUM



61. March 25, 2006, K.K., NOŽEM POKUŠAO DA UBIJE KĆERKU
62. March 18, 2006, Z.G., HTEO DA JE ZAKOLJE
63. Janaury 26, 2013, Ekipa Kurira, ZBOG LJUBOMORE RAZNEO SEBE I ŽENU
64. January 24, 2013, E.K., NE POMAŽE NI DNK!
65. January 24, 2013, Marija Velickovic, ON JE UBIO LJUBAVNICU OD 16 GODINA
66. January 20, 2013, Marija Velickovic, ZA MANIJAKE SAMO DOŽIVOTNA ROBIJA!
67. Janaury 19, 2013, Marija Ivanov, VOLELA SAM GA KAO SINA, A ON ME SILOVAO!
68. January 18, 2013, Jelena Rafailovic, Aleksandar Becic, MALOLETNIK SILOVAO STARICU?!
69. January 16, 2013, Ekipa Kurira, UBIO DEVOJKU NA SPAVANJU!
70. January 15, 2013, Marija Velickovic, ZAKLAO DEVOJKU JER NIJE HTELA DA SE PROSTITUIŠE
71. January 12, 2013, Z.N., UBICA DETETA NIJE SE POKAJAO!
72. January 10, 2013, UBIO LJUBAVNICU I NJENU ČERKICU!
73. January 8, 2013, M.D., POLICIJA NAŠLA DNK MANIJAKA?
74. January 6, 2013, N.A.S, SILOVATELJ IZ GARAŽE POZNAT POLICIJI?
75. January 5, 2013, Ekipa Kurira, VRIŠTALA SAM, ALI NIKO ME NIJE ČUO
76. January 4, 2013, Jelena Spasic, KAZNA ZA MANIJAKA
77. January 3, 2013, E.K., SILOVAO DEVOJKU NA JAVNOM PARKINGU
78. January 31, 2013, M.D., ČUTI O UBISTVU
79. January 31, 2013, D.Tadic, DRŽAVA ĆE ZAŠTITITI TRUDNICE!
80. January 29, 2013, Ekipa Kurira, BUŠILICOM MUŽU PROBUŠILA GLAVU?
81. January 28, 2013, Dijana Tadic, ZNALA SI DA ZATRUDNIŠ A NE MOŽEŠ DA STOJIŠ?!
82. January 25, 2013, TUKAO MAJKU I SESTRU
83. January 24, 2013, Sasa Popovic, SESTRE TERAU NA SEKS I PLAĆAO IH DROGOM!
84. January 22, 2013, S.U., MAJCI PRETIO NOŽEM
85. January 18, 2013, Marija Ivanov, MANIJAK PIPKAO ŠEST DEVOJČICA
86. January 17, 2013, E.K., PIJAN TUKAO OCA
87. January 16, 2013, M.Velickovic – M.Ivanov, MESECIMA SILOVAO MALOLETNU ROĐAKU
88. January 15, 2013, S.S., UBIO ŽENU, PA ZASPAO
89. January 14, 2013, Ekipa Kurira, PREBIO ŽENU I VEZAO JE ZA ORMAR LANCEN ZA STOKU!
90. January 12, 2013, S.U., TUKAO SUPRUGU
91. January 10, 2013, Milan Dudvarski, BOLESNU DEVOJKU OMAMIO I SILOVAO
92. January 10, 2013, S.Stojanovic – T.Rakocevic, MAJKU ISKASAPIO, PA SEBI PREREZAO VRAT U DVORISTU
93. January 10, 2013, S.U., TRUDNICE NISU POŽELJNE
94. January 4, 2013, S.U., ŽIVEO S DEVOJČICOM
95. January 3, 2013, Ekipa Kurira, MAJKU BRUTALNO USMRTIO SEKIROM!
96. February 25, 2013, M.Ivanov – N.Stojanovic, SILOVATELJ IZ GARAŽE BIVŠI ROBIJAŠ
97. February 18, 2013, J.S., POSTOJI BOG, NIJE MU DAO DA BRZO ZAVRŠI!
98. February 17, 2013, Milan Dudvarski, UBICA DEVOJKE POKUŠAO DA SE UBIJE
99. February 15, 2013, Ekipa Kurira, UBICA PLAKAO DOK SU GA HAPSILI U STUDENJAKU!

