UNSOCIAL MEDIA

Tracing and exposing gendered disinformation in Kosovo
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Summary

The purpose of this report is to trace and detect gendered disinformation, a concerning trend in the dissemination of news and information through social and online media platforms.

Disproportionate targeting based on gender and sexual orientation, especially those in the public eye like politicians, is a common phenomenon of disinformation campaigns and online violence. The effects of such campaigns are to damage the credibility of women leaders, potentially influencing public perception and election outcomes. Online violence and harassment, marked by sexist and misogynistic comments, are more prevalent for women and LGBTQI+ persons, particularly on social media, and may negatively affect their mental well-being.

Gendered disinformation and online violence have contributed to political polarization, fostering a hostile online environment that can discourage women and other marginalized groups from actively participating in civic life.
Key Findings

- **Gender disparity in online violence and harassment:** Upon analyzing comments from articles containing gendered disinformation, we discovered that women encounter online violence and harassment more frequently from men than from women (Men make up 89.6% of hate speech comments and women 10.4%). When segregating the data based on gender from all comments in the articles, it became evident that men exhibited a higher degree of engagement in online violence and harassment directed at women.

- **Higher engagement on gendered disinformation content:** Gendered disinformation news articles in media generate significantly higher engagement compared to overall news articles. On average, the gendered disinformation cases in media collect over 86 reactions per news—three times higher than the typical engagement for all news.

- **Intentional Targeting:** Women, especially those in the public eye such as politicians and public figures, are often targeted by disinformation campaigns in comparison to men.

- **Undermining Credibility:** Disinformation campaigns frequently undermine the credibility of women in positions of leadership. This could bring consequences, affecting public perception and potentially influencing electoral outcomes.

- **Online violence and harassment:** Women and LGBTQI+ persons experience higher levels of online harassment, including sexist and misogynistic and hate speech comments. Social media platforms are common spaces for such harassment, impacting the mental health and well-being of the targeted individuals.

- **Intersectionality Challenges:** From the intersectional perspective women with different layers of marginalization may face heightened disinformation campaigns exploiting multiple dimensions of their identity, such as race, ethnicity, or sexual orientation.

- **Political Polarization:** Gendered disinformation is contributing to political polarization by fostering a hostile online environment in Kosovo. This can harm inclusivity in democracy and can deter women and LGBTQI+ persons from entering politics or engaging in public discourse, limiting their participation in civic and public life.

- **Online backlash:** D4D and Pikasa Analytics highlight a notable online attack on women public figures who decide to oppose their male counterparts. Women who question or challenge their male colleagues experience pronounced social media attacks.
Methodology

The Democracy for Development (D4D) Institute and Pikasa Analytics supported by the National Democratic Institute - NDI Kosovo and the United Nations Development Programme - UNDP Kosovo have conducted a thorough analysis of the social and online media covering the period of two years to identify news/articles containing information disorders.

The monitoring tool provided measurable data on the total engagement on online media articles and social media posts with information disorders from January 2022 through November 2023. For the purpose of this report, D4D Institute and Pikasa Analytics monitored and analyzed articles and social media posts through gendered disinformation lenses to provide an overview and a more in-depth understanding of the phenomena to help identify measures that raise awareness and help combat gendered disinformation in Kosovo’s media landscape. (In some cases, two other platforms have been used for monitoring social networks including CrowdTangle and MediaToolkit, with a focus on monitoring and analyzing news items against women, LGBTQI+ persons, ethnic minorities, and persons with disabilities).

Initially, information disorders were identified in both Albanian and Serbian languages, and then articles with the highest total online engagement were selected for further analysis. Additionally, Pikasa Analytics, engaged by UNDP, has conducted qualitative research for this report. Pikasa Analytics has interviewed some of the most highly attacked women MPs to provide a more in-depth analysis for the report.

