

INFORMATION IN MINORITY LANGUAGES IN THE WESTERN BALKANS:
INFORMISANJE NA JEZICIMA MANJINA NA ZAPADNOM BALKANU:
SLOBODA, PRISTUP MARGINALIZACIJA
FREEDOM, ACCESS, MARGINALIZATION

INFORMATION
IN MINORITY
LANGUAGES IN
THE WESTERN
BALKANS:

MARGINALIZATION

ACCESS

FREEDOM,

 Regional Research
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 MEDIA
institut PLAN

The usefulness of the book is reflected not only in its contribution to scientific interpretation of media reporting on minorities and for minorities, but equally (if not more) important, in its contribution to media and journalistic practice (and practitioners) in the region. Recommendations that are presented at the very end, which include not only recommendations for better and higher quality reporting of media, but also point to the necessity (and directions) of amending legislation in this context, as well as the necessity of changing citizens' awareness of minority issues (stimulating and developing awareness of national minorities), are a practical contribution of this book.

Lejla Turčilo, Faculty of Political Science, Sarajevo

Precisely founded in methodological terms and logically structured in thematic terms, the research points out the specificities of the region, due to which methods and theories applied in research in other parts of the world are hardly usable here. Empirical analyses have shown the similarity of problems in all four countries of the region, due to which the typology of media reporting in minority languages may be reduced to just two models: integrative and ghettoized.

Rade Veljanovski, Faculty of Political Science, Belgrade

Thanks to extensive analysis and interviews with key actors and illustrations characterizing each individual country, the study sends the clear message that without cooperation of majority and minority media it is impossible to fully inform citizens and national minorities and thus accomplish full inclusion of minorities in society.

Igor Kanižaj, Faculty of Political Science, Zagreb

Media Plan Institute in cooperation with the Novi Sad School of Journalism, Journalism and Public Relations School from Skopje and independent analyst Nataša Ružić implemented the research project *Minorities and Media in the Western Balkans*, which analyzed national minority media and programs for national minorities in four countries in the Western Balkan region. The project detects and describes the main problems in the operation of these media in relation to journalistic, social, political and financial challenges. This book is one of the results of the project.

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The views expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent opinions of the SDC and the University of Fribourg.

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INFORMATION IN MINORITY LANGUAGES: FROM FREEDOM TO MARGINALIZATION

Davor Marko

Access to information in minority languages is a fundamental minority and human right. Access to information of public importance and the possibility of creating media content in the native language of citizens are inherent rights that characterize any democratic society. Active (creating content) and passive (ability to use existing content) access to information is a precondition for having the sort of informed, aware and active citizens that democratic societies aspire to have. In this regard, the principle of active participation and the principle of freedom, understood in Mill's terms, are crucial for the exercise of the right to information of minorities. "If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind."¹ This principle is applicable to the relationship between the majority and minorities in society and to the use of minority languages in the public media space. This space is open to all, and it is up to the individual to decide whether he or she will access it or not. Unfortunately, practice demonstrates that a position of power is the determining and crucial factor for the practical implementation of constitutionally and legally guaranteed rights of minority communities.

Thus, we have a situation in which the majority (or majorities, as in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the Constituent Peoples) totally ignores the information needs and rights of minorities. Or we have a situation in which a numerical

¹ Mill, J. S. "On Liberty" (1859), available on the Gutenberg Project website (<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/34901/34901-h/34901-h.htm>), published 10 January 2011.

minority (such as Montenegrins in Montenegro, who make up 44.98 percent of the total population) is in a position of political power that allows it to set the rules and to institutionalize principles from its own “majority” perspective. We also have situations in which formal minorities are *de facto* in a majority position, i.e. a position of power, as is the case with the Albanian ethnic community in Macedonia or with Hungarians in some communities in Serbia (such as Tetovo and Subotica), or that formal majorities (such as the Constituent Peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina or citizens of Serb ethnicity in Serbia) are *de facto* in the position of a minority (Bosniaks and Serbs in mostly Croat-populated areas in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosniaks and Croats in the Republika Srpska, Serbs and Croats in Sarajevo and Zenica, and Serbs in Subotica, where they make up a little under one-third of the city’s population).

Treatment of minorities in the media²

Most research carried out in and beyond the region of former Yugoslavia has focused on how minority communities are perceived in mainstream media. This includes analyses conducted by Media Plan Institute (2007, 2008, 2009, 2011, and 2012) and Mediacentar (2010) from Sarajevo, Novi Sad School of Journalism (2006 - 2013), the International Center for the Education of Journalists, from Opatija (2006), the Peace Institute, from Ljubljana (2009), and the Macedonian Media Institute.

This is consistent with the practice applied by researchers in numerous international research studies (Hartmann & Husband 1974; Said 1979; Van Dijk 1991; Jager & Link 1993; Riggins 1997), who placed the treatment of minorities in a broader scholarly discourse analyzing use of media language in the presentation of the “other”. Teun van Dijk, representative of Critical Discourse Analysis school, points out in his analyses that media presentation

² This part of the Introduction is adapted from my article “Mediji i manjine u Bosni i Hercegovini” [Media and Minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina], published as a chapter in the book by Hodžić, E. and T. Jusić, eds., *Na marginama: Manjine i mediji u Jugoistočnoj Evropi* [On the Margins: Minorities and Media in South East Europe], Sarajevo: Mediacentar, 2010 (131-176).

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of minorities abounds in (un)concealed racism and discrimination against members of minority communities. “Armed” with prejudice and reporting with stereotypes, media offer their audiences an interpretative framework and models of conduct that are not favorable to minority communities, which is also the case with crime reporting (van Dijk 1995: 29).

A large number of papers on media use the term *national* as the primary marker of group membership and within it analyze the identity, position and rights of minorities (Sreberny 2005: 445). One of the most comprehensive and most accepted definitions of minorities was offered by the former United Nations Special Rapporteur Francesco Capotorti, who wrote that minorities are “groups, numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State, in a non-dominant position, whose members – being nationals of the State – possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population” (Capotorti 1991). Dušan Janjić of the Forum for Ethnic Relations from Belgrade differentiates between “new” national minorities and traditional ones. “New” minorities are those that received this status after the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, they are an important factor numerically speaking, and their parent countries are former republics of the SFRY (Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia), now independent countries, such as Croatia, Macedonia and Slovenia. Among traditional minorities, who also enjoyed this status in the former Yugoslavia, Janjić includes Hungarians and Germans in Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia. Common to these two groups of minorities is that they have parent countries. This is not the case with so-called “displaced” minorities such as Roma or Jews (who settled in the Balkan region long before the state of Israel was created) (Janjić 2001). Researchers of the Ljubljana-based Peace Institute have also concentrated on the *ethnic component* in researching minorities. The starting basis of their research was defined by Project Leader Brankica Petković when she described a functional multiethnic or multicultural media sphere as one “in which minorities have comprehensive access to media”. A developed and active intercultural dialogue, Petković argues, is one of the most important assumptions of such a media environment (Petković 2009:80-81). The term *ethnic* has become relevant for research into majority-minority relations in Macedonia too, especially after the conflict and the 2001 Ohrid Peace Agreement, when the Albanian minority received a more favorable status and greater political guarantees than those enjoyed by other minority communities in the region, though somewhat less than those of the Constituent Peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since then, Albanians in Macedonia have not, strictly speaking, been referred to as a national minority, but as an ethnic community.

Cormack analyzes different uses of *minority languages* in media broadcasting, and differentiates between cultural and political nationalism. This author categorizes the role of language in building minority identity in a so-called ideology of neo-nationalism, which affirms the national (self)awareness of minority communities in what had until then been a homogenous majority environment (Cormack 2000: 385). This was also shown in research into so-called “new” minorities created as a result of the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia (Petković 2009: 107). Brown offers a somewhat different perspective, considering the language of the majority a precondition for access to power, which means that use of minority languages is a way of keeping minority communities as far away as possible from centers of power (Brown 2005).

Engineer focused in his research on the *religious component* of minority identities. Concentrating on India and the treatment of minorities in its media, Engineer points out that Indian newspapers often report stereotypically. He cites the example of “Samna”, a newspaper in the Marathi language, spoken in the south of the country, which uses extremely provocative language in reporting on Muslims and Christians. This media outlet, says Engineer, treats minorities as a homogenous community without showing sensitivity to cultural, linguistic, religious or other instances of diversity among them. Minorities are usually depicted stereotypically as “fanatic” and “fundamentalist” (Engineer 1999:21-32). Such an example in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the media presentation of so-called “small religious communities” which are usually assessed in media reporting as “fundamentalist”, “sectarian” or “foreign” (Tajić 2007).

The Sarajevo-based Media Plan Institute, which is the leader and publisher of this project, has many years of experience in research, education and production activities related to media and minorities. From 2007 to 2010 Media Plan spearheaded various projects aimed at empowering the Roma community in Bosnia and Herzegovina to help them access media actively, while at the same time raising the awareness of the BiH public about the importance of dealing with minority issues. In this period, continuous monitoring of the manner and quality of reporting on Roma in the BiH print and broadcast media was carried out. The results of the analysis for each year (2005, 2007, and 2008) are available on the website www.mediaonline.ba. Years of experience have been converted into a guide for journalists – “PROMIcanje medijske odgovornosti u multikulturalnim društvima” [Promoting Media Responsibility in Multicultural Societies], published by Media Plan Institute (2008). In 2010, the Sarajevo-based Mediacentar published a landmark study, “Na marginama: Manjine i mediji u Jugoistočnoj Evropi” [On the

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Margins: Minorities and Media in South East Europe], which brings together research articles on the state of (not necessarily national) minorities in countries of the former Yugoslavia. The editors are Edin Hodžić and Tarik Jusić. Research studies and analyses produced by the Human Rights Office from Tuzla should also be mentioned. These documents examine items in dailies and weeklies on the topic of national minorities and problems they experience, in the period from 2006 to 2008. Also important are two reports by the University of Sarajevo Human Rights Center on the state of human rights (for 2008 and 2011), where a whole section focuses on the perception of human rights, including minority rights, in the media. The Helsinki Citizens' Assembly of Banja Luka has also been active in promoting minority and human rights; along with projects promoting the rights of women, minorities and marginalized groups, they have established the Srđan Aleksić Award for the best journalistic items on the topic of vulnerable groups in society.

The Novi Sad School of Journalism is a leader in the region with regard to work with minorities, minority media and raising public awareness on minority-related issues. The continuous analysis of minority language programming on Radio Television Vojvodina, which the School has been carrying out since 2006, is a unique example in the region of how a civil society organization, through monitoring and recommendations, can help raise the quality of information disseminated in minority languages. Along with analyzing content and training journalists who work in minority languages, the School has participated in or initiated numerous local and regional projects on the subject of human rights, tolerance, the advancement of journalistic standards and professionalism in media.

Research assumptions

During the preparation of the project proposal and during the selection of samples for analysis in the four chosen countries, several assumptions emerged that were important for research, and numerous research questions followed from these assumptions. The answers to these questions are not yet definitive.

Along with analyzing models of information in minority languages, the aim of this research has been in different ways to test “ideal” theoretical models in practice. As a foundation, we used models of the relations between media and minorities constructed by the Canadian mass media theoretician Harold

Riggins. Riggins proposes five different models – the **integrationist model** attempts to integrate minorities into the state community through minority media while at the same time discouraging any attempt towards political independence by these minorities precisely through integration; the **economic model** primarily views minority media as an instrument of economic activation, while media parallel with the education system create a labor force that is educated and makes up the economic potential of society. In this situation, multiculturalism is not viewed as an end but as a means; a **divisive model**, in which the existence of minority media is seen as an instrument for raising tension in the country and imposing control by the state; a **preemptive model**, in which the state itself tries to launch media for minorities in order to neutralize their attempts to separate from the state by focusing on their own media; and a **proselytic model**, which is present in cases where the minority language is used to impose a cultural or religious system that is foreign to the minority and which the minority are disinclined to accept. Numerous missionary radio stations constitute one example of this model (Riggins, 1992, in Stojković, 2002: 175-177). As this typology has proven to be not fully applicable to the situation in the countries created by the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia (Marko in Jusić and Hodžić, 2010: 131-176), it was necessary to reduce the number to two models – integrative and ghettoized – which in theory represent “ideal types” or conceptual extremes. In this regard, the actual premise of the **integrative model** is that a particular minority group (which publishes a magazine or creates a program in its own language) is part of wider society and is not isolated, and its members are at the same time citizens of the country in which the minority community is active. In line with this, the role of minority media is multifold – one is a minority role (preservation of identity, language, culture, ethnic and national particularities) while the other is a broader social and public role, because these media should follow all the rules of the profession – to report in a timely and objective manner, to criticize, and to inform. In the context of content, this means that typical “minority” topics (culture, religion, folklore, minority policy, human and minority rights, etc.) do not dominate in this model. On the other hand, the **ghettoized model** assumes that a group runs its own media, creates content in its own language just for its own community and reports on issues of relevance only to that particular group (Marko in Podunavac, ed., 2012: 205-207). In the practice of information in minority languages in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, there are numerous models and examples of media that may be placed in the space between these two models. Thus, one of the reasons for conducting this research has been to analyze the content and practice of selected media in order to offer enough empirical material to position and define these media.

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The research we conducted in 2012 to analyze content in minority languages, as well as formats through which minorities are informed, indicated the existence of four general groups of media (these are not clear models and overlapping does exist) – (a) **minority media** – media that may be called minority media in the full sense because they come out regularly, they report continuously in the language of their own minority, they have only representatives of the particular minority group working for them, they report on issues of relevance to their minority, and they are aimed at representatives of the specific minority community (this is what we have also called, in theory, a ghettoized model, i.e. “an information ghetto”³), (b) minority media that are similar to the first group in format, but are a result of **international projects or donations**, and are thus short-term. These media come out periodically, are exclusively related to marginalized and most vulnerable minority groups (experience from the Western Balkans shows, to Roma) and not uncommonly are published or broadcast (in the case of radio or TV programs) in two languages, and (c) **public media** – these are mostly public broadcasting services of countries in the region that are obligated by law to provide information in and foster the use of minority languages, that broadcast programs in different formats, from news programs (which were the subject of analysis during our research on RTV, RTMK and RTCG), to periodical magazine shows on minority issues and, usually, culture, that in the same bloc of issues cover problems related to more than one minority community. All these groups of media offer information FOR MINORITIES and the groups of media and models that are cited may be categorized and analyzed in the wider group of minority media. In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, primarily due to the lack of a relevant sample, the research encompassed (d) **mainstream, i.e. leading media** that report on MINORITIES, mostly from the perspective of the majority people. This has, for example, been evident in Bosnia and Herzegovina regarding coverage of the European Court’s ruling in the “Sejdic-Finci” case, to which reporting on minorities in the leading media was limited during the election campaign (see Udovičić in this publication).

³ This term was used in his article by Zoran Udovičić, founder and longtime director of Sarajevo’s Media Plan Institute. See in: Marko, D. PROMIcanje medijske odgovornosti u multikulturalnim društvima, Sarajevo: Media Plan Institute, 2009: 97-100

Several important factors determined the starting premises of this research and made up the backbone of the primary research assumption (hypothesis). Along with the role of the state, which, as Jakubowicz has defined, is dual – positive (in terms of concrete and direct logistical and financial support to minority media) and negative (in the context of empowering representatives of minority communities to run their media by themselves in a sustainable way) (Jakubowicz, 2004) – we focused our research on how the **character of the media outlet itself** (private or public, integrative or ghettoized, project-based or continuous) influences the quality of information, how the **specific legal role and function** of minority media (to promote their own identity, culture, tradition and language) influences professional standards of reporting and, finally, whether and how **specific contexts** (the multicultural context in Vojvodina; the ethnopolitical context in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia) influence the work of these media. In addition, we focused on language, i.e. the **character of minority language** and its relationship with the language of the majority. Our assumption was that minority language and its relationship with the majority language determines published/broadcast content. If these languages are similar (such as Croatian and Serbian, or Montenegrin and Serbian), the content will substantially focus on the relevant minority community (for example, as the research showed, in the case of the Croatian-language weekly *Hrvatska riječ* as much as 65 percent of content is related to the Croat minority community in Serbia). On the other hand, minority languages that are different (such as the Hungarian language in Serbia, or the Albanian language in Macedonia and Montenegro) act as so-called “information barriers” and in a way encircle and “protect” the information space of the media in which they are used (thus, in media in these languages we noted a much lower percentage of items about the relevant minority community and a much higher percentage about majority issues). The Romani language has a special status; those who run and edit media in this language face two problems – unstandardized language (in Serbia, for example, two magazines publish in two dialects that are mutually incomprehensible) and the fact that many members of the Roma community do not speak their language.

Structure

The goal of this book is to present in a systematic way the results of analysis of content of media in minority languages in four countries (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia), relying on past practice, expertise and research results related to analysis of minority media and treat-

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ment of minorities in media. The analysis conducted in 2012 by the research team gathered around this project focused, in addition to minority media content, on analysis of the legislative context and socio-economic status of minority communities in these countries.

The bookaper is divided into three sections. The first section, along with this Introduction, presents the theoretical foundation and methodological approach of the research, offering an overview of basic terms, concepts, models, obstacles and dilemmas related to the work of minority media.

The project coordinator, Emir Vajzović, Senior Lecturer at the Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo, places the project presentation – its objective, activities, participants, sample and results – in a broader context of democracy, human rights, media and the right to information. Believing that the process of democratization and EU integration is inevitable and that respect for human rights and the right to information constitute the most important democratic legacy, Vajzović reviews all the important steps, laws, documents and principles that a well regulated democratic society should have.

Professor of the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad and Head of the Department of Journalism, Dubravka Valić Nedeljković, mentor on this project, offers an overview of the main principles and assumptions in international documents of importance to the work of media in minority languages. The author also examines different definitions of minority media and dominant models of work in these media, based on the empirical findings of this research project as well as that of earlier projects. In her observations, Valić Nedeljković draws extensively on the experience and on the rich archival material collected by research teams of the Novi Sad School of Journalism, one of the most important media institutions and research centers for media in minority languages.

The second section presents the main results of our research from 2012, summarized in five articles – one which contains the main comparative observations and illustrates them through statistics, and four papers, each related to one of the four countries in which media in languages of national minorities were analyzed. In Serbia, the author of this Introduction, together with Jelica Nikolić of the Roma Democracy Development Center and Norbert Šinković of the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad, carried out an extensive analysis of content of media in the Croatian, Roma and Hungarian languages, and used this as the basis for their presentation in this book. As well as presenting the most important research observations, they analyze

the multicultural context in Vojvodina and its potential impact on the reporting of these media when they cover their own and other communities. Radenko Udovičić, Director of the Sarajevo-based Media Plan Institute, offers a comprehensive analysis of the Bosnia and Herzegovina context where “majorities” dominate, but where they can all also be found in the position of “effective minorities”. Interestingly, in this context there are formally no media in minority languages. Thus, our research focused on mainstream media, media in minority languages that exist thanks to the support of donors through projects, and findings from interviews with people of various profiles. The research team of the School of Journalism and Public Relations in Skopje, which carried out an extensive analysis of the public broadcasting service in Macedonia (news programs in as many as six different languages were analyzed), focuses on analyzing the general media context in Macedonia, viewing minority media (which are very influential in this country) as an important actor in the market. They suggest that the relationships that define the work of media in a market that is poor and small are paternalistic and clientelistic in character. Minority media, especially in the Albanian language, are also characterized by so-called “diaspora editing”. Finally, Nataša Ružić of the Faculty of Political Science in Podgorica offers a valuable analysis of the situation in Montenegro, which is characterized by very tense and inevitably politicized relations between the Montenegrin and Serbian communities, and the marginalization of activities by other, much smaller, minority communities. The work of our colleague Ružić should be commended as the first systematic and comprehensive research and analysis of media in minority languages in Montenegro.

The third section contains the main conclusions and observations, as well as recommendations formulated by the research teams in the four countries after a series of in-depth interviews with relevant professionals and experts who directly or indirectly deal with or work for minority media. The recommendations were shaped and finalized after a concluding conference held in Sarajevo on 4 April 2013, attended by more than 50 representatives of minority communities, minority and mainstream media, NGO activists, and representatives of government institutions and the academic community from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro. With their comments and suggestions, they advanced the final set of recommendations for all four countries, as well as for minority media in the Western Balkans in general.

Purpose of this book

The purpose of this book is not to elaborate in detail all viewpoints and hypotheses. It primarily offers an abundance of information, examples and empirical data that may serve as a useful foundation for new research, academic debate and debate in the field of policy on media and models of information in national minority languages. The analysis offered in the articles is based on a strong empirical foundation illustrated by extensive sampling – 1,988 television items, 2,933 articles in print media and 150 items broadcast in radio shows. This sampling is available on the website of Radio Sarajevo (www.manjine.ba), the website of the Regional Research Promotion Programme (<http://www.rppp-westernbalkans.net>) in the section on research, and on the websites and portals of the media centers and research centers that participated in this project.

The analysis and its results are intended for those who work for minority media (journalists and editors of programs and media in minority languages), those who are in positions of responsibility or who create development and operational policy for media in minority languages (representatives of minority communities, government institutions and decision-makers) and everyone who studies media and is interested in the field of media in minority languages (researchers, academic community, NGO sector). As the articles in this book have been translated into English they will be accessible to readers from outside our common and related language-speaking region (Bosnian, Serbian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, Croatian), who find this subject interesting and who believe that it deserves research attention.

We believe that those who work on analysis of media, especially those focusing on media and diversity and on media and national minorities, will find this book interesting and stimulating for their future work.

Subotica, June 2013

Davor Marko

Editor

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Media and National Minorities:

DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND MEDIA in the context of national minorities

Summary

The Regional Research Promotion Program (RRPP) for the Western Balkans supported the implementation of the project Media and Minorities in the Western Balkans, whose result is joint research carried out in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Serbia. The aim of the research was to examine, through analysis of content of minority media, i.e. media in minority languages, in what way and scope these media report about their respective minority communities, other minority and the majority RELATED ISSUES, as well as how much in their operations these media fulfill their legally defined mission and how much they deviate from it. It is difficult to speak of developed democratic society, freedom and justice, if there is no respect for diversity. In the Western Balkan, the importance of respect and protection of both individual and collective rights of minorities was, is and will be very important and closely related to the long-term concept of peace and stability in Europe. Respect of human rights and freedoms, and in our focus especially of minority rights, is a precondition for democracy and development of society as a whole. National minorities rely on mass media for fulfilling their rights, freedoms and needs. Mass media are the core of democracy. They carry political, social and cultural information, based on which voters make decisions, correct conduct and adjust the degree of assimilation into the “broader social masses”. National minorities have the right to be informed, educated and entertained in their own language. The research carried out in the scope of the project Media and Minorities in the Western Balkans attempted to answer some of the dilemmas, challenges and patterns in practice, as well as harmonization of the existing legal framework and the actual situation with media for minorities, media in minority languages and media on minorities.

Keywords: Democracy, human rights, media, minorities, freedom of expression, freedom of access to information, minority rights.

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1. Introduction

In this chapter we will present basic information about the project *Media and Minorities in the Western Balkans*, which was implemented from January 2012 to June 2013 with the support of the Swiss Government's RRPP program, as well as the main principles on why the subject of this research and this publication is important for societies in the region and the professional and scholarly public, and possibly also a foundation for new paradigms of relations between national minority groups and media.

In the first section we will look at the importance of mutual relations of democracy, human rights, media and national minorities. We will lay out the social importance, legal framework and link between democratic society, respect of human rights and freedoms and importance of media in the context of individual and collective rights of minority groups.

The second section offers basic information about the Regional Research Promotion Programme (RRPP) in the Western Balkans, the partner organizations that implemented this research, and a brief look at the research itself. The methodology, research and results will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

2. Democracy, human rights and media in the context of national minorities

Democracy, human rights and media are certainly important characteristics of modern society. Nevertheless, they need to be placed adequately in the context of the project *Media and Minorities in the Western Balkans* to additionally explain the need and idea for this research.

Fulfillment of rights and freedoms of individuals and groups of persons belonging to national, ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic minorities has been a challenge throughout history. Respect of human rights and freedoms, and in our focus especially minority rights, is a precondition for democracy and development of society as a whole. For, without guarantees of man's fundamental rights and freedoms, without the free individual, there is no stable and functional state (Beetham 1999: 87-114). In this regard, the actual state of ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural diversity must be respected.

Recognition and preservation of minorities has always, even today, been an important factor of stability and security in all parts of the world. For Europe, especially the Western Balkans, this issue has essential importance for overall security and stability. Today, when ethnically or nationally pure states no longer exist, a satisfactory position of minorities is a condition of survival of the states themselves and of stable and secure relations in society among its citizens (see: CSCE 1990).

It is difficult to speak of developed democratic society, freedom and justice, if diversities are not respected. Especially in this Western Balkan region, the importance of the issue of respect and protection of both individual and collective rights of minorities was, is and will be very important and closely related to the long-term concept of peace and stability in Europe.

Although there had been attempts starting with the beginning of the 20th century to define and agree on the issue of minorities through international cooperation and treaties, until the Second World War protection of national minorities had been exclusively in the jurisdiction of the states, which proved to be insufficiently efficient and was often a cause of conflicts and resulted in expulsion of minorities from certain territories. With the creation of the United Nations (UN), a new period started in international legal protection of minorities, in which the rights of national minorities are realized as part of respect of universal and fundamental human rights and freedoms (UN Charter [1945], Universal Declaration of Human Rights §1948Ć). However, not even this model of protection is totally efficient because for the most part it implies only a moral and political obligation of the signatory states, which is often not enough in practice to ensure the rights and freedoms of persons belonging to national minorities in some countries (Hannum 1993).

With regard to international documents and standards of protection of minority rights, although one may refer to some earlier international and national documents where the rights of national minorities are covered in some way, perhaps it is most appropriate, in the context of universal human rights, to mention first the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN 1948) as a foundation and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (UN 1966) and Article 27, which clearly states:

In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

Likely because of their history and the rich diversity on the European continent in terms of national, ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversities, the European nations have invested the most effort into addressing the status and ensuring a high degree of respect of rights and freedoms of persons belonging to national minorities, mostly through organizations such as the Council of Europe (47 member states, 800 million Europeans)², OSCE³ (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe – the world’s biggest inter-governmental organization, dealing with security issues of 57 member states) and European Union⁴.

After the basic documents establishing the principles of universality of human rights and freedoms, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN 1948) and Convention on Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms (Council of Europe 1950), the UN laid down the foundation in this field, which has been the focus of international interest for a long time, with the 1992 Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities. The Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995), although the first legally binding international document in the area of minority rights, by its content, recommends more than it obligates. In addition, the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages was adopted in 1992 under Council of Europe auspices to protect and promote traditional regional and minority languages in Europe (Krivokapić 2004: 160-805).

Further, the OSCE, maintaining that ethnic conflicts are the main source of violence in the OSCE region, considered the rights and status of national minorities in that context (CSCE (1992). The OSCE, i.e. CESC⁵ in 1990 adopted the Copenhagen Document which lays down the standards of protection

² More on www.coe.int

³ More on www.osce.org

⁴ More on www.europa.eu

⁵ CSCE – Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe is the predecessor of OSCE – Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, an international organization founded on the basis of the United Nations Charter (Chapter VIII). It is tasked with early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict recovery. It was founded in 1973 under the name Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), OSCE as of 1995 after the Budapest conference.

of national minorities, establishing a direct connection among democracy, human rights, conflict prevention and protection of minorities. As the Document states, respect of the rights of persons belonging to national minorities is a precondition of peace, stability and democracy in political frameworks based on the rule of law. Point 32 of the document emphasizes that to belong to a national minority is a matter of a person's individual choice and no disadvantage may arise from the exercise of such choice. It sets forth the rights to use freely their mother tongue in private as well as in public; to educational and religious institutions in conformity with national legislation; to establish and maintain unimpeded contacts among themselves within their country, as well as contacts across frontiers with citizens of other states with whom they share a common ethnic or national origin or religious beliefs; to access and exchange of information in their mother tongue; and to establish and maintain organizations or associations. The Copenhagen Document went a step further from the already negative measures against discrimination and inequality, contained for example in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), and introduced the need for positive measures in minority rights. Namely, the Copenhagen Document obligates the member states to take steps to protect the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of national minorities in their territories and to create conditions for the promotion of that identity (Krivokapić 2004: 71-93).

Moreover, as an integration requirement the European Union defined the principles of achieving unity in diversity, among other areas in the domain of human and especially minority rights. With the Maastricht Treaty (1992), the EU for the first time sets forth provisions on fundamental rights and recognition and respect of "national and regional diversity" within the Union members (Krivokapić 2004: 97-111). Nevertheless, responsibility for regulating the important policy of protection of minority rights in each country's legislation remains a particular challenge for contemporary democratic societies.

Certainly the realization of rights of national minorities in a democratic modern state is a complex social task. In addition to the three branches of government (executive, legislative and judicial), a fourth branch of government is often mentioned, media of mass communication, as perhaps a crucial element in modern democracies (Keane 1991; Peruško Čulek 1999). Mass media inform, educate and entertain their recipients, but in these processes they also inevitably influence their opinions and stands and thus condition or direct the democratic processes and behaviors – individual as well as collective ones (Vajzović, 2010).

Democracy as a social order is subjected to a lot of criticism, but according to most opinions, people have not yet created a more successful system of governance⁶. Democracy means rule of the people, i.e. of the majority, but with respect for the rights and freedoms of the minority (Held 1996; Beetham 1999; Dahl 1998). According to this rather common definition of democracy, the terms “majority” and “minority” refer to the overall population with the right to vote in the sense of decision-making and expressing their will (usually through democratic mechanisms – elections, referendums, etc.) to representatives in government (executive and legislative government), and key decisions of a mostly constitutional character. Civil and political rights and freedoms whose level of respect in a given society is closely related to the level of development of democracy ensure individual human rights and freedoms essential for any democratic society (Beetham 1999:87-89).

In addition, the principle of protection of minority rights also includes the rights and freedoms of national minority groups, regardless of whether individuals or entire groups are closer to the democratic statistical majority or minority in the process of democratic decision-making. In the context of protection of rights of minority groups, we speak of collective rights and freedoms bearing in mind their specificities: ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic (Dinstein, Tabory 1991)

Human rights are inherent rights of all individuals, they are inalienable and equal for all. The state has an obligation to ensure as high a degree of respect of human rights and freedoms as possible. In the first generation of human rights – civil and political rights, the state should create an appropriate legislative framework and refrain from violating these rights (negative stand), whereas in the second generation of human rights – economic, social and cultural rights, the state has an obligation to the extent of its capabilities to ensure the gradual realization of these rights and freedoms (positive stand). Universal human rights entail principles of equality and non-discrimination for all people in the state (Bakšić Muftić 2002:183-252; Beetham 1999:87-148).

The Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities imposes legal obligations on the states and obligates the parties to implement the principles from the Convention by undertaking special

⁶ “Democracy is the worst form of government except all the other that have been tried”, Sir Winston Churchill

measures, refraining from certain practices and guaranteeing specific rights. Most provisions of the Convention define general principles and goals, which are listed as obligations which the states are supposed to achieve, regulating issues such as the right to declare oneself as a national minority member, right to use of language, identity, education, religion, association, transfrontier contact and participation, and protection of persons belonging to national minorities who may exercise their rights individually or in community with others. The existence of a collective dimension is clear because minority rights are meaningful only if they are exercised in community with others. Furthermore, as Article 1 states: “The protection of national minorities and of the rights and freedoms of persons belonging to those minorities forms an integral part of the international protection of human rights, and as such falls within the scope of international cooperation” (Syposz 2006: 20-21).

The specific understanding and law on human rights for protection of national minorities is developed on the same principle. Bearing in mind the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and the protocols thereto (Council of Europe, 1950), the very introduction to the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities of the Council of Europe states that the aim is the achievement of greater unity between its members for the purpose of ensuring and achieving the ideals and principles of their common heritage, and that one of the methods by which that aim is to be pursued is the further realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms. In the Convention, the Council of Europe maintains that the upheavals of European history have shown that the protection of national minorities is essential to stability, democratic security and peace in this continent, considering that a pluralist and genuinely democratic society should not only respect the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of each person belonging to a national minority, but also create appropriate conditions enabling them to express, preserve and develop this identity, and considering that the creation of a climate of tolerance and dialogue is necessary to enable cultural diversity to be a source and a factor, not of division, but of enrichment for each society. It is pointed out that the realization of a tolerant and prosperous Europe does not depend solely on cooperation between states, but also requires transfrontier cooperation between local and regional authorities without prejudice to the constitution and territorial integrity of each state.⁷

⁷ Text of the Convention available at:
http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/1_AtGlance/PDF_Text_FCNM_bs.pdf

In a broader context, we must be aware that while legally prescribed rights are important, without their full and essential realization in practice, they do not mean much. Media have an important role in the realization of minority rights. Namely, in modern democratic states, an individual is expected to participate in the democratic processes in an informed and responsible way. With the historic development of technology and development of media of mass communication, print and broadcast media have positioned themselves as an inevitable and even the most important element of any democratic society. The strong (and even crucial) influence of the mass media on creating public opinion, democratic processes and identities (ethnic, national, religious, cultural, linguistic, etc.) gives them an important position in understanding the relationship between democracy and human rights (Balle 1997, Fidler 2004, Lorimer 1998, Meyer 2003, Nuhanović 2005, Vajzović 2010). Thus, the function of the media in a democratic society is to inform, educate, entertain and hold elected government representatives accountable. Consequently, the influence of the media on society is undisputed, whether it be on the academic, political or general public. Politics and access to media are a challenge for the various social processes of the media systems, but analysis of structure of media supplements our understanding of the influence that media have on society (Vajzović, 2007, 2010).

The media (especially some of them) may also be viewed as a public arena where all democratic processes are revealed (or become obvious), as well as a place where anyone can evaluate these processes or a place that anyone can criticize (Jakubowicz, 1998: 14). Media are simply within everyone's reach. It is therefore unquestionable that freedom of expression and freedom of media are irreplaceable elements of democracy which may also be defined as a "system of government which gives the public complete responsibility in deciding how it wants to live, provided the public is completely informed at the time of making its judgment" (Fiss, 1996).

It is believed that the most important advantage of democracy is not only the guarantee of peace, conscious and good decisions, but precisely the imperative of ensuring citizens in a democracy the right to judge these decisions and the possibility to reexamine their own judgment and to develop, maintain or transform their culture, religion or folklore. Democracy, therefore is the *rule of the public which publicly passes, builds and corrects its judgment* (Lippman, 1995: 316). Mass media are the core of democracy. They carry political, social and cultural information, based on which voters make decisions, correct behavior and adjust the degree of assimilation into the "broader social masses". They identify problems in society and serve as a medium for

discussion. In addition, media also serve as guardians of democracy, which citizens can (or do) rely on if they discover mistakes or misdeeds of those who have the power, and the means through which they fulfill their obligations to citizens, whether they belong to the ruling majority or constructive minority. National minorities have the right to be informed, educated and entertained in their own language, but also in the (official) language of the state, with content specifically about them and for them.

National minorities rely on mass media for fulfilling their rights, freedoms and needs. The research carried out in the scope of the project *Media and Minorities in the Western Balkans* attempted to answer some of the dilemmas, challenges and patterns in practice, as well as harmonization of the existing legal framework and the actual situation with media for minorities, media in minority languages and media on minorities. We will leave it up to the public, general as well as professional, to judge to what extent we have succeeded in mapping the situation in these four countries and offering material and recommendations for potential advancement of the state of national minorities, at least with regard to media.

3. About the project: Media and National Minorities in the Western Balkans

3.1. RRPP – Regional Research and Promotion Program

The Regional Research Promotion Programme in the Western Balkans (RRPP) facilitated the implementation of the project *Media and Minorities in the Western Balkans*, whose result is joint research carried out in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Serbia. The RRPP is aimed at fostering and promoting social science research in the Western Balkans (Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia). Social science research aids in the understanding of the specific needs for reform and in identifying the long-term implications of potential policy choices. Researchers receive support through research grants, methodological and thematic trainings, as well as opportunities for regional and international exchange and networking. The RRPP is coordinated and operated by the Interfaculty Institute for Central and Eastern Europe (IICEE) at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland). The program is fully funded by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), Federal Department of Foreign Affairs.

Throughout the 2008-2013 period, under the umbrella topic “Political, Social and Economic Change in the Western Balkans”, the RRPP has supported 50 research projects (26 regional and 24 national) valuing 3.7 million CHF. These RRPP research projects deal with topics relevant to transformation in political sciences, sociology, social work, cultural and gender studies, economies and other relevant fields.

In addition to these projects, a total of 16 regional trainings have been organized and conducted by international specialists for research methods and management, gathering a total of 268 participants. The RRPP has financed individual mentoring sessions and participation at international conferences for research teams. By 2013, a total of four annual scientific conferences have been organized, involving 412 regional and international scholars. Aside from the benefits gained via networking, such conferences provide researchers an opportunity to present their work, exposing it to critical review.

The RRPP has enabled young researchers, holders of masters and doctoral degrees and doctoral candidates to take part in scientific research projects, to get the needed funding and support in planning and implementing projects, support in addressing methodological challenges, as well as qualitative and quantitative research methods and analyses, etc. Support is provided for networking of young researchers and institutions in the region and is already showing positive effects and results in development of science and research and will certainly have positive long-term effects on future generations of scholars and researchers in the social sciences, as well as the complex transition processes in the Western Balkan region.

3.2. Project consortium: one methodology, four countries

The project *Minorities and Media in the Western Balkans* was implemented in four countries in the region: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Serbia. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the project was implemented by Media Plan Institute, which is also the consortium leader. The Head Researcher for Bosnia-Herzegovina and author of the comparative analysis was Radenko Udovičić. Due to administrative specificities, in Montenegro the project partner and Head Researcher was independent researcher Nataša Ružić. The project and research in Macedonia were implemented by the School of Journalism and Public Relations from Skopje. The Head Researcher for Macedonia was Snežana Trpevska. The Novi Sad School of Journalism implemented the project for Serbia and the Head Researcher was Davor Marko. The Project Coordinator is Emir Vajzović, Senior University Lecturer at the Faculty of Political Science of Sarajevo. Although the initial

idea had been to include a partner from Croatia in the project and to conduct the research equally there, due to limitations in the RRPP itself, that was not possible, but it certainly remains a task in future projects or as a supplemental activity.

The consortium held two plenary meetings (January and October 2012) and maintained successful continuous communication throughout the project. The regional conference “Media and Minorities in the Western Balkans” was held in Sarajevo on 4 April 2013, where the research results were presented and discussed by approximately 40 editors and journalists, NGO activists and government representatives working on national minority issues in BiH, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia. Guest speakers also presented their practical experiences in working on national minority programs: Attila Marton, Assistant Editor-in-Chief of RTV Vojvodina, and Sefer Tahiri, former journalist of the Macedonian public service now working for the University of Southeast Europe in Skopje.

3.3. Organization and implementation of research

The methodological and theoretical framework for this research is based on internationally established standards required for identification, recognition and active implementation of media rights of minorities. The standardization of “media rights of minorities”, which had not existed as a concept until then, was made by Karol Jakubowicz (2004: 291–299), relying on the European Convention on Human Rights and Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

The goal of this research was to use analysis of content of minority media, i.e. media in minority languages, in four countries in the region, in order to examine (a) in what way and in what scope these media report on their respective minority communities, on other minority communities, as well as on the majority community in the society in which they operate, and (b) how much these media in their operations fulfill their basic (and legally defined) mission and how much they deviate from it.

In order to create a complete picture, the final analysis and this publication include: (a) analysis of context, (b) analysis of media practice, and (c) summary of research findings, a record of trends, and recommendations for better and different practice of minority media.

A total of 15 researchers worked on implementing the project: 4 doctors of science/arts, 2 doctoral candidates, 3 masters of science/arts, 2 postgraduate students and 4 graduated researchers. In addition, 7 assistant researchers

were of great importance and help, giving their contribution in making interview transcripts, translating from minority languages and monitoring media in minority languages.

During nine-month monitoring, in the February – October 2012 period, we analyzed a total of 255 television shows, 386 different editions of print media and 48 editions broadcast on radio stations. With regard to television stations, 169 shows were broadcast on public televisions (programs on public services) and 86 on private television stations. In BiH, due to the fact that there are no shows in minority languages on the channels of the public service, in September 2012 (time of the election campaign), we analyzed primetime news programs on three public services (90 programs in total) and two private televisions (60 programs). Among print media, we analyzed 294 editions of daily newspapers (including 9 mainstream print media every day in BiH, i.e. a total of 270), 50 weeklies (including 12 editions in BiH which are mainstream by their character), 14 monthlies and 28 periodical editions. Finally, out of the 48 analyzed radio editions, 13 were of a daily character, 27 weekly, 4 biweekly and 4 monthly.

As for the analyzed sample, during the research a total of 1,988 items on television, 2,933 articles in print media and 150 items that were broadcast in radio shows were singled out and analyzed (according to predefined variables). Most articles in print media were from daily newspapers (1,320), followed by weeklies (776), and then equally monthlies (424) and periodicals (413). With regard to radio items, 31 analyzed items were broadcast on a daily basis, 27 on a weekly basis, 30 on a biweekly basis and 62 on a monthly basis.

Additionally, 63 in-depth interviews were conducted: 25 in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 15 each in Serbia and Macedonia and 8 in Montenegro. Out of that, 21 interviews were conducted with representatives of minority communities and minority associations, 17 with journalists and editors of mainstream media, 14 with journalists of minority media, 8 with media experts and representatives of academic institutions and 2 with representatives of government and public institutions.

All of the above indicates a studious approach to a serious research topic. It remains to be seen how much we succeeded in contributing to promoting a well-argued discussion on such a current and important global topic with focus on the specificities of the Western Balkan region, which has through time been a crossroad of civilizations and whose rich history has contributed to diversity which is supposed to be an affirmative trademark in the process of European integration.

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Methodological framework of research¹

ANALYSIS OF SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT AND MEDIA CONTENT

The goal of this research was to show the position of national minorities in the media sphere in each analyzed country through evaluation of national minority media content, interviews with relevant representatives from the media sphere and representatives of national minorities, as well as analysis of documents (laws, conventions) and practice of a variety of governmental and non-governmental actors. The research results and their comparison give us a foundation to act on in a broader social context in order to attain a better social position for national minorities and strengthen the professionalism of media of minority communities. In this regard, the target group, along with representatives of national minority media and national minority associations or unions, also comprises those who make and implement state policies.

Media content analysis

Our interest dominantly focused on the media field. Therefore, the key activity was analysis of content of media in minority languages, as well as so-called mainstream media in BiH, a country in which, due to a smaller number of national minorities, providing information for minorities (and about minorities) is focused through regular media content. The goal of the content analysis was to explore in four countries in the region of South East Europe (a) in what way and in what scope these media report on their own minority communities, on other minority communities, as well as on the majority community in the society they operate in, (b) how much these media in their activities fulfill their basic (legally defined) mission and how much they deviate from it, and (c) how much media adhere to the theoretical postulates of professionalism and customary journalistic practice in reporting on these issues and for this target group.

¹ Methodology defined by Davor Marko, working together with Radenko Udovičić and Dubravka Valić Nedeljković.

We statistically monitored the following variables, which served as a basis for the analysis:

1. Topic – the first framework for this variable was differentiating whether the item focused on: one’s own minority, other minorities, or so-called majority topics.

After that the specification included what we assessed were key thematic areas in which national minority activities take place.

Politics
Culture
Economy
Religion
Human and minority rights
Cultural and art clubs
Education in the mother tongue
Public use of mother tongue
Crime
Other

2. Authorship – who wrote (reported) about the event, i.e. who is the author of the media item (journalist, agency, press release, carried from other media, unsigned, other).

3. Occasion for publication – what motivated the newsroom, from a formal point of view, to cover the event.

Current event (Reporting on an event that happened and that is newsworthy. For example, physical attacks on members of a minority community, holding of various events, award ceremonies, elections...)

Reaction to a current event (For example, reactive press release issued by an organization, giving time and space through a variety of journalistic forms to reactions, commenting on events that occurred earlier).

Statement initiated by media (When representatives of a minority community speak about an issue that they did not impose themselves, but that originally comes from a media outlet – for instance, a media outlet investigates

the issue on corruption in the country's political system, position of a national minority in society, expectations on eve of elections..., and seeks a statement from a political or social authority.)

