LGBT POPULATION

IN THE PRINTED MEDIA IN SERBIA, 2011

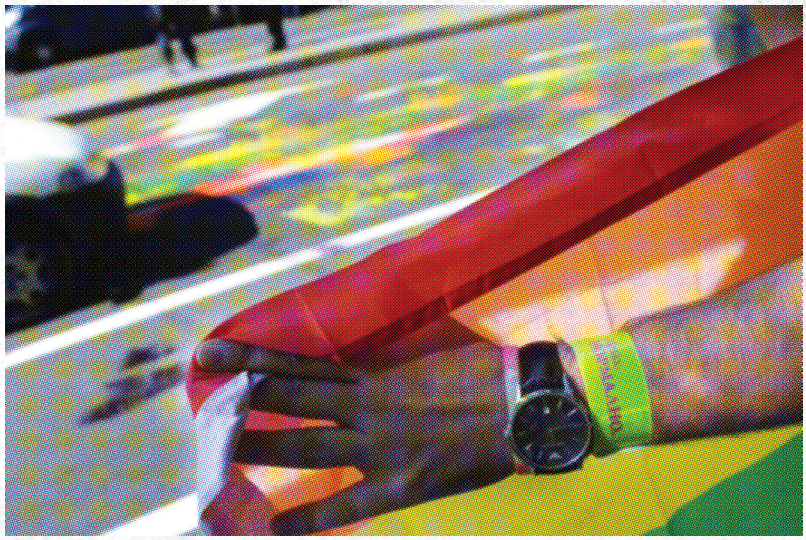
Labris – lesbian human rights organization

Belgrade, 2012

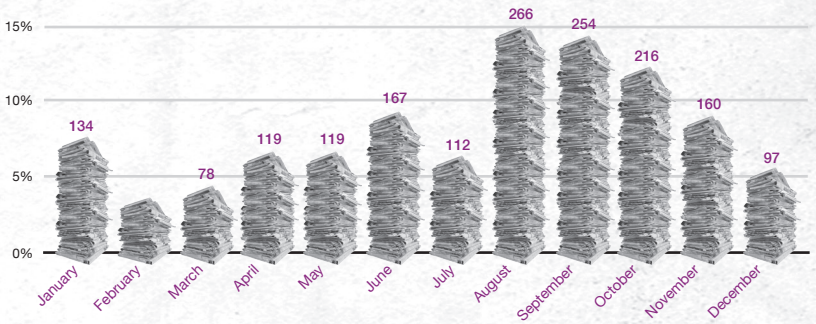
IMAGE OF LGBT POPULATION

Dominant ideas of LGBT population are directly connected with media because politics of media representation brightens paradigmatic notions about them in a certain community. "Media are an instrument which is being used to sensitize broader public, wherein role of electronic media is of particular importance because they are polygon of producing inequality and fear of otherness, which are built through media contents, and in which widespread stereotypes and negative ideas of LGBT people are being repeated on a daily basis. Media is forming restrictive and rigid definitions that cannot cover existential diversity and difference, and are drawing borders of acceptable and legitimate behavior, whilst clearly defining positions of margins and center." (Visnjic, Loncarevic 2010:19).

LGBT population has been continuously deleted from the texts of all mainstream media programs. Although contemporary media today, more than ever before, has more complex and ambiguous view when it comes to gender and sexuality, media images of LGBT population show that this group of population still doesn't get enough space in printed and electronic media, and appearances and thematizations are periodical. Though lesbian and gay themes dominated for a long time within entertainment programs, during past few years, the articles about LGBT populations are mostly present in the politics and society columns. In 2001, the production and premiere od Srdjan Dragojevic's movie the Parade appeared in the majority of articles in the entertainment column. On the October 30th and 31st and November 1st (days before movie premiere) the entire presscliping referring to themes regarding gay population related only to this movie. Seventeen articles were published and all of them were either neutral or positive. This year, two important exhibitions concerning LGBT history were organized within the field of culture, Article One and Nazi terror against homosexuals 1933-1945. Cultural center Rex, Article One (Sweden) and feminist group BeFem, an exhibition called Article 1, exhibition of LGBT history in Belgrade in February. Only two printed media reported about this exhibition. Same as museums for a long time ignored history and specific experiences of homosexual, bisexual and transsexual people; media is making LGBT community invisible by selective selection and representation of experiences. Only three newspapers reported on the exhibition, held in the Belgrade museum, Nazi terror against homosexuals 1933-1945 that was organized by association ARTEQ from Belgrade in partnership with association Queer Zagreb.



MONITORING OF THE PRINT MEDIA



There is a more frequent reporting about LGBT population in the months that preceded organization of the Pride parade 2011, as well as in few months after it was banned which is graphically shown bellow.

LABRIS
ORGANIZACIJA ZA LEZBEJSKA LJUDSKA PRAVA

LGBT POPULATION

IN THE PRESS IN SERBIA, 2011

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ORGANIZACIJA ZA LEZBEJSKA LJUDSKA PRAVA

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Jelena Višnjić

LGBT POPULATION
IN THE PRESS IN SERBIA, 2011

Labris – lesbian human rights organization, Belgrade 2012

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ILGA EUROPE

INTRODUCTION

Media supports ruling social structure and therefore it is necessary to follow up continuously. Monitoring of the media reality should show whether and how strategies of excluding LGBT population in the media practice are functioning through constructions of reality, ghettoization and stereotypes in the media. Reprezentation politics of gender identities can be observed as expression of the power relations in one society and one historical period, and in that sense position of LGBT population in media discourse is rather constructed and marked as the figure of " other", figure which reflects prevailing social relations. In this sense, LGBT is a category. Hence, it is a fact that what is attributed to this category, the principle of other, the secondary, undesirable, is of less value in the ruling ideologies and their inherent media practices.