100. February 14, 2013, Ekipa Kurira, ZADAVIO DEVOJKU, PA TO JAVIO DRUGU
101. February 9, 2013, A.D., UBIO SAM BABU ZATO ŠTO ME VARALA!
102. February 2, 2013, S.S., PRITVORILI MANIJAKA!
103. February 1, 2013, Dragan Ilic, BOLESNU DEVOJKU SILOVALI DVE GODINE
104. February 26, 2013, S.U., SLOMIO OCU REBRA
105. February 26, 2013, E.K., ZAPALIO SINA POSLE SVAĐE
106. February 25, 2013, S.U., ZLOSTAVLJAO SINA I ŽENU
107. February 23, 2013, Milena Videnovic, NAĐ JE HTEO DA ME UBIJE!
108. February 22, 2013, B.V., JOŠ JEDNA TRUDNICA DOBILA OTKAZ
109. February 19, 2013, MUZEJ NASILJA
110. February 15, 2013, ŽENE NAPRAVILE SVOJU MREŽU
111. February 15, 2013, E.K., ZA UBISTVO MAJKE 12 GODINA ZATVORA
112. February 15, 2013, E.K., ZA UBISTVO OCA 13 GODINA
113. February 10, 2013, Zorica Nikolic, BIVŠI POLICAJAC UBIO SUPRUGU!
114. February 10, 2013, E.K., POSLE SVAĐE TUKAO SUPRUGU
115. February 8, 2013, Milan Dudvarski, ČERKA MI JE BOLJE, TO JE JEDINO VAŽNO
116. February 7, 2013, Ekipa Kurira, NEVINU DEVOJČICU SILOVAO U KOLIMA!
117. February 1, 2013, Dragan Ilic, BOLESNU DEVOJKU SILOVALI DVE GODINE
118. March 31, 2013, S.S., MAJKU SVOG PRIJATELJA NATERAO NA ORALNI SEKS!
119. March 29, 2013, D.I., ODROBIJAO UBISTVO, PA POKUŠAO DA SILUJE BABU
120. March 27, 2013, S.U., UBIO STARICU ZBOG MLEKA?
121. March 21, 2013, Z.N., APEL PRETUČENE DEVOJKE: UPOMOĆ, NEĆU DOČEKATI SUTRA
122. March 17 2013, Marija Dejanovic, KSENIJINA MAJKA ZABRANILA SLIKANJE POMENA
123. March 16, 2013, KSENIJU SU DANAS MNOGI ZABORAVILI
124. March 16, 2013, M.D., TUGA ZA SINOM NE PRESTAJE!
125. March 13, 2013, S.S., OPTUŽNICA ZA UBISTVO MANEKENKE
126. March 8, 2013, J.S., SVEDOČI I SEKSOLOG?
127. March 6, 2013, ZBOG MOMKA IZMISLILA DA JE BILA SILOVANA!
128. March 5, 2013, E.K., DEVOJČICA IZMISLILA SILOVANJE U PODRUMU?
129. March 2, 2013, Ekipa Kurira, HTEO DA ZAKOLJE DEVOJKE JER NISU HTELE SEKS S NJIM?
130. March 31, 2013, M.V., POSLE SVAĐE UBIO MAJKU SVOG OČUHA!
131. March 31, 2013, S.S., TERAO ČERKU I ŽENU DA PROSE
132. March 28, 2013, S.U., UBIO ŽENU POSLE 65 GODINA BRAKA!
133. March 26, 2013, A.D. – Z.N., DETE TERALI NA PROSTITUCIJU!
134. March 23, 2013, Miljana Vojvodic, OVO JE DETE KOJE JE ZAVEO MONSTRUM ERA!
135. March 23, 2013, Ljubomir Radanov, PA VI GLASAJTE ZA ERU
136. March 23, 2013, Zorica Nikolic, UBIO ŽENU, PA SE ZAKLAO!
137. March 20, 2013, Z.N., NASRNUO NA SUPRUGU

