

2021, August

REPORT *Pfizer-BioNTech* *Moderna* *Curevac*





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PREFACE

Organization New Third Way (NTW), in cooperation with the Beacon project of International Republican Institute (IRI), is monitoring media in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro to identify narratives that have emerged in these countries, which are related to vaccination process in a broader sense. As a part of this project, New Third Way will publish a number of reports aimed at a detailed analysis of the narratives that have emerged for individual COVID-19 vaccines, vaccination process in general, and for countries or group of countries in terms of vaccination. This report will be about the vaccines of companies Pfizer-BioNTech, Moderna and Curevac.

The whole work related to this project will be publicly available to everyone through the website <u>istrazivanja.rs</u>.



INTRO

"mRNA vaccines – what do they represent?"

One of the most frequently asked questions in the previous period when it comes to vaccines from the Pfizer-BioNTech, Moderna or Curevac companies. A huge number of publications and articles have been written on this topic, whether they explain the positive aspect of "the use of advanced technologies", or the negative "harmful effect" of such vaccines. With the exception of the vaccine produced by Oxford and AstraZeneca, the initial assumption is that, in the area of our monitoring, the Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine is the most praised, and also the most disputed. The idea of this flash report is to determine whether the initial hypothesis was set correctly and how the media reported on mRNA vaccines – positive, negative or neutral?

The result that we obtained on the basis of our sample shows that the initial assumption was correct and a lot of media attention was focused on vaccines made on the mRNA base, and especially on the Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine. In the continuation of this report, we will explain the methodology of our research and we will present the results of monitoring.



METHODOLOGY

This project consists of monitoring of pre-selected Facebook pages in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro. The 20 most read and influential pages/media that attracted the largest number of people during the period related to COVID-19 and vaccination process were selected. In addition to the 60 standard pages, a total of three more pages were selected due to their mostly shared antivax content, as well as one influential page in a foreign language. Our idea was to see if there was a gap in the reporting of these pages.

The basic setting of the methodology will be listed below.

Sample of FB posts taken into consideration: 7.909

Keywords for the search (keywords that are in the description of the post, in the picture, in the title of the link or in the link description): fajzer, fajzerova, фајзер, фајзерова, pfizer, pfizerova, pfizeroва, fajzera, fajzerove, фајзера, фајзерове, pfizera, pfizerove, pfizera, pfizeroве, fajzeru, fajzerovoj, фаjзеру, фајзеровој, pfizeru, pfizerovoj, pfizery, pfizeroвој, fajzerovu, фајзерову, pfizerovu, pfizeroву, fajzere, фајзере, pfizere, pfizere, fajzerom, fajzerovom, фајзером, фајзеровом, pfizerom, pfizerovom, pfizeroм, pfizeroвом, pfizer-biontech, fajzer-biontek, mrna, janssen, jansen, bnt162b2, mrna-1273, jnj-78436735, moderna, modernina, vaxzevria, vakszevrija, модерна, modernine, модерне, модернине, модернина, moderne, moderni, moderninoj, модерниној, modernu, модерни, moderninu, модерну, модернину, moderno, модерно, modernom, moderninom, модерном, модернином, džonson, johnson, sinofarm, sinofarmova, синофарм, синофармова, sinopharm, sinopharmova, sinopharmова, sinofarma, sinofarmove, синофарма, синофармове, sinopharma,

sinopharmobe, sinopharmove, sinopharma, sinofarmu, синофармовој, sinofarmovoj, синофарму, sinopharmu, sinopharmy, sinopharmoboj, sinofarmovu, sinopharmovoj, синофармову, sinopharmovu, sinopharmoby, sinofarme, sinopharme, sinopharme, sinofarmom, синофарме, sinofarmovom, синофармом, синофармовом, sinopharmom, sinopharmovom, sinopharmoм, sinopharmовом, sputnjik, sputnjikova, спутњик, спутњикова, sputnik, sputnikova, sputnikoвa, sputnjika, sputnjikove, спутњика, спутњикове, sputnika, sputnikove, sputnika, sputnikoвe, sputnjiku, sputnjikovoj, спутњику, спутњиковој, sputnik, sputnikovoj, sputniky, sputnikoвој, sputnjikovu, спутњикову, sputnikovu, sputnikoвy, sputnjiče, спутњиче, sputniče, sputniчe, sputnjikom, sputnjikovom, спутњиком, спутњиковом, sputnikom, sputnikovom, sputnikoм, sputnikoвом, astrazeneka, "astra zeneka", astrazenekina, "astra zenekina", астразенека, "астра зенека", астразенекина, "астра зенекина", astrazeneca, "astra zeneca", astrazenecina, "astra zenecina", astrazenecина, "astra zenecина", astrazeneke, "astra zeneke", astrazenekine, "astra zenekine", астразенеке, "астра зенеке", астразенекине, "астра зенекине", astrazenece, "astra zenece", astrazenecine, "astra zenecine", astrazenece, "astra zenece", astrazenecине, "astra zenecине", astrazeneki, "astra zeneki", astrazenekinoj, "astra zenekinoj", астразенеки, "астра зенеки", астразенекиној, "астра зенекиној", astrazeneci, "astra zeneci", astrazenecinoj, "astra zenecinoj", astrazenecu, "astra zenecu", astrazenecuнoj, "astra zenecиноj", astrazeneku, "astra zeneku", astrazenekinu, "astra zenekinu", астразенеку, "астра зенеку", астразенекину, "астра зенекину", astrazenecu, "astra zenecu", astrazenecinu, "astra zenecinu", astrazenecy, "astra zenecy", astrazenecину, "astra zenecину", astrazeneko, "astra zeneko", астразенеко, "астра зенеко", astrazeneco, "astra zeneco", astrazeneco, "astra zeneco", astrazenekom, "astra zenekom", astrazenekinom, "astra zenekinom", астразенеком, "астра зенеком", астразенекином, "acтра зенекином", astrazenecom, "astra zenecom", astrazenecinom, "astra zenecinom", astrazenecoм, "astra zenecom", astrazenecином, "astra zenecином", sinovak,

