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Promovisanje slobode izražavanja i informisanja i slobode medija u Jugoistočnoj Evropi  
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## **Report on media monitoring during the 2014 General Elections campaign**

Fair, balanced and objective reporting with focus on:

**Presence of Hate Speech in Media Contents**

**Representation and ways of representing women politicians**

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## **Fair, balanced and objective reporting: Presence and forms of representation of female politicians in the media before and after the 2014 General Elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

### **1. Opening remarks**

Media research/monitoring was conducted by the Association of Journalists in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the support of the European Council. The research was of a scientific and socially-engaged character, as it was directed not only toward providing systematic, precise, and reliable data related to the problem and the topic of research, but also toward the betterment of the media scene in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which, just like the political scene of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its societal framework in general, is still pro-patriarchal. This becomes especially relevant during the period of election campaigns, when the public turns even more toward the media, when political life heats up, and the (under)representation of women becomes even more evident and more pervious to media representation and various constructivisms, regardless of whether they come from the media themselves, political subjects, and/or other social actors. To this end, in order to acquire more diverse and longitudinal data, a need to perform the appropriate research on the 2014 General Elections was recognized, because the techniques of presentation and discursive negotiation concerning gender in and throughout the media have ontological effects on the status of women in questions concerning *res publica*, which later reaffirm and even falsely legitimize one another. The media often resort to the excuse that there are not enough women in media contents during election campaigns because there are, in fact, not enough of them in political life, but the so-called political realism of the under-representation of women does not end there, being that the media not only paint, but also construct reality, and draw cognitive maps for the interpretation of said reality. As was pointed out by the famous discourse theorist Teun van Dijk, text always comes with a context, while also creating the context. Thus, the endless circle of positioning women as *the Otherness* with regards to the ruling values and norms of a (pro)patriarchal society is further essentialised and even naturalised. The Otherness, used in this manner, does not represent a complementarity, but a subordination that is imposed, inscribed, and prescribed, not only through the techniques of what is said and shown, but also what is left half-said, or unsaid.

In order to delve more deeply into the aforementioned processes through an engaged research approach, a quantitative and qualitative methodology was used with the aim of acquiring not only the relevant empirical data concerning the (under)representation of women in political life, as intermediated and strengthened via media discourse, but also to gain a deeper insight into the ways this under-representation is brought about. The goal was to discover niches of deviation from the (pro)patriarchal model which could possibly form a

base for the articulation and promotion of gender equality, without which deeper democratization of society is impossible, bearing in mind that the principles of democracy rest on **inclusion, acknowledgement, distributive justice, and reasoned deliberation**.

The research was conducted in accordance with the standards of the Council of Europe, as well as professional standards prescribed by the Election Law of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Code of Ethics of Electronic Media in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Code of Ethics of the Press Council, and the Law on Gender Equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The research methodology was precisely elaborated, and persons with research experience and analytical capability to fulfil the defined methodological requirements were chosen as monitors. The "symbolic" nullification of women in the public ether does not occur only in a manifest form, but often in a "subtle" form as well; therefore, not only were competence and professionalism required, but also a special consciousness and gender sensibility were needed to discern such content and "spot" their specifics.

## **2. Research Methodology**

**The topic of research** is conditioned by the fact of the (pro)patriarchal framework of the realpolicy in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the societal context which prescribes a subordinate, passive role to women, or rather the status of *Otherness* that is enforced and inscribed in and through media content contextualized and interpolated by the socio-political framework and its vulgarly ideologised interpretations. This problem was brought to attention by various earlier researches that used different methodological approaches and research techniques.

**The subject of research**, in a broader sense, represents the gender inequality of political life and social reality in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and, in a narrower sense, its manifestation which can be seen in the quantitative under-representation of female politicians in the media during the 2014 General Elections, both from a formal and content perspective, and in the media constructs that follow them, but also - more or less subtly - create them.

The goals of the research are of **scientific and socially activist** nature. **Scientific goals** are seen in the production of a systematic description of manifest media representation of female politicians and the understanding of their meaning, including recognizing/locating niches of deviation from the patriarchal model, ways in which the position and role of female politicians is constructed and de-constructed, as well as recognizing the intent that often stands/lurks behind what is said and displayed, but also what is unsaid and non-displayed.

**The socially activist goals** are directed toward recognizing the ways in which gender inequality is manifested and constructed in the media during and after the election campaign, and then, through recognizing the niches of deviation and highlighting the examples of good practice, to reinforce the work on further education and promotion of positive social values, a characteristic of which is gender equality. Through this scientific and socially activist way, the 'female' which is displaced from the political becomes politicised, but on the basis of both scientific and creative foundations which strengthen one another.

**Methodological framework:** Using a quantitative and qualitative approach enabled not only the gathering of frequency data on the (under)representation of female politicians in both the formal sense and in terms of content, but also granted a deeper insight into both its manifest, as well as latent meanings in the spirit of Weberian principles of understanding –

*Verstehen*, with a special emphasis on the analysis of certain discourse strategies (the so-called mental or cognitive maps and used rhetorical ensembles). Through the method of triangulation, i.e. by utilising more than one research technique, we increased the representativeness of the data as well as the reliability of the analysis and the engagement of the research itself.

**Quantitative analysis of the content** was used to gather systematic indicators (frequency) of the presence and form of presence of female politicians in media (in form and content) during the analysed period, as well as determining certain trends through the intersection of chosen variables. Noticed trends thus indicate that, through repetition and ritualism, the effects of the so-called naturalisation are achieved, aiming to remove women from the political sphere. The degree of variability in certain measurements allowed us to discern certain symptomatic deviations in certain media, or rather, in media contents, therefore allowing us to satisfy the criteria of systematicness, objectivity, reliability, and precision as base epistemological principles.

**Qualitative analysis of the content** as a non-frequency form of analysis was used for the purpose of "indicative examples" of stereotypical communication, as well as of good practice. Furthermore, with the help of qualitative analysis and through indicative examples, it was pointed out how dominant profiles of female politicians function and are constructed, the presence and operation of (auto)stereotyping was indicated, and a (lack of) engagement on the part of the media in the promotion of gender equality during the 2014 General Elections was located. As the mentioned processes do not show simply and manifestly, a "deeper", qualitative approach was necessary. Qualitative methodology allowed us to gain a deeper insight into certain media contents, their meanings and senses, which often elude statistical averaging, and generalisations which often "fail to see" the dynamics of social interaction and political life. The method of secluded examples allowed a deeper analysis of certain contents, which can be typical or representative, or atypical and even extreme.

**General research question:** To determine the (under)representation of female politicians in the media during the period of election campaigns before the 2014 General Election in terms of both the form and content, as well as through deeper insights that do not appear manifestly within the analysed sample.

**Special research questions:**

How is the (under)representation of female politicians in the media manifested, not only in the sense of frequency, but also through party, genre, thematic, contextual, and linguistic frameworks?

How present is media stereotyping, as well as auto-stereotyping in the female politicians themselves?

How engaged are the media in the promotion of gender equality as one of the determiners of ethical reporting? Are there significant differences between select forms of media?

How are subject positions under which female politicians are placed constructed and de-constructed, and how are they re/contextualised with regard to the existing balance of power and political and party *status quo*?

**Variables utilized** for the analysis:

- The number of contents in which female politicians are present;

- In which media;
- Party affiliation of represented female politicians;
- The authors of speech in media contents where female politicians appear;
- The genres in which female politicians are placed;
- Thematic frameworks;
- Journalistic/media tone of reporting;
- Use of gender sensitive language in the media;
- Engagement of the media in promoting gender equality;
- Presence of stereotyping and auto-stereotyping; and
- Discourse strategies.

**Sample** of the research consists of central informative and debate shows of public service and privately-owned TV stations (BHT, FTV, RTRS, BN, HAYAT TV, TV1, FACE TV, and ATV), the entirety of daily newspapers (Dnevni avaz, Oslobođenje, Dnevni list, Glas Srpske), texts/reports on web portals (Radio Sarajevo, Klix.ba, Frontal.rs, Dnevno.ba, Vijesti.ba, and blog by Slobodan Vasković), and the entirety of the magazines Slobodna Bosna, Dani, and Start.

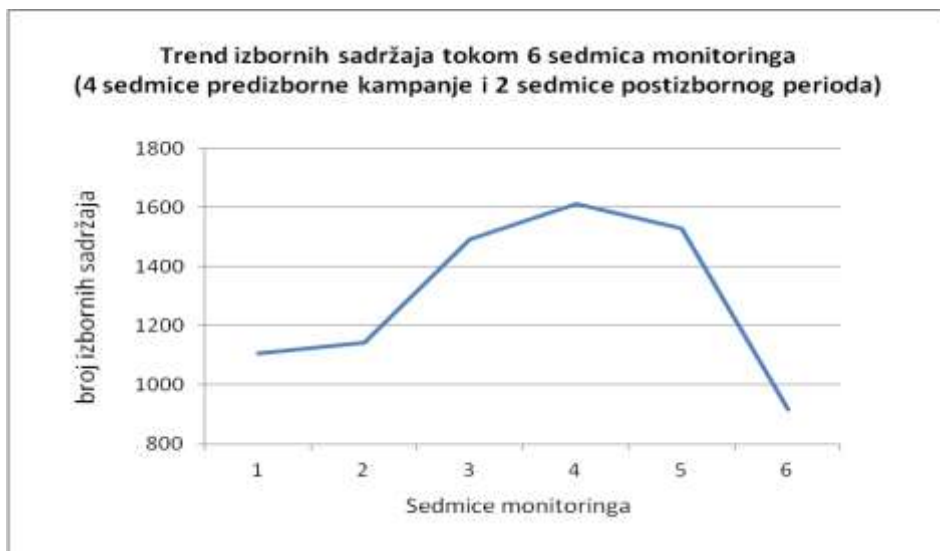
**The sample** therefore encompassed 21 media outlets, and every engaged monitor analysed two outlets, while one monitor analysed all the magazines. During the period of election campaigns (from 12 September to 10 October 2014) **a total of 22,647 media articles/segments were analysed**, and after the election campaigns (from 11 October to 25 October 2014, an additional **12,183 media articles/segments**. **Therefore, during the specified period, a total of 34,830 media articles/segments were monitored.**

The research DID NOT include election chronicles in the electronic media, as they serve the purpose of pure promotion of certain political subjects based on the principles of formal and (falsely) neutrally balanced inclusion for the purpose of presenting own political agendas of various political subjects.

### ***3. Analysis of obtained results***

On the basis of monitor reports and result analysis, the following trends were noticed:

The number of election related contents during the election campaign within the analysed sample consisted of a total of 5,656 media articles/reports and it grew from week to week (Graph 1), which is the expected trend that follows the so-called "warm up" of election campaigns. This growth trend was followed by a greater representation of female politicians, but this trend of greater representation was by far smaller in comparison to the growth trend of election content in the media (Graph 2. These trends further reinforce and strengthen the general under-representation of female politicians in media contents related to the elections. When it comes to post-election period, which comprised two weeks of monitoring after the elections, the number of media contents related to the elections consisted of 2,484 articles/reports, but showed an abrupt decline during the final week of monitoring – a total of 872 articles/reports, which is also the period during which the lowest rate of representation of female politicians in media contents was noted.

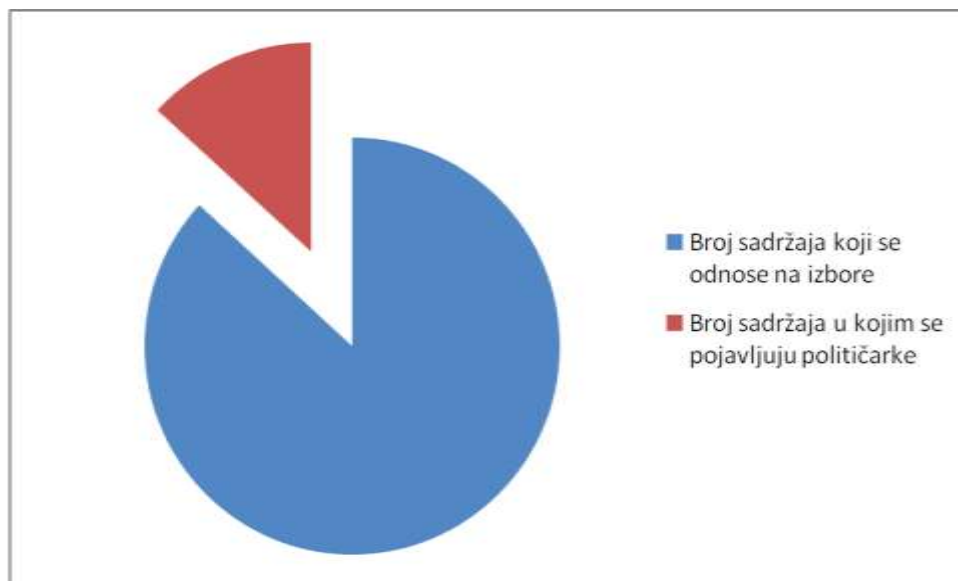


Graph 1



Graph 2

The general results of media monitoring suggest a definite under-representation of female politicians: in the 21 electronic, print, and on-line media analysed during the entire monitoring period, 7,840 election articles were published, out of which 1,176 articles/reports or 15% included female politicians. During the pre-election campaign period, there were 5,656 articles/reports relating to the elections (directly or indirectly), and women were present in 813 articles/reports, or in 15.2% of cases (Graph 3. During the post-election period, women were represented in 363 articles/reports or 14.6%; however, during the final week of monitoring, this representation had declined by more than half.



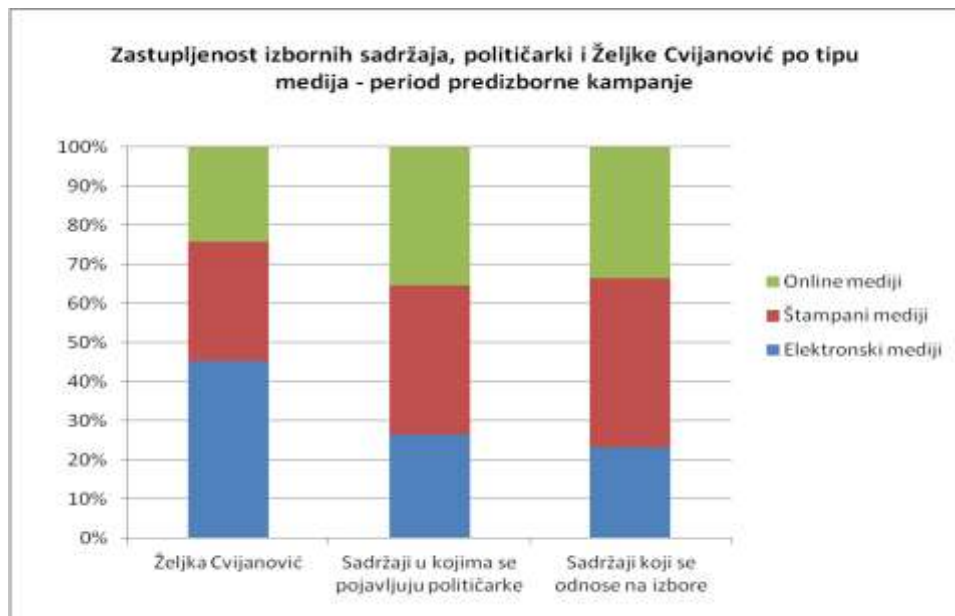
Graph 3

This (under)representation would have been even greater had Željka Cvijanović not been a candidate for a member of the Presidency as the representative of the Serb population and a member of the ruling SNSD. Out of a total of 813 articles/reports mentioning female politicians during the pre-election campaign period, the Prime Minister Željka Cvijanović was mentioned in 50% of cases. Other female politicians were practically invisible, and were, through existing media and party structures, actually and symbolically "nullified". This is greatly due to the fact that elections for the "three-headed" Presidency attract great media attention. On the one hand, they symbolise the ethnic separation of society, but on the other, the members of the Presidency – because they are elected directly – "indirectly" represent the constituent peoples and the entities, as they are elected from within the entity borders. This is further reinforced by the fact that within the political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Presidency has a great spectrum of authority. As the first female candidate for this position in the post-Dayton period, Željka Cvijanović represented the "female" - a low-risk bearer of meanings which can easily be "inscribed" by the election opposition ("blonde", "head-nodder", "political dilettante"), and which can be wittily used by the media for sensationalist purposes. During the post-election period, a remarkable rise in the representation of Željka Cvijanović was noted during the week after the elections, far greater than in all analysed periods. This points indirectly to a growing interest, not to say obsession, of the media with the results of the elections, and less about the election options and the development of political dialogue culture (at least in the case of Željka Cvijanović, as well as female politicians, indirectly). Another cause for the increased media attention toward Željka Cvijanović in the mentioned week probably lies in the fact that the vote difference between her and her opponent Mladen Ivanić was almost negligible. The final week of monitoring was the week of her least "visibility" - most likely when it became apparent she had lost the tight race against Mladen Ivanić.