Monitoring of the information disorders was done through the Pikasa Analytics platform. The online and social media monitored through the platform included over 100 local, regional, and international media outlets. Monitoring and analysis of articles with information disorders were carried out simultaneously in two samples: the Albanian language and the Serbian language. The selection of examples from both samples was based on the content of the article, which was disseminated through gendered disinformation lenses, focusing on misinformation, disinformation, malinformation manipulation of facts, unverified content, conspiracy theories, clickbait, hate speech, offensive language, threatening language and articles with tendentious titles.

The monitoring of the social and online media outlets included these social media platforms: Facebook, X (formerly Twitter), Instagram, TikTok, and online news portals operating in Kosovo. 110+ portals in Kosovo, on average every day publish 5,495 news articles content. Or, during the entire monitored period (22 months), the platform has caught 3,626,700 news articles. All these articles gained 83.6 Million engagements (likes, shares, comments). The most impactful 23 media cases that we analyzed throughout the report are spread through 2,429 media articles and collectively have 210,541 engagements.

1 For more information see INFORMATION DISORDER: Toward an interdisciplinary framework for research and policy making. Source: https://rm.coe.int/information-disorder-toward-an-interdisciplinary-framework-for-research/168076277c
Online Violence and Gendered Disinformation

“There’s a link between the misogyny and abuse that women experience offline and online... Social media is just a different way of committing these acts. Ultimately, it’s the misogyny lying behind it that is the problem. So, it’s that we have to tackle, not just the means by which people are able to spread their hate and misogyny and abuse”

The era of the internet was easily and happily embraced by women. Global trends have shown that women more than men are caretakers, sacrifice their careers for family, and are less able to actively participate in public life. The experience with the COVID-19 pandemic also showed where digitalized solutions were welcomed. Nevertheless, online space did not turn out to be a friendly environment for women who wanted to express their opinions, nor was social media a social opportunity. When women expressed their opinions or criticized any abuse or violation of rights, the online backlash against them included threats of rape, killing, or other types of online violence.

Online violence against women in the research is represented as a result of a deeper patriarchal system and attitude towards women. As a patriarchal system includes systemic attempts at women’s subordination, online hate and misogyny take patriarchal attitudes to a more sinister character.

Online violence against women (OVAW) in politics is a growing threat to democracy worldwide. OVAW includes various forms of aggression and intimidation aimed at excluding women from politics solely based on their gender. Gendered disinformation, a type of violence, utilizes biased narratives to achieve political goals, targeting individual women to discourage their involvement in public life and sending a broader message against women in politics.

This monitoring report has found a concerning trend of online violence targeting women politicians in Kosovo. The majority of articles exhibiting the highest levels of engagement, that have been analyzed for this report, illustrate a growing pattern of gendered disinformation campaigns specifically designed to target and undermine women in political roles.

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5 NDI “Ending Online Violence Against Women” For more information: https://www.ndi.org/ending-online-violence-against-women-politics
The rise of online interaction has also increased the global attention to issues concerning women, and their experiences, harassment, and violence both virtually and in reality. While the internet and cyberspace have been a welcomed platform for women to publicly participate and express their opinions on political and social matters, at the same time, the online space and women have become a subject and target in the online space through various forms of violence, but predominantly text-based and online misogyny.

Such acts severely harm the participation of women in the public sphere, while the attacks have also taken the online public space to express and spread misogynistic hate, especially against women in politics and decision-making. This report has detected increased online violence against women in politics and decision-making, as well as online misogyny as it continues to be dangerously unchecked and discriminatory rising phenomena that contribute to the continuation of a social patriarchal mentality. Moreover, online misogyny creates an unsafe cyber environment for women, and can easily represent a tool for spreading gender-based hate, which can increase violent actions against women.

Throughout this report, a number of terms are used including violence, hate, and misogyny. In order to understand the use of terms for the purpose of this article, the term misogyny is used according to Baker & Jurasz definition that Misogyny is the manifestation of hostility towards women just because they are women. Online misogyny is the manifestation of hostility communicated through online platforms, particularly social media and other participatory environments.