sinovakova, sinovacova, sinovac, синовак, синовакова, sinovaka, sinovakove, sinovacoba, синовака, синовакове, sinovacobe, sinovaku, sinovaca, sinovacove, sinovaca, sinovakovoj, синоваку, sinovacu, sinovacovoj, синоваковој, sinovaka, sinovakovu, sinovacoboj, sinovacy, синовака, синовакову, sinovaca, sinovacovu, sinovaca, sinovacoву, sinovače, sinovačeva, синоваче, синовачева, sinovace, sinovaceva, sinovace, sinovaceва, sinovakom, синоваком, sinovacom, sinovacoм, novavaks, novavaksova, новавакс, новаваксова, novavax, novavaxova, novavaxoва, novavaksa, novaksove, новавакса, новаваксове, novavaxa, novavaxove, novavaxa, novavaxoве, novavaksu, novavaksovoj, новаваксу, новаваксовој, почачахи, почачахочој, почачаху, почачаховој, novavaksa, novavaksovu, новавакса, новаваксову, novavaxa, novavaxovu, novavaxa, novavaxoby, novavakse, новаваксе, novavaxe, novavaxe, novavaksom, novavaksovom, новаваксом, novavaxom, novavaxovom, novavaxom, новаваксовом, novavaxовом, kjurvak, kjurvakova, кјурвак, кјурвакова, curevac, curevacova, curevacoва, kjurvaka, kjurvakove, кјурвака, кјурвакове, curevaca, curevacove, curevaca, curevacoве, kjurvaku, kjurvakovoj, кјурваку, кјурваковој, curevacu, curevacovoj, curevacy, curevacoвоj, kjurvaka, kjurvakovu, кјурвакову, curevaca, curevacovu, curevaca, КЈУРВака, curevacoву, кjurvače, кjурваче, curevace, curevace, kjurvakom, kjurvakovom, кјурваком, кјурваковом, curevacom, curevacovom, curevacoм, curevacoвом, covid, kovida, kovida, kovidom, kovidu, kovidov, covid-19, kovid-19, coronavirus, koronavirus, koronavirusa, koronavirusom, koronavirusu, vakcina, cepivo, cjepivo, вакцина, цепиво, vakcine, cepiva, cjepiva, вакцине, цепива, vakcini, серіvu, сјеріvu, вакцини, цепиву, vakcinu, вакцину, vakcino, вакцино, vakcinom, серіvот, cjepivom, вакцином, цепивом, vakcinacija, vakcinacijom, cijepljenje, cijepljenjem, cepljenje, cepljenjem, vakcinacije, cijepljenje, vakcinaciji, cepljenju, cijepljenju, вакцинација, вакцинацијом, вакцинације, вакцинацији, цепљење, цепљењем and цепљењу.

FB pages that were monitored: Bolja Bosna, Dnevni avaz, Al Jazeera Balkans, Logično, Klix.ba, Bljesak.info, N1 Bosna i <u>Hercegovina</u>, <u>BUKA</u>, <u>Dnevnik.ba</u>, <u>Tuzlanski.ba</u>, <u>ИСКРА</u>, <u>Radio</u> <u>Sarajevo, USN.ba, Oslobodjenje, Radio Slobodna Evropa, RTRS</u> <u>vijesti, CRNA Hronika BIH, STAV, Glas Amerike - Studio</u> Washington, BN Portal, Hayat.ba, Vijesti, Kolumne Net, Vijesti iz <u>Bijelog Polja, RTCG Portal, CDM Portal, Volim Podgoricu,</u> <u>Aktuelno</u>, <u>Borba.me</u>, <u>Pljevaljski Portal</u>, <u>Portal Antena M, Glas</u> <u>Amerike - Otvoreni studio, FOS Media, kodex.me, Pobjeda,</u> Radio-Televizija Nikšić, Glas Crnogoraca, Portal Analitika, Pcnen, M.News World - Объективные Новости, MONDO Crna Gora, Српске новине ЦГ, Sputnik Србија, Blic, Nova.rs, N1 Srbija, NOIZZ.rs, Pravo na izbor, Srbija Danas, Južne vesti, Kurir, NIN, B92, Danas, Telegraf, ALO! DNEVNE NOVINE, Direktno.rs, Serbian Times, PRVA, Politika, Insajder, Radio 021 Novi Sad 92,2 MHz, <u>Večernje Novosti</u> i <u>VAKCINE - zašto im kažemo NE?</u>

Observed period: January 1st, 2021 – June 30th, 2021.

Monitoring tool: Pulsar Media Tool

Tags for the classification of all posts (prefix Pro/Anti indicates whether the posts is positively or negatively in favor of a given vaccine, country/group of countries, or vaccination process; tag Important indicates that there is an important new narrative in the news, and the tag UnImportant indicates that the post is written in a neutral / informative sentiment or that it relates to unimportant things): Important, UnImportant, ProVax, AntiVax, ProAZ, AntiAZ, ProJJ, AntiJJ, ProPfizer, AntiPfizer, ProModerna, AntiModerna, ProSputnik, AntiSputnik, ProSinopharm, AntiSinopharm, ProSinovac, AntiSinovac, ProNovavax, AntiNovavax, ProCurevac, AntiCurevac, ProRussia, AntiRussia, ProChina, AntiChina, ProWest i AntiWest.

In our classification of posts, those with prefix Pro are positively describing a phenomenon, with a direct or indirect call for taking a vaccine shot/good side of some country/group of

countries or vaccination process. For example, if a post contains a statement of inviting people to be vaccinated, it is classified as ProVax, posts containing elements of antivax campaign are tagged with AntiVax, and posts stating that the arriving contigent of vaccines is a donation from EU are marked with ProWest.



ANALYSIS

The following table shows the total number of posts in the initial sample, grouped by months and countries.

Month	B&H total	MNE total	Serbia total	TOTAL
January	339	255	504	1098
February	453	381	433	1267
March	968	425	524	1917
April	632	347	434	1413
May	396	414	332	1142
June	419	418	235	1072
TOTAL	3207	2240	2462	7909

Table 1. Total number of posts of selected FB pages containing some of previously mentioned keywords

Pfizer-BioNTech

As previously mentioned, vaccines of Pfizer-BioNTech company, with the exception of the Oxford and AstraZeneca vaccine, attracted the most media attention. Due to its advanced technology, but also due to the fact that it is the first vaccine approved for usage and that with their good logistics plan it managed to reach the largest number of people around the world, this vaccine was mostly approved by the mainstream media, but also mostly disputed with negative reporting by major antivax pages.

