



Mainstreaming, Gender and Communication

Serbia/D5.2 Country Report

March 2023

Dr. Srđan Atanasovski, Stevan Tatalović



© [CFCCS, Stevan Tatalovic, Srdjan Atanasovski]

Reference: D.RAD 5.2

ISBN: [*if published*]

This research was conducted under the Horizon 2020 project 'De-Radicalisation in Europe and Beyond: Detect, Resolve, Re-integrate' (959198). The sole responsibility of this publication lies with the author. The European Union is not responsible for any use that may be made of the information contained therein

Any enquiries regarding this publication should be sent to us at: stevan@cfccs.org

This document is available for download at <https://dradproject.com/>

Table of Contents

About the Project	5
Executive Summary	6
Introduction	7
Methodology and methods	8
Mediated hegemonic gender presentations and their relationship to radicalisation in Serbia	9
Media presence, production, and circulation of collective agents of radicalisation	11
Case study 1. Gašić derogatory remarks scandal	11
Media object 1.1: Original YouTube Video Capturing Gašić's Derogatory Remarks	11
Media object 1.2: Vučić's Statement on the Reinstallation of Gašić into Government Body	12
Case study 2. Mika Aleksić serial rapist case	12
Media object 2.1: Serbian Actress Eva Ras Comments on Mika Aleksić Case	13
Media object 2.2: Video Material from TV Show Programme "Mentalno Razgibanje", A Morning TV Show	13
Media object 2.3: News Report on Aleksić's Testimonies to the Court in His Own Defence, on the Website Blic.rs	14
Case study 3. Jutka sexual harassment case	14
Media object 3.1: News Report on the Anonymous Profile Created for the Sole Purpose of Humiliation of Sexual Harassment Victim	14
Media object 3.2: Amateur footage of the gathering of local men in support of Jutka by a YT user "GorJak GJ"	15
Case study 4. Baka Prase and YouTube Misogyny	15
Media object 4.1: YouTube Video Blog on Kika's Channel – "Kraj Drame" (The End Of Drama), Published Oct 16, 2019	16
Media object 4.2: YouTube Video Blog on Baka Prase's Channel – "Narkomanka Me Optužuje Da Sam Pedofil" (A Junkie Accused Me of Being a Pedophile) Published 2020	16
Media presence, production, and circulation of collective agents of de-radicalisation	17
Case study 1. Gašić Derogatory Remarks Scandal	17
Media object 1.3. Gligorijević Tweet, Source of #Novinarkenekleče Hashtag	17
Media object 1.4. Krik's #Novinarkenekleče Tweet	17
Media object 1.5. Tweet Report from Novi Sad #Novinarkeneklece Protest	17
Case study 2. Mika Aleksic Serial Rapist Case	17
Media object 2.4: Facebook Post Published by the Organization Verujem Ti as a Statement of Support for Milena Radulović in the Case against Aleksić	18
Media object 2.5: Instagram post published by the organization Ženska solidarnost	18
Media object 2.6: Report on the Grassroots Action on Solidarity during Mika Aleksić Trial on the Portal Mašina (Masina.Rs)	18
Case study 3. Jutka Sexual Harassment Case	18
Media object 3.3: Ne Davimo Beograd Tweet Containing a Picture from Support Gathering for Marija Lukić in Brus	19
Media object 3.4: Tweet by a Recognized Journalist Jelena Radivojević Sharing Visuals Made in Support for Marija Lukić	19
Media object 3.5: Tweet Published by Info Centrala, A Local Informational Portal of Jagodina, A City in Central Serbia Reporting on a Women's Gathering in Support of Marija Lukić	19
Media presence, production, and circulation of ordinary users against radicalisation	20
Case study 2. Mika Aleksic Serial Rapist Case	20

Media objects 2.7: Tweets of users @ViktorijaQueen and @ver_tiffany (reaction on 2.2)	20
Case study 4. Baka Prase and YouTube Misogyny	20
Media object 4.3: Tiktok Video of User “s.ntntn” Addressing Bogdan Ilić’s Toxic Masculinity	20
Media object 4.4: TikTok Video of User “s.ntntn” Elaborating on Her Previous Statement	21
Media object 4.5: TikTok Video of User “s.ntntn” Published on 07.03.2020.	21
Media object 4.6: TikTok Video of User “elenazflorest” Published on 9.12.2021	21
<i>Discussion and conclusion</i>	22
<i>Appendix: Items for analysis</i>	24
<i>References</i>	33

About the Project

D.Rad is a comparative study of radicalisation and polarisation in Europe and beyond. It aims to identify the actors, networks, and wider social contexts driving radicalisation, particularly among young people in urban and peri-urban areas. D.Rad conceptualises this through the I-GAP spectrum (injustice-grievance-alienation-polarisation) with the goal of moving towards measurable evaluations of de-radicalisation programmes. The intention of the project is to identify the building blocks of radicalisation, which include a sense of being victimised; a sense of being thwarted or lacking agency in established legal and political structures.

D.Rad spans national contexts including the UK, France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Finland, Slovenia, Bosnia, Serbia, Kosovo, Israel, Iraq, Jordan, Turkey, Georgia, Austria, and several minority nationalisms. It bridges academic disciplines ranging from political science and cultural studies to social psychology and artificial intelligence. Dissemination methods include D.Rad labs, D.Rad hubs, policy papers, academic workshops, visual outputs and digital galleries. As such, D.Rad establishes a rigorous foundation to test practical interventions geared to prevention, inclusion and de-radicalisation.

With the possibility of capturing the trajectories of seventeen nations and several minority nations, the project provides a unique baseline for the comparative analysis of law and policy as nation states adapt to new security challenges. The process of mapping these varieties and their link to national contexts will be crucial in uncovering strengths and weaknesses in existing interventions. Furthermore, D.Rad accounts for the problem that processes of radicalisation often occur in circumstances that escape the control and scrutiny of traditional national frameworks of justice.

Executive Summary

In this report, we provide an overview of gendered radicalisation traits in Serbia. We focus on four case studies which allow us to encompass wide range of male agencies, from holders of power and members of the political elite, to the YouTube personalities, as well as to study how ordinary individuals interact and communicate with reports on male violence and misogyny. The also allow us to study the attempts to counter these narratives though de-radicalisation by groups and by citizens in the context of online communication.

The results show how both traditional media, as well as online platforms, are being used to reproduce misogyny and gendered radicalisation through entanglement of various actors, from media and politics personalities, to ordinary users, which often shape interpretation of the news and create the narratives of male victimisation. In the last eight years, agents of deradicalisation against misogyny have been particularly strong in Serbia, often forming semi-permanent collectives with clear vision of women-centred activism. I have been able to show their agency through responses to toxic masculine incidents and male violence which I follow in the case studies. Finally, I have shown how individual, ordinary users, also create media content on online platforms as a reaction to male violence.

Introduction

The aim of this report is to analyse trends of radicalization pertaining to hegemonic masculinity and grassroots reactions, particularly of women's and feminist collectives, both in the physical space and in the media. This report is a part of the Work Package 5, "Mainstreaming, Media Literacy and Patterns of Mass Media Communication" of the D.Rad project. Having in mind previous reports in the DeRad project, we focus on four cases of which bring radicalisation on the terrain of toxic masculinity and male violence. I point out how these instances are embedded in wider processes of radicalization, which can be followed through DeRad reports. The analysis encompasses the drivers of radicalisation (and their mediated presence online), as well as counter-narratives offered by stakeholders of de-radicalisation, such as feminist groups and various progressive activists. It is particularly pointed out how the current media system, which combines traditional media with seemingly democratized online sphere, provides the possibility to spread and enhance messages and undertones of sexism in new ways. Therefore, detailed empirical analysis on the online media presence, mechanism of production and circulation of media objects such as YouTube videos, as well as discussion on both discursive and visual aspects of these objects is pertinent in order to understand these processes. Using the examples of four cases where we can identify agents of radicalisation, I analyse hegemonic gender roles representations, revolving around misogyny and sexism. I contrast these narratives with reactions performed by agents of de-radicalisation.