Rendition of Serbian contexts indicates that homosexuals, lesbians, bisexuals and transsexuals still are victims of discrimination and don't have equal treatment in society regardless to the existence of formally proclaimed universal rights in the form of Constitution and specific laws. The obligation of the state is to protect all of its citizens, but it failed to fulfill that task and it presents a burning issue which requires more efficient and coordinated action of the police, judiciary and prosecution. Weakness and lack of political will in the process of improvement and implementation of LGBT population rights most clearly reflected through attempts of organizing Pride parade which is a political act of peaceful gathering that presents one of the foundations of functional democracy and indicates discriminated status in society. Severe violence that occurred during the first public gathering of LGBT people - *gay* parade, held June 2001 in Belgrade, banning of the Pride parade in 2009 and 2001, as well as violence which followed Pride parade held in 2010 are events which legitimized discrimination against minority group whose rights are guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia.

Serbia is the last country in the Balkans that in 2009 finally adopted the Anti-discrimination law as the first legal act which definitely affirms sexual minority's rights. Serbian medical soci-

ety finally acknowledged that homosexuality is not a disease on 14. May 2008, eighteen years after the World Health Organization decided to remove homosexuality from the International classification of diseases (ICD-10)[1]. There are six laws in Serbia that explicitly claim right to sexual orientation: Public information law, Broadcasting law, Labor law, High education law. Anti-discrimination law and Youth law. Although legal framework for respecting human rights is secured , when it comes to the process of improving LGBT position in society role of the state is not efficient enough. Improving rights of LGBT population means comprehensive social, institutional mobilization and inclusion of media dimension as one of the significant factors in the shaping process of public opinion.

Media content should be viewed as text whose analysis we read as layers of social meaning, and then we give them social dimension through loading into external, social relations in which they developed. Therefore it is necessary that we constantly make distances and to decentre ourselves in relation to media practice, because reality through which we move, meanings we create are always just provisional due to the fact that resistance to modernization and homophobic discourse in dominant public and media mold in Serbia, survives and continuously regenerate itself.

1 World Health Organization's General Assembly, on 17. May 1990, officially removed homosexuality from the list of mental disorders where it was placed in 1977.

IMAGE OF LGBT POPULATION
IN THE PRESS IN SERBIA 2011

Dominant ideas of LGBT population are directly connected with media because politics of media representation brightens paradigmatic notions about them in a certain community. "Media are an instrument which is being used to sensitize broader public, wherein role of electronic media is of particular importance because they are polygon of producing inequality and fear of otherness, which are built through media contents, and in which widespread stereotypes and negative ideas of LGBT people are being repeated on a daily basis. Media is forming restrictive and rigid definitions that cannot cover *existential diversity and difference*, and are drawing borders of acceptable and legitimate behavior, whilst clearly defining positions of margins and center." (Visnjic, Loncarevic 2010:19).

LGBT population has been continuously *deleted from the texts* of all mainstream media programs. Although contemporary media today, more than ever before, has more complex and ambiguous view when it comes to gender and sexuality, media images of LGBT population show that this group of population still doesn't get enough space in printed and electronic media, and appearances and thematizations are periodical. Though lesbian and gay themes dominated for a long time within entertainment programs, during past few years, the articles about LGBT populations are mostly present in the politics and society columns. In 2001, the production and premiere od Srdjan Dragojevic's movie the Parade appeared in the majority of articles in the entertainment column. On the October 30th and 31st and November 1st (days before movie premiere) the entire pressclipping referring to themes regarding gay population related only to this movie. Seventeen articles were published and all of them were either neutral or positive. This year, two important exhibitions concerning LGBT history were organized within the field of culture, Article One and Nazi terror against homosexuals 1933-1945. Cultural center Rex, Article One (Sweden) and feminist group BeFem, an exhibition called *Article 1, exhibition of LGBT history*[2] in Belgrade in February. Only two printed media

2 This exhibition shows parts of the collections of homosexual, bisexual and transsexual history and relation to the modern art from some of the main museums in Sweden. (Museum of the Swedish police department, Museum of the Swedish military, Nobel's museum, National museum of science and technology, National Swedish history museum). Various parts of the exhibitions tell different stories, but they all have one common subject: LGBTIQ history.

reported about this exhibition. Same as museums for a long time ignored history and specific experiences of homosexual, bisexual and transsexual people; media is making LGBT community invisible by selective selection and representation of experiences. Only three newspapers reported on the exhibition, held in the Belgrade museum, Nazi terror against homosexuals 1933-1945[3] that was organized by association ARTEQ from Belgrade in partnership with association Queer Zagreb.

Question of relation towards LGBT population is a political issue, kind of test for Serbia in the process of transition and democratization of society. However, Serbia is far from the modern community that opened space for minorities and for promoting and respecting differences, despite inputting formal and decorative efforts. As a result of human rights and LGBT groups' action, this question has got its place on the political agenda as well as in Serbia's media discourse. Media reported about these key events: Pride parade 2011, May 17th – International day against homophobia and transphobia, presentation of the Gay straight alliance (GSA) annual report about the state of LGBT human rights in Serbia "Step by Step" (the fact that Belgrade mayor, Dragan Djilas was present at the presentation, significaly increased number of articles in the newspapers), International pride day, marked by spreading rainbow flag from the balcony of the Ministry for human and minority rights headquarters, gathering "IT'S ENOUGH" in front of the Government headquarters organized by GSA to protest the attacking A.Z. (24) who wore T-shirt with LGBT symbols. Majority of the daily newspapers (Pravda, Dnevnik, Poitika, Blic, Pres, Kurir, Vecernje novosti) regularly report about court trial against leader of Obraz, Mladen Obradovic, who is being trialed for discrimination of LGBT people, as well as trial against Misa Vacic, leader of organization Nasi 1389, who is being trialed for racial and other discrimination. Most of the texts are medium sized but what is important is that almost all of them are unsigned and without contextual and political rendering of violence.