In our sample, in a positive or negative context, Pfizer-BioNTech and their vaccine were mentioned 579 times – 460 positive, and 119 negative. Within the graph presentation later, a comparative analysis of the ProPfizer and AntiPfizer tags will be given. When it comes to positive reporting, Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine was most frequently presented in the light of a vaccine with new, modern technology (example: mRNA technology is

the future), which provides an incredibly high level of protection (e. g. efficiency greater than 95%), which will be given to the largest amount of people (e, g. over 2 billion doses in a single year) and which was the first to receive approval for most age groups (approved for all over 12 years, in the fall maybe even for younger). Negative reporting on the Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine is diverse, but it is easy to understand its weakest point – it is "new" (e. g. mRNA vaccines can change genetics). Modern technology is an ideal target for antivax attitudes because it represents something new, untested, harder to explain and mystic. In addition, based on our sample, it seems that most of the fabricated and false news is oriented towards this vaccine (e.g. Children in America died after Pfizer shots). Apart from the objections to the quality of the vaccine, there are a large number of posts that are aimed at presenting this vaccine as elitist (e.g. they demand 4.5 times more money then other manufacturers; Emir Kusturica's statement about Pfizer). At one point, there were a lot of posts about the story of Pfizer paying people to speak negatively about Oxford/AstraZeneca vaccine (several researchers that wrote a report about negative side effects of AstraZeneca vaccine have financial ties to Pfizer). In the second half of March, we saw the negative narrative about Pfizer-BioNTech in B&H, due to a misunderstanding between the Bosnian authorities and the company. When it comes to this vaccine, it was often the case that certain pages interpreted the identical news in different ways, and were thus tagged differently. More about this topic will be discussed later in this chapter.

Moderna

The Moderna vaccine, like Pfizer-BioNTech and Curevac, belongs to the group of mRNA vaccines. Unlike Pfizer, Moderna has not yet been used in the observed region, although there are indications that this could be changed in the near future.

When we take a look at the prevailing narratives about this vaccine, the main comparative advantage over Pfizer-BioNTech

is that it does not have to be stored at extremely low temperatures. Besides that, since the appearance of Moderna, there has been positive talk about the duration of the immunity, in the sense that the minimum duration of the protection is probably two years, and Moderna is also associated with the first case of a baby born with antibodies after the mother was vaccinated. It follows Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine when it comes to vaccination of younger people and children, and when we are talking about protection from newly discovered strains of the virus. Nevertheless, the story about mRNA vaccines, which was mentioned before did not escape Moderna's vaccine. In mid-January, there were a few very negative news in some B&H media about a proposal from Los Angeles to withdraw this vaccine due to a large number of allergic reactions.

Curevac

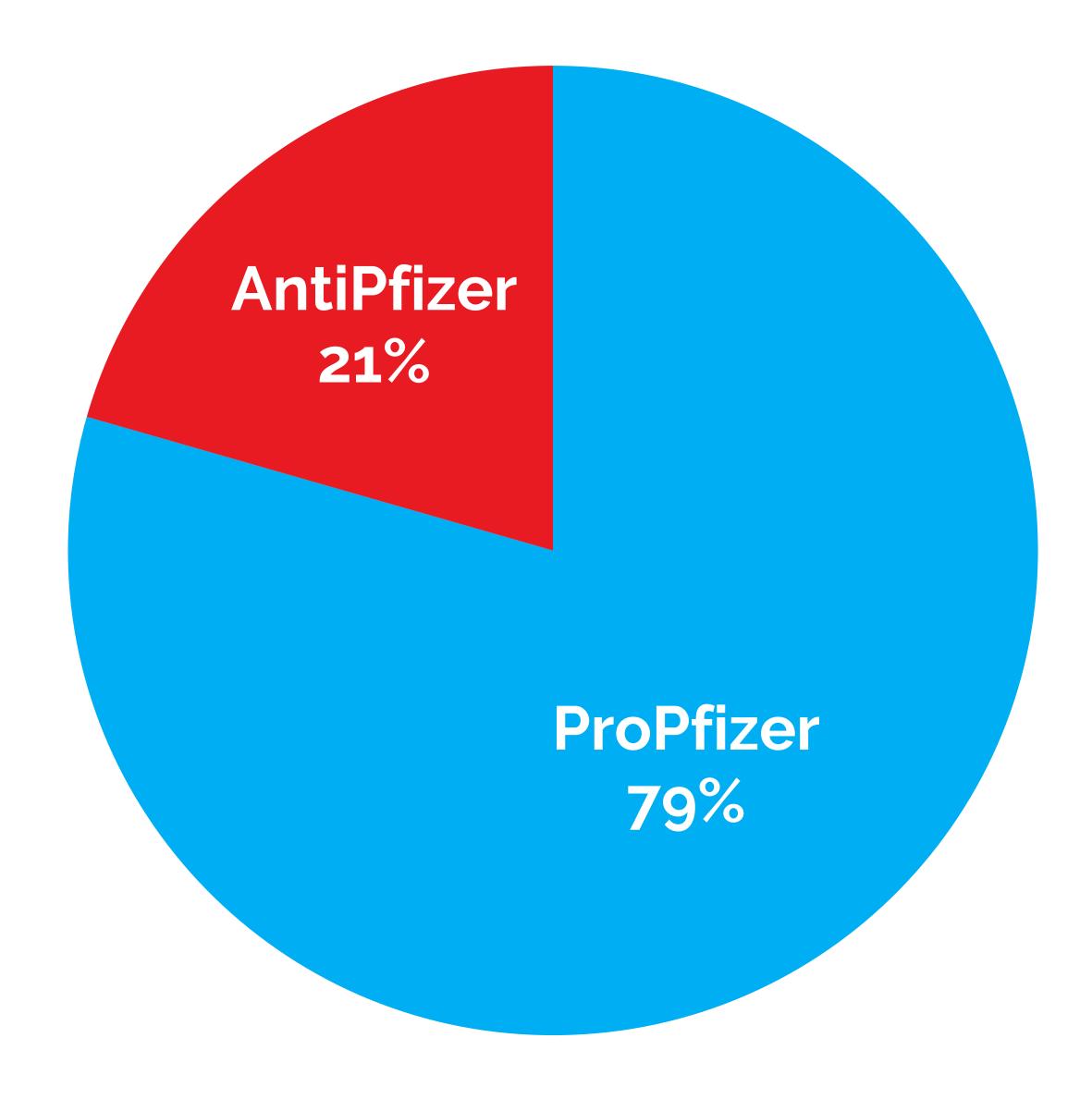
Curevac reached the media reporting only in June, after the study showed that this vaccine is insufficiently effective against the virus. Although many hoped that this vaccine would help some countries with their low vaccination rate and bad logistical supply, the 47% protection wasn't enough for WHO to approve it for usage. The fact that the clinical trial for this vaccine came at a time when new strains began to appear, probably further reduced its efficacy. Apart from the negative posts concerning low efficacy, there were no positive reporting about this vaccine in our sample.