The number of contents in which female politicians appeared during the pre-election campaign period was greatest in print media, but this visibility is not proportional to the number of contents related to the elections in print media, and is therefore inadequately "visible" (the number of contents related to the elections was approximately by 35% higher in print than in electronic media). Željka Cvijanović, however, received greater attention

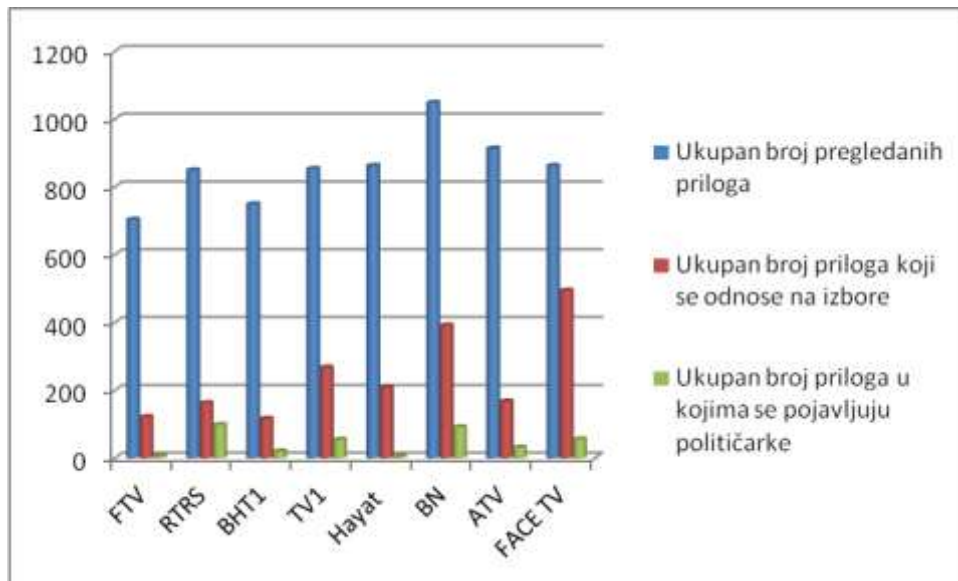


from electronic media, and the least amount of attention from on-line media, both in terms of the number of contents concerning the elections, as well as with regards to the segments that featured female politicians (Graph 4).



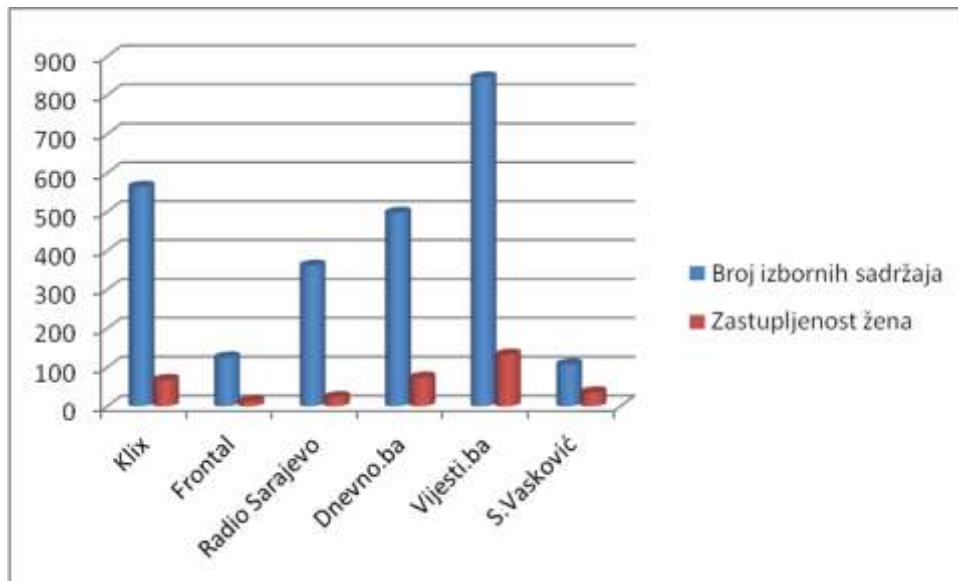
Graph 4

In the analysed sample during the pre-election campaign period, **HAYAT TV** did not have a single segment which featured a female politician. However, in the post-election period, the said television featured five segments involving female politicians. With regards to public broadcasting services, the situation is no better, with the exception of **RTRS**, which is linked to the candidacy of Željka Cvijanović for the position of a member of the Presidency from the Serb people. In the first, third, and fourth week of monitoring during the pre-election campaign period, **FTV** did not have a single segment featuring a female politician in the entirety of the analysed sample! However, the interest "for women" did increase in the week following the elections, albeit in a minor way, confirming the previously mentioned interest for the elections results. These tendencies of the public broadcasting service point to a factual breach of several laws (Law on Gender Equality, Election Law), which state that the media should have an active role in the promotion gender equality; so this raises a question of the responsibility of public broadcasting services for the promotion of positive social values. The sheer fact that the number of elections-related contents in the analysed sample was far lower on public broadcasting services than on other televisions suggests the importance of re-evaluating the role of public broadcasting services in acting in the interest of the public. **By far the greatest number of reports pertaining to the elections was on FACE TV, followed by BN TV** (Graph 5).



Graph 5

In terms of the print media analysed, female politicians were most featured in **Oslobođenje**, which is also the media devoted to breaking gender stereotypes not only in the so-called political segments, but also in the segments related to other spheres (sport, culture, female/feminist activism in civil society, etc.). In the electronic media, female appearances in the analysed sample were most common on **BN TV**, although the difference was not substantially larger in comparison to **RTRS**. However, bearing in mind that BN TV aired many more election-related segments than RTRS (at least with regard to the analysed sample) the greater presence of female politicians on BN TV is not proportional to the sum total of election-related features on the said television. As for the Internet portals, female politicians were most present on Vijesti.ba (a total of 166 posts, all of which were neutral). It must be mentioned that the total number of articles/texts, both directly and indirectly related to the elections, was higher in the aforementioned media. Therefore the presence of female politicians in the media increases with the number of segments directly and indirectly related to the elections but this increase is not always proportional in comparison to the total number of election-related segments. The analysed portals did display great diversity in terms of elections related segments, as well as in terms of female politician presence (Graph 6).

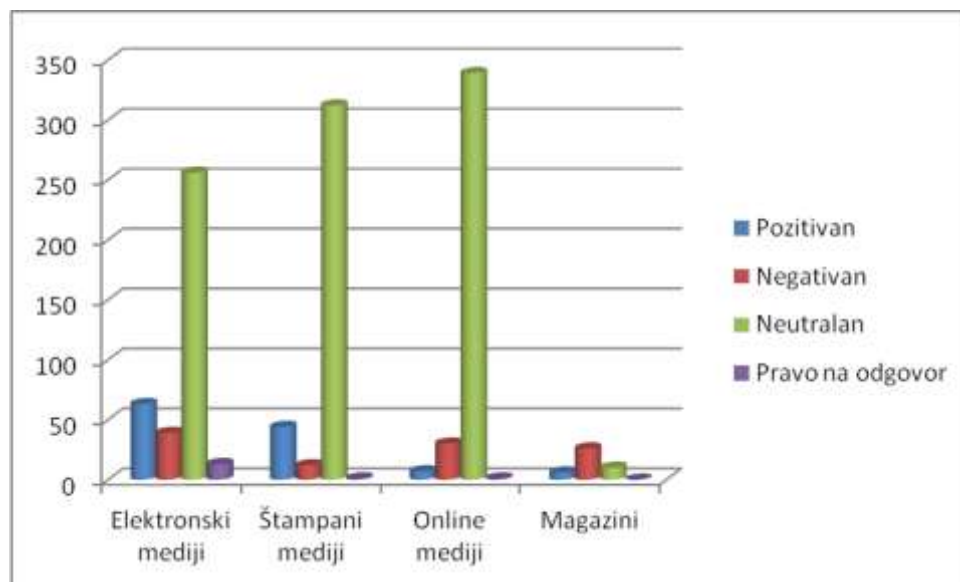


Graph 6

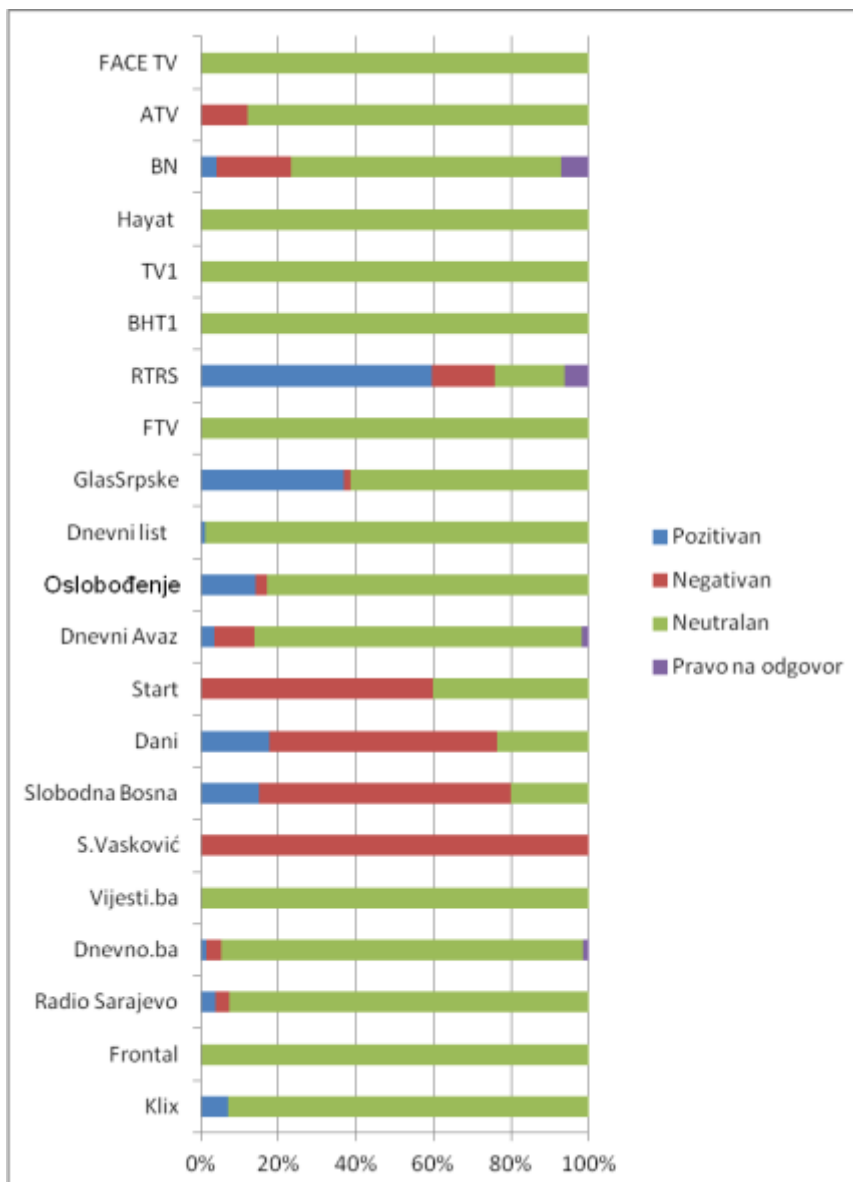
The sentiment toward female politicians can also be detected through the variable of journalist or media tone of reporting (Graph 7 and Graph 8. When it comes to journalistic tone of reporting, in this monitoring only the journalistic position/leaning/relation was evaluated, not the content of an article or a segment. The greatest bias in the analysed sample was noticed in the electronic media (the number of segments with positive or negative tone of reporting), and least noticed in the on-line media. Bias in the electronic and print media was more positive, while more negative tone of reporting was noticed in on-line media. However, negative reporting in the on-line media is more present due to the **blog of Slobodan Vasković**, where all analysed texts that featured female politicians were actually negative. After Cental Election Commission decided to remove Vučurević from the PDP candidate list after the Trebinje incident, Slobodan Vasković posted on his blog, under the heading "SNSD Style", a text portraying Željka Cvijanović and Dušanka Majkić as show-business women - "the star of the evening was a non-mourning Žeksi", signed as the puss in boots of solidarity, "who sang her greatest hit" (<http://slobodanvaskovic.blogspot.com/2014/10/snsd-style.html>). **Vijesti.ba**, as a portal that had both the largest number of election-related media content, as well as the most media content featuring female politicians, did not contain a single biased text – all 166 texts featuring female politicians were neutral. When it comes to print media, the word Exception characterised the magazines that mostly addressed female politicians with a negative bias in their analyses, where the magazine **Start** appeared to be the least biased. However, it should be underlined that the **on-line media appeared to have the highest amount of neutral reports** involving female politicians, both from a standpoint of complete content of the on-line media, as well as in comparison to the content of the electronic and print media. Although, generally speaking, female politicians are most frequently mentioned in **neutral reports (79.5% of cases)**, the amount of positive reports is not negligible in the media headquartered in RS (**RTRS and Glas Srpske**), which implicitly indicates the bias of the media. Speaking of RTRS, the number of positive segments is far greater than the number of negative or neutral reports. For example, during the first week of monitoring, out of the total number of segments featuring female politicians (a total of 20), 19 were positive and one was negative. In the case of print media, **the highest number of neutral reports**

featuring female politicians in the analysed sample was found in **Oslobođenje, and on TV1 and BHT1 in terms of the electronic media.** These two television stations did not have a single biased segment on female politicians – either positive or negative. The same is true for HAYAT TV, FTV, and BHT1, but we have to keep in mind the small number of election segments which featured female politicians in these media outlets. On FACE TV, the assigned monitor noted not one single biased segment, however, the profoundly masculine understanding of the politics at this TV station must be pointed out, as well as the fact that FACE TV aired misogynous statements made by certain politicians from RS addressed to Željka Cvijanović. Even though, in the segment titled *Centralno grijanje* (Central Heating), the female journalists of this TV station condemned the incident in Trebinje in which insulting and demeaning slogans were hurled at Željka Cvijanović during a pre-election rally, it is questionable whether this TV station had to report on this incident in such a detail (FACE TV, 6 October 2014, Segment *Centralno grijanje*). As the monitor responsible for FACE TV pointed out, journalists of both sexes employed at Aljazeera Balkans never air offensive content; instead, the journalist explicitly state that such content will not be aired. In this way, this media outlet both directly and indirectly distances itself from disputable content.

Even though Oslobođenje appears more biased than Dnevni Avaz, based on sheer descriptive data, this supposed bias is relative due to at least three reasons: Oslobođenje published a much larger number of features involving female politicians than Dnevni Avaz (153 and 70 respectively); Dnevni Avaz most prominently featured female politicians from SBB (the party of Fahrudin Radončić); female SBB candidates "spent" parts of "their" media space on praising their party leader, Fahrudin Radončić; Oslobođenje displays a strong leaning toward gender equality through various segments, not just those that are election-related, which creates a completely different framework and context.



