

**RESEARCH ON MEDIA REPORTING
ON GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE
AGAINST WOMEN
IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

Author

Elvira Mujkić Jukić

Translation

Aida Delić-Volas

Proofreading

Nirmala Ajanović

Design

Sandin Međedović

Year

2016

Development of this publication was supported through UN Women programme “Standards and Engagement for Ending Violence against Women and Domestic Violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina” financially supported by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). The views expressed in this publication are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the views of UN Women, the United Nations or any of its affiliated organizations.

CONTENTS

Executive summary	5
1. Introduction	6
2. Methodology	7
3. International and national legal framework	9
3.1 International legal framework	10
3.2 National legal framework	11
4. Analysis of the research results	12
4.1 Story and analysis: short news without a broader context	12
4.2 Visualization: No story if we do not see who it is about	15
4.3 Topics: Do women suffer violence other than physical?	17
4.4 Actors: Perpetrator of violence as the main story actor	19
4.5 Emphasis on violence against women or domestic violence: Filling crimes and accident chronicle or social problem?	24
4.6 Case studies: Brutal murders and twisted individuals	27
Bibliography	37
Annex 1	37

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The issue of gender-based violence is covered by the media on a daily basis, which is a positive indicator that there is a recognition of the problem but it is also a reason to analyze the manner in which the media report on this issue and their responsibility in the process of starting a discussion on violence against women as a social problem. This research has pointed to flaws in the work of media when it comes to reporting on violence against women and domestic violence, such as the insufficient attention paid to this issue in the society and prevention thereof or even unethical reporting on sensitive cases.

The analysis has shown that shorter articles on specific cases of violence against women are found more often than articles that are thematically connected to the concept of violence against women. The media do not initiate topics of violence against women but rather report on those cases in brief covers once they get information from their source, most frequently police source or non-governmental organizations. Photographs used to illustrate GBV articles do not mainly contain bloody details and are not unethical, but one in five published stories is accompanied by a clear photo of the story actor's face be it a woman who suffered violence, a perpetrator or an activist in that field. The most present topic in the stories is physical violence, as seen in almost half of the articles that were subject to this analysis. While physical and sexual violence against women is present in news articles and recognized as a problem, other forms of violence are almost not mentioned at all. Main actors of the stories about violence against women are mainly perpetrators of violence, followed by experts, and then persons who were subjugated to violence. The voice of women survivors of violence is almost not heard at all. The identity of a person who was subjected to violence was ethically protected in several cases only with a clear focus on the sensitivity of the issue. About one quarter of the analyzed daily newspaper articles put an emphasis on a notion of "violence against women" or "domestic violence". Articles were selected for the analysis by a search of key phrases and those are articles that clearly recognized such notions, but they were more frequently reports from press conferences held by non-governmental organizations or police. Around 20 per cent of articles in a certain way questioned stereotypes or went beyond the regular framework of reporting.

It can be stated with certainty that the media exploit GBV against women to a large extent, and the more brutal it is, the more attractive it is. The media in Bosnia and Herzegovina do not lack sensationalism and exploiting of violence against women when producing their media content and this is something that needs to be changed urgently.

1. INTRODUCTION

One in two women in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a victim of some form of gender-based violence from the age of fifteen¹. Women are faced with different forms of violence – from, to a certain extent, socially accepted domestic violence to brutal murders in emotional relationships. The research has established that psychological violence is the most present one, followed by physical violence.

The most prevalent violence against women is the one perpetrated by their current or former partners, who proved to be perpetrators of violence in 71.5% of cases. Overall, the sphere of intimate partner and family relations is by far a larger source of risk for the appearance of violence against women than a broader community. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, there is 42% of women elder than 15 years of age who suffered from psychological, 24% from physical and 6% from sexual violence².

Violence against women includes all acts of physical, sexual, psychological or economic 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 victim³. This is unacceptable for any society, and so for the society in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Gender-based violence remains existent in BIH due to deeply rooted patriarchal attitudes towards the roles of women and men in the society, and even more accepted attitude that such violence is an act of lower risk for society and that it is a private problem of women and children who are subjected to or survived the violence. Mass media play a crucial role in shaping the general awareness of the society about violence considering the way in which they represent violence in their reports, language and narrative, and the audience they reach. One of the goals of this research is to analyze media contents and examine whether the media are aware of that fact and whether the topics of gender-based violence are properly treated and attended to in their coverages.

Violence against women and girls is undeniably an issue that came out of the private into the public sphere. This issue is being reported in the media and it is talked about in the society. For that reason, it is important to start a debate on the responsibility of media and the way they report, initiate and (non)support the debate on violence against women and domestic violence. Bosnia and Herzegovina does not have sufficiently raised awareness of experiences that constitute various forms of violence. Hence, a large number of women do not perceive themselves as victims of violence. That is why 58% of women who were exposed to physical violence claim that they are not victims of physical violence. The percentage is even higher when it comes to women recognizing their exposure to psychological, economic and sexual violence⁴. The media should take an active role in educating on violence against women and domestic violence.

In the past two decades, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has been calling for equality of men and women and encouraging the media to promote the equality. Despite the progress that has been achieved in several European countries, the media still proliferates the prejudice about women which is negative and still stereotypical and sexist. Women are associated with the private sphere of life,

1 Prevalence and characteristics of violence against women in BIH, BIH Agency for Gender Equality, 2013

2 Ibid.

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

4 Prevalence and characteristics of violence against women in BIH, BIH Agency for Gender Equality, 2013

household, and family. The media often represent women as sex objects. Speaking about the media in BiH, their attitude towards women is hypocritical and traditional; women are often marginalized in terms of both representation and topic⁵.

The research you are now reading aims to explain the way in which the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina report on gender-based violence. More precisely, this research wants to portray the manner in which the media report on violence against women and to examine whether the media examine the stereotypes that exist in BiH society. Based on the information obtained, this document gives practical recommendations for gender-responsive, inclusive and contextualized reporting on gender-based violence.

This research is just a part of the efforts to stop violence against women and domestic violence; the media reporting on this issue in line with ethical and professional standards is important on that road.

2. METHODOLOGY

This research is based on a quantitative and qualitative analysis which comprised a content analysis, survey conducted on journalists, half-structured interviews with editors and case studies. A content analysis as a quantitative-qualitative method included print and online media, as well as television programs.

The following media were subject to the analysis: daily newspapers (Dnevni avaz, Dnevni list, Oslobođenje and Nezavisne novine), online media (Klix, Buka and Bljesak) and television (FTV, RTRS, BNTV, TV1 and N1), in the period from 1 January to 30 June 2016. The research is conducted in the period from July to October 2016. The total 302 articles were analyzed from daily newspaper and online portals. 193 articles were analyzed from press clipping made by UN Women Office in BiH. Additionally, using a digital archive of Infobiro6, searching by key phrases “violence against women” and “domestic violence”, we found the total of 27 articles published in the said period.

The search of online portals per two phrases provided 82 additional articles for the analysis. All articles are coded and five analytical categories are determined:

a) Story – starting from who the author of the article is, the goal was to establish if women or men more frequently write about violence against women and domestic violence, whether the texts are signed and original, whether they just take over the news, whether the texts are short, medium or long, which journalistic genre is most used.

b) Visualization of reports / photographs – whether the article is illustrated, whether the illustration contains images of violence, photos of persons-actors or neutral photos, given that a photo visually supports an article, wherefore it needs to abide by ethical and professional standards of reporting.

5 Analysis by BH journalists has shown that, within the research of frequency of women appearance in the media, one fourth of texts pertains to passive mentioning of women at crime and accident chronicle pages. (Monitoring of print media in Bosnia and Herzegovina on representation of women in the media and the way they are presented, BH novinari / BIHjournalists, 2005)

6 Infobiro.ba is the first and only BiH internet resource center where you can search newspaper texts per key word.

c) Topics—articles are coded in five categories: physical violence, sexual violence, psychological violence, economic violence⁷ and general (violence against women and domestic violence as topics of texts). Categories are made in relation to the definition of violence against women as established by Istanbul Convention, which prescribes that violence against women is understood as a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women and shall mean all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life⁸.

d) Actors – Who is the subject in the text? Who is the main actor of the article on violence against women? The subject can refer to the following: person who was subjected to violence, person who survived violence, perpetrator of violence, family of a person who was subjected to violence, family of a person who survived violence, family of a perpetrator, witness to violence (neighbor or passer-by), police, judiciary, expert or others. Categories are established based on the review of articles and test coding.

e) Focus on violence against women and domestic violence – When an article included two key phrases, it served for the analysis and conclusions as to whether analyzed articles give a broader explanation of the social problem and whether violence against women is clearly recognized as such. The aim is to examine whether “violence against women” is emphasized, and whether the news just cover the issue of incidents of perpetrated violence without referring to it as a social problem.

The analysis of daily newspapers' and online portals' articles used a different method of selecting the articles for the analysis: press clipping in the period from 1 January to 30 June 2016 and search by two key phrases (violence against women and domestic violence) in the digital base of Infobiro and three online portals.

The methodology is set this way on the assumption that the articles selected in press clipping as examples of violence against women are not the articles which contain that phrase, and this assumption proved to be correct as the articles analyzed within the search per key phrases are mainly articles which contain reports about events of governmental or non-governmental sector on violence against women rather than cases of perpetrated violence.

The selection of online media is made on the criteria such as regional relevancy⁹, reading scope, topicality and informational character of the media.

A unified code list is used for all articles from print and online media¹⁰. This list depicted the plan of research which is used for the purpose of determining certain common characteristics of texts, relevant to this research.

A survey, as a quantitative method, was sent to 50 journalists with a view to completing the analysis of contents with explanations and reasoning provided by those who authored the reports. The survey was conducted by e-mail and their

7 Physical violence constitutes any use of physical force whether the injury is inflicted or not (Laws on Protection from Domestic Violence in the Federation of BiH and Republika Srpska). Sexual violence constitutes any coercive sexual act or attempted act or unwanted sexual comments. Psychological violence includes threats, permanent belittling and humiliation. Economic violence includes attacks carried out with the purpose of disrupting economic activity and denying access to essential services. (World Report on Violence and Health, World Health Organization, 2002.)

8 Convention on Prevention and Combat against Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, Council of Europe, Istanbul, 2011

9 The selection is based on three informative portals from three largest towns, at the same time three political centers in BiH, whose editorial offices act exclusively as online media, and they are not an online issue of newspapers or television. (according to statistics of Agency Gemius, Klix.ba is the most visited Sarajevo-based informative portal in BiH, Buka.com is the most visited Banjaluka-based portal and Bljesak.info is the most visited Mostar-based portal)

10 Code list in Annex1, page 48 of this report

names remain anonymous. Half-structured interviews, as a qualitative method, were planned to be conducted with editors, and ten of them received an interview request.