Month	B&H total	MNE total	Serbia total	TOTAL
January	27	17	37	81
February	11	14	19	44
March	35	12	21	68
April	35	12	31	78
May	63	38	36	137
June	24	12	16	52
TOTAL	195	105	160	460

Table 2. Number of posts tagged with ProPfizer

Month	B&H total	MNE total	Serbia total	TOTAL
January	10	8	21	39
February	9	1	6	16
March	12	2	8	22
April	4	8	6	18
May	4	4	3	11
June	1	2	10	13
TOTAL	40	25	54	119

Table 3. Number of posts tagged with AntiPfizer



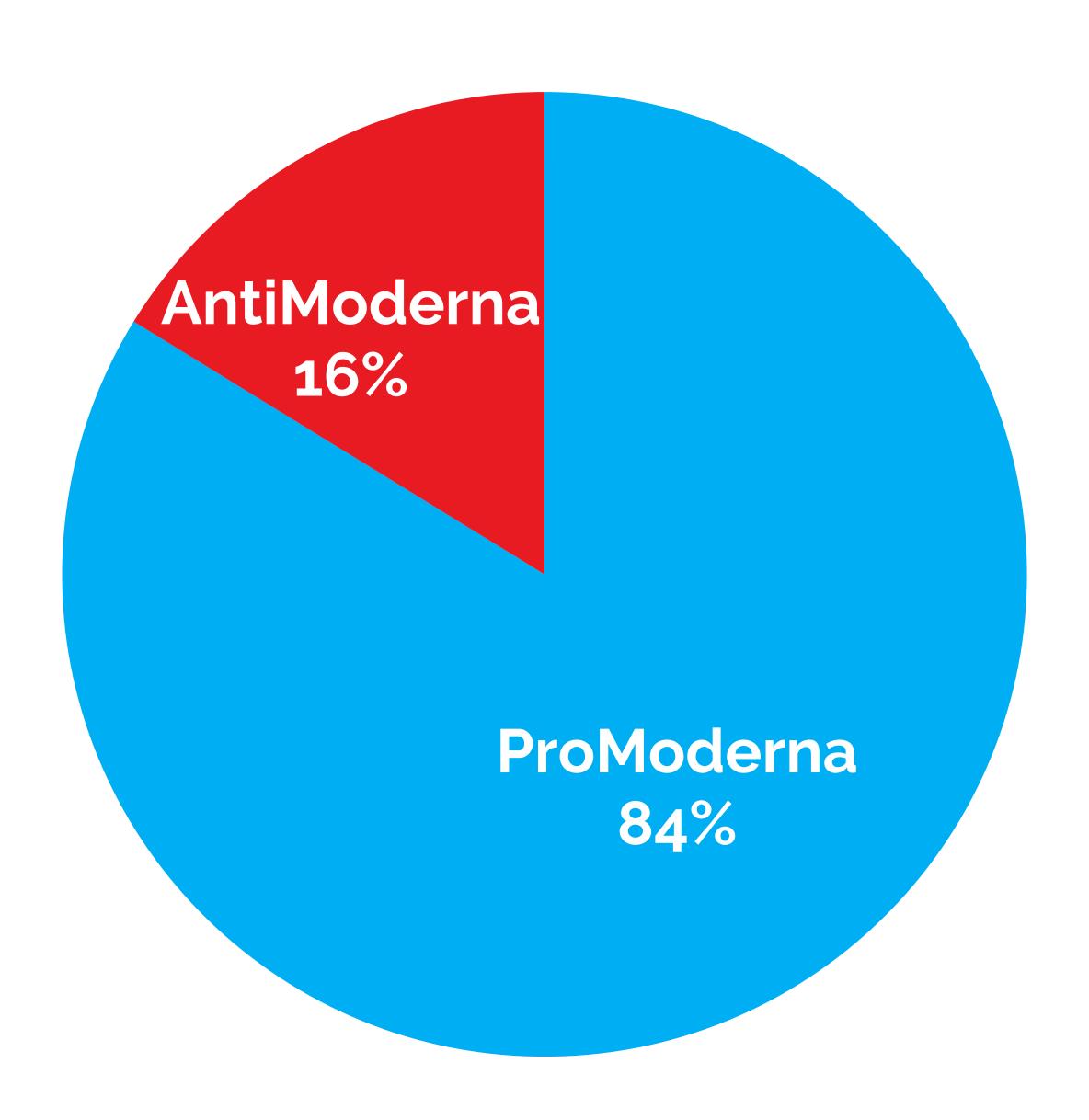
Graph 1. Share of ProPfizer and AntiPfizer posts as a % of total posts number containing Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine (without neutral posts)

Month	B&H total	MNE total	Serbia total	TOTAL
January	24	8	15	47
February	4	4	2	10
March	18	2	6	26
April	9	2	8	19
May	15	11	6	32
June	12	5	4	21
TOTAL	82	32	41	155

Table 4. Number of posts tagged with ProModerna

Month	B&H total	MNE total	Serbia total	TOTAL
January	4	0	4	8
February	0	0	3	3
March	0	0	3	3
April	1	6	0	7
May	1	2	1	4
June	1	2	2	5
TOTAL	7	10	13	30