In a persistently increasing digitalized and global society, unfortunately, the internet is providing gender stereotypes and especially patriarchal behavior a voice that is accepted and unchallenged. Moreover, this report provides insight into the types of online misogyny, and misogynistic language towards women in politics, decision-making levels, journalists, and other women whose words or actions were met with a misogynistic approach by their male counterparts. As the Kosovar society works to change how people see gender roles, online misogyny holds back progress.

This report has shown the manifestation of online misogyny in gender-based online abuse against women in politics and in the language used by social media users, in support of their male political counterparts who are in the central narrative of the media stories.
The articles selected below through the methodology used in this report, are to show and raise awareness on the forms of misogyny used in the online space. Although not all the comments could be defined as outright misogynistic by nature, they are still classified as containing prejudice against women in politics, deeply rooted in gender stereotypes and the desire for subordination of women, being

One of the most attacked women politicians in Kosovo in recent years was Mimoza Kusari Lila. Her political decisions and choices did not bring her under political scrutiny as much as under prejudiced and hateful online language, used under a misogynistic context. This article which contains a misogynistic approach about the duration of the presence of Ms. Kusari Lila in politics is observed through a gendered lens and hateful gendered approach, particularly the traditional approach on the honor of women, which continues to be one of the main subordinating elements of the society towards women in Kosovo. This article has reached 1,968 readers and has had 382 interactions including 318 likes, 57 comments as well as 7 shares. 20% of Facebook comments responding to this article contained hate speech and inflammatory language towards MP Kusari.

In a similar context, MP Mimoza Kusari was verbally attacked at the parliament of Kosovo with sexist tones, judging the duration of MP Kusari Lila in politics and the fact that during her career time, she has become part of different political parties. The headline “Kusari-Lila
belonged to everyone” is considered gendered and misogynic and not personal because such comments are based on the patriarchal mentality that women represent the “honest” and “pure” part of society, while politics destroys this ideal, honest and purifying portrait of women. Moreover, this article was covered with 40 media articles and included 981 likes, 516 comments, and 220 shares. 20.3% of Facebook comments responding to the articles related to this case contain hate speech and inflammatory language used towards MP Kusari.

Online hate against women in politics is often well-organized, which indicates that this violence is systematic and premeditated. Meanwhile, political decisions which represent their independent political personality and independence are judged particularly by their male counterparts. Such is the case with MP Doarsa Kica-Xhelili, who decided to change her political party from Vetvendosje(LVV) to LDK. After leaving LVV an online campaign against her was initiated by a Facebook group called “with the Prime Minister” which has 50,000 members. Individuals in this group aimed to shame the MP for leaving the Prime Minister’s political group. Moreover, the misogynistic comments and online hate towards Kica-Xhelili escalated to the point of “assuming” she was blackmailed. This and other gender-based hateful arguments undermine the importance of the political decision of Kica-Xhelili to switch the political party. Questioning women’s political decisions represents a classic patriarchal behavior and approach, which doubts women’s mental capabilities but also spreads online hate against women in a traditional society that already has strong unequal perceptions towards women in all spheres. Comments from the audience on Facebook related to these news articles comprise 26% of comments that qualify as hate speech.
16.8% of Facebook comments responding to this article contained hate speech and inflammatory language towards Minister Haxhiu. This article contained discriminatory and misogynistic language against the Minister of Justice, based on the socially discriminatory gender norms that women should be confined to private and family matters such as cooking and looking after their appearance, but not interfere nor try to argue with their male colleagues about political matters. This article reached 283 likes, 130 comments, and 247 shares after being reported in 43 media articles.

Regardless of the political and diplomatic background and baggage of Vlora Citaku – currently the Vice President of the Kosovo Democratic Party of Kosovo, the article used offensive and misogynistic language against Ms Citaku considering her “not worthy” to advise the Prime Minister Kurti. Moreover, this article attracted a total of 7,945 interactions due to the accusing language used against Ms. Citaku. Audience comments on Facebook associated with these news articles contain 14.3% hate speech comments.