138. March 20, 2013, S.ILIC – S.Popovic, NUDI POSAO „BLAGO RETARDIRANOM“ PEKARU
139. March 8,2013, M.V., MAJKA ŽRTVE: MOJE DETE JE PREŽIVELO STRAVIČNU TRAUMU
140. March 8, 2013, Sanja Ilic, SKORO SVAKU PORODILJU ZLOSTAVLJAJU NA POSLU!
141. March 3, 2013, Dijana Tadic, MUŠKARČINE 21. VEKA

**(c) Politika**

1. January 23, 2006, G. Otasevic, UBIO ŽENU U GROBU
2. January 21, 2006, B. Lomovic, UBIO I ZAKOPAO SUPRUGU
3. January 28, 2006, M.L., OSAM GODINA ZA SILOVANJE MAJKE
4. January 27, 2006, M.D., JOVANA OPTUŽUJE OCA
5. January 27, 2006, B.N., SILOVAO MALOLETNICU
6. January 24, 2006, T. Todorovic, OSAM GODINA ZATVORA ZA NAPASNIKA
7. January 17, 2006, Preneto, DESET GODINA ZATVORA ZA OBLJUBU UNUKE
8. January 14, 2006, K.DJ., RADE SEDAM DANA U NEDELJI
9. January 13, 2006, A. Petrovic, KAKO ISPITIVATI ZLOSTAVLJANO DETE
10. January 12, 2006, S. Bogdanovic, TIHA DISKRIMINACIJA
11. January 9, 2006, N. Djuric, OTAC ZADAVIO ČERKU
12. January 5, 2006, M. Derikonjic, NAPAO ŽENU SEKIROM
13. January 26, 2006, Gordana Basovic, KRIVI SU ALKOHOL I STRES
14. February 20, 2006, S.Z., SILOVAO PA ZADAVIO STARICU
15. February 9, 2006, M.M., DESET GODINA ZA UBISTVO LJUBAVNIKA
16. February 28, 2006, M.L., LJUBIO UČENICU
17. February 28, 2006, Z.S., UBIO SINA
18. February 23, 2006, K. Djordjevic, NAJVIŠE NASILJA U PORODICI
19. February 23, 2006, M. Cekerevac, ZAKONSKI IZJEDNAČENI
20. February 22, 2006, Preneto, MEĐUNARODNI DAN ŽRTAVA
21. February 20, 2006, T.T., MANJAKU 15 GODINA ZATVORA
22. February 18, 2006, M. Cekerevac, ŽENAMA NIGDE NIJE LAKO
23. February 8, 2006, K. Djordjevic, DEVOJČICE ČEŠĆE ŽRTVE NASILJA
24. March 10, 2006, B.N., UBIO DEVOJKU, PA SEBE
25. March 7, 2006, M.Z., OSUMNJIČEN ZA SILOVANJA
26. March 5, 2006, M. Laketic, UHAPŠEN UBICA OCA I MAJKE
27. March 3, 2006, M.Z., SILOVAO I KRAO
28. March 31, 2006, D.J., NA USLUZI ŽRTVAMA NASILJA U PORODICI
29. March 30, 2006, M.D., SILOVAO MI JE ČERKU
30. March 29, 2006, M. Derikonjic, NISAM KRIV, UBICA JE MAJKA
31. March 28, 2006, Preneto, POČINJE SUĐENJE MALIŠI JEVTOMIĆU
32. March 26, 2006, Andrijana Cveticanin, POLA MILIONA ZA DISKRIMINACIJU
33. March 25, 2006, G.O., ZLOSTAVLJAO SUPRUGU I DECU
34. March 23, 2006, Danijela Vukosavljevic, ZLO U TIŠINI PORODICE
35. March 17, 2006, A.Cveticanin, JEDNAKE PRED PRAVOM
36. March 14, 2006, N.R., DOK NASILJE NE PRESTANE
37. March 8, 2006, Jelena Rankovic, DA SVAKI DAN BUDE PRAZNIK
38. March 7, 2006, V. Jovic, MAĆEHA BIJE USIJANIM ŽARAČEM
39. March 4, 2006, O. Milosevic, NASILJE JE MUŠKOG RODA...