Table 5. Number of posts tagged with AntiModerna



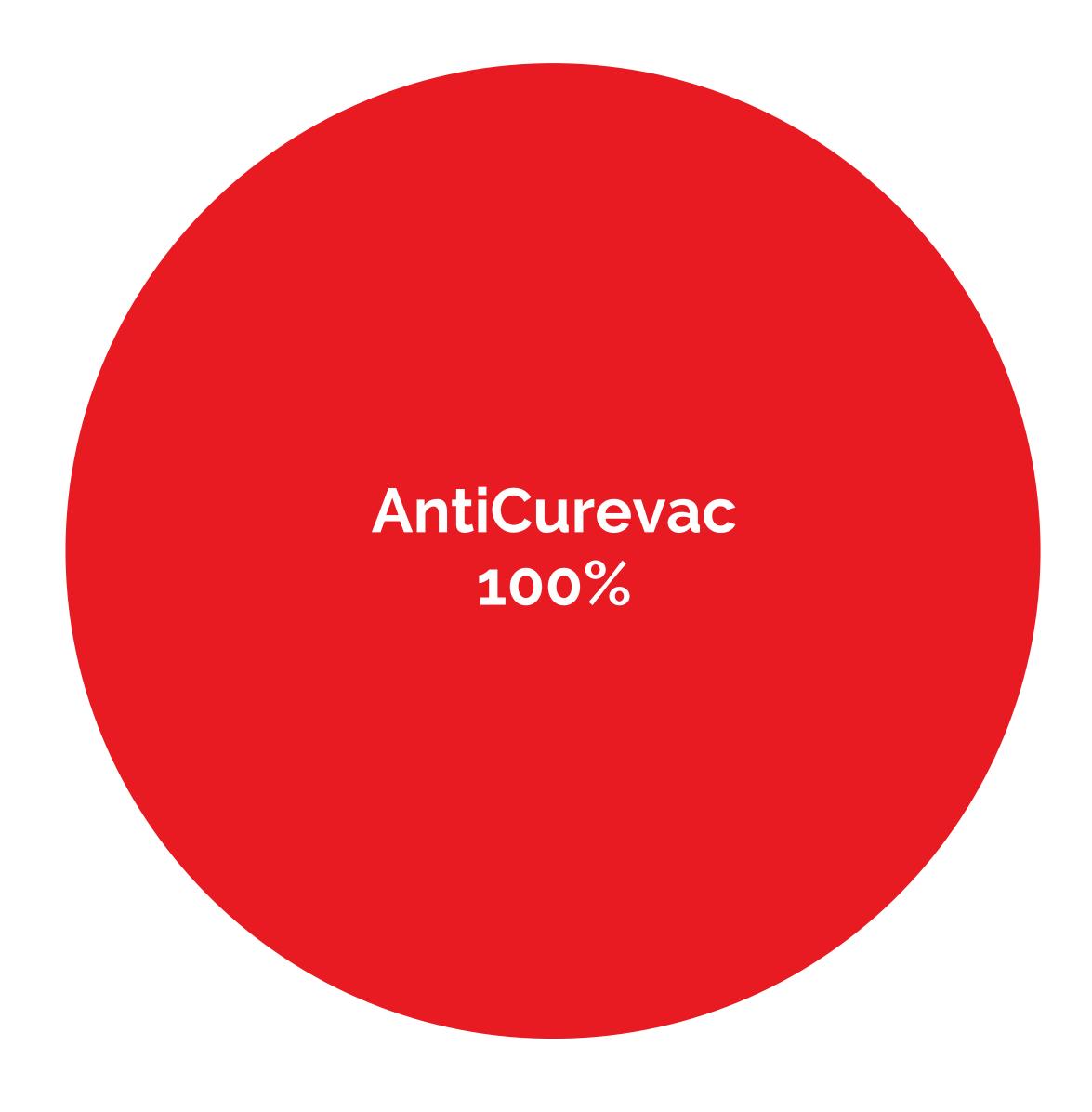
Graph 2. Share of ProModerna and AntiModerna posts as a % of total posts number containing Moderna vaccine (without neutral posts)

Month	B&H total	MNE total	Serbia total	TOTAL
January	0	0	0	0
February	0	0	0	0
March	0	0	0	0
April	0	0	0	0
May	0	0	0	0
June	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	0			0

Table 6. Number of posts tagged with ProCurevac

Month	B&H total	MNE total	Serbia total	TOTAL
January	0	0	0	0
February	0	0	0	0
March	0	0	0	0
April	0	0	0	0
May	0	0	0	0
June	4	0	1	5
TOTAL	4			5

Table 7. Number of posts tagged with AntiCurevac



Graph 3. Share of ProCurevac and AntiCurevac posts as a % of total posts number containing Curevac vaccine (without neutral posts)

Talking about Pfizer-BioNTech, Moderna and Curevac, the dominant narrative is related to securitization. According to the theory of securitization, a certain phenomenon becomes a security threat if it is presented by the relevant factors and if the target group believes in it. In the specific case of vaccination, it is evident that a sufficient number of people understood that it is a salvation from the threat caused by the COVID-19 or a threat to the health and survival of the human species. Posts that positively or negatively evaluated this vaccine mostly were about "the survival of the human race and the safety of the human lives" narrative. When it comes to ProVax announcements, then the vaccine is placed in the context of saving human lives, and with AntiVax announcements, it is presented as a danger to the entire human race.

Talking about topos, we have observed some of them: burdening, numbers, history, authority, threat, urgency and saviour.

Topos of Burdening is best reflected in the fact that the vaccine is presented as a salvation for many problems, something that will return our lives to normal, that will enable us to travel free, work regularly, and something that will help authorities to deal with other problems again. On the other hand, in the news with negative connotation, the vaccine is seen as something suspicious, that can not be more important than our safety and health.

Through Topos of Numbers the Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine is presented as the one that provides the highest level of protection (95% effective), due to which only 1 person per 1000 is infected in Israel. With Curevac vaccine we have the negative reporting due to their insufficient protection. When it comes to the news written in a negative manner, the Topos of Numbers occurs through the enumeration of dead or severe reactions after this vaccine, the number of infected after vaccination, etc.

Topos of History mostly appears in a positive manner, through comparisons with previous similar situations in history when the vaccine was a salvation for various diseases, although within the observed antivax pages we can find a negative reporting about vaccines that have been established for years.

Topos of Authority in this case is best reflected in the news when official state or international bodies approve the vaccine or when a public figure takes a shot (in the case of Pfizer-BioNTech examples may be Ana Brnabic, Bakir Izetbegovic and Metropolitan Joanikije, and for Moderna we can mention Angela Merkel who took it as a second shot instead of AstraZeneca).

Topos of Threat, Urgency and Saviour is most frequent with mRNA vaccines. The Topos of Salvation appears as a way out of the pandemic that is presented as a threat to the survival of the human race. The Topos of Urgency continues to the previous one when it comes to urgency and the need to vaccinate as many people as possible as soon as possible. For the negative connotation, we can often see the argument that the vaccine has been insufficiently tested and that experiments should not be accepted. The Topos of Threat is closest to the theory of securitization and is reflected in the fact that, in ProVax posts, the vaccine is a salvation from the threat, and in AntiVax posts it is a threat to our health.