In order for the research to be complete, four case studies were conducted. Those were four cases of violence against women where women are represented as persons who were subjected to violence.

The goal of the detailed analysis was to spot typical examples of problems in reporting and to make recommendations after that. The central news on RTRS, FTV, TV1, N1 and BNTV were analyzed.

The cases that were analyzed are as follows:

- Sexual abuse of a woman with mental illness, which was the subject of intensive news reporting in January 2016;
- Murder of a 24-year-old girl in Olovo, which resulted in the conviction of her ex-boyfriend and his friend, which was reported by the media as of March 2016;
- Murder and suicide in Banjaluka, an ex-husband killed his wife because “he could not stand the divorce”¹¹;
- Event the media described as an assault on Tuzla women in the report on a man shown at a video recording masturbating in public.

3. INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence or the Istanbul Convention, defines violence against women as “a violation of human rights and a form of discrimination against women and shall mean all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result in, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life”, and gender-based violence as “a violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately”.

There are several international recommendations which attend to the relation of the media and gender-based violence and provide framework guidelines to the media as to how they should treat these topics. A national set of rules and recommendations in Bosnia and Herzegovina is not in place exclusively for gender-based violence, but this research shall provide the foundation for recommendations which are going to be the result of this report. The entire research is strongly relied on the conducted analysis of media contents, and the conclusions and recommendations on the existing ethical and professional principles in journalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina and international standards which set the path to combating gender-based violence.

¹¹ As described in analyzed media reports.

3.1 INTERNATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly had several recommendations that pertain to media representation of women which served as a part of international legal framework of this research. Specific recommendations related to the manner in which the media should treat women and topics such as gender-based violence go in the direction of general principles that the media should be guided by, and they largely also pertain to obligations which member countries of the Council of Europe should implement, including media policies and practices. Although they are constructive and useful, they are just few and why will be explained in the text which follows.

Recommendation1555 of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, adopted in 2002, pertains to the image of women in the media to “promote the equality”. The Assembly notes that women’s image in the media all too frequently remains a negative one, and continues to be stereotyped and sexist. Women are associated with the private sphere, the household and family life. The media frequently present women as sex objects. The recommendation notes that in some countries, including countries of eastern Europe, which are close to Bosnia and Herzegovina and share social similarities, when compared to life in the countries of western Europe, the image of women in the media is relatively negative where “the media describe men as reformers, whereas a limited role is attributed to women” and that this results from “the social and cultural heritage” of the countries concerned.

Recommendation1931of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, adopted in 2010, pertains to combating sexist stereotypes in the media. It warns of the presence of “sexist stereotypes in the media which prevent the reach of actual gender equality”. It reminds that education and media play a key role in that combat.

Resolution1751of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, which also deals with combating sexist stereotypes in the media reads that the media, a vital constituent of democracy, “have a particular responsibility in this field to promote respect for human dignity, the fight against all forms of discrimination, and equality between women and men” and that “sexism, like racism and other forms of discrimination, has no place in the media.” In the part containing recommendations to the media, the Resolution calls on the media to raise journalists’ awareness and train them to include the gender equality dimension in journalism and in the media; promote the gender equality dimension in regulatory and self-regulatory authorities and, where appropriate, implement the recommendations contained in codes of good practice; favor a more balanced representation of women in the media and a non-stereotyped representation of women and men, thereby helping to overcome obstacles to gender equality.

3.2 NATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The Law on Gender Equality in BiH was adopted in 2003 and it constitutes the most important instrument for raising awareness about issues such as gender equality and introduction of gender equality principles in public policies and regulations. The part which pertains to the media refers to the following: 1) everyone shall have access to the media, irrespective of sex; 2) No person irrespective of sex shall be publicly presented in an offensive, humiliating and degrading way; 3) Through their programming, the media shall develop gender equality awareness.

Laws on Protection from Domestic Violence in the Federation of BiH and Republika Srpska define the measures and mechanisms of protection in cases of domestic violence but they do not refer to the sphere of media representation of violence. These laws are certainly amongst key documents when it comes to defining and regulating this field.

Press Code for print and online media BiH¹², derived from European standards of journalist practice, constitutes the ground for a self-editing system in print and online media. As to the discrimination, it reads that journalists must avoid “prejudicial or insulting references to a person’s ethnic group, nationality, race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, physical disability or mental state and that references to a person’s ethnic group, nationality, race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, physical disability or mental state shall be made only when directly relevant to the occurrence being reported.”

Code on audio-video media services and radio media services¹³ by RAK reads that media services providers shall “not render contents which include any form of discrimination or prejudice based on gender, race, ethnic background, nationality, religion or belief, disability, special needs, age, sexual orientation, social origin, just like any other content which intends to or results in preventing or endangering any person in exercising, enjoying or having their rights and freedoms recognized on an equal basis.”

Code of Ethics of BH novinara¹⁴ reads that “a journalist should protect a person’s privacy from unjustified or sensational public revealing. A journalist must abide by everyone’s right to private and family life, home, health and correspondence“. The said quote is one of 22 paragraphs of the Code which pertain to various principles of ethical and professional journalistic reporting in general.

Press Council of BiH Recommendations¹⁵ for the media relative to covering gender contents and use of gender-sensitive language in the media of Bosnia and Herzegovina read that editors and journalists will work on raising of public awareness of the “issue of sexual violence, incest, domestic violence, economic violence, human trafficking and consequences of violence suffered by victims and society as a whole” and on “presence of various forms of violence based on sex, gender, and sexual orientation and fatal influence of violence on victims.”

12 Press Code was adopted by all journalists’ associations in 1999, and the Press Council of BiH, a self-regulation body for print and online media in BiH, amended that Press Code in 2005, 2006 and 2011 in consultation with all journalists’ associations in BiH.

13 BiH Communication regulatory Agency council redereed the 2015 Code on audio-video media services and radio media services

14 Assembly of the Association BH novinari (BiH journalists) adopted the Code of Ethics in 2011, where all members are obligated to abide by the highest professional and ethical principles while the said Code is a standard for such principles. .

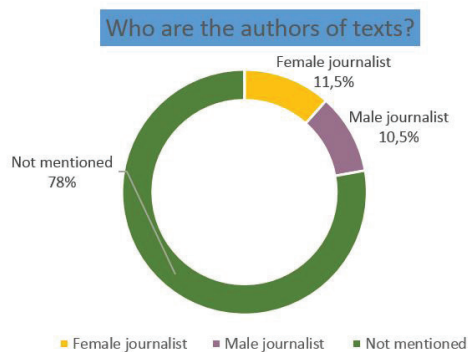
15 BiH Press Council and Association BH novinari adopted the Recommendations in 2006.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS

Following the plan set by the methodology of this research, the results that follow shall describe in detail the findings of this research. The analysis pertained to the contents of daily newspapers (Dnevni avaz, Dnevni list, Oslobođenje and Nezavisne novine), online media (Klix, Buka and Bljesak) and television programs (FTV, RTRS, BNTV, TV1 and N1), in the period from 1 January to 30 June 2016. The research was done in the period from July to October 2016. The total of 302 newspapers and online portals articles were analyzed. Out of that, 193 articles were analyzed from press clipping collected by UN Women office in BiH. Additionally, using a digital archive Infobiro, the search by key phrases “violence against women and “domestic violence” provided additional 27 articles for the same period of time, while 82 articles from the said online media are included in the analysis.

4.1 STORY AND ANALYSIS: SHORT NEWS WITHOUT A BROADER CONTEXT

The majority of daily newspaper articles used in press clipping¹⁶ and articles resulting from the search per key phrases¹⁷ are not articles clearly signed by journalists. 78% of articles were signed by the author or initialed (which is considered as original article) or the author is not signed at all (when taking texts over from agencies or without mentioning the origin of article).



Graph 1. Gender of authors of analyzed articles

While the majority of articles is not signed or is just initialed, the difference between number of texts authored by female journalists (35 or 11, 5%) and those authored by male journalists (32 or 10, 5%) was not large¹⁸.

Generally, based on the analyzed articles and although the undersigned articles are in minority, there are more female than male journalists writing about violence against women. The statistics reached by this analysis show that male journalists more often write about specific examples of violence against women while female journalists write about violence against women as the topic which clearly recognizes that concept.

Analyzing the length of articles has led to a possible reason for which the majority of articles (four fifths) is initialed or not signed at all; this is because analyzed articles are mainly short or of medium length¹⁹. It has been a practice in the media production that journalists do not sign short articles, most frequently because they pertain to brief information in columns such as crime and accident chronicle usually authored by one journalist so to avoid the same journalist signing several articles on one page.

Length of articles	Press clipping (four daily newspapers)	Search by key phrases “violence against women” and “domestic violence” (Infobiro + three online portals)	All articles
Long	48 (25%)	76 (70%)	124 (41%)
Medium	72 (37%)	27 (25%)	99 (33%)
Short	73 (38%)	6 (5%)	79 (26%)
Total	193 (100%)	109 (100%)	302 (100%)

In daily newspapers, 25% of cases are long articles. Texts published at online portals and texts from the print which mention the topic of “violence against women” and “domestic violence” are in 70% of cases longer than eight paragraphs, so thematic articles are getting more coverage there. The majority of articles in the second category pertains to articles published at online media²⁰, which means that the print gives less coverage to these texts than online media whose coverage platform is not limited (online or print) and it is easier to publish long texts. Generally, one third of articles are those of medium length. Daily newspapers contain more of them than online media. Short articles are most frequent in print media, as compared to online portals with only five per cent.

Articles are mainly original – signed by journalists’ names or initials – in print media more frequently than in online media²¹. Out of the total number of analyzed articles, 51% were original articles while the rest of articles were either taken over from agencies or with an unidentified source/author²². The fact that more than a half of analyzed articles are original is positive. However, one fifth of articles do not contain mentioned source or author’s name. A genre of the majority of articles is a fact-finding genre, which means that they are written in a form of news, research, analysis or report.

¹⁸ Data pertain to all analyzed articles. Separately, as articles from press clipping – which represented examples of violence against women – there were more male (21 or 11%) than female authors (13 or 7%). With regard to authors of articles obtained by search per key phrases, there were more female (22 or 20%) than male journalists (11 or 10%).

¹⁹ Four or less paragraphs. Up to eight paragraphs of medium length.

²⁰ Infobiro: 27 articles; three online portals (Klix, Buka, Bljesak): total of 82 articles

²¹ Out of 193 analyzed articles from daily newspapers, 99 were original or 51%, 44 or 22% were articles transferred from agencies 50 or 27% articles the origin of which is not mentioned.

²² 155 out of 302 articles designated as original (first and family name or initials), 85 articles of agencies and 62 with the states source.