Four specific case studies have been selected to examine the processes of radicalisation in Serbia where male violence has been presented through media platforms, normalizing toxic masculinity, patriarchy and everyday male domination. These four cases are all based in actual male violence, but have also had wide impact in Serbian society rendered visible through wider processes of medialization. These are Serbian defence minister Bratislav Gašić derogatory remarks scandal (2015), Miroslav Mika Aleksic serial rapist case (2021 and ongoing), Milutin Jelcic Jutka sexual harassment case (2018– 2021) and Baka Prase and YouTube misogyny case (2019-2021). These four case studies will serve to illustrate main gendered radicalisation traits in Serbia, as they represent different forms of toxic agency: while Baka Prase illustrates grassroots toxic masculinity based on a role model actor and spread through mass social platforms, Jutka and Gašić as members of the ruling Serbian Progressive Party (Srpska napredna stranka - SNS) serve to normalize male violence and misogyny through political state power, and case of Aleksić illustrate discourse around rape and consent and how it becomes saturated with misogyny through Serbian media. These trends work in synergy, but fall under different parts of IGAP (injustices, grievance, alienation, polarisation,) spectrum, as will be discussed in this report.

Methodology and methods

Most of available research on misogyny in media in Serbia has been based on discourse analysis of reporting of male violence / violence against women, in traditional media (Višnjić 2012, Mršević 2019, Necić 2019, Vujović & Filipović 2022) as well as on impact of this reporting (Rangelov 2016). Milivojević (2014) has offered a subtler analysis of how women are systematically excluded for (traditional) media. This report will offer a more nuanced picture through qualitative analyses of selected case studies which will enable us to understand how different actors react to male violence and reporting of male violence. In this report a multifaceted approach that involves examining the content, form, and context of digital media objects is applied, which allows to gain a comprehensive understanding of the online media landscape. I follow four case studies which are selected for their wider political and real-life impact, identify specific platforms and media (from traditional news media, to grassroots online presence) which are pertinent for the case studies I analyse, and discuss selected media object, including visual materials such as screenshots, presented in the appendix. I use textual analysis to identify key themes and narratives, as well as visual analysis to examine the visual cues that shape audience perceptions. Contextual analysis is an important aspect of the analysis, as it allows the report to examine the broader social and political factors that shape the selected media objects.

Mediated hegemonic gender presentations and their relationship to radicalisation in Serbia

The territories of today's Serbia have for the first time been assembled in one state at the end of The First World War, following the dismantling of Austro-Hungary and Allied victory. For most part of the interwar Yugoslavia, however, common laws have not been uniformed across the state; with parts of the land maintain laws from pre-war jurisdictions, usually informed by religious customs. In this period, Serbia and Yugoslavia have been part of the general European movement towards greater acceptance of women in the public spheres, albeit as an exceptive, and not universal practice, a paradigmatic example being Ksenija Atanasijević, who enrolled in Belgrade University in 1918 and became the first female professor at the university in 1924. Women were, however, strongly present in the left intellectual circles, both as writers and active members of the Communist party, with distinguished writers such as Milka Žicina, Frida Filipović and Nadežda Ilić Tutunović.

The greatest progressive leap in the women's emancipation movement was during the National Liberation Struggle (NOB) in the Second World War. Organized by the Communist party, NOB was marked by record participation of women in the struggle. NOB also brought forward universal suffrage and progressive laws concerning women's equality, such as abortion rights, maternity leave, etc.

However, during the economic crisis in socialist Yugoslavia, particularly exacerbated by the oil crisis of the 1970s, the official discourses in the country began the process of re-traditionalisation of the role of women in society, which is often construed as an attempt to shrink the reserve pool of labour and therefore the number of unemployed people seeking work. Examples of this can be seen in various women's magazines, which started advocating for the traditional role of women as housekeepers, instead of as active members of the socialist society and working class.

The Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s not only deepened the economic crisis, but were also a great source of male violence towards women, as specifically mass rape became not only incidental in the wars in Bosnia and Croatia, but seen as part of military tactics. The trauma of the wartime rapes is still vivid in the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina and is a topic of various research projects and activist work aimed at reconciliation (*Žene u crnom*).

The transition from socialism to capitalism and the processes of privatisation and further devastation of the economy ran parallel with re-traditionalisation of women's status. Particular importance can be given to the revival of clerical influence in mainstream politics in Serbia, as well as the relative number of citizens declaring themselves as members of the Serbian Orthodox Church and followers of its traditions. In that regard, we can particularly see the rise of the traditional female role model of the obedient wife and the tabooisation of abortion.

In this context, the selection of four case studies has been conducted in a way to render visible these important trends, and how they are mediated in the online sphere. Particularly important are patterns of re-traditionalisation and how they connect to the re-established position of masculinity in the public and political sphere. In 2015 Serbian Defence Minister Bratislav Gašić made a derogatory and sexist remark during his visit to a factory in central Serbia, pointed towards a female journalist of the Serbian state broadcasting company. Namely, after the journalist crouched down to get out of her camera operator's shot, Gasic said: "I love female journalists who get down on their knees easily". Provoking wide backlash in media and social networks, Gašić was forced to resign as minister, but he remains a high official of the ruling party and a close associate of Serbian president Aleksandar Vučić, who has given media statements portraying Gašić as a victim of cancel culture.

Miroslav Mika Aleksić a case that is sometimes compared to the Harvey Weinstein case, having multiple similarities, and presents the highest profile rape case since the #MeToo movement has started and arrived in Serbia. The scandal broke when Milena Radulović, herself an accomplished actress, accused Aleksić of raping her while she was enrolled in his private acting academy. Subsequently, seven other students stepped forward and claimed they were also raped or harassed by Aleksić, and media claimed that the final number of victims who talked to police as more than twenty. The final indictment put forward by the state prosecutor claims eight rapes and seven sexual harassment charges, but women involved in cases where the statute of limitations has precluded indictment will also be invited as witnesses to the court (Informer.rs, 2021). Aleksić's trial, which started in February 2022, has been given ample media space, especially highlighting his defence, which rests on defaming and gaslighting his victims. Simultaneously with Aleksić case, other high profile rape accusations in the sphere of acting have been opened, with Danijela Štajnfeld bringing forward rape charges against Branslav Lečić in 2021. Although dismissed by the courts, Lečić being an active actor, these charges opened discussions and created situations where questions of adequacy of Lečić's presence in public life had to be addressed.

Milutin Jeličić Jutka case for sexual harassment of his female assistant, Marija Lukić, was opened in 2018, when Lukić stepped into public and spoke on Jutka's harassment and attempted rape. This case has been specific because it exposed the power relations in small communities in Serbia, Jutka being the municipal mayor in Brus, a town of less than 5 thousand people, in the south of the country. Lukić exposed not only illicit advances by Jutka, but also how these acts were generally normalized and perceived as "part of the job" in Jutka's circle and how this is connected to his position as the member of the ruling party. Marija Lukić became one of the prominent figures fighting for the recognition of sexual harassment, especially in work environments, and court sessions of her case were sites of women's protest, demanding "justice for Marija" – a slogan itself rendered into a powerful hashtag. Notwithstanding Jutka's conviction in 2020 (N1, 2020), the connections between local power figures and sexual violence continued into 2021 with case against Dragan Marković Palma, mayor of Jagodina, accused of arranging sex parties with underage women (Euronews, 2021).

The Baka Prase scandal involves the most famous Serbian YouTuber, Bogdan Ilić, whose production is mostly oriented to teenage children and young adults. In 2019 Ilić produced a number of videos ridiculing and insulting his colleague, female YouTuber Kika, resulting in her receiving sustained online abuse. In 2020 Ilić became the centre of another scandal, as he was accused of having sex with underage girls, which he later admitted to, claiming ignorance. In 2021 Kika was found dead in her rented apartment in Belgrade, reportedly committing suicide at the age of 21. This event drew attention to Ilić's 2019 videos, resulting in various activists and the online community launching a petition to ban Baka Prase from YouTube (ATV, 2021; Alo!, 2021).

Media presence, production, and circulation of collective agents of radicalisation

In this section of the report we will provide deeper analysis of selected media objects, drawing on the context elaborated in the previous section. We are particularly interested in how these media objects function on both textual and affective levels and how agents of toxic masculinity can be examined from the standpoint of the IGAP coding.