Pseudo event (There are two forms of a phenomenon known in communication theory as pseudo event² – internal, when a media outlet makes a report out of nothing, trying to force an issue on the public; and external, where organizers of an event organize for example press conferences or other events that do not have a solid informational and time basis.)

Something else (A category in which occasions not covered by the above categories could be placed.)

4. Audiovisual presentation – stands for an informational as well as esthetic addition (symbiosis) with the journalistic narrative (text). For print media, the main division was into number of photographs and articles without photographs. For electronic media, which are dominant in this analysis, we had a more complex division:

None

Photograph (only for print media write what or who is in the photograph)

Archive recording

Silent recording

Sound recording

Studio guest

Other

² In short, *pseudo events* are meaningfully created only to ensure publicity for a government, party, organization, corporation or public figure in all areas of public life. The term “media event” is often used as a synonym for pseudo event because these events are organized only to be covered by media. They are therefore shaped to be attractive for media. At the same time, journalists must assess their true value for the public and give them appropriate attention, not too big (Pseudodogađaj ili dvosmisljena istina, Dubravka Valić Nedeljković, UDK 659.3:070 (67-86)/2007.).

5. Sources – The source is a key link in journalistic creation of information. Without sources there is no information because everything we present is based on something we found out. A characteristic of professionalism of a report, journalist or media in general, especially with regard to news reporting, is the existence of multiple sources, which is supposed to provide an objective depiction of an event.³ The most common sources of information are people, mostly when a journalist gets information from them. The second most common category of sources are various documents which journalists refer to or quote. Of course, journalists themselves through their own observations also create a basis for information.

Categorization for monitoring this variable was made on three grounds:

NUMBER of sources in a media item

One source, two sources, three sources, more than three sources

POSITION of the source

The rule is that a media item/article is more professional and credible if it contains multiple sources. However, it is common in journalism to have so-called uniform or unvarying sources in terms of stand. Although it is not always the rule (depending on context), differing stands give recipients a greater chance to view a covered issue or event. Therefore, **uniform** sources are those that advocate more or less the same stands, while **opposing** sources are those that have opposing views or offer information with opposing contents.

WHO or WHAT are the sources

Personalized sources: These are people (individuals) whose position and full name are clearly given in print media (anonymous sources did

³ Radenko Udovičić, (2012), *Vjerodostojnost medija – teorijske i praktične dileme*, Media Plan Institute, Sarajevo

not fall into this category), or on radio and TV media, even when they are not given in the narrative or undersigned, but whose voice or visual appearance (or both on TV) offer information.

Depersonalized sources: These are institutions, where there is no personal embodiment (for example, we found out from the government, municipality, police...), anonymous sources or referring to various documents (laws, conventions, research...).

6. Value of content of item

Evaluation of the value of content of a media item is very important and reflects the dominant pattern of reporting of a particular media outlet on specific issues (for example, some media when reporting on crime may focus on the large number of criminal acts and unsolved cases, which is a dominantly negative content, whereas others may point out positive police activities and the large number of court proceedings conducted against criminals, which is a dominantly positive content). Under neutral content, we mainly categorize items in which neither positive nor negative elements are clearly emphasized, such as some protocol news or unfolding of certain activities which had been expected and in which neither particular benefit nor harm for a specific group is pointed out. The following basic categorization was thus developed:

Positive
Negative
Neutral

7. Value of journalistic attitude (stand)

This item refers to a value judgment on the position a media item takes toward the subject or event appearing in it. It is important to note that with regard to journalistic stand, we do not assess the content of the article, but only the journalistic stand/attitude. A journalist's stand in a commentary is a legitimate journalistic matter. However, in different ways it may also be an expression of lack of journalistic professionalism (sensationalism) or political intention. We categorized stand, similarly to content, into:

Positive
Negative
Not expressed

Content analysis sample

In terms of sample, focus was placed on public services which are obligated by the law to produce programs of this kind. Researchers in each of these countries made a list of the most relevant programs for analysis which have the greatest importance (either in terms of viewer/reader/listener ratings or based on their projected social role).

The research conducted using the method of media content analysis took place in February – October 2012. An exception is Bosnia-Herzegovina, where some minority media editions from the previous year were also analyzed due to the fact that there is a lot less information for national minorities, primarily in quantitative terms, than in the other countries.

The time schedule, which was especially relevant for Serbia and Macedonia, countries with the most developed, everyday programs in national minority languages, was based on the rotating sample principle (Monday is analyzed the first week, Tuesday the second week, Wednesday the week after that, etc.).

Research teams from Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, due to the fact that general elections (Serbia in April) and local elections (BiH in October) were held, analyzed a “condensed sample” in these periods in order to establish how national minority media report on elections and how national minorities are presented in the election context. Thus, in Serbia, **eight days before election blackout, news in electronic media and newspapers** was analyzed (*election chronicle section*). In BiH, the most influential/most watched/most read mainstream media were analyzed in September to see in what way and how much in total national minorities were reported about, but one of the variables was related to election issues.

The precise sample, in terms of type, importance and time of monitoring, is explained in each national report.

Interviews

During the project, in-depth interviews were made with editors of minority media and representatives of national minority associations and media experts in order to find out about problems and good practice in the functioning of this specific (for public media also obligatory) media production. Each center, based on identification of issues and the overall social situation in the country, as well as observations based on content analysis, made a selection of persons to be interviewed. In some countries the interviews were made in May and in some in September, in other words when certain media trends were already observed, which motivated some of the questions.

The sample in Bosnia-Herzegovina consisted of 25 people, whereas in Serbia and Macedonia is consisted of 15 people each, while in Montenegro 8 persons were interviewed. The reason for the bigger number of interviewed people in BiH is because the public is practically, but in part also formally (division into two entities), divided into three ethnic wholes, which reflects to large extent on the media system. This results in different views on political and media issues, including national minority issues. In addition, as programs for national minorities are not developed in this country, solutions were sought from a large number of people on how to establish them and how to sustain them professionally and financially.

The interviews were sound recorded. Based on the recordings, transcripts were made, parts of which were used in the analyses. Both the audio and written records are stored at the project partner organizations' research centers and are available for inspection in case of factual discrepancy or further research on this subject.

Structure

The analytical process and the final works (national reports) are divided into three parts:

- (1) Analysis of context
- (2) Analysis of media practice
- (3) Summary of research findings, trends, and recommendations for better and different practice in the work of minority media

(1) Analysis of context

Aiming to position these media in the broader social context in which they operate, the analysis contains a section that will analytically explore and research that context.

Analysis of context consists of a presentation of the socio-political context, the media landscape of the particular country, with a special look at minority media (their number, presence, influence, problems they face), analysis of legislation, particularly legal provisions that prescribe and enable the work of minority media, with focus on the right to use minority language, and provisions that prescribe (active) approach to minority media.

Research methods: Analysis of content of documents (laws, public decisions of the state, media codes...); Survey (in-depth interviews with representatives of minority media, minority national councils and associations, organizations, with media experts and state officials).

(2) Analysis of minority media practice

The intention of exploring the practice of minority media is to **quantitatively** explore and **qualitatively** evaluate their content and examine in what way these media report (focusing on use of language, selection of topics, the model on which they operate – ghettoized and integrative...).

Method: Analysis of content of minority media

(3) Summary, trends, recommendations

The aim, based on evaluated content of media in minority languages and based on interviews with people who are directly involved in their creation, was to assess **opportunities for improving the quality of information in national minority languages**, and based on the analyses to develop a series of recommendations on improving public policies and mechanisms of public control of content of these media.

Based on the analyzed practice and recommendations, the researchers explored, discussed and suggested new ways in which these media may operate (**models**). A contribution to theory will also be a discussion and harmonization of a **definition** of minority media outlet. This is a long-term process that will continue in media discourse even after the end of this project.

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Models and practice of media in minority languages:

WHAT ARE NATIONAL MINORITY MEDIA?

Abstract

This paper discusses legislation in the field of international law on public information in native languages and analyzes models of media practice. This paper seeks answers to questions like: what can essentially be considered as minority media in the strictest sense, or as media in the native language of the respective minority? Are they the ones who talk about all minorities, including talking about minorities in the majority language or they have to be multilingual? Or are they those who are addressing the minority to inform the same minority in the minority language or in two languages (in the majority and minority language)? Or are they promoting national minorities, their languages and scripts in front of the majority population and other minorities (monolingual or multilingual), or do such media appeal only to their immediate target group in their own language? The results of examination of the situation in the region indicate that the most numerous media are the ones which are fully formatted and programmed in the language of the community in which the entire journalistic, management, administrative, technical and technological staff comes from the respective national community and these media outlets fully meet the communicative needs in the native language. To define what should be considered as minority media and/or media in the native language of the national community is important because that would make it possible to clearly and consistently apply the principle of affirmative action which is the basic principle for supporting these media, because that ensures continuity in achieving the communication needs of members of national communities in multicultural societies.

Keywords: Minority media, ownership, definition, affirmative action.

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1. European normative framework²

The normative framework that regulates the rights of members of national communities to be informed and to distribute content of public interest in their native language and script is in line with the fundamental principle of preserving and stimulating the values of multiculturalism, multiethnicity and multireligiousness of Europe. “Mass media influence us not only on an individual level but also on the level of society. Mass media influence cultural changes through learning about culture” (Shuang, Liu et al 2011:232-233). Because media create awareness, set the social agenda on events that deserve public attention, promote stereotypes and prejudice about the other and the different, accelerate social change and play an important role in stimulating intercultural communication, or failing to do so.

Here is a very brief overview of international documents that directly and indirectly include the right to public information in the native language, which have been ratified by all Western Balkan countries.

- *European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms*, Rome 1950. Article 10 points out that “Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers”.
- The *European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages*, 1992, was passed realizing that the “protection and promotion of regional or minority languages in the different countries and regions of Europe represent an important contribution to the building of a Europe based on the principles of democracy and cultural diversity within the framework of national sovereignty and territorial integrity.” Article 11, “Media”, encourages the states to facilitate information in minority and regional languages.

² The basis for the chapter *European normative framework* consists of: *Medijska studija na srpskom jeziku* [Media study in the Serbian language], 2010, Ministry of Culture of Serbia (<http://www.europa.rs/code/navigate.php?Id=1356>); Pregled evropskih zakona o nacionalnim manjinama [Overview of European legislation on national minorities] (2002), Federal Ministry of National and Ethnic Communities, Belgrade; *Mediji u višejezičnim društvima, Sloboda i odgovornost* [Media in multilingual societies, Freedom and responsibility], (2003), OSCE, Vienna, www.osce.org/fom; website for all EU documents <http://eur-lex.europa.eu>

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- The *Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities*, 1998, specifies in Article 9 that the “Parties undertake to recognize that the right to freedom of expression of every person belonging to a national minority includes freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas in the minority language, without interference by public authorities and regardless of frontiers. The Parties shall ensure, within the framework of their legal systems, that persons belonging to a national minority are not discriminated against in their access to the media.”
- The *Declaration on Cultural Diversity*, UNESCO, 2001, speaks about cultural diversity in very general terms and lists the following objectives: encouraging digital literacy; promoting linguistic diversity in cyberspace; encouraging the production, safeguarding and dissemination of diversified contents in the media and global information networks; promoting the role of public radio and television services in the development of audiovisual productions of good quality (Achieving media responsibility in multicultural societies; 2006:18).
- The *Declaration on Media Education* (1982) defines that a fundamental right of children and youth is the right to communication. To remind, Article 13 of the *UN Convention on the Rights of the Child* from 1989 specifies that children shall participate equally in creating media and shall have the right to express ideas through media in different forms without restrictions.
- *Declaration on Freedom of Expression and Information* (1982). Among other things, it calls for the achievement of objectives including those which “promote the free flow of information, thus contributing to international understanding, a better knowledge of convictions and traditions of others, respect for the diversity of opinions and the mutual enrichment of cultures.”
- The *Audiovisual Media and Services Directive* (AVMS Directive), December 2007, is the foundation for creating a single market of broadcast media.
- *European Convention on Transfrontier Television (ECTT)*, adopted in 1989 (entered into force in 1993) and amended in 2002. Its objective is to make sure that transmission of television program services is in line with its provisions. The state guarantees freedom of reception, including retransmission of programs which comply with minimal terms of the

Convention. The document is currently being revised with the main goal of being adjusted to the new reality in this field.

- *Treaty of Amsterdam, 1997*, which defines that the “public broadcasting system in the Parties is directly related to the democratic, social and cultural needs of maintaining media pluralism”.
- *Recommendation on Media Pluralism and Diversity of Media Content (2007)*. It determines that the parties should encourage the public service, as well as other media, to give attention to and promote minorities.
- *Declaration on the Role of Community Media in Promoting Social Cohesion and Multicultural Dialogue (2009)*.
- *The Public Service Broadcasting Remit Today and Tomorrow, European Broadcasting Union (EBU), 1997*. This document gives the Parties the possibility to “broadly define the remit of public service broadcasting on quality programs for all layers of the population, which will meet the democratic, social and cultural needs of society.”

What is missing in all of the above documents and consequently in local legislation is the question of what can essentially be considered as minority media in the strictest sense, or as media in the native language of the respective minority? Are they the ones who talk about minorities to everyone, including minorities, in the language of the majority or multilingually? Or are they the ones that talk to the minority about the minority in the minority’s language or in two languages (in the majority and minority language)? Or are they promoting national minorities, their languages and scripts in front of the majority population and other minorities (monolingual or multilingual), or do such media appeal only to their immediate target group in their own language? There are many questions and they are very complex and media practice recognizes most of the above options.

2. Models of media in national minority languages in practice

To define what should be considered as national minority media and/or media in the native language of the national community is important because that would make it possible to clearly and consistently apply the principle of affirmative action which is the basic principle for supporting these media, because this ensures continuity in achieving the communication needs of members of national communities in multicultural societies.

What are national minority media?

Examination of modalities that are present in the communication practice of the West Balkans indicates that the most numerous media are the ones which are fully formatted and programmed in the language of the community in which the entire journalistic, management, administrative, technical and technological staff comes from the respective national community and these media outlets fully meet the communicative needs in the native language.

With regard to ownership and correlated editorial policy and languages in which media content is published/broadcast, there are at least six models.

2.1. Media entirely in minority languages

Media which are fully formatted and programmed in the language of the community and in which the entire journalistic, management, administrative, technical and technological staff comes from the respective national community.

Practice in Western Balkan countries recognizes different modalities regarding the founder and owner of these media. Local self-governments in Vojvodina (Serbia) remain founders of local radio stations in the language of the national minority that is in majority in the particular region, which have not yet been privatized. They operate as public enterprises and there are 24 of them in the Province. An example is Radio Bački Petrovac which broadcasts in Slovakian. This model exists in Montenegro too, for example the local Albanian-language radio Koha Javore.

The second model is one according to which these media are founded and owned by the national council of the respective national minority. An extensive debate was held in Vojvodina in 2004 when the Provincial Assembly passed a decision to transfer its founding rights in minority newspapers of provincial importance to the national councils. Journalists in media in national community languages warned that this does not depoliticize these media, but rather shifts them from one form of state ownership to another form of the same ownership, since national councils are funded from the budget and, under the Law on National Councils of National Minorities, they have direct as well as indirect influence on media of which they are founders and owners. According to data from the Secretariat for Culture and Public Information of the Provincial Executive Council, national councils are founders and owners of 10 media outlets. In the area of press, these outlets are the most influential newspaper publishing companies with long traditions in Vojvodina and newly-founded news magazines (*Magyar Szó, Het nap, Hlas Ludu, Ruske slovo, Libertatea, Hrvatska riječ, Bunjevačke novine, Makedonskoj videlini*),

and in the area of broadcasters such a station is TV Pannon which was initially founded as a foundation (NGO) and was then taken over by the National Council of Hungarians in Vojvodina. To remind, the Law on National Councils of National Minorities was passed in 2009. The law regulates the jurisdiction of national councils of national minorities in the areas of culture, education, information and official use of language and script. With regard to the jurisdiction of national councils in the area of public information, it is specified among other things that national councils may under certain conditions be founders of institutions and companies which perform newspaper publishing and radio and television activities (Article 19, paragraph 1), and under certain conditions they may manage institutions which are founders of public media and adopt the strategy of development of information in the language of the national minority, in line with the strategy of the Republic of Serbia (Article 21, paragraph 1, subsection 1).

The third model is one in which the founder and owner may also be an NGO of a particular national community. Media in the Croatian and Romani languages in Montenegro belong to this group. The local Radio Dux was founded by the non-governmental organization Dux Croatorum, Hrvatski glasnik was founded by the Croat Civil Society of Montenegro, and Romski Radio was founded by the Association of Roma of Montenegro. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, this model has been adopted by Roma media. The Roma magazine Glas Roma was founded by the Union of Roma NGOs of the Republika Srpska and the Roma magazine Amaro Drom (Roma road) was founded by the non-governmental organization Media Initiatives. Cultural associations may be considered the civil sector too; following that logic, the Slovenian-language magazine Zora Cankarjeva, owned by the Slovenian Cultural Association Cankar from Sarajevo, is also a media outlet of a non-profit organization. The Law on Broadcasting of Serbia (2002) also recognizes this possibility. The lawmakers were guided by the idea that national communities may found radio and television stations as civil sector media which operate under alleviated conditions. This has, however, not taken root to a sufficient extent in Vojvodina and Serbia. The non-profit sector has a total of 7 media outlets, including press in the Croatian language, the magazine Miroљjub of the Sombor-based association Vladimir Nador, as well as Glasnik pučke kasine, magazine of the association Pučka kasina.

And finally, private persons as founders of national minority media in the strictest sense dominate in Macedonia. Private ownership, according to Macedonian Broadcasting Council data, has 12 television stations, 11 of which are in the Albanian language (e.g. TV Era, TV Due, TV Gurra, TV

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Koha, TV Art, etc.) and one in the Bosniak language (TV Edo). Also privately owned are 11 radio stations in the Albanian language (e.g. radio Aračina, radio Vat, radio Besa, radio Fokus) and seven newspapers, 5 of which come out in the Albanian language (Koha, Fakti, Žurnal, Lajm) and 2 in Turkish (Zaman, Jeni Balkan). In the fall of 2012, a private news agency in the Albanian language called INA (Iliria News Agency) started operating in Macedonia. Radio and television stations are mostly local and press has national coverage. In Serbia, private media in a national minority language are rare. The Hungarian-language magazine *Családi Kör* stands out by the length of its survival on the market. In Montenegro, TV Boin broadcasts in the Albanian language and is owned by a private person, while among newspapers *Bošnjačke novine* in the Bosniak language is owned by a private company. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, there are no private media in a national minority language.

2.2. Media that partly broadcast/publish in minority languages

Media which set aside only a portion of their space/time for contents presented in national community languages and for that purpose hire journalists belonging to the respective community or speaking its language. They are organized into separate work units or newsrooms that operate according to the principle of a desk in national community languages and they have autonomy in editorial policy and fixed space in print media/airtime in broadcast media according to the share principle. All other departments are unmarked in terms of language or ethnicity.

Public media services are set up this way in the whole region, but the public service of Vojvodina (RTV) excels in this regard. To remind, the obligation of the public service as a medium founded by citizens, funded by citizens (subscription fee) and controlled by citizens is to broadcast programming for all residents, regardless of whether they are in majority or minority, and to meet everyone's need to be informed in their native language. Thus, for example, the public service of Vojvodina³ broadcasts in as many as 10 languages

³ The Novi Sad School of Journalism monitoring team has been monitoring the RTV program since 2006, as a longitudinal project called "Transformation of State-Centric RTVNS into the Vojvodina RTV Public Service", in six languages. This is a unique case in South East Europe of continuous monitoring of editorial policy changes during the transition of state radio and television into a service for all citizens.

of national communities living in the Province. The more numerous communities have entire native newsrooms on the public service radio and television, which produce several-hour daily news, cultural, educational and entertainment programming for all ages (Hungarian, Romanian, Slovakian, Ruthenian and Roma), while others (Croats, Ukrainians, Macedonians, Germans) have magazine-type shows at specific time intervals. They are either made by individual journalists working as part of a newsroom (for example, a show in the Ukrainian language is produced as part of the Ruthenian language newsroom) or they are independent productions.

The public service of Montenegro broadcasts in two languages (Montenegrin, Albanian). The specialized shows Lajmet and Mozaiku are in the Albanian language. In Bosnia-Herzegovina there are several public services; the show Korijeni is broadcast by the public service Radio and Television of the Republika Srpska, while the show Patria Mea is broadcast by the public service Radio and Television of BiH. Both shows are aired in the Bosnian/Serbian language. The public service of Macedonia (for more details see the national report) broadcasts most national minority programs in the Albanian language (98 hours a week), followed by the Turkish language (16 hours and 30 minutes a week), whereas the newsrooms in the Romani, Serbian, Vlach and Bosnian languages have around two hours of program a week. Macedonian radio on a weekly basis broadcasts 119 hours of program in the Albanian language, 35 hours in Turkish and three hours and 30 minutes each in the Vlach, Romani, Bosnian and Serbian languages.

In Macedonia, multilingual media formatted according to this model are both commercial and have owners (a private person). TV Cegrani Media in Gostivar and Kanal tri in Centar Župa broadcast in Albanian, Turkish and Macedonian. TV Kaltrina broadcasts in Albanian and Macedonian in Struga. Two Skopje-based television stations (BTR and Šutel) broadcast in Romani and Macedonian. Multilingual radio stations are also noted in Macedonian practice. EmIks radio broadcasts in Ohrid in Macedonian, Croatian and Serbian; Radio Fokus broadcasts in Tetovo in Albanian, Turkish and Macedonian; Besa broadcasts in Prilep in Albanian and Macedonian and Radio Ternipe broadcasts in Prilep in Romani and Macedonian; Mis 2008 broadcasts in Plasnica in Turkish and Macedonian. These broadcasters are mostly local and their character is generally music and entertainment. Macedonian press does not recognize multilingualism as an editorial policy model.

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2.3. Media that mostly broadcast/publish in the majority language

Media which broadcast/publish in the majority language and only produce some content in one or more national community languages in a different scope, without hiring journalists who prepare media content in their native language, i.e. in the language of the respective national community. Contents produced in the majority language are translated by professional translators. In Serbia, this model has been implemented by the private-owned news agency BETA. In Macedonia, the state news agency MIA offers its services also in the Albanian language.

2.4. Media that translate content into a minority language

Media which sporadically translate and publish/broadcast content in a national community language in a very limited scope, usually only news, without a clear editorial concept. It has been observed in Serbia that some local radio stations, in order to be considered multilingual and to gain an advantage in applying for incentives, have introduced mostly five-minute news in the Romani language that is broadcast, for instance, once a week.

2.5. Multilingual media or media content

Media based on the principle of bilingualism or multilingualism. All hired staff are members of different national communities and make up one newsroom. People who are multilingual have preference for working for such media.

In Vojvodina, Multiradio used to broadcast multilingual content experimentally as part of the local Novi Sad-based Radio 021 in the 1990s on a special frequency of this media outlet with mixed ownership (private-public partnership). The multilingual program, although it is a model of very good practice, which contributes to raising the level of multiculturalism and tolerance in the community and stimulates learning the languages used in the community as a basic tool for better mutual understanding, disappeared from the air with the disappearance of donations used for funding it and when the radio became fully privately owned. Commercialization of the “air” does not support “experiments” of this kind because such media have very limited audiences.⁴

⁴ Pralica, Dejan (2008). Lokalni višezječni radio u Vojvodini [Local Multilingual Radio in Vojvodina]

2.6. Religious media and mouthpieces of minority parties

Media which are not marked as “lingual” or “ethnic”, but rather focus on certain content that is published/broadcast in multiple or one national minority language, for example exclusively religious, partisan or sports media. In Serbia, Radio Marija (its founder is a non-governmental organization) operates on this principle, broadcasting religious program mostly of Roman Catholic orientation in five languages. This group may also include religious press in the Hungarian (published by the Roman Catholic Church), Slovakian (published by the Slovakian Evangelistic Church), Ruthenian (published by the Greek Catholic Church) and Croatian language (Roman Catholic Church and some Protestant communities). This category also includes Glas ravnice, the mouthpiece of the party of Vojvodina’s Croats DSHV.

3. Interviews with journalists and editors of minority media

In 46 in-depth interviews conducted with journalists and editors working in national community media in Vojvodina (Serbia), interviewees were asked to determine/define media in national minority languages. The aim of these interviews was to stimulate public dialog on the imperative of defining what may be considered as national minority media and/or minority language media.

When asked what journalists and editors really consider to be national minority media, of the offered options (explained in this book in the chapter *Models of media in national minority languages recognized by practice*), one-half (50%) answered that national minority media are only media which are fully formatted and programmed in the language of the community in which the entire journalistic, management, administrative, technical and technological staff comes from the respective national community. That only such media should have stable funding from the state budget according to the principle of affirmative action, that they should enjoy other benefits, such as obtaining radio and television broadcasting licenses more easily, and tax and other reliefs because they can never be as profitable as media in the majority language. All others should only receive this for “public interest” projects.

In second place with 31.25% are those who opted for the second model, or more precisely media which only devote a part of their space/airtime to contents

What are national minority media?

presented in a national community language and which hire journalists belonging to the respective community or speaking its language for that purpose.

In third place with 13.75% (11 people) are media which are formatted as multiethnic newsrooms that produce contents in different languages, but fit them into a single program (such as unfortunately the recently closed local Multiradio on Radio 012 NS). This result indicates that journalists are in favor of essential multiculturalism as an approach that should be supported because it prevents the ghettoization of minorities since minority power centers obviously prefer to be closed within their own community.

Very sporadically (one person each) the interviewees opted for contents which are only translated from the majority language or for specialized media focusing on only one field (religious, partisan, sports, children's, etc.).

Journalists and editors also defined in the in-depth interviews what should be the main principle of editorial policy in media in national minority languages. Most of them, 46.66%, maintain that the main principle should be reporting on all events related to foreign policy, domestic policy, culture, healthcare, education, sport and events from their respective communities. More precisely, these media should be formatted in the same way as media in the majority language which are made for the entire population, with the only difference that they come out in another language.

One-third (30.95%) believe that such media have a different task and that their focus is primarily to affirm their own community and multiculturalism.

The smallest percentage of respondents (16.66%) are even stricter in defining the course of editorial policy, arguing that primary focus should be placed on issues related to one's own community (stimulating active citizen participation in the community, strengthening and affirming language and culture), while members of the respective minority can find all other contents in media that are offered in the majority language on the market.

Journalists and editors were asked to list five priority topics which the media outlets for which they work should cover before the end of the year. Most journalists composed a list of five priority topics. No one listed more than five topics. The topics are varied, usually general, and may be grouped into six representative categories: work of national councils, corruption on all levels, poverty, European integration, multiculturalism and human and minority rights.

In addition to these topics, very generalized answers were also given to a smaller extent: culture, sport, young people and domestic violence. Meanwhile, very few answers contained a specific topic of research related to the everyday life of members of minority communities, such as: “role of the Slovakian professional theater in the culture of our community and what our smaller communities think about its production”. Also, analyzing “reports according to which Serbia has regressed in the area of press freedom and exploring where minority newsrooms stand in that context”. In the field of economic and social policy, “cutting back public expenditures” – how that will affect allocations for improvement of the position of national minorities”.

At the end of the interview, journalists and editors were asked what faults they find with the editorial policies of media in the language of their respective national community.

Journalists mostly replied to this question by citing problems that may be categorized into three groups:

- *Problems in the newsroom itself*, related to failing to stimulate journalists to go out into the field and to attend press conferences. Journalists are inert and spend a lot of time in newsrooms. Very cautiously they mentioned that they believe journalists in minority language media are insufficiently professional. Newsrooms are reduced to a narrow circle of, “often group-like”, associates and there is no sense that media are open to the flow of ideas and information and initiatives, while editorial policy is defined only from the perspective of the narrow group. TV programs have been reduced to a translation service for news monitored during the day on the majority news programs.
- *Lack of investigative journalism and politicization*, which is reflected in shallowness, lack of inventiveness, lack of investigative reporting, lack of objectivity, lack of criticism. The result is that everything goes into the newspaper/program – without defining importance or priority (important things are often missing). Lack of critical and investigative reporting. Some local activities related to the specific minority are given more importance and disproportionately more space/time than they deserve. Unnecessary and unfunctional glorification of work done by political officials from one’s own community, especially those involved in national councils of national minorities.

What are national minority media?

- *Exclusivism in reporting* means that these media, according to the journalists and editors who participated in these interviews, mostly report on festivals and popular customs of their respective communities rather than on the essential problems they face today and relations they have with the majority and with other peoples.

4. Conclusion

The right to information in the native language is defined clearly in international legislation and in the local legislations of Western Balkan countries. What is not defined, however, is in what way and in what scope this right should be a part of everyday media practice.

It has been observed that national policies on minorities and public information do not make a clear distinction between media that promote national minorities and their languages and scripts to the majority and other minorities and those that only address their narrow target group, i.e. the minority in whose language they are. Incentives are thus provided by the state and donors based on automatism inherited from the earlier systems or based on project calls. What is also not systematic is the application of the principle of affirmative action in granting radio and television broadcasting licenses, relief from certain fees and taxes, etc. Political practice so far has not recognized the importance of defining, on a theoretical and pragmatic level, the media that properly meet the communication needs of national communities in the long run.

We come to the conclusion that it is important to have the political and cultural elites agree, through the process of public dialogue, which of the offered models from media practice will be given priority in defining what may be considered as national minority media.

This project is an instrument that may contribute to reaching consensus among the political elites of the majority and the national minorities in the Western Balkan region on this issue.

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Comparative statistic observations

DIVERSE EXPERIENCE, DOMINANCE OF MAJORITY ISSUES AND LITTLE SPACE AND CONCERN FOR “OTHER” MINORITIES

Abstract

This paper is based on statistical findings in four national reports on the state and work of media in minority languages in Macedonia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro. The comparative analysis is based on a rich sample of 1,988 items on television stations, 2,933 articles in print media and 150 items broadcast in radio programs, in over 30 media that publish/broadcast in minority languages or produce a part of their program to inform the audience about minority issues. The analysis encompassed the following variables – thematic representation (focusing on reporting on one’s own and other minority groups and on issues of majority character); value of content of the item; value of the journalist’s stand; number, character and position of sources; dominant genres; and authorship in articles.

Keywords: Media in minority languages, programs on minorities, comparative static insight, thematic representation, value of content, journalistic stand.

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This synthetic article offers a comparative presentation of the most important statistical observations related to the work and reporting of media in minority languages or programs devoted to minority issues which we analyzed in 2012 in the scope of this project.³ This comparative analysis is followed by four papers in which the authors provide a qualitative presentation of the most important trends and observations in their respective countries and in the media they selected for analysis.

The countries encompassed by the research may be divided into two groups – the first consists of countries with a long tradition of work and existence of media and programs in minority languages, made up of Serbia (especially its northern province of Vojvodina) and Macedonia, and the second group are countries with poorly developed information in minority languages, where we find somewhat more developed media in Montenegro and an almost total lack of continuous information in minority languages in BiH.

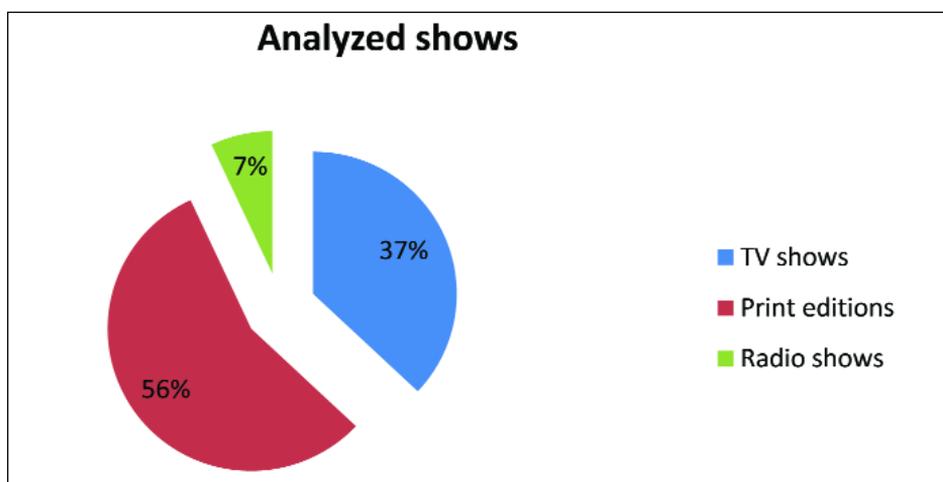
The analysis of minority media content in the four countries of the region was made on a broad, diverse and statistically rewarding sample. Several groups of media were analyzed – media which wholly report in minority languages (i.e. minority media in the true meaning of the word), media and programs which partly report in a minority language/languages (usually public broadcast media), media which are considered minority media by their character, but are a result of project activities or activities of national minority organizations (bulletins, almanacs), and in Bosnia-Herzegovina where due to the specific situation we also analyzed mainstream media (primetime news programs on public services and all available print media, either daily, weekly or periodical).

Rich sample

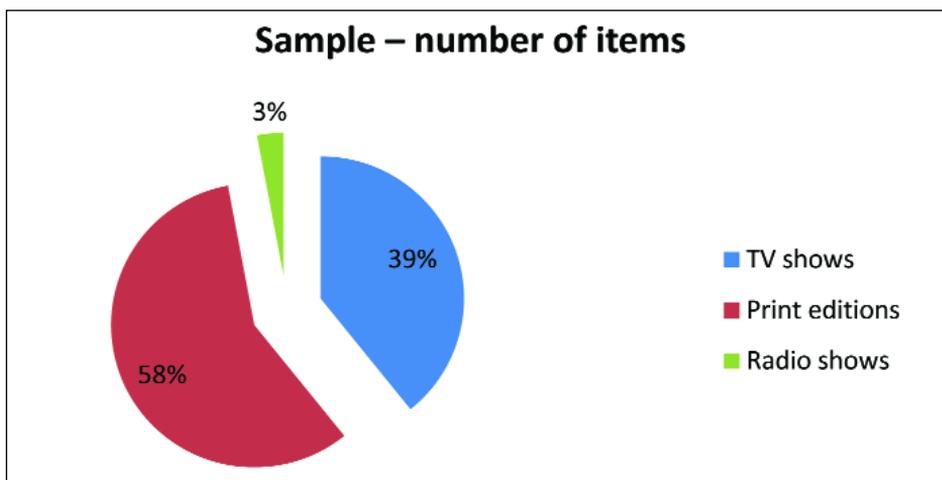
During nine-month monitoring (February – October 2012), we analyzed a total of 255 television shows, 386 different editions of print media and 48

³ You can find detailed statistical data for all four countries and for each analyzed media outlet in our analysis published on the web portal www.manjine.ba on the following link <http://manjine.ba/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/manjine-i-mediji-Finalna-Analiza.pdf>

editions broadcast on radio stations. With regard to television, 169 shows were broadcast on public televisions (in programs on public services) and 86 were broadcast on private television stations. In BiH, as a result of the fact that there are no shows in minority languages on the channels of the public service, in September (time of the election campaign) we analyzed primetime news programs on three public services (90 shows in total) and on two private televisions (60 shows). With regard to print media, 294 editions of daily newspapers were analyzed (of that number, 9 mainstream print media every day in the case of BiH, i.e. 270 in total), 50 weeklies (of that number, 12 mainstream editions in BiH), 14 monthly and 28 periodical editions. Finally, out of the 48 analyzed radio editions, 13 were daily, 27 were weekly, 4 were biweekly and 4 were monthly by their character.



With regard to the analyzed sample, during the research we detected and analyzed (according to pre-defined variables) 1,988 items on television stations, 2,933 articles in print media and 150 items broadcast in radio programs. Most articles in print media were featured in daily newspapers (1,320), followed by weeklies (776), and then equally in monthlies (424) and periodicals (413). With regard to radio items, 31 analyzed items were broadcast on a daily basis, 27 on a weekly basis, 30 on a biweekly basis and 62 on a monthly basis.



In addition, 63 in-depth interviews were conducted, 25 in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 15 each in Serbia and Macedonia and 8 in Montenegro. Of that, 21 interviews were made with representatives of minority communities and minority associations, 17 with journalists and editors of mainstream media, 14 with journalists of minority media, 8 with media experts and representatives of academic institutions, and 2 each with representatives of governments and public institutions.

TABLE: Distribution of interviews by country and position of interviewee

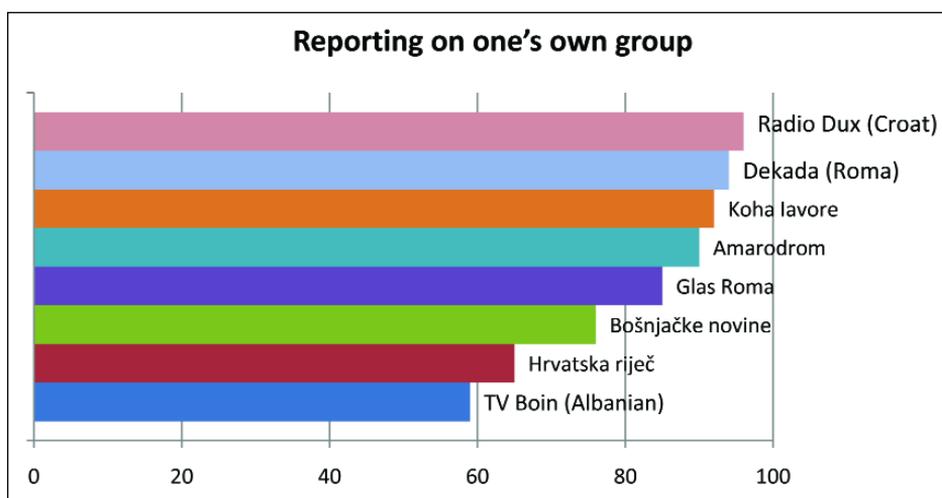
	Media experts	Journalists of minority media	Representatives of minority associations	Journalists of mainstream media	Representatives of governments and institutions	TOTAL
BiH	1	-	13	11	-	25
Serbia	4	5	5	-	1	15
Macedonia	3	7	-	3	1	15
Montenegro	-	2	3	3	-	8
TOTAL	8	14	21	17	2	63

Thematic representation

It had been expected that media and programs specializing in reporting in minority languages, on minorities and for minorities would devote a high percentage of their content to minority groups, issues and problems. However, in the majority of cases our research did not confirm that. We noted the highest percentage of reporting on one's own group in media which are periodical, which have the character of bulletins and which are

Comparative statistic observations

funded through projects. Such is the case with *Glas Roma* (85 percent of the topics are related to the Roma community) and *Amarodrom* in BiH (90 percent on Roma), *Hrvatski glasnik* in Montenegro (82 percent of topics of relevance to the Croat community) and *Dekada* in Serbia (94 percent of content related to Roma). Interestingly, a high percentage of reporting on one's own group was also noted among media whose language is similar to the majority language. In addition to the above mentioned *Hrvatski glasnik*, that is the case with the weekly *Hrvatska riječ* in Serbia (65 percent on topics related to the Croat community), *Radio Dux* in Montenegro (96 percent on topics related to the Croat community) and *Bošnjačke novine* in Montenegro (76 percent on "Bosniak" topics). In addition, we observed a high percentage of reporting on one's own group in the Albanian-language paper *Koha Javore* in Montenegro (92 percent).



With regard to public media, we analyzed news programs in minority languages where they exist (Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro) and it was shown that these contents are dominated by topics of majority importance. And while in Macedonia the Romani language program has the most topics about its own community (42 percent), in the Bosniak language program on Macedonian television we noted only 6.5 percent of items speaking about this minority. The situation in Serbia is similar: on the second channel of Radio and Television of Vojvodina, in the Hungarian language, only 14 percent of items about this minority were noted, whereas on Radio Novi Sad that percentage is even lower – 4 percent. It is interesting that programs which are not exclusively minority programs, but do cover minority issues (such as the radio programs *Korijeni* on Republika Srpska Radio or *Patria Mea* on

Radio BH), gave attention in a big number of items exclusively to one minority. Thus, in 64 percent (*Patria Mea*) and 63 percent (*Korijeni*) of the cases, the focus of items was solely on one minority, whereas in 11 percent (*Patria Mea*) and 10 percent (*Korijeni*) of the cases, focus was on more than one minority. In media which are minority media by their character, with the exception of *Bošnjačke novine*, *Hrvatska riječ* and *TV Boin*, contents related to one's own group did not exceed one-third. In the paper *Koha* in Macedonia, 32 percent items were noted about the Albanian ethnic community, while on the private television *Alsat M*, in the Albanian language news program, this community was reported on in 26 percent of the items. Low percentages of reporting on one's own group were observed in the Skopje-based *BRT TV* news program in the Romani language (8 percent), daily newspaper *Magyar Szó* in Serbia (6 percent), and news program *Lajmet* in the Albanian language on Television Montenegro (6 percent).

As for thematic representation, it was very varied and contextually conditioned. Media and programs that come out or are published in the Romani language or that report about the Roma community and for Roma are dominated by topics from the areas of the Roma Decade, i.e. education, social topics, human and minority rights, activities of non-governmental organizations, along with inevitable culture which is one of the most dominant thematic fields if we look collectively at all analyzed contents and program. Politics also appear in many cases as the dominant topic – in Serbia their presence is conditioned by analysis of media in minority languages in the election period, in the case of media from BiH there was a lot of reporting on the “Sejdic & Finci v. BiH” case which has a political connotation, in the case of Macedonia and Albanian language media it is conditioned by the tense political situation in which the Albanian community plays a very important political role in the local socio-political system. The research team in Macedonia noted a lot of news from the region and world that was broadcast in Macedonian television programs for minorities.

Authors, genres, sources

It is interesting that in a big number of analyzed items we noted a considerable percentage of journalists signed as their authors. This percentage was highest in media operating as part of projects, whereas in media that publish/broadcast on a regular basis (daily, weekly), regardless of whether print or broadcast, there is a much higher percentage of agency news.

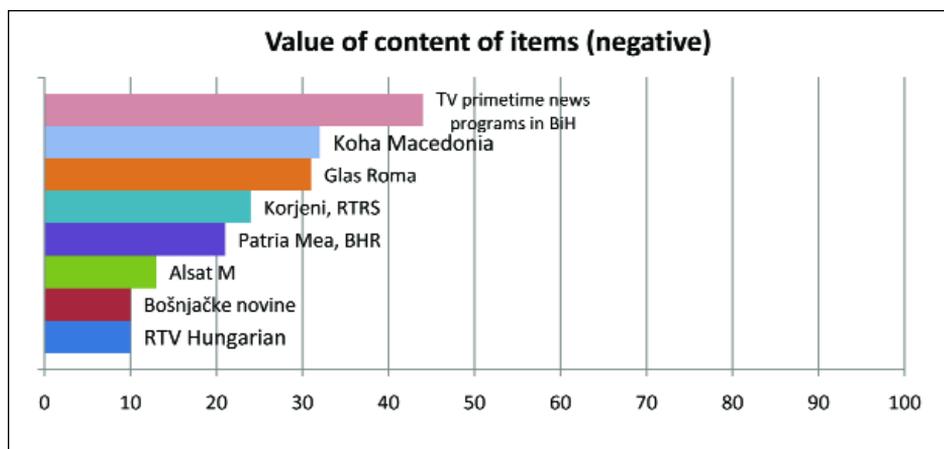
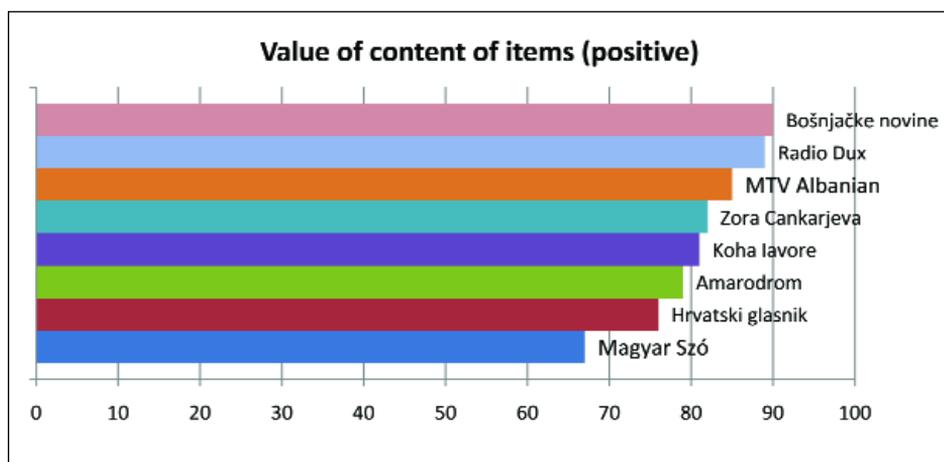
The most represented genres are factual genres, i.e. news items and reports, but we did observe exceptions in several cases. Thus, in the *Nevimata* program, which broadcasts in the Romani language on Radio and Television of Vojvodina, interviews (60 percent) and features (20 percent) dominate. Interview is the dominant form in radio shows too, on *Radio Dux* (52 percent), *Korijeni* on Radio RS (40 percent) or *Patria Mea* on BH Radio (21 percent). Commentaries with 24 percent are the most represented form in *Bošnjačke novine*, features with 31 percent and analytical forms with 24 percent are the most represented forms in the daily newspaper *Koha Iavore*, whereas the Slovenian language almanac *Zora Cankarjeva* which comes out in BiH contained the most hybrid forms (other, with 34 percent) and articles with elements of analysis and investigative journalism (14 percent).