40. March 3, 2006, D. Davidov, UDARAJU ČIME STIGNU I NE GLEDAJU
41. March 2, 2006, M.M., UTOČIŠTE ZA ŽRTVE NASILJA
42. March 1, 2006, J. Lucic, MIRNO REŠAVANJE PROBLEMA
43. March 15, 2006, K. Djordjevic, SVAKA TREĆA ŽRTVA
44. March 1, 2006, PROCES PREDUGO TRAJE
45. January 28, 2013, Danijela Vukosavljevic, KAKO SPREČITI SILOVATELJE
46. January 3, 2013, DEVOJKA SILOVANA U CENTRU BEOGRADA
47. January 26, 2013, O. Milosevic, PODVODILI MALOLETNICE
48. January 15, 2013, R.H., OSUMNJIČEN ZA UBISTVO SUPRUGE
49. January 15, 2013, D.A., UBIJENA DEVOJKA U RESNIKU
50. January 11, 2013, M.M., UBIO OCA KAMENOM
51. January 10, 2013, K. Djordjevic, PRAZNICI KAO „OKIDAČ” ZA NASILJE U PORODICI
52. January 10, 2013, J.S., UBIO MAJKU, PA IZVRŠIO SAMOUBISTVO
53. January 5, 2013, M.M., PLAKATIMA ZA „MARIJIN ZAKON”
54. January 3, 2013, D.A., SIN UBIO MAJKU U KALUĐERICI
55. January 29, 2013, N.M. – D.J.S., BEBISITERKA U STANU PRONAŠLA MRTVOG GAZDU I ONESVEŠĆENU GAZDARICU
56. February 17, 2013, OSUMNJIČENI ZA UBISTVO POKUŠAO SAMOUBISTVO
57. February 15, 2013, B.V., UHAPŠEN OSUMNJIČENI ZA UBISTVO DEVOJKE
58. February 14, 2013, D.A. – B.V., ZADAVLJENA DEVOJKA U NASELJU MEDAKOVIĆ
59. February 3, 2013, R.S., DVE GODINE ZATVORA ZBOG OBLJUBE NEMOĆNE DEVOJKE
60. February 2, 2013, R.S., PRITVORENI ZBOG OBLJUBE NEMOĆNE OSOBE
61. February 28, 2013, Katarina Djordjevic, ZANEMARENE ŽRTVE NASILJA
62. February 27, 2013, K. Djordjevic, ČAK 13 ŽRTAVA NASILJA U PORODICI OD POČETKA 2013.
63. February 26, 2013, K. Djordjevic, TERAPIJA ZA PORODIČNE NASILNIKE
64. February 25, 2013, Sandra Gucijan, NEVIDLJIVE I DISKRIMINISANE
65. February 25, 2013, PETRUŠIĆ: ŽENE NEMAJU DOVOLJNO NOVCA I MOĆI
66. February 22, 2013, L.P., DECA IZ SIGURNE KUĆE DOBILA ODEĆU I IGRAČKE
67. February 17, 2013, DVOGODIŠNJA DEVOJČICA PRONAĐENA MRTVA
68. February 18, 2013, V.M.A., OMBUDSMAN PONUDIO POMOĆ TRUDNICAMA IZ RBV
69. February 15, 2013, D.A, GLAS PROTIV ZLOSTAVLJANJA ŽENA
70. February 13, 2013, Dejana Ivanovic, OTKAZ ZA TRUDNICE
71. February 13, 2013, V. Arandjelovic, TRUDNICE ZAŠTIĆENA KATEGORIJA, ALI OTKAZ IM I DALJE PRETI
72. February 12, 2013, V. Arandjelovic, TRUDNICE I PORODILJE RBV PRED OTKAZOM
73. February 11, 2013, Katarina Djordjevic, ČETVRTINA DECE U SRBIJI ROĐENA VANBRAČNO
74. February 8, 2013, R.H., PODVODAČIMA POLA VEKA ZATVORA
75. February 4, 2013, Aleksandra Petrovic, UVESTI POVERENIKE ZA KONTROLU OSUĐENIH SILOVATELJA JAVNI REGISTAR BIO BI PRETNJA SVIM PEDOFILIMA
76. March 31, 2013, OSUMNJIČEN ZA SILOVANJE
77. March 15, 2013, J.S., UBICI LJUBAVNICE ČETIRI DECENIJE ROBIJE