The online abuse received by women politicians is directed against their gender rather than criticizing their political views or actions. Globally, it has been noted that violence against women in online spaces is intensive towards women who express their opinions and views publicly and who are active in political life. So it is the backlash that MP Ganimete Musliu received after criticizing PM Albin Kurti at the Parliament.
Following the criticizing speech, MP Musliu was verbally assaulted by her male colleagues, who reminded her that women like Musliu were burned in the Medieval ages. Moreover, this article attracted an online audience with 15,750 interactions on social media.

Comments from the audience on Facebook related, a total of 3342, to these news articles comprise 27.1% of comments that qualify as hate speech.

Similarly, phrases such as “your desire/lust for attention is pointless”, not only lack substantive arguments, but also contribute to a negative portrayal of women in politics, portraying them as incapable, unworthy, and viewed with significant skepticism. The verbal attack in this case is explicitly focused on gender, attempting to denigrate their image based on their gender. Using the words desire and lust reinforces harmful stereotypes that women are primarily motivated by a desire for attention and approval. These comments also can be formed as a form of objectification and sexualization. Gender-based violence can escalate as a result of such discourses. The case received 370 likes, 121 comments, and 311 shares after being published in 86 online media articles.

31.5% of Facebook comments responding to this article contained hate speech and inflammatory language towards women Members of Parliament.
One of the most vial online violence campaigns targeted MP Mimoza Kusari Lila, in relation to the wiretapping affair and the publicity around it.

The hateful headlines distributed by the media contained a pure misogynistic approach and online violence and attack against MP Kusari Lila. The shifting of the focus of the situation towards gender rather than Ms Kusari–Lila's political personality represents a premeditated and classic misogyny used and reproduced by the media through their presence in the social media. The 428 articles related to this issue examined for this report reached 10.491 likes, 8367 comments and 2226 shares.

Deepfake videos also emerged on other social media platforms such as Facebook and TikTok. Mimoza Kusari was among the targets. This video, at the time of analysis, had more than 20,700 views and was shared during a period when the Assembly of Kosovo was engaged in discussions concerning several recordings between Kusari and Simic 21.2% of Facebook comments responding to this news article contain hate speech comments and inflammatory language towards MP Kusari.

Misogynistic language and behaviors are frighteningly present, especially from male politicians, who were chosen by society to represent both women and men. On the other side, the articles selected for this report, which received the highest number of interactions, have shown that in the vast majority of the cases, it is the language used by male politicians against their colleagues that has spread out through the media the online harassment and violence against women in politics. Regardless of the degree of political power one woman holds, she is not spared misogynistic comments and attitudes from her male colleagues in politics. Such is the case with articles concerning the President of the Republic of Kosovo – Vjosa Osmani.
President Osmani is considered a Crutch and pity doll used by Albin Kurti’s government. The misogynistic approach and the selection of this article for this report is based on the interactions and online attention it received, but also the negative online assault that it challenged. The attempts to undermine the political power of President Osmani are based on her gender, based on social perception that women regardless of how high their social position is, are always submissive and unequal with their male counterparts. This article received 225 interactions, 102 likes, 112 comments, and 41 shares, while 25% of Facebook comments responding to this article contained hate speech and inflammatory language used toward President Osmani.

An additional case of undermining the political power and background of women is the article that represents the Vice Chair of PDK Vlora Citaku as “a poor woman”. The article that had a total of 3,673 interactions while 38.9% of them contained hate speech comments, aimed to undervalue the political position of Ms. Citaku and push her into a secondary supporting position. The narrative within this article perpetuates stereotypical notions regarding women in politics, positioning them in supporting and inferior roles when compared to their male counterparts.
Online hate and misogyny against President Osmani and attempts to undermine her political power are the articles that judge President Osmani’s look. The first article judges President Osmani’s weight loss, which sparked a public discourse surrounding President Osmani’s weight loss surgery. The attention that this article caught by the public amounted to a total of 14,304 interactions in the social media, while 13.2% of the comments qualified as hate speech, focused particularly in body-shaming.