When sources were used in the articles in question, the observed trends show that most items had one source of information, that these sources were usually personalized (i.e. people) and that in cases when multiple sources were used, these sources were uniform. We only observed several exceptions – in the program *Patria Mea* on BH Radio more than 3 sources were used in 38 percent of the cases, in one-third of the cases the daily newspaper *Magyar Szó* used three sources, and sources were not identified in 54 percent of the cases in *Bošnjačke novine*.

Value of content and journalistic stand

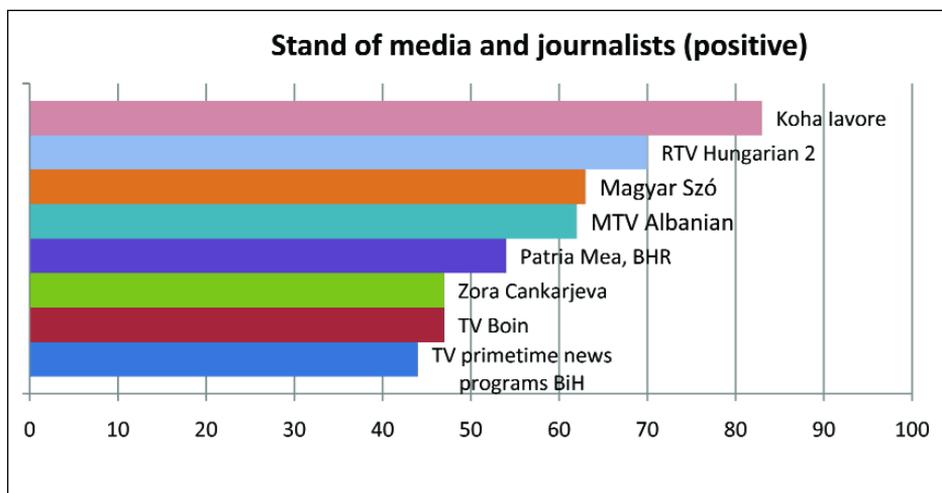
As one of the main functions of media in minority languages is not only to inform, but also to promote the cultural specificities of their respective national communities, it was to be expected that most contents of analyzed items would have a positive character and that the stand of both journalists and media would be positive. If we look at media by their character, those which are exclusively minority media reported positively in the majority of cases. Thus, we noted 90 percent of items with positive content in *Bošnjačke novine*, 82 percent in *Zora Cankarjeva*, 81 percent in *Koha Iavore* and 79 percent in *Amarodrom*. It is interesting that the weekly *Hrvatska riječ* had only 19 percent of articles with positive content, 71 percent with neutral content and 9 percent with negative content. The most balanced distribution of articles among the three content values was found in *Koha* from Macedonia (34 percent of positive content, 33 percent neutral and 32 percent negative) and *Glas Roma* from BiH (44 percent positive, 25 percent neutral and 31 percent negative). With regard to programs on public media, with the

exception of the Croatian language program on Radio Dux (89 percent of positive content) and the Albanian language program on MTV (85 percent of positive content), the percentages were significantly more moderate. Most negative contents were observed by researchers of Sarajevo-based Mediaplan Institute, when they analyzed the content of mainstream print media and primetime news programs on three public and two private television stations during the election campaign (September 2012). They noted as much as 44 percent of negative content on television, which contributes to one of the theses that majority media report about minorities in the domain of folklore, as well as in the context of incidents (not necessarily crime, but also in the domain of violations of their guaranteed human and minority rights).



Comparative statistic observations

The stands of media and journalists were dominantly positive. Somewhat more pronounced positive stands were noted in *Koha Iavore* in Montenegro (83 percent) and the Hungarian language news program on RTV (70 percent). It is interesting that in two cases we noted media in which neither positive nor negative stand was observed, i.e. they had 100% neutral stand. They are the Albanian language news program *Lajmet* on TV Montenegro and the Albanian language news program on the private TV station *Alsat M* in Macedonia. In only three cases – in *Bošnjacke novine* (16 percent), *Koha* in Macedonia (13 percent) and *TV Boin* (11 percent) – we noted somewhat higher percentages of negative stand. It is interesting that all three media broadcast/publish in the Albanian language.



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Analysis of media in minority languages in Serbia:

**AFFIRMATIVELY AND UNCRITICALLY
ABOUT SELF-GROUP, INSUFFICIENTLY
ABOUT OTHERS**

Abstract:

The aim of this paper is analysis of content of minority media in the Hungarian, Croatian and Romani languages that come out in Serbia, as well as their interpretation within the socio-political and legislative framework of this country. The research sample consisted of news programs in the languages of these three minorities broadcast on the second channel of the Public Service of Vojvodina, as well as relevant radio content and print media that come out in the Hungarian, Croatian and Romani languages. The time sample covered the period from February to September 2012. Fifteen interviewees through in-depth interviews contributed to interpreting the collected analysis results, commenting on some of the most important trends, sharing their views with us and offering ideas on improving the current status, work and concept of media in minority languages.

Keywords: Minority media, minority languages, media system of Serbia, minority media content.

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1. Introduction

This paper starts with the assumption that use of minority language in public media space is an important mechanism of protection and promotion of minority identity and a fundamental right of minorities. Access to media content, both active (in the role of creators of such content) as well as passive access (in the role of consumers), considerably depends on use of language. Minority languages that are similar to the language of the majority, on one hand, guarantee more open and efficient access to minority content (both for the minority and majority) as well as to majority content (for minorities), but on the other hand the danger of lingual assimilation lurks precisely in this similarity. Minority languages that differ substantially from the language of the majority are a separate symbolic and semantic system within which the identity of the minority is protected, but is threatened by the danger of isolation (Bugarski, 2010; Marko, 2012; 199-208).

Use of minority language in media by itself is no guarantee of good quality of media content or professional reporting. Therefore, the goal of this analysis of content of selected minority media in Serbia was to establish the quality of content in media in minority languages and the thematic scope of reporting and also to explore how they are affected by the character of minority language. That is why we chose minority media in three languages that have different characteristics and statuses in regard to the dominant Serbian language – Hungarian language which is totally different and whose minority community has a fairly developed media infrastructure; Croatian language which is similar to the Serbian language and whose community has institutional capacities that only meet basic needs for information; and Romani language which differs from the Serbian language, but is not standardized and is additionally divided within itself into dialects.

Along with assumptions that the character of language and the institutional development of the community will affect the manner and quality of reporting, an additional contextual assumption was that a multicultural environment such as the one in Vojvodina (where the biggest number of media in minority languages operate) would affect perception of other minorities and raise awareness of minority media toward other minority communities.

The analysis of content of minority media in the Hungarian, Croatian and Romani languages was carried out from February to September 2012. We analyzed a total of 47 news programs on Radio and Television of Vojvodina

(all three languages), 7 TV shows (Kulturalo Aresipe) in the Romani language, 13 radio shows (Hungarian – the show “Objektiv” on Radio Novi Sad; Croatian – Croatian language program on Radio Subotica), 9 periodical magazines (Roma – “Dekada” and “Romske novosti”), 12 weeklies (Croatian – “Hrvatska riječ”) and 10 dailies (Hungarian – “Magyar Szó”).

2. Contextual framework

According to the 2002 census of the population, 21 minority communities live in Serbia, making up 18 percent of the total population. The most numerous minority is the Hungarian minority (3.91 percent), followed by Bosniaks (1.82 percent), Roma (1.44 percent), Croats (0.94 percent), etc. Minority communities mostly inhabit the territory of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, where every third resident belongs to a minority group (Republic Statistics Bureau).

Information in the mother tongue is one of the most important minority rights. Along with its active component which entails use of language in creating media content, legislative provisions prohibit any kind of discrimination, hate speech and intolerance based on minority affiliation. The Constitution of the Republic of Serbia in Article 10 defines that the Serbian language and Cyrillic alphabet are in official use, with legislative regulation of use of other languages and alphabets. The provision of Article 79 of the Constitution specifies the right of members of minority national communities to maintain their specific characteristics, which includes the right to use their own language and alphabet. Under Article 11 of the Law on Official Use of Languages and Alphabets, “the local self-government unit shall by its statute introduce into equal official use the language and alphabet of the national minority if the percentage of members of that national minority in the total size of the population in its territory reaches 15% according to the results of the latest census of the population”. The Statute of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina states in Article 26 that the Serbian language and Cyrillic alphabet, as well as the Hungarian, Slovakian, Croatian, Romanian and Ruthenian languages and their alphabets, are in official use.

Fearing that privatization of local and regional media would threaten the survival of media in minority languages, which are usually local by their character, the National Assembly of Serbia in 2009 passed the Law on National Councils of National Minorities under which founding rights were transferred

to these bodies. This is the third consecutive law that stops the process of privatization of local media and leaves the issue of ownership over them incompletely defined, giving room to national councils for direct influence on editorial policies of minority media. The law proposes – in direct contravention of the provisions of the Law on Public Information and the Broadcasting Law – that national councils of national minorities are to found institutions and companies that perform newspaper publishing and broadcasting activities and exercise the rights and obligations of founders of public media. Under the provisions of the then Law on Public Information, founders of public media, except in the case of the public broadcasting service, may not be the state or territorial autonomies, or legal persons predominantly owned by the state or wholly or predominantly funded from public revenues. The constitutionality of the provisions of the Law on National Councils was assessed in early 2013 by the Constitutional Court of Serbia.

3. Media system of Serbia

According to the Media Sustainability Index, in 2012 Serbia had 517 print media (20 dailies, 83 weekly magazines, 6 biweeklies and 72 monthlies), 186 radio stations (2 public services, 47 regional stations, 137 local stations) and 173 television stations (2 public services, 5 with national coverage, 25 regional, 102 local and 39 cable stations). Too much for a country whose media market is estimated to be worth 170 million euros (AGB Nielsen).

According to existing analyses, the right to information in minority languages is fully exercised mainly in the territory of Vojvodina, where there are print minority editions that come out on a daily or periodical basis and where radio and TV programs are broadcast and websites are updated in minority languages. Along with the Serbian language, media also use Hungarian, Slovakian, Romanian, Ruthenian, Romani, Croatian, Ukrainian, Czech, German, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Albanian, Vlach and Bunjevac. Over 160 print and broadcast media publish/broadcast part or all of their content in minority languages. Out of that number, 140 media operate in the territory of Vojvodina. In the territory of Serbia, 31 media outlets publish/broadcast content only in minority languages; 19 of them are print media, 9 are radio programs and 3 are television programs (Ilić, 2007).

A survey carried out by the Open Society Fund in 2007 found that radio programs in minority languages are broadcast by 86 stations – 74 in Vojvodina and 12

in central Serbia. The radio programs are mostly local. TV programs are broadcast by 32 television stations, 27 of them in Vojvodina and 5 in central Serbia. A Novi Sad School of Journalism survey showed that information in minority languages in our country, generally speaking, is not below European standards. In Vojvodina, press comes out in 11 languages, which is a total of 150 newspapers in national minority languages. Radio and TV programming in seven national minority languages is broadcast by the Broadcasting Institution of Vojvodina, the public service of all citizens of the province.

Conditions in which minority media operate and their resources are not ideal. Minority media newsrooms are “old”, with journalists being 40 years old on average; they are generally not motivated or educated for contemporary journalism; the problem of lingual competence is extremely pronounced, i.e. lingual assimilation is extensive; media audiences are small; media competition is considerable; sources of information are closed to them more often than to their competition in the majority language; the material situation of these media varies between mediocre and poor; their future is uncertain, especially for media owned by the local community or those that are supposed to enter the privatization process (Valić Nedeljković, 2006).

Monitoring of the Public Service of Vojvodina, carried out by the Novi Sad School of Journalism, with special focus on programs in minority languages, pointed to a shortage of intercultural content as well as proper promotion and affirmation of the languages and cultures of ethnic communities. Political context of reporting is dominant, as well as focus on political representatives, “Belgradization” of content, whereas local content, especially from Vojvodina, is missing (Valić Nedeljković, 2007).

According to some surveys, media products in minority languages have a very limited scope and audience, numbering between several hundred and several thousand people of all ages, professions and education profiles. The number of sold copies of print magazine, like most mainstream print media, is declining and such papers do not exceed circulations of 5,000 copies (Open Society Fund, 2007).

4. Media in the Hungarian language

The Hungarian community in Serbia has the biggest program offering in its own language. In 2007, the Republic Regulatory Agency (RRA) issued only

one frequency for regional program broadcasting in Serbia and it was given to newly-created *RTV Pannon*, whose whole program is in the Hungarian language. Since mid-2010, the media company's co-founder has been the National Council of the Hungarian National Community. "Our community has reached a certain level of development of information in the mother tongue, which consists of having our independent RTV production which has all-day programs. It is evident that an increasing number of members of the national community regularly consume that program. *RTV Novi Sad* had a monopoly over information on television and now that monopoly has been crushed and *Pannon RTV* is starting to increasingly take over the information market".³

The newspaper *Magyar Szó* has the longest tradition in print journalism. Besides the newspaper, readers are offered the weeklies *Családi Kör* and *Hét Nap*. *Családi Kör* is privately owned, whereas the founder of *Hét Nap*, like the daily paper *Magyar Szó*, is the National Council of the Hungarian National Minority. "The 2011-2016 Media Strategy of Vojvodina Hungarians, based on registered needs and requests of the national community, envisions the advancement and modernization of the daily paper and weekly paper owned by the National Council. Measures are being taken to increase the sales and readership of these papers, as well as marketing activities for bigger revenues".⁴ Along with these media, there are several portals in the Hungarian language, such as www.vajma.info, www.magjarszo.rs, www.hetnap.rs, www.pannonrtv.com.

4.1. RT Vojvodina – Primetime news program in Hungarian

We analyzed the primetime news program, *Híradó*, which is aired every day at 19.00 hours on RTV's second channel. The program is part of a news bloc that encompasses news programs in several minority languages. During the project, we analyzed 9 editions of the *Híradó* program as part of regular monitoring and another 7 editions of the program during the election campaign (from 26 April to 3 May, every day).

³ Interview with Jene Maglai, member of the National Council of Hungarians

⁴ Interview with Eržebet Simon, member of the National Council of Hungarians

In the 16 analyzed programs, a total of 283 items were noted, of which 37 (or 13%) focused on the Hungarian community. Politics and economy were generally the dominant topics. Other communities were talked about in only 7 items.

The programs broadcast during the regular monitoring mainly covered politics (28%), but they mostly focused on majority issues and less on issues of relevance to the Hungarian community. During the campaign, this percentage was almost twice as big, which tells us that the political actors considered it important in the election period to emphasize the link between the Hungarian community and the parties. Looking at the thematic structure of items, which are made as general/majority topics, what dominated along with politics are news items and reports on economy – 21 percent. Topics covering crime are also significant – 10 percent. As for items dealing with the Hungarian community, culture makes up 50 percent of these items, followed by stories about cultural clubs. This demonstrates that perception of their own community is reduced to just these categories. This may strengthen auto-stereotypes, but it may also strengthen the majority's perception that "minority life" boils down to tradition, dance and music. Problems that should be covered, such as human and minority rights, education and use of language, were not given their place in the news program in the monitored period.

All items that focused on the Hungarian community were signed by journalists. The analysis showed that the selection of genres in the primetime news program is very poor. In most cases, the items were reports with elements of a television package (95%). A feature was observed as well, covering a jubilee of the cultural club „Petefi Šandor” in Bečej.

Usually one source of information was used in the items (75%) and that source was mostly an individual (80%), while sources' positions were mainly uniform (70%). Even when there were opposing sources, these were just slight differences in opinion related to the content of mostly cultural events. Journalists displayed an affirmative stand in most of the cases (70%). Negative, critical stands were not observed. In more than 50% of the items, the content was positive. Negative content was usually related to the deaths of prominent members of the community or difficulties in organizing events. During the election campaign, from 26 April to 3 May, 143 items were analyzed, only 12% of which focused on the Hungarian community. Thematically speaking, politics, culture and cultural clubs were mostly talked about. A worrying fact is that there is no critical tone about their own community. In

the analyzed material, partisan membership of the subjects points to a dominance of four parties, whose activities were given most airtime in the primetime news program: Democratic Party (20.83%), Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians (18.75%), Serbian Progressive Party (12.5%) and United Regions of Serbia (12.5%). Some provincial officials from the Democratic Party and Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians appeared in various events and they organized pseudo events in order to get media attention.

4.2. Radio Novi Sad –*Objektiv* – political magazine

The Hungarian language program on Radio Novi Sad (Újvidéki Rádió) started broadcasting in 1949. Today, a 24-hour program is broadcast on the radio's second channel. The newsroom is headed by Zoltan Dani, Editor-in-Chief. News is aired every hour, with primetime news programs at 7 a.m., 10 a.m., noon, 3 p.m., 6.30 p.m. and 9.30 p.m. The *Objektiv* show, the subject of our analysis, covers political and social events, including commentaries by journalists who host and edit the show. *Objektiv* is on the air on Saturdays from 12.05 to 13.00 hours, with a rerun on Sunday morning. It is edited by Žuža Čikoš, Atila Marton and Deže Ereg.

We analyzed five editions of the *Objektiv* show (3 March, 14 April, 19 May, 9 and 23 June), during which 24 items were noted, none of which dealt with the Hungarian community. Three topics dominated: politics (24%), economy (12%) and crime (16%). As this is an analytical show based on events over the past week, the specific topics covered in the shows varied.

The edition on 3 March talked about Serbia on the road to the European Union and the occasion was the news that it had been given candidate status. In the edition on 14 April, opening news focused on the arrest of persons suspected of robbery and economic fraud. Journalists talked about whether that is related to then upcoming May elections. The *Objektiv* show on 19 May focused on the economy in Serbia and the European Union. As the show was aired one day before the presidential and provincial run-off elections, it did not talk about these political issues. Finally, on 23 June, the occasion was an attack on a young man on the Novi Sad beach and the topic was public safety: whose job it is to address this matter, police, judiciary, politicians or citizens. The topic was also a verdict handed down to attackers on Vuk Drašković, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement.

4.3. Daily newspaper *Magyar Szó*

Magyar Szó is the only daily newspaper in the Hungarian language in Serbia, founded in 1944. According to data from the founder, the National Council of Hungarians, the newspaper's circulation on week days barely reaches 2,000 copies, while on Thursday (due to an entertainment supplement) and on weekends between 15,000 and 17,000 copies are sold. The newspaper is produced in Subotica, although a big part of the newsroom is in Novi Sad.⁵ On week days, it comes out on 20-24 pages and on weekends a double issue is published, ranging from 44 to 52 pages. The newspaper is divided into the following sections: internal policy, foreign policy, Hungary and diaspora, features, economy, culture, sport and readers' letters. The paper also publishes regional pages for Subotica, Novi Sad, Bačka Topola - Mali Idoš, as well as for municipalities on the banks of the Tisa. The newspaper's editor-in-chief is Marta Varju.

In the scope of the project, 10 issues of the newspaper were analyzed, in which we noted 387 articles. Merely 24 articles (or 6.2 percent) directly focused on the Hungarian community. This figure, of course, does not mean that some Hungarian parties or institutions were not present in the newspaper to a greater extent, but they did not speak about the community in which they are active. The newspaper focused on day-to-day political issues, culture and education.

In articles with a general approach, politics dominate with 31% and economy with 14%, but when articles are in correlation with the Hungarian community, the dominant topics are culture (38%) and education (25%). With regard to the Hungarian community, topics such as economy or social issues are neglected, whereas politics are covered only as a phenomenon that is related to political parties and not the community itself. Although a big number of articles were about education, few had an analytical character. An example of an article is the awarding of scholarships to students in Hungarian classes by their parent country. The topic is covered as a report, not as an analytical article.

Only one article focused on other minorities besides the Hungarian minority and it was related to an event organized by the cultural club "Petefi Šandor"

⁵ More on the paper's website <http://www.magyarszo.com/>

in Novi Sad, in which representatives of various national communities participated. This actually portrays how the paper perceives the position of minority communities in Serbia. It sees itself, as well as other communities, as a group that is different from others by music, tradition and folklore. Due to a big number of articles on the paper's regional pages, the percentage of information falling in the category of communal and local news is high (36%).

Magyar Szó usually publishes journalists' names at the end of articles (83%). News and reports are dominant (together making up 71%), while other genres such as interviews and commentaries are present to a lesser extent (17% and 8% respectively). An analytical approach is missing when it comes to articles about the Hungarian community, certainly a big shortcoming especially if we bear in mind the relatively big number of broadcasters that supply the audience with news and information every day.

In terms of the occasion for items, current events are dominant (92%), but there is not a single media initiative. Usually one (46%), personalized (79%) source of information is quoted. Journalists quoted three sources in 33% of all cases. The sources were mostly uniform (92%). An example when a journalist quoted multiple sources, but all of them holding the same position, is a conference of Hungarian journalists in the diaspora discussing the need for developing a joint media strategy for Hungarian-language media in the diaspora. Readers did not find out what the potential negative consequences of such a strategy are (such as uniformity of media, news and image of the diaspora) and to what extent that will influence for example the provision of information in the Hungarian language in Serbia.

The paper's journalists mostly reported about the Hungarian community with a positive tone (63%). We have a negative tone in only one article, related to injustice alleged by the paper toward students of Hungarian nationality. The article was published on 22 September 2012 under the title "With equal opportunities". It speaks about problems faced by law school freshmen who took the entrance examination in the Hungarian language, but instead of questions related to their mother tongue, they got questions about the Serbian language and literature, which impacted their exam results. As much as 67% of the content is positive. The newspaper writes very often about cultural club events and we can only read positive things about their work and position. Life problems of the Hungarian community are not covered to a large extent. Neutral value is present in 25% of the items that were analyzed in-depth.

5. Media in the Croatian language

Croats in Vojvodina are one of the small minorities, making up 3% of the total population of Vojvodina, or less than 1% in the territory of Serbia. As confirmed by the Platform for the Future of Information in the Croatian Language in Serbia, the Croat community does not yet have its own fully developed institutional framework and complete minority infrastructure. This has been influenced by the fact that this community, unlike the Hungarian or Slovakian communities, only received minority status and legislative guarantees following the disintegration of Yugoslavia (Platform, 2009).

The Croat community is one of those minorities in Serbia that does not have many media outlets or programs that broadcast in their own language. Along with *Hrvatska riječ*, the leading print media outlet, and its supplements *Hrcko* and *Kužiš*, there are also the periodical newspapers *Zvonik*; *Glas ravnice* – paper of the Democratic League of Croats in Vojvodina (DSHV); *Miroљjub* – paper of the Sombor-based association Vladimir Nazor; and *Glasnik pučke kasine* – paper of the group Pučka kasina. That is why the weekly *Hrvatska riječ*, as the Platform emphasizes, has particular importance in providing information in the Croatian language (Platform, 2009). As Žigmanov writes, “with regard to print media, Croats should be informed on the local/regional level in their own language in the following newspapers: the weeklies *Sremske novine* (covering the whole Srijem region), *Somborske novine*, *Glas komune (Apatin)* and *Subotičke novine*. As for scope, it should not be more than two pages and the content should cover information of local significance” (Žigmanov, 2007).

Radio programs are broadcast on *Radio Subotica*, *Radio Bačka* and *Radio Novi Sad*. And while professionally employed staff (4 journalists in total) and a three-hour program with a strong news segment are behind the Croatian language program on *Radio Subotica*, the program on *Radio Bačka* is produced by a group of enthusiasts with no compensation and is broadcast once a week for one hour. With regard to the *Radio Subotica* program, of importance is the website www.suboticadanas.info, which the editors update daily with new content.

Along with a regular 10-minute primetime news program on RT Vojvodina, which was the subject of this analysis, there were two other television programs in the previous period in the Croatian language – a weekly half-hour show called TV Tjednik, broadcast on the regional TV station Yu eco, and a half-hour show called Prizma broadcast by RT Vojvodina.

5.1. Radio and Television of Vojvodina – Croatian language news

The RTV Croatian language newsroom started working in March 2010. Since that time, a 10-minute primetime news program, TV Dnevnik, has been broadcast in the Croatian language on RTV's second channel from Monday to Saturday. In addition, on the same channel, timeslots are reserved for two half-hour shows on culture (*Izravno* and *Svjetonik*) on Sunday from 16.00 to 17.00 hours, but due to unresolved staffing and status issues, they have not been fully implemented (Croat National Council).

In the project period, we analyzed 9 editions of the news program in the regular period and 7 more during the election campaign (from 26 April to 3 May).

In the 16 analyzed editions, a total of 153 items were broadcast, 40 of which (26 percent) were related to the Croat national minority. In these 40 items, culture had the biggest presence with 15 items (37 percent), followed by politics with 7 items (17 percent). All other thematic fields (religion, work of cultural clubs, education, public use of language, economy, human and minority rights) were covered equally.

Among genres, news items dominate, most of them based on press releases by various institutions and agencies and other media as sources. Thirteen items (TV packages) were aired in the news program, which is nearly one per edition of the news. The journalist Josip Stantić was most often the author of these items. In most items (nearly two-thirds) it was difficult to establish who the author really was because a lot of the news items were read out with accompanying footage or graphics, in relation to protocol events behind which specific institutions stand. Thus, in 13 cases the sources were press releases and in 7 cases the sources were agencies' news items.

As for the occasion for items, there are most pseudo events (14) and current events (13), but pseudo events dominated in the election period (as many as 7 out of 21 items) and were related to numerous meetings and conferences for media in which usually politicians announced their plans and expectations. One item, which had the function of an introduction, was related to Dužijanča, the most important holiday of Vojvodina's Croats, and was broadcast in the 28 April edition of the news program, lasting 3 minutes and 30 seconds. A journalist visited the farm of Martin Gabrić, the host of this year's Dužijanča, presented him and talked to him and the other organizers about the event.

The presenters of the Croatian language news program in the analyzed period were Gordana Jerković (12 times) and Anita Žanić (4 times, but appearing

much more in the role of journalist). Jerković, who presented the news more often, seemed very confident, convincing, professional, keeping good contact with the camera, with almost flawless on-air delivery, but with a noticeable accent that Croats from Vojvodina have, giving the impression when reading the news that pronunciation of some words does not come naturally to them.

The items usually relied on one source of information (29 items), mostly press releases or agency news. Multiple sources of information, mainly in the form of interlocutors, were also noted in the items – there were 2 interlocutors in the capacity of sources twice, there were 3 sources four times, while more sources of information were used five times. The news was mostly dominated by depersonalized sources (33 times) and the sources were mostly uniform (39), with opposing opinions in only one item, broadcast in the 27 February edition, speaking about a DSHV convention in which Petar Kuntić was elected president for the third time. Although the journalists also brought a statement by Ivan Karačić who expressed an opinion opposite to the opinion of the newly-elected president, the general impression is that the item was a little biased and leaned toward Kuntić, because none of the other statements (four; five with Kuntić) were confrontational, while after Karačić's statement Kuntić was again given an opportunity to say that "the minority cannot impose something on the majority".

A positive stand on topics, events and even people representing the Croat community is dominant. There were 16 such items, whereas there were 24 items in which no stand was expressed. Statistics show that most items have neutral value and are related to protocol topics (28 items), followed by items with a positive connotation (8 items), with just a few items with a negative connotation (4 – mostly related to someone's death, poor position or difficult life of members of the community, etc.).

In the election period, we analyzed a total of 68 items that were broadcast. Twenty-one items were related to the Croat community (31 percent), out of which only 4 (6 percent of the total number of items) were related to elections – all three items covered the activities of the leading Croat DSHV party: first a party convention was announced on 26 April, on 30 April the party announced a coalition with the DS, while the edition of 2 May brought an item reporting on DSHV activities in Srem. With regard to majority items, politics were the dominant context of reporting on majority issues with a 40 percent presence. Along with DSHV, the leading Croat party, RTV's Croatian language editors favored the then still leading DS without trying to

hide it, especially the president of the party and (then) president of Serbia Boris Tadić, leader of the provincial DS Bojan Pajtić and Minister Oliver Dulić.

5.2. Radio Subotica – Croatian language program

The Croatian language program started broadcasting in 1998, initially as a one-hour program. In May 2001 the program was expanded to two hours of broadcasting, whereas today the Croatian language program is three hours long (from 18.00 to 21.00 hours) and is on the air every day of the week.⁶ Along with content that focuses narrowly on the Croat community, the program thematically covers issues such as tolerance, coexistence, problems faced by the majority and other minority communities, communal issues, etc. In addition to a full-time staff of four (editor-in-chief and three journalists), approximately 15 external contributors take part in producing the program.

For the purposes of this research, we analyzed the concept of the program schedule for the period from 21 to 27 May. The analysis showed that there are most music contents (55 percent) – but subsequent analysis showed that even the aired music has a specific educational purpose – followed by education program (19 percent) and news program (16 percent). The rest of the program (10 percent) is made up of announcements, jingles, commercials, etc.

The three-hour daily program is divided into three blocs, separated by commercials. The first bloc from 18.00 to 19.00 has an informational character, featuring program announcements and news. The second bloc, from 19.00 to 19.30, is dominated by music, but the music genres change daily – popular melodies were played one day (21 May), music by great masters another day (23 May), and then jazz music (25 May) and religious music (26 May – fitting into a broader bloc of issues on spirituality the same day). In the next bloc, from 19.30 to 20.00, we have a combination of music and items from the field of science, culture, health, agriculture, etc. And in the last bloc, until 21.00, in combination with music, regular thematic shows are aired,

⁶ Decision by the Steering Board and subsequently by the founder, Subotica Municipal Assembly, to expand the Croatian language program to daily broadcasting

which are different every day – in the analyzed period on Monday there was a show on pedagogy, on Tuesday Current Events, on Wednesday Open Studio on the topic of the presidential election, on Thursday Journalists' Talking, on Friday Apartment Resistant to..., on Saturday On the Trails of Agriculture and on Sunday Show for Croats in the World.

We separately analyzed the contents of shows from diverse fields (culture, minority issues, agriculture, professions) and the news shows in order to gain insight into the quality of content and adherence to professional principles in the production of these shows. All shows were broadcast in the February – June 2012 period.

Open Studio – minority topics – As this is a primary thematic field, we analyzed the content of several Open Studio editions which continuously devoted attention to one topic – enrolment in Croatian language departments. Show *Agriculture – Our Chance, 16 June 2012* – The topic of the show is damage made by bad weather to farmers and their crops. The newsroom's journalist talked about this subject and about preventative measures and the scope and assessment of damage with the director of the agricultural department, Damir Varga. The show is dominated by the interviewee, while the journalist asks rather long and unclear questions, appearing insecure at times as a result of that. Show *Current Events, with focus on Dužijanca, 26 June 2012* – At the beginning, the journalist announces the show and the event, this year's Dužijanca, the biggest holiday of Vojvodina's Croats. This is an audio report from a pseudo event, a press conference, without any other audio recordings, items, without creativity, and a little long and monotonous. Show *During the Break – About Work, about Professions, 25 June 2012* – In the show, the author Marija Matković invited as her guest Krista Filipović, a retired woman who devoted her whole life to housework. The journalist did not once interrupt the interlocutor, thus contributing to the natural flow of the conversation.

5.3. Hrvatska riječ – Croatian language weekly

The newspaper publishing company *Hrvatska riječ* was founded in 2002. Its founder was initially the Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, but two years later founding rights were transferred to the Croat National Council. A weekly of the same name, a subject of this analysis, comes out in 1,500 copies. The weekly is funded on a monthly basis from the budget of the Provincial Secretariat of Information, Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia, Provincial Secretariat of Culture, Assembly of the

City of Subotica and its own revenue. The company currently has 18 employees and around 150 external contributors (websites). The weekly's editor is Jasminka Dulić, Ph.D., and her deputy is Zvonko Sarić.

In order to improve the content, the weekly's management established a strong network of contributors and correspondents from various parts of Vojvodina and Croatia. They are among the rare media that decided to request assistance from the outside in order to improve their identity, quality of content and influence. "We hired the Novi Sad School of Journalism and on their recommendation (we hired) also some other experts for different fields, both for graphic design and for content".⁷

We analyzed 12 issues in which we noted 501 items, 326 (65 percent) of which were related to the Croat national minority in Serbia and 12 items were related to other minorities (2.5 percent). A total of 163 items were about topics of majority significance (32.5 percent). *Hrvatska riječ* is a visually appealing newspaper, with modern design and playful layout, to which two things contribute – full color print and an abundance of photographs that illustrate articles (as much as 66 percent of items about the Croat national minority were accompanied by at least one photograph). A children's supplement called *Hrcko* and a youth supplement called *Kužiš* are published as part of *Hrvatska riječ* on a monthly basis, while a supplement on culture, art and science called *Klasje naših ravni* is published once in two months.

Considering that the main function of minority media is to provide information in the language of its community and to promote the culture, tradition, identity and way of life of its members, we may say that *Hrvatska riječ* fully meets both functions – consistently adhering to the rule of publishing in the Croatian language and promoting everything related to the culture and customs of the Bunjevac Croats in Vojvodina.⁸ It should not be surprising, therefore, that a big number of items were characterized by a positive journalistic stand (32 percent) and positive content (19 percent). On the other hand, on several occasions (in 5 percent of the cases) the weekly's editors did not shy from critically commenting on the work of leading people from their own community.

⁷ Interview with Jasminka Dulić, Editor of *Hrvatska riječ*

⁸ For example, an article on fostering and affirming the Croatian dialect in Bačka, "Ikavian has been in the ear since childhood", 30 March, page 21

The most represented thematic fields related to the Croat minority are culture (30 percent of the items) and work of cultural clubs (25 percent). The reasons are manifold – from the primary promotional function of these media to very active associations and institutions in these two intertwining fields. We should point out the exceptional results of the cultural club Matija Gubec from Tavankut and the activities of the Institute for Culture of Vojvodina Croats and its director Tomislav Žigmanov who himself is the author of very important analytical and poetical items and chronicles in this newspaper. In third place is religion (with 14 percent), which has its own section. It is interesting that politics in relation to the minority community are only in fourth place (with 9 percent or 30 items).

A big number of articles in *Hrvatska riječ* are signed by its journalists (69 percent). It is interesting that among the authors are some prominent officials from the minority community, such as President of the Croat National Council Slaven Bačić, the already mentioned Žigmanov and Ankica Jukić Mandić, in charge of information at the Croat National Council. In several situations we observed correspondents reporting on events in which they themselves participated. Such is the case with an article about a formal assembly of the Community of Expelled Croats from Srijem, Bačka and Banat, signed by the Zagreb correspondent Zlatko Žužić, who appears in the article in the capacity of secretary of the association (25 May, page 27).

Most of the items were factual forms - news items (51 percent) and reports (21 percent). We also observed 7 percent of articles with elements of analysis and interviews each (along with a central interview, the paper always published a small thematic interview). There were also 5 percent commentaries, a big number of reports and features on current events (35 percent), media-initiated statements (13 percent) and reactions to current events (5 percent).

The dominance of factual forms resulted in that most items relied on only one source of information (70 percent). More than three sources of information were present in 13 percent of the cases, two sources were present in 12 percent, and three sources were present in 5 percent of the cases. In the 326 items related to the Croat national minority, a total of 541 sources were used. The sources were usually personalized – 370 (or 68 percent), and the interlocutors were people of the most diverse statuses, positions in the community, professions, ages and education. In as much as 96 percent of the cases, the sources were uniform.

Items and topics whose value was neutral dominated (71 percent). In 19 percent of the cases the newspaper's journalists wrote about positive things and only in 9 percent about negative trends and problems faced by the Croat minority community.

6. Media in the Romani language

Roma have the least developed institutional capacity for information in their mother tongue (Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, 2000). Three radio stations and one television station broadcast programming in the Romani language in Serbia and the Broadcasting Service of Vojvodina has a Romani newsroom which broadcasts an everyday news program in Romani called *Nevipe* and the collage-type shows *Amen ades* and *Kulturako aresipe* covering social and cultural current events. "The success is that our program is different from the programs of the other minority newsrooms in that we produce the entire content ourselves; we don't carry translated news content. The problem is that we are a small newsroom in terms of our number".⁹

Radio Novi Sad started broadcasting in Romani in September 1992. A one-hour show was on the air once a week. Later the show became three hours long and the program scope expanded, growing to nearly 14 hours a week as of 1995 (Briza et al, 2004: 94). Today, the Roma newsroom produces one hour and fifty minutes of program a day, which is 20 minutes more than RTV Vojvodina's other minority newsrooms, although it has one-third as many employees.

The Roma community in Serbia, along with programs in its own language and supplements in various newspapers, had its own autonomous media and even something resembling media companies (biweekly *Them*, publishing company *PRominterpress* with two TV channels – *RTV Khrlo E Romenego* from Belgrade and *TV Nišava*).

6.1. RTV Vojvodina – news program *Nevimata*

The Romani language newsroom has been in operation since 1988 as an experimental program and in 1992 it was officially included in the RTV

⁹ Interview with Sladana Teodorović, journalist of the Roma newsroom on RTV

schedule with a half-hour weekly program, growing in 1994 to 3 hours a day on radio, 1 hour and 50 minutes on Television Novi Sad and 3 hours of program on RTS. Until 2000, the Romani language newsroom had one staff member and one part-time employee, but today seven people work on the program. The newsroom's editor-in-chief is Petar Nikolić and the news program editor is Marija Petković.

The news program *Nevimata* is broadcast every day except Sunday, at 18.45 hours, on RTV's second channel. In the project period, we analyzed 8 editions of the program in the regular period (for 27 February, 14 and 30 March, 17 May, 16 and 18 June and 13 and 22 September) and 7 more editions that were broadcast during the election campaign. In the 15 analyzed programs, a total of 54 items were broadcast, 15 of which were related to the Roma national minority (28 percent), while during the regular monitoring (outside the campaign) there were 7 items dealing with minority issues (30 percent). Five of them were related to the Roma community and 2 focused on other minorities. Topics that directly concerned the Roma community were related to Roma Decade in 3 cases and to culture in 2 cases.

None of the analyzed items were signed, but more than one-half of the analyzed items were the result of the Roma newsroom's media initiative. One of the media-initiated items was a feature from Turija from the Kobasicijada (Sausage festival), with Roma who organized part of the event, and another was an interview with Vitomir Mihajlović, president of the National Council of Roma, on the topic of current priorities. The Roma newsroom on its own initiative recognized these events as topics in their target group's public interest and devoted airtime to their coverage.

In 43 percent of the analyzed cases, the items had only one source of information, in 29 percent of the cases there were two sources, while in 14 percent there were three sources. All sources of information were personalized. No reference to data from depersonalized sources (organizations, institutions, etc.) was noted. Nearly all sources of information were uniform in their views, with only one case in which that was not observed (the view of the mother of a boy who was a victim of peer violence does not completely match the view of the school principal, broadcast 13 September 2012).

The results of analysis show that most items were positive, as many as 5 when speaking about new opportunities for funding projects for Roma from EU funds, affirmative measures in education and an intercultural and tolerance campaign through workshops with elementary school students in Plandište.

A negative item was aired about a boy who suffered an unpleasant situation in school, regarding which his mother said: “The children teased him because of the way he looks as he is obese, not knowing that he has health problems. My child is a victim of peer violence” (Eržebet Milinkov from Petrovo Selo, 13 September 2012).

During the pre-election monitoring, 7 items were analyzed in detail (22 percent of the total number of items), 6 of which focused on the Roma national minority. Most airtime was given to topics of public interest for the Roma newsroom’s target group. The topics encompassed by Roma Decade were given priority here too and thus there was most information on education, employment, housing and healthcare. In some of the analyzed items the participants in activities were political subjects and party officials, who were at the same time participants in the 2012 elections. Although we are not talking about election marketing, it is clear that these were cases of abuse of office because the candidates were using media space as party officials. DS officials were the ones who made most use of media space this way.

6.2. RTV 2 - *Kulturako aresipe*, show on culture

We decided to analyze the television show *Kulturalo aresipe* (*Cultural reach*) because it offered a thematically richer content suitable for analysis than radio. The show is aired every Tuesday on RTV Vojvodina’s second channel. Although the show is called “cultural reach”, it does not necessarily cover topics from this field. Items devoted to culture are aired once a month for 15 to 25 minutes, while the rest of the show covers other fields (education, healthcare, [self]employment, work of non-governmental organizations, etc.). Even with regard to the show host, there is no fixed rule – when there is a discussion in the studio, the show is usually hosted by Petar Nikolić, who is also the show’s editor, and when there are items from the field, they are usually introduced from the studio by Slađana Teodorović.

Research attention was directed at items related to culture. Analysis was performed on a sample of 6 shows aired from February to July 2012. Although there were very few items on culture, they were made outside Novi Sad and on the initiative of the Roma newsroom, which can be assessed as positive. In terms of genre, these were mostly features some 20 minutes long, or even one hour in one case, devoted to painting, poetry, theater, etc.

During the monitoring, we analyzed a show devoted to *Roma cultural heritage*, 7 February (illustrated by a 12-minute feature, a segment from the play

“Roma love” and an interview with an actor from the play); an announcement of *RomArt Festival –21 February* (a 17-minute interview with Goran Nikolić, president of NGO Polis Fest – as the interview was made in the studio, the information would have been more complete if it had been supplemented with segments from previous festivals, without which the interview appeared too monotonous); *an interview with the painter Slobodan Karadžić, 13 March* (lasting 15 minutes and starting with his sentence: “We are the best people in the world because Roma have not wronged any people in the history of mankind. History has wronged us.”); *a show marking International Roma Day, 8 April/10 April* (The Roma newsroom made a 7-minute TV package which encompassed segments from the film, a narration about Roma history from India to date, an interview with a representative of the Roma community in the Council of Europe and a short statement by State Secretary Slavica Denić. In the end, as a special section, a video was broadcast which promotes Roma intellectuals, “Do you know who I am?” – although the idea is good and the intention positive, the video itself is either low-budget or suffers from lack of creativity – several Roma known for their successes in different areas stand in a field and utter statements confirming that Roma are citizens equal to others, educated and aware of their rights, but all this was filmed with one camera, as if from a crane, as if someone was watching them from above, because their eyes were looking up. This picture seems poor to the average viewer and the positive message is overshadowed by the poor impression given by the video’s production); *an interview with Dragoljub Acković, 22 May* (On the media outlet’s initiative, a 21-minute interview was made with Dragoljub Acković in the Museum of Roma Culture in Belgrade. Acković talks about the museum’s exhibits, the importance of media for Roma culture, and ends the interview with interesting words: “The foundation of Roma culture is not having, but being.”), and a show promoting the play “7 deadly sins” by *Suno e Rromengo theater, 10 July*.

6.3. Print media in the Romani language

Two Roma magazines – *Dekada* (Decade), a magazine of the AP Vojvodina Government’s Office for Roma Inclusion, and *Romano Nevipe* (Roma news), a private magazine that is virtually impossible to find in Vojvodina, were analyzed for the purposes of this paper. *Dekada* is funded from the provincial budget and only distributed through local Offices for Inclusion. This form of distribution means that the paper is difficult for potential readers to access. *Nevipe* is a private paper, whose last issue came out in March 2012 (triple issue). Articles in *Nevipe* magazine are written in the Arli sub-dialect, while *Dekada* comes out in the Gurbet sub-dialect (more widespread in Vojvodina).

Dekada Roma is published once a month with a circulation of 1,000 copies and is distributed in 20 offices across Vojvodina, the only form of distribution of the paper. In 2012, seven editions had come out by August, one of which was a double issue for January-February.

Dekada is a bilingual media outlet (Romani-Serbian), but the January-February edition also contained a section in English. It is 30 to 32 pages long and each article is accompanied by at least one good-quality photograph, the work of the newsroom's journalists and photographers, Saša Denić and Igor Dimić. Every issue is thematic, usually related to education. There are several regular sections: Coordinator for Roma Issues, Education, Roma from Europe, Self-Employment, Healthcare, Successful Roma and Culture.