Graph 7



Graph 8

Although the number of analysed content displaying a negative attitude toward female politicians is relatively small (9.1%), the so-called other side was heard only in a negligible number of these cases (the so-called right to reply), which points to a certain tendency toward negative reporting. The right to reply was most prominently displayed in electronic media, due to its dynamic character. However, if we notice that **the right to reply** only came from two televisions (BN for the most part, followed by RTRS) it becomes obvious that, in our case, **this has more to do with the editorial policy than the nature of the medium itself.**

We can also gain insight into bias when we take into account which female politicians from which parties received media coverage. Of course, this does not depend solely on the media, but also on party structures, which still does not grant the amnesty to media from responsibility for their own more proactive role. With the exception of remarkable presence of SNSD via Željka Cvijanović, variability between different political parties from which female politicians come is almost entirely negligible. What is interesting, however, is that electronic media in the analysed sample completely "ignored" women from the *de facto*

largest parties, such as **SDA, SBB, SDP, and HDZ**, which were not given a single segment. This probably says more about **the male-centricity and phallocentricity of large parties**, rather than about the media themselves. However, a question remains how come that none of the media raised question about what happened to female politicians from these large parties.

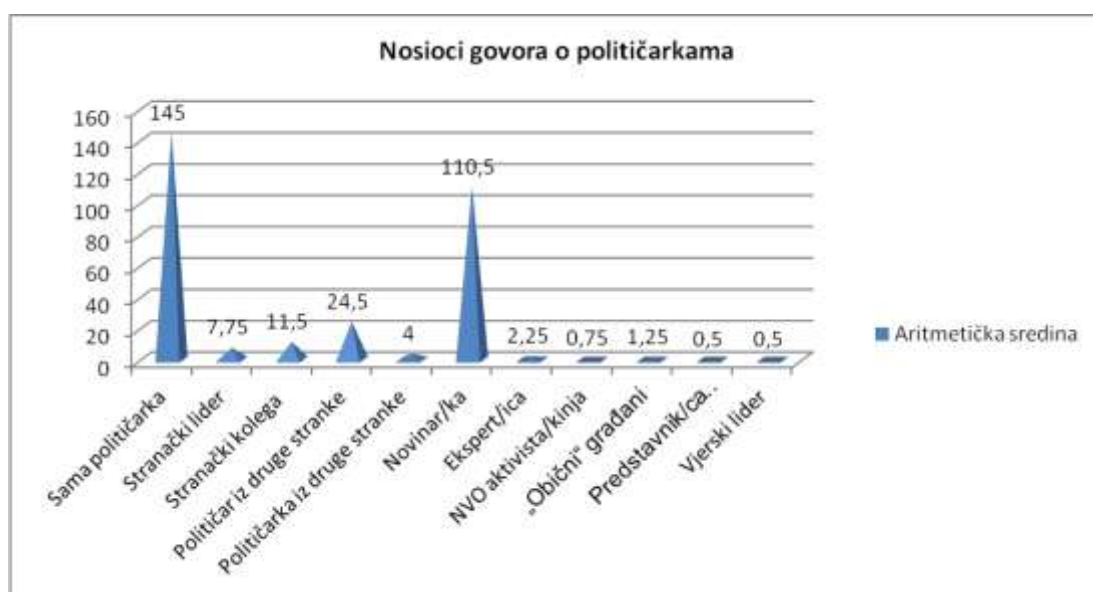
The under-representation of female politicians is also manifested in the fact that they are most commonly present in the so-called poorer, less-equipped media forms/genres, such as the news, which indicates that the availability of media coverage for their articulation and promotion is more than narrow. News are a basic journalistic genre and also the shortest, simplest form of written, spoken, or visual information. Electronic media often aired statements of female politicians, while print media covered them more in their reports, albeit to a much lesser degree than in news. Interestingly, in terms of statements by female politicians, print media used/took their statements in just 1% of articles that featured female politicians. If their party colleagues, and especially their party leaders, also appeared in the articles, women were usually placed at the end of the article. When it comes to on-line media, a greater presence of female politicians was noticed in various genres, which is most certainly related to the dynamic and "overpopulated" structure of on-line media. **Interview**, as a genre that provides space for female politicians to introduce themselves and which uses direct speech, was, as a general rule, an almost negligible part of the analysed corpus, although it was somewhat more present in print media. In terms of daily newspapers, the most interviews with female politicians were printed in **Dnevni List** (44% when compared to other daily newspapers), while no significant differences were noted in the cases of other daily newspapers. However, it is worrisome that, in the analysed sample, female politicians did not give a single interview for public broadcasting services. Furthermore, keeping in mind that all the interviews (in the analysed sample) by female politicians in electronic media during the pre-election campaign period were produced and aired **exclusively on TV1**, the situation becomes even more disturbing. It reflects the patriarchal sentiment of a society in which the male speaker is the only trusted speaker.



Graph 9

The position of female politicians and their equality can also be measured through the variable of the main proponents of speech regarding the female politicians. In our sample, these were the female politicians themselves (in 145 cases, on average), i.e. journalists of

both sexes (an average of 110.5 cases). It is interesting that male politicians from other parties spoke more about a certain female politician than her party colleagues, or the leaders of her own party. This means that there was more criticism from opposing parties toward female candidates than there was support from their own parties. The voices of experts (both male and female), NGO activists, representatives of the international community, and "common citizens" were almost silent on the topic of female politicians. What is certainly bewildering is the remarkable lack of remarks from NGO activists (of both sexes), even though a significant amount of donor funds is directed toward their engagement in gender equality during the pre-election campaign period. Either they were ignored by the media or, more specifically, the media content that comprised our sample, or the NGO activists did not manage to win the fight for greater media visibility for the topic of gender equality in the context of fair and balanced reporting during the election period.



Graph 10

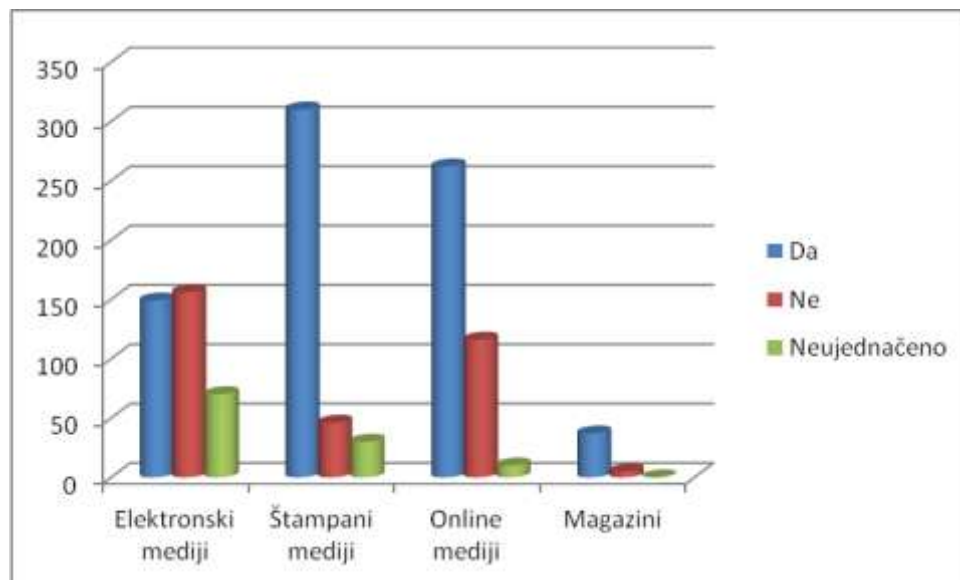
Although this could be interpreted as an improvement, considering that female politicians were the proponents of political speech, we must highlight the presence of a slur, bordering on misogyny, by the politicians from other parties, which was indicated by the qualitative analysis of selected features, as well as the fact that other voices (those coming from the social base) could essentially not be heard. Further, although the parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina are distinctly leader-based and "male-centric", there was a small number of cases in which party leaders spoke about female politicians, which certainly represents an improvement. However, this can also be seen as an indication that the leaders consider them "unimportant", and thus do not particularly address or mention them.

When speaking about topics or thematic frameworks, of which female politicians speak or into which they have been placed, they are most often represented during the basic introduction of candidates (of both sexes) from certain party lists, which implies they mostly serve as party decorum, and for formal and legal fulfilment of the so-called quotas "of the less represented gender", which in Bosnia and Herzegovina always equals women. But when they do speak, they do not speak only about typically "female" topics (such as youth, social issues, education), but also about issues such as inter-party relations, international relations,



economic topics, and, to a slightly lesser degree, constitutional changes. It is interesting to note that only in a very small number of cases the female politicians spoke about, for example, marriage and family, but this should not necessarily be viewed as a positive trend, keeping in mind the issues such as domestic violence, the victims of which are, in most cases, women and children themselves, and the fact that institutional capacity mechanisms for addressing this highly pervasive social issue have not yet been established.

Another interesting result of the research is **the relative presence, or use, of gender sensitive language (in 63% of cases of the analysed media content)**, which is a form of improvement when bearing in mind that "language" not only reflects, but also creates both the images of reality and cognitive maps for the interpretation of reality. However, we must certainly ask ourselves why gender sensitive language is not used or is used inconsistently within the framework of the same text/segment in the remaining 27% of cases. Such (dis)use of gender sensitive language certainly does not add to the culture of political, or any other, communication. Despite this, it is important to note that the use of gender sensitive language has finally taken root in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, since the under-representation of female politicians is evident in the analysed sample, it is questionable whether this increased use of gender sensitive language will have a greater socio-political echo, especially if we bear in mind that the lack of gender sensitive language is more common than not in the electronic media. It seems that gender sensitive language is the so-called "luxury" of print media, which pay more attention to the literacy of their statements. However, being the exception that confirms the rule, **Glas Srpske** did not have even a single example of the use of gender sensitive language during the period of pre-election campaign (at least in the case of the analysed sample).



Graph 11: Use of gender sensitive language



#### **4. Some aspects of the qualitative analysis of media content**

Qualitative methodology used in this monitoring allowed us to gain a deeper insight into certain media features, their meanings and senses, which often elude statistical averaging, and generalisations which often "fail to see" the dynamics of social interaction and political life. The method of secluded examples allowed a deeper analysis of certain features which can be typical or representative, or atypical and even extreme. The atypical ones evade quantification, and typical ones provide an insight when approached intrinsically and if we explore the very constructivism of their typicality where, through the so-called ritual repetition, paradigmatic images of the world are produced. Thus, female politicians are typically placed in passive political roles through certain journalistic forms and contents – for example, by being represented in the news as the poorest journalistic genre, and in thematic segments such as the basic presentation of candidates. Introduction, the overture in their presentation during the party rallies reported by the media, for example, is usually saved for the party leaders, and female politicians are simply "introduced" with their first and last name, and in some cases, with their marriage or parental statuses. For example, during the humanitarian action of HDZ when funds were raised for visually impaired children, the leader of this party was the only speaker, and he showcased his own stereotypes by "explaining" to women from HDZ their role in the party. As he stated, he had the full right to do so, since he also has a mother, a wife, sisters, children, and he is deeply connected to the women in his family. The only woman mentioned in the same text was the President of the Community of Women of HDZ BIH, who "greeted the participants" (Oslobođenje, 24 09. September pg. 7, text 'Money for visually impaired children').

Even when he is not physically present, the leader of the party is essentially there. For example, at presidential rally in Ribnik, Željka Cvijanović first and foremost emphasized the importance of the party and Milorad Dodik, constantly using pronouns such as 'we' and 'ours'. Considering the great amount of powers the Presidency has in the political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina (e.g. in foreign policy), she did not address nor personalise the role she would have if she was to win the elections (<http://www.vijesti.ba/politicka-arena/239470-Cvijanovic-Politicki-cilj-SNSD--jaka.html>), although in another segment she acted more pro-actively, addressing what her role in the Presidency would be, if elected (<http://www.vijesti-ba.com/politicka-arena/240067-Cvijanovic-Predsjednistvu-raditi-interesu.htm>). Still, these examples are much rarer. One of the examples is the way in which the female candidates of SBB passivised themselves in *Dnevni Avaz*, aided by the lack of inventiveness and the disengagement of journalist within the segment titled *Razgovor sa kandidatima* (Interviews with Candidates). As the monitor of *Dnevni Avaz* noticed, "neither journalists, nor candidates made any effort to familiarise the future voters with the person for whom they should vote, nor have they highlighted some of the key topics they are personally interested in and which they could tackle" (*Dnevni Avaz*, 29 September 2014, 30 September 2014). But, if nothing else, they partially introduced themselves, considering the fact that female politicians are often used as decorum of a political party. With significantly less frequency than their male counterparts, female politicians seldom speak about their professional engagement and achievements before they took part in politics or during the time when they performed certain political functions. Instead, they make more principle-based, general messages, "citing" the political programs of their parties.

Also, it is not rare that female politicians in fighting for votes use stereotypical catch phrases such as fairer sex and gentle sex, since politics is often seen as the greedy, dirty battle for the votes, and not as a accountable and inventive social activity, and way they

want to distance themselves from the negative connotations more commonly attributed to the political sphere. In doing so, women often use the so-called hybrid discourse, emphasizing, for example, gender equality as important, and at the same time potentiating the stereotypic female "attributes"; most commonly, they speak of motherhood, based on (or in spite of) which they can equally participate within the political life (e.g. *Oslobođenje*, 1 October 2014, pg. 12. 12. 'Majstorović requests the punishment of offenders').

However, there are examples which stand out or deviate from these stereotypes, even when a female politician uses the fact that she is a woman as argumentation. After the scandal at the pre-election rally in Trebinje, where the supporters of *Savez za promjene* (Alliance for Changes) shouted paroles "Željka whore" and the opposing candidate, Mladen Ivanić, did not react adequately to the scandalous behaviour of his own supporters, the statement given by Željka Cvijanović was the message of a person who considers the politics to be an accountable activity, and not a male privilege: "Such behaviour raises the question of what kind of society we are, and it is a horrible message to women who decided to step out of the shadow of men" (*Oslobođenje*, 7 October 2014, pg. 3: *Insults, attacks, stoning*).

However, women do not come out of that shadow easily. The Association of Women of SDA, under the obligatory floral decorum at a pre-election rally, called for a greater involvement of women in politics, at the same time evoking the Bosnian patriotism conditioned by the election of Bakir Izetbegović for the Bosniak member of Presidency (*Oslobođenje*, 19 September 2014, pg. 12: *SDA Association of women: It is important to participate in politics*). Thereby women themselves reaffirm and again evoke patriotism (whether based on ethnicity or the state) as a masculine term. Generally, women's initiative for their own greater political engagement remains on the level of general statements, and the statements such as that women represent the driving force of a certain party are usually used as pre-election catchphrases (*SDA introduced the candidates for all levels of power in Bihać*, 21 September 2014: <http://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/sda-u-bihacu-predstavila-kandidate-za-sve-nivo-e-vlasti/140921083>).

Some of the selected examples also indicate sexualisation as an inseparable element of the physical, in order to trap women within their bodies and justify their secondary position in the society and politics (see B. Bećirbašić, *Body, Femininity and Power – Strategies of Inscribing Patriarchal Discourse*, pg. 21. For example, the statement by Željka Cvijanović that "the opposition is tiny" on FACE TV and at the end of the segment Centralno grijanje was followed with the journalist's comment "when a woman says it is tiny, it's game over" (FACE TV, 17 September 2014, 49:00-49:17), which received gales of laughter from the present journalists. In the text published as political satire in *Slobodna Bosna* on 2 October 2014, on page 32, titled *Kume izbori ti kesa*, the author played with the slogan of *Naša stranka* ('We don't have slogans, we have solutions') by creating the following slogan: 'We don't have Severina, we have Sabina'. And while the picture of Severina is very erotic, the picture of Sabina is politically correct and exceedingly 'uptight'. The message behind this is that Sabina is not attractive enough, and the same goes for her political party. Although satire may have a certain dose of criticism toward certain social developments and encourage us to laugh and to think as well, sexism appeared only in the case of the only candidate covered by the so-called anti-campaign of the journalists of *Slobodna Bosna*. In such manner and through such discourse strategies, women are identified with their sex and "merged" with their bodies, which actually robs them of their autonomy.