Furthermore, there is a registered repetition of patterns in the case of media reporting on the Belgrade High Court verdict, which convicted three rowdies because they participated in the riots during the Pride parade in Belgrade that was held on October 10 2010. Accordingly to the origin of location newspaper articles are mainly from domestic public and political life. During realization media frequently reported about international and regional events such as approval of the same sex marriages in the federal state of New York (June 2011), Pride parade canceled in Podgorica, Montenegro (May 2011), violence at the Pride parade in Split, Croatia (June 2011).

Voices of LGBT activists, organizations, members of LGBT population, as the source of information were more present than before in the media.

3 The exhibition consists of 150 archive photos, texts and documents that show both general and personal histories of around 100.000 people arrested because of homosexual orientation before and during World War II. Development of systematic state homophobia in Nazi Germany and mechanisms of persecution that to some extent remained in force till the 70s was shown in documentary manner.

The most were Predrag Azdejkovic (Gay lesbian info center), Boban Stojanovic (Queeria center), Lazar Pavlovic (Gay straight alliance) and Goran Miletic Pride parade 2011 Organizational committee . Jovanka Todorovic Savovic from lesbian human rights group Labris, gave the majority od statements to the press concerning the celebration of the International Pride Day that was celebrated by spreading the rainbow flag, a LGBT symbol from the balcony of the Ministry of human and minority rights headquarters. She also made appearances on television B92, TV 5 from Nis, and national television RTS. Domination of male voices is a confirmation that the concentration of power is in male leaders even within the LGBT movement.

Although contextualization of LGBT themes which are most present in media discourse is rather neutral, LGBT community is still exposed to hate speech . Terminology that is being used is quite often insulting and discriminatory, and television and newspapers contrary to what they are requested to do by broadcasting law, emit hate speech directed towards people whose sexual orientation differs from heterosexual. Lacking of sanctions and relativization of hate speech and violence in the public discourse provide material conditions for expanding the atmosphere of intolerance and lynch towards members of gay population. Dragan Markovic Palma gave the statement for all the media, after First basic court in Belgrade issued a trial verdict on the count of severe discrimination and forbade him to repeat executed discrimination, saying that " he is proud on the verdict if that means that he contributed to the banning of the parade of shame in Belgrade". Nevertheless, although Metropoliten of Serbian orthodox church Amfilohije Radovic didn't act according to gender equality commissioner, Nevena Petrusic's, recommendation and apologized to gay population for his statement about "Sodomic odor", charges for hate speech against him were never pressed.

Absence of institutional, social or media reaction is encouragement to everyone who uses hate speech on daily basis and justifies violence against the members of various minority groups.

Politically correct terminology used in the process of naming LGBT population/themes/relations is: homosexual, gay population, same sex love, same sex couples, lesbian, sexual orientation, gay parade, transsexual, homosexual women, lesbian love, lesbian family, transvestites, bisexual, homophobia, Pride parade. We found in this media review, in several spots, insulting expression *fagot* which was used by unsigned authors. Discriminatory, evaluative terminology such as *pansy, fag, fagot, old fagot* is not found very often but is present in newspapers and electronic media. Its presence intensifies after the announcement and during the preparations for the Pride parade and it can be usually found in reader's comments and columns (tabloids Kurir and Alo) which are being published as newspaper articles. It is interesting that this sexist terminology, mainly the word fag, generally use newspapers like *Kurir, Alo* and *Press*.

Lack of articles (and shows) that as a key topic, object of research have lesbian existence has been noted this year as well. Presence of the term lesbian was increased in the very beginning of 2011, mostly because of the movie about lesbian family The Kids Are Alright that was nominated in the best comedy or musical category and won the award at 68 Golden Globe ceremony, in Los Angeles. This is a good example of practice when it comes to promoting *politics of difference* through problematization of marginalized group's position, but through "neutralization and normalization of diversity and difference" (Blagojevic, 2005:26). However, traditional media treatment of *lesbian being* very soon overcame the optimistic start. Throughout the year a total of four articles appeared in the newspapers, first, whose themes were sexual appetites of Swedish king, who enjoys lesbian sex scenes, confirming universal character of one of the most common male fantasies. The other two articles refer to picturing lesbian issue as part of show biz industry (8.6 2011 Kurir, *Lesbian is buffeting her*, 6.8 2011 *Lesbo godmothers*). First article is about a lesbian who is buffeting pop/folk singer Ana Nikolic, and the other about the kiss that two pop/folk singers Kaya and Maja Marijana shared. This model has already been seen as action in Western pop culture, as well as sensationalistic media reporting which in our context isn't provocation of conservative and traditional milieu, but imported transfer of style as a confirmation of "global concept of imitation" (Papic, 2001:38). However, frequent attributes of media discourse in Serbia, homophobia, misogyny, nationalism and sexism are in total synthesis when it comes to the article *Edita loves women* (6.7 2011, Alo!) which questions sexuality of the Kosovo Deputy Prime Minister and chief of Kosovo delegation that participates in the dialogue between Pristina and Belgrade, Edita Tahiri. Public disqualification of women who are in the positions of power, in our (media) culture, just come down to the *vaginal zone*, whether through sexual orientation, expression, or unrealized motherhood, and it constantly denies her the right to her own body and choice.