Example 1. An interview was published in daily newspapers *Oslobodenje* and *Nezavisne novine* on 6 January 2016, and it deals with the issue of violence against women. Interviews are signed by two authors, a male and a female journalist from both editorial offices and the interviewee is an activist who works with women who suffered from violence. The text was made as part of the project for empowering of women, as mentioned at the bottom. This is the only interview in the period from 1 January to 30 June 2016 published in four most prevailing daily newspapers in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

There are 93% of such articles. 4% pertains to comments, and 2% to interviews. Online media²³ contained more comments and interviews.

Such results show that the issue of violence against women as a topic is not given enough coverage in the media since longer forms or forms that provide for a deeper insight into the topic (such as interviews or comments) are rare. An interview would be one of useful journalistic forms to report on sensitive issues such as the one involving persons who suffered from violence and whose rights were violated. Interviews that were covered by this research are mainly conducted with activists or experts.

This finding suggests that the media do not initiate the topic of violence against women but rather they report on it by way of short news once they get the information from their source, most frequently police sources or non-governmental organizations, and the majority of them confirmed this in their responses to questions in the survey. One female journalist states that she gets the information on violence against women “through research and analyses conducted by non-governmental organizations and police reports” while one male journalist states that he gets the information on the “hearsay” principle, or through neighbors who directly call them to editorial offices.

Berislav Jurič, the editor-in-chief at Mostar-based information portal *Bljesak.info*, states that the institutions are the most frequent source of information on violence against women: “We obtain information from police releases or through direct contact with police and judicial institutions. We find every piece of news valuable and publishing-worthy if it will warn the society that it rides for a fall and which can add to awareness-raising.”

Several editors who were interviewed stated that editorial offices are mainly understaffed with journalists specialized to report on gender-based violence and so topics like that one are covered by journalists who write for the crime and accident chronicle. However, they said that there was certain sensibility when it comes to deciding whether certain story is worth publishing or not.

²³ Three comments in the print and eight in online media.

Vildana Selimbegović, the editor-in-chief at Oslobođenje, states that the media play a huge role but that the media are not up to the task when it comes to this issue just like any other sensitive issue: “We are daily editorial office and of course we obtain information in various ways: tip-off, regular monitoring, relations with investigative and judicial authorities, but also the policy of our media, which by the way is comprised of mainly women, is such that most frequently newsworthiness of the issue of violence against women is not disputable at all,” says Selimbegović.

Mirza Čubro, deputy editor-in-chief at TV1, states that the editorial office receives the information on cases of violence from both institutions and citizens, but it is only a beginning of the investigative process: “What is rather specific about this issue is that that citizens contact journalists and editors on their own because the system of protection for victims of domestic violence, violence against children or women is terribly slow and poor and many cases had fatal consequences, so it is obvious that nobody reacted. I personally think that the media may play important role in pointing to a specific problem in order to protect victims and raise awareness that any form of violence is unacceptable and that the role of family, friends and neighbors is not to keep silent by falsely protecting the victims, where in fact their silence just helps the perpetrator. These are at the same time the criteria for publishing a story.”

4.2 VISUALIZATION: NO STORY IF WE DO NOT SEE WHO IT IS ABOUT

In addition to the general consideration for actors of certain event which is covered by the media, any disclosure of explicit photos should be in line with the public interest. If there is no public interest, and for example, disturbing images are published in order to attract large attention of readers, this is not ethical. Code for print and online media in BiH, among other things, defines the interest of public as a procedure or information to help the public in reaching an opinion and making decisions about issues and events. At the same time, journalists should protect a person’s intimate life from unjustified or sensational disclosure in public²⁴. This analysis examined the photos that were published along with texts on violence against women in BiH: does

Dnevni avaz



Example 2.



Example 3.



Example 4. Nezavisne novine

it depict a scene of violence, if yes, whether it is clear or pixelated image, whether it depicts faces, whether it shows some general²⁵ scene or whether the text is not accompanied with a photo at all.

A photo that accompanies an article in newspapers or online media visually supports and supplements the text. The text needs to abide by the ethical and professional standards, and the same goes for photos. A photo does not only draw attention but it also gives information and so what it depicts is very important and must be in accordance with standards. Topics which include personal tragedies must be treated with consideration, and a damaged person must be approached discretely²⁶.

Analyzed articles on violence against women and domestic violence as part of this research are mainly illustrated by photos, which is a general practice for newspapers articles in dailies and online portals. Within analyzed 302 articles, only 15 or 5% of them are not illustrated as they were mainly in a form of short news. 65% articles²⁷ were accompanied by a general illustration²⁸. Other categories of photos which accompanied texts were “scene of violence - pixelated”, “scene of violence - clear”, „faces - pixelated” and „faces - clear”. Six articles or 2% were illustrated with pixelated image of a scene of violence.

The way in which bloody scenes are pixelated in the said examples is the indicator that elementary ethical principles are attended to. However, the example number 2. shows that the name of a murdered girl is published, a clear photo of her face is also published whereas the face of a person suspected of the perpetration of violence is protected. The person who was subjected to violence is shown more than the perpetrator because the photo of her body and her earlier photo were published. The example No. 3. shows the body of a killed woman is pixelated but it is visible enough to show a bloody scene of violence. 16 articles or 5% contained illustrations of clear scenes of violence. Those are mainly scenes of violence but without bloody details like in the earlier images referred to in this report, such as example 4.

Portraying women as victims may leave an impression on a reader or viewer that women are weak or powerless which can contribute to the problem that we are dealing with. For example, a photo of an injured woman accompanied by the text on

24 BH novinari, Code of Ethics BH novinara, 2011

25 General image such as police building, building, Street or town where the event of the story happened.

26 Council for Press of Bosnia and Herzegovna, Code for print and online media in BiH, 1999

27 Total196 out of 302 analyzed articles.

28 For example, a photo of a town where the event of the story happened, a photo of the institution which is mention in the story or a general illustration which visually corresponds to the topic of the text.

domestic violence may lead to a conclusion that violence against women is all about physical, whereas it can also be psychological or sexual²⁹.

The analysis of photos in this research has also identified examples of texts on violence against women accompanied by clear or pixelated photos of their faces. Four out of 302 articles showed a pixelated image of faces while 61 articles contained photos with clear images of subjects, which constitutes one fifth of all articles.

Using the photos showing the face of a subject, frequently the face of a woman, who was subjected to violence, constitutes a clear identification of that person which is a sensitive issue in cases of violence. It does not serve the interest of public and usually does not serve the interest of investigation especially if it is a case of violence that just happened and is covered by the media based on the testimonies of eye-witnesses while police sources claim they cannot publish the details.

4.3 TOPICS: DO WOMEN SUFFER VIOLENCE OTHER THAN PHYSICAL?

When it comes to media reports on violence against women and domestic violence, it is important to observe the most frequent topics of articles which get the attention, time, work and publishing.

The topic which is most frequently present will show what the media recognize as violence against women in their daily work and whether only most brutal cases of physical violence and other forms of violence against women find their way to public.

Topic	Press clipping (four daily newspapers)	Search by key phrases “violence against women” and “domestic violence” (Infobiro + three online portals)	All articles
Physical violence	108 (56%)	28 (26%)	136 (45%)
Sexual violence	56 (29%)	7 (6%)	63 (21%)
Psychological violence	2 (1%)	0	2 (0,5%)
Economic violence	2 (1%)	0	2 (0,5%)
General as a topic “violence against women” and “domestic violence”	25 (13%)	74 (68%)	99 (33%)
Total	193 (100%)	109 (100%)	302 (100%)

The most prevalent topic in terms of a form of violence against women is physical violence which was the subject of almost half of articles covered by the analysis. The percentage is even higher, around four fifths when taking into account only articles from daily newspapers that were selected upon the criteria of recognizing a specific case of violence against women. A topic is usually designated as general³⁰ in the search per key phrases which pertain to violence against women, which was a starting point in choosing a specific methodology for this analysis.

Sexual violence was a topic of one fifth of articles more frequently in daily newspapers (even more than physical violence). Emotional violence was a topic in two articles in daily newspapers, as well as economic violence whereas there was no article on psychological violence.

This finding suggests that physical forms of violence against women are recognized as a problem and prevail in newspaper articles. However, there is almost no other text about other forms of violence.

However, responses that journalists gave to the survey, which contained a set of offered answers which included all forms of violence against women, suggest that they recognize other forms of violence but, judging by these findings, they do not report on these forms of violence. It is noteworthy that to the question of “what constitutes violence against women”, all surveyed journalists chose the answers that pertain to physical, sexual and psychological, but there were seven (out of 35) journalists who did not choose economic violence.

Media editors are aware of the importance of written texts on violence and the effect that they can make in the society.

„Just like in any other sphere, the media have a key role in the creation of public opinion and public perception of sensitive issues such as violence against women. However, topics dealing with sensitive issues carry additional responsibility which the media frequently tend to forget. It is critical to protect identities of victims, and even perpetrators of violence, as revealing them would reveal the victim. However, the media tend to forget the importance of victim protection aiming at larger number of issues, clicks, viewing rate” states Sandra Gojković-Arbutina, the editor-in-chief at *Nezavisne novine*.

The editor of Banjaluka-based portal *Buka*, Elvir Padalović, says that preventing violence in the society should be the role of the media.

„Take a more sensitive approach without unnecessary sensationalism. The focus should be on the protection of a victim and the topic should be about warning on this trend in society (in terms of prevention)”, he says. “There are various examples, there is rarely any generalization and a lot of sensationalism and tabloid-style approach to the topic (disclosing the identity of victim and perpetrator with a view to raising the reading and viewing rate) – more sensitivity is needed”.

The chapter that follows is about actors of stories on gender-based violence, importance of protecting the identity and sources of information.

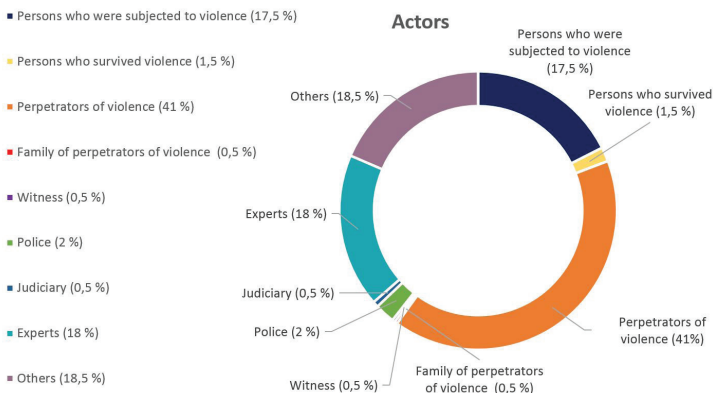
30 As explained in the methodology: violence against women and domestic violence are mentioned as concepts, social problem, topic, for example statistics or action in non-governmental sector, but not related to one specific case or form of violence.