In the January-February issue we analyzed 13 articles, two of which were devoted to culture. In the section Successful Roma, Mina Karadžić, a painter, was interviewed. The article took up four pages with 8 pictures by the artist. The section Culture featured a painting exhibition, NoMADart, presenting the works of 10 members of the Visual Arts Association of Roma, on the subject of identity. In the March edition with 13 articles, in the section Culture, one article was featured on 2 pages on the occasion of 8 April, International Roma Day. The feature was enriched with 7 photographs from a celebration of Roma Day in the AP Vojvodina Assembly. The April edition on the theme "Take up a trade" contains a total of 13 articles (2 on culture), whereas the May edition of *Dekada* contains 16 articles on 32 pages, two of which are devoted to culture. The edition for the month of June on the topic "Through education to equality" contains 16 articles on 32 pages. The edition abounds in the usual issues related to the Decade of Roma areas. The July edition, whose theme is "Legislative framework for education of Roma" contains 15 articles on 32 pages. Only one article focuses on culture and its topic is the play "Seven deadly sins" by the Suno e Romengo theater, made in 3D version. The photographs are from the theater's archive or the archive of Zoran Jovanović, director of the play. As statements were taken from BBC journalist Snežena Ćurčić and Jovan Ćirilov, the article is one of few that are not one-sided. Nevertheless, all views are affirmative. An item on the same topic, with the same interviewees, was broadcast on RTV Vojvodina in the show *Kulturako aresipe*. The August edition of *Dekada* magazine on the topic "Romani language in elementary schools" contains 11 articles on 32 pages, but not a single article from the field of culture.

The magazine is dominated by issues from the Decade of Roma areas related to education, (self)employment, housing, healthcare, infrastructure and work

of NGOs. There are no articles that we might characterize as intercultural or multicultural content. Other than 7 articles that may be categorized as being of general public interest for the majority community, making up more than 7% of the total content for the January-August period, there are no other articles speaking about cooperation among national communities.

In 2012, only one triple issue of the magazine *Romano Nevipe* was published, but as it was impossible to get it, our sample consisted of issues from 2009 and 2011.

Romano nevipe, 2009 edition, no. 40-42 (triple issue)– The paper's founder at the time was the National Council of the Roma National Minority of Serbia and the co-founder was the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia. The editor-in-chief was Ljaun Kaka. The paper's circulation was 2,000 copies, printed on relatively good-quality paper, but not as good as *Dekada*. The issue came out on 140 pages. Most articles were related to one of the areas of the Decade 2005-2015. In this issue there were 10 of them, but there were an equal number of articles related to culture. They are followed by 5 articles on the issue of living conditions for Roma in European countries, somewhat fewer articles on the issues of the social situation and history of Roma – 3 articles each in this issue, and one or two articles about other issues, such as language, politics, human and minority rights, discrimination... This edition features a total of 45 articles, some of which are only in Romani or Serbian and some in both languages. Every article is accompanied by at least one good-quality photograph, whose author is usually not identified. In this issue there are around 145 photographs.

Romano nevipe, 2011 edition, no. 61-63 (triple issue) – published on 120 pages. The editor-in-chief was Džanatan Koka. The paper's circulation was 2,000 copies, printed on relatively good-quality paper, the same as the previously monitored issue from 2009. The distribution of topics is roughly the same in this issue again, from culture and articles on the subject of the Decade with around 10 articles each, through history and circumstances in which Roma live in Europe with 5-7 articles per topic. This is followed by articles on the topics of politics, language, discrimination, Neo-Nacizm, etc, with at least one article each. It is interesting that there is a much smaller number of articles in the Romani language in this issue than in the previous one, not more than 5 articles out of the total 40. As in the previous issue, every article is accompanied by at least one good-quality photograph. There are 140 of them in this issue and again, their author is usually not identified.

7. Discussion and comparative observations

“There is no difference between media in the Serbian language and the most influential media in national minority languages. The same handwriting is recognizable, regardless of language, and that handwriting is called bias”, said Dinko Gruhonjić, assessing media reporting on the eve of the elections in Serbia in May 2012.

Bias was actually one of the most noticeable trends in reporting of media in the Croatian, Hungarian and Romani languages. We may look at the trend on several levels – (a) reporting firstly on one’s own group, which dominated in nearly all media, with the exception of Hungarian language media (the daily *Magyar Szó* in most cases reported on others, but in the Hungarian language), (b) an affirmative stand toward one’s own group was a trend that was present among everyone – it was most pronounced in Hungarian language media (70 percent of items on RTV and 63 percent in the daily *Magyar Szó*) and a little less in Croat media (40 percent on RTV and 32 percent in *Hrvatska riječ*), and (c) biased reporting on political subjects during the election campaign. As a survey carried out by the Novi Sad School of Journalism showed, Bojan Pajtić, an official of the Democratic Party and the prime minister of Vojvodina, appeared the most in news programs in minority languages and media did not display a negative stand toward him. His party, DS, also had the biggest presence in these programs – 21 percent in the Hungarian language program (ahead of the Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians with 19 percent) and as much as 58 percent in the Croatian language program (ahead of the Democratic Alliance of Croats of Vojvodina with 12 percent) (Valić Nedeljković, Pralica, 2012: 25-33).

With regard to topics, in both Croatian and Hungarian language media, topics related to culture and the work of cultural groups dominated, along with a few other topics, such as politics, education and economy. Topics in Roma media were related to the Decade of Roma, as well as culture, while one of the analyzed magazines already in its name – *Dekada* – implied what kind of issues its journalists focused on. Dominance of culture and cultural clubs can contribute to reinforcing stereotypes, as well as the majority’s perception that “minority life” boils down to tradition, dance and music. Problems that should be covered, such as human and minority rights, education and use of language, were not given an adequate place or had a small presence.

A big number of the analyzed items were signed, primetime news programs carried agency news, while items mostly contained one source, and even if

there were multiple sources, they were uniform. Along with affirmative reporting about its own community, the weekly *Hrvatska riječ* featured a big number of articles initiated by its journalists.

In addition to a shortage of analytical and investigative topics, especially those with a so-called “integrative character” that situate one’s own community within the socio-political context in which it lives, we noted a small number of critical articles regarding individuals and trends from one’s own community, and in several occasions this was the case with editorials and commentaries. The analyzed radio shows provided space for a somewhat different approach as they were not conditioned by day-to-day politics, consequently offering stories from everyday life, analyses of specific problems and solutions.

It is interesting that topics of significance to minorities, reporting on other minority communities and promotion of multiculturalism and intercultural cooperation were completely neglected. In this regard, one of the assumptions that coexistence and the multicultural context in Vojvodina might raise awareness of other minorities was incorrect.

With regard to the position of the state of Serbia, pursuant to its legislative obligations and constitutional provisions it supports the operation of minority media and reporting in minority languages, but only in the scope of what is “necessary”, with a visible shortage of programs and projects that additionally stimulate the development of information in minority languages (especially on *RTS*). In this regard, a somewhat different approach is taken by the Province of Vojvodina and – as expected – by donors and the parent countries of the specific minority communities (in this case Croatia and Hungary). The trend of political clientelism, in which the political elites patronize the media, placing them in a dependent position (which is not characteristic only of Serbia), is mirror copied in the sphere of minority media, where the attitude of minority communities (through Councils of National Minorities) and influence on editorial policies of minority language media have even been legalized by the controversial 2009 Law on Councils of National Minorities, whose constitutionality was assessed by the Constitutional Court of Serbia. An important conclusion, related to the character of minority language, confirmed our thesis – if a minority language significantly differs from the majority language, the content is related to a lesser extent to only that minority (which we saw in the case of Hungarian language media) and vice versa – if a minority language is similar to the majority language, there are more articles related to that particular minority (as confirmed by the case of Croat media, which thematically focused much more on matters related to the Croat national community).

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**Media of the non-majority communities in
Macedonia:**

**POOR RESOURCES, LOW PROFESSIONAL
STANDARDS AND ETHNO-POLITICAL
CLIENTELISM**

Abstract:

Subject of this research² is the volume and the reporting manner of the ethnic communities' media in Macedonia on theirs and the other ethnic communities in the country. It is especially focused at the extent to which the public service broadcaster accomplishes its legal responsibility to meet the informative, educational and cultural needs of the different communities and to act as a factor of cohesion in the society. This research is based on content analysis and in-dept interviews with journalists, editors, experts and representatives of public institutions. The main conclusion is that the programs of the public television act in the direction of disintegration, rather than cohesion in the society. The ethnic hierarchization and unequal distribution of resources among the newsrooms are the main features of the Second programme section of MTV. An ethnocentric approach is most prevalent in the reporting, while the general professional standards are at a low level. The ethnic and political clientelism contribute to the widespread culture of self-censorship. These features also apply to some of the commercial media, but their reporting has many specifics - most notable among them being the frequent use of sources of information that do not belong to the political elite. However, these sources, in most of the cases, contribute to ethnocentric rather than civil image of the society.

Key words: Media in minority languages, public service, ethno-political clientelism, economic and media market.

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1. Introduction

This study summarizes the results of the situation analysis and the role of the media of the non-majority communities in Macedonia, which was conducted in 2012 as part of the regional research “Media and Minorities in Western Balkans.” Main objective of the research was to identify whether the rights of national minorities are respected in the media sphere and to explore - through evaluation of the contents in the minority media: to what extent and how these media reported on their own and about the other communities in the society where they operate and to what extent they fulfill their primary mission (defined by the law), i.e. to what extent they move away from it.

The whole research process was divided in three phases: (1) context analysis, (2) analysis of the media practice and (3) summarizing the research findings, with recommendations for better practices in the minority media work. The context analysis was consisted of a critical review of the development and the present condition of the minority media (their number, representation, problems they face), as well as a detailed analysis of the legal provisions that set down and enable the work of these media. The general questions that needed answers from the research were the following ones:

- Are the European standards on the protection of media rights of minorities implemented in the national legislation?
- How is the legislation applied and whether the state helps the minority media (financially, logistically and in some other way)?
- To what extent is the cultural pluralism in the media sphere developed in Macedonia, i.e. what is the number of the media outlets and programme sections in the languages of the national minorities?
- How do these media function and what are the basic tendencies in their operation?
- To what extent and how the media report about their own or the other communities, i.e. whether they are a factor of cohesion or disintegration of the society?
- Do the media respect the basic professional standards when reporting (authorship of texts, use of sources of information, impartiality in reporting, distance from the political subjects, etc.)? And to what extent?

A mixed methodological strategy was applied in the research. The context analysis was based on several methodological procedures: analysis of documents, laws, decisions and reports published; analysis of secondary data (official statistics and other data) and qualitative interviews. In the analysis of the media practice the content analysis method (quantitative and qualitative) was dominantly used to analyze the articles and news items published, as well as the results of the qualitative interviews with representatives from the media, representatives from state and public institutions and media experts.

Initially it was planned to include six media per country in the sample, i.e. three print and three electronic media. However, due to the specifics of the social and media context, the sample in Macedonia was modified to include the media that are most followed by the audience. Due to the importance and the legal duties of the public service broadcaster, all informative programs in the languages of the ethnic communities that are broadcasted within the Second programme section of the *Macedonian television* were analyzed: the news programme in *Albanian* and *Turkish* language, the current affairs programs in *Roma*, *Vlach*, *Serbian* and *Bosnian* language. In addition, the news program in Albanian language of the *Alsat M TV* was analyzed and the news program of the regional station from Skopje – *BTR Television*. Out of the print daily editions, the daily newspaper in Albanian language *Koha* was analyzed.

The research was conducted in a period of eight months, starting from February until September of 2012. A total of 14 editions of the news programs in each media were analyzed, i.e. eight current affairs programs of the newsrooms in *Roma*, *Vlach*, *Serbian* and *Bosnian* language of the *MTV*. Fifteen in-depth interviews with editors, journalists, representatives of state and public institutions and media experts were also analyzed.

The question about the setup and the role of ethnic communities' media in Macedonia in the period after 1991 was a subject of numerous researches, out of which part were conducted in the Macedonian Institute for Media and the School of Journalism and Public Relations. Since the beginning of 2011, the School of Journalism and Public Relations intensively started working on researching the role of media in the inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations in Macedonia, in the framework of the UNESCO Chair on Media, Dialogue and Mutual Understanding.

The results from this research disclosed a series of new dimensions in the accomplishment of the ethnic communities' rights in the media sphere in Macedonia and raised serious questions and dilemmas both for the manner in which the future regulatory policy in this area should be implemented and the challenges being faced by the professional journalistic community. The deep division of the society on political and ethnic basis is clearly reflected in the organization of the program contents both in the public service broadcaster and in the private media of the ethnic communities. All these media act in a disintegration manner, as an informative ghettos that nurture and enhance the picture of each ethnic community as a separate cultural segment in the society. In this way, they reflect and repeatedly recycle the same political and ethnic polarization. The journalistic community does not have a single professional identity. The journalists are in an unbreakable ethnic and clientelistic relation with "their" political elites and this is especially relevant for the newsrooms of the public service broadcaster, which have dominantly played the role of news transmitters for the protocol activities of the state bodies.

At the beginning of this study, the social and political context and the state of the media market in which the media of the ethnic communities operate are presented. Furthermore, the analysis of the national legislation in regard to the internationally established standards that are essential to recognize, admit and actively apply the media rights of the ethnic communities is summarized. The fourth point offers an overview of the results from the analysis of the contents published in the media of the ethnic communities in Macedonia and the key findings of the entire research are summarized at the end.

2. Social and political context and market conditions

Republic of Macedonia, as an independent and sovereign state, is established with the Declaration of January 15th 1991 and validated by the referendum for independence of the Republic of Macedonia held on September 8th 1991. In the Constitution of 1991 ethnic communities (at that time national minorities) we guaranteed the rights for freedom of expression, fostering and development of ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity and the right to establish cultural, artistic, educational institutions, scientific and other associations for the expression, fostering and developing of their identity. The communities have been also granted the right to establish their own

political parties and to participate in free and independent elections in order to equally participate in government.

In 2001 a conflict occurred between the Macedonian security forces and part of the Albanian ethnic community organized in armed groups. There is still no single scientific explanation for the causes of the conflict. The arguments of the Albanian community representatives were that after 1991 the Albanians were not granted all rights in politics, education, and culture and in other areas, which they previously had in former Yugoslavia. Provisions of the 2001 Framework Agreement expanded the rights of Albanians and other ethnic communities in key areas: political participation in the central and local government, use of the Albanian (and other languages) as a second official language in areas where Albanian (or other) ethnic groups are a majority, the right to establish a public university in Albanian language, and the rights of the Albanian community in the public service. Gradually, the provisions of the Framework Agreement were implemented in amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia and its legislation.

In the media sphere, the rights of ethnic communities were fully guaranteed by the Constitution of 1991 and with the first Law on Broadcasting Activity from 1997, therefore the Framework Agreement and the constitutional amendments did not bring some things significantly new in this regard. The spectrum of diversity became visible even in the first years after the liberation in the media sphere, and program sections in Albanian, Turkish and Roma language have been operating in the public service broadcaster.

All media operate in a market environment with a very strong competition. Consequently, there is a strong pressure to all (especially in the commercial media) to attract more audience and more revenues from advertising and sponsorship. Even public broadcasters, although financed by subscription or by broadcasting fee, while being limited in the scope for advertising, feel a strong market pressure to attract a larger audience.

The impact of the market particularly affects the media of the smaller ethnic communities because their audiences are small segments of the “market” and are often not very attractive to advertisers. This is especially specific for Macedonia where there is a segmentation of the media market along language lines. This creates problems, especially to the media of the smaller ethnic communities, because they are not very attractive to the advertisers and

cannot attract enough money from advertising. Both the broadcasting and the print media in the languages of the ethnic communities have been facing the same problems in the recent years.

A total of 67 TV stations and 82 radio stations broadcasted a programme in the commercial broadcasting sector in November 2012. Out of them 19 TV stations and 16 radio stations broadcast programs in some of the languages of the ethnic communities in the country. Programmes in the languages of the ethnic communities are also broadcasted in the Macedonian Television and the Macedonian Radio, i.e. the public broadcasting service. These programs are broadcasted in the Second programming section of the *Macedonian Television*, from 2002. Most of the program is broadcasted in Albanian language (98 hours weekly), followed by the program in Turkish language (16 hours and 30 minutes weekly), while the programs in Roma, Serbian, Vlach and Bosnian language broadcasts about two hours of program weekly.

On the other hand, 119 hours of program in Albanian language, 35 hours in Turkish and 3 hours and 30 minutes in Vlach, Roma, Bosnian and Serbian language is broadcasted in the *Macedonian Radio*.

There were four newspapers in Albanian language published in the area of print media sector, in November 2012: *Koha*, *Fakti*, *Zurnal* and *Lajm*. Their circulation does not exceed a total of 10,000 copies.³ Starting from 2009, the weekly *Tea Moderna* has an edition in Albanian language as well. Out of the print editions of the other communities, the weekly *Zaman* is published in a circulation of 1,400 copies and the other weekly in Turkish language *Jeni Balkan* has a similar circulation. All these print media outlets have their adapted online editions as well.

The online informative media in Macedonia particularly developed in the last several years. Two online portals started publishing informative contents in Albanian language in November 2012: *Almakos* and *Portalb*.⁴ There are

³ No data could be found in Macedonia about the circulation of the newspapers; neither there is a research agency that collects this type of information. Based on particular assessments, obtained from discussions with employees in the printing houses or by the media outlets themselves, the total circulation of all newspapers in Macedonia ranges from 60,000 to 80,000.

⁴ Their web pages are the following ones: <http://almakos.com/> and <http://portalb.mk/>

no online portals that publish original informative contents in the languages of the other ethnic communities in Macedonia. It is also remarkable that in the fall 2012, the first informative news agency in Albanian language INA (Iliria News Agency) begun operating.⁵ The state news agency MIA offers its services in Albanian language as well.⁶

3. National legislation and its application

The Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia⁷ in its article 16 guarantees the freedom of expression, the freedom of speech, public address and the public information, as well as the establishment of institutions for public information. Free access to information and the freedom of reception and transmission of information is also guaranteed. According to the article 48 of the Constitution, which was changed and amended in 2001, the Republic of Macedonia guarantees the members of ethnic communities the right to freely express, foster and develop their identity and national attributes and to use the symbols of their community.

The exercise of the non-majority communities' rights in the media sphere⁸ was regulated in more details since the adoption of the first Law on Broadcasting Activity in 1997. The solutions embedded in the Law on Broadcasting Activity in 2005 are logical continuation of the previous legal framework to guarantee the rights of non-majority communities in the broadcasting sphere. The Law clearly defines the objectives of the regulation (article 2): "...the freedom of expression in the broadcasting activity... protection of interests of users, the encouragement, improvement and protection of the cultural identity, educational and scientific development, encouraging the development of creativity,

⁵ Available at <http://ina-online.net/>

⁶ Available at <http://www.mia.com.mk/default.aspx?IIId=3>

⁷ After the Framework Agreement was signed in Ohrid 2001, many amendments were adopted which extended the rights of the non-majority ethnic communities that live in the Republic of Macedonia.

⁸ The print media sphere in the Republic of Macedonia has not been regulated by any law, i.e. the right of the non-majority communities to establish print media directly derives from the Constitution.

the language and traditions in broadcasting activity...” Among the principles on which the programs are based are the following ones as well: promotion of the spirit of tolerance, mutual respect and understanding of all individuals of diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds, openness of programmes to expressions of diverse cultures... preservation and fostering of national identity, linguistic culture and national cultural creation and others (article 68). The article 82 guarantees the right to broadcast programs in different languages: “The broadcasters shall broadcast programme in Macedonian languages, whereas in the cases of programme intended for a non-majority community, the language of that community shall be used.” The protection of language diversity is provided with the provisions for translation of the programmes (article 83), translation of advertising and teleshopping (article 104) and foreign language programmes – all of them shall be translated into the language of the respective non-majority community for which the program is intended.

The public service broadcaster has major responsibilities in fostering linguistic diversity and cultural identity of non-majority communities. MRT is obliged (article 117) to broadcast one program service of radio and television programs in the languages of the ethnic communities. MRT shall broadcast such programmes via satellite, to inform the ethnic communities in the diaspora for the events in the country. In addition to this, MRT is obliged to broadcast at least 40 percents of programme originally created in the languages of the non-majority communities and at least 45 percents of vocal – musical compositions in the languages of the ethnic communities (article 124). The private television and radio stations which are granted licenses for services to the members of the ethnic communities have the right and the obligation to entirely broadcast the programme in the language of the ethnic community (article 82). They are obliged to broadcast at least 30 percents of programme (daily) originally created in the respective language and at least 30 percents of vocal – instrumental composition in that language (article 74).

In the Law on Broadcasting Activity from 2005 the mission and competencies of the regulatory body are clearly defined in the direction of preserving media pluralism and diversity of contents. Namely, article 21 provides that the Broadcasting Council “...in the course of performance of its competences laid down in this Law, shall ensure the freedom and pluralism of expression, existence of diverse, independent and autonomous media, economic and technological development of broadcasting activity, and protection of the interests of citizens in broadcasting.” It is in the competency of the Council (articles 32 and 37) to prepare and implement the strategy for development

of broadcasting activity and “...decides on the allocation, revokation and renewal of licences to pursue broadcasting activities.”

This intention is also contained in the provisions that determine the principles for allocation of licenses in the commercial and the not-for-profit broadcasting sector. The Broadcasting Council, prior to the publishing of a competition for allocation of new licenses, is obliged to conduct “...a public survey and analysis in terms of the type of programme services that need to be covered by the competition from the aspect of the needs of the audience, and may consult the interestedstakeholders” (article 45). Beside this, when deciding about the number of licenses, the Council shall start from the following criteria: ensuring diversity and quality of programmes, meeting the needs of audience, developing the pluralism, economic potentials of the market and the promotion of fair competition...(article 46). The language of the programme, as a condition to allocate a license, is determined since the beginning of the competition and it is part of the conditions and the requirements that shall be met in regard to the programme (article 48).

4. Analysis of the programmes of the ethnic communities media

The pluralism has never been an issue in the media in Macedonia in quantitative terms. In general, the number of media outlets in the languages of the ethnic communities is actually large⁹, but the informative programmes that these media publish rarely meet the basic professional standards and principles of inclusive journalism. The media outlets are very politicized and divided along the ethnic lines. Instead serving to the interests of citizens and public, they service the interests of the party – political elites from their own community and the public service broadcaster is under the influence of the ruling parties for many years.

⁹ Beside the public service, there are 19 TV stations and 16 radio stations in the commercial broadcasting sector, while in the print media sector 4 newspapers are being published in Albanian language, one weekly in Albanian and two in Turkish language, two online portals and one private news agency in Albanian language, beside the state news agency MIA, which offers its services also in Albanian language.

The main criteria for selection of the media included in this research were the scope of audience and the influence to the public, as well as the responsibilities they have in accordance with the legal regulation. All newsrooms of the ethnic communities in the Macedonian Television were included: the news in Albanian and Turkish language, the weekly informative programs in Roma, Vlach, Serbian and Bosnian language. Out of the private TV stations, the news in Albanian language of *Alsat M* and the Skopje TV station *BTR* that broadcasts program in Roma language were analyzed. Out of the newspapers, the daily in Albanian language *Koha* was the only included in the research. The results of the analysis of the informative contents of these media outlets are supplemented with the findings gained from the in-depth interviews with 15 journalists, experts, analysts and representatives of the regulatory body¹⁰.

4.1. Public service – Macedonian Television

The overall quality of the informative programme in the languages of ethnic communities in the public service is significantly decreased due to many years financial and production crisis. The programme section in Albanian language have the most extensive programme (14 hours a day), then the programme section in Turkish language (2.5 hours a day). They are bigger programme sections' desks by the number of employees, which enables them to regularly broadcast news and other informative, educational and entertaining programme units. The time that is allocated to smaller communities and the number of their employees is a real obstacle for them to fulfil the legal obligation to create "... programs of public interest that reflect the social and cultural pluralism in the country, which consists of informative, cultural, educational, scientific, sports and entertainment contents"¹¹.

The programme section in Albanian language produces large scale informative programme dominated by domestic events (59% of total information), with a significant share of events in the region (18%) and events of the world (23%). Half of the news of the immediate region are news items "taken

¹⁰ The interviews were conducted in June, July and November of 2012. All materials from the interviews (audio recordings and transcripts) are kept in the archive of the School of Journalism and Public Relations.

¹¹ Article 120 of the Law on Broadcasting Activity (Official Gazette of the RM no.100 from December 2005).

over” from other media from neighbouring countries, generally on events in Albania, Kosovo and relations with Serbia (83.72% of news items for the region). This indicates a tendency of the programme section towards the so-called “diasporic” editorial policy and the programme section in Albanian language equally focuses on Kosovo and Albania as the “mother” countries.

Domination of politics (internal and external) in the domestic news coverage is apparent, despite the petite interest on issues affecting the civil sector. The positive side is that many topics of general interest are processed (67.38%), but the spotlight is, however, their own ethnic community: “... events happening around the Albanian ethnic community are extremely interesting to us.”¹² There is not even a single news item for smaller ethnic communities and only three news items for the majority community in the period analyzed. The qualitative content analysis of news items that focus only on their own community shows that the programme section often has the role of the apologists of the interests and rights of their own ethnic community as a collective entity, as opposed to the state where members of the majority community dominate. On the other hand, when it comes to issues of “human rights” of individual members of this community (sexual minorities, women and children rights, etc.) the programme section does not put them on the public agenda at all.

The news genre structure indicates a tendency of avoiding analytical genres that would have opened and explained the social and political problems. The general trend is “pure” transmission of information about events, without going into the background of the events, the causes and relations among certain phenomenon. Only 3% of the broadcasted material is media initiated statements, respectively the topics are usually initiated outside of the newsroom, from a center of power (political in this case). In addition to this, there is the tendency to dominantly use the sources of state institutions and political parties participating in the government, which clearly outlines the phenomenon of “political clientelism” among editors and journalists. The programme section quite often reports on the basis of a single source of information only

¹² Interview with Migena Gorenca, editor in the Second programme service of the MTV, conducted on 21st of June 2012.

(48.23% of news items about local events), and even in cases where two or more sources are consulted they defend identical stance and in this way they present to the audience only one and unique position in relation to the topic being covered.

What is specific about this programme section is that it practices to choose sources based on the language spoken, or most frequent interlocutors are members of the Albanian community. The explanation behind this practice is the lack of employed interpreters, which cannot be accepted as an excuse because it undermines pluralism in the news. This way, other than news that is predominantly unilateral (based on sources) and is initiated as an external topic (from the political elites of the community), a mono-ethnic image about the events treated in the news items is presented as well.

The presence of political news and information on the Government's activities (50% of news items) dominates in the *programme in Turkish language* as well. There are almost no civic topics processed where people are the focus of the story. The news content feels like a bulletin that reflects the current political elite's agenda of the own ethnic community. The information on local events concentrates around the activities of the Government in which political parties of the Turkish community participate as well. Most of the news items are non-analytic genres – news and reports (91.4%), and here it was also observed that there is a tendency of practicing reactive journalism. Almost all processed topics in the news come from outside the newsroom and are imposed by someone else. The lack of airtime is not an excuse since two and a half hours daily programme allows sufficient space for analytical approach to the news. The image of journalism that is practiced in Turkish programme section (but also in other programme sections of the public service) is summarized by the fact that 68.82% of the total broadcasted news items on local events have consulted only one source of information. The violation of the basic professional standard for consulting of at least two independent sources is a serious indicator about the quality of the journalistic product, unless the journalist himself did not balance by presenting the viewpoint of the other side. The fact that 92% of the news items were covering only one aspect of the story indicates the tendency of unilateral and biased coverage. This should be appended by the fact that in 83% of cases the sources consulted are actually the Government or political parties' representatives, while the citizen is almost never present in the informative content of the programme section.

The programme section in Roma language „Byandipe“ is an example of the extent to which public service has neglected its obligation to meet the informative needs of the smaller ethnic communities. The newsroom is left with only one journalist employed, which objectively cannot realize the whole informative programme. In three half an hour terms weekly, informative news items are broadcasted only once which is very few and whose function is to mainly inform on regular activities of the state officials. In all broadcasted editions (34) only one source is used and most of them (31) are sources from the politics and the Government.

The public service is showing carelessness of fulfilling their informative function with respect to the Roma community also and instead being self-committed to analytical reporting on issues of concern to the Roma community in Macedonia, it has decided to allocate the Saturday's term planned for broadcasting of "Byandipe" to a production of a private television. This situation with the MTV's programme section in Roma language could be interpreted as a message that the majority community (or the state) is transmitting to Roma citizens through the public service, that ultimately they are little concerned about their inclusion in the society.

The programme section in Vlach language does not produce sufficient informative content to meet the needs of the Vlach community in the country. In the programme edition "Skanpeo" (Spark) the newsroom is determined to mainly broadcast reports and interviews, as authentic production of this small programme section. Although these items are not analytical but promotion of culture and achievements of Vlachs in Macedonia, yet this is a positive trend. Although the programme section has only three employees and faces a lack of technical resources yet it managed to have current records on over half of its recorded material. Similarly to the Roma programme section, here also, the main conclusion is that the public service has neglected its obligation to meet the informative needs of the smaller ethnic communities that include Vlachs in Macedonia as well.

The programme section in Serbian language in its programme edition "Vidik"(horizon) is mostly focused on information related to the Serbs in Macedonia, but also on the events from the Republic of Serbia. No classic news is broadcasted, but the edition has a collage nature with news items of different topics related to important historical events or current cultural achievements of the Serbs in Macedonia or in the neighbourhood. The implementation of "diasporic" editorial policy can be seen here as well,

thus there is a great deal of information about the “mother” state. There is a tendency to have Serbian interlocutors on almost all news items related to local events, and it seems that there is lack of interest about the real problems of the citizens of Serbian nationality in Macedonia.

The programme section in Bosnian language „Sehara“ has a little coverage on local events that relate to the Bosnian community in Macedonia. Large volume of the news (42% of all news items) is about regional events, mainly about Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a “mother” country of the Bosnian population. The complete absence of analytical genres suggests that this newsroom exercises reactive journalism – respectively it only transmits opinions from politics towards the public.

According to most of the interviewed interlocutors, there is a kind of “ethnic hierarchization” – the programme sections of the smaller ethnic communities are subordinate to the larger organizations. Some interviewees argued that “MTV duplicates the ethnic bipolarity” of the society, hence the main resource pie is divided among Macedonian programme section of the First service and the Albanian programme section of the Second service. This puts the cultural rights of members of the smaller ethnic communities on the second level, meaning that they do not have equal access to the resource allocation. Perceptions of journalists from smaller ethnic communities reveal that “Macedonians are responsible for the first channel of MTV, in the second, mostly Albanians, and there are some editors who do not have any kind of access to resources and are placed in a subordinate position down through the structure....”¹³.

The Turkish, Serbian, Vlach, Roma and Bosnian programme section face problems in their daily operations to access the *technical resources* (transportation needed for events coverage, access to technical staff to produce the material, access to camera, etc.). *Human resources* are extremely large problem of the programme sections of the smallest ethnic communities in MTV. All interviewed interlocutors agree that the programme sections of the smaller ethnic communities cannot meet the programmatic needs of their

¹³ Interview with a journalist from one of the newsrooms of the communities of MTV2.

community (informative, educational, cultural) due to lack of staff. Also, the programme schedule and timeline in which these programs are broadcasted does not meet their needs and instead of having programme every day they broadcast for half an hour, three days a week, and in this way they cannot properly develop the informative programme.

In organizational terms, there is communication gap between programme services of MTV2. The policy of “one MTV”, with only one editorial policy, does not function and it has implications upon the achievement of the intercultural and cohesive function of the public service. There is no communication between the first and second programme service, also no communication between newsrooms of ethnic communities within the Second programme service. One of the interviewees said that there is even a sense of animosity among them, although earlier this was not the case: “ We did not have such a situation before... there was no big difference between MTV1 and MTV2, all newsrooms were gathering at one table and talked and made plans – now, once the bigger agree we gather the leftover crumbs... the quarrel is now on between the two major programming schemes”¹⁴.

Because of this division, each newsroom makes its own news agenda, which almost exclusively focuses on the part of the society and the politics of their own ethnic community. Such an establishment reproduces conflicting versions of events which are viewed exclusively through the ethnic prism. As some of the interviewees had formulated it “...everyone reports about his people¹⁵” or “...everyone is closed in its own corner¹⁶”. Such journalism, with a primary focus in reporting about the interests of their own community, cannot have an integrative role in the society and bring together communities, rather it reinforces existing stereotypes and creates new stereotype imaginary boundaries among the members of the ethnic communities and produces the phenomenon of ethnocentrism among them.

One reason for this situation in the public service is located in the confusing legal provisions relating to the organizational establishment of the public service. “The legislative regulation does not provide the framework, and

¹⁴ Interview with a journalist from one of the newsrooms of MTV2.

¹⁵ Interview with a journalist from one of the newsrooms of MTV2.

¹⁶ Interview with a journalist from one of the newsrooms of MTV2.

competencies and responsibilities are misaligned...there are editors who are responsible [separately] for the first and for the second service and then report in an undefined way to the CEO, ... the editor-in-chief can tell the CEO that he has no interest in a particular program ... although it is recommended by the Council of MRT¹⁷.

Journalists and editors of the various newsrooms of the public service say that they are undergoing political pressure from political parties of specific ethnic communities, which leads to the conclusion that the culture of political clientelism dominates among both, the public service and the wider society. In this case, the political-media clientelism also has ethnic background and its most obvious manifestation is the censorship and self-censorship. Ethno-political censorship means that each of the newsrooms is affected by 'their' political parties.' One interviewee said: "Censorship is always present, hidden or open - with suggestions or promises ... there are attempts from conditionally speaking 'their own' ... editors have their own people who do the dirtiest things, to conduct pure propaganda which will be fist against the opposition..."¹⁸.

4.2. The commercial media

The **Alsat M** television, which broadcasts news in Albanian and in Macedonian language, a positive trend of production of news items concerning topics of general interest is recognized (70%) that affect all citizens of Macedonia. The fact that 33% of news sources in the Alsat M does not belong to the policy is also positive, which points out the civil line of reporting of the media. The observations deriving from the qualitative analysis of the value of the published content in the news items that treat issues related to any of the ethnic communities are worth mentioning. Almost identical number of news items with positive and neutral context is observed here, and only in 6 of the 46 news items negative framing is observed. This suggests that the newsroom is aware of the impact that media can have on the public in the direction of creating or reinforcing stereotypes and prejudices towards the Other/other communities, as well as for the tendency in the editorial policy towards balanced and neutral point of view of sensitive inter-ethnic issues in the country.

¹⁷ Interview with Slobodan Cashule, journalist and Chair of the Council of MRT, conducted on 20th of November 2012.

¹⁸ Interview with a journalist from one of the newsrooms of MTV2.

However, certain results indicate that Alsat M, together with the other media analyzed, shows signs that indicate the corrosivity of the journalistic profession. The news of Alsat M have up to 72% news items without accurately identifying (depersonalising) the sources. The vague attribution in terms “the Government (party, ministry) said that...” or “... a representative of the party (xx) said,” or “... senior official said that...” prevails in the coverage. This type of coverage does not increase the trust towards the media and there will always be doubt about the authenticity of the broadcasted content among the public.

Genre analysis of the news items of Alsat M marks that only seven out of total of 152 articles on local events fall in analysis genre, three are reportages, one is interview and one is commentary. The largest percentage goes to reports (65%) and news (21%). Alsat M is no exception from the dominant practice of journalism in Macedonia – reporting is more a reaction to the events of the day, rather than independently chosen topic that the newsroom deems to be of interest to the citizens.

The fact that 82.83% of the news items are copyright and signed by journalists, positively distinguishes the private **BTR television** from Skopje from the other media analyzed. This means that the television respects the journalistic standard to denote the authorship of the news items. Also, BTR shows a different arrangement of topics in the informative news items: the events of the world and the region occupy about one third of the news (34,87%), compared to local topics (65.13%). Furthermore, it is specific that within the observation period most of the information from local topics was broadcasted about “crime and corruption (20.39%). Also in this media outlet, unilateral use of resources is present in 94% of news items where breach of journalistic standards of consulting two independent sources is observed. Additionally, in 97% of the news items sources have a unique viewpoint. This suggests that in the period analyzed, BTR did not give space for different opinion in the news by serving to the citizens only one side which in most articles (79.8%) is from the world of politics, regardless of whether the source is an institution or its representative.

In the **daily newspaper in Albanian language Koha**, certain specifics arising from the nature of the printed media are observed. It produces enormous volume of informative content for a variety of topics and issues. Local topics are present in half of published texts (51.76%), and the other half contains world events (32%) and regional events (16%). Koha shows great interest in developments in the areas of the region where ethnic Albanians live - Kosovo and Albania, as other media in Albanian language do.

Bigger genre diversity is observed in reporting on local events compared to television stations. Despite the fact that short non-analytic genres - news and reports (75%) dominate here as well, however in 15% of the texts the content is analytical. Also, one may say that Koha is more a recipient of foreign agenda, because the reason for one-third of the news items (32%) was a pseudo-event or statement made by the source. Unilateral reporting is present here as well, thus texts dominate that consult only one source (57%), and in 87% of the analyzed texts sources defend the same viewpoint.

Koha has the greatest interest in the position of their own community when it comes to reporting on local topics - more than a quarter of the texts refer only to the Albanian community, only one text refers to the majority, and only two to another community. The dominance of “topics of general interest” (61.40%) in Koha is seemingly interested in issues that affect all citizens of the state. A careful qualitative analysis shows that these are topics related mostly to internal policy (10.22%), Government activities (5.33%) and sports (6.24%), but these topics are related to the subjects of the Albanian community, as well as to the angle of view that is ethno-particular. This observation is supported by the qualitative analysis of the context of the reporting, thus, out of 59 texts in which the context of reporting is *positive*, 53 relate to the Albanian community. This leaves the impression of an expressed ethnocentrism in the reporting of the newsroom.

5. Conclusions

Although indicators show that the media sector in Macedonia has a large number of media in the languages - of ethnic communities, it should be emphasized that this is more about quantity in the media pluralism rather than quality and diversity of the programmes offered by these media.

The data show that the Council had not effectively used the system for granting licences in order to create a landscape of diverse, quality and independent

¹⁹ These data have been extracted from the review of the TV stations, published on the webpage of the Broadcasting Council from 31.10.2012.
http://www.srd.org.mk/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=38&Itemid=27&lang=mk

media that will serve the citizens, which actually is its main mission. Most commercial television and radio stations do not have informative programmes and predominantly broadcast entertainment shows and music. For example, out of 19 television stations in the languages of non-majority communities, 12 are predominantly of a general entertainment format, 6 of a general format with all three media functions, and only one is mostly of general informative format¹⁹. The huge pressure of the market and the enormous competition affected particularly negatively on the quality of the programme content of the commercial media on regional and local level. Mostly, entertainment programs of low production value are being broadcasted and a very small volume of informative content that would cover developments at regional or at local level.

Similar conclusions can be also drawn about the situation in the printed media of the ethnic communities. They are economically weak not only because of the fragmentation on the market and the reluctance of advertisers to the media at regional and at local level, but also because of the strong influence of the political parties and the relationship of some of the owners with the politics. Most of the private media in the languages - of non-majority communities were created by journalists who do not own other businesses that would assist the financial condition of the media. Their weak economic conditions makes them more vulnerable to the political influence, so for example, the largest financiers of the Albanian community media were political parties “... they” keep “ them alive either by direct financial intervention by the party, or by giving an order to businessmen, close to the political party, to advertise in the media.”²⁰

The economic situation of the media of other “smaller” communities is even worse. The fragmented market and the reluctance of advertisers especially hit local commercial media in Roma, Turkish, Serbian and Vlach language. Both TV stations in Roma language, in the area of Skopje, have been facing major financial problems in operations for several years, primarily due to lack of funding from advertising. By 2005, most of the media of the com-

²⁰ *The state of the media in the languages of the communities in the Republic of Macedonia*, Skopje: Macedonian Institute for Media, pg. 20. Available at: <http://www.mim.org.mk/>

munities managed to survive on the market thanks to the financial support received by the fund for financing programmes of public interest, but after the abolition of this fund, they were forced to face the difficult conditions on the market. Some of the smaller communities that have a programme of their own language in the public service do not have their own commercial media at all (Vlach, Serbian).

This environment has undoubtedly a profound impact on the way the media of the communities report about their communities and about other communities in the country. The findings suggest a number of general specifics and trends in journalistic reporting, as well as in the media policy which can be summarized in few conclusions.

The programmes in the languages of non-majority communities in *the public service* function as separate parallel newsrooms that primarily focus on their own ethnic community and that “frame” and “observe” the events predominantly from the point of view of their own community. Especially worrying is the tendency of unilateral use of resources along ethnic lines. It often reproduces conflicting versions of events seen exclusively through the ethnic prism in the news coverage, thus the public service instead of acting as a factor of cohesion it becomes a factor of disintegration in the society.

Some of the newsrooms in the public service broadcaster are implementing the so-called “diasporic editorial policy.” This means that a large part of the production of these newsrooms is focused on the issues of “mother states”, and not on the issues that members of the respective ethnic community are facing being citizens of the Republic of Macedonia. The dislocation of the main journalistic interest upon “fellow citizens” from the “mother” state, deviates the function of the public service in Macedonia - to meet the needs and interests of all segments of the public, taking into account the specific social and cultural groups in the country.

As a result of long years of financial and production-technology crisis, the public service broadcaster has greatly neglected its obligation to cultivate the cultural pluralism in its programmes. The neglect is particularly apparent with respect to the programmes of smaller ethnic communities where the number of employees is drastically reduced in the last years, whereas the time and the resources allocated to them do not enable them to successfully fulfil their informative and cultural function.

As this analysis confirmed, the lack of uniform and clearly defined principles of programming in the public service that would lead towards the interaction of communities, inclusive society and towards social cohesion, is a serious problem. The lack of programming and production coordination and communication, both between newsrooms of ethnic communities and between the First and the Second programmeservice, is of particular concern.

The information obtained from the in-depth interviews show that there are relations between representatives of the political parties in power and the newsrooms and the programme sections of the public service broadcaster. This creates a system of the so-called political-media clientelism which ultimately results in the appearance of censorship and self-censorship. The censorship is not direct, but it is about a subtle pressure that journalists adopt, thus they exactly know what to publish and what not to. A special type of phenomenon in the public service is the ethnic-political clientelism which includes relations between newsrooms with political parties of their “own” ethnic community in power.

A coverage which gives most of the space to information coming “from the top” - from the politicians, the Government, the institutions or the centres of power, and which ignores the voice of the citizen deriving “from the bottom”, i.e. initiatives, information and issues of the civil society has been observed in all analyzed media. This phenomenon, which actually is a feature of the entire journalism in Macedonia, provides a strategic advantage to the political structures to model the media agenda according to their interests. Political sources, in the public service, in most cases actually are members of the ruling political parties, while in some of the commercial media there is a greater presence of voices from the civil society, but it is far from enough.

The dominant phenomenon of “from top-to the bottom” reporting is also related to the so-called “reactive journalism”, which is apparent in both, the public service and the commercial media. There is almost no investigative and analytical journalism, the coverage is limited to the pure transfer of information about events mostly organized by the politicians or the Government, and the media are rarely ready to open and to analyze other aspects of the event or to include the views of the citizens.

The phenomenon of unilateral and biased coverage is widely spread (both in the public service and in the commercial media), and it is clearly visible through the way of using sources of information – the reliance on one source or sources representing one side is present almost everywhere.

Much of the responsibility for the unfavourable media environment (defragmentation of the market, tolerating the impact of the owners, the politicians and the economic centres, neglecting of fostering cultural diversity, etc.), is located in the regulatory body in the broadcasting. The main reason for this is its reliance on the Government, the politics and the media industry, but also the fact that, according to the composition it was not profiled as an expert body, as prescribed by law.

In summary, the analysis clearly depicts the severity of the crisis in which the journalism is in Macedonia, but also it outlines the reasons for this situation. Apart from political and economic pressures, the impact of the centres of power in the creation of the editorial agenda, economic problems ... causes should be sought in the lack of awareness and knowledge of the journalistic profession, the violation of ethical standards, the poor editorial network across the media, the lack of continuous training, the comfort of the status-quo and the static state in which they are functioning for many years. The problems are a result of many complex factors and cannot be quickly and easily surpassed. The reforms in the media system that would primarily congeal socio-economic position of the journalistic profession, is a prerequisite for the journalism to be able to become an autonomous sphere from politics and power centres.

