

**HOW THE
MEDIA
COVERED**



2010 ELECTIONS IN BIH



Konrad
Adenauer
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MEDIA
institut **PLAN**

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Editor: Radenko Udovičić

Analysts: Davor Marko, Lejla Turčilo, Tatjana Ljubić

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Davor Marko, Lejla Turčilo, Tatjana Ljubić, Radenko Udovičić

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Contents:

Introduction - MEDIA AND ELECTIONS: OLD STORIES WITH NEW ELEMENTS, Radenko Udovicic	7
INDIVIDUAL REPORTS ON MEDIA COVERED	
Davor Marko, Lejla Turčilo, Tatjana Ljubić	21
Federal Television (FTV)	
<i>- Continuous criticism of RS officials</i>	<i>22</i>
Television of Republika Srpska (RTRS)	
<i>- Support for ruling party in RS</i>	<i>26</i>
Television of BiH (BHT)	
<i>- Balanced and objective reporting</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>Analysis of media discourse and content of the dailies related to the 2010 General Elections in BiH</i>	
- REPORTING THAT SERVES POLITICAL SUBJECTS RATHER THAN REPORTING THAT SERVES CITIZENS	53
EUROBLIC (Belgrade/Banja Luka)	
<i>- Shorthand and selective coverage of the campaign</i>	<i>55</i>
NEZAVISNE NOVINE (Banja Luka) - Quantitatively and qualitatively on the side of the ruling party	61
GLAS SRPSKE (Banja Luka) - For Dodik and Republika Srpska	68
DNEVNI LIST (Mostar)	
<i>- Martin Raguz central election figure</i>	<i>75</i>
VECERNJI LIST BiH (Zagreb/Mostar)	
<i>- Absolute dominance of HDZ BiH</i>	<i>80</i>
DNEVNI AVAZ (Sarajevo) - Fierce criticism of “authorities” and promotion of better future of BiH	84
OSLOBODJENJE (Sarajevo) - No effort to hide lack of sympathy for Radoncic	89
Special supplement	
- ELECTION RESULTS 2010/2006	127
CV's of authors	131

Introduction

MEDIA AND ELECTIONS: OLD STORIES WITH NEW ELEMENTS

Radenko Udovičić

Bosnia-Herzegovina holds the record in Europe by the number of elections held. After the war, between 1996 and the latest elections in 2010, nine were held altogether – eight regular elections (general and local) and one extraordinary election. The international community, which was creating these processes until recently, wanted to enable through frequent elections the potential mood among citizens for changes in government to speed up the country's reform road. This practically means that citizens of BiH on average went to the polls every 18 months!

Each election campaign heated up ethnic and political passions, primarily reflected through the media which additionally generated all kinds of fears that politicians emphasized in their fight for power. All these years we have been hearing the saying, often from international officials as well, that increased tension in the country is a result of the election campaign and that everything will be better once the elections pass. Formally, that is true, but generating distrust and ethnic and political intolerance in a country in which more than 100,000 people died on that foundation during three and a half years of war affects citizens' perception of ability to make compromises which are essential in a multiethnic country. The election campaign is just a channel for transmitting information and should be no justification for the conduct of politicians, candidates and media if they were unprofessional, vulgar or extremely nationalistic in that period.

This kind of situation has resulted in a rapid decline in voter turnout since 2000. From over 80 percent in the first post-war elections, in 2008 we had turnout below 50 percent. True, thanks to a good campaign urging higher

voter turnout and making promises that crucial things for resolving the “Bosnian knot” would happen in the next years, we saw a rise of almost eighth percent in these elections (57%). But despite that, one can often hear from ordinary citizens that they are disgusted by the thought of elections, that they skip everything related to elections on television, that they want more positive stories... Despite such views, we witnessed a huge number of political contents in newspapers and especially in news programs which directly or indirectly concern elections. Public TV stations, as a result of Election Commission and Communications Regulatory Agency rules, are full of candidate presentations and debate shows. Some of these programs are very highly watched. Are citizens dishonest when they express the above opinions or do the media have such power in agenda setting?