4.4 ACTORS: PERPETRATOR OF VIOLENCE AS THE MAIN STORY ACTOR

In order to examine a discourse on violence against women in the analyzed articles, it is important to determine who the focus of the story is and who is not, who the active subject of the story is and who leads the story. Two sections were selected to determine that: subject and other actors. The subject may be: a person who was subjected to violence, a person who survived violence, a perpetrator of violence, family of a person who was subjected to violence, family of a person who survived violence, family of a perpetrator, witness to perpetrated violence (neighbor or passer-by), police, judiciary (prosecutor's office or court), expert (frequently an activists from non-governmental sector or an expert in that field) or others. Other actors may be: members of police, judiciary, hospital officials, and expert in the field, witness, and family of a person who was subjected to violence, family of a person who survived violence, family of a perpetrator or others. The code list also examined as to whether the identity of actors was disclosed or protected.

Main actors of stories on violence against women are mainly perpetrators of violence, followed by experts and then persons who were subjected to violence. The analyzed articles of four daily newspapers focused on women who were subjected to violence as the main story actors 44 times while perpetrators (mainly men) were story actors in 106 articles. Those were mainly articles on specific examples of violence against women and domestic violence; women were main actors in 23% of cases and perpetrators of violence in 55% of cases.

Generally speaking, based on all analyzed articles, perpetrators of violence are still more frequently covered by the media rather than persons who were subjected to violence. Persons who were subjected to violence, in the context of this research – women³¹, were in the focus of 18% cases, while perpetrators of violence were in the focus of 41% cases. Experts or “others” were in the focus in 18% cases respectively.



Graph 2. total: story actors on violence against women and domestic violence

³¹ The concept of a woman includes also girls and underage girls below 18.

The most of the main actors in the stories on violence against women are perpetrators or men because the media are mainly focused on a “culprit” whose identity is most often disclosed. Ethically, this can be a problem, in view of the presumption of innocence but also because an identification of the perpetrator of violence might lead to disclosure of an identity of person who was subjected to violence and this certainly violated the right to privacy.

To the question of whether he protects or reveals identity of an assaulter, one male journalist states: “I count his blood cells, I investigate his great-grandfather and grandfather if I can. I dig into his family tree and find out if his grandfather beat his grandmother or whether someone in his family was violent and I publish all that along with the photo. I comb every possible police report to see if the violent person has ever assaulted woman before!”

It should be noted that when it comes to putting men and women in the focus of the text, a general media approach is such that women are passive rather than active, women are inferior, incompetent for objective perspective or to represent official discourses or to share expert knowledge³² and the like. The results of research on representation of women in the media have shown an absolute domination of men over women – women are almost invisible in daily newspapers when compared to men. The world as we see, interpret and reconstruct it is a man’s world – the world where men take central part in 80 per cent of news articles. The media present women as dominant only in the sex industry, that is, women are represented as sex workers or persons in charge of home and as parents. A trend of putting women in the context of family life may lead to the creation of stereotypes and suggest that a real status of women is determined by her family relations rather than professional criteria. That is how the media maintain the momentum of traditional polarization of gender roles³³.

Families of persons who were subjected to violence and families of perpetrators of violence are present as other actors. Specific cases will be mentioned in the case studies. Other actors in articles are mainly found in the category “others”, and during this analysis this category included activists. Very often articles did not have other actors save for one who is the main actor.

Identities of actors were two times more disclosed than protected. Only in certain cases was the identity of a person who was subjected to violence ethically protected with a clear emphasis on the sensitivity of the situation, such as when a father was a perpetrator of violence.

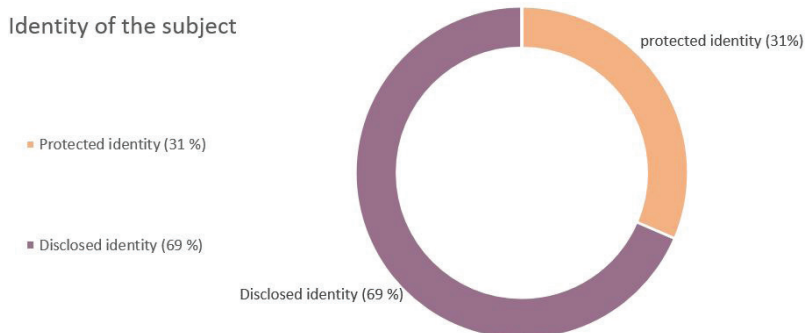
The identity of perpetrators of violence is two times more disclosed than protected (disclosed in 65% cases and protected in 35%). The identity of a person who was subjected to violence is protected in 55% of cases when that person is the main subject of the story while it was disclosed in 45% of cases.

„The identity should be protected at all times, not only for the victim’s safety but also the victim’s life after it and normal inclusion in the society (to avoid potential stigmatization). I would disclose the identity only in special circumstances when there was no risk to the person speaking and if the person clearly wanted it, and if I was satisfied that it would contribute to rising of awareness in the society and encourage other victims to speak up,” responded one journalist in the survey.

³² Adla Isanović, *Medijski diskurs kao muški domen: Predstavljanje roda u dnevnim novinama u Bosni i Hercegovini* u: *Stereotipizacija: predstavljanje žena u štampanim medijima u Jugoistočnoj Evropi*, Mediacentar Sarajevo, 2007. / str. 70 *Media discourse as a male domain: representation of gender in daily newspapers in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in: Stereotypes: representation of women in print media of south-eastern Europe*, Mediacentar Sarajevo, 2007/page 70.

³³ *Ibid* / page 65, page 72 and page 74

However, the majority of journalists said that they would protect the identity of a person who was subjected to violence while they would disclose the identity of a perpetrator of violence. Female and male journalists who responded to questions in the survey³⁴ say that 80% of them protect the identity of a person who was subjected to violence and more frequently disclose the identity of a perpetrator of violence.



Graph 3. Data on the identity of subjects in the text

To the question of whether they would disclose the identity of a perpetrator of violence, two thirds or 66% of surveyed journalists said that it depended on the situation, while 23% said they would disclose the identity of a perpetrator of violence and 11% would not.

„If the proceedings are instigated against the assaulter, if it will not endanger the case or cause a problem to the rest of the family especially children whose identity might be disclosed – then yes”, said the said journalist in the part which pertains to perpetrators.

Some other journalists clearly stated in their answers that a perpetrator of violence should be revealed to the public: “Assaulters who are found guilty should be disclosed to the public in order to warn everyone around us.” However, when it comes to the disclosure of the perpetrator’s identity, one female journalist says: “We protect that identity too, because the public can identify the victim through his identity.”

As a rule, names of persons involved in some criminal offense, including violence against women³⁵, can be disclosed only after official authorities, such as police or judiciary, publish the identity, but even then it is not always the case.

Sometimes it is up to journalists and editors to estimate between the right to publishing, interest of public, and effect that the published information will have on life and dignity of other persons involved in the story. Although the solution to such dilemma is not always the same, and cannot rely only on the fundamental rules on the right to publish some information, the names of perpetrators and persons who were subjected to violence are frequently found in texts the primary purpose of which is not preventive or educational.

³⁴ Survey questionnaire had 13 questions sent e-mail addresses of total of 50 journalists throughout BIH, in all types of the media, while the total of 35 responded and it forms the basis for the percentage in this part of the report.

³⁵ Criminal Code of FBiH / Article 222 and CriminalCode of RS / Article 208



Example 5.

The example of an article which partly protects the identity of a perpetrator of violence in order not to disclose the identity of a person who was subjected to violence; in this specific case a father abused his underage daughter. The assumption is that the story is locally known, just like the identity of an assaulter, but the identity is protected because of the prevalence of the media and for the sake of the damaged party.

Even when a violent person is sentenced to prison term, and such information is published by courts, it does not necessarily mean that it is safe to publish the information on the perpetrator's identity, because it might lead to the disclosure of identity of a person who was subjected to violence. This is especially not good in the era of Internet where all information published in the media more or less remain available for years. Such is the example from Bihać where Nezavisne novine journalist decided not to publish the identity of a father who raped his daughter for years.

The aforementioned Code of Ethics reads that journalists will not publish the information that would incur damage to someone's reputation, but specific cases such as violence against women are not regulated by any rules and so it is up to journalists and editors to decide about the scope of information that will be published.

Editor-in-chief at Oslobođenje, Vildana Selimbegović, says that it is in the interest of public to disclose the identity of an assaulter, but when it comes to the identity of a victim this daily newspaper provides initials. She adds that the media in general pay insufficient attention to violence against women.

„Unfortunately, a large number of the media simply forgot that our profession is dedicated to always take the side of a weaker party; in this case I deeply believe it is the side of women, especially those who are subjected to all sorts of violence and who represent a seriously endangered category”, she says. “I don't think a sufficient number of our media recognizes this.”

To the question pertaining to the disclosure of the identity of a person who was subjected to violence, one female journalist says that the identity of a victim is protected when it is an underage victim, in case of other victims only when it is necessary for their safety, when they are in the middle of trial or when the victim does not want to testify with her identity fully disclosed while it is important to hear the victim's story and to publish it.”

Another female journalist says that in the trials she was monitoring, measures of protection were even offered to public witnesses, and those measures are distorted image, distorted voice, use of pseudonym, in which case she makes sure to record it that way in order to protect her interviewee and herself.

“When they do not want protection, I publish the name. Sometimes I do not publish too many details of the victims who have families, children.”

Publishing the names of persons who were subjected to violence is not easy for the persons in question as the media and the public may bring up many unwanted questions, and unconstructive questions which do not contribute to solving the problem but rather they contribute to additional stigmatization.

BIH Code for the print and online media obligates journalists not to interfere into someone’s private life unless such interference is necessary for the interest of public. Topics that involve personal tragedies will be treated seriously and persons affected will be approached with discretion and compassion³⁶.



Example 6. Nezavisne novine



Example 7. Oslobođenje

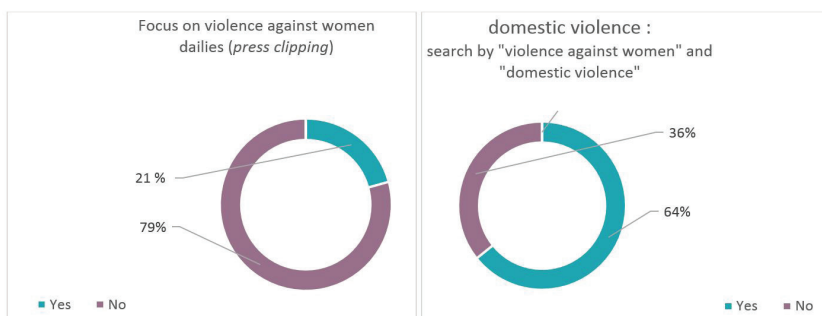
4.5 EMPHASIS ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN OR DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: FILLING CRIMES AND ACCIDENT CHRONICLE OR SOCIAL PROBLEM?