Despite the Law of public information which forbids publishing information that spur violence, hatred and discrimination based on sexual orientation, discriminatory language and hate speech are still present in our public and media space. Media content showed, this year as well, repetition practice when it comes to homophobic, patriarchal, discriminatory pattern in new/old media environment in the social context which constantly renews itself in the fear of otherness and difference. It is important that those who produce media content are aware of the responsibility and impact public word has, and that it is their obligation in accordance with all journalist codex not only to regularly report and give minorities the space, but to carefully write on the themes referring to LGBT population, having in mind position of these groups in our society and all of the negative prejudice that remain as a dominant matrix that follows them.

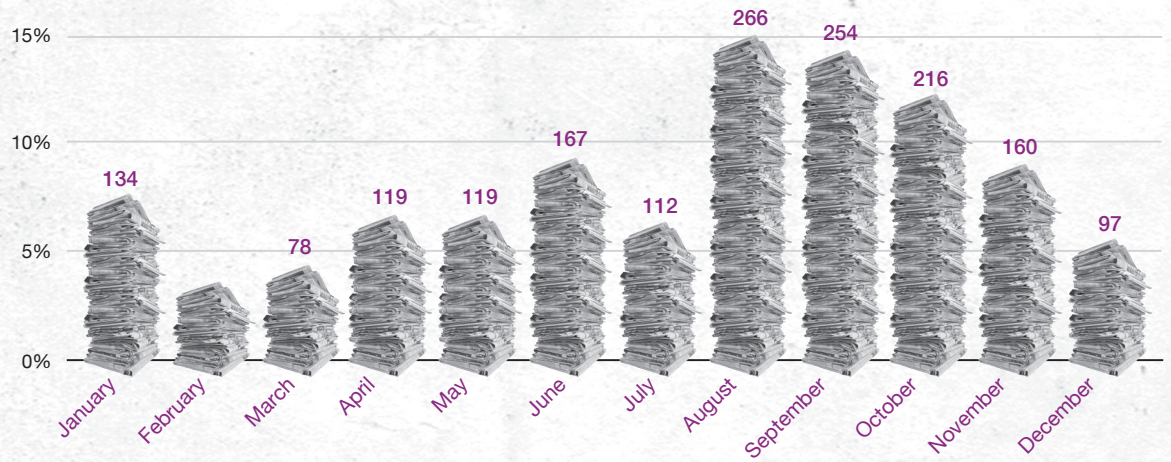
MONITORING OF THE PRINT MEDIA
2011

Labris – lesbian human rights organization, began on January 1 2011, another cycle of monitoring of daily newspapers in Serbia, in fact it restarted the analysis of media discourse which refers to LGBT terminology and/or themes. Press clipping made on a daily level provides insight in the ways how, when and why press in Serbia engage in the theme of same sex oriented people, and Labris will in this year, continue the practice of making quarterly media reports because analytical, critical and activist approach to the reality implies inclusion of media dimension as of the key factors in the process of opinion forming. During 2011, 1785 articles in which LGBT terminology exists were published in the daily newspapers in Serbia according to the Labris – organization for lesbian human rights media monitoring. Monitoring was conducted throughout the year and in table below is the review of the frequency of detecting of the press reporting during 2011.

ARTICLES PUBLISHED MONTHLY IN 2011

	Frequency	Percentage
January	134	7,5
February	63	3,5
March	78	4,4
April	119	6,7
May	119	6,7
June	167	9,4
July	112	6,3
August	266	14,9
September	254	14,2
October	216	12,1
November	160	9,0
December	97	5,4
Total	**1785**	**100,0**

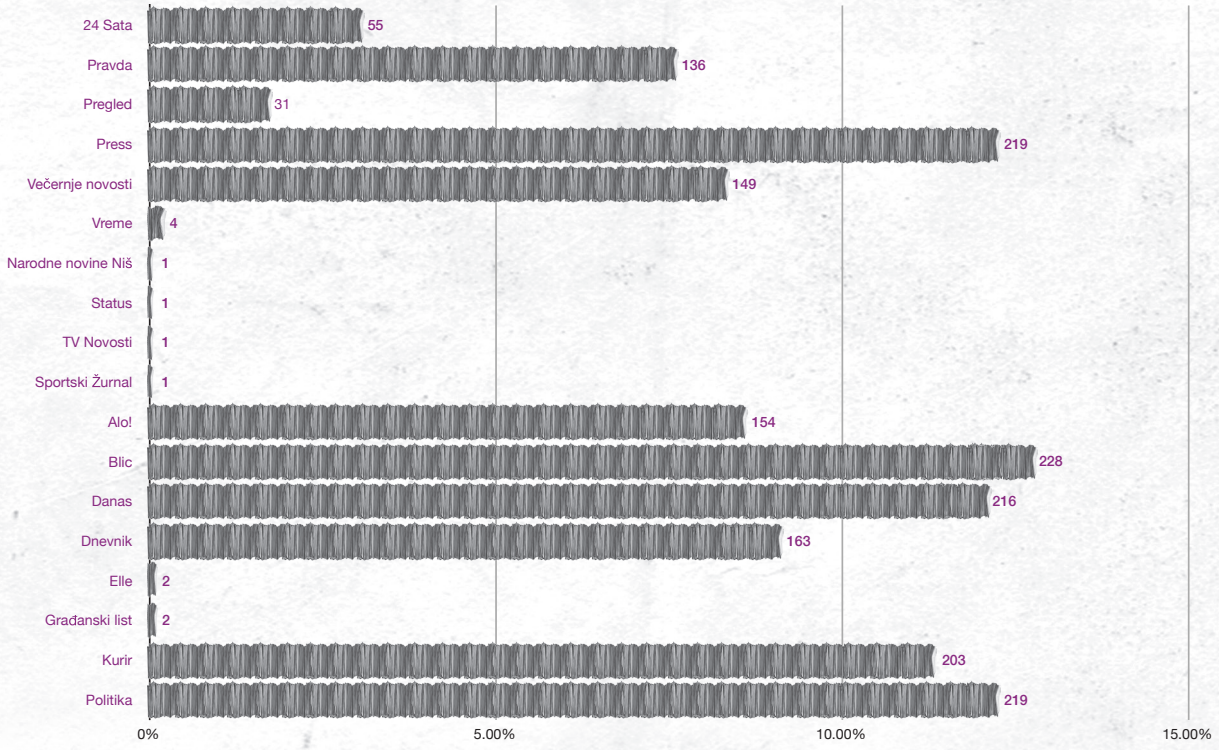
There is a more frequent reporting about LGBT population in the months that preceded organization of the Pride parade 2011, as well as in few months after it was banned which is graphically shown bellow.