## **5. Concluding Remarks**

The research on representation and the manner of presentation of female politicians during the period of the 2014 General Elections shows that women are still under-represented in the political life of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which the media partially reflect and partially produce by failing to comply with certain journalistic codes of ethics and legal regulations. Although the number of media features directly or indirectly related to elections increased from week to week, this trend was not met by a proportional increase in representation of female politicians. Also, the fact that women were represented mainly in those media which had the majority of election content additionally decreased their visibility in relative terms. What is certainly evident is that this under-representation would have been even higher if one of the candidates for the member of Presidency was not a woman. Although her candidature itself is a step in the right direction, she drew all the attention away from other female politicians, and created the platform for transmission of inappropriate messages which, it must be said, came more frequently from other actors (male politicians, to be precise) than from the journalists who still used them for the purpose of sensationalism. Under-representation of women is reflected in the fact that they were mainly presented in poorer journalistic genres in which the space for their professional and political promotion was maximally reduced, although it should be emphasised that women tended to be proponents of speech, both when speaking about themselves and about other political issues. The leaders of the parties practically ignored them, which can be understood as a shift, but also as a patronising treatment of female candidates. On the other hand, as the qualitative analysis of some of the selected examples has shown, female politicians used the part of the media space for praising their party leaders and they often shifted to auto-stereotyping, justifying their candidacy by the fact that they can harmonise their family responsibilities with political roles and functions if they were to be elected. Also, they sent overly generalised messages lifted from the party programs and used the call for greater participation of women in politics more as a catch-phrase and less as an ambition, also failing to provide clear recommendations on how to achieve this ambition.

Although the reporting about female politicians was largely neutral (in 79.5% of the cases), some media were partial toward female candidates coming from certain party structures. Impartiality mainly goes hand in hand with a small number of election contents, although there are exceptions to the rule (e.g. portal *Vijesti.ba* which had the greatest number of texts featuring female politicians, all neutral). What is certainly concerning is the small number of election contents and, thus, women in public broadcasting services, which raises the question of their role in the interest of the public, as well as the partiality of RTRS as a public broadcasting service toward certain female candidates (or, a candidate). The fact that, in the electronic media within the analysed sample, there were no women from the large parties such as SDA, SBB, HDZ, and SDP demonstrates that party structures are certainly relevant when it comes to gender sensitive and balanced reporting. It is obvious that male political stakeholders did not give a chance to their female counterparts to be profiled in the so-called prime time broadcasts in the electronic media.

Among the positive trends that were observed was a relatively high representation of gender-sensitive language, especially in print media, which provides niches for development of the culture of written reporting, as well as a significant variety of the topics female politicians spoke of or were placed in, and which represent a certain departure from stereotyping. However, this also essentially remains questionable, having in mind the trend

of general under-representation of female politicians in the media content during the period of the 2014 General Elections.

As the foundation of the main conclusion of the analysis, which suggest that we are still far from a society of gender equality, we can use the quantitative data that the presence of female politicians was at its lowest **(almost halved) in the last week of monitoring (the period after the publication of the election results)**, which indicates that men had the last word when it comes to the elections. We are also far from a pluralistic society, given that different voices coming from the social base were more than under-represented in terms of female candidates in the 2014 General Elections.

#### ***6. General recommendations for media and non-media actors, based on some of the observed trends***

- Given the small number of media contents within the analysed sample involving female politicians, work should be done on media awareness with regards to the importance of gender equality from the ethical aspect and the aspect of legal regulations, but also on empowering female politicians in order to make their visibility and engagement more recognisable. Otherwise, we will remain in the vicious circle of gender inequality governed by feedback loop principle.
- Work on further education and sensitisation of journalists and on raising the awareness that journalism is a profession of public interest, and not a craft.
- Work on further empowering and professionalism of public broadcasting services, based on the principles of social responsibility and the interests of public, half of whom are women.
- Educate the media to avoid stereotyped and essentialists views on the role of women in political and other spheres of human practices and social life.
- Female politicians should be given space in the so-called richer media genres, in order to present their current work more clearly and to articulate the principles they support, as well as to provide more concrete proposals for resolving certain social problems.
- Work on further empowering female politicians and to question current approaches to this empowering (trainings, seminars, political academies...). It was rarely reduced to the mere "training" of female politicians for media appearances without gaining other important knowledge and skills necessary for development of political authenticity and professionalism of female politicians.
- Also, the media should give space to other social actors (experts, civil society, citizens) when it comes to discourse on female politicians in order to promote social plurality, which is of the key importance for fair and balanced media reporting and for creation of democratic social frame and climate.
- In terms of editorial policy, affirm the creativity of women in different spheres of human activity (culture, science, sport...) which will provide a creative and favourable framework for easier political mobility of women.
- Given that some of the aspects of qualitative analysis indicated the "wandering" and extreme variability of the manners in which female politicians represent themselves,

through their own engagement, responsibility, and by creating a more equal climate, the media could and should contribute to the clearer presentation of female politicians and increase their visibility. This is certainly not the responsibility of just the media, but also of the prevailing party structures which push women into the background. Despite of that, through their own engagement, the media can and should contribute to the distancing from the prevailing patriarchal models.

- Through principles of networking and synergy between the media, the civil society, and the academic community in the first place, work on creating and strengthening a social climate in which the progressive social values will become more mobile, better articulated, and more operational.
- Work on creating a social climate in which the politics will be understood as a socially accountable vocation and profession, and not as a "filthy" activity. This will contribute to the professionalization of other social activities, increased political responsibility, and will help break various stereotypes about women as the weaker sex not suited for the politics.
- Strengthen the partnership and contacts between the media and female politicians in order to create a base for long-term and more successful co-operation, based on content rather than on merely formal principles.

## 7. Annexes

157 oktobar/ listopada 2014. U ŽIVU 3

# Hoće li CIK reagirati na incidente tokom kampanje u RS-u

# UVREDE, NAPADI, KAMENOVANJA

• Teško mi je naglas ponoviti ono što se na moj račun skandiralo, kaže Cvijanović • Ovo je udar na sve žene, ističe Dodik • Trapara uklonjen s liste, Čirkinu kamenovana kuća

Nekoliko mjeseci od dvije sedmice od početka zvanične predizborne kampanje u BiH (nio je potrebno da politička nekvaliteta stranačkih rivala ispliv na površinu. Naime, krajem prošlog mjeseca na skupu Saveza za promjene održanom u Třebinju, za vrijeme govora Slavka Vučkovića (PDP), na meti se našla premijerka RS-a i SNSD-ova kandidatkinja za člana Predsjedništva BiH Željka Cvijanović kada su okupljeni simpatizeri počeli sa vulgarnim skandiranjem na račun Cvijanoviće ("Željka, ku'vo"). Uvredama su bili počinjeni ni predsjednik RS-a i SNSD-a Milorad Dodik, kojem su okupljeni skandirali "Milo, topov", te igra Badojčić, kojem je skandirano "Igor, Turčin".

**Inicijativa u CIK-u**

Ono što mogu kazati u ovom trenutku jeste da smo dobili samo inicijativu, mi je smatrali inicijativom, SNSD-a za pokretanje postupka po službenoj dužnosti, kazala je za Oslobođenje glasnogovornica Centralne izborne komisije BiH Miroslava Pirić.

Budući da BiH osim na pokretanje postupka ili se, u ovom trenutku u CIK-u nam nisu mogli kazati, Badojčić je jučer poručio kako CIK mora reagovati. "Da smo u ovoj kampanji svišta stali, ali ovo u Třebinju je vrhunac negativnog, odvratnog i vulgarnog".

Željka Cvijanović, zajednička kandidatkinja SNSD-a, DNS-a i SP-a za člana Predsjedništva BiH, ocijenila je da je duboko razočarana ponavljanjem simpatizera opozicionog Saveza za promjene na predizbornoj skupci u Třebinju.

Teško mi je naglas ponoviti ono što se na moj račun skandiralo. Ponizavajuće je što su se simpatizeri mog protukandidata Mladena Ivanica tako ponašali i

što on, koji po svaku cijenu nastoji u javnosti ostaviti utisak uglađenog i odmjerenog političara, na to nije reagovao. Kazala je Cvijanović u medijalnom razgovoru s novinarima u Beroj Luci.

Istakla je da je iznenađena nivoom primitivizma, a prije svega odnosom koji opozicija ima prema njoj kao ženi, kandidatkinji.

Tako ponašanje ovana pitanje kako smo mi to doživjeli i to je ružna poruka ženama koje odlučuju ići u političke sjene muškaraca, uključila je Cvijanović.

Ranije je Aktiv žena SNSD-a Třebinje uputio saopćenje u kojem osuđuje vrijeđanje premijerke Cvijanović.

Třebinje, kao i čitav javnost ostali su zaprepašteni vulgarnim skandiranjem na račun naše premijerke Željke Cvijanović na tribini Saveza za promjene održanoj u Třebinju. Iako to najbolje govori o njima, dužni smo da osuđimo svaki vid vrijeđanja po ma krajem osnova, naročito kada su žene u pitanju, navedeno je, između ostalog, u saopćenju.

Predsjednik RS-a Milorad Dodik je u Dnevniku ETRB-a kazao

**UGLAĐENI IVANIĆ**  
**Ponizavajuće je što su se simpatizeri mog protukandidata Mladena Ivanica tako ponašali i što on, koji po svaku cijenu nastoji u javnosti ostaviti utisak uglađenog i odmjerenog političara, na to nije reagovao, kazala je Cvijanović**

kako to nije samo udar na premijerku nego na sve žene.

Skandiranje koje smo mogli da čujemo u Třebinju je ponizavajuće za svakoga. Nemoguće da neki ljudi, pa čak i profesor fakulteta, sjede tu i ne reaguju na takvo nešto. To znači da se solidariju sa napadima koji dolaze na najprimtiviji mogući način, izjavio je Dodik.

No, ovo nije sve. Centralna izborna komisija BiH Dalibora

Trapara uklonjena je s kandidatske liste Socijalističke partije za Predstavnički dom PSBiL te ga kaznila sa 1.000, a ovu stranku sa 5.000 KM. CIK je utvrdio da su Trapara i Socijalistička partija odgovorni za povredu Izbornog zakona BiH, a na osnovu žalbe SDS-a protiv Trapara, koji je 30. septembra sjedištem naravno na štand SDS-a u Istočnom Sarajevu.

Neki dan kasnije, Třebinju je spaljen automobil Bajka Anđrić, bivše sekretarice OO SNSD-a, koja je politički angažovan nastavila u PDP-u. Na bajramskoj ulici, 4. oktobra, kamenovana je u Prijedoru porodična kuća kandidatice SDP-a BiH za Narodno skupštinu RS-a Beltruda Čirkinu, a na njenom početku kampanje politički neistomišljenici u centru Beroje Luke fizički su napali na štand SDS-a istaknuta te starike.

Uprkos ovim događajima, direktor policije RS-a Gorjko Vasić istakao je da su u MUP-u zadovoljni bezbjednošću pred izbore u okviru na to da su se u prvih 20 dana izborne kampanje desila 32 slična incidenta.

Od toga je bilo 14 slučajeva da

su pocijepani plakati, četiri oštećenja bilborda, a ostalo su bili sitni incidenti, napuše je bilo oštećenje štanda u Istočnom Sarajevu, naravno je Vasić, koji se posebno referirao na starije u Třebinju, u kojem je dana u dan izbijaju varnice izmestu pristaka vlasti i opozicije.

**Incidenti se dešavaju**

Istakao je da će istraga utvrditi da li paljenje automobila Anđrićevog ima veze sa izborima, te je odbacio tvrdnju da je policija u službi jedne političke opcije u Třebinju.

Tako je stoga izjavila šteta jako niska, a ovi incidenti se dešavaju. Nama treba vjesta u leđa od političara da se to cijeli, a koji su mislili ko je istakao, to će se tek kasnije znati, naglasio je Vasić, te dodao da u ovom trenutku ne može biti preduzeta vanjska potporedništva PDP-a i izabornika Třebinjska Slavka Vučkovića kako su to uradili politički protivnici.

Istraga će potvrditi, misla je su politički protivnici, ali postoji i druge mogućnosti, počev od ne da je neko to uradio da bi optužio ovu dragu stranku, dodao je Vasić.

Kako kampanja ulazi u finiš, Vasić je poručio da je policija spremna obezbijediti predizborne aktivnosti, izbore i sakupljanje izbornog materijala, njegov transport u Lukavcu i da ima planove u skladu s tim.

Neki opušti nećije ferje da se neki nerješeni problemi u Federaciji BiH preliju u Republiku Srpsku i da se na taj način naprave rekonstrukcija BiH, istakao je Vasić, dodavši kako "postupamo po mome što smo dobili iz medija, obavještajnih krugova i sa terena i nastojimo da ne dozvolimo da nešto eskalira".

**G. KATANA - E. BARINAC**



**Cvijanović: Ponizavajuće ponašanje haterovih simpatizera**

Step away from auto-stereotyping: "Such behaviour raises the question of what kind of society we are, and it is a horrible message to women who decided to step out of the shadow of men", said Cvijanović. *Oslobođenje*, 7 October 2014, pg. 3



## Asocijacija žena SDA

# VAŽNO JE UČESTVOVATI U POLITICI

U prepunoj sali Općine Zenica u organizaciji Asocijacije žena Stranke demokratske akcije održano je predstavljanje kandidatkinja SDA Zenica.

Predsjednica Asocijacije žena SDABiH i delegat u Domu naroda Parlamenta BiH Nermina Kapetanović upoznala je prisutne o važnosti učešća žena u politici i značaju izlaska žena na birališta.

"Asocijacija žena SDA svojim aktivnostima pokušava da ukaze na značaj političkog angažovanja jer politička pasivnost, uistinu, ne dovodi do izbora onih najboljih koji će nas predstavljati", kazala je Nermina Kapetanović.

Na skupu su predstavljeni ciljevi SDA i izborna platforma, te istaknuta dokazana činjenica da jedino SDA radi za dobrobit Bosne i Hercegovine i Bošnjaka.

Prisutni su pozvani da budu jedinstveni, da svoj glas daju SDA, da glasaju za snagu, za jedinstvo, za kandidata SDA za bošnjačkog člana Predsjedništva BiH Bakira Izetbegovića, odnosno za dokazane patriote i one koji su dokazali da žele dobro našoj državi.

SDA se jučer oglasila i saopće-



Kandidatkinje predstavljene u Zenici

njem u kojem se kaže da su izmjene Zakona o ličnoj karti državljana BiH usvojene u Parlamentarnoj skupštini BiH, ali od usvajanja tih izmjena do registracije birača nije ostavljeno građanima distrikta Brčko dovoljno vremena za vađenje novih ličnih karata. Stoga je sasvim razumljiv zahtjev Izetbegovića da im se omogući glasanje kao na prethodnim izborima.

Mi znamo da ovo gospodin Suljagić ne želi razumjeti, ali ipak pojašnjavamo zbog javnosti. I kad već spominje "kratku pamet", kako je moguće da se gospodin Suljagić ne sjeća da su on i njegov stranački šef Željko Komšić u trenutku usvajanja ovog zakona bili članovi SDP-a, čiji su zastupnici, bez izuzetka, glasali za ovaj zakon?