In the analyzed first half of 2016, the press clipping from four daily newspapers selected 193 articles on violence against women and domestic violence. Only one fifth (21%) of these articles did put an emphasis on that social problem. Other articles were mainly about specific cases of violence against women (physical or sexual most frequently) which do not contain that phrase and do not connect the news that a woman suffered blows on part of her husband in violence against women as a social problem. The search per key phrases "violence against women" and "domestic violence" provided different results, as will be shown in the report below. Articles are still incomplete in as much as they contain news or a story on a specific case of violence without emphasizing the issue as the problem of society.

The search per key phrases contained more emphasis on violence against women as a social problem (64% articles), but they are- as explained in the description of topics - mainly articles that are categorized in the group "general"³⁷.

Nevertheless, there were examples when a specific case of violence was put in the context of a problem of the society.

Mirza Čubro, deputy editor-in-chief at TV1, says that the first step of reporting on gender-based violence should be to protect a woman who was subjected to violence or to alarm institutions to do their job, and then the media action should be focused on insisting the relevant institutions to react and be responsible such as "monitoring



Graph 4. Do the articles focus on violence against women as a social problem?

³⁷ Section 3.3 of this research, description of topics: physical violence – 21%, sexual violence – 7% and general (on violence against women)



Example 8. Nezavisne novine: example of an article which places violence in the context of social problem.

of a trial against a perpetrator because our judicial system is one of the worst segments in our society. Thus, the media should professionally report and keep the public attention on some case, so that a Trial Panel does not take into consideration all mitigating circumstances and none aggravating circumstances, and punish a perpetrator by a mild reprimand only”.

Stereotypization of women exists in BIH society and media and it is proven by the research and analysis of media content. The media reports are made within a given structural framework: criteria of news, valid hierarchy of credibility, journalist routine and predominant cultural presuppositions. It is exactly such journalistic doxa implies simplification and generalization, knowing and unconscious use of stereotypes and manipulation of prejudices characteristic for the given culture³⁸.

Articles examined in this analysis did not question stereotypes; they did not go beyond a usual way of reporting on women, portraying women as victims, placing a perpetrator of domestic violence in the position of an assaulter and keeping a focus on him. The analysis has shown that 78% of articles do that.



Example 9. Article that goes beyond the framework of usual reporting does not use a stereotypical treatment of women.

38 Nirman Moranjak-Bamburać, *Unbearable lightness of stereotypes in: Stereotypes: representation of women in print media of south-eastern Europe, Mediacentar Sarajevo, 2007/page 25.*

Projekti NVO koje imaju sigurne kuće pomažu žrtvama nasilja da stanu na noge

Desetine žena našle posao i pobjegle od nasilnika

Žene su se zaposlile u oblastima trgovine, ugostiteljstva, čišćenja, ali su neke započele i vlastiti posao

Ženi koji da pruži edukaciju i pomoć u zapošljavanju kroz dodatne programe za firmama, u slučaju da ne mogu naći zaposlenje u oblasti trgovine, ugostiteljstva, čišćenja, ali su neke započele vlastiti posao poput otvora i proizvodnje stola, iznajmljivanja prostora, prodaje, iznajmljivanja, proizvodnje, iznajmljivanja i prodaje, proizvodnje proizvoda.

“Ovo je naša firma za pomoć ženama iz BiH koje su pobjegle od nasilnika jer nisu mogle naći posao preko projekata. Osim toga, pružamo im i pomoć u zapošljavanju u drugim sektorima, ali i pomoć u zapošljavanju u vlastiti posao, poput otvora i proizvodnje stola, iznajmljivanja prostora, prodaje, iznajmljivanja i prodaje, proizvodnje proizvoda.”

“Trenutno imamo preko 100 žena koje su pobjegle od nasilnika i našle posao u različitim sektorima, uključujući trgovinu, ugostiteljstvo, čišćenje, ali i vlastiti posao.”

MAGNETNI SRAČUNICI

SARAJEVO – U posljednje tri godine desetine žena iz BiH našle su posao u različitim sektorima, uključujući trgovinu, ugostiteljstvo, čišćenje, ali i vlastiti posao. Osim toga, pružamo im i pomoć u zapošljavanju u drugim sektorima, ali i pomoć u zapošljavanju u vlastiti posao, poput otvora i proizvodnje stola, iznajmljivanja prostora, prodaje, iznajmljivanja i prodaje, proizvodnje proizvoda.

STATISTIKA
POKAZUJE DA SE OKO 70 ODSTO ŽRTAVA VRAĆA NASILNIM ŽENAMA I SAMOZATVARNIM ŽENAMA

“Želimo pomoći ženama da se zaposle u različitim sektorima, uključujući trgovinu, ugostiteljstvo, čišćenje, ali i vlastiti posao.”

“Želimo pomoći ženama da se zaposle u različitim sektorima, uključujući trgovinu, ugostiteljstvo, čišćenje, ali i vlastiti posao.”

“Želimo pomoći ženama da se zaposle u različitim sektorima, uključujući trgovinu, ugostiteljstvo, čišćenje, ali i vlastiti posao.”

Example 10. Nezavisne novine: an example of article which proves that violence can be overcome

However, some articles stood out of the majority articles in as much as they treated violence against women and domestic violence as a problem of the society and they served the purpose, by giving information on how to cope with that and introducing the topic by specific examples.

Articles that went beyond the stereotypical way of reporting on violence against women were mostly those articles that did not portray a woman who was subjected to violence as a helpless person or victim. Interviews and comments are underused forms in reporting on this topic and these are exactly the forms which can delve deeper into the topic of gender-based violence and emphasize it as a social problem. Although this research did not focus on stereotypes about women in the media, earlier research³⁹ served as a ground for the analysis of the nature of media contents on gender-based violence in BiH. The media are certainly one of key factors in the creation and development of stereotypes in the society, and that is exactly why they need to strongly refrain from representing women as weak and victims. However, as obvious from the report so far, not all the media that report on gender-based violence in the same manner. There are numerous factors that influence the media reporting on this issue. Some of them mentioned by the media employees in the context of sensitive issues are the lack of time and resources.

Editor-in-chief at Nezavisne novine, Sandra Gojković-Arbutina, says that a difference should be made between “tabloids which make 80 per cent of current media and (especially print)” and “those rare but serious who try to maintain professionalism in their work.”

³⁹ In the process of presentation, stereotypization (base don gender, race or ethnicity) is an attempt to fix a “preferred” meaning. Although they potentially have an important role in disputing the fixed meanings, the media more often present a part of the problema rather than its solution. (Isanović in: Stereotypization: representation of women in print media / page 55) and domestic violence) – 74%.

„Tabloids maintain in life by writing on such topics, while those serious media are careful not make mistakes in reporting because they are the subject of public criticism and regulatory bodies. Regulatory bodies do not see tabloids as relevant media, but they view the work of serious media through various filters.”

Editor-in-chief at Mostar-based portal Bljesak, Berislav Jurič, says that sensationalism is present in Bosnia and Herzegovina journalism.

“Journalism as a whole is about sensationalism nowadays, and so this issue is no exception. Our society is still subconsciously holding to the definition that a man is always right, and readers certainly find it more attractive to see as brutal headlines as possible; the more a victim is beaten, the more satisfied editors are”, he says.

4.6 CASE STUDIES: BRUTAL MURDERS AND TWISTED INDIVIDUALS

Four cases in the observed period from 1 January to 30 June 2016 are selected for a deeper analysis. Those were the cases of violence which drew more of media attention and which were the subject of reports for more than one day.

What kind of violence keeps the media attention for several days? The most brutal one. A 24-year old girl was murdered in Olovo in March. Since January the media reported on a mentally-impaired girl who was procured and sexually abused, where her family was also involved. In May, a wife was murdered by her ex-husband in Banjaluka, the reason mentioned is their divorce. In June, the media reported on a sex maniac who “was lurking” in Tuzla.

4.6.1 DOBOJ⁴⁰ PROCURING A DAUGHTER WITH MENTAL ILLNESS

Summary: A woman with mental illness from a village in the vicinity of Doboj was sexually abused by local residents for years, and she gave birth to three babies as the result of that (in 2011, 2013 and 2015). Her mother allegedly killed two babies after their birth and allegedly forced her daughter to get rid of the third baby after its birth. Father or fathers of those babies are allegedly unknown, same as the manner in which the babies were killed.

The public learned about that on 25 January when three men and father of abused woman were apprehended. The case study monitored the media from their first to their last reports on this case until the said date, including the apprehension and first verdict handed by the local court in that place.

4.6.1.1 Definition of the topic and interpretation by the media: The media started reporting on this case in a tabloid-style, describing it as “shocking” (Nezavisne novine), “horror-movies style crime” (N1 and Hina), or “unseen crime” (BNTV). A shock expressed in headlines and introductions of media reports followed by the absence of the presumption of innocence and inaccurate information. For example, headline at N1 read “„Horor u Doboju: Baka ubila tri novorođenčeta”/ Horror in Doboj, grandmother murders three newborn babies. Later on it proved that the grandmother was suspected of murdering two newborn babies. Although they had a tabloid-style reporting at the very beginning in order to attract viewers, the majority of reports were a clear and simple coverage of identification of bodies without too much description and details, with little sources and almost without statements of key participants or experts. After providing brief information on new developments (without mentioning the source of information) most reports ended with a brief reminder to the background story. Nezavisne novine is the only media that warned about the prison sentence that can possibly be pronounced to the perpetrator. The case is shaped as horrific crime which happened in a weird family in a remote place. Nobody defined a crime, wrote about typology, motives, and the overall problems or how to prevent such crimes from happening in future. The goal of the media was not to educate people about gender-based violence, its roots, consequences and prevention but to provide information in few sentences without a comprehensive coverage of the topic by interviewing experts, police, prosecutor and the like. All reports in different media were similar although written by different authors and not taken over from a news agency.