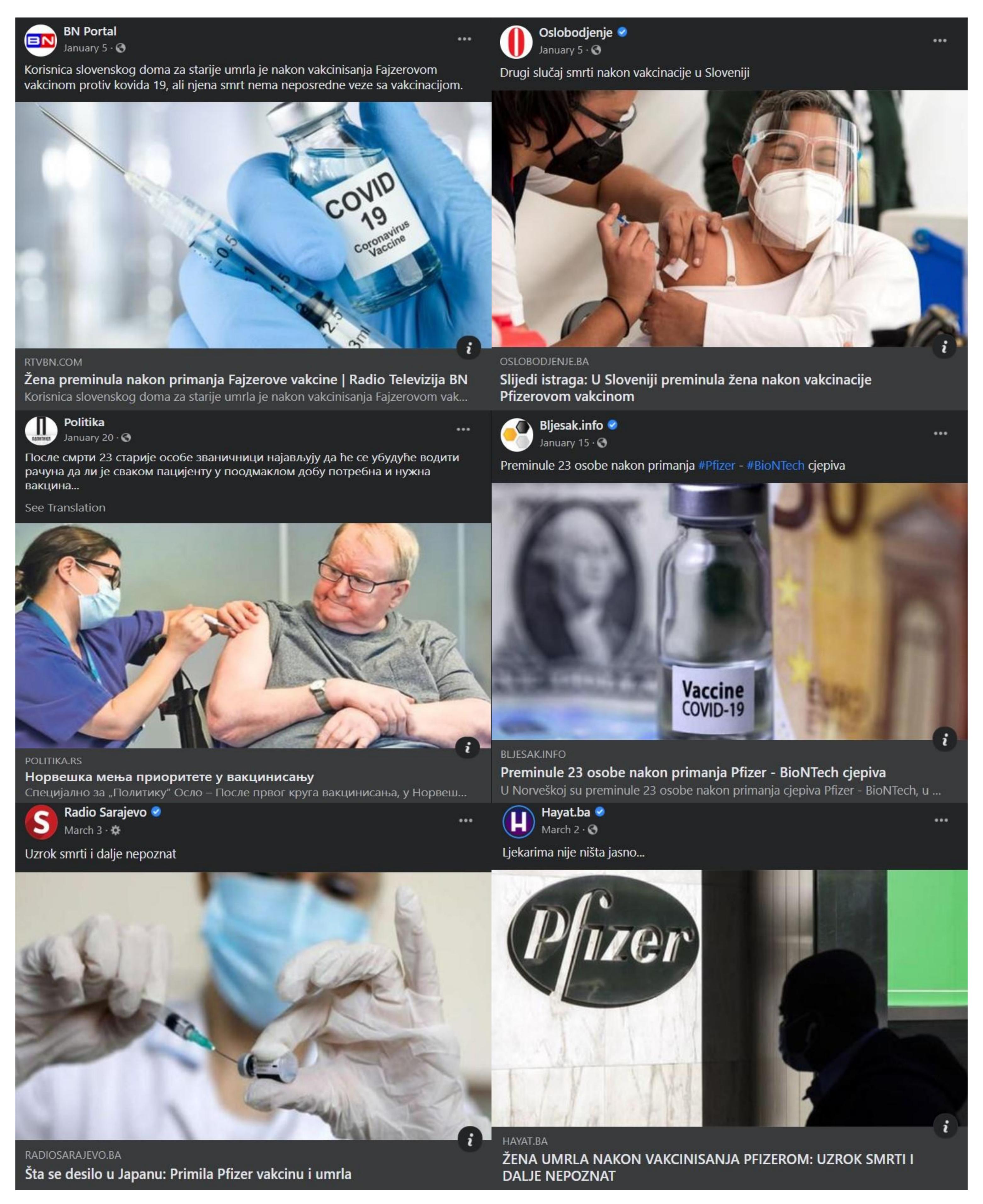
Headline

According to a survey conducted by Columbia University and the French National Institute, as many as 59% of people share the content on social media after just reading the post description and the title of the article. After we take this information into account, we can only try to guess how many people just read the title and the description and make a conclusion about the whole news based on that. That is a reason there's a huge difference in the tagging process of pages which share identical, mostly agency articles, compared to the titles

and descriptions they write in the posts. Below You can see some obvious examples::