Meanwhile, the other article represented President Osmani as an “Instagram Girl” targeting President Osmani’s outside appearance. Misogynistic approach towards women in politics includes the commenting and highlighting of women’s appearance instead of their political views, power, and decisions, implying the aesthetic value of women and not the quality and mental capability of women, which is in compatibility with the patriarchal representation of women in the society and the glorification of their outside appearance, but discrimination of their intellect. This article was shared in 7 other media/online portals and had 2834 total interactions in social media.

Audience comments on Facebook associated with these news articles contain 19% hate speech comments.
The attempts to undervalue the political participation of women in politics, through online hate is another serious consequence of misogyny. Such is the news article which attempted to “embarrass” MP Blerta Deliu for leaving the plenary session hall at the Parliament of Kosovo after she had signed and left shortly after. This news was reported in 14 media, and received 3020 likes, 1810 comments and 183 shares. 34.4% of Facebook comments responding to these news articles contain hate speech comments and inflammatory language towards MP Deliu.

Online violence against women in politics has targeted women also by commenting and spreading online hate against their personal choices regarding life and family.

The online hate against MP Ardiana Matoshi is related to her personal choices while her relationship with a man of color made MP Matoshi a target of online violence which included sexist and racist comments against her. The initial video in the social media received about 2000 comments, while the article reproduction generated 11.5% of hate speech comments and inflammatory language.
Meanwhile the declaration of MP Saranda Bogujevci, that she has decided to have a child without being married nor having a husband, inflicted a range of negative and hateful online harassment and violence against MP Bogujevci. Her primarily judgment was pronounced by religious figures who tried to “name and shame” her actions as “God challenging” while labeling her as immoral. Comments made by the audience on Facebook in connection with these news articles include 12.7% of comments identified as hate speech.

The online violence involving a situation that is reproduced by the media or in social media, re-victimizes targeted women. Similarly is the use of offensive language towards women in politics or journalists, which represent a large percentage of women targeted by online violence and harassment. Analyzing and contextualizing online hate and misogyny depends on the social foundation of gender inequality and discrimination. Thus, online hate and misogynistic abuse is nothing else but a digital manifestation of violence against women, meanwhile women journalists are one of the most often and risked targets.

The online offending of women represented in this report is done through most interacting articles. In the first case, the public criticism of Granit Xhaka (Kosovar Football player in Switzerland ) over his gesture created an online hateful storm against journalist Zana Avdiu. The 306 articles of this case received 16,443 likes, 14,113 comments, and 1514 shares, while according to Avdiu’s lawyer, she received 11.000 threats following her statement.
Besarta Hoti – a journalist, was called “stupid” in a press conference as she asked a non-desirable question regarding family employment. On the other side, the journalist Dafina Demaku was labeled as a “Serbian BIA agent” initiating a smear campaign to lynch her publicly as suspected Serbian agent. While the public humiliation of a woman journalist raises the assumption that it is women’s/gender’s incapability to ask proper questions. This article had 3878 total interactions in social media, with 26.7% of the comments containing hate speech. Similarly, The Tiktok social network campaign against journalist Dafina Demaku, labeling her as an agent of the Serbian BIA and describing her in several videos as a “pro-Serbian journalist” and a “suspected agent of the Serbian BIA, serves as a classic example of gendered disinformation, as it not only disseminates false information but also specifically targets individuals based on their gender. A perfect case of a smear campaign and lynching of a woman in a public profession like journalism. The Kosovo Journalists Association criticized the campaign against the journalist and urged security officials to examine who was behind the profile on the social network TikTok that bore the name Qeveria Kurti 2.

The case was covered in 28 media articles and received 318 likes, 312 comments and 166 shares.

Audience comments on Facebook associated with these news articles contain 30.3% hate speech comments.
The article titled “Move away Idiot” reacts against minister Nagavci” is one of the articles published in online portals which has used offensive language towards the Minister of Education, Science and Technology, Arberie Nagavci. She was called an “idiot” by the journalist. This article has generated 302 reactions in social media.