4.6.1.2 Participants – who speaks and how: Key participants are all persons involved in the case, but they “do not speak” although their identities were disclosed. The only thing we could learn from several reports on trial are their lawyers; pathologist on DNA analysis in Nezavisne novine; Minister of Interior of Republika Srpska; grandfather of babies with a photo in front of his house and headline “Procured his mentally impaired daughter?” (Presumably the question mark at the end leaves some room if the court decides otherwise, which later happened); his brother who

40 Observed period: 25 January 2016 to 20 June 2016.. observed media: Nezavisne novine, Dnevni avaz (press clipping) i RTRS, N1, BNTV, FTV (central news on 25 January).

says he had never noticed anything suspicious; a sociologist was consulted just once in *Nezavisne novine*; neighbors accepted to talk to RTRS and they looked scared and like they do not know much about this case. All pieces of information that we got about the case came from narratives without a clear source, probably from the court and police, although the sources are not mentioned. Without deep analysis of the problem, the media reports described the crime and phenomenon, whereas a sociologist, psychologist, privacy and human rights activists got no room (except in one case as mentioned when a sociologist was interviewed by *Nezavisne novine*).

4.6.1.3 Gender-based violence point of view: due to the fact that the media failed to define the problem and to categorize the crime, their audience remained uninformed about the phenomenon, its roots and consequences. It remained unclear as to what type of crime it is and how serious it is. Reports called on condemnation just indirectly assuming some family values and values along the lines that it was more righteous to keep the babies than murder them. There was not a single word about gender-based violence,, particularly in this highly sensitive case. Even the aforementioned sociologist did not speak about the phenomenon but about the situation: "It is impossible that the community did not notice anything unusual and we learn about this case only five years later, it is indicative." (*Nezavisne novine*). Several reports which contain some basic information about sentences that the suspects are faced with do not contain extensive explanations or statistics on crimes to corroborate it.

4.6.1.4 Issue of privacy: The very first reports disclosed the names of victims and alleged perpetrators, and thus they violated the European Convention on Human Rights as an international treaty which protects human rights and fundamental freedoms in Europe. Article 8 of the Convention prescribes that "everyone has the right to respect for his private ad family life, his home and his correspondence". The said Article also prescribes that only at certain situation may the identity of a person be disclosed "There shall be no interference by a public authority with the exercise of this right except such as is in accordance with the law and is necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security, public safety or the economic wellbeing of the country, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others." This was not the case in *Doboj* case because not even alleged perpetrators posed threat to national security. Disclosure of names and at some instances disclosure of photos and recordings of people involved in the case, describing them as perpetrators and culprits, left a long-term mark on them in the Internet era. General public learned everything about them, their names, their appearance, their occupation and place of residence. This will indisputably have effect on families of all persons involved in the case regardless of the outcome of the trial. The damage will be even larger if the court finds some of the accused not guilty.

4.6.2 OLOVO⁴¹ – MURDER OF A 24-YEAR OLD GIRL

Summary: A 24-year old girl went missing in Olovo and the media published the information on 29 February that the family and police are looking for her. One day later the news read that two men were held in police and confessed to killing her. After that, the police search for the girl's body started. In the meantime, the media reported that two men confessed to murder. One of perpetrators was allegedly in a relationship with the murdered girl. When they came across one another, she got into his car and they picked another man on their way. Two men tied and beat her, slit her throat and pushed her body down a 70 meter-high cliff. The body was located at the bottom of the cliff several days later. Three and a half months later, two men are convicted of this murder and sentenced to 40-year in prison each, which brought this case back in the focus of the media which dramatically reported on the verdict and expressed grief for the murdered girl.



A4.6.2.1 Definition of the topic and interpretation by the media: The first reports on the case conveyed the information on the missing girl upon a report of her family. After the information on the arrest of two men who confessed to murder, the media spread the news and a police search for the body started. The case was represented as a brutal and monstrous murder which shook the entire town of Olovo, a peaceful small town in the central Bosnia where such murders are weird and unusual and almost impossible in such a community. Dnevni avaz led in publishing all the details

⁴¹ Observed period from 29 February 2016 to 14 June 2016. Observed media: Dnevni avaz, Dnevni list, Oslobođenje, Nezavisne novine (press clipping), Klix, Bljesak, Buka, RTRS, FTV, BNTV, TV1 (central news on 2 March and 14 June).

they could get, such as police reports or comments of Olovo residents. After the information are published that two apprehended men confessed to murder, the report went on to portray them as cold-blooded murderers who tried to get themselves an alibi by having fun in the bar, drinking and celebrating, but when they were taken in detention they confessed to murder. The media extensively reported on brutality of murderers. Allegedly, one of the murderers shared the missing girl information on his social network account. In the meantime, the media also reported on another separate case of a missing young man whose body was located the same day, one month the young man went missing and drown in a river. The brutally murdered girl and the young man who got killed accidentally were buried the same day in Olovo, the town that declared that day a day of mourning. The media reported o different motives for the murder of the girl, starting from jealousy to money that two men took from the girl. After the body was located, detailed stories wrote about the event, mostly in newspapers issues of 3 March, especially Dnevni avaz, reading that two men tortured and murdered the girl in a brutal and cold-blooded way, depicting it as a shocking and unbelievable event, claiming that families are sad and public in disbelief. One of the examples of suspicious sources of the story is a short introduction that rumors had it in Olovo that the case of the missing young man is connected to the missing girl and that “this was a second mysterious missing person case in one month and maybe it is a deed of the same gang.” There were all sorts of stories based on reports from anonymous citizens, up until the body of Arnela Đogić was located and until official information was distributed by the police and judicial authorities. Dnevni avaz was leading in such reporting by publishing new details, new confessions, and statements of the murdered girl’s boyfriend and perpetrators’ family members. While the media in the Federation of BiH wrote their stories based on statements of Olovo citizens, the media of Republika Srpska such as Nezavisne novine or Glas Srpske reported on this case representing it as a murder case in Olovo where body was not located, after which they reported that the body was located and conveyed the information distributed by the police. In general, the media of Republika Srpska did not focus much on that event and they did not share some inflammatory details, unlike the media in the Federation. In another case, murder in Tepić family in Banjaluka, the situation was vice versa^{42,43}, .After two men were apprehended, the story focused on the search for the girl’s body and the family’s grief. Overwhelmed with adjectives such as “horrific”, “shocking” and “exclusive”, reporting was more in tabloid style hurry aim at selling as many issues as possible. The murdered girl’s parents did not want to talk to the media while her brother appeared here and there saying that she went missing before the information on her murder was published. Parents of one of the perpetrators said to Dnevni avaz that “they do not have their son any more” and that they felt terrible for what he had done. Televisions reported in a somewhat calmer way. However, reports in analyzed TV programs were not the same. While RTRS did not at all report on the location of the body, FTV started their central news Dnevnik 2 with a report on that topic. Following a stand-up⁴⁴ of their journalist, there was a sequence showing a field search without any information and with the emphasis on sounds of fast river where the body was located and commotion of the police and people searching for the body which added to dramatic and intense touch of the moment after which they aired the statements of officials. In the second part, a report followed on the location of another body – that of a young man who went missing one month ago. The report ended by “a cloud of sorrow above Olovo”. BNTV had a brief segment on this story and mainly focused on the information conveying based on the reports of officials, same as the report by TV1.

42 Case study: Banja Luka, from page 35 of this report.

43 Media in Republika Srpska focused more on the murder case in Banjaluka just like the media in the Federation that focused more on the case in Olovo suggests that they focus on the topics they assume would get response from their target audience. A territorial proximity of violence seemed as a deciding factor for the media interest, and possibly ethnic make-up of population in those places as well. There is no other way to explain that one murder was brutal in the Federation and not in Republika Srpska, and that a family tragedy is defined as such i Republika Srpska and not in the Federation.

44 Stand-up is a part when a journalist appears in front og the camera and explains a stroy, which can happen at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of features.

The first-instance verdict in this case was rendered on 14 June and this murder case again appeared in the media. This was because of earlier focus on the importance of this case and as a result the trial in this case was under scrutiny. Dramatic reactions of the murdered girl's family after the verdict were conveyed by central news of FTV, N1 and TV1 as one of the breaking news that day, while the central news of RTRS did not convey the information on the verdict⁴⁵.

4.6.2.2 Participants – who speaks and how: in the first days of the story when the missing girl case was announced, and especially when the report had it that two perpetrators confessed to murder, majority of interviewees was Olovo residents or anonymous sources close to the investigation. Before her body was located and prior to the distribution of official information on the murder and motives, there were several versions of the story seemingly based on statements of anyone who had something to say about this case. The overall reporting on this case used adjectives such as shocking or horrendous murder which shook the town of Olovo, interviewees spoke in the same manner. Persons who shared their opinions, passers-by who analyzed the case and protected source from the investigation spoke about details of torturing of 24-year old girl fit in a tabloid-style search for information that would serve almost as a new sensation.

4.6.2.3 Gender-based violence point of view: the expression “gender-based violence” did not show up at all in our search of the term “violence against women” at Klix, Buka, Bljesak or at Infobiro database of newspapers articles. This fact suggests that the entire case of the murder of a girl in Olovo was not connected to the expression “gender-based violence” and was not mentioned in that context at all. Analyzed media contents was large enough to include the reports on the murder as it happened up to the verdict, but it does not show any broader context of a social problem. Majority of the reports were published in crime and accident chronicle or simply portrayed as a horrific story brutality, an unusual nature of which would draw attention of the public. Experts were not consulted nor there was any follow-up article⁴⁶ to try to explain motives and acts of violence from the psychological point of view or to examine the jealousy-instigated murder case as a social problem.

Editor-in-chief at Oslobođenje, Vildana Selimbegović, says that in case of the murder of the girl in Olovo, the focus was on details instead of regarding it as a social problem.

“I think, if I recall very well, our cover page was about the 8th of March procession. If you recall, women in Olovo... and that is one act that deserves attention but I think that the media did not pay sufficient attention to it. Women in Olovo marked the 8th of March by showing solidarity with the victim. I believe that this gesture was insufficiently noticed. I believe that I counted very few media that reported about it. It is too bad to say, but it somehow seemed to me that it was more important whether they were in a relationship before, and who dated whom, than the very horrendous act. I think it is totally irrelevant as to what kind of relationship they had, whether they were engaged or not.”

4.6.2.4 Issue of privacy: A full name of the murdered girl was published in the media from the beginning as her family reported her missing and followed the information they would find in the media. Identities of the perpetrators were published in the media once they were apprehended and confessed to the police that they tortured

⁴⁵ Central news at BNTV was not available online and was not analyzed.

⁴⁶ Priče koje bi predstavljale nastavak započete teme i pokazale razvoj situacije i nove detalje ili priče koje bi dale širu sliku nekoj temi, pogledale neki događaj iz nekoliko različitih uglova.

and murdered the girl. During the search for the body, her family was not mentioned in the reports except for her brother who occasionally gave statements about the progress of the search. When the body was located, her family did not address the media and the media conveyed that the family is too upset to talk to them. Details of the murdered girl's private life appeared in reports in as much as they wrote that she used to be in a relationship with one of the perpetrators and that she had a new relationship. Media also reported that her ex-boyfriend, one of the perpetrators, communicated with her and talked her into getting in his car on Saturday when she was murdered. Her teacher and work colleagues said she was a good and hard-working person.