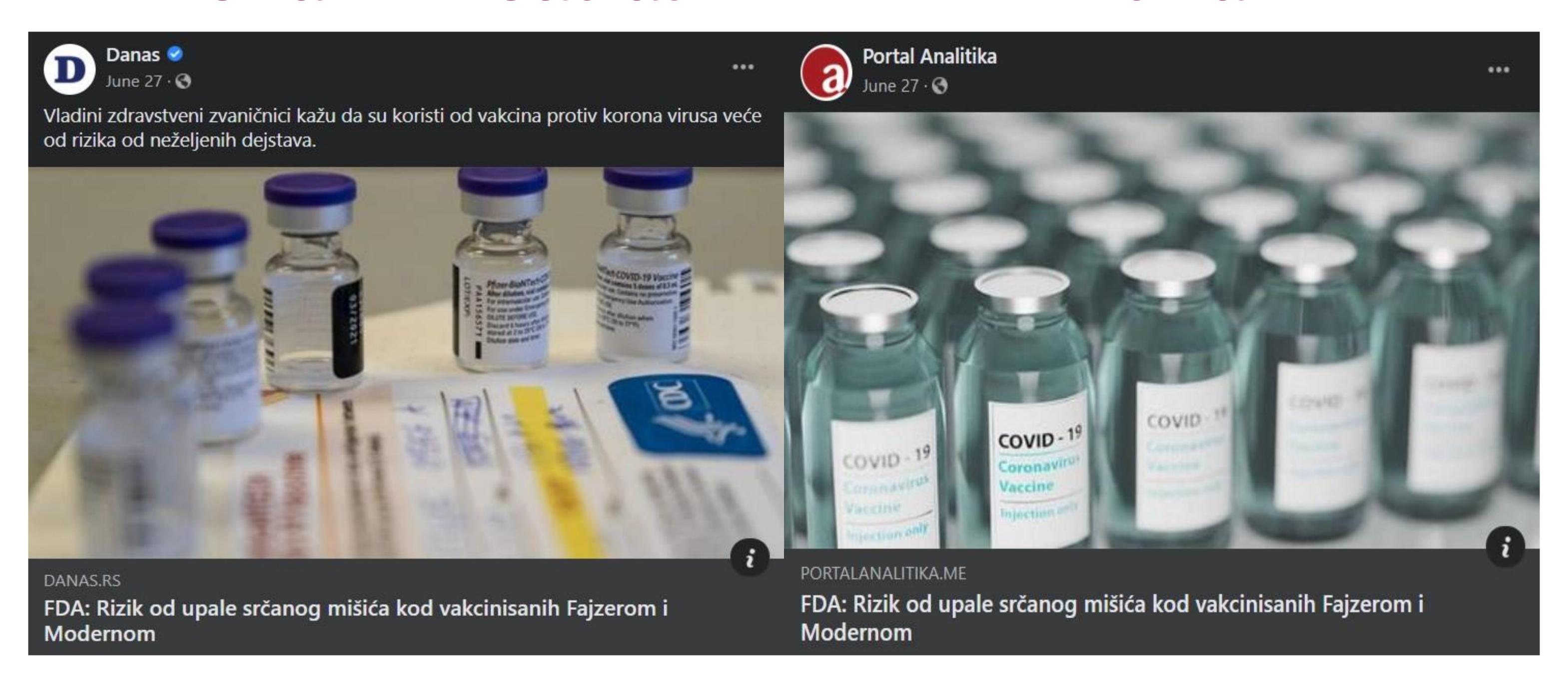
ProVax/Neutral

AntiVax



ProVax/Neutral

AntiVax

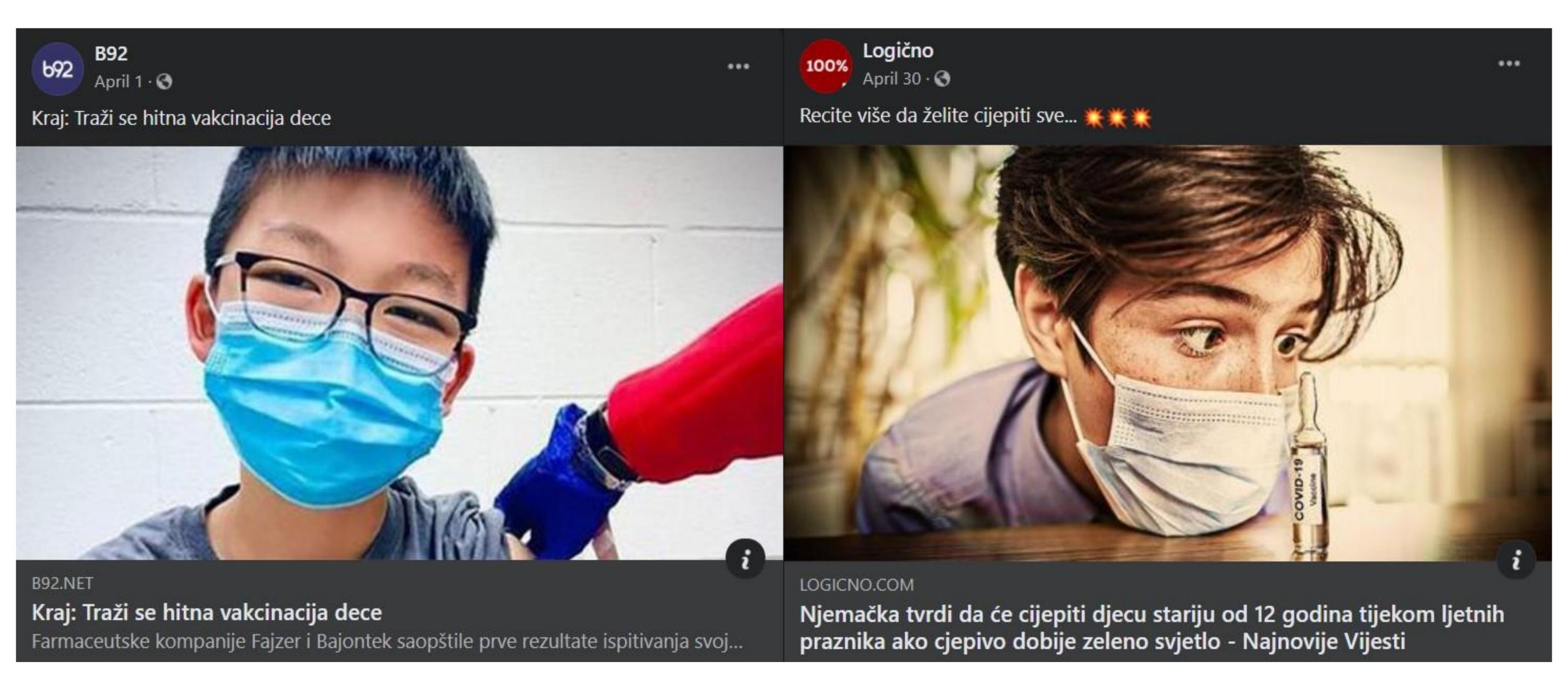


Children

Children are perhaps the most common way in which mRNA vaccines are presented as good or bad. In ProVax announcements, vaccination of children and pregnant women is an alibi for the safety of the vaccine and its advantage. In contrast, AntiVax announcements include news of the start of trials with children, approval of vaccination for children and pregnant women and similar alibis for the fact that the vaccine is an instrument for destroying the future of human beings. Below are a few examples of these narratives.