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Media and national minorities in BiH

**MEDIA INDIFFERENCE TO MINORITY
PROBLEMS**

Abstract:

Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the most monolithic countries in Europe in terms of majorities and minorities as it has a population that is more than 95-percent Slav, with three Constituent Peoples – Serb, Croat and Bosniak – making up the vast majority. The country is bordered by Serbia and Croatia, whose majority populations have the status of Constituent Peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the most numerous national minorities are peoples from neighboring countries. The BiH Law on the Protection of Rights of National Minorities identifies 17 national minorities, with Roma being easily the most numerous. Estimates of the number of Roma range from 9,000, according to the 1991 census, to 80,000, according to the Sarajevo-based Roma Information Center. The analysis carried out in Bosnia and Herzegovina, on which this study is based, focuses on the small number of national minority media outlets and programs for national minorities that are broadcast regularly on public radio. Since media in Bosnia and Herzegovina do not have an established practice of publishing and broadcasting in minority languages, meaning that the sample for analysis was smaller than might have been the case in other countries, the findings were supplemented by in-depth interviews.

Keywords: National minorities, minority media, Roma, RTV programs for national minorities.

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1. Introduction: Political and media context

Bosnia and Herzegovina is an ethnically divided country with an expensive and dysfunctional government structure. The Dayton Peace Agreement, which ended the war in 1995, created two Entities² in the country, cementing ethnic divisions. Although the Entities are constitutionally and legally multiethnic, Serbs constitute the majority in the Republika Srpska, while Bosniaks and Croats constitute the majority in the Federation of BiH. The political situation in the country is compounded by the fact that the three Constituent Peoples live in the two Entities. Many political analysts believe that significant change cannot be achieved in Bosnia and Herzegovina since it is inhabited by three peoples who, as a result of historical circumstances, including conflict in the 20th century, have fundamentally incompatible interests. The most recent war, from 1992 to 1995, which erupted following the disintegration of socialist Yugoslavia, was particularly brutal. According to data from the BiH Research and Documentation Center, 95,940 people, documented under their full names, were killed during the conflict.³

An additional consideration, in terms of planning Bosnia and Herzegovina's development and in terms of producing research papers of this type, is the fact that there are no precise figures regarding the current size of the country's population. The last population census was carried out in 1991, when 4.3 million people were recorded as living in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The official figure used today is 3,842,537, an estimate made by the BiH Statistics Agency on the basis of residence data submitted by all the municipalities in the country.

According to Communications Regulatory Agency (CRA) data, 148 radio stations and 47 TV stations were broadcasting in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2011. These figures include stations within the BiH Public Broadcasting System. According to Media Plan Institute data, nine daily newspapers are

² The two Entities have much more autonomy than federal units in other countries, but they did not bring their own sovereignty into BiH: they were created by the 1995 Peace Agreement and therefore do not have the right to secede from BiH.

³ Of these 95,940 named individuals, 38,239 were civilians and 57,701 were soldiers. Two-thirds were Bosniak, around 25 percent were Serb and around eight percent were Croat (Mirsad Tokača, RDC President, 2013).

published in the country (five domestic and four from Serbia and Croatia that have editions for Bosnia and Herzegovina), as well as 184 other publications, including magazines, that come out with varying frequency. Most print media are owned by business corporations, some of which are at the same time political party bases or are in some kind of informal relationship with political parties, state authorities or media owners. Three domestic news agencies (two in the Federation and one in the RS) have general and other specialized services, as does the Turkish agency Anadolu, which broadcasts in the Bosnian language. In the last five years, a large number of online news portals have been launched and have increasingly become sources of exclusive information and platforms for public debate, although they are sometimes also susceptible to acting as vehicles for renewed hate speech and nationalist rhetoric (Udovičić/Babić, 2010).

A so-called dual broadcasting system has been created in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which the licensing requirements and market position of public and commercial stations are equal. The Public Broadcasting System consists of one national and two Entity television channels. A radio and TV subscription tax of 3.7 euros a month is compulsory, though the collection rate is below 70 percent, making the value of tax revenue from broadcasting among the lowest in Europe. The public broadcasting services have been obliged to generate a considerable part of their revenue from advertising and commercial program sponsorship. As a result, programming at these stations is biased toward commercial content rather than cultural, educational or science programs.

2. Position and media of minorities

Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the most monolithic countries in Europe in terms of majorities and minorities as it had before the war a population that was 99% Slav, of which 98% percent were Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks (then called Muslims) and Yugoslavs (Udovičić, R., 2008: 19). Today, compared to the pre-war situation, more and more residents who formerly declared themselves as Yugoslavs now declare themselves as Bosnians, who are in effect – though not legally or formally – considered a minority. These are citizens who have placed their territorial connection to the country above ethnic background. They are mostly people from mixed marriages, as well as those who are dissatisfied with the current ethno-political situation. The author has described Bosnians as a “political minority” at several public events.

The Law on the Protection of Rights of National Minorities, enacted in 2003, identifies 17 national minorities living in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Albanians, Montenegrins, Czechs, Italians, Jews, Hungarians, Macedonians, Germans, Poles, Roma, Romanians, Russians, Ruthenians, Slovaks, Slovenians, Turks and Ukrainians (Law, 2003, Article 3). Roma are the most numerous national minority, but estimates of their number range from 9,000, according to the 1991 census of the population, to 80,000, according to the Sarajevo-based Roma Information Center (RIC). RIC Coordinator Sanela Bešić attributes the figure of 80,000 to an RIC survey of a sample of 16 Roma communities and lists made by Roma activists.

Although they are the most numerous minority by far, Roma suffer systematic discrimination and are victims of deep prejudice and intolerance by members of the majority peoples (something that is not formally acknowledged by the authorities). There are three reasons for this: no government body in either Entity is fully engaged in helping Roma assert their civic rights; the Roma population as a whole is extremely poor and its members tend not to have completed basic education, which exacerbates social exclusion; and, perhaps most importantly, disunity in the Roma non-governmental sector, where common action is frequently undermined by personal animosity, has made this sector relatively ineffective. There are 44 Roma associations registered in Bosnia and Herzegovina, out of which, according to RIC sources, only around 25 are actually working (Udovičić, 2008: 21).

The second most numerous minority consists of citizens of Albanian heritage. According to a Human Rights Office report, the number of Albanians living in the BiH Federation is estimated at between 4,000 and 5,000. Albanians appear to have experienced an erosion in their civil rights compared to the period before the war. Members of this minority are discriminated against in some segments of life, especially in the employment field, and political parties have not demonstrated any interest in protecting them (Marko, 2010: 151).

Around 1,000 members of the Slovenian national minority live in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with between 350 and 500 living in Sarajevo. Around 70 members of the Italian national minority live in Sarajevo Canton, while around 200 live in the region of Banja Luka.

At a rough estimate, there are between 200 and 300 Macedonians living in Sarajevo. Before the war, the association of Macedonian residents published a magazine, "Makedonac", but this has ceased publication due to low interest (Marko, 2010: the figure for Macedonian residents is 150 according to the Human Rights Office, 2009: 9-11).

The Banja Luka-based Helsinki Citizens' Assembly (HCA) has partial figures for both BiH Entities on the numbers of several minority groups – Jews (850), Hungarians (130), Italians (around 300) and Ukrainians (40). According to the HCA, a total of 89 national minority associations operate in both Entities, around 50 of which are Roma organizations. The city of Banja Luka opened a Club of National Minorities in 2004, where the Union of National Minorities of the Republika Srpska is also based. The Union of National Minorities has identified positive examples of funding allocated from the municipal budgets in Prijedor, Gradiška, Prnjavor, Doboje and Bijeljina, whereas minorities in the eastern part of Republika Srpska have been completely neglected (Marko, 2010: 150 according to Human Rights Office, 2009: 14-15).

Related to national minorities, but also to the much broader political context in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is a ruling handed down on 22 December 2009 by the European Court of Human Rights in the case of Sejdić and Finci versus Bosnia and Herzegovina. The ruling goes to the very core of the constitutional and legal structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina and requires that this structure be changed. The applicants, BiH citizens Dervo Sejdić and Jakob Finci, argued that due to the relevant provisions of the BiH Constitution and the BiH Election Law, they are prevented from running as candidates for delegate positions in the BiH Parliamentary Assembly House of Peoples and in the election for members of the BiH Presidency, as only members of the Constituent Peoples are accorded this right. The ruling, which established that there is systematic discrimination against minorities, required the BiH government to amend the BiH Constitution and the BiH Election Law in order to enable individuals who do not declare themselves as members of the Constituent Peoples to run as candidates for the highest positions in the country. Talks on implementing the ruling have been going on for more than three years and the issue has become a subject of political horse-trading among the ruling Bosniak, Serb and Croat parties.

Bosnia and Herzegovina has ratified the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, and the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and its Protocol 12 (“General Prohibition of Discrimination”). Although listed in the Addendum to Annex 6 of the Dayton Peace Agreement, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages has not been ratified to date. Along with a

number of specific human rights, the BiH Constitution also guarantees the principle of non-discrimination.

The key laws passed at both the state level and the Entity level are Laws on the Protection of Rights of Members of National Minorities.⁴ With the enactment of these laws, the state created the legal and institutional conditions within which national minorities can preserve and develop their national, ethnic, religious and cultural identity while integrating in the broader society.

The state version of the law in Chapter V “Information” contains two articles. Article 15 prescribes that members of national minorities shall have the right to establish their own media. This provision has already been criticized as being merely declarative, since all citizens and legal persons have the right to establish media.⁵ The second article prescribes an obligation for public broadcasters at different levels to produce, once a week, special programs for members of national minorities. This is not implemented in practice because it has been left to the public media to decide on the nature and frequency of these programs.⁶

There are currently no programs on the public broadcasting services in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the language of any national minority, though magazine shows are made regularly for and about national minorities. These are less expensive and more accessible to a broader audience. Some private broadcasters have produced shows for the Roma and Slovenian minorities within the scope of various project activities.⁷

⁴ There are currently five laws related to national minorities. They are: the Law on the Protection of Rights of Members of National Minorities of the Republika Srpska (2004), the Law on the Protection of Rights of Members of National Minorities of the Federation of BiH (2008), the Law on the Protection of Rights of National Minorities in BiH (2003), the Law on the Protection of Rights of Members of National Minorities of Tuzla Canton, and the BiH Law on the Prohibition of Discrimination.

⁵ “Members of national minorities in BiH shall have the right to establish radio and television stations, publish newspapers and other printed information in the languages of the minorities they belong to”.

⁶ Article 16 then states: “Radio and television stations whose founders are BiH, Entities, cantons, cities and municipalities which exercise a public service role are obligated in their program schedules to envision special shows for members of national minorities and may also provide other content in the languages of minorities. Radio and television stations as the public services of BiH shall at least once a week provide a special news program for members of national minorities in their language.”

⁷ Since 2002, Media Plan Institute has identified ten radio stations that have produced programs for national minorities with the support of foreign donors and the governments of the parent countries of minorities.

Publications for national minorities that come out monthly or periodically are *Jevrejski glas*, the paper of the Jewish Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina, published by the La Benevolencija association; *Zora Cankarjeva*, a Slovenian almanac published by the Cankar association; and *Glas Roma*, published by the Union of Roma NGOs of the RS. A magazine that promoted the Roma community, called *Amarodrom*, was published by Media Initiatives until March 2013. A minority publication that won considerable respect was a paper called *Českabeseda*, 45 issues of which were published between 1997 and 2012.

Although the Roma population is relatively numerous, there is no Roma radio or TV station anywhere in the country and there are no special programs in the Romani language on the public broadcasting services. Programs in majority languages that discuss Roma issues in a serious way are rare. Within the scope of donor projects, two magazines for Roma, *Glas Roma* and *Amarodrom*, as well as the web portal *Točak*, have been launched in the last two years. In the area of education and raising public awareness on Roma issues, the Sarajevo-based Media Plan Institute and Media Initiatives, organizations with a positive track record of media work with national minorities, have, through their programs, become the initiators and to a large extent the sources of activities aimed at increasing the presence of content of this kind in the media, as well as the adoption of relevant action plans⁸. A number of education programs for young Roma NGO activists in the fields of PR and news reporting have been implemented, a large number of radio programs have been produced with Roma contributors, and the magazine *Amarodrom* was launched in 2012.

Staffing and lack of money are the biggest challenges to creating a Roma media outlet. During in-depth interviews, the interviewees pointed out that with more support from the state, education of Roma staff and a willingness on the part of the public broadcasting service to cooperate, conditions could

⁸ Be Romalen – strengthening Roma inclusion through education and information activities (2012, Media Initiatives); Education of Roma activists in news writing and public relations (2008, Roma Information Center and Media Plan Institute); Strengthening Roma capacities through information (2004, Media Plan Institute).

be created relatively quickly for the launch of a high-quality program with Roma journalists and anchors. A problem that was mentioned is the fact that there are no Roma in places where decisions are made. “For example, in the latest elections for the RTV FBiH Steering Board, a Roma candidate applied. He met all the criteria but his appointment was not approved by Parliament. If we had a Roma on the Steering Board, he would certainly impose a certain policy.”⁹

With the goal of researching the quality of current media content related to minorities and minority problems, we carried out an analysis in the course of 2012. The research sample was adapted to the context and situation in which there are no media that broadcast in minority languages. The content analysis method encompassed two radio shows for national minorities on the public broadcasting services and three magazines – two published by Roma associations and one by a Slovenian association. Due to the relatively small sample, in September 2012 (the period of the election campaign) mainstream media were also monitored to see in what way and how much they report on issues related to national minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Additionally, in May 2012, we carried out 25 in-depth interviews with media editors and national minority representatives in the country. The goal was to identify problems, hear opinions and come up with suggestions for better cooperation between national minorities and their associations on the one hand and the mainstream media in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the other.

3. Analysis of in-depth interviews

3.1. Representatives of associations

In interviews with representatives of minority associations, we spoke about the issue of legislation in connection with the provision of information to national minorities and whether the law should prescribe any incentives to encourage the exercise of this right.

⁹ Interview with Nedžad Jusić, President of Euro Rom Tuzla

Legislative solutions – Most interviewees were of the opinion that the legislative emphasis that “even minorities” have a right to media in a certain way belittles this group. A broad consensus emerged, to the effect that this article should be removed and replaced with one that specifically and clearly defines the obligations for public broadcasters in areas inhabited by national minorities, prescribing the nature and extent of special programming they should make, and introducing sanctions if these obligations are not met.

“A declarative statement, i.e. a phrase, that minority peoples have the right to establish media is just a farce that suits the authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the aim of meeting requirements laid down by the European Commission,” said one interviewee. “Of course, from this time distance, since the day the Law on the Rights of Minorities in BiH was passed, nothing has been fulfilled or implemented; quite the contrary, minority rights are even more threatened.”¹⁰

However, some of the interviewees believe that such a legislative decision would place media in an awkward financial position and that incentives should be offered by the state to help media, especially those that do not generate revenue from the subscription tax, to make programs of this kind, as well as to help national minority associations produce and cooperate on such programs. “Minority issues are not of interest to media and are not conducive to advertising,” said one interviewee. “If you were the owner of a successful company, would you prefer to advertise your product alongside a show filled with skimpily clad female performers accompanied by folk music, or alongside issues about the hard life of Roma or constitutionally-based discrimination of national minorities? The answer is obvious.”¹¹

Advancing the program – Representatives of minorities expressed considerable understanding for the financial and staffing situation in media. Acknowledging the fact that the number of national media outlets in Bosnia and Herzegovina is limited, they suggested only small alterations to programming, coupled with possible financial and staffing incentives. One suggestion was to produce programs in the minority community’s mother tongue but with

¹⁰ Interview with Džemina Zejnullahu, Community of Albanians in BiH

¹¹ Interview with Hidajeta Redžić, Council of the Montenegrin Minority in BiH

the statutory sub-titles in the majority language, and to produce occasional newspaper supplements about national minorities. Only representatives of the Roma national minority called for a more engaged approach on the part of media with regard to the exercise of Roma rights and their full inclusion in society.

Most interviewees asserted that broadcasters, in particular public broadcasters, are required to produce programs for national minorities. In programs intended for all citizens, events involving national minorities need to be promoted and a broader range of issues that concern national minorities should be covered. Some minority representatives from the Republika Srpska criticized media for providing too much coverage of the Sejdić-Finci case and for politicizing the issue. Although they support the process, they believe that the issue of representation in the BiH Presidency and the BiH House of Peoples is not the only challenge facing national minorities.

There was also a view that public broadcasting services should apply positive employment discrimination to candidates from national minorities if they possess the required qualifications. These employees would cover all topics in their everyday journalistic work, but at the same time they would have a valuable insight on topics that affect national minorities.

With regard to special programs about national minorities, most believe that these programs should not be made exclusively for viewers and listeners from national minorities, but should serve as a “bridge” between the majority and minorities. In this respect, bilingual programming is the ideal. Several interviewees suggested that programming be broadcast in the minority language/languages with B/C/S sub-titles: “That way, members of minority peoples would be given an opportunity to learn about the language and culture in their own language, while those who are not members of that particular minority would also be able to follow the program. As there is a noticeable lack of information about parent countries, these programs could solve this problem at least partly.”¹²

One problem that was identified is the fact that many members of minority communities do not have complete fluency in the minority language, and

¹² Interview with Emica Niami, Association of Citizens of Macedonian Origin Sarajevo

there are not many people who have the capacity to work in radio or television in a minority language. Nevertheless, there is a general consensus that this model is a positive one and that it could be put into effect, at least with occasional programming, if there is goodwill on the part of media, a certain amount of public funding, and the engagement of minority associations.

Roma interviewees felt that there is a need for regular and informative programming about the problems facing Roma, and that this can be provided by professional journalists in majority languages, with the help of Roma contributors.

Opinion on the role of print media is divided. Suggestions were made that daily newspapers should introduce a supplement or a section on national minorities, where some of the content could be taken from national minority magazines that are published periodically by individual associations. Some interviewees believe that national minorities themselves are responsible for their poor representation in mainstream media because they are not active enough in communicating with media.

New media – Most associations have websites, but these are not generally updated regularly. Representative of the Ukrainian association Štefan Stahanek said his organization is increasingly using Facebook as an information channel and its FB page, unlike its official website, is updated regularly. The author of this report observed that the Jewish Community of Banja Luka and the Union of Roma NGOs of the Republika Srpska in cooperation with Sarajevo-based Media Initiatives (*Amarodrom* FB) also maintain regularly updated Facebook pages. Some organizations have bilingual websites, while others, especially Roma associations, have them predominantly in Bosnian or Serbian. Most representatives of associations supported the possibility of setting up a joint portal for national minorities, saying that this would be a rational approach that would also be more interesting for web visitors. Representatives of Roma associations, however, see no need for such a web portal, since the Union of Roma NGOs of the RS already has a website, while Nedžad Jusić of Euro Rom Tuzla drew attention to the existing Roma website Točak.

3.2. Media editors

Of the 15 broadcast media whose representatives were interviewed, just two have special shows for national minorities, whereas not a single newspaper has such a section. The two broadcast media are RTRS, which has a radio and a television show, and Radio Free from Prijedor, which airs a show in

the Slovenian language. Interestingly, the other Entity broadcasting service, BiH Federation Radio and Television, does not have regular programs of this kind. The editor of Federation TV's documentary programs said production of a series of shows about national minorities has started, but for reasons that are unclear, none has been aired (as of April 2013). On Federation Radio, there is a monthly show called *Ljudska prava* (Human rights), which deals with the rights of national minorities in its broader coverage of human rights as a whole. However, in the first six months of 2012 only one show was aired on the topic of national minorities. The show covered Roma issues and featured a studio interview with representatives of Care International, along with one Roma associate, who presented a project and spoke about the many problems faced by Roma in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Shows produced by the public broadcasting services are funded by the compulsory radio and TV subscription tax. The national minority show produced by Radio Free is funded through a grant obtained from the Government of Slovenia by the Prijedor Association of Slovenians.

Representatives of private media are not currently considering the production of programs or program sections for national minorities because these are not commercially viable as they target an extremely small group of people. Some have rejected even the idea of positive program discrimination, which they say is the proper field of the public broadcasting services. However, all respondents believe it is crucial to cover events related to national minorities in their regular programming.

“Republika Srpska Television has a show called *U fokusu*, which deals with national minorities every 14 days. The predecessor of the *U fokusu* show was the specialized show *Bona homo*, which covered national minority issues exclusively and was also on the air every two weeks. In agreement with representatives of the Union and Council of National Minorities of the Republika Srpska or with individual national minority association, we harmonize issues that we believe may interest both the national minority target group and a broader group of viewers,” said RTRS Director Natalija Trivić.¹³

¹³ Interview with Natalija Trivić, RTRS Television Program Director

Trivić said she believes that RTRS is fulfilling its obligations regarding content on national minorities and that imposing a strict definition on how much minorities should be covered and in what way they should be covered would not be effective. She said this should be done through internal discussion in the public media and by establishing a clear professional stance, through journalist associations, that these issues are crucial for democracy and for journalism. “The appearance of imposing an obligation could be counter-productive for viewers. Not uncommonly, they are put off by shows that are foisted on them in the media. We need to make viewers aware that a show is the result of journalistic, human and civic considerations and that it really does have a place in programming and that it hasn’t been imposed, or broadcast simply to fulfill some sterile form copied from a European Union code.”¹⁴

Additional education – Various research projects implemented by Media Plan Institute¹⁵ in the last 10 years have shown that senior media staff in Bosnia and Herzegovina have quite diverse views regarding training in journalism. Some editors believe that journalism is only learned through practice, through experiencing different situations and assignments. Some, on the other hand, believe that journalists need life-long education and that it is essential to ensure at least two days each year for every journalist to undertake specialist training from qualified instructors. Most editors from the BiH Federation take the view that journalists do not need specialist training to report on national minorities, whereas media from the Republika Srpska show more interest in such training. Nataša Tešanović, Director of ATV Banja Luka, has suggested that such training be included in a broader media project for national minorities. ATV would undertake to produce such shows and would arrange specialist training from an accredited media organization, to prepare their journalists to make such shows.

Cooperation with independent productions – After the war, a large number of projects were implemented, primarily supported by foreign donors, which among their many activities included media production. The focus was on nominally non-commercial topics that do not normally receive sufficient

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Davor Marko, Jasmina Korda, Mirjana Popović, Radenko Udovičić, *Multikulturalizam u bh. Medijima* [Multiculturalism in BiH Media], Media Plan Institute, 2010; Radenko Udovičić, *Urednici o tretiranju multikulturalizma, analiza dubinskih intervjuja* [Editors on Treatment of Multiculturalism, Analysis of In-Depth Interviews], Media Plan Institute, 2010.

media coverage. This model for media production has three benefits – the production company is able to work for a reasonable financial return; the media outlet that broadcasts the material is able to do so for free’ and the public is given access to coverage of an important social topic that would otherwise be neglected because coverage would not attract enough commercial sponsorship. Programs for national minorities clearly fall into this category. Nearly all the editors who were interviewed said they would air such shows if they were professionally made, with the exception of the editor-in-chief of Free Radio, who said that, as a commercial media outlet, they would only air such shows if the air time was paid for. Several interviewees from the TV sector said that sub-titles would be essential for any shows made in a minority language, so that viewers from the majority population could also understand them.

Roma inclusion – Most interviewees said that a key role of programming should be to present viewers with positive coverage of the Roma population. Some respondents said Roma themselves are partly to blame for the fact that there are no such shows, and they added that there are Roma who are qualified to help produce such shows. Most stakeholders, including representatives of the public broadcasting services, do not believe that the problem is essentially one of content or expertise but rather of funding, and cited the need for funding from public or foreign donors. Many expressed the view that representatives of Roma organizations should take a more active approach. It was generally felt that with better communication and with feasible program proposals it would be possible for the broadcast media to improve coverage.

A majority of media representatives believe that they are not principally to blame for the slow pace of Roma inclusion, although they accept that their reporting can help. “Not all responsibility for ‘raising media awareness’ can be assigned to the media. With regard to Roma, unfortunately deeply rooted discrimination is present in this region and we see it every day. That discrimination comes from the very core of society, from the family as the basic cell of society, and that is the biggest problem,” said one interviewee.¹⁶

¹⁶ Interview with Dino Bajramović, Editor of Slobodna Bosna

4. Analysis of media and shows for and about national minorities

We analyzed five media outlets – three national-minority print magazines and two radio shows produced by the public broadcasting services, conceived as shows for national minorities. The analysis was largely carried out in real time, from January to July 2012, but the two magazines were also analyzed retroactively to reinforce the sample, since the volume of minority media production in Bosnia and Herzegovina is not high. The following observations complement a much more extensive and detailed study that was published on-line in February 2013.¹⁷

4.1. Glas Roma

The magazine, launched at the beginning of 2011, appeared monthly until February 2012, after which, due to financial problems, just two issues had appeared by August 2012. Seven issues were monitored (August 2011 – February 2012). Until November, as the paper's masthead says, it was a joint project of the Roma Association of Gradiška, the Roma Women's Association "Romska mladost", and the Roma Women's Association "Tempire Romano", with financial support from the Open Society Foundation. After November, the magazine was published by the Union of Roma NGOs of the Republika Srpska and the donor was the Swiss Development and Cooperation Agency. The print-run ranged from 1,000 to 1,200 copies. The paper is free and is distributed through Roma associations. The paper covers events in Bosnia and Herzegovina in which Roma are involved or issues related to problems faced by the Roma population. As the project leaders are from the Republika Srpska, where the newsroom is located (Gradiška), there is a preponderance of articles from that part of the country. Content largely consists of reports about project activities undertaken by the magazine's supporting organizations, as well as of other Roma organizations. The publication also promotes Roma culture.

¹⁷ Nacionalni izvještaj za BiH - Mediji i nacionalne manjine u BiH: VOLJA SAMO NA PAPIRU [National Report for BiH - Media and National Minorities in BiH: WILLINGNESS ONLY ON PAPER] - <http://manjine.ba/?p=7514>

Topic – In the seven analyzed issues, 156 items were published, on average 22 articles per issue, most items being news items. If we break up these statistics, 133 items were related exclusively to the Roma minority, nine to other national minorities, and 14 had to do with topics dealing with the overall sociopolitical life in the country, without an exclusive focus on national minorities. The largest number of items covered cultural topics (17%). These included articles about cultural events on Roma holidays (various troupes, competitions and performances), articles about Roma tradition, and poetry by Roma authors published on the last page. In second place were articles dealing with the human and minority rights of the Roma population (15%). Topics were mainly related to activities of Roma associations aimed at improving the position of Roma in Bosnia and Herzegovina, education seminars in advocacy, and the Sejdić-Finci ruling. Articles about politics were in third place and these mostly covered relations between Roma representatives and state, Entity and local institutions and officials. Some articles in this field dealt with disagreements between Roma representatives and their associations regarding the appointment of individuals to coordinating positions at the BiH Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees, which has a department that is extensively involved in implementing the Roma Decade in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the largest percentage of articles (38%) fell into the category *other*. This mostly included articles on a variety of humanitarian activities aimed at reducing Roma poverty and implementing housing projects for Roma, as well as a campaign to raise Roma awareness about AIDS prevention.

Authorship – Unusually, and unacceptably from a purely journalistic point of view, as much as 82% of the magazine's articles are unsigned. Not only are short news items unsigned, but entire reports, written according to all journalistic rules and forms, are also unsigned. This reduces the credibility of the magazine's content. The project leaders explained that most of the articles are the product of two journalists. Analysis of the magazine doesn't offer any explanation as to why there are not more authors, though it is possible that the publishers did not want readers to realize that there are no contributors from the Roma community.

Reporting forms – Reports are the dominant journalistic form in Glas Roma (40%). These are mostly field reports from various events, written by professional journalists, as can be seen from the style and structure. Most reports are a combination of narrative reportage and statements by event

participants. The percentage of *news* is also double-digit (32%), as is the category *other*, in which we have included essays and academic articles about Roma history. In the monitoring period, four articles were observed that had elements of investigative journalism. Most of these were taken from the portal žurnal.info.

Photographs – Glas Roma is characterized by a large number of photographs. In the seven monitored issues, 187 photographs were published. Photographs customarily depict an event or its participants (meetings, speakers and interviewees, families and individuals being covered), or situations intended to illustrate a problem. Seventeen items, most of them short news items, appeared without photographs.

Sources – In 65 % of the articles, a single source was used, reflecting the high proportion of factual reporting in the magazine. There were also a large number of essays based on the authors' own observations or on observations from books, or not based on any identified source at all. Unsourced material considerably diminishes the credibility of the articles in question, and the magazine as a whole. For example, an article from December 2011 notes that, "Roma are originally from the desert state of Rajasthan" and then goes on to assert that there are between five and 13 million Roma in the world, a range so large as to be more or less useless, and at odds with widely accepted conference estimates that there are between eight and 10 million Roma – a narrower and more useful estimate that has been cited in previous issues of the same magazine. Countries in which most Roma live are listed, but Bosnia and Herzegovina is not mentioned as a country where there are more than 10,000 Roma, which is either the result of negligence on the part of the author of the article, or because the author has reflected the fact that some institutions do not recognize figures that are possessed by BiH Roma organizations. Toward the end of the same article we have another contradictory figure – that Slovakia has the largest Roma population, in numbers and as a percentage of the overall population: 320,000 Roma in a population of 5.4 million. But this contradicts figures provided at the beginning of the article, where it states that the country with the largest Roma population is Romania, and that there are 76,000 Roma in Slovakia. But the biggest problem is that the article is unsigned and does not contain any reference to specific sources. The same problem is encountered in another article from November 2011. A list dubbed "Well-known Roma" includes numerous well-known figures from around the world as well as from former Yugoslavia. The list includes Siniša Mihajlović and Dejan Savičević, well-known football players, who publicly declare themselves as Serb and Montenegrin respectively. There is no source for the attribution of Roma heritage.

Most sources, 82%, are individuals from the Roma community, politicians and people active in the field of culture. Such sources are relevant and informative and they are customarily used to support points made in the journalistic narrative, mostly through quotes. Documentary sources that are often cited include strategy papers, laws and statistical data, and, less often, references from books and encyclopedias, mostly in articles about Roma language, culture or history.

Where articles have multiple sources, the sources express the same or very similar views. This is likely because the magazine seeks to promote the Roma community, especially those tied to the Union of Roma NGOs of the RS, which has 11 member organizations and to a large extent encompasses the majority of Roma in that Entity. Articles that contain opposing views were mostly taken from other media. There was a pattern of divergent views between government representatives and Roma associations and individuals, routinely with Roma arguing in particular instances that more could have been done or that less had been done than the authorities claimed. The only diversity of views among Roma themselves was demonstrated in the February 2012 issue, when six press releases were published related to the election of Hedina Sijerčić to the BiH Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees Working Group on Housing. Two of the press releases dissented from the majority view.

Editorial focus – Positive content was found in 44% of articles, a relatively high proportion that reflects the fact that in addition to providing information the magazine seeks to promote the Roma community, and its associations and activists. The most common topics included successfully implemented activities related to building or renovating housing for Roma, cultural events, and the increased number of Roma children in schools. On the other hand, the magazine also featured a substantial amount of negative content – 31%. This in turn reflects the fact that the Roma community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as elsewhere in Europe, is largely excluded from society, and faces severe economic difficulties and widespread prejudice. This unsatisfactory social position is reflected in the content of articles.

Editorial perspective – The editorial perspective of the magazine is mostly neutral (74%). Journalists displayed a 21% positive perspective, most commonly found in the treatment of events that individual journalists had covered personally. This positive perspective usually made itself apparent through an extremely detailed or extensive presentation of certain activities, which would not receive such close attention in the conventional news media. Of

course, this is a magazine whose particular function is to give emphasis to activities that are not covered enough in mainstream media. There is also another area where the magazine takes one side in a particular issue. The opening pages of the February issue were taken up with a series of press releases by Roma leaders criticizing the BiH Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees for allegedly hiring candidates for coordinating positions at the Ministry who do not meet the requirements for the position or do not come from the milieu of organizations that are part of the Union of Roma NGOs of the RS or its partner organizations.

A negative editorial perspective was mostly identified in articles taken from *žurnal.info*. These articles, citing multiple sources, spoke negatively about the conduct of the authorities with regard to Roma issues. The December issue has an article in which a positive situation is covered from a negative editorial perspective. The article, “Education of Roma children in the RS – more and more students in schools”, makes use of an interview with Saša Mašić, President of the Union of Roma NGOs of the RS, to draw attention to the progress that has been made in the RS with regard to the education of Roma children, as well as housing and healthcare for Roma. Mašić maintains that the BiH Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees is manipulating data on assistance to Roma. He is quoted as saying that 50 housing units have been built, and not the 254 units claimed by the Ministry. The negative editorial perspective is reflected in the selective use of information. Mašić’s view that the social position of Roma in the Republika Srpska is better than in the BiH Federation is highlighted three times in two pages of text. To some extent this simply recognizes what has been done by the RS authorities and contrasts it with criticism of authorities in the BiH Federation, but it includes criticism of Roma organizations in the Federation, with which Mašić is in conflict. This is highlighted in the concluding sentence: “The situation in FBiH is worse because there are around 60 organizations that are not addressing Roma problems at all, but only their own interests.”

4.2. *Amarodrom*

The first issue of *Amarodrom*, a magazine for the promotion of the Roma community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, came out in May 2012. The May and July editions, which had come out by the time this analysis was completed, were monitored. Editor Branka Mrkić-Radević makes it clear in an editorial that the magazine, which is part of a larger project – Be R.O.M.A.L.E.N., supported by the Embassy of Norway – aims to combat the majority community’s prejudice toward Roma in Bosnia and Herzegovina and promote the social inclusion of the Roma population in the broader community.

Amarodrom, which means “our road” in Romani, sets out to discuss the problems that are encountered by Roma in Bosnia and Herzegovina and at the same time to promote positive developments in Roma communities. The magazine is distinguished by the fact that most of the articles are written by Roma who are participating in the project and who are being trained to write news and use the internet. The editor is an experienced journalist specializing in social issues.

Although most of the contributors to Amarodrom are not professional journalists but interns in the Be R.O.M.A.L.E.N. project which, among other things, trains staff in writing news and using social networks for promotional activities, nearly all of the magazine’s content meets the best journalistic standards. Items have effective and informative headlines, sub-heads give an accurate summary of the content of articles, and the structure of the paper itself is well-balanced and logical. Key thematic articles in each issue, written by professional journalists, are longer and more complex and rest on multiple sources. On the basis of the two monitored issues, it may be concluded that the magazine enjoys an interesting and unique editorial vision. Among other things, it displays sound editorial judgment in the use of images – photographs as information, photographs as illustration and photographs as a means of maintaining visual style and reader interest. The magazine has an attractive design that will encourage readers at the very least to browse through it.

Amarodrom is professionally designed and one especially vivid and striking element is the last page, which is reserved for black-and-white photographs of Roma in different situations, taken in 2011 for Media Initiatives, which spearheaded the Be R.O.M.A.L.E.N. project, by professional photographer AmerKuhinja. The magazine has 16 pages in full color printed on high-quality paper.

Topic – The biggest number of articles fall under the category of *other*. These are specific items such as a beauty contest for Roma women from the region, held in Skopje, or a story about a family that collects empty plastic bottles and suffers police harassment instead of being commended for carrying out an essential environmental function. In this category are also a number of news items about sport, such as the activities of a kung fu club in Živinice or news about a football tournament in Gradiška. In second place are *education* topics. The lead topic in the second issue – “Ready for school” – was largely devoted to elementary school education for Roma children. Only one article from the first two issues could be said to fall under the *minority-language* category. The bilingual article appeared under the headline,

“In BiH, Romani is only spoken in the family”. Underneath the B/C/S version, it says in Romani: “Andi Bosna i Hercegovina rromane vakere pesamo andi (njama) familija”. The article was written by Dalibor Tanić, one of a handful of Roma journalists. He concludes by expressing the hope that the article represents a “modest contribution to learning and reviving the Romani language in BiH”. A longer bilingual article in the July issue covers the topic of kindergarden education for Roma children. The translation in Romani – “E milajeski sikavni palo cikna” – takes up three full pages.

Authorship – In 90% of cases, the authors of articles are the magazine’s journalists, among whom are young contributors who are involved through the project. Only two articles, dealing with project activities and most likely taken from a source in the organization spearheading the project, are unsigned.

Forms – News items make up the most common journalistic form in Amarodrom (59%). Most news items are the work of young contributing journalists who do not yet have the experience to tackle more complex journalistic assignments. Reports, as well as an investigative article and an interview, were produced by professional journalists, and by the editor of the magazine. The only commentary is actually the editorial in the first issue written by the editor-in-chief, who expressed the hope that Amarodrom will bring about some social change. The most deeply-researched journalistic work is a story from the first issue, based on multiple sources, which appears under the headline: “We must be five times better than others to succeed”. The article covers key Roma problems in Bosnia and Herzegovina – discrimination, and problems in healthcare, education, employment and housing – which are supposed to be being tackled through the implementation of the Roma Decade.

Illustrations – Most photographs in the magazine have been supplied by the contributors themselves or have been taken from the archives of Roma non-governmental organizations, which have offered them for use by the magazine. Photographs usually depict either participants at events that have been covered or show generic scenes related to events, for example, participants in a workshop, or children in a classroom.

Sources – The largest number of articles have only one source, which reflects the fact that the contents of the magazine mostly consist of short-form news items. Most sources are individuals who have provided information, usually quoted directly. Amarodrom, like most national minority media, has a promotional

role, and, because of this, in 80% of cases, in articles where multiple sources are used, the sources express the same or very similar views.

Editorial focus – Nearly 80% of articles have positive content, which is in line with the stated intention of the magazine to promote positive developments in the Roma community in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There are pieces about the top students of their generation, about St. George’s Day celebrations, the organization of sports events, folklore festivals, and beauty pageants.

Editorial perspective – The editorial perspective of the magazine is mostly neutral (72%). None of the articles could be characterized as having taken a negative stand, although, indirectly, through statements made by various speakers from the Roma population, criticism was addressed at state and local authorities. An example of this is an interview with Saša Mašić, which appears under the headline: “Different rules are in effect for Roma in BiH” (May 2012). The article includes the following: “I am the president of the Committee for Roma and I must admit I am not satisfied with the way the Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees treats this body, because on several occasions instructions by the Committee, which after all is most familiar with the situation related to the Roma national minority, were ignored and the Ministry – meaning its officials – acted in an arbitrary manner.”

4.3. SKD Cankar Almanah

In the scope of the research, three issues of the Slovenian magazine Zora Cankarjeva were analyzed (from 2009, 2010 and 2011). The magazine is published once a year as an almanac, by the Slovenian Cultural Association Cankar (SKD Cankar), in the Bosnian and Slovenian languages. A total of 128 articles have been published, mostly in one or other language, which means that knowledge of both languages is needed for full access to the magazine’s content. The magazine presents the work of SKD Cankar, promotes Slovenian culture, and stimulates the building and strengthening of mutual cultural communication. It covers everything from politics and economics to human and minority rights, and health issues and art and culture. The articles are mainly written by members and friends of the association, guests from Slovenia, and even children (in a special supplement). Overall, Zora Cankarjeva is a mixture of almanac, magazine and community notice board.

Almanah (2009) – The front page features *Miss Sarajevo*, a visual artwork by Slovenian artist Petra Varl, which suggests that SKD Cankar from the

beginning has sought to promote cultural and artistic ties with the broader community in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Introduction on the opening page was written by Andrej Graselli, the Slovenian ambassador, who notes that the Slovenian association has been able to bring together a diverse range of people through the publication of this high-quality magazine. As this issue marked the association's 75th anniversary, much of it focuses on SKD Cankar's activities.

The format for most articles consists of a strap above the headline, a headline, a sub-head and then the text of the story. Photographs in this issue accompany articles about the association's activities, with pictures of meetings, events, and award ceremonies. In most cases, the authors have signed their work. The last page lists media in which the association's members have appeared during 2009, and the inside back cover lists the full names of all the association's current members, deceased members and members of the *Camerata Slovenica* choir. This edition, as well as the next two editions, can be accessed on the SDK Cankar website in PDF format.

The 2010 edition of *Almanah* features the work, *Korida*, by Jože Kotar on the cover. The inside covers are given over to advertising (for Gorenje and Mercator, two successful Slovenian companies). The editor and association president, Sanja Bogdanović (a professional journalist), wrote and signed the editorial and introduced the main topics covered in this issue (the programs of cultural associations, scheduled visits by guests and other major events, sometimes with a paragraph, sometimes with just a few words). The magazine does not confine its coverage to the activities of SKD Cankar, but also devotes space to cooperation with other associations, government institutions, organizations and individuals. This issue introduces Planinček, a paper written by children who attend supplementary Slovenian language classes in cooperation with the teacher Melita Osmanagić.

The activity that stood out in 2010 was Cankarjeva's panel on the challenges facing national minorities. A report about the panel was accompanied by an article with elements of analysis and investigative journalism. The author of the article, Nikola Slavuljica (from the Human Rights Office, Tuzla), was one of the panel's participants.

The structure of articles in the 2010 edition was more complex than in the previous year's edition and there were more features, reports and articles with elements of analysis and investigative journalism. Most of the writers in this issue were not journalists but association members, friends of the

association, participants at various events, and Slovenians visiting Bosnia and Herzegovina. The views expressed by sources tend to be in agreement except where there is serious analysis of the position of national minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Comments examine key aspects of human-rights protection conventions as well as legislative decisions of government institutions that have not been complied with in practice. The focus of content and the editorial perspective is generally positive, reflecting cultural, artistic, political, musical and other activities of the association in the context of the Slovenian community's satisfactory status in BiH society (similar to the 2009 edition).

In the editorial, the editor-in-chief of *Almanah 2011* highlights SKD Cankar's achievements in the previous year, as well as the good cooperation established with the local community, though she points out that *everything that has been achieved should be viewed through the prism of great effort by a small number of members*. The editor warns that the association has few young members and that as older members retire, funding from membership dues has become more difficult.

Articles in this issue continue the analysis of national minority issues in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The editor writes again in this issue about the Council of National Minorities, explaining that the Council had only focused on itself from its creation until 2011 because the Law on the Rights of National Minorities of FBiH prescribes that the Parliament of FBiH should ensure conditions for the Council's work, but this has never been done. For this reason, the 2011 issue examines again the political decisions related to the adoption and implementation of the final normative and legal foundation for all national minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is a subject about which Marija Grbić also writes, stressing the need for national minorities to be accorded their place in the BiH Constitution.

4.4. *Patria mea*, BH Radio 1

Patria mea, a 50-minute show which is broadcast once a month (every fourth Tuesday of the month at 20.00 hours) on BH Radio 1, covers issues affecting national minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The show is intended to affirm the language, customs and culture of members of national communities and report on progress in cooperation between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the parent countries of national communities. The show informs listeners about issues related to the Declaration on Accession to the Roma Decade 2005-2015, which was signed by Bosnia and Herzegovina. The editor of the

show is Ljilja Đurić from Banja Luka, where a large number of minority associations are active. This is reflected in the fact that the bulk of content in the four monitored shows originated in the Banja Luka region (Prijeđor, Prnjavor, Banja Luka).

Patria mea has a thematic structure based on original field items that are two to five minutes long. Quality, in terms of reporting, credibility and audioadequacy, varies. Most items are clearly defined in terms of information, with appropriate length of interviews and relevance of interviewees as sources of information. However, two long audio recordings were also registered during the reporting period, which appeared to be there principally to fill time. On 24 April, for example, in an item about Roma in Konjic and their inclusion in education, the approximately three-minute item included a statement by a boy from a local school (a member of the majority people) who also read a report about tolerance in schools. This was overlong and was not justified by the item's informational premise. This problem was even more pronounced in the show broadcast on 26 June, in an item about drawing up a strategy for addressing national minority problems. There was a nearly five-minute long statement by Milan Jovanović of the BiH Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees. The statement should either have been shortened or additional questions should have been inserted in the editing process to break up the monolog. Generally, the quality of audio statements and the editing of items is high.

Four shows were analyzed – from March, April, May and June of 2012. The shows follow the same pattern: moderated and recorded with features or reports interspersed with music. The 24 April show was completely devoted to Roma and all four songs that were played were in the Roma tradition.