4.6.3 BANJA LUKA⁴⁷ – FORMER SPOUSES, MURDER AND SUICIDE

Summary: Media started reporting on the case of family tragedy when a man murdered his ex-wife in one Banjaluka block. Judging by the media reports, the couple was divorced. In the morning of 30 May, a perpetrator came in front of the building where a murdered woman lived with a 21-year old son. Following an argument to which her neighbors allegedly testified, several gunshots were heard. After he murdered the woman, he shot himself and succumbed on the way to hospital.

The image shows a screenshot of a news article from the ATV website. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the ATV logo and various menu items like 'NAGLOVNA', 'PREGLED DANA', 'VJEŠTI', 'SPORT', 'MAGAZIN', 'TEMA DANA', 'TV RASPORED', and 'ATV PRIG'. Below the navigation bar, there is a red banner with the text 'POSLEDNJE VJEŠTI' and 'Izvedbama: Smrti žene u cijelom regionu'. The main headline of the article is 'Tragedija u Banjaluci: Pred komšijama ubio bivšu ženu, pa sebe'. Below the headline is a photograph of a multi-story apartment building. The article text, written in red and black, reads: 'Banjalučko naselje Lazarevo jutros je zadesila velika tragedija. Četrdesetjednogodišnji Momčilo Tepeš ubio je bivšu suprugu Milicu, a onda i sami oduzeo život. Kako nisu živeli zajedno, nešto prije sedam dana, bivši suprug je je sačekao da krene na posao, presreo ispred zgrade i počeo su da se svađaju. Kako ATV' nezvanično saznaje, pozvao ju je da krene s njim, ali nije pristala. Ubrzo nakon toga, čula su se tri pucanja. Prva dva su promašila nesrećnu ženu, ali je treće bilo kobno.'

⁴⁷ Posmatrani period: 30. maj 2016. (dodatno 23. juni 2016.). Posmatrani mediji: RTRS, FTV, BNTV, TV1, ATV, Nezavisne novine, Dnevni avaz, Dnevni list, Oslobođenje, Klix, Nap, Glas Srpske, Slobodna Bosna, Glas Kotor Varoša.

4.6.3.1 Definition of the topic and interpretation by the media: Some of media reports claimed that the perpetrator mistreated the woman earlier and that she reported domestic violence prior to that. The case was shaped as a case of family tragedy of a man who could not cope with the divorce. Majority of media reported that it was the motive. The story was based mainly on accounts of neighbors as the argument and shots happened in the street. However, the first reports did not write about the background problem connecting it with family problems and position of the woman in such cases. It did not seem that the media wanted to point to the problem of domestic violence, especially violence against women, but rather to give details of the tragic event and horrific murder and suicide right outside on the street when a man killed a woman holding a pistol on her head while she was kneeling, and then shot him too. Many media reports contained statements from the police, hospital and some details they got from neighbors. There were some reports that described the case as a horror.

4.6.3.2 Participants - who speaks and how: key actors in reporting on this case were neighbors, whose identity was often protected, and hospital officials who gave information on the status of the man who did not die at the spot but later on as he was transferred to hospital. The key source for the majority of details on the murder and suicide was a neighbor who saw everything from her balcony, as the media reported. The neighbor's identity was protected but she gave the details such as the information that the man had threatened the woman earlier, that she was like a slave in that marriage which lasted 25 years, and that their son was asleep whilst this was going on. Some of the reports also conveyed a statement of one Major from Armed forces of BIH, who described the perpetrator, who was a soldier, as a good employee, saying that they knew of his private problems but nothing suggested that this violence would happen. Besides the information from police and judiciary that the investigation was open, and the hospital reports, the entire story on motives and details was founded on the accounts of neighbors, witnesses.

4.6.3.3 Gender-based violence point of view: the media reports put an emphasis on the tragic event as a consequence of the divorce. Based on the neighbor's account, the motive that was pointed to in the reports is that the man could not stand the divorce. Some accounts read that he followed her and acted weird and that they had an argument that morning. There was no broader discourse in the context of gender-based violence and domestic violence. The entire story was mainly published on the day of the event and the day after - in newspapers. Experts who would explain this case as an example of gender-based violence or someone who would give a different perspective especially from a woman's point of view were not consulted. The motive such as the man who could not cope with the divorce placed more focus on the perpetrator than on the person who was subjected to violence, in this case femicide. However, it is important to note that three weeks later an article was published in *Nezavisne novine* which was a resumption of the story reading that safe houses are full with women who are looking for help in getting away from third violent husbands after they saw what happened in Banjaluka in late May.

“Numberless stories about self-regulation led to the situation where journalists do not fall under any regulation while the state is irresponsible and let them handle the information as they want while such information should be the subject of investigation. Unfortunately, the most brutal description of violence hold the attention of readers

most. I personally would prohibit the news on suicides to be published as it is a personal act of an individual which does not directly affect the society. However, it is the media “fashion” to seek for more of other persons’ tragedies” says the editor-in-chief at Bljesak Berislav Jurić.

4.6.3.4 Issue of privacy: the names of murdered woman and perpetrator were disclosed as early as in first reports. The spot of murder and suicide was shown, and the family situation described, including the information that their son was sleeping while the shooting happened, and that he is 21 years old. The European Convention on Human Rights as an international treaty protects human rights and fundamental freedoms in Europe and guarantees “the right to private and family life, home, health and correspondence”. The son’s name was not disclosed but many details on his parents were disclosed which constitutes the violation of the right to private family life.

4.6.4 TUZLA⁴⁸ – WARNING TO FEMALE CITIZENS ON A “SEX MANIAC”

Summary: Radio Kameleon published at its online portal a video which they received from an unknown listener which shows a man who allegedly masturbates behind a tree. The story is based on a video and it related to rumors in the town about a sex predator. Other media also reported on the video recording as the case of violence against women but they did not ask any woman anything about it.

4.6.4.1 Definition of the topic and interpretation by the media: The story was initiated by Kameleon on 14 June with the headline „Ekskluzivni snimak: sugrađanke oprez! Seksualni manijak ‘vreba’ na Gradini!”/ exclusive video recording: female citizens – heads up! Sex maniac “lurking” at Gradina! The news contained the video recording of a man standing behind a lamp post moving his arm, but it is not clear if he was urinating or masturbating. Kameleon assumes that he is masturbating and claims that the video recording “is only a confirmation of rumors on sex maniac that were spread these days”. The anonymous listener who recorded the video explained that the man did that for 10 minutes and that women were just looking at him without calling the police. That explanation was used to confirm the rumors about a sex maniac. The article concluded with a hope expressed by Kameleon that the police will react. This news is the usual example of citizens’ journalism which can serve as a tip-off for further examination. However, Kameleon failed to do it and just published the news in a sensationalism style without any prior additional checks. Bportal.ba and Fokus.ba took over the article of Kameleon while Dnevni avaz used the same recording and went step forward increasing the sensationalism touch with the headline “female citizens are upset”. Female citizens from the headline were never asked for a comment. Sarejevo-based portal Depo.ba took over the news from Dnevni avaz. By incomplete short news, the media managed to do nothing but spread the panic and interpret the video recording as they pleased with the aim of increasing the number of visits to their portals or readers of newspapers.

48 Observed period: 14 June 2016 to 18 June 2016. Observed media: Radio Kameleon, Depo.ba, Dnevni avaz, Bportal.ba and Fokus.ba (Local Slon TV did not report on the issue, while cantonal RTVTK has no program available online)

4.6.4.2 Participants – who speaks and how: Key participants were “perpetrator of violence” who was not offered a possibility to comment as he was perceived as a threat. Under the media verdict, he was marked as a sex maniac. Female citizens who were perceived as potential victims were mentioned in the reporting, but they were not asked for a comment either. The only person speaking is an anonymous female author of the video recording who indirectly confirms the averments and the police which claims they had not received any report.

4.6.4.3 Gender-based violence point of view: Exclusive news has a suspicious authenticity while the media that published it never explained possible violence, its consequences and the ways of prevention. If they had taken care of giving explanations in order to prevent gender-based violence instead of sensationalism, they would have explained alleged crime and phenomenon and consulted experts. This way it remains unclear why that act is terrible, where it takes, which sentence it carries and how it can be prevented. There was not even a background with previous similar cases in the town or elsewhere, there is no statistics from the police or non-governmental organizations which would make the basic components of the text which extensively covered the topic. From the gender point of view, reports are trying to protect women by warning them on the one hand, but on the other hand they show that women have no interest in solving the case as they are passive and do not report the case, judging by the comment of the listener who sent the video recording.

4.6.4.4 Issue of privacy: the identity of “the perpetrator of violence” is not disclosed. The identity of a person who sent the recording and described the case was not disclosed either. Since Tuzla female citizens were not asked for a commentary and they were portrayed in the story as women who were subjected to violence, the issue of privacy was not further analyzed.



5. CONCLUSION

This research has pointed to the flaws in the work of the media when it comes to reporting on violence against women and domestic violence, such as insufficient attention being paid to the issue as the issue of concern for the entire society and to the prevention of that violence. It even spotted some unethical reporting in sensitive cases. Although the examples of violence against women are present in the media almost on a daily basis, the daily media fail to explain the background of the cases.

As shown by this analysis, articles that stand out are those that keep gender-based violence in the public sphere in the style of crime statistics and in chronicles. We have seen enough examples and heard opinions of journalists and editors which show that a woman who was subjected to violence is just a tool for increasing the number of clicks at times when audience is starving for sensationalism, and media are striving for the larger reading and viewing rate. Media reporting cannot stop gender-based violence but it can contribute so that the society takes it into serious consideration and to initiate a stronger action.

According to statistics, perpetrators of violence against women are most frequently their spouses, and many women do not recognize or do not report different forms of violence. Gender-based violence maintains in BIH due to deeply rooted attitudes towards women-men relations in the society, while the role of media in everything is far from what it should be. It should strongly support the combat against violence through professional reporting or by specific and clear campaigns that will aim to change gender stereotypes and widespread attitude that gender-based violence against women is a private problem and that it does not pose an alarming threat to the society.

Media are seemingly aware of their role, but essentially they do not constitute a part of the solution. They largely do not contribute to changing of the situation where a woman is a victim to the hands of a man, usually her spouse; the emphasis on possible personal reasons for violence is just a furtive finding of excuse and in no way does it clearly send out the message that violence against women and domestic violence are absolutely unacceptable and forbidden by law.