Po ko zna koji put, DF obmanjuje javnost predstavljajući se kao nova politička partija, a ne priznaje da su njeni čelni ljudi i kandidati godinama obnašali vlast i da snose odgovornost za političko djelovanje. Podsjećamo da su usvajanje izmjena i dopuna Zakona o sukobu interesa, Zakona o državljanstvu i Zakona o javnim nabavkama BiH samo neki od sramnih i za građane BiH štetnih djelovanja Lagumdžijinog SDP-a, te njegovih bivših koalicionih partnera SBB-a i SNSD-a, saopćeno je iz SDA.

An example of hybrid discourse: against political passivity (of women) with the accompanying decorum: flowers plus patriotism and the support for the leader/'the protector' (*Oslobođenje*, 19 September 2014, pg. 12 SDA Association of women: It is important to participate in politics).

Kratak presjek Facebook diverzanta Almira Panjete

# KUME, IZBORI TI KESA!

Antikampanju pripremio: **ALMIR PANJETA**

**K**ako je u jedinstvu snaga, ujedinjeni s narodom i uz narod podvlačeći crtu na hrvatski odgovor sa stvarno dobrim predsjednikom odlučili smo kroz galeriju „Izgori 2014.“ na adekvatan način odgovoriti na ovogodišnju predizborno kampanju. Iako je ovogodišnja kampanja krenula nešto laganije, kako se izbori bliže, zidovi bandere i stabla postaju sve šaremniji a s plakata nam se uz parole smiješe kandidati. Ono što posebno „krasi“ kampanju za Opće izbore 2014. jesu i online kampanje na portalima i društvenim mrežama, kao i prepucavanja izjavama po youtubeu.

Kako su u protekle četiri godine koalirali svi sa svima, svi su na određenim nivoima u određenim vremenskim periodima bili vlast ili opozicija, vidljivo je da ni sami kandidati više ne vjeruju u ono što pričaju, a slogani kao da su sklepani u zadnjim momentima. Neki su se potrudili sa fotografijama i dizajnom, neki djeluju kao da su fotografirani mobitelom i u najjednostavnijem 'paintu' stavljeni na neuvjerljive plakate. Sve u svemu, nakon protekle četiri godine koje bi se mogle nazvati jednim velikim „postizbornim periodom“ nakon izbora 2010., mnogo bolje se nije moglo ni očekivati.

Sloga nam nije ostalo ništa osim da, nakon što smo u prošlom broju ozbiljne

ljude iz struke stavili pred težak izazov da sa stručne strane prokomentiraju ovogodišnju kampanju, predemo na zabjebanciju, što ovakva kampanja ali vjerovatno i ono što nas nakon 12. oktobra očekuje – i zaslužuje!

Nešto što je trebalo biti privatni odgovor na kampanju potpisnika ovih redova na vlastitom profilu, s vremenom je prerasio svoju namjenu i doseglo neku novu dimenziju, a kako saznajemo iz krugova bliskih centralama nekih stranaka, čak i najviše pozicionirani funkcioneri znaju neke od svojih online aktivista upitati: „Je li Panjeta šta novo izbacio?“. E pa jeste – galerija je na ovim stranicama dobila i svoje printano izdanje, uživajte! ■



Tabloidization and sexualisation: Through female body to political satire. *Slobodna Bosna*, 2. October 2014, pg. 32





Željka Cvijanović in a more proactive role in matters concerning foreign policy in the Presidency.  
<http://www.vijesti-ba.com/politicka-arena/240067-Cvijanovic-Predsjednistvu-raditi-interesu.html>  
 (03.10.2014).

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Željka Cvijanović in a more passive role ('we', 'ours'...)  
[www.vijesti.ba/politicka-arena/239470-Cvijanovic--Politicki-cilj-SNSD---jaka.html](http://www.vijesti.ba/politicka-arena/239470-Cvijanovic--Politicki-cilj-SNSD---jaka.html)  
 (30.09.2014)



Central News: a female politician and the media in a more proactive role: a reflection on the election results, as well as on the current situation in their own political ranks (FACE TV, 17 October 2014, Central News, an interview with Besima Borić, thirteen-minute TV segment)

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Sexist comments of the journalists on the statement by a female politician (FACE TV, 17 September 2014, Centralno grijanje, 49:00-49:17)

## 8. List of monitors

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## **Fair, balanced, and objective reporting during the election campaign and after the 2014 General Elections Presence of Hate Speech in Media Contents**

### **1. Opening remarks**

Following [the research on hate speech in public space in B&H<sup>1</sup>](#) conducted in 2012 by the Association of Journalists in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has shown that hate speech is still present in the public scene during the local elections, although in a somewhat smaller percentage, it seemed important and meaningful to check whether and how much it intensified in the period of the election campaign for the General Elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as if the promoters of hate speech in that period were the journalists and media workers or other actors on public scene (political leaders, political party representatives, etc.). However, indicating the presence of hate speech is not the only reason for this monitoring. Hate speech was observed in a broader context, through the prism of fair, balanced, and objective reporting on the election campaigns. Namely, the task of the media in the pre-election period is to provide the citizens with sufficient amount of reliable, high-quality, objective, balanced information enabling the citizens to make informed choices between political parties and candidates who will represent them and will make decisions on their behalf in the following four years. Therefore, in addition to the informative function, even more important in the pre-election period are the orientative and political functions of the media, and the purpose of such monitoring is to show whether and in which manner the media fulfil these functions, and (more importantly) to provide concrete and constructive recommendations on how to increase the quality of media coverage in the pre-election period, and ensure that it works in the interest of the citizens, rather than in the interest of the political subjects.

The monitors engaged on this project by the Association of Journalists in Bosnia and Herzegovina (the list of monitors can be found in the Annex to this document) have monitored the contents of the print, electronic, and on-line media, both in terms of quantity and quality, noting all the "controversial" cases with the elements of hate speech or inappropriate speech, after which the team of "senior researchers" checked all the quantitative data and the analysis of qualitative data, selected the most important, and created this report based on the obtained data.

The aim of this report is not to rank the professional and less professional media, journalists, etc., nor to analyse the individual content of the print media, radio and TV stations, and web portals. The aim is to indicate trends in the media in Bosnia and

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.bhnovinari.ba/images/stories/pdf/coe/monitoringbosanski.pdf>

Herzegovina when it comes to fair, balanced, and objective reporting, as well as to provide concrete recommendations for future media coverage of the election period.

## **2. Methodological framework of the research**

The research topic, as already noted, was imposed by the general social practice of the increase in the rate of hate speech in public discourse. Previous research has shown that hate speech particularly intensifies in the period of "sensitive social situations", which include the elections. Therefore this research aims to analyse the extent to which hate speech is present in public communication during the election campaigns, during the elections, and immediately after the elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as whether the users of such speech are mostly journalists, or other participants in political communication (candidates, representatives of political parties, NGO sector, etc.).

The subject of research in a broader sense was hate speech in the pre-election campaign for the 2014 General Elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In a more narrow sense, the subject of research was the media content which included the elements of hate speech, and the media contents which included discrimination, insults, incitement and/or call for violence. These media contents are contextualised in a broader communication framework with the aim to determine whether their users and creators are mostly the journalists themselves, or the other actors in political communication (politicians/candidates in the elections, representatives of political parties, representatives of NGOs and other organisations involved in the electoral process, etc.).

**General hypothesis** of this research/monitoring is: Direct hate speech (punishable by the law) in public discourse and political campaigns in the pre-election period has been replaced by latent forms, such as incitement, discrimination, insults, and hidden calls for violence. Its users are journalists, to a lesser degree, and the other actors in political communication.

**Elaborating hypotheses** that are reviewed within this research/monitoring are:

There are examples of inappropriate communication and unprofessional reporting in the media during the pre-election campaigns.

Inappropriate communication is intensified especially in the time immediately before the elections, both by the media and by the other actors in political communication.

Latent forms such as incitement, discrimination, and insults are more present than the classic hate speech.

### **Scientific and social aims of the research**

**General aim** of the research/monitoring was to implement the standards of the Council of Europe in fighting against hate speech in the public area, as well as to promote the culture of dialogue, tolerance, and respecting diversity in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Scientific aim** of the research/monitoring was to identify objective indicators of the presence of hate speech in the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the pre-election campaign of the 2014 General Elections, using the quantitative and qualitative methodology for analysing the content, as well as discursive and contextual analysis.

**Scientific aim** of the research/monitoring was to appeal for raising the professionalism and quality of journalistic reporting by indicating the lack of respect of professional

standards and norms of media, as well as to raise the awareness of possibilities and manners of professional reporting on hate speech for other, non-media actors.

**Specific aims** of the research/monitoring are:

- To analyse the extent to which the professional standards were respected by media in the period of September - October 2014.
- To determine to which extent the "non-election" media contents have been used as a tool for manipulating the voters, through showing preference for or denouncing certain political parties and/or candidates by using inappropriate speech and hate speech during pre-election period.
- To develop recommendations for journalists, editors, political representatives and candidates, as well as for the actors of the civil society, for fair and balanced political communication in the pre-election campaigns.

### **Research methodology**

**Quantitative and qualitative methods of content analysis** were used with the purpose of gathering statistical data on the presence of hate speech and other forms of unprofessional reporting and inappropriate political communication in print, electronic, and on-line media, as well as with the purpose of gathering the "indicative examples" of inappropriate communication.

#### **Discursive and contextual case analysis**

Instead of analysing the individual media and the level of their professionalism, this research/monitoring was focused on identification of trends in the media scene in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to this end, discursive analysis of the content of media articles and features was used. Through discursive analysis, we tried to identify which of the narratives were dominant in the media in during the pre-election campaign.

With the purpose maximum objectification of individual media "cases", they were analysed in a broader media context: in the context of the users of hate speech (who is using it: the journalist or the subject the journalist is reporting about), in the context of arguments presented in the media report both by the subject of the report and by the journalists, as well as in the context of the perspective/position the journalist takes with regards to the subject of the report and their hate speech.

In a broader sense, contextual analysis also implies the analysis of media products in the context of professional and ethic media standards, legal framework, and social norms.

**Inductive method** was used for developing the general conclusions about the trends in the media reporting in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the presence of hate speech in the pre-election period in 2014.

**Variables** used by the monitors in the analysis of media content were:

- The number of contents with "problematic" statements or unprofessional conduct of the journalist;
- Hate speech;
- Insulting remarks (qualifications);
- Discrimination;

- Incitement;
- Other statements oriented against the other/different;
- Call for violence.

In the analysis of individual cases, the following variables were used:

- The source of hate speech;
- The "target" of hate speech;
- The form of hate speech;
- The attitude of the media regarding the hate speech;
- The position of the journalist or the editor regarding the hate speech; and
- Other public reactions to hate speech.

### **Sample**

The sample included a total of **34.830** media contents of which **22.647** were published in the first four weeks of the pre-election period (13.292 articles in daily newspapers, 4.601 TV segments/reports, 4.248 articles published on web portals, and 560 articles in weekly and bi-weekly magazines) and **12.183** were published in the two weeks after the election campaign (7.535 articles in daily newspapers, 2.422 TV segments/reports, 2.022 articles published on web portals, and 210 articles in weekly and bi-weekly magazines).

The sample of the research included central informative and debate shows of public broadcasting service and privately-owned TV stations (BHT, FTV, RTRS, BN, Hayat TV, TV1, Face TV, and ATV), the entirety of daily newspapers (Dnevni avaz, Oslobođenje, Dnevni list, Glas Srpske), texts/reports on web portals (Radio Sarajevo, Klix.ba, Frontal, Dnevno.ba, Vijesti.ba, and blog by Slobodan Vasković), and the entirety of the magazines Slobodna Bosna, Dani, and Start. The sample included a total of 21 media outlets.

The units of the analysis: a segment within the News, an article in the print media, report/text posted on the web portal.

The research DID NOT include election chronicles in the electronic media, since one of the aims of the research was to determine to which extent the "non-election" media contents have been used as a tool for manipulating the voters, through showing preference for or denouncing certain political parties and/or candidates by using inappropriate speech and hate speech during pre-election period.

### **Time and place of the research**

Research was conducted on the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska) in the period of 12 September - 25 October 2014.

### ***3. Theoretical basis for the research: fair, balanced reporting, and fight against hate speech***

The freedom of reporting is one of the key foundations of a democratic society. It entails fair reporting on the issues of political and public interest. The freedom of expression implies

responsibility and duty to report in an equal manner on different opposing interests in the society. Such balanced presentation of the opposing interests becomes even more important in the pre-election period.

Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights states that "everyone has the right to freedom of expression, including the right to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers". However, the Convention also states that the exercise of these freedoms carries with it certain duties and responsibilities, and determines that limitation of this right is possible in certain occasions, with the purpose of protecting the reputation or rights of others.<sup>2</sup>

The fight against hate speech is essentially the fight for freedom of expression and democratic society, since the presence of hate speech in public discourse is one of the most important indicators of the lack of democracy in a society. However, although the term "hate speech" is commonly used, there is no generally accepted definition of that term. This term is defined differently in various international documents, but all of those international documents emphasise that societies must have zero tolerance toward hate speech.

In the Recommendation 97/20 of the Committee of Ministers of the European Union, the term "hate speech" is understood as "all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin".<sup>3</sup>

Hate speech is often confused with ideological and political viewpoints or opinions. That is why ideological or political opinions are often deemed as hate speech even when this is not the case. Starting point of the research on the examples of hate speech was precisely the fact that hate speech should be prevented, taking care in doing so not to endanger the freedom of expression, as well as from the fact that having ideologically and politically different opinions in a democratic society is one of the basic postulates of democracy, providing that such opinions do not imply discrimination nor call for violence based on certain personal characteristics or affiliation with a group.

"Discussions in which different ideological opinions are presented are completely legitimate in a democratic society, but only under the condition that they do not incite hate, intolerance, aggressive nationalism or ethnocentrism, that they do not glorify crimes or superiority of one race or nation, or negate war crimes, genocides, or memories of persons who lost their lives in such events. The reason for that is that ideologies based on calls for hate, violence or discrimination, as well as threats; ideologies about superiority or inferiority based on race, language, skin colour, religion, nationality or ethnicity; ideologies based on public negation, debasement, justification of genocides, crimes against humanity and war crimes, or ideologies aimed at public distribution of all forms of racist materials or creation of racist groups do not represent the postulates of a democratic society. (...) Same can be said for political opinions as well. No matter the extent to which political campaigns, stances or opinions can be filthy and based on insulting words, they are most often a part of legitimate discussion in a democratic society, except when they threaten the basic postulates of a democratic society, such as the prohibition of discrimination, racism, or

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<sup>2</sup> See: [http://www.coe.ba/web2/en/dokumenti/cat\\_view/36-coe-general-documents--coeopti-dokumenti/116-publications--publikacije.html](http://www.coe.ba/web2/en/dokumenti/cat_view/36-coe-general-documents--coeopti-dokumenti/116-publications--publikacije.html)

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.ckdbih.com/dokumenti/STOP%20GOVORU%20MRZNJE\\_fv%20\(1\).pdf](http://www.ckdbih.com/dokumenti/STOP%20GOVORU%20MRZNJE_fv%20(1).pdf)



xenophobia; glorifying genocide or crime; superiority or inferiority caused by affiliation with a particular race, religion, nationality, or ethnicity, etc. In terms of having a critical position toward the authorities, as well as toward political parties and public figures, it is permitted only if it does not entail the recognisable motive of hate speech."<sup>4</sup>

Users of hate speech can be media and non-media actors. Namely, not only journalists are operating in the media space. Numerous interlocutors, sources of information, and other subjects that journalists encounter in their professional work affect the course and discourse of public communication, and very often those are the actors who present the attitudes and promote the ideas which include the elements of hate speech. In that context, central ethical dilemma for journalists is how to treat such speech, i.e. whether to refuse to publish such speech in the media, or to publish it but clearly distance themselves from it and denounce it as unacceptable.<sup>5</sup> All recommendations in this context refer to the necessity of highlighting the unacceptability of hate speech.