AntiVax

AntiVax

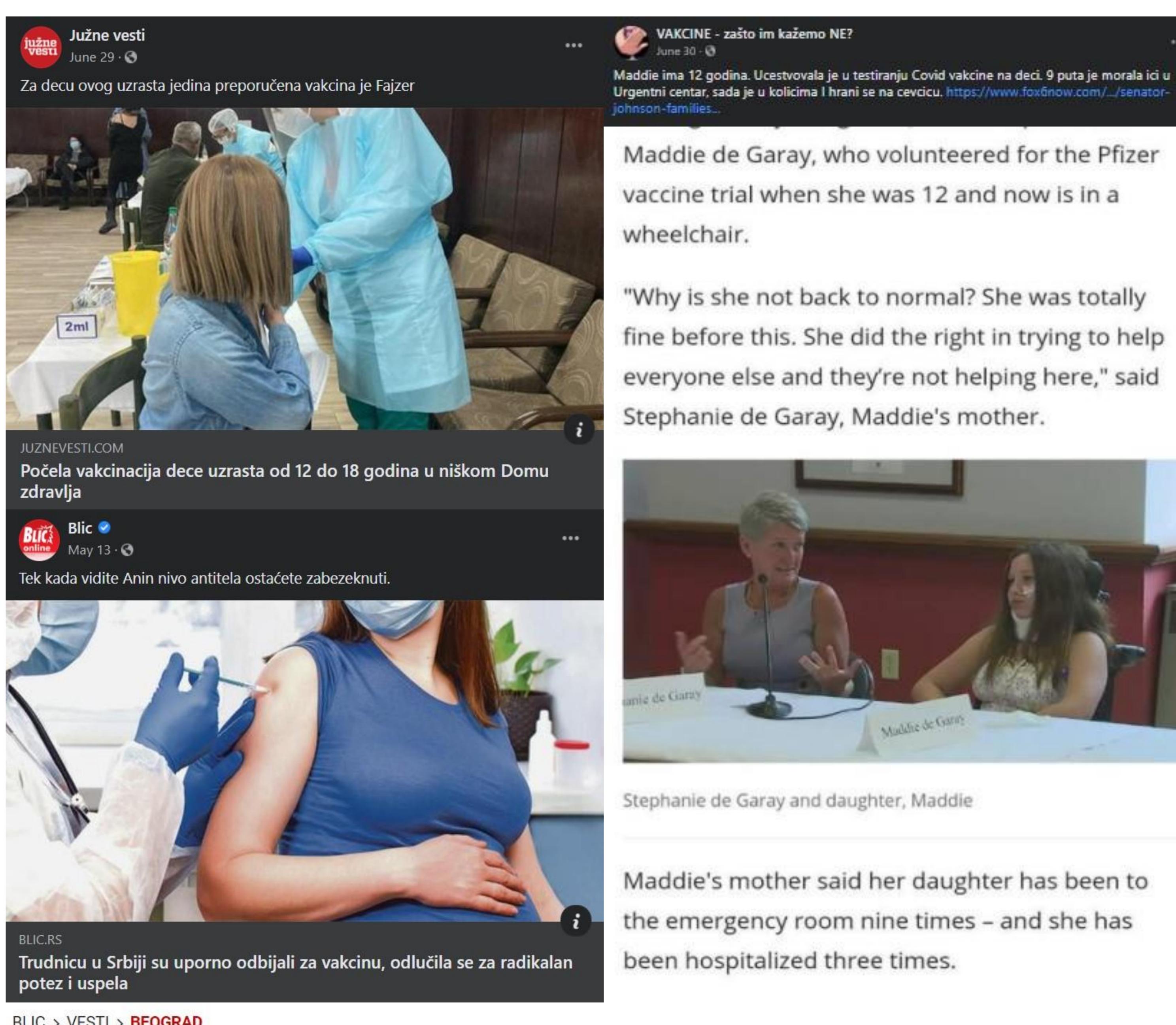


ProVax/Neutral

AntiVax

VAKCINE - zašto im kažemo NE?

June 30 - 3



johnson-families... Maddie de Garay, who volunteered for the Pfizer vaccine trial when she was 12 and now is in a

"Why is she not back to normal? She was totally fine before this. She did the right in trying to help everyone else and they're not helping here," said Stephanie de Garay, Maddie's mother.



Stephanie de Garay and daughter, Maddie

Maddie's mother said her daughter has been to the emergency room nine times - and she has been hospitalized three times.

BLIC > VESTI > BEOGRAD

"ŽELJAN JE NORMALNOG ŽIVOTA" Čim je napunio 16 godina Adrijan se sam prijavio za vakcinaciju; Majka: Sada smo svi vakcinisani i ovo je naša najbolja odluka ikada!

Next two pages of this report are left to display photographs in support of the topos listed previously. There will be examples of positive and negative sentiment towards vaccination through the prism of topos.



Photo 1. Topos of Urgency, Topos of Burdening, Topos of Threat and Topos of Saviour

Photo 2. Topos of Numbers



Photo 3. Topos of Saviour

Photo 4. Topos of Threat in negative context



Photo 5. Topos of Numbers in negative context

Photo 6. Topos of Threat in negative context



Photo 7. Topos of Urgency



Glumica, u dvostrukoj ulozi zamorca za Fajzer (onomad sa Bajagom) i epidemiologa, objašnjava kako se mi danas ne bismo rodili, da ne bi vakcinacije protiv Variole (nije joj pisalo u scenariju da je jedini vakcinisani posejao boginje). Kraj dramskog zapleta, u vidu pokliča "Vakcine su spasile svet", kanda je malo predvidiv.

"Radim nešto za pozorište Boško Buha, tako da sam se pridružio glumcima u vakcinaciji danas. Sve vakcine su bezbedne, tako da nemam nikakvu sumnju što se tiče 'Fajzerove' vakcine", rekao je za Nova.rs Momčilo Bajagić Bajaga, koji se danas vakcinisao s dramskim umetnicima.

U Jugoslovenskom dramskom pozorištu danas je organizovana grupna imunizacija protiv koronavirusa dramskih umetnika "Fajzer" vakcinom. Među onima koji su danas primili vakcinu bili su glumci Voja Brajović, Branislav Trifunović, Dragan Mićanović, Branko Cvejić, Feđa Stojanović, Zinaida Didakin, Ljubinka Klarić, ali i roker Momčilo Bajagić Bajaga, koji se zbog angažmana u pozorištu Boško Buha pridružio glumcima.

"Odlučila sam se na vakcinišem zbog zdravlja. U ponudi su 'Fajzer' vakcine, tako da ću primiti nju. Ljude koji se dvoume da li da prime vakcinu neću savetovati. Sami neka odluče", rekla je glumica Zinaida Didakin za **Nova.rs** pre vakcinacije.

"Nisam se posavetovala ni sa kim oko vakcina, jer smatram da su sve bezbedne.

Vakcinišem se zbog zdravlja. Zamislite da se ljudi nisu vakcinisali kada je bila epidemija

variole vere, pa mi onda danas ne bismo bili rođeni. Vakcine su spasile svet", rekla nam je

glumica Ljubinka Klarić pre vakcinacije.

Photo 8. Topos of History in positive and negative context



CONCLUSION

mRNA vaccines in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Serbia are presented in a similar way. Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine certainly attracted the most attention, but it can not be said that Moderna went under the radar either. Curevac vaccine was completely anonymous until June, and at the moment of realizing that it has low efficiency rate against the virus, there was only negative marketing.

Although it appears that both provax and antivax attitudes are equally represented in the public opinion, after the analysis of our sample, it can be said that this presence is not the same, at least when it comes to mRNA vaccines. Most of the announcements, however, were written in a neutral manner and objectively with a neutral message or the rough information (ProPfizer and AntiPfizer tags together make less the 10% of all posts from initial sample). The largest number of posts in all three countries about Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine appeared at the moment when the first contigent of the vaccine arrived and when the mass vaccination started.

When talking about difference in reporting between Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the difference is minimal and there are no major deviations from the average. If we take a look at likes, posts marked with ProPfizer in B&H are liked 25.5 times in average, in MNE 35.5, and in Serbia 88 times. In the AntiPfizer posts, there are in average 36 likes in B&H, 14.4 in MNE, and 65.2 in Serbia. Only B&H has more likes for AntiPfizer than for ProPfizer posts. The least AntiPfizer post likes are in MNE, and the most likes for ProFaizer posts are seen in Serbia.

The final conclusion that can be reached when it comes to mRNA vaccines is that over time, the negative announcements about vaccines have subsided, so most of them were written in January, and the least in May.



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