Minority languages – The show starts with a jingle in which “good afternoon” is said in a number of languages. The role of national minority languages ends there. All items are in Bosnian and Serbian. The program's stated premise of “promoting national minority languages” is not met, or, at least, was not met in the monitored period.

Media Plan Institute in its analyses of minority programs on radio and television stations holds the view that such programs should not be minority or linguistic “ghettoes” but should raise the general public's awareness of minority issues, including by using majority peoples' languages. In this respect, the one-sidedness evident in BH Radio 1's approach (perhaps due to a variety of production difficulties) is unacceptable.

Representation of minorities –The biggest number of items (12) in the monitored shows dealt with the Roma national minority. Of the four shows, one was wholly devoted to Roma (marking International Roma Day in Bosnia and Herzegovina), one was largely devoted to Roma, and in each of the remaining two there was one item on Roma-related issues. In second place were items falling under the category of *general problems for national minorities*, which included issues such as the Sejdić-Finci ruling and the drafting of the National Strategy for addressing national minority problems. In third place were issues affecting the Czech and Italian communities, with three items each, and then issues affecting Poles, Ukrainians and Slovaks, with one item each. In addition to the fact that Roma are by far the most numerous national minority, International Roma Day generated a number of activities and events. Likewise, when the president of the Association of Czechs from Banja Luka, Vladimir Blaha, received an award from the Government of the Czech Republic for his contribution to spreading Czech culture, this was covered in two shows. The Italian national minority also celebrated a jubilee – 150 years since their arrival in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Thematic representation – In the 24 radio shows that were monitored, 53 different themes were covered. Forty focused on just one national minority, 15 dealt with issues related to the sociopolitical situation and majority peoples, and seven concerned relations between different national minorities. Where minority issues were dealt with on their own (the most numerous category), the topics of *culture* and *human and minority rights* were dominant, accounting for 20 percent each. Items on human and minority rights were exclusively devoted to the Roma community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, covering discrimination and widespread anti-Roma prejudice, implementation of the Roma Decade, and the right to education.

Eighteen percent of content fell under the category of *other*, which mostly included issues on improving the economic position of Roma in areas such as housing and employment. With regard to issues that also affect the majority community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *politics* dominated with 73%. In this category, most stories dealt with relations between national minorities and government bodies.

Journalistic genres – Reports (71%) constituted the dominant journalistic form in the Patria mea shows, i.e. radio items consisting of a combination of journalist's narrative and audio statements. Most monitored items lasted two to five minutes. In second place were interviews (21%). In the monitored

period, there were interviews with Vladimir Blaha, president of the Association of Czechs, and Miloš Šolaja, professor of the Faculty of Political Science of Banja Luka, who spoke at an academic conference in Croatia about national minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Reporters – In as many as 96% of cases, coverage was provided by the station's own journalists, who are clearly identified at the beginning of each item. Not a single item was taken from an agency or another media outlet. *Patria mea* is entirely a BH Radio 1 production. It was not clear from the show itself whether members of national minorities also appeared in the role of contributors or correspondents.¹⁸

Sources – The biggest single number of items aired on the *Patria mea* show contained *more than three sources* of information (in 17% of cases), which is a positive trend. However, the overall figure of 33% content with only *one source* was a result of the fact that in the monitored period there were two interviews (journalist + guest). The high number of items with multiple sources reflected the fact that the most common journalistic form used is the radio report, which in most cases must contain a number of different statements. This, though, is not always the practice. For example, in the show aired on 22 May there was an item in which there were several appearances by Rizvan Seferović, president of the Bahtalo Roma association from Travnik, and no other interviewee.

Although items with multiple sources are dominant, if we look at the ratio between the use of sources that agree with one another and the use of sources that disagree with one another, the extreme dominance of sources that agree with one another becomes apparent (91%). As the monitored show has a specialized character and a promotional role for national minorities, this result is not unexpected. Most of the content offered a number of views from a particular community, whose stands are more or less in agreement, regardless of whether they support, promote or criticize.

¹⁸ For example, in a majority of cases Roma and Montenegrin names are identical to the names of members of the Constituent Peoples in BiH, while the names of new generations of national minorities are the same or hard to differentiate – due to Slav roots – from names in the majority national communities.

Sources in 97% of cases are individuals involved in a variety of activities (mostly from national minority associations), government representatives and people who are experiencing particular difficulties (mostly Roma) or who have received recognition or praise (Vladimir Blaha). The extremely small percentage of non-personal sources (3%) involved references to documents such as the Sejdić-Finci ruling and the Law on National Minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Editorial focus and perspective – Positive issues affirming a variety of projects and national minority activities dominate. Even with regard to the Roma population, which is in a difficult economic and social position, most items have a positive character. In more than half of all cases (54%), there is a clear journalistic perspective toward the events and individuals that are being covered. The *Patria mea* show is designed to promote certain social values and activities so, from a strictly professional point of view, there is a positive perspective. This was not expressed through specific comments, but primarily through a clear emphasis on positive aspects of events without highlighting negative aspects. Examples of a positive perspective could be observed in an interview with Vladimir Blaha, who was a guest on the show for nearly ten minutes and praised the Czech government and spoke positively about his own work and the work of his association. In the same show there was an item on the recognition given to Prijedor Municipality as the most tolerant community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which the role of local associations and government was highlighted without any clear indication of the criteria that had been applied as the basis for this recognition. There was one example of a negative journalistic perspective, in this case directed at social prejudices in Sarajevo. The occasion was the screening of films from countries in the Visegrad Group, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia. Special focus was given to Jan Beran, a prominent Czech filmmaker. Among other things, the president of the Association of Czechs, Vladimir Blaha, and Jan Beran's daughter said that Sarajevo does not appreciate artists, especially "others" (meaning non-Bosniaks). The evidence cited for this view was that homage has been paid to this artist in Banja Luka but not in Sarajevo where he spent most of his life. The journalist concludes the item with the following words: "It has been shown that Banja Luka residents appreciate the efforts of their fellow citizens whatever nation they may be from."

4.5. Korijeni, Republika Srpska Radio

Korijeni, an RS Radio show on national minorities, started airing in 2006. The editor and host is Radmila Karanović. This is a magazine show covering

issues exclusively related to national minorities in a cultural, political and (very characteristic of this show) historical context (looking, for example, at the plight of Jews in World War II).

The show is based on audio statements and combines field items with studio appearances. It utilizes short interviews, which in combination with related items and genres creates a radio package that covers the topic in detail through a variety of content. However, although the opportunity presented itself, especially in a show dedicated to Remembrance Day, to make the most of this form's potential to tell a complete story, the items, although thematically close, are not linked by journalistic narrative to form a story.

The vocal capabilities of the editor and contributing journalists are very good. Audio statements are of excellent quality. There is a strong overall impression of professional journalism. The host adopts the useful practice of announcing at the end of longer items who was speaking and what the items were about. The only professional objection may be made regarding an item in the 16 June show about the 10th anniversary of the Ukrainian association Kozak from Prijedor. The show host asks an association representative to summarize the association's work at the beginning of the interview. This is followed by a five-minute monolog, where additional editing could have produced a more coherent statement lasting half as long and where the presentation of the association's work would have been more effective. Long monologs require an extremely eloquent speaker if they are to be effective, which was not the case here.

All items in the show are exclusively in the Serbian language. The only, symbolic, use of a minority language was when, at the journalist's insistence, a speaker in an item on Hebrew language lessons greeted listeners in that language. The show's target group consists of representatives of national minorities, especially those involved in the work of associations, and listeners interested in national minorities issues. The show is designed to raise awareness in the broader public about minority issues, using the majority language. However, it does not fulfill an important role in minority programming, namely to foster the mother tongue of minority listeners. Some content should be broadly interesting to listeners who may not have an immediate connection to the topic (for example, the story on the Hebrew language course).

Songs in national minority languages are aired between thematic items on the show. The rule is that a song from the national minority that has just been

covered follows the item. This mitigates to some extent the effect of lack of use of minority languages.

Minority representation – During the four monitored shows, topics which primarily focused on the Jewish national minority were covered six times, followed by topics related to Roma and to national minorities in general, with five times respectively. Slovenians and Czechs were represented three times respectively. Eight national minorities in total appeared in the monitored shows. The reason for the large presence of the Jewish national minority lies in the fact that Holocaust Remembrance Day was marked in April and half of the 21 April show was devoted to that event. Current events dictate the content of the show and national minorities are represented to the extent that their members and associations are active.

Topic – The overall content of the show is largely political because of the nature of the issues covered: the Election Law, which did not meet national minorities' expectations at the local level; an initiative to replace the term "Others" in the BiH Constitution with "national minorities"; and marking Holocaust Remembrance Day, on which the plight of all those imprisoned at Jasenovac was also commemorated, which traditionally has political connotations due to the presence of numerous State and Entity officials and continuing disagreement over how many people perished. Remembrance Day (*JomHashoah*) was the central topic of the 21 April show. It was explained in the introduction that the Holocaust is remembered as "the most terrible time in Jewish history", when "they perished only because they were Jews". Next was a story about Mirjana Radman, a Jewish woman from Zagreb, who survived Jasenovac and lost 27 members of her family. She recounted the experience of children in Jasenovac, where children from Kozara arrived soon after Jewish children. The host asked how she had survived, and she explained that her father was Croat and was not there when her mother's family was arrested and that he managed to get her out eight months later "through a party connection", but the rest of her family were murdered. The host then asked how she had recovered from this experience. "I devoted myself to social work after the war in Banja Luka," this witness to a terrible chapter of history said. Related to Jasenovac, there was an item from the viewpoint of another national minority, the Roma, who were also victims of genocide (several times during the show it was said that the biggest victims at Jasenovac were Serbs). Dragoljub Acković from Belgrade was quoted saying that 88,000 Roma were killed at Jasenovac. There was also a statement from Šaha Ahmetović from the Banja Luka-based association Veseli Brijeg. He said that Roma will commemorate their tragic experience this

year by going to the execution site. After political content, the next largest category covered on Korijeni is culture. Most of this coverage is based around cultural events organized by a variety of associations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Topics on economy, religion and crime were not covered, but the use of minority languages was addressed in two items related to learning Hebrew. An especially striking item was aired in the 16 June show about a Hebrew language course in Banja Luka. This was a long and compelling radio story that used multiple sources and offered a volume of information that is rare in most radio programs made in Bosnia and Herzegovina. There was an interview with course teacher Ozren Lađarević of the Jewish Community in Banja Luka. He explained his teaching method, which is based on various situations that tourists might encounter in Israel and on conversations through which students can learn about Jewish culture and tradition. Lađarević explained that “full assimilation” is applied in Israel and immigrants undergo the most intense language course in the world. “You study four hours a day and then you go to work and you must communicate in Hebrew there too,” he said. This was followed by statements from students who had a variety of reasons for attending the course.

Authorship and genres – As much as 92% of the content in the Korijeni show is produced by journalists. Only one item was unsigned; this was a news item, most likely by an agency. The prominence of journalists’ original work was reflected primarily in the introductions to items, when the journalists’ names were identified, or indirectly when the host spoke with guests. The short interview is the dominant journalistic form. In the interviews, two or three questions are asked by journalists to encourage interviewees to provide listeners with more information. (“How did you recover from that?” “What do you expect in the coming period?” “Do you think such wishes can come true?”). Field reports in which correspondents mostly covered events outside Banja Luka accounted for 28% of the items. In 64% of cases, content covered in the show was prompted by current events. Field reporters covered a variety of events, meetings and activities related to relations between the minority and state sectors as well as various cultural events.

The Korijeni show contains high-quality audio clips or longer recordings (interviews). Composition is generally good, with the host introducing or explaining field items or explaining them as they are broadcast, while 16% of content that did not have audio recordings consisted of news read out by the host. Narrative delivered in the studio was usually accompanied by music: radio items combined narrative and audio clips, with no music.

Sources – More than half of the contents were based on just one source of information. A substantial amount of content (16%) had more than three sources. The item with the most sources was broadcast on 9 June, a report from Majorette Fest, co-organized by the Union of National Minorities of the Doboj Region, featuring 10 speakers who participated in the event. There were short audio statements by representatives of various majorette groups from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia and other cultural clubs, representatives of national minority associations, and visitors. Almost 100% of sources in the broadcast were real people – representatives of national minority associations and the authorities, and to a lesser extent people in the target group for relevant public information campaigns (for example, Roma in a dire economic position), and visitors to the event. Even though there were multiple sources, they generally agreed with one another. A rare disagreement among speakers featured in an item broadcast in the 21 April show, about the representation of national minorities in Prijedor Municipal Parliament. National minority representatives alleged that the only national minority representative in the local parliament, who is from the Social Democratic Party (SDP), represents party interests rather than national minority interests. The same representative was also given an opportunity to present his position.

Editorial perspective – In two-thirds of cases in the Korijeni show there was no clear editorial perspective. In 28% of cases the editorial perspective was positive and in four percent of cases it was negative. It was noticeable that some items had a distinctly positive character. For example, items on genocide against Jews and on Hebrew language classes in Banja Luka were characterized by strong compassion for Jewish people along with a cultural, and (to a lesser extent) political empathy with Israel. This was evident in the generous length of stories, the emphasis on interesting aspects of the language and the country, and calls for tourist visits. In addition, in items marking the Holocaust there was a negative editorial perspective on the Independent State of Croatia, which was labeled on two occasions as a state responsible for genocide against Serbs, Jews and Roma. A certain negative stand toward the SDP representative in the local Prijedor parliament was also evident in the item broadcast on 21 June, although he was given an opportunity to express his own position in the item. The premise of the item was that national minorities in Prijedor are not represented well and that minority associations from the city are requesting that the parliament representative be elected from a list of national minorities rather than from a party list. Before the SDP delegate's statement, there were statements by a representative of the Union of Slovenians and a representative of the Czech community,

who shared the negative perspective on the present situation and criticized the parliament delegate.

5. Analysis of reporting on national minorities in BiH media

In the period from 1 to 30 September 2012, Media Plan Institute monitored mainstream media that publish and broadcast in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The goal was to see how much and in what way non-minority media reported on national minorities during the campaign ahead of local elections held on 7 October. Under the BiH Election Law, minorities in municipalities that had more than three percent of national minorities according to the 1991 census have the option of positive discrimination. This means that the winner from the list of national minorities, if such a list was formed, regardless of the number of votes, may enter the municipal parliament. The analysis was designed to establish how national minorities were positioned in media reporting during the election campaign. The results show that they were virtually not positioned at all, which is demonstrated by empirical data as well as by qualitative observations.

Sample – During the monitoring process, all print media published in Bosnia and Herzegovina were followed as well as TV primetime news programs on three public broadcasting services and two commercial television stations from Sarajevo, NTV Hayat and TV1. This may not provide insight on the stations' other programs, but as primetime news programs are the most representative news and political programs and are expected to have broad thematic coverage, it is possible to ascertain from these programs how the importance or attractiveness of a particular topic is perceived.

Number of items and genres – In the nine dailies in Bosnia and Herzegovina that were monitored in the course of September, only 54 articles related to national minorities in any form were published. More strikingly, in 270 newspaper issues with around 2,700 journalistic items, 54 items focused on national minority issues. Of that number, 31 articles dealt with general problems related to national minorities and 22 dealt specifically with the Roma national minority. Not a single other national minority, out of the 17 registered in Bosnia and Herzegovina, appeared in daily papers in its own right in September. The situation regarding primetime news programs on TV was similar. In 150 half-hour news programs, only nine items of news about national minorities were broadcast, seven of which dealt with the overall

position of national minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and two of which dealt with issues affecting Roma. As for weekly or periodical magazines, the Novi Reporter news magazine from Banja Luka and the San tabloid from Sarajevo published one article each about Roma. If we consider the fact that 50 print media outlets in Bosnia and Herzegovina were monitored, these figures demonstrate the total marginalization of national minority issues in the country. Additional evidence of sparse reporting of national minority issues in daily papers may be taken from the fact that 61% of all pieces covered in this category took the form of news items as opposed to more in-depth reporting. In TV primetime news programs, the bulk of coverage of national minorities consisted of short reports. These were field TV items that provided factual information on political events related to the implementation of the Sejdić-Finci ruling and the difficult social situation of the Roma minority.

Thematic representation – The largest number of articles on national minorities was published in Oslobodjenje – 17. In national minority coverage, politics was the most represented topic in daily newspapers, with 21 articles, followed by education, covered exclusively through articles about the Roma national minority, and after that came pre-election issues with a modest five articles. The situation was similar in the monitored TV news programs, where seven political items were registered. Most content in national minority coverage was related to efforts to reach agreement on implementing the Sejdić-Finci ruling of the European Court. A large number of items about this, although related to national minority issues, took the broader perspective of the BiH political situation and the efforts by senior politicians to fulfill the European Union's accession requirement, rather than being about the impact on the status of national minorities that might be expected when the ruling is fully implemented. This is also demonstrated by the fact that other than the appellants in the case, Jakob Finci and Dervo Sejdić, not a single national minority representative was given an opportunity to speak by any of these media outlets; this opportunity was only given to top government and political party representatives.

Illustrations – In 54 articles about national minorities, there were just 32 photographs, while 22 articles did not have a single journalistic photograph to provide additional information or visual appeal. Short news items (the dominant journalistic form) generally did not have photographs, whereas some longer articles had several photographs. In regard to TV coverage, all the monitored items had audio and visual statements by at least one speaker.

Sources – As many as 71% of articles in daily newspapers have only one source. In second place were articles with two sources (20%), while articles

with three or more sources were extremely rare. With regard to primetime news programs on TV, 33% of items had three sources, and 22% had one source. Even when there were multiple sources, these generally expressed the same or similar views.

Editorial focus – In daily newspapers, items with neutral or positive content were dominant in coverage of national minority issues (45% and 43% respectively), compared to just 12% in which negative content was dominant. However, when it comes to TV news programs, 44% of items were negative. One reason for this is the fact that with programs typically lasting just half an hour, only events that are particularly topical, interesting or shocking will be covered, and such events often have negative characteristics. In daily newspapers, whose entire content was monitored, there is more space and therefore even some protocol news was featured, which changed the percentage structure. Negative content was mostly related to the Roma population, which suffers social exclusion and widespread prejudice. Especially striking articles with negative content were “They beat up Roma group over shoes from dumpster” (Dnevni avaz, 25 September), “Money intended for Roma spent at private parties” (San, 19 September), and “Drunken man beat up children in front of dormitory” (Glas Srpske, 20 September). In the first article, Roma interviewees made serious allegations that they had been physically attacked at a market stall, and that this was because they were Roma, but there were no statements from police or eye-witnesses. In the second article, two Roma activists accused numerous Roma associations and authorities of spending money from donations for other purposes.

Editorial Perspective – In daily newspapers, there was almost no discernible viewpoint, with reports being relatively neutral and journalists reporting on problems without taking a positive or negative view. Overall, this was the same in regard to television, though the percentage of neutral coverage was significantly lower – 56%. In 44% of cases, there was a positive journalistic stand, reflecting a general trend of reporting the efforts of Dervo Sejdić and Jakob Finci in a positive way. Sometimes this resulted in indirect political support for some other political actors. RTRS aired an interesting item on 19 September about a meeting the two men had with RS President Milorad Dodik. The item began with the journalist paraphrasing Dodik’s words: “The RepublikaSrpska is ready to start changing the Constitution immediately and implementing the Sejdić-Finci decision.” The item also included a statement from Jakob Finci expressing particular gratitude to Dodik “for being the first political leader in Bosnia and Herzegovina or the first politi-

cian who asked Sejdić and Finci ‘What do you think about this?’” Their opinion was being sought on the RS proposals for an agreement on implementing the ruling. This was also picked up by TV1, which wrapped up an item on the Sejdić-Finci case on 23 September by noting that “Finci and Sejdić point out that Dodik is the first BiH politician who has invited them as guests and asked for their opinion on the best way to implement the Human Rights Court’s decision.” The same report concludes with mild criticism of the entire governing class: “However, this does not diminish the fact that 33 months have passed since the ruling and nothing has been agreed.”

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Dušan Babić, Radenko Udovičić, *Internet – sloboda bez granica?* [Internet – Freedom without Boundaries?] (2010), Media Plan Institute, Sarajevo.

Annex – list of interviewees**Media and journalists**

- Tarik Lazović, Dnevni avaz, Deputy Editor-in-Chief
- Dragica Orlando, Federal Television (FTV), Documentary Program Newsroom, Editor
- Tatjana Sekulić, Klix.ba portal, Executive Editor
- Dino Bajramović, Slobodna Bosna, Editor

- Dejan Rakita, ELTA TV, Editor-in-Chief
- Dalibor Popović, TV Bel channel Banja Luka, Program Director
- Dejana Topić-Daljević, Free radio Prijedor, Editor-in-Chief
- Natalija Trivić, Republika Srpska Television (RTRS), Program Director
- Nataša Tešanović, Alternativna televizija (ATV), Director
- Suzana Rađen-Todorić, BN TV, Editor-in-Chief
- Zoran Sovilj, Kozarski vjesnik Prijedor, Director
- Zoran Udovičić, longtime journalist and media expert

Representatives of national minority associations

- Bruno Palestra, Association of BiH Citizens of Italian Origin, President
- Irma Muratović, Association of Hungarians Sarajevo, President
- Sanja Bogdanović, Slovenian Cultural Association Cankar, President
- Hidajeta Redžić, Council of the Montenegrin National Minority in BiH
- Džemina Zejnullahu, Community of Albanians in BiH
- Emica Niami, Association of Citizens of Macedonian Origin Sarajevo, President
- Nedžad Jusić, Roma Association Euro Rom Tuzla, President
- Hakan Varan, Association of Turks in BiH
- Štefan Stahnek, Ukrainian Association “Kozak”, Trnopolje Prijedor, Deputy President
- Alenka Uduč, Association of Slovenians “Lipa” Prijedor, President; Council of National Minorities of the Republika Srpska, member
- Ramo Salešević, Roma Association of Prijedor Municipality, President
- Tomislav Blaha, Association of Czechs “Česka beseda” Prijedor, President
- Vladimir Krčkovski, Prijedor branch of Association “Rusko-srpski most”, President

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Analysis of minority media in Montenegro:

**NATIONAL MINORITY MEDIA IN A
STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL ON THE MARKET**

Abstract:

Multiculturalism of a society reflects the level of democracy of the country. Democratic society devotes full attention to respect and protection of human and minority rights, and particularly to the position of minority nations. In Montenegro, numerous laws and documents regulate minority rights, but the practice differs from the established rules. That is why we have decided to research the position of national minority media in Montenegrin society. The objective of the research is to identify, by studying legislation, the problems that minority nations encounter and to give recommendations for their resolving. Apart from the above mentioned we will explore the role of minority media in informing the fellow citizens. Certain minorities in Montenegro are rather passive and do not inform the public of their problems. Legislation is not the only problem. Another problem includes minority media that rarely cover minority rights but mostly promote the culture. We have reached such a conclusion through analysis of minority media in the period from February 27th to September 30th, 2012. The sample included Croatian, Albanian and Bosniak media. That is, radio Dux, Hrvatski glasnik, TV Boin, Koha javore, informative programme of the public service of Lajmet and Bošnjačke novine. The research did not include Serbian media because the status of Serbs in Montenegro is not clearly defined and it primarily represents a political issue. On one side, Serbs have the Serbian National Council, and on the other, pro-Serbian parties claim that Serbs who live in Montenegro are not a minority.

Key words: majority-minority relations, media on minority languages, status of Serbian community.

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1. Introduction

From the moment it gained independence, Montenegro strived to build a multiethnic and multicultural society in which all minority peoples would have equal rights. In passing laws that prescribe the rights of minority peoples, the state was guided by international standards. The definition of minorities was taken from the theoretician Francesco Capotorti and it was also accepted by the United Nations Sub-Committee. Despite good legislation, problems arose in practice. In drafting its legislation, Montenegro relied on European standards, but failed to take into account the historic and political specificities of the minority peoples living in its territory, which resulted in certain problems.

The Constitution of Montenegro guarantees minority peoples the right to information in their own language, while the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms guarantees them the right to establish their own media. However, all minority peoples that have their own media are barely surviving on the market due to the dire economic situation.

If we analyze the Montenegrin media market, we will see that quantity of media has an advantage over their quality. In the small media landscape, 5 dailies and 5 portals compete for the audience. Agency for Electronic Media data demonstrates that the market is oversaturated. Among radio stations, 39 commercial broadcasters, two national public broadcasters and 13 local public broadcasters operate in Montenegro. On the television market, there are 16 commercial broadcasters, one national public broadcaster and three local public broadcasters (www.ardecg.org).

The quantity of media is one of the reasons for open conflicts and mutual insults. Thus *Pobjeda* calls *Vijesti* a tabloid, and *Vijesti* sarcastically labels *Pobjeda* “the mouthpiece of Čepurci”² due to the number of obituaries in the paper. As a result of confrontations, we have three self-regulatory bodies. It is very difficult even for mainstream media to operate in this kind of atmosphere.

A CEDEM survey carried out in September 2012 showed that *Vijesti* is the most popular print media outlet and most trusted by citizens. As many as 48

² Local cemetery in Podgorica

percent of respondents gave their votes to the paper. In second place is *Dan* (28.5 percent), while *Pobjeda* (14 percent) came in third. As for broadcasters, *TV Vijesti* is trusted by as many as 50.8 percent of respondents. Interestingly, the survey established that citizens' trust in the public service also rose (21.5 percent) compared to December 2011 (17.6 percent).

One in a series of problems is related to the low level of media freedoms. The international organization "Reporters without Borders" warns of a constant decline in freedom of Montenegrin media. In 2012, Montenegro took 113th place on the media freedom index list, falling 6 places compared to the previous years, or 3 places compared to 2010 (www.rsf.org).

Considering all these problems, it is clear that national minority media are in a specific position because their target group is limited, as a result of which mainstream media are not interested in cooperation and mutual exchange of content with minority media.

The aim of this paper, based on an analysis of legislation, i.e. Constitution of Montenegro, Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms, Minority Policy Strategy and media laws, is to point out shortcomings in the provision of information to minority peoples. We must emphasize that minority peoples themselves, as a result of their passivity, are not contributing to improving their position. We came to the conclusion that minority media do not focus on minority rights, but on spreading culture and religion, based on an analysis of content that was carried out from February to September 2012. The sample consisted of the following media: *Bošnjačke novine*, the Albanian-language news program on the public service *Lajmet, TV Boin*, the Albanian weekly *Koha javore*, the Croat monthly *Hrvatski Glasnik*, and the Croat *Radio Dux*.³

2. Legislation in practice

According to the 2011 census of the population, 28.77% Serbs, 8.65% Bosniaks, 4.91% Albanians, 3.31% Muslims, 1.01% Roma and 0.92% Croats live in Montenegro (www.monstat.org 2011). The rights of national minori-

³ National Report for Montenegro, available at: <http://manjine.ba/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Crna-Gora-nacionalni-izvjestaj.pdf> (2 May 2013)

ties are fully supported and protected by legislation, but the situation in practice is not satisfactory and is a cause of dissatisfaction of minority peoples.

Based on our study of legislation, we are able to identify two problems: unclear definition of the term minority and imprecise statistical data on minority peoples living in the territory of Montenegro.

We find a concrete definition of minorities in Article 2 of the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms passed in 2006. Under the law, minority peoples and other minority national communities are defined as “any group of citizens of Montenegro, **numerically smaller than the rest of the predominant population**, having common ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics, different from those of the rest of the population, being historically tied to Montenegro and motivated by the wish to express themselves and maintain their national, ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity.” (Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms, 2006). The demographic difference among minorities is huge and has raised an important political question. Can 28.77 percent Serbs, or more precisely nearly one-third of the population, constitute a minority? Politicians and experts differ in opinion. Thus, Vaselj Siništaj, Goran Danilović and Andrija Mandić maintain that the term minority may designate citizens of Montenegro who make up 15 percent of the total population. On the other hand, Assistant Minister of Minority Rights Sabahudin Delić and Director of the Human Rights Center Siniša Bjeković argue that it would be inappropriate to define minorities by the demographic indicator. This unresolved matter is actually causing problems such as funding of national minority media. Nevertheless, Article 79 of the Constitution of Montenegro guarantees a whole set of rights to minority peoples. Among others, the Constitution enables minorities to be informed in their mother tongue.

Along with the imprecise definition, another problem is related to demographic data on minority peoples. According to Monstat data, 6,251 Roma live in Montenegro, while other data point to 11,000 Roma, and some even mention the figure of 20,000. The situation regarding the Croat population is similar. According to official data, 6,021 Croats live in Montenegro, while unofficially there are 12,000 Croats.

There is no doubt that the state has certain obligations to all citizens, including minority peoples. Article 7 of the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms obligates the Government to adopt a Minority Policy Strategy and thus support the national and ethnic specificities of minority peoples, with special focus

on including the Roma national community in Montenegro's social and political life.

The Government fulfilled the above obligation by adopting an Action Plan for the Implementation of the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015. Through the document, the state tried to improve the socio-economic position of Roma and include them in Montenegrin society.⁴ The Strategy envisions the broadcasting of radio shows in the Romani language. Assistant Minister of Culture and Media Željko Rutović and the director of the NGO "Democratic Roma Center", Ivan Toskić, signed an agreement on co-funding a show in Romani on *Antena M* radio. The show was supposed to contribute to better informing the Roma minority in line with international standards (www.pobjeda.me 2008).

Having the position of the Roma population in mind, the state took account of the most vulnerable minority through legislation. The Strategy on Improving the Position of the RAE Population 2008-2012 was adopted in late 2007. The strategy was primarily aimed at combating discrimination against Roma, but it did not contribute to making substantial changes in the life of the Roma population.

In April 2012 the Government passed a new Strategy on Improving the Position of Roma and Egyptians from 2012 to 2016. The document was produced in cooperation with the National Council of Roma and Egyptians and Roma civil society. The strategy defines 10 areas of activities and the Government has allocated funds in the amount of 2.173 million euros (www.vijesti.me, 2012). Although the National Council of Roma and Egyptians took part in producing the strategy, the body's vice-president, Muhamed Uković, is pessimistic regarding changes: "The strategy is implemented by specific ministries. I think it will all happen under a veil of secrecy and we will have a very small opportunity for monitoring."⁵

⁴ Not only domicile Roma were understood as Roma, but also refugees from Kosovo, regardless of whether they declared their ethnicity as Egyptian, Ashkali or Roma.

⁵ Interview with National Council of Roma and Egyptians Vice-President Muhamed Uković (6 September 2012)

In 2008 the State adopted the Minority Policy Strategy, under which it undertakes the obligation of implementing the following activities aimed at protecting minority rights:

- “for the purposes of individual public broadcasting services, RTCG (Radio and Television of Montenegro) may set up regional radio and television studios with a special obligation of producing and broadcasting regional programs and programs in minority languages;
- co-funding by the state and local self-government of radio and TV program contents in minority languages of importance to development of science, culture and information;
- ensuring the application of special legal norms regarding the establishment of working bodies within the management structure of the public service;
- institutionalized participation of minority representatives in bodies that define program contents on the public service;
- rebroadcasting relevant radio and TV programs from public services in countries in the immediate neighborhood;
- possibility of introducing a special channel on the public service devoted to minorities;
- in print media founded by the state, enabling everyday presence of minority contents in minority language;
- in line with available funds of the Fund for Minorities, providing co-funding for program contents devoted to minorities”. (Minority Policy Strategy, 2008)

Most of these regulations do not work in practice. The public service only has programs for the Roma and Albanian national minorities. Albanians on the public service have a news program called *Lajmet* and a weekly show called *Mozaiku*. In addition, on *Radio Montenegro* every day Albanians have morning news at 7:45, as well as a news program at 17:30. However, the Albanian national minority is not satisfied because the time for the *Mozaiku* program has been cut from 60 to 30 minutes, whereas the news program is broadcast at 15:00 instead of 17:00. This fact has also caused the displeasure

of the Albanian National Council. The president of the National Council of Albanians, Tahir Tahiri, says: “We Albanians living in Montenegro, specifically the Albanian Council, are not satisfied with how much the state is giving us in terms of information in the Albanian language. We have contacted the general director (both then director and incumbent director) over the shortening of *Mozaiku* to 30 minutes. In addition, the news program in Albanian, *Lajmet*, has been moved to a different time slot. It used to be aired at 17:20 and now (it is aired) at 15:00. We believe this time is not acceptable for Albanians in Montenegro. People get off work at three, which is a period of mobility; it is hard for people to stop at three and listen to something they should listen to if they are interested. Two months ago, on the eve of the Summer Olympic Games, the programs *Mozaiku* and *Lajmet* were stopped. Director Rutović, when asked why the programs were stopped, had replied: ‘We have also eliminated some programs in Montenegrin.’”⁶

With regard to the Roma national minority, the program in the Romani language has not been broadcast on *Radio Montenegro* since April 2012. The public service does not have a special channel devoted to minority peoples. We may conclude, therefore, that *RTCG* does not meet its obligations to minorities. Does that mean that a common solution for minority peoples is creating their own media?

2.1. The right to create one’s own media

With the goal of better informing members of national minorities, the state has adopted a set of laws on minority peoples. Article 12 of the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms guarantees national minorities the right to information and creating their own media. “...Persons belonging to minority peoples and other minority national communities shall have the right to free establishment of media and unhindered work based on: freedom of expression, research, collection, dissemination, publishing and receiving information, free access to all sources of information, protection of personality and dignity and free flow of information.” (Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms, 2006)

⁶ Interview with National Council of Albanians President Tahir Tahiri (03 October 2012)

Article 2 of the Law on Media, passed on 17 September 2002, also guarantees the right to freedom of information, both to domestic and foreign legal and natural persons, as well as the right to unhindered work of media.

Article 3 of the same law obligates the state to participate with budget funds in financing program contents in the Albanian language and languages of other national and ethnic minorities. The scope of funds is determined by the state budget and the way the funds are distributed is prescribed by an act of the republic administration body in charge of information affairs. (Law on Media, 2002)

Article 9 of the Law on Public Broadcasting Services of Montenegro obligates *RTCG*, i.e. the public service, to broadcast programs intended for members of minority groups which promote the cultural and ethnic identity of minority peoples and thus strengthen Montenegro as a multicultural, multiethnic and multireligious society. (Law on Public Broadcasting Services of Montenegro, 2008)

Article 55 of the Law on Broadcasters imposes an obligation on broadcasters with regard to program content. A broadcaster is due to comply with a rule according to which use of the Montenegrin language is not compulsory in airing a program in a national minority language.

Article 74 of the same law obligates public broadcasters to produce and air programs that promote the cultural identity of national and ethnic minorities, as well as to produce programs in languages of national minorities in areas where they live.

However, in the opinion of some experts, this article of the law is not fully complied with and contributes to a form of ghettoization of minority media. Even if minority people do create their own media, the question of their survival on the media market imposes itself.

2.2 Funding national minority media

The way national minority media are funded is also prescribed by the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms. There are several ways in which national minority media are funded. The first is through projects evaluated by the Fund for Protection and Exercise of Minority Rights and the Commission for Distribution of a Portion of Revenues from Games of Chance. The Ministry of Finance announces a call for distribution of funds from a portion of revenues from games of chance.

Article 36 and 36a of the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms guarantees that minority media are financed through a fund for minorities. The Fund for Minorities was set up in 2008. Four years later, with amendments to the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms, it was named Fund for Protection and Exercise of Minority Rights. The aim of the Fund is to preserve and develop national and ethnic specificities related to culture, language and religious identity. The state allocates at least 0.15% from the budget to the Fund, which distributes these resources among national minorities based on a public call. Eight representatives of its Steering Board are named by the Assembly, six members represent National Minority Councils, and one member comes from the Ministry for Minority Rights. The Steering Board members evaluate the quality of projects. Natural and legal persons as well as non-governmental organizations dealing with preservation of national and ethnic specificities of minority peoples may respond to the call. Article 36a of the Law prescribes the following criteria for receiving financial resources:

- “contribution given by the project to preserving and developing national, cultural, religious, lingual and ethnic identity;
- compatibility of the project with strategic documents of the Government;
- transparency and possibility of control over the implementation of the project;
- credibility of the project applicant”. (Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms, 2006)

Practice has shown once again in this case that this article of the law is not complied with and that the quality of projects is not decisive in the allocation of funding. In the last two years, due to financial misappropriations, the distribution of funds through the Fund for Protection and Exercise of Minority Rights has constantly provoked public revolt. Back in 2010 the Fund received a warning from the State Audit Commission related to numerous financial irregularities in its operations and in late 2011 criminal reports were filed against members of the Steering Board by the Montenegrin Committee of Lawyers for Protection of Human Rights and the NGO Civil Alliance (www.vijesti.me, 2012). Eight months after filing the report, the Montenegrin Committee of Lawyers for Protection of Human Rights contacted the prosecutor Ranka Čarapić regarding the lack of reaction by the Office of the Prosecutor.

The situation keeps repeating. In May 2012, after the next distribution of funds, the question of criteria based on which some of the projects had received financial support was publicly raised. It was established that in the previous three years the Fund for Protection and Exercise of Minority Rights had allocated over 1.3 million euros to the Serb National Council and Society for Equality and Tolerance. Out of six disputed projects, as many as three were given to Momčilo Vuksanović, a member of the Fund's Steering Board. For Serb television, radio *Kul* and a publishing activity, Vuksanović received 300,000 euros and the Fund did not perform any controls on how the projects were implemented. (*Dan*, 2012)

Distribution of funds in August the same year again caused a scandal because the Steering Board members distributed the money among themselves and their friends' non-governmental organizations. The quality of projects was not decisive in the allocation of funds, but rather partisan connections and nepotism. The Fund's Steering Board distributed 500,000 euros among 85 projects. Most of the money, 170,000 euros, was again given to the Serb National Council and an NGO representing the Serb national minority headed by Momčilo Vuksanović. The Albanian National Council was given 39,200 euros, the Muslim cultural society *Matica muslimanska* got 24,000 euros, the Bosniak National Council received 12,000 euros, while the most vulnerable minority, the National Council of Roma and Egyptians, only got 8,000 euros (*Vijesti*, 2012). In distributing the money, the Fund was also generous to officials of the Bosniak Party, who were given some financial resources for projects.

Related to the unfair distribution of funds, a member of the Assembly Human Rights and Freedoms Committee, Koča Pavlović, asked Assembly Speaker Ranko Krivokapić to annul the Fund's decisions. He accused the authorities of trying to fund the election campaign this way.

All of the above leads us to conclude that it is imperative to make fundamental changes in the Fund for Protection and Exercise of Minority Rights. The Fund's members should be representatives of National Minority Councils⁷,

⁷ There are six Councils in Montenegro: Serb, Bosniak, Albanian, Muslim, Roma and Croat.

ombudsmen and experts dealing with protection of human and minority rights. Councils cannot finance national minority media, but they can support their own media through the Fund.

2.3. Role of National Minority Councils in supporting their own media

Minority Councils have special obligations and their work is regulated by Article 33 of the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms. The article allows minorities to create Councils whose mandate is four years long. The Council has at least 17 members and is funded from the budget of Montenegro. However, these funds are insufficient.

Parliament delegates and members of the Government, presidents of municipalities and their assemblies as well as parties represented in the Assembly of Montenegro from minority peoples automatically become members of Councils. The others are elected by secret ballot in an electoral assembly of each minority people. The Council's obligations are defined by Article 35 of the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms. The Council has a duty to represent the minority, to propose to state bodies of government ways of promoting and improving the position of national minorities, to submit an initiative to the president of Montenegro if the rights of minority peoples are violated, to take part in creating education institutions, to propose the enrolment of a specific number of students in the University of Montenegro, and to propose amendments to acts related to the rights of minority peoples. Councils are funded by the state, each receiving 4,200 euros a month. These funds are not sufficient even for the Council's normal operations, let alone forgiving financial help to media. The only Council that helps its media is the Croat National Council, which allocates 1,000 euros a month for *Radio Dux* and 100 euros a month for *Hrvatski glasnik*.

Councils have their websites where they publish news, contributing to better informing their minority. But the Councils themselves face problems primarily of a financial nature.

The National Council of Albanians on the website www.knsh.me publishes news solely in the Albanian language because they do not have a translator. The Bosniak Council publishes news on the website www.bosnjaci.org.me which is not updated regularly. A member of the body, Mirsad Rastoder, explains: "Everything about us is on some kind of voluntary level, without any money or with very little money, which everyone is tired of. The younger generation or generations that have just come out of university

would not even think of working as volunteers. They ask right away how much it is paid. Therefore, there is no systematic solution; there is not enough willingness or energy. Something does get published occasionally, but not the way we would like or want.”⁸

The Croat National Council, www.hnv.me, is still in its infancy and the website is not updated regularly. The National Council of Roma and Egyptians, in the scope of its web presentation romski-savjet.webnode.com, informs Roma and connects with them through the portal. “On the portal you can find everything that is now current related to Roma in the region, but these are mostly articles carried from other portals, because we don’t have a good-quality newsroom.”⁹

The Muslim Council is quite active and receives resources from the Fund for Protection and Exercise of Minority Rights. The first Islamic web portal has been set up, www.monteislam.com.

3. National minority media in Montenegro

Minority peoples have the right to establish their own media, but due to financial and staffing problems and ghettoization, they are invisible on the media market. Croat media are present only in areas inhabited by Croats, in the area of the Bay of Kotor (Boka Kotorska). The Bosniak monthly can only be found in Rožaje. Albanian media are also local, with the exception of the weekly *Koha javore*. Of course, all these media have their internet versions, but considering that the number of internet users in Montenegro is relatively small, we cannot speak of their importance in informing national minorities.

3.1. Bosniak media in Montenegro

The Bosniak minority publishes the monthly *Bošnjачke novine* and has a large number of portals. *Bošnjачke novine* did not come out for a couple of

⁸ Interview with Bosniak National Council member Mirsad Rastoder (6 September 2012)

⁹ Interview with National Council of Roma and Egyptians Vice-President Muhamed Uković (6 September 2012)

months due to a financial crisis, while the portal www.seher.me is not updated regularly. A portal called www.bosnjaci.me is to be launched soon. A radio station will start working as part of it, but it is supposed to become a real radio station by the end of the year. By April 2013 Bosniaks planned to launch the first regional television station.

Information is provided to Bosniak Muslims through a website that regularly publishes news, www.forumbosnjaka.com.

Bošnjačke novine was set up in 2001. After publishing 18 issues, the paper encountered serious financial problems and did not come out again until 2012. The monthly has a regularly updated website, www.bosnjackenovine.com.

The magazine put out seven issues from February to September 2012. From February to May the paper came out as a double issue and in May it became a monthly. *Bošnjačke novine* is printed in blackandwhite, with only the cover pages and advertisements in color, but better quality of print and paper is evident with each new issue. The first issue of the monthly was printed on low quality paper.

Bošnjačke novine has considerable informational value as it focuses on Bosniaks who live not just in Montenegro, but in the whole region, as well as elsewhere in Europe. It has a variety of sections: *Politics, Economy, Culture, Society, Religious issues, History, Sport, Human interest*. The largest section is *Culture*, with *Politics* in second place. Most attention is given to promoting literary works by Bosniak writers, as well as political problems of Bosniaks in Montenegro. Religious issues are also very common, as the monthly has a separate section related to religious issues. However, we find human and minority rights in only 10% of all items, one of the monthly's shortcomings. Some sections are not regular, primarily *Economy* and *Sport*. In some issues we also find the section *Interview*. The paper has correspondents from Turkey, usually publishing one or two articles by Turkish correspondents. The section is called *Voice from Turkey* and articles are published in the Turkish language.

Most articles (74%) are signed by journalists and 16% are signed by the newsroom. Different visits by political representatives of the Bosniak Party, launch of various organizations, and some of the interviews are signed by the newsroom.

Bošnjačke novine rarely carries information from other media. The paper sometimes quotes information from *Dan* or carries news from the Bosniak Muslim portal www.monteislam.com.

Genres are very diverse. The most common genres in the monthly are commentary (24%), news item (21%), literary work (17%), report (11%), article (7%) and interview (6%). Commentaries are written by members of minority peoples and speak about problems faced by their peoples or the area that is mostly inhabited by Bosniaks. Sometimes we come upon commentaries and information related to general issues such as “Ethics of reality shows”, “Criticism of character”, “Should Breivik be hated?”

The source is not provided in 54% of the items because they are about literary or religious issues. Articles related to current events are most common, while 20% are pseudo-events.