Case study 1. Gašić derogatory remarks scandal

Bratislav Gašić's derogatory and sexist remark came to the spotlight of Serbian media as being originally published in YouTube (*Gašić- volim novinarke koje ovako lako kleknu*, 2015), and then widely reported in Serbian print and electronic media. It encountered almost a unanimous response - all media regarded Gašić's remarks as disrespectful and despicable. However, media reports insisted on vaguely relaying Gašić's remarks, which enabled both comments on the media reports as well as on the YouTube platform to mobilize men who perceived Gašić's actions as unproblematic from the start. We identify this as a common media strategy when reporting on "scandalous" misogyny from the side of the politicians where the media article itself is framed in "acceptable", "politically correct" way, but the content transmitted enables the audience and specifically men to creatively read these texts and engage with them in a disagreeing manner. This is especially obvious in media outlets which nurture a specific sort of tabloid journalism, which relies on objectification of women's bodies in general. On the frontlines of media websites and newspaper frontlines which reported on Gašić's remarks, you could at the same time see the content which objectifies women's bodies and feeds misogyny through other methods, usually reserved for entertainment, health and body section, etc.

However, the main actor which approves and codifies misogyny perceived in Gašić's remarks is actually the Serbian Progressive Party, evidence for which we can primarily see through contemporary and consecutive statements given by Aleksandar Vučić, the current party head and President of Serbia. Vučić's initial brief remarks remained on the line that Gašić's behaviour is unacceptable; however, as the time progressed and especially after Gašić was forced to resign, Vučić kept him as a close associate and presented him as a family friend. He later appointed him as the head of the Information and Security Agency (Bezbednosno informativna agencija – BIA) which is one of the most important institutions in the state pertaining to the repressive apparatus; military, police, etc.

Furthermore, Vučić persistently described Gašić as a victim of cancel culture, feminist demands, irresponsible public outrage, etc. In our analysis this sends a clear message that ultimately misogyny is not only accepted but also rewarded and we can see glimpses of internal debates of SNS which apparently does not have mechanisms to address issues of misogyny, despite weaponizing its female membership in both political statements and public rallies.

Media object 1.1: Original YouTube Video Capturing Gašić's Derogatory Remarks

The YouTube video in question is the original video that captures his derogatory remark and which was the basis for the news reporting on this incident and the backlash from feminists and journalists. In the video you can see Gašić getting ready for giving a media statement and a female journalist setting up the interview equipment. In the video it can be clearly heard when he comments "Što volim ove novinarke kad ovako lako kleknu" ("I love it when women journalists kneel so easily"). Indicative but also unsurprising is his masculine posturing from

the position of power, while assuming the position while giving a statement, as he was the Minister of Armed Forces at the time (see media object 1.1.1 – screenshot of the video).

IGAP coding is of limited applicability in this particular case and this particular media object as Gašić is in this moment firmly in the position of power and doesn't perceive injustice as such, although his actions are resulting in the polarization between the figure of a man as a representative of positions of power and a woman as a representative of a submissive agent.

Media object 1.2: Vučić's Statement on the Reinstallment of Gašić into Government Body

The video which was published on Kurir.rs website is an extensive statement given by Vučić at the time when he was to assume, for the first time, the position of the president of Serbia, which was around a year and a half after Gašić was removed from the government where Vučić was PM. Not surprisingly, although short, the part of the interview that was most widely shared through the media was the announcement confirming that Gašić will be appointed head of BIA. Similarly to Gašić, Vučić also assumes the male position of power, even more so while surrounded by journalists in a longer interview (see screenshot, 1.2.1.). Vučić describes Gašić in this interview as a person that has suffered while being outside the government for a year and a half and states that people from the past governments and current opposition have never submitted to such endurance (one must not be tempted to read this kind of statement as humorous – he has produced similar statements on the subject in various circumstances and created an atmosphere from his position of power where Gašić's "suffering" is actually discussed seriously). From the perspective of IGAP coding, the main motivational factor here is perceived injustice where Gašić is presented as a case of injustice led by feminists and journalists. This is nonsensical due to Vučić's position of near-absolute power in Serbia. This kind of statement can feed into men's wider perceptions of injustice in cases where women and feminists demand responsibility for certain actions.

Case study 2. Mika Aleksić serial rapist case

Unlike the case of Bratislav Gašić, the Mika Aleksić scandal was first reported by professional media that approached the subject in a respectful manner. This had created a proper media setting of conversation about sexual harassment. However, most of the media, especially electronic media, capitalized on the proximity of the Lečić case and Aleksić case, where Lečić case was more subject to the relativisation strategies both because the severity of the charges against him and the statute of limitations which rendered any action impossible. Thereafter, electronic media and outlets which function across YT platform were open to hosting guests from "the other side" who based their statements on manipulating and relativizing charges of sexual offences and questioning the principle of believing the victims. Through this manipulation, such comments and reflections on the Aleksić case were bereft of any substantial analysis and factual insights.

Media outlets were especially prone to manipulations with women and colleagues from the world of acting as highly coveted interlocutors in situations such as morning and afternoon live broadcasted programmes which were later made available on YouTube. One of these, and probably one of the more influential, was the appearance of Eva Ras, a highly accomplished Yugoslav-Serbian actress of the older generation who basically defended her male colleagues and pointed out that these things are simply a part of the job, but also that one cannot be raped if she wishes not to be. These are the classical tropes of misogynistic parts of the cycle of sexual violence.

The second and probably more potent phase in propagating toxic masculinity, connected to Aleksić's case, started with Aleksić's actual defence in court. Aleksić's defence was based on a full frontal attack on the integrity of his victims. Aleksić unapologetically describes his victims as liars, as lacking a father figure, as manipulators and as consenting actors who made sexual advances themselves. His rhetoric is unconventional for the court proceedings as such and resembles men's activists' tirades, which can be found on the Internet and is thus clearly pointed not towards the court itself but towards media transmissions and the targeted audience is not the judge and jury, but the public itself. In constant and well-established synergy with tabloid media, these court proceedings have actually made it possible to give space to these misogynistic remarks without it being possible to hold them accountable.

Media object 2.1: Serbian Actress Eva Ras Comments on Mika Aleksić Case

Eva Ras (born 1941) has given several statements on cases of Branislav Lečić and Mika Aleksić, particularly referring to "cancelling Lečić" from his professional engagements. In the interview she also reflects on her previous statements and addresses the Mika Aleksić case in some length. The interview is given for the YouTube news show Balkan info, a prominent right-wing YouTube media platform. In this interview Eva Ras assumes the role of a conservative woman and becomes a spokesperson for the position of relativization of women who are survivors of sexual violence. Pertaining to the Mika Aleksić case, Eva Ras emphasizes that her position is out of principle, without any personal connections to Aleksić and insists on due course of justice. Importantly, Eva Ras speaks of a media lynching atmosphere, whereas she believes neither Lečić nor Aleksić were given the chance to defend themselves. Finally, Ras emphasizes that she sees media reports on the case as an attack on Serbian national identity as such, thus perpetuating the myth of feminism and struggle against male violence as something imported from the West, and not as a struggle of women in Serbia as such. Appearance of Ras (see 2.1.1.) as a frail elderly actress, gives particular credence to this narrative.

Media object 2.2: Video Material from TV Show Programme "Mentalno Razgibavanje", A Morning TV Show

Darko Mitrović and Marko Stepanović are TV show hosts of the morning programme "Mentalno razgibavanje", commenting on the current political and social issues on several occasions have been subject of controversies. In the video in question they discuss charges against Aleksić and the leading argument they put forward is that "rape is not the same when you're raped by Legija (paramilitary and military leader, lead conspirator in the assassination of Zoran Đinđić) or when you're raped by Mika Aleksić. The line of their argument is that on one hand, Aleksić is not a strong man that you cannot defend yourself from, and on the other is that he is a well-respected man and not a criminal, someone you can talk things out with (see also 2.2.1).

Media object 2.3: News Report on Aleksić's Testimonies to the Court in His Own Defence, on the Website Blic.rs

In spring 2022, the case of Aleksić trial came to the phase of the defence presenting evidence and statements in his defence. The trial was open to the media who have reported the line of Aleksić's defence which has provided them an outlet to relativize violence against women. His defence is structured in a way that implies the wider public sphere as his intended audience. He has used this platform to try and humiliate and insult women who have stepped forward about sexual violence. In this particular case, he spoke of the relationship his accusers have with their fathers, as well as the insinuation that the accusers' mothers were prostitutes. News reports have been presented visually with photographs of masculine presence of Aleksić and his lawyers at the court (see 2.3.1.).