Furthermore, it is extremely important to mention the fact that classic hate speech, i.e. calling for violence, raising tensions, inciting hatred, etc., is nowadays replaced with latent forms such as incitement, insults, etc. Such forms of "soft hate speech" are equally inappropriate and improper (unacceptable) in public communication.

For this empirical research, as well as for the purpose of understanding the role of media in a democratic society, it is of extreme importance to precisely underline the abovementioned three key theses with regards to the fight against hate speech in the public space:

- Hate speech is not equal to exercising the right to freedom of expression, and the fight against hate speech does not represent imposing limitations of the freedom of expression; quite contrary, it creates the conditions for democratic communication;
- The users of hate speech in the public space are not always and exclusively the journalists; numerous researches show that, more commonly, the actors are the so-called non-media subjects;
- Although the classic hate speech is rarely present in the public space, other forms of unacceptable speech, such as insults, incitements, etc., are increasingly present.

These theses were the starting point of the empirical research.

#### ***4. Empirical part of research – the results of media monitoring***

In the first four weeks of monitoring (one month of the pre-election campaign, from 12 September to 10 October 2014), **a total of 22.647 media contents were monitored:** 13.292 articles in the daily newspapers, 4.601 TV segments, 4.248 articles/reports published on web portals, and 560 articles in weekly and bi-weekly magazines.

In this period, the daily newspapers published a total of 2.199 articles on the elections, weekly and bi-weekly magazines published 165 articles, TV stations broadcasted 1.201 segments, and web portals published 1.699 articles/reports. **The total number of media contents published on the elections is 5.356, of which the greatest number is published in**

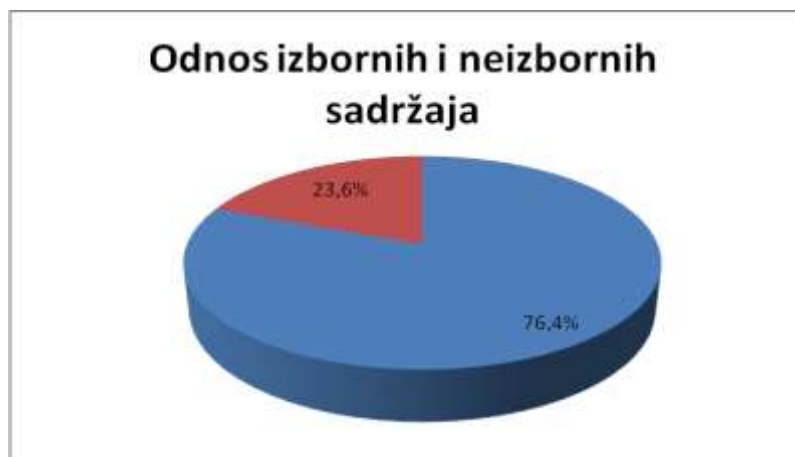
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<sup>4</sup> See: <http://www.bhnovinari.ba/images/stories/pdf/coe/monitoringbosanski.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> The most frequent discussions regarding the comments on web portals and hate speech today are focused on the attitude of the media with regards to the inappropriate speech of the Internet users.

**the daily newspapers.** It comprises a **total of 23.6 % of the monitored media content** during the four weeks of the pre-election campaign. This is actually a relatively small amount of media content when it comes to media coverage of the pre-election campaign. One of the reasons for such a small percentage is the fact that TV stations, for example, aired most of the media content on the elections within the election chronicles, and not within the informational programs. However, the election chronicles did not have significant viewer ratings, or a significant impact among the citizens, and were made almost uniformly, based on the PR materials submitted to the media by the political parties.<sup>6</sup>

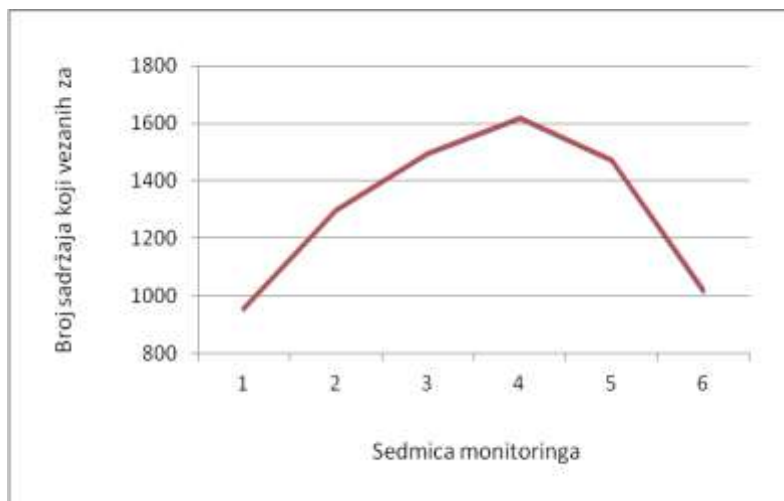
***Also, a trend of an increase in the number of published content related to the elections was noted as the pre-election campaign progressed,*** i.e. with the approach of October 12th, the Election Day. Thus, during the first week of the pre-election campaign, the daily newspapers published 441 articles, 537 articles during the second week, 630 during the third, and 591 articles during the fourth week. As for the TV stations, the greatest number of aired segments related to the elections was noted in the fourth week (371), compared to the 158 segments aired during the first, 280 segments aired during the second week, and 365 segments aired during the third week of the campaign. On-line portals published the majority of the "election content" in the last week, with 608 published articles (354 in the first week, 416 in the second week, and 440 in the third week). Thus, a total of 953 election related content were published in the first week, 1233 in the second week, 1435 in the third week, and 1570 in the fourth week. Weekly and bi-weekly newspapers were not included in this statistics due to the specificity of their publishing.



**Graph 1: Representation of the content related to elections in the media during one month of the pre-election campaign**

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<sup>6</sup> In the discussions with journalists and editors of the media organisations in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Journalist Academy organised by the Association of Journalists in Bosnia and Herzegovina just before the elections, the editors confirmed that the majority of the contents of the election chronicles is based almost exclusively on the PR materials received from the party headquarters. This fact is important because it shows that numerous media organisations still do not have strategic planning when it comes to media coverage of the elections within these specialised programmes. In other words, they operate reactively and not pro-actively when it comes to the political subjects and their representation.



Graph 2: Growth trend of the number of published content during the four weeks of campaign

When it comes to the presence of hate speech in the media content, it should be noted that the monitors specifically analysed, both quantitatively and qualitatively, the examples of inappropriate speech in media, which included not only hate speech, but also other forms of inappropriate speech, such as incitement, discrimination, call for violence, etc. During the four pre-election weeks, **a total of 555 such examples** have been noted (151 in the daily newspapers, 242 on TV stations and 119 on web portals).

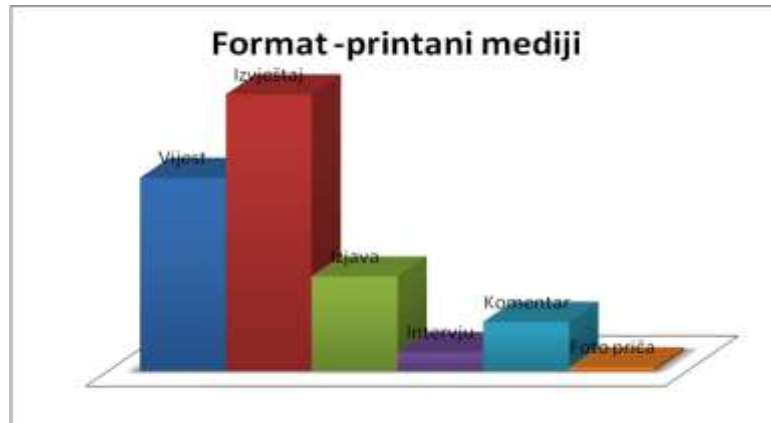
**Therefore, out of the total of 5.356 elections-related media contents published in the pre-election period (from 12 September until 10 October 2014), 10.36 % contained some form of inappropriate speech. Of the total number of all monitored content in the mentioned period (22.647 media segments/features, regardless of whether they were related to the elections), 2.45 % contained some form of inappropriate speech.**

It should be noted that, in most cases, this was not classic hate speech, but rather the choice of inappropriate terms the political leaders used when talking about each other, or which the certain media used to label not only the politicians, but the overall political scene as well (which certain media labelled as "criminal", "mafia", etc.). **However, compared to the local elections in 2012, when the percentage of "controversial" cases was 1.036%, there is noticeable increase in the number of content which includes some form of inappropriate speech or unprofessional reporting.**

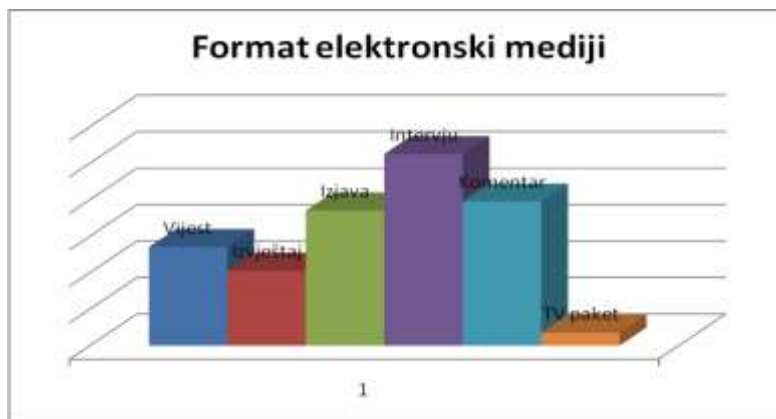


Graph 3: The ratio of content which includes some form of inappropriate speech, in relation to content with appropriate reporting on the election campaigns – texts related to the elections

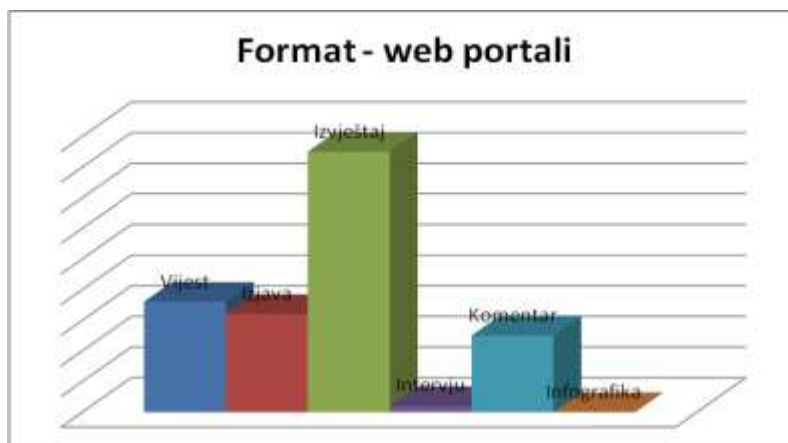
*The greatest number of examples of inappropriate speech in the print and on-line media was noted within the reports, within the interviews with politicians in the electronic media, and within the comments in the magazines.*



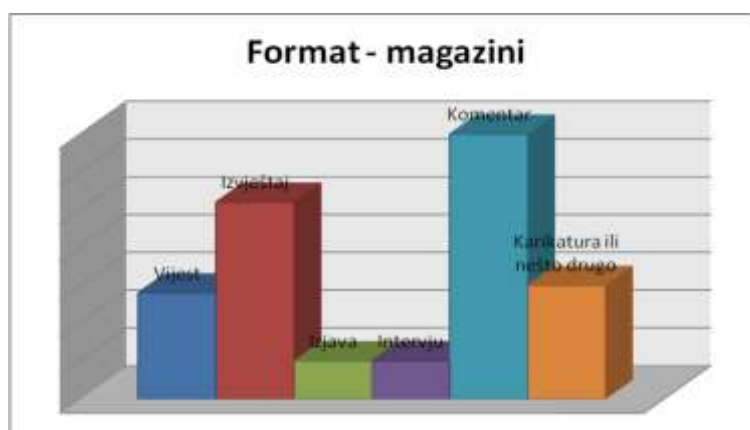
Graph 4: Most common format with the elements of inappropriate speech – print media



Graph 5: Most common format with the elements of inappropriate speech – electronic media

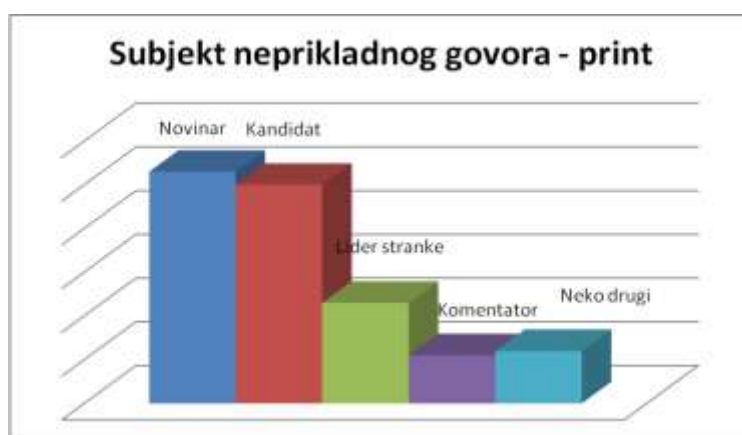


Graph 6: Most common format with the elements of inappropriate speech – on-line media

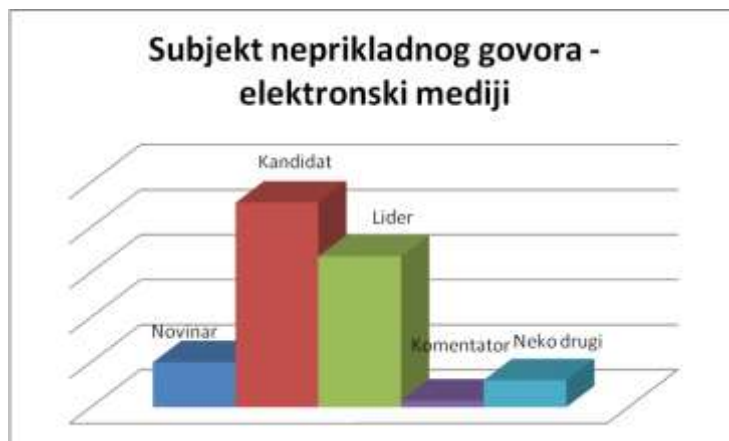


Graph 7: Most common format with the elements of inappropriate speech – magazines

In the daily newspapers, the users of *inappropriate* speech were both the journalists and the political candidates or leaders of political parties. In the electronic media, these were mainly the representatives of political parties. In the weekly newspapers, the users of inappropriate speech were mostly journalists, while on the portals there were both the journalists and the representatives of political parties. The worrisome fact is that in the first two weeks of monitoring we noticed a smaller number of cases in which the users of inappropriate speech were journalists, but as the election campaign progressed, that number increased, especially in the print media (both in the daily newspapers, and weekly or bi-weekly magazines). This indicates the willingness of certain journalists to abandon their professionalism at particular moments and use incitement and offensive language, thereby raising the tensions on the eve of the elections day.