Review of the daily newspapers that reported last year about LGBT themes and frequency of reporting follows:

NAMES OF THE ANALYZED NEWSPAPERS IN 2011

	Frequency	Percentage
24 Sata	55	3,1
Pravda	136	7,6
Pregled	31	1,7
Press	219	12,3
Vecernje novosti	149	8,3
Vreme	4	,2
Narodne novine Nis	1	,1
Status	1	,1
TV Novosti	1	,1
Sportski Zurnal	1	,1
Alo!	154	8,6
Blic	228	12,8
Danas	216	12,1
Dnevnik	163	9,1
Elle	2	,1
Gradjanski list	2	,1
Kurir	203	11,4
Politika	219	12,3
Total	**1785**	**100,0**



Of all published articles that are dedicated to LGBT population topic in 2011, 36, 0% are categorized as short (642, medium sized are 31, 6% (564), and others are 32, 4% (579).

Neutral contextualization of LGBT themes is still dominant in the media discourse with 914 articles (51, 2%). Negative content exists in 483 articles (27, 1%), while only 388 articles show positive attitude towards the theme.

ARTICLE LENGTH

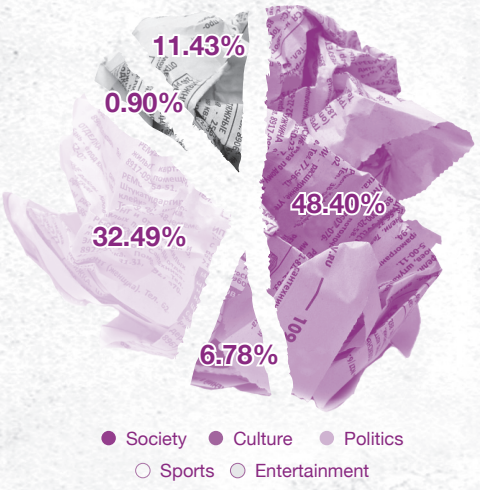


VALUE JUDGMENT OF THE ARTICLE



Review of the sections in which articles were found shows that 864 articles were published within the section *society*, *culture* 121, *politics* 580, *sports* 16, *entertainment* 204.

COLUMN WHERE THE ARTICLE WAS PUBLISHED



Earlier Labris research practice showed that most part of articles is being published within the Entertainment section. However, in the past three years there is a growing number of articles dedicated to the domestic organizations for the LGBT human rights activities, as well as to the organization of the Pride parade, therefore big percentage of the articles is found in the sections politics and society.

In 2011, high proportion of signed articles regarding LGBT problems was reported – 89.1%, whilst the percentage of the co-opted texts was 10, 9%.

WAS THE ARTICLE SIGNED BY THE AUTHOR



Themes of the articles were followed besides the authorization, meaning whether the topics are domestic or foreign. Relating to the location origin newspaper articles are domestic 60.8%, and 39.2% foreign.

ARTICLE TOPIC



"IN THE THROES OF STATISTICS"

REVIEW 1

Data analysis showed significant correlation between the month when the article was published and value judgment of the article itself, the section where it was published, article authorization and topic.

MONTH / VALUE JUDGMENT OF THE ARTICLE

		Value judgment of the article			Total
		Positive	Neutral	Negative	
Month	January	11	76	47	134
	February	6	36	21	63
	March	12	39	27	78
	April	11	27	81	119
	May	15	31	73	119
	June	66	81	20	167
	July	26	61	25	112
	August	41	191	34	266
	September	52	181	21	254
	October	56	105	55	216
	November	49	53	58	160
	December	43	33	21	97
Total		**388**	**914**	**483**	**1785**

MONTH / SECTION IN WHICH ARTICLE WAS PUBLISHED

		Section in which article was published					Total
		Society	Culture	Politics	Sports	Entertainment	
Month	January	59	6	24	0	45	134
	February	22	3	12	0	26	63
	March	45	3	5	0	25	78
	April	115	0	0	0	4	119
	May	83	0	0	0	36	119
	June	55	20	67	4	21	167
	July	41	8	41	5	17	112
	August	87	11	150	4	14	266
	September	97	7	144	1	5	254
	October	99	21	93	0	3	216
	November	121	20	13	2	4	160
	December	40	22	31	0	4	97
Total		**864**	**121**	**580**	**16**	**204**	**1785**