Case study 3. Jutka sexual harassment case

Looking back on Marija Lukić's case, one might perceive it as an absolute victory for women against sexual harassment with her harasser Milutin Jeličić Jutka being unambiguously disliked by the press, demonized by the public and even being convicted. However, Lukić's case in its initial phase was marked by a relentless campaign against Marija Lukić herself: again employing the usual tropes of sexual violence relativization, she was described as a willing participant, but even more strongly she was judged on the basis of her appearance, dress, makeup, hair, as a person who is obviously open to sexual advances and who should not complain about it. These open attacks on Marija Lukić ranged from the local media to media of the national coverage and were obviously influenced by antifeminist discourses. As per her own testimonies, Marija Lukić was deeply shaken by this kind of treatment. Although ultimately being victorious, with support of women's grassroots organizations, as well as political parties in Serbia which saw this as a way of their own advancement, the case of Marija Lukić set extremely high expectations of any woman who dares to challenge the practices of sexual harassment in smaller towns in Serbia.

Again, similar strategies of defaming women who speak up was employed against Marinika Tepić, a high official of the Party of Freedom and Justice (Stranka slobode i pravde – SSP, a major opposition party in Serbia), even in a case where she was not a victim herself, but the one making public charges against Dragan Marković Palma who, allegedly, organized sex parties in Jagodina with underage girls present. Indicatively, none of the victims from this case stepped forward and Tepić had to step into the role and be the one to make public charges. The case has not progressed since.

Media object 3.1: News Report on the Anonymous Profile Created for the Sole Purpose of Humiliation of Sexual Harassment Victim

The harassment of Marija Lukić was partly conducted through various social media through anonymous profiles that published materials pertaining to her private life. This content was then reproduced by the news outlets, supposedly critical, but providing media content of her personal pictures. The article in question on the web portal Kurir is in this way reporting on the anonymous profile "Pravda za Jutku" (Justice for Jutka; the perpetrator in this case). They have published two private photos of Lukić and described them as indecent and wrongly labelled them as taken at the workplace. The article also reported on the statements from social media that this kind of material is inappropriate for a woman of her age and family circumstances.

Media object 3.2: Amateur footage of the gathering of local men in support of Jutka by a YT user "GorJak GJ"

During the proceedings of Jutka's case in a local court in Brus, when he was still acting as a local mayor, a group of people, almost exclusively men, organized in support of Milutin Jeličić Jutka. They rejected the idea that they were organized by Jutka, and they showed their support by wearing T-shirts with a slogan "Pravda za Jutku" (Justice for Jutka) and carried pictures of themselves with him. The YT video in question provides footage of this rally paired with a state socialist mass song which was used in Yugoslavia as a part of Josip Broz Tito's cult of personality. On the video it is also shown that they carry banners with slogans such as "Journalists, what happened with presumption of innocence?" and Jutka can be seen interacting with the protestors. In the video material they published, their presence is seen as organized, intimidating and centred on able-male bodies (see 3.2.1).

Case study 4. Baka Prase and YouTube Misogyny

The case of Baka Prase is an example of how toxic masculinity is used to relativize the border between acceptable behaviour and sexual violence and rape. Baka Prase has started his YouTube platform with making videos targeting young teenagers and employing video features which make them accessible, full of humour, and well-adapted to the platform itself. Starting his career as a young adolescent himself, Baka Prase's YouTube history also shows his own progress from an older teenage boy to a young adult man who reproduces the nightlife and gym lifestyle and aesthetic. Through his YouTube career he has also acquired financial gains as a result of his success, which is again visible in his materials. He has also employed strategies of mutual networking with other internet personalities, while the age profile of his public has remained the same. Therefore, his misogynistic outbursts which started after his fame was already secured are presented as a natural development of a successful young man.

It is then very important to look closely at how Bogdan Ilić both produces misogynistic materials, relativizes his own actions, and supposedly redeems himself for his actions. Firstly his misogynistic material is mostly based on objectifying and ridiculing women. When confronted with the consequences of his actions (triggered by his videos, Kika sustained years-long online abuse pertaining to the way she looks and dresses), Bogdan Ilić then resorts to fraternising with his victims: in the case of Kika he actually succeeded in publicly reconciling with her and producing joint materials where they appeared as friends, although the general harassment towards Kika outlived Ilić's own targeting her persona. Even more, 8 months after her suicide Ilić publicized that he has also been in contact with her mother, providing her help and platform for answering unresolved questions surrounding Kika's death. In the case of statutory rape, Ilić resorted to an attack as the best defence, producing video materials in which he admitted to having sex with underage girls, but blaming her for not disclosing her age. This video material is different from Ilić's usual production, whereas he uses these videos to portray himself as a highly coveted man; he discusses his stamina, wealth as well as his connection to other men in procuring women. In this way Ilić presents sex with underage girls as a success story and creates a community around this narrative. Finally, after Kika's suicide, Bogdan Ilić seemingly retreated from his career and emphasized his relationship with his father, a Serbian Orthodox priest, and presented this part of his life as a kind of redemption arc. Through all these strategies Ilić presents misogyny, sexual violence and rape as a part of expected behaviour, and creates a community around this, which we can follow on YouTube comments and similar interactions on his social media platforms.

Media object 4.1: YouTube Video Blog on Kika's Channel – "Kraj Drame" (The End Of Drama), Published Oct 16, 2019

Following Kika's suicide in 2021, Bogdan Ilić/Baka Prase deleted all his materials pertaining to Kika in which he openly insulted her. However, snapshots of these videos have been preserved on YouTube in her own video in which she responds to his insults and where she additionally explains in what way comments and insults made by Bogdan Ilić were hurtful to her. Throughout Kika's video you can find inserts from his blog in which he calls her "bednice" ("trash"), "seljančuro" ("hick"), "narkomanko raspala" ("ruined junkie"). These snapshots also provide insights to his body language, posture and framing of Baka Prase's videos. He usually uses tight T-shirts, expressive arm movements and aggressive verbal expression (see 4.1.1).

Media object 4.2: YouTube Video Blog on Baka Prase's Channel – "Narkomanka Me Optužuje Da Sam Pedofil" (A Junkie Accused Me of Being a Pedofile) Published 2020

In June 2020 Bogdan Ilić was accused of having sex with an underage girl. He was called out by a feminist TikTok user and this consequently became a media controversy. Ilić decided to make the video in question in order to discuss the case. This video differs from his usual

format, it is considerably longer (lasts 35 minutes) and is of monotonous framing: basically all video is of Ilić himself, just sitting in a chair and talking. He also used swears in this video which he subsequently censored. In the video Ilić admits that he had sex with an underage girl and explains in detail how another male YouTube colleague of his brought them together after meeting her in public. Ilić emphasized the willingness of the girl to meet with him, interact with him and engage in sexual intercourse and he is specifically explicit in discussing his own stamina, virility and his readiness to engage in sexual acts with women. Again, Ilić positions this kind of behaviour as normal for young men, as a part of his success story and the expected phase of life which ends with marriage. In Ilić's testimony the information that the girl is still underage was disclosed to him only after the sexual intercourse, after which he immediately asked her to leave. Ilić places blame on the girl, labelling her as a liar and portraying her as a person who lied in order to gain access to a famous persona. Again, Ilić's YouTubing style is based on aggressive arm and body movements and (see 4.2.1).

Media presence, production, and circulation of collective agents of de-radicalisation

Case study 1. Gašić Derogatory Remarks Scandal

Almost immediately after being published, Gašić's remarks were met with public outrage in the public sphere. Most prominently, journalist association had a leading role in denouncing Gašić's behaviour, thus forcing PM Vučić to remove Gašić from the government.