Journalistic stand is not displayed in the informational genres. Stand is mostly positive in commentaries which speak about problems, but end with a note of optimism. However, in 16% of the commentaries we can clearly see the authors’ pronounced dissatisfaction, expressed both in the headline and in the article itself.

Articles are usually informational (90%) and only 10% of the information is negative. Examples of positive articles are “Montenegro is example of co-existence in Balkans”, “Results speak more than words”, “We can do it better”, “Agriculture and tourism, Rožaje’s development chance”. Negative articles, such as “Effendis killed in war” about Serb and Croat soldiers killing 115 imams and religious teachers, and commentaries “From genocide to assimilation” and “Freedom is paid for”, usually refer to war crimes committed against the Bosniak people.

3.2 Albanian media in Montenegro

Albanian media are barely surviving on the Montenegrin market. Radio *Ulcinj* has been closed for years, TV *Teuta* has financial difficulties, while TV *Boin* is about to be shut down. Radio *Elita* from Ulcinj is funded through projects, i.e. financial resources received from the Fund for Minorities and Ministry of Culture. It is unknown what will happen with the weekly *Koha javore* operating in the scope of the state-owned newspaper *Pobjeda*, which will soon be privatized, and thus the existence of the weekly is questionable.

News programs on the public service and TV Boin – Unlike the public service, private Albanian media do cover minority issues. For the purposes of this project we analyzed the private television station TV *Boin*, which is funded thanks to donations from the diaspora and partly through advertising. TV *Boin* is dominated by political information, either about majority issues or information devoted to the Albanian minority and other national minorities. Economic and cultural issues are also present. Citizens have an opportunity to be informed about important historic and cultural events and about events from mostly Albanian-populated regions (Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia). Nevertheless, the television program is mostly focused on the history, culture and tradition of the Albanian national minority, mostly covering events and people from the history, culture and literature of Albanians or Illyrians, who are considered Albanians' ancestors. TV *Boin* does not have the technical or staffing capacities for direct transmission of events or very often for recording them either. That is the main reason why either photographs of the person being talked about or archive footage are mostly used in reports.

The Albanian-language news program on the public service *RTCG*¹⁰ has a sharply opposed editorial policy. The editor of the program's newsroom Nik Kalaj gives advantage to news from Montenegro, whereas a small part of the information is devoted specifically to Albanians in Montenegro and the region. *Lajmet* is actually a mirror copy of the Montenegrin-language news program. Out of 217 items, as many as 203 focus on majority political issues. Only 13 items are devoted to their own minority. According to Editor Nik Kalaj, news selection is carried out in the following way: "We look at what is most important in Montenegro and we choose that. We also choose news that is most important for Albanians in Macedonia, Albania, Kosovo, as well as Montenegro. Perhaps it is not so interesting if it is watched in Montenegro, but it is interesting for the Albanian-speaking region."¹¹ Prevalent genres on *Lajmet* are news item (51%) and report (47%). In 41% of the cases, the news program focuses on current events and in 38% of the

¹⁰ The content of the Albanian-language news program was analyzed by Dejan Lučić.

¹¹ Interview with Editor of the Albanian-language newsroom Nik Kalaj (18 October 2012)

news we come upon a current event as a reaction. Five percent of items are pseudo events. Due to staffing problems, authors of items are identified in only 3% of all cases, whereas 7% of items are press releases. For that reason the news is most commonly accompanied by archive footage (71%), while 22% of items contain silent footage and 6% contain a photograph. In 56% of the items, we find one source of information and in 30% of the news the sources are not identified at all. Journalists never express their stand and are completely neutral toward the subject of their report. As for the content of the item, 38% of items are negative. This primarily regards information from the region and world covering a variety of crisis situations. There are 26% positive and 36% neutral items.

Unlike *Lajmet*, on TV *Boin*, despite staffing problems, as many as 92% of items are signed by authors, 3% are agency news, and 5% is information carried from other media. Television *Boin* broadcasts its own news, political and cultural/entertainment program. The *Voice of America* news program in Albanian is also broadcast every day, as well as programs from TV stations in Kosovo and Albania. News item is by far the most common genre (94%), while we find reports in 5% of items. Journalists mostly report on current events (54%), pseudo events (18%) or carry statements (14%). We find a current event as a reaction in 7% of items. Items are usually accompanied by photographs/telops (76%) or archive footage (44%). Journalists' stand is mostly positive (47%), as well as neutral (42%), while a negative stand is expressed in only 11% of all cases. Information has a positive character in 51% of the cases and neutral in 41%, while negative information is very rare (8%).

Koha javore¹² - The weekly *Koha javore* (*Sunday time*) was founded in 2002 by the Assembly of Montenegro. Its circulation is 800 copies. The paper's online edition is especially popular among the Albanian population living abroad (USA, Europe and Australia). The paper comes out once a week, on Thursday. It is printed in color on 32 pages. The editor Ali Salaj explained in an interview all of the problems faced by the weekly *Koha javore*. He expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that the paper is not independent, but

¹² The content of the weekly *Koha javore* was analyzed by Nikola Siništaj.

is tied to the state-owned paper *Pobjeda*. Despite the help of the Ministry of Media, which had allocated 50,000 euros a year, and a variety of projects, the paper is still in a dire financial situation, which is best shown by the number of employees. The newsroom is made up of one journalist, a technical editor and a translator. The Albanian National Council and political parties do not help the weekly financially. The paper is state-owned and has no right to apply for projects from the Fund for Minorities.

Most information in *Koha javore* concerns their own minority, while a smaller portion concerns majority issues. Information from the fields of politics, culture and economy are dominant, with focus both on their own as well as other minorities. Culture and literature are regular sections. A lot of attention is given to Albanian authors and their work.

Journalists signed 88% of all items, only 3% of the news items are unsigned, and 2% are carried from other media. The most common genre is report (36%), followed by feature (31%). Unlike other minority media, in the paper *Koha javore* we find a number of articles with elements of analysis and investigative journalism. Such articles usually cover issues from the history of Albanians or Illyrians, trying to present them in a new light. They talk about events from history which are little known or written about and in which Albanians participated – mostly as victims.

Pseudo events (47%) dominate in the weekly, while we find current events in 44% of items. Journalistic stand is predominantly positive (83%). It is not expressed in 14% of the cases and is negative in only 4%. The content of items in the weekly *Koha javore* is mostly positive (83%), neutral in 14% and negative in 4% of items.

3.3. Croat media in Montenegro

Most of the Croat population lives in the area of the Bay of Kotor, which is why Croat media are concentrated along the coast. The magazine *Hrvatski glasnik* comes out in Kotor and the newsroom of *Radio Dux* is seated in Tivat, broadcasting on the frequency 97.4 FM. *Radio Dux* has its own website, www.radiodux.me, and the radio program can also be followed on the Internet.

Hrvatski glasnik – founded in 2003 by the non-governmental organization Croat Civil Society. The magazine's electronic edition can be found on their website www.hrvticg.com. *Hrvatski glasnik* is a monthly paper and is printed in color on 54 pages. The last pages of the magazine are used for marketing.

The editor of *Hrvatski glasnik* is not satisfied with the outlet's financial situation: "We are not supported either by the state of Montenegro, in which we live, or by Croatia. Only thanks to our will, enthusiasm, and I may also say amateurism, volunteer work and love for journalism, we manage to keep the *Glasnik* going."¹³ *Hrvatski glasnik* has no journalists or educated staff.

The circulation of *Hrvatski glasnik* used to be 800 copies, but has lately fallen to 650. The monthly is distributed thanks to offices in Podgorica, Bar, Herceg Novi, Kotor and Tivat.

The paper mostly focuses on its own minority and in the research period we did not come upon information about other minority peoples. The paper focuses on promoting the Croat culture. Also present are historic events, religious issues, human and minority rights. The issue of education is also current, considering that Croats hold classes in their mother tongue as part of the project "Let's learn Croatian" in elementary and high schools in Kotor and Tivat. Items related to education in the mother tongue are "Supplementary classes in Croatian language", "Ninth year of Croatian language and culture classes in Kotor and Tivat" and "Contribution to learning Croatian language".

We have the following regular sections in the magazine: *Boka residents in Croatia*, *Well-known people up close*, *Chronicle of society*, *Kotor tricks*, *Kotor city chronicle*. Issues from the field of culture are most common because various carnivals and concerts are held in the Bay of Kotor area in the summer. Political majority issues are related to celebration of Montenegro's independence, Statehood Day and parliamentary elections. Prominent public figures coming from minorities are presented in the section *Well-known people up close*.

Most items (94%) are signed by authors and only 5% of items are unsigned. Among genres, news items, reports and features dominate. We mostly find news items in the section *Chronicle of society*, which consists of many short news items. Feuilletons, interviews and commentaries are equally present. In the monthly we also come upon numerous feuilletons about historic events related to the Croat national minority.

¹³ Interview with *Hrvatski glasnik* Editor Tripe Šubert (1 August 2012)

We find current events in 48% of items, while 33% are about pseudo events. Photographs from the scene of events accompany 85% of items. Short news items from the section *Chronicle of society* are usually not accompanied by photographs.

One source is identified in 26% of items, we find two sources in 6% of items, whereas three and more than three sources are equally present (2%). Citizens or prominent experts from the minority dominate as sources of information.

Journalistic stand is usually not expressed (83% of cases), followed by positive stand (16%), with only two items with a negative journalistic stand.

Radio Dux was founded by the non-governmental organization “Dux Croatorum” in 2009. The radio bases its program on shows that have an informational and educational character. The radio broadcasts three shows. Every Thursday at 13:00, in the show “Following the trail of Boka’s Croats and events”, listeners have an opportunity to learn about important events related to the Croat national minority, with interesting people of Croat origin living in Montenegro, well-known people visiting Montenegro, as well as political activities of the Croat Civil Initiative party. In the period of pre-election activities, representatives of the Croat party were often guests on the radio as part of the show. Due to the topic of the show, we decided to analyze “Following the trail of Boka’s Croats and events”. Besides the mentioned show, once a week the radio also broadcasts a show called “Eco Boka”, devoted to ecological issues. The show “Neptune”, which focuses on maritime affairs, nautical tourism and fishing, is broadcast twice a month. The rest of the program is music and listeners can mostly listen to Dalmatian harmony-singing groups, as well as well-known Croatian performers. Radio *Dux* plans to expand its program and is preparing two more shows. One is “Horizons and parallels” in cooperation with radio *Raguza* from Dubrovnik. It will be an informational show, containing information from Dubrovnik and Boka. The second show, “Bokobran” will be devoted to architecture in the Bay of Kotor and everything else that this part of Montenegro is known for. The show had been on air for a while, but was cancelled.

According to the radio’s director Miroslav Marušić, *Dux* receives financial support both from the state of Montenegro and from its parent state of Croatia. Thanks to marketing and writing projects, the radio is able to operate normally. However, Director Marušić believes that the state could give some subsidies to national minority radio: “As we are specific media, media of

national minorities, they might reduce our financial obligations to the Broadcasting Center”.¹⁴

The radio’s early work when it was established was not easy. Moreover, the radio failed to meet the requirement to broadcast 120 days after receiving its license. But the Government of Montenegro and the Broadcasting Center were understanding of the situation and did not shut down the radio. Another problem was setting up a newsroom. No one responded to a public call and the radio director personally looked for staff. The radio director, who had gained practical experience at *Radio Free Europe* in the Czech Republic, educated the staff himself. Radio *Dux* does not have a news program. It provides useful information announcing cultural events.

In the period from 27 February to 30 September, 27 editions of the show “On the trail of Boka’s Croats and events” were aired. The show is devoted exclusively to the Croat national minority. Only one item focused on a majority issue, the Tivat-based football team *Arsenal*. The most frequent issues are about culture, such as book presentations, performances by well-known pianists, interviews with interesting people who have fascinating hobbies.

The show is edited and hosted by the journalist Adrijan Vuksanović, who makes reports or interviews his interlocutors. The journalist is extremely fair and kind to all interlocutors.

In terms of genre, interviews and reports are represented almost equally. The journalist is mostly neutral during interviews and in 30% of the items the journalist’s stand is positive.

The occasion for items are current events, foreexample election activities of the Croat Civil Initiative. However, 26% of the items are about pseudo events. These are reports about various concerts and book presentations – presentations of books by Gracijela Čulić, Đuro Vidmarović, Viktor Vida. That way the journalist informs the domicile Croat population about cultural events in the Bay of Kotor area.

¹⁴ Interview with radio *Dux* Director Miroslav Marušić (1 August 2012)

Of the 27 shows, 14 are interviews with guests in the studio. Reports are accompanied by audio recordings from the scene. In 52% of the cases, we find only one source of information, but some reports contain two, three or even more than three sources. In the interviews, the journalist generally invites one person as a guest and it is therefore understandable that in 52% of the information we find only one source. Sources are always personalized, which means that the show's guests are usually people who inform the public about their professional work. The most frequent guests on the eve of local elections in Tivat and Herceg Novi were representatives of the Croat Civil Initiative.

As much as 89% of the information is positive by its character, 4% is neutral and 7% of the information is negative. Negative information usually contains criticism of the state which does not appropriately value the fact that 60% of the cultural heritage in Montenegro comes from the Croat people.

3.4. Roma – most vulnerable in terms of information too

Although Roma are the most vulnerable minority and require special attention, they do not have everyday or weekly shows in the Romani language or if they do, these shows are only implemented in the scope of a project. The public service broadcasts a show in Romani once a month and *Radio Montenegro* broadcasts a show twice a month. But, as of April, due to lack of staff at *Radio Montenegro*, the show has stopped airing. *Romski radio* (Roma radio), although founded in July 2011, is still in an experimental stage. With the help of the Center for Culture of Minorities, two issues of the magazine *Alav* have been published so far in the Romani and Montenegrin languages. But Roma have their own portal, www.rae-portal.com, on which they inform the public in the Montenegrin language about problems faced by the Roma and Egyptian population.

A problem related to establishing Roma print media is the high percentage of illiterate population. More than 50% of Roma women between 15 and 24 years of age are illiterate. Therefore, it is understandable that Roma do not have print media. But they also have very few shows in the Romani language. Shows are broadcast solely in the scope of projects or on the initiative of the Roma non-governmental sector. The shows promote Roma music and writers, whereas the real socio-economic problems that Roma face on a daily basis are pushed into the background. The first show in the Romani language was broadcast on radio *Gorica*. After that came the show "Ten questions" on radio *Tivat*. In the 2010/2011 period the show "Roma speak" was aired on

the Christian radio *Svetigora*. What is really interesting is the fact that the shows were hosted by the same person, the journalist Ivan Toskić, who is also the director of the non-governmental organization “Democratic Roma Center”. Many of the shows were created on his initiative, but none of these shows are currently being aired. The editor of radio *Svetigora*, Nikola Pejović, explained that the reason why the show “Roma speak” was cancelled was primarily of a financial nature: “We tried to provide some funding for the show and we contacted the Ministry of Finance. However, we did not succeed in getting any funding and we were thus forced to stop broadcasting.”¹⁵

A show devoted to Roma under the name “Roma forum” in the Montenegrin language is aired on radio *Bijelo Polje*. According to the director of radio *Bijelo Polje*, Dragić Rabrenović, the interlocutors in the show are primarily representatives of relevant institutions familiar with problems faced by the Roma population. The most frequent topics on the show are education, housing, employment, healthcare and customs of Roma.

Director Rabrenović stresses the importance of the show: “In terms of success, we might mention the fact that an item aired in these shows was awarded in a competition for best item about the Roma population organized by the Ministry of Culture in 2012. Another success resulting from the show is that after these series, Roma in Bijelo Polje received more attention, both from institutions and non-governmental organizations as from citizens themselves. In addition, Roma interest in participating in social life has also increased.”¹⁶

4. Conclusion

Based on our analysis of legislation and the way minority media operate, we may draw several conclusions.

Montenegro has good legislation which needs to be advanced to some extent because its imprecision has caused new problems. Thus, the definition of

¹⁵ Interview with radio *Svetigora* Editor Nikola Pejović (20 September 2012)

¹⁶ Interview via e-mail with radio *Bijelo Polje* Director Dragić Rabrenović (5 September 2012)

minorities has raised a yet unresolved political issue. Can a people like Serbs be a minority if they make up one-third of the population? Although experts do not agree, this issue must be resolved on the political level. Another problem related to legislation is that it is not implemented in cases such as financing of national minority media through the Fund for Protection and Exercise of Minority Rights, structure of the Fund's Steering Board, role of National Minority Councils and structure of Councils.

The Minority Policy Strategy guarantees minorities the broadcasting of shows in their own languages on the public service. However, the state has not provided equal status to all minority peoples. Roma and Albanians are covered the most on the public service, while other minorities have not been given their own space on *RTCG*. In addition, the public service has not created a channel for minority peoples.

Minorities such as Bosniaks and Croats do not have shows in their own languages on the public service. The most vulnerable minority in Montenegro, the Roma population, is not informed about its rights. Not a single radio show in the Romani language has been aired on the public service since April 2012. The impression is that Roma are taken into consideration only when new strategies are adopted, but their real problems are not being addressed. Albanians have a news program in their own language, which is a mirror copy of the Montenegrin news program and has no role in informing the Albanian population.

To exercise the right to information, minorities should have their own media in addition to shows aired on the public service. Although they are guaranteed this right, minorities are often faced with problems such as inability to get frequencies or founding media that only air music for a year.

Most minority media are ghettoized. For example, Croat media are concentrated in the Bay of Kotor area. *Hrvatski glasnik*, as well as *Bošnjačke novine*, can only be bought in places where they are published. Therefore, we may conclude that minority media are invisible on the Montenegrin market. Mainstream media have no interest in collaborating with national minority media. Only *Pobjeda* exchanges content with *Radio Dux* and *Vijesti* exchanges content with *Koha javore*.

Analysis of content of minority media showed that not even media themselves give much consideration to informing members of their peoples. Most minority media focus on promoting culture and religion, while current social

problems of their peoples are completely neglected or pushed into the background.

Print media have one common characteristic. Regardless of whether they are weeklies or monthlies, everything comes down to commentaries or feuilletons about historic, religious or cultural issues, with few items devoted to the rights of their people.

Some media, such as *Radio Dux*, do not even have their own news program, only producing documentary shows that promote cultural heritage or political activities of the Croat Civil Initiative, which expresses its dissatisfaction with the position of Croats in Montenegro. *Bošnjačke novine* in its commentaries to some extent focuses on problems faced by their compatriots living in the area of Rožaje. But none of the minority media give enough attention to the rights of their people. Moreover, some media defend certain decisions that are made at the expense of a particular minority, for example unequal distribution of resources through the Fund for Minorities.

Minority media must advance their content, which means that they must not only focus on cultural heritage and religious sermons, but also on the rights and problems of their peoples living in Montenegro. That way minority media will urge the state to think about improving the position of minority peoples and the exercise of their rights. The state must give more attention to compliance with Article 79 of the Constitution of Montenegro, which among other things guarantees minorities the right to information in their own language, and Article 12 of the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms which gives minorities the right to establish their own media. These two crucial articles related to informing minorities are not fully complied with. Despite facing a dire economic situation, the state must be consistent in implementing the law.

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Conclusions and recommendations

HOW TO ADOPT EUROPEAN STANDARDS INTO A GOOD PRACTICE?

By Radenko Udovičić and Davor Marko

UDK: 316.774: 342.724(497.1)

1. Introduction

The position of national minorities in society and their presence in the media have the same or similar characteristics in the countries that emerged from the former Yugoslavia (those covered in this project are Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia). The first common characteristic is found in the social changes that followed the collapse of the one-party system and the ideology that underpinned it. The violent disintegration of socialist Yugoslavia, followed by the rise of political pluralism and the application of European civil standards, placed a large number of questions related to the status of peoples and national minorities in a new perspective, and raised new, often controversial issues of inter-ethnic relations.

The socialist system attached an ideological characteristic to everything, including the concept and position of peoples and nationalities. Yugoslavia was a “state based on the sovereignty of peoples” and on “government and self-government by the working class and all working people”, and it was a “socialist, self-managing democratic community of working people and citizens and equal peoples and nationalities”. The notion of brotherhood and unity placed the peoples and the national minorities in the broader context of a state of “working people and citizens”, in which the rights of all citizens, including minorities, were exercised in the framework of the ideological concept of socialist society. When it came to protecting members of national minorities, the legislation in force during this period mostly defined rights in the fields of education, culture, language and tradition, while all other rights were guaranteed and protected in the same way as for all other “working people and citizens”.

There is no generally accepted definition of “minority”, and some widely-used definitions are essentially functional, developed to serve in just one particular

context or survey. Nevertheless, one of the most comprehensive and most widely accepted definitions has been offered by former United Nations Special Rapporteur Francesco Capotorti, who proposes that minorities are “groups, inferior in number to the rest of a country’s population, which are not in a dominant position, whose members are citizens of that country but possess ethnic, religious and lingual specificities that differentiate them from other citizens.”¹

According to a Croatian expert on national minority issues, who is Serb by ethnic origin, Dr. Siniša Tatalović, the basic difficulty lies in the question of whether subjective or objective criteria should be accepted in defining a minority. The difficulty with subjective criteria is that they raise the question of whether each individual is free to declare himself or herself as a member of a certain group, completely freely, even if he or she does not possess some traits that are considered characteristic of that group. In addition, there is the question of whether everyone in all circumstances is able to declare themselves as a member of a particular minority without pressure and without suffering adverse consequences? As far as objective criteria are concerned, the questions that have to be asked are: What are the criteria? How were these criteria established? Who decides how these criteria are applied? ²

With the collapse of Yugoslavia, new countries were created in which both the legal position and the definition of the former peoples and national minorities who had lived in the joint country changed. They were defined constitutionally in a combination of civil and national sovereignty, but with different solutions created with the founding of each of the new countries. Some former peoples became populous minorities (Serbs in Croatia, Bosniaks/Muslims³ in Serbia and Montenegro) and some became peoples (Albanians in Kosovo after it gained independence).

¹ Capotorti, F (1991) Study on the rights of persons belonging to ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities K3242 .C37 1991, New York

² REGIONALNI GLASNIK ZA PROMOCIJU KULTURE MANJINSKIH PRAVA I MEĐUETNIČKE TOLERANCIJE (2004), Siniša Tatalović – “Složeni kriteriji utvrđivanja starih i novih manjina”, Stina, Media Plan Institute and Novi Sad Journalism School; http://www.mediaplan.ba/servis/servis03_ba.pdf

³ The constitutionally sanctioned name, **Muslims**, was changed to **Bosniaks** after Bosnia-Herzegovina’s separation from Yugoslavia.

With the disintegration of the former joint country, many citizens in the new countries found themselves belonging to minorities, and, because of events that had taken place during the conflict, facing serious and painful examples of discrimination which continues albeit to a lesser extent today. These are the circumstances in which they have endeavored to go through the complex process of social integration. The atmosphere of anti-minority policy and inter-ethnic intolerance has not spared those citizens who were already a minority under the former regime, but it has at certain points brought the new minorities virtually to the verge of extinction. This situation is being addressed today, step-by-step and with great difficulty and, in a particularly important way, it has become a key test of the degree to which the newly-created countries can be said to be properly democratic.

In several of his works, Dusan Janjic of the Belgrade-based Forum for Ethnic Relations explores the concept of “new” and “old” minorities. In terms of legal status, he writes, the issue was first raised in the early 1990s in Slovenia and Croatia. In Slovenia, the differentiation of minorities between “autochthonous” and “new minorities” was accepted and implemented through legislation. National groups that were identified as autochthonous, i.e. native, in Slovenia were those that had been identified as national minorities before the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Thus, autochthonous minorities in Slovenia today are Italians and Hungarians, while Serbs, Bosniaks and Croats constitute new minorities. In Croatia, for political reasons during the war, Serbs living in those parts of the country that were controlled by the Croatian government were identified as autochthonous, whereas the others were classed as rebellious Serbs or a “new minority”. In Serbia, i.e. the SRY (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), no effort was made to define the legal status of these minorities and when the Federal Law on National Minorities was adopted in 2003, they were identified in the same way as other national minorities. And while Croats, Slovenes and Macedonians were “automatically” defined no longer as “constituent peoples” but as “national minorities”, members of the then Muslim people actively promoted their new status as a “national minority” at the same time insisting on the new designation of “Bosniak”.

What became clear from efforts to define “new minorities” was the difficulty of applying “classical definitions”. The most accurate way of applying the term “new minorities” might be in reference to those ethnic communities that had the status of “constituent peoples” in the former Yugoslavia, and whose members, when Yugoslavia broke up, found themselves under the

authority of newly-established countries, while their “home country” was one of the other former republics⁴.

Although recognition of status and the definition of minorities differ from country to country, a common factor concerning all four monitored countries in this project is that the whole issue has been subject to the negative impact of inadequately regulated inter-ethnic relations arising with the country’s violent dissolution, and a growing nationalist sentiment among the majority peoples.

The case of Bosnia and Herzegovina is characteristic. The Dayton Constitution defined the Constituent Peoples – Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats – as sovereign, placing all others who do not declare themselves as members of the Constituent Peoples in the category of “Others”. The administrative term “Others” has produced a lot of misunderstanding and has caused one of the most blatant violations of human rights – that members of national minorities cannot run for or be elected to the state Presidency and the BiH Parliament House of Peoples. The European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg has ruled that this provision violates the rights of citizens who are not members of the Constituent Peoples and has ordered Bosnia and Herzegovina to amend its Constitution in order to end this violation. Laws on the protection of rights of national minorities (one state law and two Entity laws) list 17 national minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They are, thus, part of the category of “Others”, which also includes Bosnians (as opposed to Bosniaks), citizens who have chosen to identify with the state rather than with their ethnic background when declaring themselves, or citizens who are in mixed marriages or who are the product of mixed marriages and adopt this method of circumventing the rigid ethnic division implicit in the whole premise of Constituent Peoples. Bosnians have been termed a “political minority”, similar to those who identified themselves as Yugoslavs in the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), circumventing definition by ethnicity.

⁴ REGIONALNI GLASNIK ZA PROMOCIJU KULTURE MANJINSKIH PRAVA I MEĐUETNIČKE TOLERANCIJE (2004), Dušan Janjić – “Nove manjine u traganju za identitetom i statusom”, Stina, Media Plan Institute and Novi Sad Journalism School; http://www.mediaplan.ba/servis/servis03_ba.pdf

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Serbia is defined by the Constitution as a state of the Serbian people and all citizens living in it. The rights of national minorities in Serbia are guaranteed by seven articles of the Constitution, and by the Law on National Councils and the Law on the Protection of Rights and Freedoms of Minorities. Twenty-six national minorities live in Serbia and they are represented through national councils. Serbia, which due to its multiethnic population structure, particularly in Vojvodina, has inherited to a large extent the manner in which relations with minorities were regulated in the former country, is now facing criticism that the state's concern for the protection of minority rights differs between Vojvodina on the one hand and so-called Serbia proper on the other. This is reflected in the unsatisfactory position of minorities working in the Belgrade media.

Montenegro is defined by the Constitution as a secular state in which all citizens who have Montenegrin citizenship are sovereign. The Preamble to the Constitution of Montenegro identifies ethnic groups as “peoples and national minorities”, but does not specify which group is a people and which is a national minority. The rights of national minorities in Montenegro are guaranteed by the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms. A minority national community is “every group of citizens of Montenegro, smaller in number than the rest of the predominant population, which has common ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from the rest of the population...” Researchers on this project have drawn attention to the vagueness in the definition and establishment of minority status, which causes confusion in Montenegrin society and affects the exercise of a number of minority rights. This is particularly true with regard to Serbs, who make up nearly 30 percent of the population and who, in practical terms, are a minority but who – compared to the vast majority of those who declare themselves as Montenegrins – do not have a different origin or specificities related to religion, customs or culture. Here too, as with Bosnians in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we may point to a “political” minority.

Macedonia is defined by the Constitution as a country of the “Macedonian people, as well as of Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, Roma and other peoples...” The 2001 Ohrid Agreement ended a conflict between part of the Albanian population and the Macedonian security forces and advanced the rights of Albanians in Macedonia (the Albanian language along with Macedonian became an official language in areas where the Albanian community is in the majority, and ethnic proportionality was established in making appointments in the civil service and the police). The rights of minorities in Macedonia are also guaranteed by a special law. In interviews with Macedonian media and

a number of national minority associations, the authors were warned that even after the constitutional settlement of the crisis in Macedonia, interethnic tensions and divisions continue to exist, affecting the health of the media environment, including the treatment of minorities in media coverage.

2. General Recommendations

Although the four countries participating in the project were part of the former SFRY and have many historical, cultural, political, economic and media characteristics in common, in the area of national minorities there are significant differences. One of these is the major difference in the size of minorities in proportion to the overall population in these countries – from Bosnia and –Herzegovina, which has 2 percent (not including Bosnians, as explained earlier), to Macedonia, where national minorities account for around one-third of the population. Especially interesting is the situation in Montenegro where, not counting Serbs, those who have declared themselves as Montenegrins make up just 44 percent of the population. This results in a range of different legislative solutions, whose common feature is a formal aspiration to protect human (minority) rights, but which are being implemented in different contexts and which – when the situations in the analyzed countries are compared – have few common characteristics. For this reason, the next part of this introductory section will focus on general and practical recommendations that concentrate on the media, which is the main concern of the organizations and individuals participating in the project, and which is the central purpose of the “Media and Minorities” project, supported by the RRPP program of the University of Freiburg in Switzerland.

• Legislation – initiatives for improvement and changes

In all four countries the constitutional definitions of national minority rights and legislative solutions are in line with international and European standards⁵.

⁵ UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (1992); International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights from 1966 (Article 27); Council of Europe’s Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities from 1994; European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992); OSCE documents: Haške preporuke o pravu nacionalnih manjina na obrazovanje (1996), Preporuke iz Osla o pravu nacionalnih manjina na upotrebu sopstvenog jezika i objašnjenje (1998), Preporuke iz Lunda o delotvornom učešću nacionalnih manjina u javnom životu sa objašnjenjima (1999)

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However, there is a significant disparity between theory and practice. Concerns have been raised regarding systematic violations of legal and constitutional provisions and inadequate implementation of legally-prescribed obligations regarding the rights of national minorities in the media. The situation is made more difficult by legislative gaps and insufficiently clear regulations covering the obligations of broadcasters and the correct relationship between regulatory bodies and the media. In addition, there is the issue of “special ties” between politics and the media. Finally, some provisions related to the obligations of broadcasters are outdated (with no reference to new media or digitalization).

One common assessment is that Roma are in the most difficult and specific position and that media must approach coverage of this community with particular sensitivity and convey this to the general public.

The position of the Roma population in all European countries, especially in Eastern and Southeast European countries where serious cases of ethnic discrimination have been reported, prompted the non-governmental sector and then the relevant government agencies to launch a coordinated campaign to improve the position of the Roma minority in Southeast Europe. The “First Roma Decade” was created as an initiative of eight countries from Central and Southeast Europe during a regional conference in Budapest in 2003.

The Decade covers the period from 2005 to 2015 and encompasses a political obligation by ten participating countries to implement programs and reforms at the national level with the goal of improving the position of Roma. These countries are Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia, Montenegro and Slovakia.

The launch of the Decade was a positive step toward finding systematic solutions to key issues related to improving the position of the Roma population. Action plans individually adopted by each country as part of the Decade concretely spell out specific measures that are to be implemented in order to improve the position of the Roma population in the fields of education, employment, housing and healthcare. The broad goal is to tackle discrimination, poverty, and gender inequality. Although the Decade documents do not mention media anywhere explicitly, Roma organizations and government agencies expect the media to publish information about the implementation of the Decade agenda and to raise the awareness of the general public (majority community) about problems encountered by Roma.

There is a widespread view that government support for Roma, including better legislative solutions, should amount to positive discrimination (as understood by the goals of the Roma Decade), and that this approach should also be taken in media coverage.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is generally recognized that the functions of national minority councils have been essentially declarative and that relations among these councils, government agencies, NGOs and the media have not been fully developed. In Serbia, concerns have been raised about the vagueness – sometimes the contradictory nature – of legal regulations on minority rights and regulations on broadcasters, especially with regard to the rights of national councils. This has raised questions about media freedom and the right to have access to and publish information. In Montenegro, criticism has been leveled at the National Minorities Fund, which is influenced by the authorities and interferes with the equality of all minorities in access to funds. In Macedonia, an initiative has been launched to make it a legal obligation for the Broadcasting Council to carry out regular monitoring of minority media compliance with public service obligations toward national minorities.

A common call has been for more precise legal regulation of the obligations of public broadcasting services to create programs in the languages of national minorities and programs covering issues related to the position of national minorities. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the prevailing view is that existing state and Entity laws should establish a so-called “minority census” or specify in some other unambiguous way the obligation for public media to produce programs for various national minorities. Current regulations are ambiguous and are not being implemented. In Serbia there are calls for RTV Serbia to be given a legal obligation to air programs for national minorities (for Bosniaks, Bulgarians and Albanians), since RTV Vojvodina broadcasts such programs for national minorities residing in Vojvodina.

The common assessment is that national minorities receive little or no financial support for the establishment and self-sustainability of their media. It is therefore suggested that the states’ obligation to provide continuous support for local minority media should be regulated by law. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the law should define that minority programs on the public broadcasting service must be funded from the radio and TV subscription fees, as a lack of resources is cited as the reason for their current absence from the programming of two out of the three public broadcasters. In all the monitored countries, legislation could be amended to direct a portion of the

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radio and TV subscription fees toward establishing, under specific conditions, national minority media of a public character. Proposals have also been made to set up special independent funds to support national minority media. These funds would be allocated from budgets at different levels and from local and foreign foundations and donors. Today such funds are being spent irrationally, wasted, or allocated under pressure from political parties. Steps should therefore be taken to ensure that funding is allocated on the basis of calls for projects.

A general recommendation is that national minority councils, state governments, minority associations, and media and their associations should to a greater extent initiate meetings and leverage the experience of new legislative solutions that are being applied in countries in the region. Media, in particular broadcasters, which have specific obligations related to the public interest, must analyze their experience and together with minority associations and national minority councils propose new legislation and amendments to existing legislation.

• Raising public awareness about national minorities

Media have a duty to raise public awareness about the position and problems of minorities, particularly about the obligations of the state and society to promote and protect minority rights. This is an integral part of the public interest and why public broadcasting services are especially responsible for fulfilling these obligations. Emphasis should be placed on raising awareness about the obligation to respect and understand people who are different, developing tolerance, developing sensitivity to instances of discrimination and failure to respect the constitutional and legal rights of national minorities, and strengthening critical coverage in the media of those who are responsible for addressing minority problems.

These obligations may be fulfilled through overall programming on public broadcast media, and other media that have news programs and newspaper sections, and also through specialized programs in minority languages, either on the public broadcasting service or in autochthonous minority media.

Public service programs that are broadcast in minority languages, as well as minority media, according to assessments from this research, should not only deal with the tradition and the cultural needs of their audiences, or with internal relations in their communities, but should open up to general problems

related to the position of minorities and the social and political context in which their members live and work. This kind of bi-functional approach could be developed much more efficiently to promote and protect minority rights.

• **Professionalism – a foundation for a more successful media social mission**

Analysis of the content of programs that broadcast in minority languages, or that broadcast in the language of the majority people about the position of national minorities, identifies all the same editing weaknesses that are found in general programming – use of just one source (or multiple sources with the same viewpoint), uncritical attitude and/or bias, influence of political parties and informal groups, and the mixing of information with commentary. The experience of Montenegro also serves as a warning that a broadly unsympathetic political environment can hinder the development of consensus among citizens in an emerging media environment over the status of peoples and national minorities. Most media employ simple genres and there is not enough investigative work or sufficiently interesting programming. This in turn diminishes the media's public impact. These criticisms apply in particular to radio and television programs and publications edited by national minority members, who are often not professional journalists.

In Macedonia, a particular problem characterized as “diaspora editing” has been identified. This refers to a situation where the editorial policies of programs are based on the views and opinions of institutions and minority organizations from the respective so-called mother countries to which parts of some ethnic groups in Macedonia belong. Also, at least based on this monitoring, the most pronounced kind of reporting in Macedonia is from “top to bottom”, which consists of presenting a large number of views of different authorities, primarily politicians, rather than of the base, i.e. citizens and participants at various events. On the other hand, the dominant type of reporting in Bosnia and Herzegovina consists of consulting citizens or NGOs and minority associations. But this is because the system of providing national minorities with information is underdeveloped and is based on covering the work of national minority associations. In addition, when we talk about content issues, in all countries, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, reporting on the Roma population (regardless of whether provided by Roma or mainstream media) is largely limited to issues of social inclusion and the extremely serious social and economic position of this minority.

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The quality of these programs could be improved by raising professional standards across the whole media outlet, and by integrating the editors of minority programs in the real life of media newsrooms, i.e. in all agreements and activities that could strengthen the professional and ethical criteria of program editing. On the other hand, journalists should identify reliable contacts in minority communities who can draw their attention to problems in the particular community, suggest sources and offer ideas for deeper and better coverage of these issues.

There is a general need in established newsrooms at public broadcasting services and minority media to organize continuous training programs, seminars and practical classes for editors and program presenters, especially for those who are not professional journalists. This particularly applies to programs for the Roma community, where there is a shortage of good journalists and presenters who can also speak the Romani language proficiently.

• Equipping media professionals with knowledge of minority languages

Use of national minority languages in the media, in particular on radio and television, is an important and sensitive programming issue. A program in the citizen's mother tongue means promoting the citizen's identity, especially in terms of culture, education and the preservation of heritage, but such programs are inaccessible for the broader audience; they remain closed, and if they have no correlation with other programs they may develop into program ghettos. This survey covers different forms of public broadcasting service programs for minorities, from those that are exclusively in a minority language to those using a combination of minority and majority languages. Programs whose aim is to present national minority issues in general and to raise awareness among the audience may be produced in a language that everyone can understand well. A flexible approach to minority programs, depending on the conditions and needs of each country, meets the autochthonous and autonomous need of the minority to communicate within its national circle and connects this to the mission of raising awareness among the general public about the problems and challenges facing minority communities. Use of the citizen's own language in media is an important cultural and educational issue. This study has found that the priority target audience of minority language programs is between 15 and 30 years old, i.e. a generation that is just entering public life and which may be losing touch with its ethnic characteristics as a result of globalization. Greater support from the state and educational institutions is needed so that media can help to preserve national minority

languages, especially the Romani language, which is fragmented into dialects some of which are significantly different from one another.

Members of some minority communities have become integrated in the majority environment to a greater extent and are less interested in media in their own language, as they are able to fulfill their cultural needs in their mother tongue in other ways – by following media from their mother country, for example, or by participating in the work of culture clubs, or on the internet. This population's interest in having access to media in their own language increases if these media (such as a daily, weekly, regular programming on radio or TV) have broader editorial coverage than issues within the minority community. In regions compactly populated by one minority, in which there is a possibility of communicating in the local community and in schools in one's mother tongue, there is greater interest in setting up dedicated media on radio or television or in print. This is especially evident in Serbia and Macedonia, where there are territories populated by minority peoples, and is reflected in the media landscape.

It would be very useful to organize, independently or as part of viewer and listener ratings surveys, an occasional analysis of perceptions among members of minority communities and the wider public about programs in minority languages.

- **Broadcasters are the priority in minority communities**

Although identical or similar legal obligations exist for public broadcasting services, practice differs. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are no special programs in minority languages on the public broadcasting services, and only a small number of items covering the position of national minorities appear as part of regular news and information programs - and only on one of the three public broadcasters. In Serbia (Vojvodina) and Macedonia, programs are broadcast for national minorities, but public broadcasting services face criticism that these programs are closed, as they are aimed essentially at their respective national communities and have no stand on common issues related to the position of all minorities in the wider social context in which minorities live. In Macedonia, concerns have been raised regarding the poor mutual coordination of these programs, whereas in Serbia, with the exception of one Roma program, Bosniaks, Bulgarians and Albanians do not have any programs on the state broadcaster. In both Serbia and Macedonia, the need for better internal organization of radio and television services in terms of production and use of broadcasting space has been identified. Additionally,

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in Macedonia, supervisory and management bodies of public services and regulatory agencies have been urged to adopt a more responsible attitude toward monitoring the fulfillment of legal obligations and to eliminate the practice of so-called hierarchization in minority programming on the public broadcasting service. This refers to the fact that most air-time and resources on Macedonian Television's Second Channel are given to the largest national minority, while editing of the channel as a whole is under the control of this minority.

• More state concern for minority media

The most developed minority media are in Serbia (Vojvodina) and Macedonia, where such media were already established before the disintegration of Yugoslavia. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, they practically do not exist. Minority media today are owned publicly, privately or by a variety of associations and foundations. This survey has found that minority media outlets that existed before the disintegration of Yugoslavia have mostly been privatized and initial capital for creating new outlets has usually come from private individuals rather than from the state or from local communities. If such a media outlet (especially a radio or TV station) is founded with private capital, it is subject to the investor's desire to make a profit. Some such media outlets were quickly closed when it became clear that they were not commercially viable. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, help from the state or from local communities is either absent entirely or is insufficient. Some minority media, faced with the challenges of making a profit on the one hand or going out of business on the other, have abandoned their original public interest editorial concept. Yet, as was observed during the survey, in particular in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there have been successful attempts by media operations in public-private partnership to connect compelling commercial programming with the public interest, usually funded with international grants. An especially interesting situation surrounds a Roma program on Macedonian Television's Second Channel, made by an independent production house. Analysts in Macedonia have cited this program as evidence of a lack of interest "in one part" of the public broadcasting service in covering issues faced by Roma in Macedonia.

In order to set up a radio or TV station, in addition to ensuring funding and hiring journalists, presenters, program hosts and others, the priority is to secure a frequency license, since spectrums with good frequencies are almost entirely used up. One exception is Macedonia, where the allocation

of analog frequencies took into account the needs of cultural pluralism⁶. Digitalization offers new opportunities for maintaining and expanding pluralism. As the digitalization process in Serbia and Macedonia is nearly complete (in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro it is going more slowly), it is to be expected that space will be reserved in multiplexes for existing channels and the creation of new channels. Even before the digital signal transmission system is fully operational, minority councils and minority associations will need to ask the relevant state bodies and the regulatory or broadcasting agencies that allocate radio and television frequencies to provide incentives for setting up radio and television stations, such as free multiplex channels or special multiplex channels that belong to public services, or even a concessionary license fee for a certain number of years. As for radio range, which is still based on standard (analog) frequencies, it is essential to request new frequencies, or, where the frequency spectrum is overcrowded, timesharing⁷ for broadcasting programs in the public media. Some solutions have already been put into practice in Serbia, and proposals have been made to the Communications Regulatory Agency in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

A small media market (such as Montenegro) requires various forms of cooperation and joint use of the material and technical resources of media outlets of a particular national minority (radio, TV, newspaper, internet portal), so as to facilitate a rational operating method, more economical production and better production conditions, and deliver higher quality and more interesting programs.

If several minority stations in the same minority language operate in a particular territory, a system of networking may be applied. Such possibilities also exist for connecting the public broadcasting service with commercial

⁶ In Macedonia, during the frequency allocation process, cultural pluralism was one of the key goals. From the very beginning of allocating analog frequencies, the regulator made sure that minorities had access and that private media were founded.

⁷ The timesharing concept existed in Macedonia, but it was not successful on the market and thus the regulator allocated new frequencies. In BiH, political representatives of the Croat people (a Constituent People) created a concept of launching a Croat channel on the public broadcasting service of BiH, but the proposal never entered parliamentary and media (expert) procedure. Roma representatives have also insisted on such solutions.

stations that have minority programs or with independent stations of a particular minority. Multimedia enables networking of radio, TV, and newspaper content on internet portals.

• **Print media – less present but not less important**

Print media outlets, unlike broadcasters, attract less interest from minority communities, primarily because the market is too small and such media survive only with difficulty in the absence of donations or other kinds of assistance. Most print media are magazines and occasional editions of national minority associations. The most developed print media outlet in a minority language – Magyar Szo (Serbia/Vojvodina) – has all the characteristics of a professional daily newspaper, whereas monitored editions in other minority languages focus more or less exclusively on events in their respective communities and cover activities, especially cultural ones, of their associations. Nevertheless, print media are very important for Hungarians and Croats in Vojvodina. What particularly influences this is the perception of their political elites, which continue to view these traditional media as an irreplaceable platform for publishing information, even at the expense of promoting electronic social networks and their capacities. In addition, in Macedonia, the very populous Albanian community has several print media outlets. The views presented in in-depth interviews conducted as part of this study in Serbia and particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina suggest that minority print media in their editorial policies should open their pages to more complex analysis of issues in the context of broader social relations.