MONTH / IS IT AUTHOR'S TEXT OR NOT

		Is it author's text or not		Total
		Authors	Co-opted	
Month	January	121	13	134
	February	61	2	63
	March	71	7	78
	April	76	43	119
	May	78	41	119
	June	155	12	167
	July	109	3	112
	August	249	17	266
	September	229	25	254
	October	203	13	216
	November	148	12	160
	December	91	6	97
Total		**1591**	**194**	**1785**

MONTH / TOPIC OF THE ARTICLE

		Topic of the article		Total
		Domestic topic	Foreign topic	
Month	January	14	120	134
	February	0	63	63
	March	36	42	78
	April	93	26	119
	May	64	55	119
	June	103	64	167
	July	81	31	112
	August	231	35	266
	September	139	115	254
	October	126	90	216
	November	119	41	160
	December	79	18	97
Total		**1085**	**700**	**1785**

The data presented in this way indicate the previously established rule that the coverage of LGBT topics was more frequent as the Pride Parade 2011 was approaching. When the article's validity comes into question, approaching of the Pride Parade influenced it in such a way that the affirmative reporting on LGBT population was decreasing while the neutral and negative tone was increasing. Compared to the columns where the article appeared, reports on LGBT population alongside with the approaching Pride Parade have mainly been published in columns reserved for politics and society topics. The articles dealt with domestic topics and were authorized, i.e. signed.

REVIEW 2

Significant statistical connections were determined between the article's valid judgement and the column where the article was published:

ARTICLE'S VALID JUDGMENT / COLUMN WHERE THE ARTICLE WAS PUBLISHED

		Column where the article was published					Total
		Society	Culture	Politics	Sport	Entertainment	
Article's valid judgement	Positive	168	81	112	0	27	388
	Neutral	380	36	379	15	104	914
	Negative	316	4	89	1	73	483
Total		**864**	**121**	**580**	**16**	**204**	**1785**

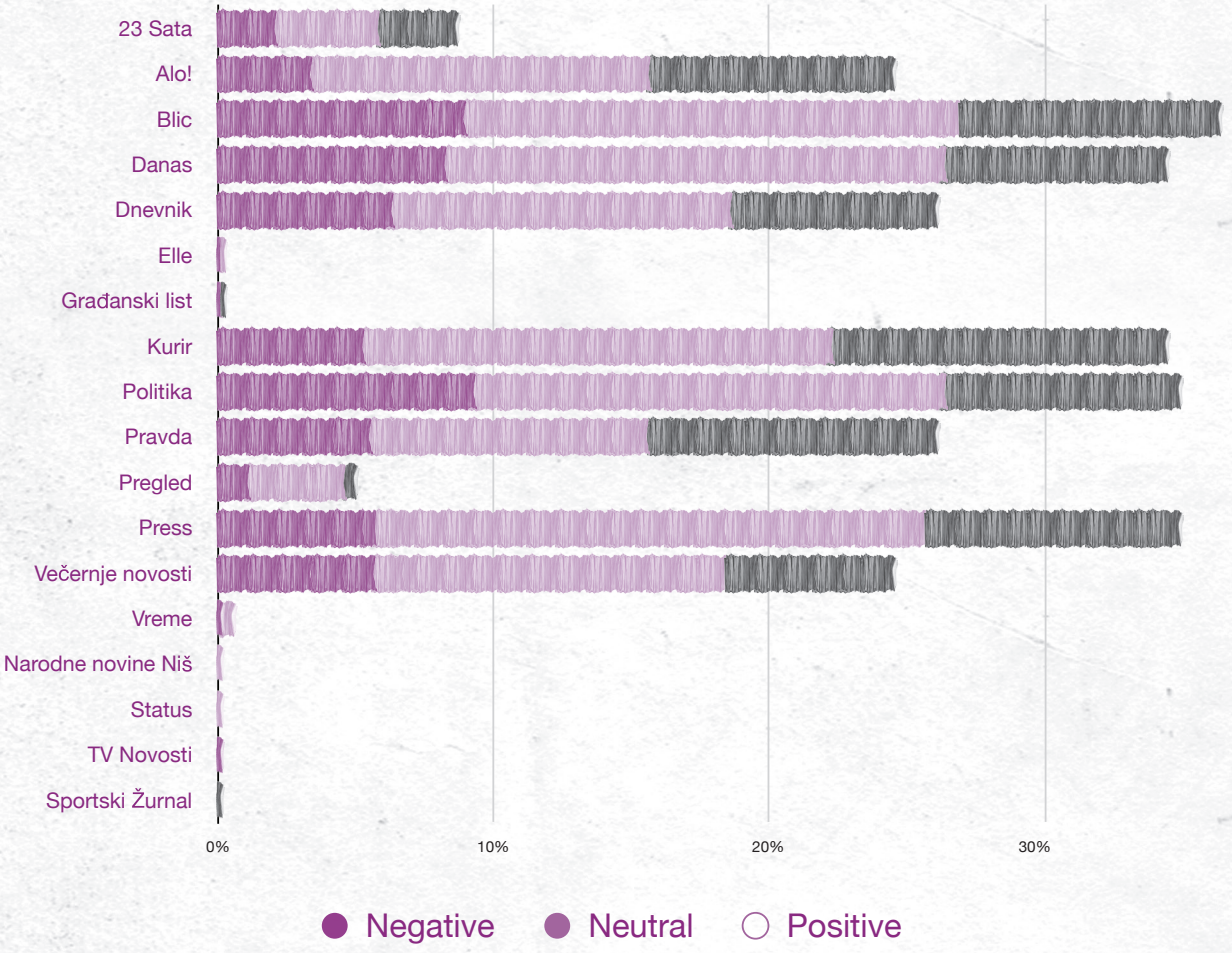
Namely, when an article was published in a column about society, the tone of the article was mostly neutral and negative, while the article's tone of LGBT topics that were being discussed in political columns was mostly neutral and positive. On the other hand, reporting about the LGBT population in culture columns were mainly positive.