Media object 1.3. Gligorijević Tweet, Source of #Novinarkenekleče Hashtag

Initial tweets sparking the movement #Novinarkenekleče (Women journalists do not kneel) was written by Jovana Gligorijević, who works for the newspaper Vreme. The tweet posed the question: Sad kad bih inicirala akciju #NovinarkeNeKleče, koliko bi se koleginica javilo da učestvuje? (If I were to initiate an action #WomenJournalistsDontKneel, how many of my colleagues would get involved? Jovana Gligorijević is a prominent journalist who deals with topics such as women's issues and social justice. This tweet has so far had 245 likes and 87 retweets, but more importantly it was shared by other media figures, and it launched #Novinarkenekleče as an informal social movement.

Media object 1.4. Krik's #Novinarkenekleče Tweet

Twitter came to the forefront of this movement with hashtag #Novinarkeneklece (women journalists do not kneel); being widely used in the days after Gašić's statement. This was one of the first cases of hashtag activism spilling on the streets, with the protesters coming with the hashtag printed out. A protest of media professionals was organized in front of the government building, demanding Gašić's dismissal, by the journalists from weekly newspaper NIN, Tanja Nikolić Đaković, and Cenzolovka portal journalist Zoran B. Nikolić. One of the strategies of exerting pressure towards the government was urging journalists to boycott press conferences and all public events attended by Minister Gašić.

Media object 1.5. Tweet Report from Novi Sad #Novinarkeneklece Protest

Several protests were organized, and one of the largest was the one in Novi Sad. with both individuals and media associations using the hashtag and sharing pictures from the protest. Importantly, the usage of the hashtag Novinarkenekleče has increasingly been paired with the hashtag #Novinarinekleče (journalists in male grammatical gender, also used as a gender neutral denominator of the profession). This tendency, although presented as a more inclusive, can also be read as obfuscating the gender dimension of the initial incident and relegating the controversy only to the question of government-journalist relations without taking into account the sex-based power relations. Most of the tweets made use of photos from the protest in Novi Sad (see 1.5.1)

Case study 2. Mika Aleksic Serial Rapist Case

Mika Aleksić case provoked outrage in the public discourse and reactions from feminist grassroots collectives such as Verujem ti (I believe you), a project-funded collective which operates mostly on social media and Ženska solidarnost (Women's solidarity), a non-registered group of women based on membership. As the events surrounding Aleksić case very much coincided with the case of Branislav Lečić, there were cases of media communications, social media posts and events which were addressing both cases. Verujem ti and particularly Ženska Solidarnost tried to mobilize both their membership and wider pool of women active on social media to use these cases in order to articulate wider message of

how to address sexual harassment and violence and how to create a culture of believing victims of sexual violence in order to counter the rape culture. Their actions in public used the circumstances of Aleksić going to court and Lečić being a member of the cast in Belgrade theatre performances. Their strategy was to picket these sites - courts or theatre venues - with handmade banners showing support for the victims of sexual violence and to distribute images from these picketings to social media. In cases of Aleksić's court appearances, women's gatherings were also reported by professional journalists reporting from the court.

Media object 2.4: Facebook Post Published by the Organization Verujem Ti as a Statement of Support for Milena Radulović in the Case against Aleksić

The feminist collective Verujem ti published this support post with picture text gratitude to Milena Radulović, Iva Ilinčić and all courageous women that stand with them. In the post the collective also spoke about the wider culture of fighting rape and sexual violence and contextualized this case. They promised support in the future court proceedings and expressed gratitude to all women who stepped forward with their testimonies. The design of the image with the traditional marks of feminism and reduced content (see 2.4.1) will prove to be characteristic of current feminist and women's organizations' social media materials.

Media object 2.5: Instagram post published by the organization Ženska solidarnost

Women's collective ŽS also issued their statement concerning Aleksić case, declaring full support to Milena Radulović as the main victim. ŽS is active mostly on Instagram where they develop their recognizable idiosyncratic visual identity (see 2.5.1) and has a pool of 12,6 thousand followers.

Media object 2.6: Report on the Grassroots Action on Solidarity during Mika Aleksić Trial on the Portal Mašina (Masina.Rs)

The news portal Mašina (masina.rs) is a niche, left-wing, internet-based media outlet in Serbia. They dedicated the full report from Mika Aleksić's first court appearance to the protest of the women, with pictures of them picketing in front of the court, with a banner bearing the slogan: Verujemo Mileni Radulović (We believe Milena Radulović). The protest itself was jointly organized by Žene u crnom (Women in black), Verujem ti, Ženska solidarnost and CK13. Women in black describe themselves as anarcho-feminist collective against the war and they have been active since the 90s when they organized in order to protest Slobodan Milošević's regime, while CK13 is a youth cultural centre based in Novi Sad.

Case study 3. Jutka Sexual Harassment Case

The support of women, feminists and various political organizations for Marija Lukić against Milutin Jeličić Jutka was articulated through the hashtag #PravdaZaMarijuLukić which also transformed into a movement. Many of the actors in this movement were in fact political figures - Marija herself joined Narodna stranka (People's party; center-right party led by Vuk Jeremić). Ne Davimo Beograd (Don't let Belgrade d(r)own; right to city initiative participating in elections) was the main organizer on the ground of support coming from Belgrade based activists. Pravda Za Mariju Lukić, a nonformal movement, was widely supported by various collectives and individuals, such as Women in black (at the time, collectives discussed in depth in the case study 2, Ženska solidarnost and Verujem ti were not yet founded). Slogan Pravda za Mariju transformed itself in a slogan that supported not only the case of Marija Lukić but all victims of sexual harassment as this case was at the time most prominent and groundbreaking case of its kind in Serbia. The slogan and the hashtag was communicated dominantly on twitter but also present in media reports and other social networks.

Media object 3.3: Ne Davimo Beograd Tweet Containing a Picture from Support Gathering for Marija Lukić in Brus

The tweet and the picture in question come from the most contested public gatherings adjacent to Marija Lukić's court proceedings, when in Brus there was an organized group of men in support of Jutka (see media object), as well as dozens of women and activists coming from Belgrade to form a rally of support for Marija Lukić. The organized transfer from Belgrade was provided by Ne davimo Beograd through informal channels. On the banners in support of Marija Lukić we can see slogans such as "Pravda za žene Brusa" (Justice for the women of Brus), "Zaustavimo nasilnike" (Stop the violent offenders), "Verujem ti jer smo iste" (I believe you because we are the same) and "Ovde smo" (We are here). In the picture you can also see the participants of the counter-protest bearing the printed banner referring to the presumption of innocence (top of the picture). The tweet itself reads "Ima ih, ali ima i nas! Pravda za Mariju Lukić" (They are here, but so are we! Justice for Marija Lukić)

Media object 3.4: Tweet by a Recognized Journalist Jelena Radivojević Sharing Visuals Made in Support for Marija Lukić

Jelena Jaćimović (twitter handle @Jachim992) is also one of the members of the Ne davimo Beograd initiative, a graphic designer and a visual artist. Having a recognizable style, she's the author of many prominent visuals pertaining both the protests of Ne davimo Beograd and of wider social and feminist issues. In this video clip we can see a line of her graphic work referring and showing support to Marija Lukić, but also trying to widen the issue and put it in context by introducing hashtag "I ja sam Marija" (I am Marija as well) and providing stock-like images of women in different social roles and life contexts (see 3.4.1).

Media object 3.5: Tweet Published by Info Centrala, A Local Informational Portal of Jagodina, A City in Central Serbia Reporting on a Women's Gathering in Support of Marija Lukić

On the occasion of women's forum of the ruling party of Serbia, Serbian Progressive Party, organizing public event "Položaj žena u društvu" (The position of women in society), a group of women organized and brought a banner reading "Pravda za Mariju Lukić ili Jutku? Koji je vaš odgovor?" (Justice for Marija Lukić or Jutka? What is your response?) The women in question were removed from the site by the police, as reported by Info centrala. Published tweets featured photographic material from the gathering (see 3.5.1).

Media presence, production, and circulation of ordinary users against radicalisation

Ordinary citizen communication through media platforms emerges as a strong voice against male violence and toxic masculinity. I will address this agency primarily as it pertains to the case study 4, where individual users on TikTok have been the loudest in standing against Baka Prase and his YouTube misogynistic material. However, I will also refer to Case study 2. It is important to note that the border between collective agents and individuals is not always clear-cut, as many voices of strong presence on platforms are organized in informal collective, some of which discussed in previous chapter. On one hand, we can interpret this as the consequence of collectives empowering women to make strong presence online, but on the other delegating interventions to personal profiles can also be a strategy of the collective. For this reason, as applicable, this chapter deals with online media presence of individuals which do not profess their part of either formal organization or informal collectives.