• **New opportunities – media on the internet**

According to earlier media research, new media covering national minority issues are underdeveloped (this survey did not analyze this media category). An exception is Macedonia, where there are several web portals in the Albanian language. The internet has entered the communications practice of activists in minority associations, but internet portals on minority issues, especially in minority languages, are underdeveloped and mostly form a part of larger projects supported by international donors and have very little chance of becoming self-sustainable.

Portals offer an excellent opportunity for communication in minority communities and between the members of minority communities and the wider social environment; they also offer opportunities to publicize minority issues. The present survey supports the view that activities and campaigns should be

launched to create minority portals, which could be part of established and popular portals or independent portals networked through links to relevant sites. Projects for improving the position of national minorities, especially projects that are financially supported by foreign foundations and donors, could include staff training in new media and the opening of minority e-portals.

In regard to the Roma community, computerization should be viewed as an important part of strengthening the Roma non-governmental sector and, where possible, efforts to boost computer literacy among Roma should be incorporated in education projects.

- **Better collaboration between media and national minority associations**

The non-governmental sector is a useful but underused source of information, according to a number of media surveys and broader sociological surveys from Southeast Europe. Cooperating with the non-governmental sector is a key role of public media because social pluralism can be expressed more effectively through this type of cooperation. An active NGO sector can serve as a corrective (through criticism or support) to a large number of social structures.

A general recommendation is that media and national minority associations should cooperate better and help one another. Media also need to cooperate better with a variety of state bodies (including national minority councils), because these institutions are intended to maintain communication between the public authorities and the non-governmental sector in the exercise of national minority rights. At the same time, greater interest by media in these bodies would place them under appropriate public scrutiny and help to maintain the accountability of public bodies.

University students in the region should be systematically familiarized with this subject, provided with information and given an opportunity to work in the field on topics related to national minorities. These students might potentially work on and supply content for future programs.

- **Strategic approach to supporting minority media**

Experience has shown that even the best examples of cooperation among the governmental, non-governmental and media sectors on minority programs or programs in minority languages are nearly always the result of a project

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that has temporary funding and is not, by its very nature, long-term. When the project comes to an end, it is difficult to maintain the activity.

It is therefore important to take a strategic approach. If a show or program for minorities is launched, one should ask – what is its long-term goal? What resources are needed and what resources already exist? A media strategy on national minorities does not exist in any of these countries (with the exception of a small number of minority communities). Existing strategic documents (such as the Media Strategy in Serbia) highlight the importance of promoting information in minority languages, but they have an essentially declaratory character and they are not harmonized with available resources and potential.

3. Conclusions and recommendations: Bosnia and Herzegovina

The relationship between media and national minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina bears all the characteristics of an environment in which democracy is not yet fully developed. Laws are passed with delays, real problems in relations among the Constituent Peoples have pushed minority problems into the background, and good solutions and adopted strategies have not been adequately implemented. On the other hand, the development of media professionalism and freedom of expression have been jeopardized by ethnic divisions and various different kinds of pressure. Struggling under the burden of day-to-day politics, media have often neglected the real problems that citizens face, including problems faced by minority communities.

Based on our research, we are able to offer a number of recommendations that may be useful to media, to associations of national communities, to government agencies, and to the non-governmental sector in general.

3.1. Legislative framework

Founding and broadcasting

- Existing laws on the protection of national minority rights at the state and Entity levels prescribe that members of national minorities have the right to establish media in the languages of the minorities they belong to. In addition, radio and television stations established by the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Entities (cantons in the BiH Federation), cities and municipalities have an obligation to include

special programs for members of national minorities in their program schedules. Public services have an obligation to broadcast a program for members of national minorities in their language at least once a week.

- The right of national minorities to establish media in their own language is declarative and not especially beneficial to minority communities since all physical and legal persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina have this right. Other legislative solutions and obligations are imprecise and may be interpreted in various ways and are therefore partly or wholly unfeasible or give media a pretext to avoid making these kinds of program.
- Our research points to the need to amend legislation related to broadcasters' obligations in line with the realistically defined and expressed needs of minority communities, the positive practice that has been identified through this research, and the technical and technological opportunities that will be created with the transition to the digital broadcasting system.
- One way to define broadcasters' obligations more precisely is to introduce a so-called minority census for broadcasters that are part of the Public Broadcasting Service and for publicly owned cantonal, city and municipal radio and TV stations. With the application of the minority census, the obligation to broadcast programs in national minority languages would cover the three broadcasters in the Public Broadcasting System of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as cantonal, city and municipal radio and TV stations if a certain number of members of a specific national minority live in the territory in which these stations exercise their public function. The minority census can only be conducted after the 2013 census of the population is carried out.
- Instead of the current obligation according to which programs of this kind must be broadcast at least once a week, broadcasting them every 15 days should be prescribed, giving public broadcasters the chance to determine more precise modalities for media in their area of operations, in line with the expressed needs of minority communities, program capacities, and in particular the possibility of hiring journalists and presenters who have a good command of the national minority language.

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- Citizens' associations should assume a more active role and they should engage the program councils and managing and supervisory boards of the public broadcasters, asking them why there are no programs in minority languages despite the legal obligation to broadcast such programs.

Use of language

- Legislation should allow the possibility of producing programs for individual national minorities bilingually, if appropriate human resources and other preconditions do not exist, by using the minority language and the language of the majority population. This would create greater opportunity to satisfy the needs of national minorities in line with European standards, as well as allowing a broader audience to follow programs of this kind.
- European standards on national minorities' rights and their protection speak about the right of national minorities to have media in their own languages. In the current environment, the right to found media is a universal right of citizens and legal persons irrespective of the language in which they intend to broadcast. The Communications Regulatory Agency (CRA) has a concept of planning RD frequencies for so-called "community radio" which is intended for those who propose to establish media that will serve a public function.
- In the BiH circumstances, it is essential that public awareness of minority problems is raised. Special programs in minority languages are an important means of fostering and developing cultural traditions and specific aspects of tradition, in particular by preserving and teaching the mother tongue and facilitating communication within the minority community. However, such programs tend to form closed units, and if minority issues are not present in the overall media offering, such programs can become a kind of "minority ghetto".
- This strategy for protecting national minority rights may best be implemented if there is a clear editorial perspective – in broadcast news programs and in the news sections of print media – consistently supporting the promotion of the principles of equality and respect for those who are different, including the protection of national minority rights.

Planning frequencies for minority media

- We recommend bringing the Communications Regulatory Agency's approach to the allocation of planning frequencies for establishing minority radio or TV stations to a level at which it can serve as a real incentive for initiatives and projects that meet the requirements for establishing this type of specialized media. The Roma community would be the primary beneficiary of this and has many real reasons for wishing this approach to be taken. Implementation of a project of this kind at the level of the state, the Entities or smaller regions would be possible with the provision of continued state support, the engagement of multiple donors and the hiring of professional institutions for program profiling of stations and the training of necessary staff.
- The technical and technological potential for networking different programs and their broadcasters are already favorable and will be virtually unlimited in the digital broadcasting system. Networking of potential minority radio and TV stations, as well as programs for minorities within the Public Broadcasting Service of Bosnia and Herzegovina and municipal and cantonal radio and TV stations, can contribute to strengthening this media mission, as well as considerably reducing production costs for these programs. Such initiatives do not require legal regulation as they are based on common interest and agreement.

3.2. Minority communities

- Due to a shortage of staffing and financial resources at public television stations, and a lack of initiative by journalists and editors at these stations, it is imperative that minority communities themselves display a greater willingness to take the initiative in establishing partnerships and collaborative ventures to create programs.

Specific position of the Roma minority

- There are common issues related to the position of national minorities, but there are also some specific issues affecting individual minorities, such as the Roma community (social problems, education, employment, housing, healthcare, difficulties with social integration).

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- In current circumstances, a specific position on Roma is needed. Research shows that compared to Roma, members of other national minorities generally face less discrimination by the wider community and are relatively well integrated in the daily life of their local communities.

3.3. Mainstream media

- Commercial radio and TV stations profile their programs according to commercial criteria and are consequently oriented toward their target audience. Public interest is not a compelling consideration, although every commercial station that broadcasts news takes the public interest into account. There have been examples in BiH practice where commercial radio and TV stations, in cooperation with international foundations and donors and even local institutions, have identified an interest in launching programs focused on minority issues and have featured relevant content regularly in their programs. Such programs often form part of highly watchable program blocs that achieve considerable viewer and listener ratings. Initiatives of this kind should be supported.
- Public broadcast media that have legal obligations to create programs for national minorities have very broad opportunities to implement strategic principles regarding the role of media in promoting and protecting national minority rights. Unfortunately, only RS Radio, TVRS and BH Radio 1 have such programs.
- What is desirable is: the continuous presence of information in regular news programs; specialized programs in minority languages aimed at fostering cultural traditions and ensuring communication among members of minority communities in their own language; news and documentary programs covering general issues related to the position of national minorities and specific individual cases; as well as cultural and entertainment programs in which cultural traditions of minority peoples can be integrated. These programs may be aired using a combination of majority peoples' languages and minority languages. Special programs should be innovative and interesting in order to attract as many viewers and listeners as possible.
- Due to the multiple dimensions and the complexity of problems faced by the Roma national minority, special attention should be given to programs for Roma. These programs must primarily focus on the

goals of this community's integration in society and on addressing burning problems in the lives of Roma (the goals of the Roma Decade), as well as a variety of socio-political, social and cultural components that will help to integrate this minority in the country's social mainstream.

Print media

- Suggestions were made that daily newspapers should introduce supplements for national minorities, but such editions must have a defined and broad target audience that increases circulation and readership, which may interest advertisers.
- National minority issues in daily newspapers should be covered in a way that is consistent with the editorial perspective of the newspaper, at the same time defining the main issues and trends related to the position of national minorities. A supplement may be considered as a special edition funded by those who organize specific activities or campaigns aimed at educating members of all or specific national minorities on their rights or through which they may receive important and useful information.

Internet media

- Internet communication, social networks and news media (multimedia) on the internet offer new potential and new tools that can be used successfully to promote the social mission of protecting national minority rights and to stimulate significant public interest.
- Practice shows that an increasing number of national minority associations are launching their own internet portals and using internet communication within their associations. However, they are generally not present on social networks, thus failing to create a broad communication circle in which minority issues, including individual views and experiences, can enter public discussion.
- The degree of use of internet communication is very low among the Roma population, although the internet is used among activists from Roma organizations. Providing computer literacy to the Roma community needs to be tied to a variety of social campaigns at the local level.

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- We recommend organizing courses in professional news editing of content, launching web magazines, and possibly providing website administration for national minority associations, where necessary and where there is an interest. We suggest this kind of cooperation between associations and the owners of portals.

Funding

- Lack of money and trained staff who can do specific journalistic and editorial work is usually cited as the reason for inadequate coverage of issues affecting minority national communities. Financial support for media and various media projects in this field mostly comes from international funds.
- The public broadcasting service is supported from the radio and TV subscription fee and commercial revenue from advertising. These resources are insufficient for the scope and quality of the projected production. The funding of regular activities arising from legal obligations related to national minority rights in the media should be defined as an obligation to be covered from the radio and TV subscription fee.
- The budgets of administrative units which have established public broadcasters (cantons, municipalities) should provide specific resources for continuous regular activities and should determine priorities. Observing the principle of public announcement or tender for individual projects funded by international or domestic organizations will help to maintain quality and project efficiency.
- In the present very serious economic situation, it is essential to promote systemic solutions, competition, quality, and optimal impact. It is also important to source different kinds of public and private funding that will be able to reconcile the public and commercial interests of media owners.
- We especially emphasize the imperative of launching interesting and innovative projects in this field, which can apply for more favorable time slots in radio and TV program schedules. The cooperation of producers and broadcasters on projects of this kind and the creation of networks may reduce costs and increase impact.

Human resources

- The research has shown that the scarcest staff for these media activities are specialized staff, journalists and program presenters in minority languages. The scarcest staff in minority associations are website and internet portal administrators. We recommend that funds and staff be allocated in all future projects in this field for training in scarce or non-existent jobs in media and minority associations.
- Large media systems can organize this activity on their own, whereas specialized institutions providing practical education may be hired for smaller media. Broadcasters are most interested in specialized staff who have a good command of their mother tongue and a predisposition to work as presenters and journalists.
- In media newsrooms, especially the large newsrooms of the Public Broadcasting System of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is important to choose journalists who will specialize in this subject or in the whole field of human rights.
- In regular meetings of newsroom journalists and correspondents, time should be allotted to current events in this field and to discussing the best ways to cover this subject.
- Broadcasters and editors who air specialized programs should work continuously on journalist training. Useful experience in this regard may be gained from frequent regional meetings.

3.4. Minority media

- In national minority associations, there is generally not a lot of interest in or resources for publishing a magazine that would have a broad scope and come out frequently. Two exceptions are the Roma magazines *Glas Roma* and *Amaro drom*, put out by local NGOs that received foreign donations and thus had the possibility of hiring professional journalists as editors who work together with contributors, most of whom are Roma. This is a good method of work as it establishes cooperation between professionals and contributors from the target group, as well as providing practical education.

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- Associations of individual national minorities publish occasional editions, which mostly cover their activities. We would recommend that publishers and those who are providing financial support offer training to the editors and regular contributors to these publications with a view to raising editorial standards and achieving greater impact in the target audience.

Program focus

- Problems faced by national minorities and their members affect issues related to employment, livelihood, politics and society. As such, they could be included in the selection of content for daily news programs, documentary programs and newspaper pages if newsrooms show an interest in issues affecting day-to-day life rather than purely political issues.
- Discrimination is an issue that affects all minority communities. Our research identified a substantial amount of media simplification and politicization in coverage of the Sejdic-Finci case, which is in the hands of political parties, resulting in a lack of recognition of discrimination in other areas of real life.

Better cooperation

- Media and national minority associations must cooperate better. Associations should help media to identify the major problems faced by minorities. Regular communication can be achieved through spokespersons or by appointing an activist from a given association to maintain contact with media and provide them with advisory assistance in finding appropriate people to interview and useful sources of information. We recommend continuing the practice of educating activists from these associations on how best to communicate with the media.
- Media must cooperate better with the Councils of National Minorities, at the state and Entity levels, because these institutions are mandated to maintain communication between the authorities and the non-governmental sector in the exercise of national minority rights. At the same time, increased interest by media in these bodies would place them under appropriate public scrutiny and help to maintain their accountability.

4. Conclusions and recommendations: Macedonia

Analysis of the work of media outlets in minority languages in Macedonia, along with analysis of the content and quality of information offered by these outlets, identified several adverse trends in their work, which are difficult to separate from the overall situation of the Macedonian media.

Macedonian society is still deeply divided along political and ethnic lines and faces a continuing tendency toward fragmentation. This is reflected in the media sphere: contrary to the legislative framework, which is designed to prevent this, government and political interests have thwarted the development and operation of independent journalism; business interests deeply rooted in the media landscape place corporate above public interest; the socio-economic position of journalists is poor and depends on the will of owners, directors and politicians; the journalist community is not constituted as an autonomous sphere, professional values are totally eroded and a feeling of apathy and self-censorship is widespread; the regulatory body whose main obligation is to ensure the existence of different forms of independent media and to protect citizens' interests is under the influence of the government, politics and powerful individuals in the media business.

In addition to political and economic pressure, the interference of powerful interests in drawing up day-to-day newsroom agendas, and economic problems faced by the media, reasons for unfavorable trends include low standards of expertise and knowledge in the news profession (a result of inadequate training and career development opportunities), lack of respect for ethical standards, poor editorial policy, and the lack of a desire for change. This situation has continued because of society's tolerance of non-professionalism, because of an established media culture of backroom deals, and because the level of quality in media has remained static for years and is therefore hard to address.

There is no doubt that this environment exerts considerable influence on the way media in the minority community report on their own as well as other communities in the country. Findings obtained from the quantitative and qualitative content analysis and detailed interviews with journalists and experts indicate a number of general characteristics and trends in news reporting and media policy. The main observations, combined with recommendations, are summarized in the following pages and structured around the fields which they concern – legislative solutions, work of the media

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(with special emphasis on public media), recommendations in the field of regulation, and the need for continuous monitoring of the work of these media.

4.1. Constitutional framework and legislation

Constitutional framework and legislation

- The constitutional and legislative framework of the Republic of Macedonia guarantees members of minority ethnic communities the right to freedom of expression and the right to found autonomous and independent media. Legislation specifically requires the public broadcasting service to air diverse programs for all parts of society and to meet the informational, educational, cultural and other needs of members of various cultural groups and communities.
- The legislative framework allows commercial and non-profit media to be established freely and to broadcast in languages of minority communities with the goal of providing information in a particular community's language and developing its culture.
- Legislation needs to be amended in order to define clearly the production and organizational units, editorial structure, and powers and responsibilities of the bodies responsible for running Macedonian Radio and Television (MRT). These amendments should strive to ensure the efficient and coordinated operation of different program services and the coherence of the public broadcasting service's programming and editorial policy.

4.2. Media and professionalism

Position of media in general

- The problems in Macedonian journalism are a result of a number of complex factors and cannot be overcome quickly or easily. Reforms in the media system that will primarily strengthen the socio-economic position of the news profession are essential if the system is to become autonomous from politics and powerful interests.
- A specific phenomenon in media (the public broadcasting service and the commercial media) is ethno-political clientelism, which affects the relationship between newsrooms and government parties from their

“own” ethnic community. It is seriously worrying that some newsrooms have journalists who are members of political parties, and a fact of even greater concern is that some editors do not even recognize this as an ethical issue. Political clientelism may be observed in commercial media too and is tied to state advertising or to owners’ business interests.

- There is virtually no investigative or analytical journalism; provision of information is limited to the bare transmission of information on events usually organized by politicians or government; and media are rarely willing to raise and analyze other aspects of events or to include citizens’ opinions.

Recommendations for better practice

- Newsrooms and their editors, and the journalist community as a whole, must begin asking why there is no initiative for serious and analytical journalism and why there is no proactive editorial policy that searches for facts, in the service of Macedonian citizens and for the purpose of protecting the public interest.
- The phenomenon of biased reporting is widespread (both in the public broadcasting service and in the commercial media) and is clearly visible in the way information sources are used – reliance on one source, or sources represented by one side, is present virtually everywhere. This issue should be raised within the Association of Journalists and its various committees as it constitutes a violation of the basic professional standards laid down by the Code for journalists.

4.3. Work of public media

Programs on the public service

- Programs in languages of minority communities on the public broadcasting service operate as separate, parallel newsrooms focusing primarily on their own ethnic community. They “frame” events and “observe” them predominantly from the angle of their own community.
- The public broadcasting service as a result of many years of financial, production and technological crisis has largely neglected its obligation to foster cultural pluralism in its programs. This lack of concern is particularly evident with regard to programs for smaller ethnic communities,

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where the number of employees has been drastically reduced in recent years. The time and resources allocated to the making of these programs do not allow them to accomplish their informational and cultural function.

- Although commercial and non-profit media have fewer legal obligations than the public broadcasting service in terms of fostering the cultural identity and characteristics of communities, they too perform a public interest role and thus have an obligation to broadcast programs on ethnic and cultural diversity. The main perception of the experts and practitioners interviewed in this study is that neither the public service nor a large part of the commercial media fully comply with their legislative and professional obligations.

Editorial policy

- Some newsrooms at the public broadcasting service implement a so-called “diaspora editorial policy”. This means that a substantial part of these newsrooms’ production is focused on problems in their “parent countries”, rather than on problems faced by members of the particular ethnic community as citizens of the Republic of Macedonia.
- MTV basically mirrors the ethnic and political polarization in society, which is particularly evident in its different approach to the time and resources given to different ethnic communities, i.e. the existence of so-called “ethnic hierarchization” in distributing resources at the expense of smaller ethnic communities.
- There are no integrated and clearly defined program principles observed at the public broadcasting service, which would lead to the interaction of communities, an inclusive society and greater social cohesion. Especially worrying is the lack of production and program coordination and communication, among newsrooms of the ethnic communities and between the First and Second Program Service.

Use of sources

- Particularly worrisome is the tendency toward a one-sided use of sources along ethnic lines. In news reporting on the public broadcasting service, this often produces opposing versions of events that are viewed exclusively through an ethnic prism. As a result, the public broadcasting service, instead of acting as a factor of cohesion, becomes a factor of disintegration in society.

- In all analyzed media, there is reporting that gives precedence to information coming from “above” – from politicians, government, institutions or powerful interests. At the public broadcasting service, political sources in the majority of cases are actually members of the ruling political parties, whereas at some commercial media, there is a somewhat larger presence of voices from civil society.

Public media - recommendations

- The MRT Program Council and MRT’s management bodies (Steering Board and executive directors) should give consideration to the issue of the internal organization of the services and create conditions for production and coordination of services and programs, with the goal of ensuring compliance with the same professional principles of inclusive reporting in all newsrooms and giving smaller newsrooms equal access to needed staff and financial and technical resources.
- The public broadcasting service needs common corporate documents that will tie together journalists from different newsrooms in terms of professional ethical standards and give them guidelines for the production of news and other programs through a public service prism. These documents should precisely define editorial rules and procedures, lay out the principles of inclusive reporting and reporting in favor of individual human rights, and define the role of journalists at the public broadcasting service in relation to citizens, civil society and the public interest. This would be one of the first steps toward building a policy system in the framework of the public service aimed at preventing the influence of the political elites in newsrooms and overcoming the current situation of ethno-political censorship in which each newsroom is influenced by “its own” political structures.
- A strategy is needed for the continuous training of journalists and all media professionals at MRT, which will encompass all aspects and trends of working in media. Ongoing training should ensure that journalists from all newsrooms reestablish lost trust and mutual communication.
- With regard to reporting, if the journalists’ primary interest is with “fellow citizens” from the “parent” country, this undermines the function that the public broadcasting service has in Macedonia to meet the needs and interests of all segments of the audience, taking

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into consideration the country's specific social and cultural groups. Although it is understandable that newsrooms in languages of ethnic communities on MTV focus some of their news production on events in the region, coverage should be produced by these newsrooms themselves (rather than being taken from media from neighboring countries) and presented in a way that is relevant for members of the ethnic communities in Macedonia.

4.4. Regulation and monitoring

- Substantial responsibility for the unfavorable media environment (market fragmentation; tolerance of influence by owners, politicians and commercial interests; lack of concern for fostering cultural diversity, etc.) lies with the broadcasting regulatory body, which is dependent on government, political interests and the media industry, and which is not constituted as an expert body (as prescribed by law).
- The Broadcasting Council, which is required by law to monitor programs on the public broadcasting service and on commercial broadcasters, should carry out regular monitoring related to the fulfillment of public service functions and inform the MRT Program Council of the results of this monitoring. In addition, levels of fulfillment of public service functions should be discussed from time to time by the Assembly in order to ensure a broad debate on the degree to which MRT programs express public interest as a whole.
- The regulator's overall administrative capacities need to be strengthened and it needs to be profiled as an expert body independent of government, the media industry and other political and commercial interests. Experts who have demonstrated proven ability in the media and regulatory sphere must be selected transparently in order to strengthen the independence and ethical integrity of the regulator and foster public debate about the goals and effects of regulatory policy.

5. Conclusions and recommendations: Montenegro

During the nine-month research on the position of minority media in Montenegro, a whole series of questions arose. How can the work of minority media in Montenegro be facilitated? Which model should be used to fund national minority media? How much funding should be allocated for their work, bearing in mind that the Montenegrin market is small and that minority media cannot compete with mainstream media in Montenegro? How can abuse and nepotism related to the allocation of funding for minority media be prevented? These are crucial questions that need to be answered in order to improve the position of national minority media.

Based on an analysis of legislation and minority media content, we identified a number of problems related to minority peoples.

5.1. Definition and status of minorities

Imprecise definition of the term minority

- The Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms defines minorities as “any group of citizens of Montenegro, numerically smaller than the rest of the predominant population...” This definition gives rise to uncertainty. Are you required to be a citizen of Montenegro in order to be recognized as a minority? What about citizens such as Croats who have lived for centuries in Montenegrin territory, in the Bay of Kotor, who are part of the domicile population and do not consider themselves a minority? In addition to observing international standards, in defining minorities it is necessary to take into account the political and historical circumstances that may have brought minority peoples to Montenegro. What percentage of the population do we understand under the definition “numerically smaller than the predominant population”? Is one-third of the population a minority? Bearing in mind these questions, the definition needs to be more precise.

Undefined status of Serbs in Montenegro

- One of the main problems that needs to be resolved is the issue of the status of Serbs in Montenegro. Are Serbs a minority people or not? On the one hand, pro-Serb parties claim that Serbs are not a minority

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people, and on the other the Serb National Council has been created. Serb projects receive the largest proportion (70%) of funding from the Fund for Minorities although Serbs do not consider themselves a minority. This is an important political issue that needs to be settled.

Imprecise statistics

- In Montenegro we are faced with imprecise statistics regarding the size of some minority populations, such as Croats and Roma. Do 6,021 or 12,000 Croats, 2,651, 11,000 or 20,000 Roma live in Montenegro? By establishing precise statistics, the state will be able to adjust its policy on minority peoples in line with the reality on the ground.

5.2. Legislation and implementation mechanisms

- Legislation has shortcomings and does not always guarantee that the rights of minority peoples will be respected. In effect, the shortcomings in legislation and the non-implementation of legislation are the cause of all the problems related to the sustainability of minority media in Montenegro.
- Legislation is harmonized with numerous EU conventions and recommendations, but some legislative articles have been conceived in a way that creates problems. In addition, Article 36 and 36a of the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms related to funding national minority media through the Fund for Protection and Exercise of Minority Rights is not implemented in practice.

Fund for the Protection and Exercise of Minority Rights

- The Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms regulates the operation of the Fund for the Protection and Exercise of Minority Rights, as well as the operation of Councils of National Minorities. However, numerous problems are evident, in particular regarding the allocation of resources through the Fund for Minorities. Quality of projects is not the main criterion in distributing resources, but rather nepotism and mutual agreement among the Fund's members. The Fund has been dogged by scandal and has consistently attracted negative coverage in the media. It is therefore imperative to ensure the transparency and continuous monitoring of the Fund's work or to create a new body charged with allocating funds for national minority media.

- The structure of members of the Fund for Protection and Exercise of Minority Rights Steering Board needs to be corrected. First, the Fund's Steering Board should be composed of experts who deal with minority rights and are familiar with the problems faced by minority peoples. They may be university professors, ombudsmen or people with expertise in the field of minority and human rights. In addition, the Steering Board should have one representative of each minority council, regardless of their numerical dominance over other minority peoples.
- Two-thirds of funding from the Fund goes to Serbs. Serbs are the only "minority" in Montenegro which, thanks to this manner of fund allocation, have their own television station. The present allocation of funds is unfair because special attention should be given to the most vulnerable national minority, the Roma.

Freedom to establish media

- Some articles of the law are simply ignored. Article 12 of the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms guarantees national minorities the right to information and the right to establish their own media. But this is observed only on paper. *Radio Dux* has experienced difficulties in securing a frequency to broadcast in the territory of Herceg Novi, while *Romski Radio* is not yet operational because of a series of administrative obstacles. The state must ensure that relevant legislation is applied and respected.

5.3. Organization of minority communities

National Minority Council

- Although the work of councils of minority peoples is defined by the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms, these bodies do not operate flawlessly. Two problems have been observed in the work of National Minority Councils. The first is related to the way National Minority Councils are funded and the second concerns the election of their members.
- The state allocates just 4,200 euros a month for the operation of the Councils. This hinders their capacity to do their work but at the same time it may legitimately be asked whether a country facing serious

economic challenges can afford to allocate more. As a poor country, Montenegro is unable to allocate additional funding to Councils of National Minorities. Councils, however, are unable to fund their own media from the current small budget. An exception is the Croat National Council, which allocates 1,000 euros a month for *Radio Dux* and 100 euros for *Hrvatski Glasnik*. Minority peoples' parent countries might be approached to help their media with the goal of promoting culture, tradition and customs.

- Members of some councils, appointed as a matter of form, do not turn up for meetings and show little interest in minority rights. Minorities themselves should choose their representatives to the council, especially as councils may, among other things, influence the creation of media laws and advance the position of their media. Delegates and representatives of local governments should not be appointed as council members. For some of them this seems to be an additional and unwelcome obligation. Some political representatives have never appeared once at the Council of National Minorities despite formally being members. Article 33 of the Law on Minority Rights and Freedoms must therefore be amended.

5.4. Mainstream media

- Mainstream media show no interest in cooperating with minority media. Private and commercial media do not have a compelling economic interest in cooperating with national minority media. Exceptions are *Pobjeda*, which cooperates with the Croat *Radio Dux*, and *Vijesti*, which exchanges some content with the weekly newspaper *Koha javore*.
- Under the Minority Policy Strategy, the public broadcasting service has an obligation to facilitate the broadcasting of programs in national minority languages. However, we were only able to identify irregular programs in the Albanian and Romani languages on the public broadcasting service. Other national minorities are also asking for airtime on the public service. And it has to be stressed that even the national minorities that do have programs in their own languages on the public service are not satisfied with their position. The Albanian national minority is not satisfied with the *Lajmet* news program, which airs every day at 15.00 hours and which has no informational value since it is a copy of the Montenegrin news program. A magazine program,

Mozaiku, has been cut from one hour to half an hour. Programs devoted to the Roma population are rarely broadcast. On *Radio Montenegro*, not a single program in the Romani language has been aired since April 2012 due to a lack of staff. The state has an obligation through the public broadcasting service to give equal airtime to all national minorities or to create a special channel for minority peoples as envisioned by the Minority Policy Strategy.

5.5. Minority media

Content

- Unlike mainstream media, minority media adhere to the code of ethics and do not carry sensational news with lurid headlines or indecent images. A common characteristic of minority media is that they tend to be socially and aesthetically conservative.
- Analyzing the content of existing minority media, we identified too great a focus on promoting culture and not enough focus on the rights and status of their peoples. Promotion of cultural identity is important, but education in national minority rights is arguably much more important. More attention should be given to the specific problems that individual national minorities face, in order to attract attention to these problems and facilitate solutions.

Print media

- All of the sizeable minorities in Montenegro have established their own print media. Most of these are monthlies, except the Albanian weekly *Koha javore*. However, print media are not particularly popular among national minorities since they tend not to cover the contemporary problems of minority populations. An exception is *Bošnjačke novine*, which occasionally publishes commentaries on the position of Bosniaks in Rožaje. A very high proportion of the Roma population is illiterate, which clearly diminishes the usefulness of print media in disseminating information among this community. In addition, only a small number of Roma can afford to have a radio or TV set, further reducing the capacity of media to interact with the community. Without improving socio-economic conditions, the quality of information and the effectiveness of its dissemination will not improve.

Portals

- Portals are the least costly model for launching community media. Croats and Bosniaks have taken advantage of this model. The Croat *Radio Dux* is planning to launch a TV station as part of its portal, while Bosniaks have expressed interest in setting up a radio station as part of the www.bosnjaci.me portal. However, the number of internet users in Montenegro remains relatively small.

Sustainability

- It is difficult for minority media to operate because their target groups are quite limited.
- Minority media do not cooperate among themselves. Only the Albanian weekly *Koha Javore* has proposed setting aside space for content in the Romani language, but this initiative was not implemented because the Government did not allocate funds for the project. This kind of cooperation among minority media should be actively considered as circulation and ratings can be boosted through cooperation with other minority media in a similar language and this would increase commercial viability. Minority peoples could move closer to one another by learning about problems faced by other minorities and this could help them to make common cause when demanding their rights. Uniting minority media would also expand their target audience and make them more visible in the market.
- Minority media are not active enough in finding the right model for improving their operation in the media market. Based on their content, we may conclude that minority media are not making sufficient effort to produce content that is compelling, even for their own national minority. Culture, essays and coverage of religious issues prevail in minority media. In other words, minority media are not keeping up with the times and are not reporting on current issues, focusing more on the past instead.

6. Conclusions and recommendations: Serbia

This section related to recommendations and suggestions for better practice is divided into three general parts – (1) related to the legislative framework, (2) related to the work and operation of public media, in particular public broadcasting services, and (3) the key section, divided into sub-categories, which points to potential scenarios for improving the work of minority media or media in minority languages. Special attention is given to media of the Roma community as this is the most vulnerable minority group, due to the difficult economic and social position of Roma and widespread illiteracy among this community, and also bearing in mind initiatives such as the Roma Decade, whose aim is to raise public awareness and promote concrete activities to help the Roma community.

6.1. Legislative framework

Wording and legislative text

- In addition to vague language in the legislation and contradictions between legislative texts, there are contradictions between legal provisions that deal with minority rights and legal provisions that deal with information. For example, the European Convention, the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia and the Law on Minority Rights guarantee minorities the right to participate in decision-making processes of importance to minorities, while the Law on Broadcasting, in the section on how the Republic Broadcasting Agency Council is elected and who may be its members, ignores this right.
- An effort should be made to build a more coherent legislative foundation, and then to ensure funding for the exercise of minority rights.

Additional incentives / provisions

- A legislative incentive could facilitate tenders through which local radio/TV stations could secure funding for minority programs or subsidies and affirmative measures for broadcasters that undertake the obligation to inform citizens in a national minority language.
- Incentives need to be introduced to encourage local governments to allocate additional funds to radio/TV stations broadcasting in the languages of national minorities in a particular municipality.

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- Incentives are also needed to create the necessary conditions for unhampered work and unhampered and equal access to funds and resources for advancing the work and development of minority media.

Status of minority media / Influence of politics

- Additional incentives are not needed for more minority media to be established. Instead, existing media should be strengthened through strategies and support programs.
- The Law on National Minority Councils only gives national councils the right to be (co)founders, but does not stipulate how they should then behave, one result of which is that they often exert a major influence on the editorial policies and operation of media in minority languages.
- Legislative regulations need to be introduced to protect journalists from outside interests in media/newsrooms where editors do not enjoy editorial independence and freedom.
- The state can ensure editorial autonomy (by law) by reducing the role of national councils in decision-making and funding and in the process of selecting and appointing editors of national minority media.⁸

6.2. Public media

- The public broadcasting service has an obligation to protect the languages of national minorities and, under the Constitution and international law, to uphold pluralism and to offer cultural and informational content to different ethnic groups.

⁸ A number of initiatives have been filed with the Constitutional Court to initiate proceedings to assess the constitutionality of a large number of provisions of the Law on the National Councils of National Minorities. One initiative came from the Association of Journalists of Serbia (filed 12 October 2011). The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Serbia in its session of 17 January 2013 passed a decision to instigate a proceeding for determining the non-constitutionality of provisions of some articles of the law, with a 60-day deadline for obtaining responses from the RS National Assembly, after which it is expected that some articles of the law will be declared unconstitutional or the law itself will be amended by the National Assembly.

- The different experiences, with regard to Belgrade-based RTS and Novi Sad-based RTV, are a consequence of different historical developments (Vojvodina enjoyed an element of pluralism in the time of socialism). If we exclude one Romani-Serbian program on Radio Belgrade, an absence of political will may be said to be the primary reason that RTS has no programs in the minority languages of the biggest national communities living in the territory of so-called Serbia proper (Albanians, Bosniaks and Bulgarians).

Public broadcasting service of Serbia - RTS

- RTS covers minorities at the level of a “statistical error”, and minority programs on RTS are virtually nonexistent.
- RTS lacks adequate staff to produce programs in minority languages and has not indicated any intention of training existing staff.
- The National Council of the Hungarian National Minority has no contact with RTS or insight on program content, although this situation is at complete variance with the requirements of Article 20 of the Law on the National Councils of National Minorities.

Public broadcasting service of Vojvodina - RTV

- RTV does not fulfill even its basic obligation as the public broadcasting service of Vojvodina as it does not have coverage prescribed by law (viewer and listener coverage in the province is barely above 60%).
- RTV has a second channel whose programs are completely devoted to minorities, but its future is unclear and its programs need to be re-formatted .
- RTV has the potential to develop its minority programs, but efforts to do so have been consistently thwarted and minority newsrooms are not allowed to develop their programs or expand their staff.
- A basic prerequisite for improving programs is to provide a material foundation, which largely depends on the scope of subscription fee collection.

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- It is important that radio and TV archives are digitalized as soon as possible in order to save and process important and valuable historical material (a point that was stressed by the Hungarian community).

Other public media

- It is imperative that every television channel with a national frequency is compelled to allocate a minimum amount of time to programming for national minorities.

6.3. Minority media

Function / Mission

- The function of minority media is not simply to preserve language, culture and tradition, but also to identify problems in communities, and establish relations with other communities, and thus contribute to social integration.
- The efficient provision of information in the mother (minority) tongue may also provide healthy competition for TV stations that have so far enjoyed a monopoly (for example, RTV's monopoly is threatened by the private Pannon RTV, which broadcasts all-day programming in the Hungarian language).
- As some public media (such as RTS) lack content about the lives and problems of national communities, minority media can help to fill this void.

Funding / Sustainability

- Although the state supports minority media through special legislation and mechanisms, such media should themselves take a more active role and apply for a variety of thematic and specific projects.
- It is not possible for a media outlet in a national minority language to be economically sustainable.

Program approach

- Programming in national minority languages is not the same as programming for national minorities. This is why the editorial approach

is important, as is the language in which the program is created. Members of national minorities have a need (as well as a right) to maintain their cultural, historical and linguistic identity, and to ensure their own survival and progress and the survival and progress of the community around them.

Program (conceptual aspect)

- The best solution is a combination of program blocs, each intended for just one minority, and integral programs covering the lives and problems of all minorities.
- Content for minorities (or in minority language) about the majority people or majority issues is also needed in order to ensure the right to equality of members of all communities in Serbia by achieving a free flow of information from each to all.
- In regions where minority communities live (in Vojvodina, for example), a better solution is for minorities to have their own programs. Programs covering the lives and problems of all minorities should be broadcast in communities beyond Vojvodina.
- It is also important to have news programming in the framework of majority language newsrooms that will cover issues of general public interest to all citizens of Serbia, including national minorities.
- Representatives of the Hungarian national community believe that programs should focus on a specific national community, as it has been shown that members of that national community follow such programs more than programs of a general nature.
- In order to advance inter-cultural communication and the integration of minority communities in society, informative magazine programs should be made, primarily in the language of the majority people.
- Informational contents in electronic media that broadcast in national minority languages should cover all segments of society, because simply preserving language, identity and cultural heritage could produce a kind of folklorization of the cultural and media landscape.

Program (genre aspect)

- A minority program schedule should be created in which there is room for everything, including children's and youth programs (as important to minority communities as to majority communities).
- Live call-in programs and live studio discussions allow viewers and listeners to express their opinions.
- Properly structured and focused magazine programs are also an effective format.
- In view of the limited pool of listeners/viewers, more magazine programs that incorporate the elements mentioned above should be developed.

Program (language aspect)

- The promotion of languages of national minorities and their use in media can be encouraged through competitions.
- A good example that was cited of a linguistically homogenous media outlet is Pannon RTV, which broadcasts a whole regional television program solely in Hungarian, but also covers broader issues from this region.
- Some of those who were surveyed favored the use of sub-titles, which increases familiarity with different languages and expands the potential audience. However, sub-titling is expensive and media organizations are reluctant to invest in it. An interim solution might be to sub-title only those issues that are deemed to be of broader interest.
- The policy of the Hungarian community is to broadcast solely in the Hungarian language as this preserves the community's language and culture. If mixed programs are produced and aired, the foothold in terms of language and some minority specificities will be lost.
- On the other hand, the Roma community agrees that it would be good to combine the broadcasting of content in the minority language with the language of the majority people to make information available even to those who do not know the Romani language.

- Some media which simply translate the news may be doing this for the wrong reasons if they are only introducing minority programming in order to avoid being privatized.
- If programs or individual stories are simply translated, this will certainly undermine the authenticity of the approach, the items themselves and the impact of the program content.
- Minority media, based on the type of language they use, may be divided into two groups – those whose languages are distinctive and generally not understood by the majority (media of the Hungarian, Albanian, Romanian and Ruthenian national communities) and those communities without a language barrier such as the Bosniak and Croat communities – and in this context, items in their languages could be broadcast in magazine programs about all national communities.

Staffing policy & Education

- Minority newsrooms are weakest in terms of staffing and education structure and least trained in contemporary journalism. A fresher, younger generation and further professional training may be the solution.
- Education and a good command of journalistic skills, rather than political suitability, should be the main criteria in hiring editors and journalists.
- Through specialized supplements (such as “Kužiš” in the Croat community), young people may become accustomed to receiving information in their mother tongue. In addition, talented people may be recruited in this way to work for minority media.
- The selection process should be formalized, through public announcements and job postings.
- Capacity building projects funded by foreign donors, or funds for training media staff provided by National Councils, and the Ministry and Secretariat of Information can help to create an adequate professional foundation in newsrooms.
- National Councils should support minority newsrooms by providing professional training in writing projects. An example of good practice is Čoladi ker, a Hungarian-language weekly.

Broadcast times

- There are significant differences among radio, television and internet outlets, but as internet portals in minority languages (with the exception of the Hungarian community) are not developed, the issue that remains open is which broadcast time is most appropriate for program listeners and viewers. Prime listening and viewing times are different.
- People listen to the radio late at night and early in the morning, until around noon.
- TV is mostly watched in the late afternoon and evening.
- RTV should launch a campaign to inform the audience when they can follow minority programs and what these programs offer to the community.
- It is hard to imagine that special programs for minority peoples would be broadcast on prime time; therefore, members of national minorities should have the option of establishing media. (This is why some minorities, such as the Hungarian minority, have the strategic goal of maintaining their own continuous radio and television programming, freely available in the whole territory of Vojvodina).

Target groups

- One problem is a shortage of programs for children and young people, as well as neglect of new platforms and technologies, such as the internet, which is the means of information preferred by young people.
- Young people from the ages 15 to 30 should be targeted in a more focused way with information on opportunities for scholarships, further education, employment training and similar things.

Challenges of the internet

- Internet development is a major challenge for print media in general, but in particular for papers that come out periodically in minority languages. For this reason, the value of content of these media should not be measured by the speed of information, but by its quality, authenticity

and contribution to promoting the cultural identity of minority communities and interculturalism in the given society.

- The survival of minority media and their content is only possible through integration, association and networking into a single system.
- Mutual exchange of experience and capacities and cooperation in planning, production, exchange and dissemination of media content, with the support of national councils and other institutions, would ensure that the media-related needs and demands of national minorities are met.
- This may also be accomplished through a common portal for all national communities and for journalist associations, through which they can communicate and help one another continuously.

Cooperation

- Minority newsrooms should be helped to establish an efficient and functional network of correspondents and cooperation should be advocated with other local and regional radio and television stations that broadcast either in the language of the particular community or in other languages (minority or majority).
- The participation of independent production houses would help achieve this goal. Greater engagement by independent production houses would also provide an opportunity to improve the staffing situation.

6.4. Media of the Roma community

Raising public awareness

- High illiteracy among the Roma community means that this community accesses information principally through broadcast media, which is why attention should be directed at these media.
- Specific problems and shortcomings faced by the Roma community should be identified, and appeals should be made to relevant institutions to address these problems.
- Media should report more on human and minority rights and educate the population in this regard, inviting competent individuals to speak

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on the subject, informing the target audience when and how their rights might be being violated or denied, how they can respond to this and who they should address.

- A legal representative, social worker or ombudsman should answer viewers' questions to resolve uncertainties and ambiguities.
- If the problems experienced by the Roma community were covered in news and cultural programming intended for everyone which also provides good coverage of issues that concern national minorities, this would highlight the problems facing Roma and make it possible to examine these problems from different angles.
- Live call-in programs and feature items offer a means of raising Roma issues, giving members of this community the chance to call in, ask questions and resolve uncertainties.

Challenges regarding the Romani language

- The Romani language is not yet fully standardized, which is a political as well as a linguistic issue.
- There are a number of different dialects, and the Arli and Gurbet dialects are not understood throughout the country.
- A large percentage of the Roma population is illiterate and does not have the habit of using print media as a source of information.

Print media

- Regardless of education level, there is insufficient interest among Roma in a print media outlet in the Romani language. One problem is that maintaining national coverage is difficult due to the considerable differences in dialects.
- Another problem is the lack of qualified staff, insufficient funding and the absence of suitable premises.
- *Dekada* is published at the level of provinces and is distributed free of charge exclusively through internal channels, in local governments. It is unlikely that this publication would find many readers if it were not free of charge.

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