Also, comparing to the news agency that has published an article and the article's valid judgement, a significant statistical difference has emerged.

NEWS AGENCY / ARTICLE'S VALID JUDGMENT

		Article's valid judgement			Total
		Positive	Neutral	Negative	
News Agency	24 Sata	13	23	19	55
	Alo!	22	76	56	154
	Blic	55	112	61	228
	Danas	52	114	50	216
	Dnevnik	40	77	46	163
	Elle	1	1	0	2
	Građanski list	1	0	1	2
	Kurir	32	106	65	203
	Politika	58	108	53	219
	Pravda	34	64	38	136
	Pregled	7	22	2	31
	Press	36	126	57	219
	Večernje novosti	35	80	34	149
	Vreme	1	3	0	4
	Narodne novine Niš	0	1	0	1
	Status	0	1	0	1
	TV Novosti	1	0	0	1
	Sportski Žurnal	0	0	1	1
Total		388	914	483	1785

In relation to the news agency that published the article and the article's valid context where LGBT population is mentioned, statistical differences emerged in favour of those newspapers that most often wrote about this issue. Namely, the neutral attitude dominates almost all newspapers. Articles with a negative context have mostly been published in daily newspapers Kurir and *Press*. On the other hand, daily newspapers *Danas*, *Blic* and *Politika* wrote about the LGBT population in a positive sense.



SUPPLEMENT 1:
AN EXAMPLE OF A DISCRIMINATORY NEWSPAPER ARTICLE

Press, October 4, 2011
Page number: 2

DEFEAT
Author: ĐOKO KESIĆ
Comment of the day

Serbia is a great mystery because there are no similar phenomena in other countries and communities. The total historical memory does not recall a nation that questioned its national identity because of someone else's butt. The Serbs have done so in the events happening around the Pride Parade. In other words, they have pissed on their own national identity, marking their territory with people form the margins who want to preserve personal sinecure received from their mentors, embassies and foundations. What a defeat. I'm fascinated to know that the cancellation of the gay parade made more tension in the Serbian nation than for e.g. the last efforts of great forces to expel Lazar and Miloš from our history and all the sufferings and injustices on Kosovo and moreover to include the science of pederasty into school books as obligatory literature instead of Kosovo. If we follow that lead, in fifty years time in the maturing generations there will be more homosexuals than us. Therefore, to simplify the problem: I am deviant and I like women. Truth be told, they like me a lot less, but I did not put my problem on the bulletin board, I withdrawn into solitude and I suffer. I am pretty alone in my emotional sufferings, and various gay associations demand us to suffer with them and moreover to walk with them and hold hands publicly. Well, that's not going to happen. Why would their aberrance be more important than mine?

To my regret, I will not get the support of that one-member-in-the-assembly political party SDU (Social Democratic Union) that has seen the cancellation of the Parade as if, quote: "The Serbian government is weaker that the clero-fascist groups". *Women In Black* (Žene u crnom) concerning the same matter stated that, quote: "The fact is clear, the government institutions have surrendered Belgrade and Serbia to fascists". LDP (Liberal Democratic Party) had the most original and ever-humiliating idea. Their leader Jovanović said that it was President Tadić and Prime Minister Cvetković's idea to make an appearance on the Pride Parade. Boris Tadić had other matters to attend. In fact, I do not know what has gotten into him because he supported the ban of the respective fag ball himself. And Cvetković did not have the time. The man went to the wide, wide world to run us into debt. Some respected intellectuals have also appeared, even one news association, to cry over the faith of the "jeopardized sexual minorities". Everything is all right. I am not homophobic, but I oppose the fact that someone is proud of their own sexual preference which does not appear in the Book of Genesis or that they have any civil priority comparing to us. But I have an idea: let us renounce Adam and Eve. Change the civilization from its conception. Maybe then we will find he answer to the question how Serbia got into that despair where a Pride Parade is the only thing to be proud of. I apologise to the athletes.

SUPPLEMENT 2:
EXAMPLES OF HOMOPHOBIA IN THE MEDIA TEXT

Alo!, July 6, 2011
Page number: 2

EDITA LIKES WOMEN!
Author: ALO! Team

LESBIAN AFFAIR - HEAD OF THE PRISTINA'S NEGOTIATION TEAM IS FAVOURABLE TO HER OWN SEX

Heads of the Serbia and Kosovo's negotiation teams, Borko Stefanović i Edith Tahiri, seem to have one common interest – they both like women! Namely, the news about the Prime Minister's Deputy of that quasi-state being, allegedly, favourable to her own sex, is buzzing around Kosovo. According to Alo's well-informed source, there has been a lot talk about Tahiri's affinity in the south Serbian province.

She is not a declared lesbian of course, but everybody in her surroundings talks about her sexual preference. Edith is 55 years old and allegedly she did not start to favour ladies since recently, so in the political circles the rumour has it that she likes ladies for a long time. The great love of her youth was, as the rumour says, one respected woman from Belgrade she used to go to university with in England 30 years ago, whom she occasionally sees even today – says our interlocutor who talks gossip from the diplomatic circles in Pristina.

Even though high political positions have always been a powerful aphrodisiac for women, for Edith, our source tells us, even the appointment to the Head of the negotiation team has not brought her luck in love.