Case study 2. Mika Aleksic Serial Rapist Case

Media objects 2.7: Tweets of users @ViktorijaQueen and @ver_tiffany (reaction on 2.2)

Darko Mitrović and Marko Stepanović arguments that “rape is not the same when you’re raped by Legija or when you’re raped by Mika Aleksić” sparked wide outrage on social media, foremost on Twitter. Users @ViktorijaQueen (see 2.7.1.) and @ver_tiffany (see 2.7.2.) have been among ordinary users of Twitter to quote their statement and share cut video of the TC show, focusing on the statement. The reaction of users has been divided, with large portion of users claiming that the statement has been presented out of context.

Case study 4. Baka Prase and YouTube Misogyny

In case of Baka Prase and his YouTube misogynistic material, the main backlash has come from similar social media platforms and individual users. Namely, users both on YouTube but dominantly on TikTok, on one hand started calling out Ilić for his misogynistic outbursts pointed towards his YouTube colleague Kika, both during the affair and in the aftermath of her suicide, and on the other hand Bogdan Ilić’s behaviour toward ordinary women and his fans, usually underage, started to surface through TikTok. In all these instances we have individual, non-organized users of these platforms as the ones acting against Bogdan Ilić’s misogyny which then triggers polarized reactions (Baka Prase’s fans vs “haters”), news reports which draw on social media and finally, Baka Prase’s own responses articulated through his YouTube platform. In certain regard, this has been one of the clearest articulations of Western phenomena of social justice warriors on social media, particularly calling out tactics as a way of fighting men who exhibit toxic masculinity. As such it has met with limited success as Baka Prase himself reported significant loss of revenue coming through various sponsorship cancellations.

Media object 4.3: Tiktok Video of User “s.ntntn” Addressing Bogdan Ilić’s Toxic Masculinity

TikTok user “s.ntntn” was at the center of addressing Bodan Ilić’s toxic masculinity and this TikTok video was the first one in which she called out Ilić. The video itself has a usual format, with stock music as sound background and text written out in the video itself. The message is reduced to information that she will be addressing toxic behaviour of Ilić in subsequent videos (see 4.3.1).

Media object 4.4: TikTok Video of User “s.ntntn” Elaborating on Her Previous Statement

This TikTok video was published subsequently to the previous one and contains screenshots of conversations of underage girls and Bogdan Ilić. TikTok user “s.ntntn” emphasizes Ilić’s typical strategies of luring underage girls into his apartment (4.4.1).

Media object 4.5. TikTok Video of User “s.ntntn” Published on 07.03.2020.

This is the third and final video of the user “s.ntntn” addressing Ilić’s toxic masculinity. Unlike previous two videos this video employs a story-time format, where the user herself explains the point of calling out Bogdan Ilić, particularly emphasizing that the girls in question (four underage girls, two of which have supposedly visited Ilić’s home) are victims of manipulation and that the blame should be put on the manipulator. The TikTok user also adds that as far as her knowledge goes, Bogdan Ilić did make sexual advances in person. Bogdan Ilić did use his platform to try and defame TikTok user in question, calling her “narkomanka” (drug addict).

Media object 4.6: TikTok Video of User “elenazflorest” Published on 9.12.2021

The video in question was published after Kika’s suicide and through the means of video production brings to light Bogdan Ilić’s internet abuse of Kika and her suicide in order to raise awareness of the dangers of online bullying. The clip taken from Ilić’s original video humiliating Kika on the basis of her appearance and trying to shut her down over the fact that she is, as Ilić says, half naked. The video uses typical TikTok strategies of layering various textual content (see 4.6.1).

Discussion and conclusion



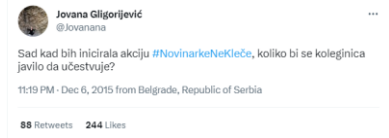
This report has portrayed dynamics through which toxic masculinity and male sex-based violence is reproduced in media discourses and how feminist grassroots collectives fight these processes. The case of Bogdan Ilić, via his Baka Prase YouTube persona, has shown us how toxic masculinity is mediated through platforms such as YouTube. However, even in this media sphere we have seen that toxic masculinity is never only about reproduction of a certain discourse, but about actual behaviour of men, in this case leading to sexual advances towards underage girls and statutory rape. In the case of Bratislav Gašić we have seen that derogatory remarks, falling under the category of toxic masculinity, which have been recorded by mere chance, can ultimately lead to victimization of the man himself, as the one who has suffered injustice. In the case of Mika Aleksić we are still witnessing the misuse of court proceedings as a rostrum for spreading the narratives of toxic masculinity as a legitimate legal defence. And in the case of Milutin Jeličić Jutka we have seen how toxic masculinity is spread through vilifying survivors who step forward.




The feminist grassroots response has also been multifaceted. In the case of Gašić we have seen grassroots mobilizing through professional circles, namely journalists standing together, but we have also seen how this strategy can shift the focus away from the sex-based relation of power. In case of Jutka we have seen wide mobilization of various feminist and political actors around the paradigmatic case of sexual harassment in a scale which has not yet been surpassed in Serbia. In case of Mika Aleksić we have seen that in the period after the “Pravda za Mariju” (Justice for Marija) movement concrete organized feminist groups have been formed, giving structure and an organizational platform needed for a feminist response to issues of sexual violence. Finally, in the case of Baka Prase we have seen how individual social media users can use their platforms for spreading awareness of problematic behaviour of particular men assuming the role of local celebrities. This is important in the local context, where this does not only serve the purpose of raising abstract awareness, but can actually reach out to the women and girls which might be next targets of this very individual.

The question that needs to be explored in further detail is the role of men’s rights activists’ forums and in particular their connection to ways of reading official media texts. As a part of anti-discrimination laws and media laws, all media in Serbia are to great extent compliant with the recommendations of Regulatory body for electronic media (REM) when it comes to the issues of sexual violence. However, when reporting on these topics, tabloid media and particularly tabloid web-based portals usually present the news in a context which is already objectifying of women’s bodies and provides space for misogynistic comments on the news. Social platforms such as YouTube and TikTok are even more fertile ground for misogynistic commentary and they also provide a means of networking. Prime examples of men only groups on chatting platforms such as Telegram, which foster toxic masculinity practices, are groups which are made for sharing revenge porn materials and these have been exposed by Ženska solidarnost, making the fight against revenge porn one of their priorities. One of the main remaining issues is that toxic masculinity and men’s sexual violence still appears to escape punishment and responsibility, which is a message that we find in a range of statements from president Vučić’s language on Gašić, to Bogdan Ilić’s threats of pursuing legal means to reprimand women who call him out, to Mika Aleksić’s defence which is still ongoing.




From the point of view of women’s organizing, groups such as Verujem ti and Ženska solidarnost display novel levels of organizing which bring together strategy based on membership (in case of Ženska solidarnost), education of women in the collective, presence in direct actions such as picketing as well as a pronounced media presence through social networks such as Instagram.