Graph 8: The users of inappropriate speech in the daily newspapers



Graph 9: The users of inappropriate speech on TV stations



Graph 10: The users of inappropriate speech on web portals



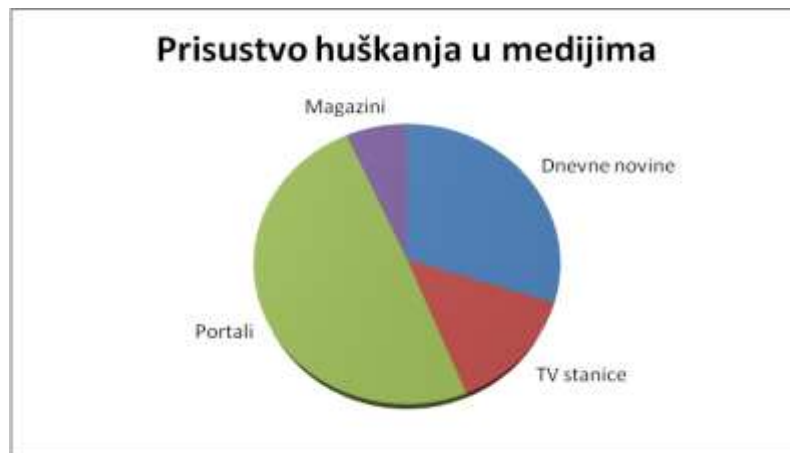
Graph 11: The users of inappropriate speech in the magazines

However, it is important to note that ***there were also cases when the journalists on the TV shows pointed out the inappropriate speech of their interlocutors and tried to establish a fair dialogue in the programme.*** For example, on the TV show "Apostrof" aired on 17 September on ATV, the presenter warned Slavko Vučurević from PDP that he and the other guests should pay more attention to the manner in which they are communicating, after he called Milorad Dodik "a monster". In some cases, the political candidates cautioned their interlocutors with regards to their communication style. For example, on a debate show on TV1 on October 3rd, after several negative comments on behalf of one of the candidates for the Presidency membership from the Bosniak people, the independent candidate Adil Žigić said: "Replica to all of you, do not talk about the people who are not present here, because those people do not have the possibility to reply. That is a basic thing and should be the principle that all of us should adhere to, regardless of the fact that they did not show up here".

The objects of inappropriate speech or, rather, its topic are most commonly political candidates and/or political parties; therefore, we can conclude that ***we are most often seeing a political confrontation between candidates and party leaders on the pages of the newspapers and in TV reports, although there are examples of tendentious and unprofessional media reporting about the parties and candidates.*** However, it is especially noticeable in the print media that they usually place these various political confrontations with inappropriate vocabulary in the headlines or sub-titles of their texts, thus inciting the sensationalistic approach and jeopardizing the balanced reporting. For example, on 4 October in the headline and sub-title of the report on the campaign rally of the coalition "Zajedno za promjene", "Dnevni list" quoted the statement of Živko Budimir that "Ruling politicians – the mafia, do not deserve the confidence of citizens" (Annex 1). In "DnevniAvaz" such examples could usually be found in articles about SDA and its candidate for the Bosniak member of Presidency, Bakir Izetbegović (e.g. 6 October 2014, the text in which this party was accused for being "anti-state and for traitorous stealing", and its leader for "around ten political murders" (Annex 2)). TV stations had a smaller number of cases with such sensationalistic approach, but in some of them we also note instances of inappropriate speech, various inappropriate allusions, etc., stated by the journalists. For example, on 26 September, in the segment "Centralno grijanje" of the Central News on Face TV, after the statement of Sefer Halilović, the leader of BPS, suggesting that "Milorad Dodik is not a man", there was a dialogue between the female and male presenters, in which the female presenter asked: "Do you know how to check if someone is a man?", and the male presenter answered: "Obviously, Sefer knows". Although this was not a classic hate speech, nor an incitement, this kind of the attempt of cynicism and/or humour, which does not comply with the professional standards and cannot be justified with public interest, seems highly inappropriate and unnecessary.

***As previously stated, there were no instances of classic hate speech in the four weeks of the pre-election period, but the incitement was noted in most of the reports and/or texts flagged as problematic by the monitors.*** In addition to the incitement, there was a certain number of the examples with the inappropriate, sensational, and unprofessional choice of terms, catch-phrases, etc., used to describe some of the political candidates, parties, and so on. Also, noted were examples of raising ethnic tensions, of guessing and speculating, which is not an explicit form of hate speech, but it does jeopardise fair and balanced reporting and it is contrary to postulates of the profession. For example, on 6 October, on page 5 of "Glas Srpske" (in the text which was announced on front page as well) stated that "Wahhabis from

the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina surrounded Doboj", quoting an unnamed source who claimed that Wahhabis are settling in the area of Doboj, amassing weapons, and preparing to provoke an armed incident. The incitement language was used in the text (Annex 3). Although the text has no direct relation to the election campaign, the fact that this kind of unconfirmed information of the unnamed source was published six days before the elections, points to the tendency of the media for raising inter-ethnic tensions ahead of elections.



Graph 12: Presence of incitement in the media

**Monitors also noted a few explicitly inappropriate contents, with absolutely unacceptable terms used.** Some of them simply published the speeches made by the politicians ("Vijesti.ba", 22 September, quotation: „Dodik: If Shiptares are entitled to have two countries, why can't Serbs as well" – (problematic term "Shiptares" was used only for sensationalist purposes, as it was only a remark at the campaign rally in which the other representatives of SNSD also participated –Annex 4; or "Oslobođenje", 10 October, statement of Sejfudin Tokić: "I will prevent discrimination, serbisation, and Orthodoxication..." – Annex 5), some of them are about creating the pre-election "atmosphere" at the campaign rallies, which verged on the edge of common decency (TV1 Central News, 6 October 2014 : Shouting of the masses at the pre-election rally of "Savez za promjene" in Trebinje: "Željka, whore!" (on the account of the SNSD candidate, Željka Cvijanović; also in the same report, the statement of the leader of the list for the Parliament of RS, S. Vučurević, at the campaign rally: "What do Željka Cvijanović and Gacko have in common, I said "I don't know", he said "the head of a mare""), while others displayed incitement toward certain candidates ("Frontal.rs", 2 October 2014: Headline "From Ustasha (profascist collaborator) to a man: Budimir in the turbo-folk video will not give away either Bosnia, or Herzegovina"; in the text Živko Budimir was called "a Bosniak candidate for the Croatian member of the Presidency" – Annex 6).

In the two weeks following the elections, the monitors reviewed **12.183** segments/features (7533 articles in the daily newspapers, 2420 TV reports, 2020 articles/reports published on web portals, and 210 articles in weekly and biweekly magazines). Of that number, 856 elections-related articles were published in the daily newspapers, 753 reports aired on TV stations, 806 articles on web portals, and 69 articles in magazines, for **a total of 2.484 election related contents, or 20.38%**.





Graph 13: The percentage of election-related content in the two weeks after October 12th

In this period, the media mostly reported on the official results of Central Election Commission, so the number of inappropriate texts was drastically reduced in that period. Incitement noticed in the pre-election campaign was mostly replaced with speculations on possible post-election coalitions and the formation of the government, which still represents the violation of professional standards. The elections results were discussed and explained mostly by the experts from the NGO sector, as well as by political officials, but the rhetoric was significantly "milder" than during the pre-election campaign. This shows how delicate communication is during the election campaign, i.e. how the election campaign is indeed the time of the highest tensions and "inflammatory" speech.

However, in the mentioned period we noted **111 cases of inappropriate speech**, mainly from the leaders of political parties, which constitutes **4.46% of the total number of election-related contents, or 0.91% of the total number of the monitored content in the post-election period.** This relatively low percentage demonstrates that the tensions related to the election campaign are placated almost immediately after the elections.



Graph 14: The ratio of content which includes some form of inappropriate speech, in relation to content with appropriate reporting on the election campaigns – texts related to the elections

## **5. Concluding remarks and recommendations for media and non-media actors**

Media monitoring during the pre-campaign for the 2014 General Elections included a total of 21 media, i.e. central informative and debate shows of public broadcasting services and privately-owned TV stations (BHT, FTV, RTRS, BN TV, TV Hayat, TV1, Face TV, and ATV), the entirety of daily newspapers (Dnevni avaz, Oslobođenje, Dnevni list, Glas Srpske), texts/reports on web portals (Radio Sarajevo, Klix.ba, Frontal.rs, Dnevno.ba, Vijesti.ba, and blog by Slobodan Vasković), and the entirety of the magazines Slobodna Bosna, Dani, and Start.

This report has attempted to provide a descriptive analysis of the way the media has used or relayed hate speech, as well as other forms of unacceptable communication (discrimination, incitement) before, during, and after the 2014 General Elections. This means that its aim was not to evaluate the work of certain media, nor to pass judgement on the validity of the manner in which the media covered the elections.

Content analysis as a method by its nature is unable to provide reasons for the content being what it is. Content analysis in this particular case, therefore, only analyses the articles, reports and shows in print, electronic, and on-line media, systematically describing their character, without pretending to explain the causes of certain phenomena and characteristics of specific articles or media.

This media monitoring had set the following hypotheses:

- There are examples of inappropriate communication and unprofessional reporting in the media during the pre-election campaigns.
- Inappropriate communication is intensified especially in the time immediately before the elections, both by the media and by the other actors in political communication.
- Latent forms such as incitement, discrimination, and insults are more present than the classic hate speech.

***All the proposed hypotheses have been proven, and the general conclusion of the monitoring is that improper communication and unprofessional reporting are present in a relatively high proportion in relation to the amount of media content pertaining to elections (10.36% during the campaign and 4.46% after the campaign). It is important to note that this was not a classic form of hate speech, i.e. that there were no cases of encouragement of violence against individuals or groups, but there were cases of incitement and inappropriate terminology not only by non-media actors, but also by certain journalists.***

Cases where inappropriate speech and incitement were present in journalistic expression were mostly contained in the comments, which enabled the audience, to some degree, to distinguish between the author's opinion and the factual part of the provided information. Most frequently noted were the examples of unprofessional reporting, as well as examples of labelling certain political subjects, political opponents, and so on. These examples were most commonly found in the headlines, but there were also found in the content of texts, usually in the print media.

***Certain media have decided not to report on the elections at all.*** It is hard to say whether the reason for this was the lack of capacity of the media (human resources, finances, etc.), or a certain "non-confrontation policy," but the fact remains that the media which do not broadcast election programs and do not write about the programs offered by political

parties and candidates are denying the citizens a certain diversity of political opinion, and depriving the candidates of a platform for debate and presentation of their plans and programs.

When it comes to print media, most of them had dedicated sections in which they reported on events related to the election campaign, mainly based on the PR materials of the political parties but the election campaign was present on other pages of the newspaper as well (from the front page which discussed the political developments in general, to culture, sport, and other sections which featured political leaders and their activities such as the opening of cultural and sporting events, etc.). Therefore, this so-called "non-election" content had a direct impact on the political choice of the voters, and improper speech was noted throughout this content (not only in the sections dedicated to elections). When it comes to daily newspapers, they mostly cited verbatim the improper speech of the political actors, usually highlighting "inflammatory" sentences by putting them in titles and on the front pages, thus adopting a sensationalist approach in order to increase circulation. Public interest was, therefore, shoved to the background, in favour of profit. In addition to directly promoting certain political parties and candidates, and in an attempt to discredit the political entities which were considered "opponents", certain print media used a large amount of inappropriate terminology, remarks, connotations, headlines, etc., and the layout of articles itself (choice of photographs, their positioning within the text, placement of articles on the front page of the newspaper, etc.) contributed to unprofessional reporting.

In the **electronic media**, the amount of controversial content was higher in the privately owned media than in the public media. However, it should be noted that the monitors recorded an additional form of non-professionalism in the media while monitoring the public broadcasting service RTRS, relating directly to favouritism shown towards the ruling SNSD party (which mostly manifested in the quantity of the articles published about this party, but also in the positive attitude of the media towards the SNSD).

On-line **portals** for the most part had separate sections of the site dedicated to the elections, but like the newspapers, they had numerous articles related to political parties and candidates outside of these separate sections of the site. What is significant for portals is the fact that the articles containing incitement, or discrimination, or some other form of unprofessional reporting, received the largest number of user comments. Precisely the user comments (which were not the subject of this monitoring) showed the lowest level of culture in communication, and the relationship between the news articles and reactions of the audience was especially visible in this context. In cases where journalists or the media imposed inappropriate communication discourse, it was accepted by the audience. This is certainly yet another reason in favour of raising the standards in journalistic reporting.

In addition to stating the negative examples when it comes to election coverage, it is important to recall that ***the monitors noted positive examples*** in which the media or journalists indicated the unacceptability of hate speech and acts of discrediting the political opponents without arguments or in their absence, without providing them with an opportunity to defend themselves. These examples are most often found in the pre-election debate shows on TV stations. The newspapers, however, had only a small (almost negligible) number of articles which offered a chance to the called-out political entities to provide their side of the story or present their arguments. ***Also, there has not been a single case noted of any of the monitored media having made a thematic story/report about the manner and quality of communication of political subjects during the election campaign***, in other

words, not a single media had raised an issue of inappropriate speech of candidates and political party leaders.

In the context of a fair, balanced, and professional media work, reporting on elections should (or rather, must) place the citizens in the foreground. This, in practice, means that the media must resist the attempts of manipulation and pressure to which they are exposed during the pre-election campaign, and especially refrain from favouring any political option, party, or candidate. On the other hand, the political candidates must be aware that the duty of the media is to provide the citizens with a sufficient amount of high quality and trusted information, which the citizens can use to make an informed political decision.

Through this report, we are trying to appeal to the media to provide the citizens with a greater number of reliable, accurate, verified information, untainted by political interest, and to provide the political entities with a platform for argumentative debate and presentation of their political programs.

On the other hand, despite the fact that they lead a merciless battle to win political positions during the election campaign, political entities must enable free and unhindered operation of the media, and avoid any form of pressure and manipulation (both on the media and on the citizens).

In this context, we remind of several recommendations for the media and the non-media actors, as a starting point for future discussions and deliberations about raising professional standards in the pre-election reporting, as well as a starting point for developing a set of ethical reminders for the media in pre-election campaigns.

**Recommendations for media and journalists** do not differ significantly from the usual standards on which every journalist or media should base their professional activities. In fact, in terms of pre-election reporting, they just become more significant:

- The fundamental task of the media and journalists in pre-election reporting is to **provide a sufficient amount of reliable, fair, balanced, and quality information to citizens**, on the basis of which the citizens will be able to make an "informed choice", i.e. a decision about giving their vote of confidence to certain parties and/or candidates.
- Professional reporting implies **resisting every form of manipulation and pressure, as well as the ability to overcome personal prejudice or preferences in the context of the elections.**
- The media must ensure **equal access to communication channels, and journalists must provide equal treatment of all candidates and parties.**
- When it comes to election coverage, the focus of the media should be on **the electoral programs or the solutions offered by the political parties and candidates**, and not only on the so-called "personalised political communication" based on the representation of political parties and candidates.
- **Critical analysis of the program and the parties/candidates** must be based on meaningfulness, logic, relevance, and feasibility of the program, as well as on the competence of the candidates to implement them, while every type of criticism which is not based on the rationale is unacceptable, especially if it uses inappropriate language and/or hate speech.

- ***The media and journalists are obliged to approach the pre-election reporting from the standpoint of the public interest and with a duty to inform and educate the citizens***, while every form of sensationalism and deviation from professional postulates is unacceptable.

Generally speaking, all of the recommendations listed in the Report on media monitoring of hate speech focusing on the election campaign for the local elections in 2012<sup>7</sup> are applicable and valid in the context of the General Elections. At this point, we remind of the conclusion from the above report: "Consulting the professional codes, regulations, and regulatory bodies (Communications Regulatory Agency and Press Council) and the associations of journalists will assist journalists not only in meeting the standards of professional reporting, but also in protecting their rights and, ultimately, the citizens' right to fair, objective, balanced, and impartial reporting, free from stereotypes, prejudices, incitement, ,discrimination, and hate speech."<sup>8</sup>

## **6. Recommendations for political entities and other non-media actors:**

As previously noted, a fair relationship between the media and political subjects, and informing the citizens about options and programs available to them, are indicators of the degree of democracy in any society.

In this context, ***other, non-media actors in political communication must also be more open toward the media and understand the obligation of communication and cooperation with the media (as representatives of the public who work in the interest of the public) very seriously.***

***The state and the governmental institutions*** must ensure legal prerequisites and democratic atmosphere in which the media can work unhindered.