78. March 4, 2013, B. Vasiljevic, ZBOG PORODIČNOG NASILJA VIŠE OD STOTINU INTERVENCIJA
79. March 28, 2013, M. Cekerevac, PODRŠKA POSLANIKA TRUDNICAMA
80. March 27, 2013, K. Djordjevic, BRIGA O DOMAĆINSTVU – POSAO SAMO ZA ŽENU
81. March 14, 2013, Bojan Bilbija, BILJIĆ: INSPEKTORI NE ŠTITE TRUDNICE I PORODILJE
82. March 12, 2013, Dj. Djukic, ŽENE TEŠKO PRIJAVLJUJU NASILJE
83. March 10, 2013, K.DJ., DRUŠTVO NALAZI OPRAVDANJE ZA NASILNIKE
84. March 10, 2013, Dragutin Minic, KARLOV UGAO
85. March 10, 2013, Katarina Djordjevic, ZAŠTO SMO PUKLI
86. March 9, 2013, K. Djordjevic, MANJE ŽENA U IZVRŠNOJ VLASTI, POLITICI, SPORTU...
87. March 9, 2013, Predrag J. Markovic, SLOBODA, JEDNAKOST, BRATSTVO I SESTRINSTVO
88. March 8, 2013, M. Sasic, GRADSKA VLAST ZABORAVILA NA ŽENE
89. March 8, 2013, K.Djordjevic, MUŠKARCI POVLAŠĆENI NA POSLU
90. March 7, 2013, K.DJ., SVAKA DRUGA ŽENA IZLOŽENA NASILJU
91. March 7, 2013, Visnja Arandjelovic, TRUDNOĆA KAO RAZLOG ZA DISKRIMINACIJU
92. March 1, 2013, Katarina Djordjevic, ŽRTVE NASILJA