Appendix: Items for analysis




	Case study	Name	Object
1.1.	Gašić derogatory remarks scandal	Original YouTube Video Capturing Gašić's Derogatory Remarks	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MmtGxFFybZc
1.1.1.		Screenshot of 1.1, 13''	
1.2.	Gašić derogatory remarks scandal	Vučić's Statement on the Reinstallment of Gašić into Government Body	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rs8bZD5cZ4w
1.2.1.		Screenshot of 1.2, 1'23''	
1.3.	Gašić derogatory remarks scandal	Gligorijević Tweet, Source of #Novinarkenekleče Hashtag	https://twitter.com/Jovanana/status/673627803586273282 
1.4.	Gašić derogatory	Krik's Tweet #Novinarkenekleče	https://twitter.com/KRIKrs/status/686621046569611264


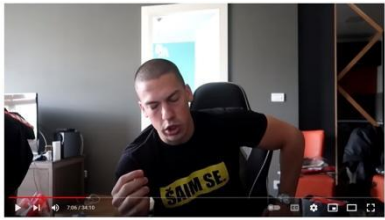
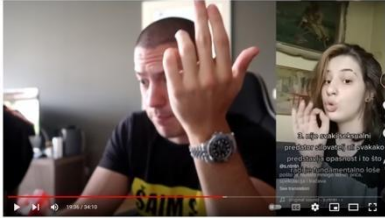
	y remarks scandal		
1.4.1.		Krik's #Novinarkenekleče Tweet (1.4.) photo	
1.5.	Gašić derogator y remarks scandal	Tweet Report from Novi Sad #Novinarkeneklece Protest	https://twitter.com/nszoranans/status/678998639675592704
1.5.1.		Photo re 1.5	
2.1.	Mika Aleksić Serial Rapist Case	Serbian Actress Eva Ras Comments on Mika Aleksić Case	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rANMnl2zyA&t=2s&ab_channel=BALKANINFO-Zvani%C4%8Dnikanal
2.1.1.		Screenshot of 2.1	
2.2.	Mika Aleksić Serial Rapist Case	Video Material from TV Show Programme "Mentalno Razgibavanje", A Morning TV Show	https://www.novosti.rs/scena/poznati/955821/nije-isto-siluje-legija-siluje-mika-aleksic-skandalozna-izjava-voditelja-razbesnela-srpsku-javnost-video

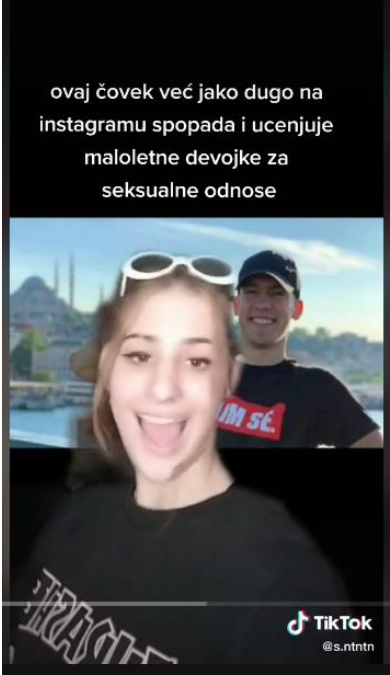

2.2.1.		Screenshot from the video material 2.2.	
2.3.	Mika Aleksić Serial Rapist Case	News Report on Aleksić's Testimonies to the Court in His Own Defence, on the Website Blic.rs	https://www.blic.rs/vesti/hronika/podmukao-pokusaj-ali-uzalud-mika-aleksic-planira-da-svoju-odbranu-iznosi-mesecima-i/b42lyf9
2.3.1		News photo regarding 2.3.,Blic.rs	
2.4.	Mika Aleksić Serial Rapist Case	Facebook Post Published by the Organization Verujem Ti as a Statement of Support for Milena Radulović in the Case against Aleksić	https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid0BFa6sSr4W7RHDA7dvJx2EWqwR8KNhD9PDy7WsrSBvSDYHZAJU8XLLCBARsEXHvmJI&id=104208968197790
2.4.1		Visual of the Facebook Post 2.4.	
2.5.	Mika Aleksić Serial	Instagram post published by the organization Ženska solidarnost	https://www.instagram.com/p/CMpiCF AJzUI/?utm_source=ig_web_copy_link

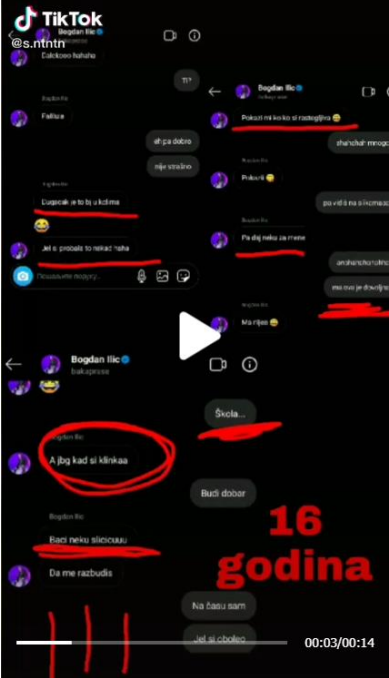
	Rapist Case		
2.5.1.		Visual of the Instagram post 2.5.	
2.6.	Mika Aleksić Serial Rapist Case	Report on the Grassroots Action on Solidarity during Mika Aleksić Trial on the Portal Mašina (Masina.Rs)	https://www.masina.rs/aktivistkinje-pruzile-podrsku-zenama-ispred-palate-pravde-pre-pocetka-sudenja-miroslavu-miki-aleksicu/
2.6.1		Photo material re 2.6.	
2.7.1	Mika Aleksić Serial Rapist Case	Tweet of user @ViktorijaQueen. Reaction on 2.2.	

2.7.2	Mika Aleksić Serial Rapist Case	Tweet of user @ver_tiffany. Reaction on 2.2.	https://twitter.com/ver_tiffany/status/1351293792146567174 
3.1.	Jutka Sexual Harassment Case	News Report on the Anonymous Profile Created for the Sole Purpose of Humiliation of Sexual Harassment Victim	https://www.kurir.rs/vesti/drustvo/3214691/pravda-za-jutku-sokantno-botovi-napravili-profil-i-pokrenuli-ofanzivu-na-mariju-lukic-ti-zrtvada-li-se-tako-oblaci-pristojna-zena-majka-dvoje-dece-sramota
3.2.	Jutka Sexual Harassment Case	Amateur footage of the gathering of local men in support of Jutka by a YT user "GorJak GJ"	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VTOWcACS4Sw
3.2.1.		Screenshot re 3.2	
3.3.	Jutka Sexual Harassment Case	Ne Davimo Beograd Tweet Containing a Picture from Support Gathering for Marija Lukić in Brus	https://twitter.com/dizzymissie/status/1132939775474884608

3.3.1.		Photo re 3.3	
3.4.	Jutka Sexual Harassment Case	Tweet by a Recognized Journalist Jelena Radivojević Sharing Visuals Made in Support for Marija Lukić	https://twitter.com/jelradivojevic/status/1222188019530313728
3.4.1.		Screenshot re 3.4.	
3.5.	Jutka Sexual Harassment Case	Tweet Published by Info Centrala, A Local Informational Portal of Jagodina, A City in Central Serbia Reporting on a Women's Gathering in Support of Marija Lukić	https://twitter.com/InfoCentrala/status/1105914085210759168
3.5.1.		Photo re 3.5.	

4.1.	Baka Prase and YouTube Misogyny	YouTube Video Blog on Kika's Channel – "Kraj Drame" (The End Of Drama), Published Oct 16, 2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YxEDsTZ22wQ&ab_channel=Kika
		Screenshot re 4.1.	
4.2.	Baka Prase and YouTube Misogyny	YouTube Video Blog on Baka Prase's Channel – "Narkomanka Me Optužuje Da Sam Pedofil" (A Junkie Accused Me of Being a Pedophile) Published 2020	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ePVDPKT0vE
4.2.1.		Screenshot re 4.2.	
4.2.2.		Screenshot re 4.2.	
4.3.	Baka Prase and YouTube Misogyny	Tiktok Video of User "s.ntntn" Addressing Bogdan Ilić's Toxic Masculinity	https://www.tiktok.com/@s.ntntn/video/68444607851961322758

4.3.1.		Screenshot re 4.3.	
4.4.	Baka Prase and YouTube Misogyny	TikTok Video of User “s.ntntn” Elaborating on Her Previous Statement	https://www.tiktok.com/@s.ntntn/video/6845194826980314373
4.4.1.		Screenshot re 4.4.	