Audience comments on Facebook associated with these news articles contain 30.1% hate speech comments.

Women in the public arena, whether in politics, journalism, or other professions, are frequently judged based on their appearance—hairstyle, attire, weight, and so on—while their abilities, qualifications, and professional capacities are frequently neglected. Attacks on physical appearance may occur when there are no counter-arguments to their professional qualifications. So is the comment against Flutura Kusari, a media lawyer who was criticized in relation to her hair while advocating for one of the media issues.
Hate discourse against marginalized communities

In a survey conducted by Forbes Magazine in July 2023 the online hate and harassment against LGBTQI+ persons has increased for 52% from the past year. Both adults and teens reported having been harassed online, but with higher percentages this year. While harassment increased in all categories including against ethnic minorities and LGBTQI+ persons.

This report shows two articles with high interaction, which includes hate language and harassment against marginalized communities where people with disabilities and the LGBTQI+ persons.

The high patriarchal tone in Kosovo society has attacked women in politics not only for their personal choices but also for the lives of their family members. So is the hateful and racist language in online media that received 6230 likes, 828 comments and 1300 shares over 133 media outlets.

Homophobic remarks swamp social media in the aftermath of the coverage. In reaction, the LGBTQI+ community’s Center for Equality and Freedom in Kosovo, along with public personalities and embassies, criticized these remarks, emphasizing that homophobia has no place in modern societies. This issue highlights not only our society’s lack of readiness for change, but also the tendency to exploit the closest family members of public figures as means to undermine public personalities. Audience and comments on Facebook associated with these news articles contain 15.3% hate speech comments.

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Lessening people with disabilities and women

An article which contained offensive language towards persons with disabilities and women was the article titled “How can you ask for sight from a blind person. Just like bad women - Why the people’s representatives in the Parliament are insulting their own people”. This news item was published after the statements that were made in the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo. There has been a reaction from the Kosovo Association of Blind Persons about the use of such language, claiming that such terms should not be published, or a call should be made not to use such language. This news item had 907 total interactions in social media.

Audience comments on Facebook associated with these news articles contain 36.2% hate speech
Recommendations

1. Local communities need to lead actions, magnify and resource local solutions to raise awareness and change the mentality regarding the online violence against women.

2. Media community and the society need to respecting the ethical code in the framework of written media and in the framework of institutions where they are part of: either independent media commission or the council of written media.

3. Political parties often chose women from their political parties who are unprepared for TV debates and representation of the political parties, only to fulfill the gender quota. Thus, political parties need to motivate and support women initially then to put forward women who are prepared and informed about their representation in the media.

4. Media education in schools and in all segments of society. Awareness on the same line of behavior standards is important to be promoted. While harsh behavior is not allowed physically, it is not acceptable to do that online either.

5. The violent language used in social media is beyond any existing ethical definitions or measures that exist or could be undertaken. Thus, we need to be more responsible in reporting the cases, especially the cases that are scandalous. If we take the initiative to report the cases, there will be a difference and we do have good examples from this aspect from the reaction of the responsible institutions such as the Prosecution and Kosovo Police. There are a number of cases when people have been punished for using hate speech or threats. Thus, this is a responsibility for all of the society members.

6. The fight against disinformation needs to continue. The society has reached to the point of awareness that they are curious and interested about the impact of disinformation. Thus, this is an active citizenry battle against an extreme phenomenon.

7. The financial capacity of media needs to be increased. Media lack public funding and independent funding for capacity building. Although social media has a great power, the power of the media is quite concentrated in the classic media, therefore editors play an important role. As the research shows that a large number of readers do not get to read the information beyond the headline/title, it is important to review who stands behind those titles.

8. Working with media influencers. There is a particular number of people who enjoy a greater impact in the public opinion, thus it is important to work with these people. The opinions of influencers enjoy a great importance; thus it is also important to teach the influencers about the responsibility of their expressed opinions.
Hate speech sample—by gender:

The following table displays the gender of people who comment with hate speech-language, divided into each topic separately.

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<th>Topics</th>
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