***Political parties*** must demonstrate the willingness to cooperate with the media, but also must avoid any form of pressure and manipulation of the media and journalists (withholding information, pressuring the journalists, cooperating with the owners, buying silence, "bombarding" the media with PR content, etc.), because this manipulation, in fact, represents the manipulation of the public, which is contrary to the principles of democracy.

***Interest groups (advertisers and media owners)*** must refrain from using their privileged position in the media for endorsing or promoting certain political subjects. This also applies to those ***political actors who already participate in the government***, and who must not use this position for promoting their pre-election political slogans and gaining an advantage over other "players" in the political arena.

In the same context, we should once again remind the reader of one of the recommendations from the 2012 Report, which states that: "It is imperative that hate speech is not interposed with ideological and political positions or opinions of the other actors in the public communication, as well as with argument-based critical writing of the media. As noted above, hate speech should be prevented, but in doing so, the freedom of speech must not be endangered, respecting the fact that ideologically and politically varied bias in a democratic society is one of the basic principles of democracy, provided that this bias does not imply discrimination and incitement to violence on the basis of certain

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.bhnovinari.ba/images/stories/pdf/coe/monitoringbosanski.pdf>

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

personality traits or belonging to a certain group. <sup>9</sup> This means that political entities must allow critical writing of the media, if it is well-argued and of public interest.

**Civil society actors** must be the key "allies" of the media in pre-election reporting, providing their expertise in the interpretation of political events and the interpretation and analysis of the political programs of the parties, but also providing support to the effort to preserve the freedom of speech, and promoting the view that hate speech does not equal freedom of speech.

**The journalist community** must be honest and critical of itself, must point out inappropriate speech, as well as other forms of unprofessional reporting, and encourage the respect for and improvement of journalistic standards through constant discussions, dialogue, and exchange of views.

Last but not least, **the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e. the public**, must provide their support to the media by critically and consciously selecting the media who do their job professionally and calling on others to demonstrate a higher level of ethical and professional reporting. Appropriate feedback is the most significant form of public support to the media and journalists.

"Unfortunately, in our society, hatred is constant while love is an outlier. Hate speech is formulated from thoughts that are full of hate. Such thoughts then trigger the action of hatred, i.e. violence— both verbal any other." Prof. Nedžad Ibrahimović, publication "Promoting professionalism and tolerance in the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina", page 25.

This report pleads for a change in this situation, and for a greater degree of democracy in the political campaign. To accomplish this, the cooperation of all actors is required.

## 7. Sources

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<sup>9</sup><http://www.bhnovinari.ba/images/stories/pdf/coe/monitoringbosanski.pdf>

## 8. Annexes

Annex 1: „Dnevni list“ 4 October 2014.

Predizborni skupovi koalicije "Zajedno za promjene"

# Vladajući političari-mafijaši ne zaslužuju povjerenje građana



Vladajući političari-mafijaši ne zaslužuju povjerenje građana

**MOSTAR** - Na predizbornom skupu koalicije "Zajedno za promjene" u Gradačcu, predsjednik FBiH i predsjednik SPP-a Živko Budimir je rekao da su vladajući političari mafijaši te da ne zaslužuju povjerenje građana na predstojećim izborima. On je izrazio nadu da će građani, stoga, na predstojećim izborima povjeriti glas koaliciji "Zajedno za promjene" i njemu kao kandidatu za članstvo u Predsjedništvu BiH.

u kakvoj kriminalnoj radnji, ljudi koji će raditi za narod, a ne za vlastiti interes. Ako mi izglasujete povjerenje, borit ću se za jedinstvenu BiH s jednim predsjednikom, jednom vladom i državom bez entiteta", poručio je Budimir.

Na skupu koalicije u Srebreniku, on je ponovio da starje u BiH nije vođa Božja niti sudbina već izbor građana. Istaknuo je i da je cilj ove koalicije od BiH napraviti normalnu državu koja će biti jedinstven predsjednik, a ne

Stranke penzionera/umirovljenika BiH Mehmed Nurkanović zapitao je zašto umirovljenici nisu ujediništi ističući da samo ujediništi mogu otjerati lošu vlast.

Predsjednik LDS-a i nositelj liste za TŽ Amir Husarić podsjetio je da je Budimir okupio šest stranaka u koaliciju "Zajedno za promjene" te je "ujedinio tri različite vojske u jednu za očuvanje BiH".

Muhamed Puškar (SDU), nositelj liste za Zastupnički dom Parlamenta BiH, najavio je da



**SBB** Bakirova stranka potvrdila vjerodostojnost TV priloga

# Neka SDA sada kaže gdje je vreća zlata?

Izetbegović uopće ne demantira, niti je to moguće, sadržaj TV snimaka sa donatorskih skupova održanih u Turskoj, Švicarskoj i Saudijskoj Arabiji i prisustvo Sulejmana el-Šidija



Avdulah Džuhrović (lijevo), predsjednik, govori o stvaranju novca



Bakir u Turskoj zaključuje na sklopljenom sastanku



Bećirbegović, predsjednik organizacije pomoći muslimanima, prima novac



U Saudijskoj Arabiji prikupljaju novac za pomoć



U Sarajevu, u prisustvu avdžija i Sulejmana el-Šidija, za političke agencije traže pravo na novac



El-Šidi, Šidija i Bakir Izetbegović u zajedničkom sastanku u centru Sarajeva

Posljednje rezignacije SDA na ostatak TV Alife reče je otklonjeno da Bakir Izetbegović uopće ne demantira videozapise sa donatorskih skupova u Turskoj, Saudijskoj Arabiji i Švicarskoj.

### Vreća za Bakira

Niko ne može falsificirati videozapise koji ih negiraju, jer su na njima živu ljudu, dopadaju, ali i ozbiljni kilogrami zlata, novca u različitim devizama i čekovi koje je pred TV kamerama nosio Bakirova majka Halida.

Tadašnji prevodilac izjavio je oči dana da je

ona rekla: „Jednu vreću zlata ostavio za mog Bakira.“

Objavljivanjem autentičnih snimaka tako se svjedoči činjenici potčinjen Izetbegović, ali on na prijetu svoje rukovodilac kaže, koje je umar privodimo punim i od naroda, ne može ostvariti svoju volju pojesti za 200.000 žetova koji su stradali u svojim sudbinama godinama zbog neznanja.

A to se, između ostalog, dogodilo jer za to namijenjeni donatorski novac, zlato, srebrno i čekovi nikada nisu stigli naroda i izostali

službeni u BiH.

Evadama, posle da u ovom razmatranje Izetbegović uopće ne demantira, niti je to moguće, sadržaj TV snimaka iz ove zemlje, kao ni to da se na njima vidi „članak“ „Al-Shidda“ dokazna svedoka obavere nadležnim policijskim agencijama da se postave ovom kriminalnim slučajem tekim nekoliko milijardi KM.

### Zaboravili šehide

Uostalom, prisustvo izjavio da potpuno izgleda priloga TV Alife (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IV3wKWY7C0>) pa da se

liko službeni kako Bakir Izetbegović pokušava operativno manipulirati i izdatički loptovnik nevidenih razmatranje.

Izetbegović emocijama u svojoj rukovodilac ovaj ljudi od otkrivanja desetak političkih ubojstva i narocije od prije više Bakirova grupa u Sarajevu?

Zato je za 20 godina vlasti došlo do 600.000 glada, 500.000 nezaposlenih?

Zato je svitko ekonomski i rasni BiH te BiH pokušava vezati za njegovu i njegovu AK partiju, koje se u razmatranje iz Presencija SBB-a.



## Вијести

Цвијановић  
Улога  
наставника  
најважнија

БАЊАЛУКА - Предавачник Владе РС Жељка Цвијановић упутки је професорним радницима у Српској војсци поводом 5. октобра, Сајетског дана наставника, понавља да је то дан када је потребно још једном указати да је ова професија једна од најважнијих за укупан друштвени развој.

- Улога наставника у изградњи будућности је кључна - истакло је премијер РС. (Срна)

Мутабија  
Знање  
препоруча за  
будућност

БАЊАЛУКА - Министар просвете и културе РС Горан Мутабија изјавио је поводом Сајетског дана учесницима да професорни радници имају један од најважнијих задатака у друштву.

- Они заједно с родитељима образују и воспитивају младе генерације, одлучни да је знање најбоља препорука за будућност - истако је Мутабија. (Срна)

Гњатић  
Изједначити  
коэффициенте  
за плате

БАЊАЛУКА - Гласки синдикат образовања, науке и културе РС у изразном поретку инсистираће на изједначавању коефицијената плата за наставни кадар са осталим будућим корисницима изјавио је председник овог синдиката Драган Гњатић. Он је истакао да није изједначити ни коефицијенти у основном и средњем образовању. (Срна)

Све више припадника вехабиистичког покрета у рубним дијеловима општине

# Вехабије из ФБиХ окружиле Добој

Неколико стотина вехабија налази се на рубним дијеловима Добоја, у општинама Добој-Југ и Добој-Исток. Територијално су повезани са вехабијама у општини Добој, а инфраструктуру изграђују тихо

ИНВИ-ГОРАН МАТУБАЈА  
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ДОБОЈ - У добојским насељима Которош, Сјенина, Микљеновац, Микљеновац, Стари Град, Орашје и Присаје налази се више од 100 вехабија које су у фази изградње инфраструктуре тог покрета у добојској општини.

Казао је то саговорник "Гласа Српске" бивши безбедносни агенцијама и дошао да се, осим тога, неколико стотина вехабија налази на рубним дијеловима општине Добој из области ФБиХ и да су територијално повезани са онима из Добоја.

- То су општине Добој-Југ односно зеначка област и Добој-Исток то јест тузланска општина. Вехабије су ту добро организоване и врше својерестан притисак на општину Добој из ФБиХ - казао је наш саговорник.

Нагласио је да вехабије већ дужије године ту изграђују систем и да изабјегаву све врсте инвазиона. Дуго је да набављају оружје, али да не извршавају јавни ред и мир,



Вехабијски покрет делује у 14 општина РС  
ФОТО: ГЛАС СРПСКЕ

јер тек сасија фаза изградње инфраструктуре инвазиона. Зато би, како је рекао, властима већ требало да предузму мјере из своје надлежности.

- То нема везе са демократијом и људским правима, јер је вехабијско дјеловање, из радикално-исламских предавања до изградње инфраструктуре, у сваком сегменту аутономно - казао је наш саговорник.

Он је дошао да је група око Добоја формирала властиту заједницу, земат, који припада унији земата, чији је шеф Мухамед Порча из Беча, Порча је, казао је, командовао вођи вехабија у БиХ Нисрету Ишановићу док он није отишао у Србију, а сад то ради преко повода вехабијске заједнице Горња Маоча Јасмина Мустафића.

Рашије је установљено да вехабије на подручју Зеничко-

добојског кантона пролазе масовну и физичку обуку у паживама и физкултурних салама основних и средњих школа. Борбичким вјештинама уче их професионални тренери. После тога сљедеће обука у руковођу оружјем.

## ЗА САДА ИЗБЈЕГАВАЈУ ИНЦИДЕНТЕ

МУП РС је у децембру 2013. године саопштио да вехабијски покрет делује у 14 општина РС, где подику локалне куће на доминантним котима и гаје под окридјем лова и чедарства циље обуке руковођа напредним оружјем. Тада је наведено да је ријеч о

мјестима и локацијама у рубним општинама Српске, а између осталог наведено је и насеље Которош код Добоја.

Више од десет година из рубних, федералних дијелова општине Добој отишао је на ратиште у Србију и Ирак, где ратују на страни терористичког покрета Исламска држава (ISIL). Неколико их је погинуло, а није познато да ли се неко од њих вратио са тог ратишта.

Према званичним подацима, на тим ратиштима има укупно 250 вехабија из БиХ.

У Центру јавне безбедности Добој речево је да "на подручју општине има евидентирања припадника вехабијског покрета, али да није забележено екстремно дјеловање".

## ЦЈБ ДОБОЈ

У ЦЈБ Добој рекли су да у складу са својим надлежностима "гроти активности људи који својим дјеловањем могу угрозити безбједност".

- Прикупљено и анализирано

информације у вези са потенцијалним терористичким активностима и екстремним политичким упутованим националним или вјерским побудом - казали су у ЦЈБ Добој.

HOME SVE VIJESTI SPORT INTERVJUI KOMENTARI MAGAZIN SHOW

REPUBLICA SRPSKA  
**Dodik: RS nikad nije bila institucionalno jača**

A. A. 21/09/2014 20:36:00



Foto: Srna.

BRČKO - Kandidat SNSD-DNS-SP za predsjednika RS Milorad Dodik poručio je večeras da RS nikad nije bila institucionalno jača nego što je danas. "Mi smo ravnopravni suvlasnici Brčko distrikta i nikada ovdje nećemo iznevjeriti, niti izdati svoje građane", ...  
... rekao je Dodik na centralnom predizbornom mitingu SNSD-a Brčkom.

On je najavio da će uskoro biti pokrenuto pitanje vraćanja nadležnosti koje su razne međunarodne institucije i njihovi predstavnici u BiH oduzeli Srpskoj.

"Naš cilj je da Republika Srpska bude što manje entitet, a što više država. Ako Šiptari imaju pravo da imaju dvije države, zašto to ne mogu i Srbi", upitao je Dodik.

Kandidat SNSD-DNS-SP za srpskog člana Predsjedništva BiH Željka Cvijanović rekla je da će poslije 12. oktobra u Sarajevo da ide sa bojama Republike Srpske, a ne sa bijelom zastavom. "Tamo ne idem radi karijere, već idem da branim ono što je naše", poručila je Cvijanovićeve.

Učesnicima večerašnjeg predizbornog skupa obratio se i nosilac liste SNSD-a za Parlamentarnu skupštinu BiH Nikola Špirić koji je, između ostalog, naglasio da samo strpljivi i trpeljivi narodi dočekaju da imaju svoju državu.

"Mi u Sarajevu radimo pod motom 'Republika Srpska prije svega, a BiH dokle treba', istakao je Špirić.

Na večerašnjem predizbornom mitingu u Brčkom SNSD je predstavio svoje kandidate za Parlamentarnu skupštinu BiH iz Izborne jedinice dva i kandidate za Narodnu skupštinu Republike Srpske iz Izborne jedinice šest.

(Vijesti.ba/Srna)

f Preporučiti 0





## Annex 6: Frontal.rs on Budimir

**Од усташе, до човјека: Будимир у фолк споту не да ни Босну ни Херцеговину**

Бошњачки кандидат за хрватског члана предсједништва Живко Будимир кандидовао се и за највећу кичерицу од предизборне кампање.



Будимир је био предсједник странке злокобног имена Хрватска странка права, која баштини генцидну идеологију Анте Старчевића и Павелића, али је након избора 2010. постао "бошњачко свијеће". Његово усташтво и држање Павелићевих бисти у није сметало СДП који га је искористио као "легитимног Хрвата", поставио на мјесто предсједника ЕФБиХ, све у циљу да оправда прескакање ХДЗ која је имала веченску подршку хрватске популације у БиХ.

Нико Раупуџић о сјајној Анте Павелића коју Алекса...



Било како било, Будимир је наставио са улогом мултикултуралца, те се кандидовао за Предсједништво БиХ. Фолк пјесма која прати његову кампању почиње стиховима "Добар човек земљом ходи, њега воле сви народи...", што је јасно аванзовање у погледу декларисања. Но, уз наслов пјесме "Не дамо Босну, не дамо Херцеговину, Будимир и даље може рећи да се бори за Хрватску до Дрине.

NE DAMO BOSNE, NE DAMO HERCEGOVINE  
**ZAJEDNO MOŽEMO SVE**



**ŽIVKO BUDIMIR, KANDIDAT ZA ČLANA PREDSJEDNIŠTVA BIH**

Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram

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