## Bibliography

- Aleksić, Jelena and Jelena Đorgović. 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.
- Babovic, Marija, Katarina Ginic and Olivera Vukovic. 2010. *Mapping domestic violence against women in the central Serbia*, Belgrade: SeCons, Accessed April 22, 2014. [http://www.bibija.org.rs/documents/o%20nasilju/mapiranje\\_porodicnog\\_nasilja\\_prem\\_a\\_zenama\\_u\\_centralnoj\\_srbiji.pdf](http://www.bibija.org.rs/documents/o%20nasilju/mapiranje_porodicnog_nasilja_prem_a_zenama_u_centralnoj_srbiji.pdf).
- Baumgartner, Frank R., Christoffer Green-Pedersen and Bryan D. Jones (2006), Agenda-setting in comparative perspective, JEPP Special issue on Agenda-Setting in Comparative Public Policy, Accessed May 10, 2014, available from: [http://www.unc.edu/~fbaum/books/comp/Comp\\_Agendas\\_Files/JEPP\\_Drafts\\_web/JEPP\\_Intro.pdf](http://www.unc.edu/~fbaum/books/comp/Comp_Agendas_Files/JEPP_Drafts_web/JEPP_Intro.pdf).
- Braun, Virginia and Victoria Clarke. (2006), Using thematic analysis in psychology, *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3:2, 77-101, Accessed April 25, 2014. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa#.U5TcRijwnfM>.
- Bullock, Cathy Ferrand and Jason Cubert. (2002), Coverage of domestic violence fatalities by newspapers in Washington State, *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 17: 475, Accessed April 20, 2014, DOI: 10.1177/0886260502017005001.
- Buzawa, Eve S. and Carl G. Buzawa. 2003. *Domestic Violence, the Criminal Justice Response*, United States of America: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Byerly, Carolyn M. 1999. "News, feminism and the dialectics of gender relations" In *Mediated women, Representations in popular culture*, edited by Marian Meyers, 383-403, USA: Hampton Press Inc.
- Carli, Elizabeth K. (2003). News portrayal of violence against women: Implications for public policy, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 46: 1601, Accessed April 15, 2014, DOI: 10.1177/0002764203254616.
- Entman, Robert M. (1991). Framing U.S. coverage of international news: contrasts in narratives of the KAL and Iran air incidents, *Journal of Communication*, 41 (4), Accessed April 20, 2014, available from: <http://jclass.umd.edu/classes/cpsp222/Entman%201991.pdf>.
- Entman, Robert M. (1993), Framing: towards clarification of a fractured paradigm, *Journal of Communication*, 43 (4), pp. 51-58, Accessed April 23, 2014. Available from: [http://sotomo-ve.geo.uzh.ch/sotomo/pps/lit/entman\\_93.pdf](http://sotomo-ve.geo.uzh.ch/sotomo/pps/lit/entman_93.pdf).
- Gallagher, Margaret. 2001. *Gender Setting*, London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Harway, Michelle and James O'Neill, ed. 1999. *What causes men's violence against women?* United States of America: Sage Publications Inc.
- Marin, Amy J. and Nancy Felipe Russo. 1999. "Feminist perspectives on male violence against women" In *What causes Men's violence against women?* edited by Michele

- Harway and James M. O'Neill, 18-35, United States of America: Sage Publications Inc.
- Maxwell, Kimberly A, John Huxford, Catherine Borum and Robert Hornik. (2000). Covering domestic violence: How the O. J. Simpson case shaped reporting of domestic violence in the news media, *Journalism&Mass Communication Quarterly*, 77:258, Accessed April 13, 2014. DOI: 10.1177/107769900007700203.
- McCombs, Maxwell E. (2005). A look at agenda setting: past, present and future, *Journalism Studies*, 6:4, pp. 543-557, Accessed April 13, 2014. DOI: 10.1080/14616700500250438.
- McCombs, Maxwell E. and Donald L. Shaw. (1993). The Evolution of Agenda-Setting Research: Twenty Five Years in the Marketplace of Ideas, *Journal of Communication*, 43(2):58-67 Accessed April 20, 2014. <http://www4.ncsu.edu/~amgutsch/MccombsShawnew.pdf>.
- McCombs, Maxwell E. and Donald L., Shaw (1972). The Agenda-Setting of Mass Media, *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 2, pp. 176-187, Accessed April 24, 2014. DOI: 10.1086/267990.
- Meloy, Michelle L. and Susan L. Miller. 2009. "Words that wound: Print media's presentation of gendered violence" In *Women, violence and the media*, edited by Drew Humphries, 29-56, United States of America: Northeastern University Press.
- Meyers, Marian, ed. 1997. *Mediated women, Representations in popular culture*, USA: Hampton Press Inc.
- Mršević, Zorica. 2013. *Media Coverage of Violence against Women in Serbia - Qualitative Analysis*, United Nations Development Program, Accessed April 20, 2014. Available from: <http://www.undp.org/content/serbia/en/home/library/poverty/kvalitativna-analiza-medijskog-izvetavanja-o-nasilju-nad-enama-u/>.
- Ryan, Charlotte, Mike Anastario and Alfredo DaCunha. (2006). Changing coverage of domestic violence murders, A longitudinal experiment in participatory communication, *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, Vol. 21 No. 2, pp. 209-228, DOI: 10.1177/0886260505282285.
- Scheufele, Dietram A. (1999). Framing as a Theory of media effects, *International Communication Association, Journal of Communication*, Accessed May 3, 2014. available from: <http://www.asc.upenn.edu/usr/ogandy/c45405%20resources/scheufele%20framing%20as%20effects.pdf>,
- Shaw, Eugene F. (1979). Agenda-Setting and Mass Communication Theory, *International Communication Gazette*, 25: 96, pp. 96-105, DOI: 10.1177/001654927902500203.
- Tewksbury, David and Dietram A. Scheufele. (2007). Framing, agenda setting, and priming: the evolution of three media effects models, *Journal of Communication*, 57, 9-20, Accessed April 28, 2014. <http://www.unc.edu/~fbaum/teaching/articles/J-Communication-2007-1.pdf>.