A research of the Agency for Gender Equality in BIH about prevalence and characteristics of violence against women has shown that there is not enough awareness about various forms of violence: more than half of women who were exposed to physical violence claim they are not victims of physical violence while there is even smaller ratio of women who recognize their exposure to psychological, economic and sexual violence. To that regard, the media are the ones who should play an active role in educating about violence against women and domestic violence, because one of the missions of journalism is not only to inform but also to educate.

However, the research and the entire BIH community attest to the existence of prejudices and stereotypes, and so the media reporting just reflects the situation as it is; this analysis has shown that the media very rarely question stereotypes in their reports, and those are mainly not the stories, for example, of women who survived violence and speak about it from a time distance. This research has shown that the voice of women who survived violence in the past is almost not heard at all in media

reports. A person who survived violence could offer her experiences in the combat against violence and give an account on how to find a way and strength to leave the survived violence behind. Such article could be educational, and unlike reporting on violence in crime and accident chronicle, they would offer their readers, who are affected by violence against women, the idea as to how to overcome that violence, and be a guide to both perpetrators and women who suffer from violence and show them how to end it. Violence is being reported only when it happens, and rarely is reported about from a time distance with a view to preventing it.

The media contain general reports on physical and sexual violence while there are no sufficient stories about psychological and especially economic violence. Economic empowering⁴⁹ of women is an important requirement for women to get stronger and more independent and in such way able to confront violence to which men subjugate them⁵⁰.

As clearly stated by the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly on the Image of Women in Media, although progress has visibly been made in several European countries, women's image in the media all too frequently remains a negative one, and continues to be stereotyped and sexist. Women are associated with the private sphere, the household and family life. The media frequently present women as sex objects. While the contemporary world has undergone rapid changes, the image of women in the media has not really altered.

Although the Law on Gender Equality in BiH reads that no person irrespective of sex shall be publicly presented in an offensive, humiliating or degrading way, the conducted analysis of media reporting on gender-based violence has not shown examples of direct insulting of women who were subjugated to violence, but definitely examples of indirect insulting by interfering in intimate sphere of women's lives which in some cases, whether on purpose or not, shift the focus away from a horrific violence committed against those women and place the focus on the "reasons" that led to violence, private relations with a person who perpetrated violence and the like. Generally they did not add to education nor did they become a constructive part of the solution to the problem of society.

Currently we have only few high-quality articles and we cannot claim that the media represent a part to the solution. Media reports rarely question stereotypes which exist in Bosnia and Herzegovina society or they rather support them. Perhaps, a correct conclusion would be that the media neither help nor hinder the existence of violence against women, which is not good considering their responsibility towards the society. It can be stated with certainty that the media extensively use violence against women, and the more brutal it is, the more attractive it is to them. BiH media are not immune to sensationalism and they use violence against women to produce their media contents which should be urgently changed.

49 Empowering: the term made at Beijing conference (1995.), and it pertains to the increased participation of women in decision-making process and access to authorities. Currently this term has another dimension: awareness of the power of women individually and collectively.

50 Dajana Cvjetković in: Feministička čitanja društvenih fenomena/Feminist reading of social phenomena, Sarajevski otvoreni centar / page 126.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE MEDIA

Considering the findings of this research, the existing BIH and international laws, recommendations, ethic principles, codes, rules and good practices in terms of responsible and correct reporting on gender-based violence against women, these recommendations pertain to desirable media practices in approaching the topics of gender-based violence. In that regard, journalists and editors need:

1. By their work and action in the media, to promote gender equality in accordance with national and international recommendations and laws and step away from stereotypical and sexist portraying of women in their media reports;
2. More strongly assume the responsibility in promoting the dignity of women, combat discrimination against women and sexism and engage in changing of stereotypes;
3. Abide by the provisions of the Law on Gender Equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina which forbids public presentation of any person, including women, in an offensive, humiliating and degrading way;
4. Use the Code for print and online media in BIH and Code on audio and video media services and media services of the radio as fundamental principles of professional conduct of journalism, particularly when reporting on gender-based violence against women not to publish any content which directly or indirectly puts women in an unfavorable position or discriminate them on grounds of their gender;
5. Continuously work, in cooperation with relevant institutions, towards raising of awareness of problems of gender-based violence against women, in all of its forms: physical, sexual, psychological and economic, and not only when an incident of violence occurs;
6. Take a more proactive approach to the issue of violence against women, without only relying on the information provided by police sources or non-governmental organizations, and by making more frequent analytical features about these topics and calling upon relevant institutions to act;
7. Approach the reporting on violence against women or domestic violence by viewing them as a problem of the society and processing the issue of gender-based violence along these lines instead of frequently writing about it in crime and accident chronicles, with no context and in short forms;
8. Whenever possible, not to rely on short agency news or news from online portals on the issue of violence against women but, whenever possible, use longer journalistic forms such as interview, comments or investigative stories;
9. If there is no clear interest of public, avoid publishing explicit photos and recordings since such practice is contrary to ethical standards and can harm persons who were subjected to violence and disturb the public, protect the intimate life of women from unjustified and sensational disclosure in the public and pay attention not to publish unverified information, particularly those that can endanger women who suffered from violence;
10. Attend to issues which include personal tragedies with special care, to treat persons who were subjected to violence with respect and without victimization. Portraying women in the public as victims may create an impression that they are

powerless and weak just because they are women and therefore journalists should take caution in striking a balance between the respect for them and the interest to publish the story, but also the effect that such publishing would have on the dignity and life of persons involved in the story, particularly when it is about children;

11. Not disclose personal data and visual identity of a woman who suffered from violence, unless she clearly wants that, because it can do harm to her and her family;

12. Cautiously decide about disclosing the identity of a perpetrator of violence as such disclosure can lead to disclosure of the identity of the person who was subjected to violence but also in view of the presumption of innocence;

13. By analytical reporting and cautious personal approach, encourage women who survived violence to strongly speak up about violence;

14. Include experts in various fields to a larger degree, and give more coverage to sociologists, psychologists, social workers, but not exclusively separate from texts or features on examples of perpetrated violence;

15. More frequently put an emphasis in their reports on the statutory sentences that are carried against persons who perpetrate violence ;

16. Avoid indirect finding of reasons and excuse for violence, as that would attach to a woman exclusively the role of a wife, partner in an emotional relationship and the like; more precisely, avoid stereotypical gender roles;

17. Avoid bombshell headlines and the use of sensational words such as “shocking”, “brutal” and “horrific”;

18. Put the examples of violence against women in the context of social problem rather than reporting on them as isolated cases of criminal offenses; not to portray women as victims, thus victimizing them even more;

19. Not to treat violence against women and domestic violence as an accident or tragedy but rather as a social problem;

20. Be more active in exchanging information with governmental and non-governmental sector in the field of combating gender-based violence against women, and be more aware that their reporting can be not only informational but also educational.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Feminist readings of social phenomena, Sarajevski otvoreni centar, 2015
2. Handle with Care: A guide to responsible media reporting of violence against women, Produced by Zero Tolerance
3. Code on audio and video media services and radio media services, Regulatory Agency for Communication in BiH, 2015.
4. BiH Journalists Code of Ethics, BH novinari, 2011
5. Code for print and online media in BiH, Vijeće za štampu Bosne i Hercegovine, 1999
6. Convention on Prevention and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, Council of Europe, Istanbul, 2011
7. FBiH Criminal Code
8. RS Criminal Code
9. Media Integrity Matters, South East European Media Observatory, 2014, Peace Institute, Institute for Contemporary Social and Political Studies, Ljubljana
10. Monitoring of print media in Bosnia and Herzegovina on prevalence and presentation of women, BH novinari, 2005
11. Mršević, Zorica: Media in Serbia 2014 on gender-based violence: Between fun and stereotypes, UN Women
12. Recommendation 1931 of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, Combating Sexist stereotypes in the media, 2010
13. Recommendation 1555, Image of Women in Media, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, 2002
14. Recommendations for media on treatment of gender contents and use of gender sensitive language in media in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Vijeća za štampu BiH, 2006
15. Prevalence and characteristics of violence against women in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Agency for Gender Equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2013
16. Resolution 1751 of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, combating sexist stereotypes in media, 2010
17. Stereotypization: presentation of women in the media in southeastern Europe, Mediacentar, 2007
18. FBiH Law on Prohibition of Domestic Violence
19. RS Law on Protection from Domestic Violence

ANNEX 1

CODE LIST

1. STORY

- 1.1. Name of the media
- 1.2. Date (format 26/06/2016 for 26 june 2016)
- 1.3. Title of the article
- 1.4. Gender of a journalist
 - 1.4.1. Female
 - 1.4.2. Male
 - 1.4.3. Not designated
- 1.5. Length of an article
 - 1.5.1. Long (more than eight paragraphs)
 - 1.5.2. Medium (four to eight paragraphs)
 - 1.5.3. Short (up to four paragraphs)
- 1.6. Source/origin
 - 1.6.1. Original contents (undersigned article)
 - 1.6.2. News agency
 - 1.6.3. Not designated
- 1.7. Genre
 - 1.7.1. Fact-finding (news, report, reportage, research)
 - 1.7.2. Commentary (opinion)
 - 1.7.3. Interview
 - 1.7.4. Other

2. PHOTOGRAPHY:

- 2.1. Scene of violence distorted
- 2.2. Scene of violence - clear
- 2.3. General (institution building, police tapes etc.)
- 2.4. Faces distorted
- 2.5. Faces - clear
- 2.6. Not available

3. TOPIC

- 3.1. Physical violence
- 3.2. Sexual violence
- 3.3. Psychological violence
- 3.4. Economic violence

4. ACTORS

4.1. Subject

- 4.1.1. Person who was subjugated to violence
- 4.1.2. Person who survived violence
- 4.1.3. Perpetrator of violence
- 4.1.4. Family of a person who was subjugated to violence
- 4.1.5. Family of a person who survived violence
- 4.1.6. Family of a perpetrator of violence
- 4.1.7. Witness to violence
- 4.1.8. Police
- 4.1.9. Judiciary
- 4.1.10. Expert in the domain
- 4.1.11. Others

4.2. Other actors

- 4.2.1. Police
- 4.2.2. Judiciary
- 4.2.3. Hospital official
- 4.2.4. Expert in the domain
- 4.2.5. Witness to violence
- 4.2.6. Family of a person who was subjugated to violence
- 4.2.7. Family of a person who survived violence
- 4.2.8. Family of a perpetrator of violence
- 4.2.9. Others

4.3. Identity of the subject

- 4.3.1. Protected / not disclosed
- 4.3.2. Disclosed

5. ANALYSIS

5.1. Focus on gender-based violence

- 5.1.1. Yes
- 5.1.2. No

5.2. Questioning of stereotypes

- 5.2.1. Yes
- 5.2.2. No

6. NOTES (quotes and other notes)