4.5.	Baka Prase and YouTube Misogyny	TikTok Video of User “s.ntntn” Published on 07.02.2020.	https://www.tiktok.com/@klept0mancin/video/6844831476647857414
4.5.1		Screenshot re 4.5.	
4.6.	Baka Prase and YouTube Misogyny	TikTok Video of User “elenazflorest” Published on 9.12.2021	https://www.tiktok.com/@elenazflorest/video/7039809459996101894

4.6.1.		Screenshot re 4.6.	
--------	--	--------------------	--

References

Alo! (2021) *Baka Prase je kriv za smrt Kristine Kiki Đukić: Teške optužbe poznatog tiktokera - Alo.rs*. Available at: <https://www.alo.rs/vip/estrada/573782/baka-prase-kristina-kika-dukic-jutjuber-influenserka-nasilje-smrt/vest> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

ATV (2021) *Baka Prase priveden na saslušanje zbog smrti jutjuberke*. Available at: <https://www.atvbl.rs/index.php/scena/baka-prase-daje-izjavu-povodom-samoubistva-jutjuberke-10-12-2021> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Balkan Info (2021) *INTERVJU: Eva Ras - Imamo lošu predstavu o muškarcima, ni ranije nisu mogli toliko!* (12.4.2021) (2021). Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rANM_nI2zyA (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Connell, R. W. (2005) *Masculinities*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

elenazflorest (2021)  on *TikTok*, *TikTok*. Available at: <https://www.tiktok.com/@elenazflorest/video/7039809459996101894> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Euronews (2021) *Marinika Tepić dala izjavu o Palmi, slučaj preuzima Tužilaštvo za organizovani kriminal?*, *Euronews.rs*. Available at: <https://www.euronews.rs/srbija/politika/648/marinika-tepic-dala-izjavu-u-kraljevackom-tuzilastvu-tuziteljka-ce-traziti-da-predmet-palma-preuzme-tok/vest> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Gašić- volim novinarke koje ovako lako kleknu (2015). Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MmtGxFFybZc> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Greenberg, J. (2006) 'Nationalism, masculinity and multicultural citizenship in Serbia', *Nationalities Papers*, 34:3, 321–341.

Info Centrala [@InfoCentrala] (2019) 'Večeras je u Paraćinu u toku tribine "Položaj žena u društvu" koje organizuje Unija žena Srpske napredne stranke, policija udaljila građanke koje su nosile transparent "Pravda za Mariju Lukić ili Jutku? Koji je vaš odgovor?". Paraćinke su želele da postave pitanje Uniji žena SNS <https://t.co/MW137uzQ56>', *Twitter*. Available at: <https://twitter.com/InfoCentrala/status/1105914085210759168> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Informer.rs (2021) *Uspon i pad Mike Aleksića! Rođen u Beogradu, manipulator, režiser kojem prethodi 15 godina robije - ove netalje niste znali*, *INFORMER*. Available at: <https://informer.rs/dzet-set/estrada/579822/miroslav-mika-aleksic-detalji-biografija> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Jelena Radivojević [@jelradivojevic] (2020) 'Predivna @Jachim992 nas podseća da smo sve mi Marija @MarijaLukic36 #pravdazamariju #ijasammarija #pravdazadjevojciće <https://t.co/qtc54HI6CH>', *Twitter*. Available at: <https://twitter.com/jelradivojevic/status/1222188019530313728> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Jovana Gligorijević [@Jovanana] (2015) 'Sad kad bih inicirala akciju #NovinarkeNeKleće, koliko bi se koleginica javilo da učestvuje?', *Twitter*. Available at: <https://twitter.com/Jovanana/status/673627803586273282> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

KRIK [@KRIKrs] (2016) '#NovinarkeNeKlece #NovinariNeKlece #protest #novinari <https://t.co/rRWSzHevGK>', *Twitter*. Available at: <https://twitter.com/KRIKrs/status/686621046569611264> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Kurir (2017) *VUČIĆ PRED NOVINARIMA: Hoće li Gašić na čelo BIA?* Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rs8bZD5cZ4w> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Kurir (2019) *PRAVDA ZA JUTKU! ŠOKANTNO! BOTOVI NAPRAVILI PROFIL I POKRENULI OFANZIVU NA MARIJU LUKIĆ: Ti žrtva? Da li se tako oblači pristojna žena majka dvoje dece? Sramota!*, *Kurir*. Available at: <https://www.kurir.rs/vesti/drustvo/3214691/pravda-za-jutku-sokantno-botovi-napravili-profil-i-pokrenuli-ofanzivu-na-mariju-lukic-ti-zrtvada-li-se-tako-oblaci-pristojna-zena-majka-dvoje-dece-sramota> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

M.K. (2022) *PODMUKAO POKUŠAJ, ALI UZALUD Mika Aleksić planira da svoju odbranu IZNOSI MESECIMA i tako razvuče sudski proces, ali evo zašto mu to NEĆE USPETI*, *Blic.rs*. Available at: <https://www.blic.rs/vesti/hronika/podmukao-pokusaj-ali-uzalud-mika-aleksic-planira-da-svoju-odbranu-iznosi-mesecima-i/b42lyf9> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Marija Lukić V.S Milutin Jeličić Jutka - Suđenje 27.05.2019 - 'Druže Tito...' (2019). Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VTOwcACS4Sw> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Mašina (2022) 'Aktivistkinje pružile podršku ženama ispred Palate pravde pre početka suđenja Miroslavu Miki Aleksiću', *Mašina*, 2 February. Available at: <https://www.masina.rs/aktivistkinje-pruzile-podrsku-zenama-ispred-palate-pravde-pre-pocetka-sudenja-miroslavu-miki-aleksicu/> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Milivojević, S (2014) *Žene i mediji: Strategije isključivanja*. Genero, posebno izdanje, 11-24.

Mršević, Z (2019) *Nasilje i mi: mediji o nasilju nad ženama*. Institut društvenih nauka, Beograd.

N1 (2020) *Jutka osuđen na tri meseca zatvora*, N1. Available at: <https://rs.n1info.com/vesti/a618438-Jutka-osudjen-na-tri-meseca-zatvora/> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Natalija Simovic [@dizzymissie] (2019) 'Ima ih, ali ima i nas! Pravda za Mariju Lukic! https://t.co/BfhNk7dyKt', *Twitter*. Available at: <https://twitter.com/dizzymissie/status/1132939775474884608> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Necić, N (2019) *Reprezentacija nasilja prema ženama u srpskoj štampi*. CM Komunikacija i mediji. 45: 37-60.

Novosti online (2021) 'NIJE ISTO DA TE SILUJE LEGIJA I DA TE SILUJE MIKA ALEKSIĆ': *Skandalozna izjava voditelja razbesnela srpsku javnost (VIDEO)*, NOVOSTI. Available at: <https://www.novosti.rs/scena/poznati/955821/nije-isto-siluje-legija-siluje-mika-aleksic-skandalozna-izjava-voditelja-razbesnela-srpsku-javnost-video> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Rangelov, B. (2016). *Analiza uticaja medijskog izveštavanja na percepciju u javnosti teme Nasilje nad ženama u Srbiji – studija slučaja*. *Art & Media*,11, 101–113.

s.ntntn (2020a) *kleptomancina on TikTok*, *TikTok*. Available at: https://www.tiktok.com/@s.ntntn/video/6844607851961322758?is_from_webapp=v1&item_id=6844607851961322758 (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

s.ntntn (2020b) *kleptomancina on TikTok*, *TikTok*. Available at: <https://www.tiktok.com/@s.ntntn/video/6845194826980314373> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

s.ntntn (2020c) *pošto je nastalo mnogo lažnih priča, spekulacija i tračeva*, *TikTok*. Available at: <https://www.tiktok.com/@s.ntntn/video/6845194826980314373> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Verujem ti (2021) *Verujem ti: Feministička Akcija Protiv Seksualnog Nasilja*, *Facebook*. Available at: https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=pfbid0BFa6sSr4W7RHDA7dvJx2EWqwR8KKhD9PDy7WsrSBvSDYHZAJU8XLLCBARsEXHvmJI&id=104208968197790 (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Višnjić, J. (2012) „Killing me softly”: *izveštavanje štampanih medija o ženama žrtvama nasilja*. *Genero* 16: 141-156.

Vujović, R., Filipović, A.M. (2022). *Medijski tretman nasilja nad ženama*. *Kultura polisa*, 19(2), 170–200.

Ženska solidarnost (2021) *Prethodnih dana svedočimo gnusnim uvredama...*, *Instagram*. Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/p/CMpiCFAJzUI/> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

Zorana_NS [@nszorans] (2015) 'Bravo za Novi Sad! #NovinariNeKleče #NovinarkeNeKleče https://t.co/MW3ELUQRMi', *Twitter*. Available at: <https://twitter.com/nszorans/status/678998639675592704> (Accessed: 14 October 2022).