- United Nations division for the advancement of women. (2008). Good practices in legislation on violence against women, Vienna, Accessed May 20, 2014. available from: [http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/vaw\\_legislation\\_2008/Report%20EGMGP\\_LVAW%20%28final%2011.11.08%29.pdf](http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/vaw_legislation_2008/Report%20EGMGP_LVAW%20%28final%2011.11.08%29.pdf).
- Walgrawe, Stefaan and Peter Van Aelst. (2006). The Contingency of the Mass Media's Political Agenda Setting Power: Toward a Preliminary Theory, *Journal of Communication*, 56: 88-109. DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00005.x.
- Weldon, S. Laurel and Mala Htun. (2013). Feminist Mobilisation and progressive policy change: why governments take action to combat violence against women, *Gender and Development*, 21:2: 231-247. DOI: 10.1080/13552074.2013.802158.

### Primary documents

- Council of Europe, Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, adopted on May 11, 2011. Accessed May 20 2014. Available from: <http://www.conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/QueVoulezVous.asp?CL=ENG&NT=210>.
- Council of Europe, Recommendation Rec(2002)5 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on the protection of women against violence, adopted on April 30. 2002. Accessed May 20, 2014. <https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=280915>.
- Ebart, media archive, 2000. Accessed April 20, 2014. <http://www.arhiv.rs/>.
- Family Law, the Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia No. 18/2005, available from: <http://www.ombudsman.ils.rs/attachments/Porodicni%20zakon.pdf>.
- Interview with Tamara Petrovic Ranitovic, former coordinator of the Combating Sexual and Gender Based Violence Project, at the Gender Equality Directorate within Ministry of Labour and Social Policy of Serbia,
- Interview with Katarina Djordjevic, journalist of *Politika*,
- Interview with Natasa Stojanovic, *Kurir* journalist,
- Interview with Katarina Kovac, from the press service of the Journalists' Association of Serbia,
- Mićunović, Natalija, ed. 2009. National Strategy for improvement of women position and advancement of gender equality, Gender Equality Directorate, Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, Republic of Serbia, Belgrade, available from: [http://www.gendernet.rs/files/dokumenta/Domaci/Nacionalna\\_strategija\\_cir.pdf](http://www.gendernet.rs/files/dokumenta/Domaci/Nacionalna_strategija_cir.pdf).
- Murić Jasmina and Natalija Ostojić, ed. 2011. National Strategy for Prevention and Elimination of Violence Against Women in the Family and in Intimate Partner



Relationship, published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia No. 027/2011, Belgrade: Gender Equality Directorate, Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, Republic of Serbia.

United Nations, General Assembly, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979, available from: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.htm>.