They used to say that she was in a relationship with a girl a lot younger than her, who also works for the government and that they used to travel together to Brussels often. Allegedly, they recently broke up with a lot of yelling and crying, but: "Whether they reconciled and are they currently together, frankly, I do not know", says Alo's source from Tahiri's close surroundings.

Our interlocutor also says that the word in Pristina is that Edith Tahiri removed all compromising photos she made with her friends in her youth when she came into power of the self-proclaimed state of Kosovo. She started being especially careful about those matters since she became the Prime Minister's Deputy and the Head of the negotiation team in negotiations with Belgrade. "Kosovo is a very conservative environment and a sex scandal of a person, who has been entrusted with the county's fate, would surely encounter extreme reactions of the political opponents as well as ordinary citizens", says our interlocutor. Alo! Tried to check these findings with Tahiri's cabinet office yesterday, but no one answered the phone numbers that are published on her web site.

Text box:

She was a boy?!

The news that Edith Tahiri was allegedly born as a boy has recently spread around Kosovo because of her mannish looks and her chest voice which unusual for a woman. Still, our source claims that speculations about Tahiri's sex change are not true!

SUPPLEMENT 3:
EXAMPLE OF A POSITIVE ANALYTICAL ARTICLE

Danas, August 24, 2011
Page number: 9

ALIBI FOR THE OMISSION OF ACTION

Author: BORKA PAVIĆEVIĆ

Already there are front pages which depict the identity of the Pride Parade with their pictures of blooded people. In that way violence is assigned to the Pride Parade and therefore it is necessarily violent. Basically, there is no clearer example of what substitution of theses actually means. Hence, if there is a peaceful or non-violent demonstration of attitudes and preferences, then that is a pride parade, everywhere, even here.

The fact that every environment is readout, or defined, by the attitude towards pride parades is, of course, clear to all. Therefore, they are a question of the level of democracy of a society or country. How is the majority embodied in government institutions capable of protecting the minority? And then you say, for example, that the recognition of new countries, without the previous protection of the minorities, represents one of the key reasons of the great sufferings of people "on our locale", of death and refugees or exile.

Shortly, in the public life, whatever that means, with the so-called relativization of values and "the historical compromise", both sides are right. If there weren't any peacemakers and anti-war activities, there would be no war for sure. And if there was no insistence on human rights, there would be no right wing parties. If there were no traitors there would not be no patriots, or as Dubravka Ugrešić once said: "I know who will be responsible for the war in the end, Filip David and me."

Can we say that we should not have organized the Beer Fest when we know what this society is faced with, and what quantity of potential violence is all around us, starting from "the tensions on the north of Kosovo", "the arrest of Hague defendants", an increasing number of unemployed people? Do we have better things to do instead of singing and drinking beer or having fun till dawn? Of course, these kind of questions are deducted and induced, and then you can also ask why do we need that expensive culture, an "elite" one in a time of hunger while at the same time nothing is too expensive for the state apparatus, for bureaucracy and administration, both state and party? Furthermore, hospital elevators barely work and bare necessities are not provided.

Two days ago this newspaper said, to say it in a completely old-fashioned way, how the chestnut trees will definitely be endangered if we don't start to collect the fallen leaves. Larvae or bacteria from the fallen leaves will multiply to the extent of extermination of chestnut alleys, shaken to the roots because of constant digging for the infrastructure necessary for new owners and new political positioning.

In brief, basically every citizen with a small dose of dignity and integrity, on a bare mention of any "specific" question which is also

a call for action, replies with: “Forget the judiciary system, look what is happening in the health services”, and so on and so forth. These citizens’ attitudes come from the same posture and actions of the society’s institutions, and do not get me started with the personal examples their “leaders” set. In that way, a member of the URS (United Regions of Serbia) will represent the “Pride Parade” and the same organization will build a cross in the middle of Kragujevac, or will not represent the views presented in the statement in all institutions starting from the government to the parliament. On one hand, institutions are being represented, and on the other, with a series of party strikes, they are undermined. Furthermore, how do you think can one have a political legitimacy and authority if we know that, according to the Čedomir Čupić’s statement, the new theses on reduction of functions and transferring the administration and self-government to local communities stands together with the conflict of interest connected with the accumulation of functions at the same time?

Mira Trailović used to say: “How can you have any complaints on your own theatre house if you work in it?” Well, fix the show people, that’s what you’re here for. The best thing the citizens should do is to make the “Pride parade” possible, prevent violence on the Beer Fest, buy elevators and auxiliary goods for hospitals and collect the fallen leaves under the chestnut trees if they want to see their own children and friends, as well as white chestnut spring blossoms for one more time.

To keep it simple, as one of my readers said, transferring responsibility from one to another is nasty, the camarilla of all those institutions’ apparatuses is too big for so little responsibility. It is miserable to calculate and gain election points, as everybody has calculated with their agglomeration of experts, on every problem concerning one human community in whole, and even the state. Once we had an army, and even clergy, that were grown and paid well for a long time, to protect the citizens and to oppose violence and we did not live to see them do it. Everything turned out different, the army betrayed the Constitution, and the dead asked for priests to mourn them.

It is evident that violence occurs if public institutions are powerless, if they inaugurate the who-is-stronger and who-will-collect-the-debt principles. That confrontation is so powerless and indigent because it looks like as if it is being governed by madmen, for whose votes you don’t get into a political campaign, but into an arena, no matter what has been done till now or since then. And the proverb says: “Don’t mind what one says, mind what one does.” The Pride Parade is not violent nor is a topic of pre-election campaigns, it is an act which will define the relations between the minority and majority represented in state institutions, it is not a battle field where the stronger will win. The battle is somewhere else.

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