We will not focus on the essence of the election campaign and the views presented in it. We will leave that to political scientists and sociologists. We can only say that the international community retreated in efforts to impose solutions that will strengthen the BiH state and left everything to the local politicians. Thus the campaign was an opportunity for political parties to sharpen and even radicalize ideas and solutions that are related to construction or deconstruction of the state. The following study is based on analytical (empirical) considerations on **how the media** covered the election campaign and it touches upon the content of the campaign only in order to explain the context.

On the eve of the campaign, basically just one serious change occurred in the media landscape. The owner of the highest circulation daily newspaper in BiH, Dnevni Avaz, created a political party with serious aspirations for winning power. For the first time in BiH we had the situation of a powerful civil media outlet formally becoming a political mouthpiece. The newspaper is private and the move is thus legitimate, but the interesting fact is that a huge part of the paper’s target group (Bosniaks) was brought into a position of reading a paper that is extremely critical of all other Bosniak political options except the one spearheaded by the paper’s owner. Guided by perceptive and market logic, this had to have a reflection on circulation, but we cannot yet assess to what extent.

With regard to other media, this monitoring confirmed the belief of analysts in independent professional circles, as well as among readers and viewers, that nearly all media in their editorial policies lean more or less visibly

toward a specific political option (and some toward a specific political party). We can only speculate on the main reasons why specific political subjects are favored, which would require additional research. The undoubted fact is that close family, friendship or (informal) partisan ties between editors, influential journalists or media owners and political parties and their leaderships increase the presence of these subjects in the media. Or to put it better, they influence the way they are covered.

Speaking just of the public broadcasting system, in the election campaign it suffered from all ailments of these socially turbulent times in which different interests are at conflict and the system of achieving joint interest is undeveloped in social practice.

Methodology

The media research project using the method of content analysis was implemented by Media Plan Institute with the support of the Konrad Adenauer Media Program Southeast Europe. The goal was to establish how the media covered the election campaign, how much attention they gave to specific parties and figures and in what way they did that.

Monitoring lasted from 3 September to 3 October 2010, including election blackout and election day.

The dailies **Dnevni Avaz**, **Oslobodjenje**, **Dnevni List**, **Vecernji List BiH**, **Nezavisne Novine**, **Glas Srpske** and **EuroBlic** were monitored. A combination was made of the highest circulation dailies in each territory in which a specific (ethnic) population is in majority. It is evident to media experts that the sample includes two media outlets from Serbia and Croatia respectively which have editions for BiH. These are highest circulation papers in mostly Serb and Croat populated parts of BiH and are thus a relevant example of influence on the population. The complete content of newspapers was monitored.

Among TV stations, we only monitored primetime news programs on three public services in BiH: **BHT**, “News” at 19.00; **FTV**, “Journal” at

19.30; and RTRS, “Journal” at 19.30. These are the most watched TV programs which are considered the “country’s political pulse”. Debates of political party officials and election candidates on broadcasters were not monitored, because these programs are defined and produced in line with strict rules of the Election Law and independent editorial position is less pronounced in them.

There were two basic subjects of monitoring in both types of media:

- **Political parties**
- **Candidates holding state positions or other public positions**

From previous experience in monitoring media reporting, it transpired that state officials who are at the same time party presidents or election candidates appear often in the media¹. Although the intention to favor someone is not always present, their state position affords them a bigger media presence, especially on the public service. In the month before elections governments often try to open various facilities or to present the results of their work. In doing that, they appear publicly in state capacity, but it can also be identified as political capacity, although they do not identify themselves that way.

We monitored **Zeljko Komsic (SDP), Haris Silajdzic (SzBiH) and Nebojsa Radmanovic (SNSD)**. All three are **members of the BiH Presidency and candidates for the same position**. In addition to them, we also monitored **Fahrudin Radoncic (SBB), businessman and owner of Dnevni Avaz and candidate for member of the BiH Presidency; Milorad Dodik (SNSD), Prime Minister of the Republika Srpska and candidate for RS President; Zlatko Lagumdžija (SDP), university professor and spearhead of the party’s list for the state parliament; Borjana Kristo, President of the BiH Federation and candidate for member of the BiH Presidency**. The only exception

¹ Informing on regular activities of officials at all levels of authority is allowed within information programs of electronic media, with no reference to their candidacy for the elections or their party membership, whenever the information is about the activities that fall within the scope of activities of the body they represent as set forth by the Law (media obligations from the Election Law of BiH).

from the rule of state and public position was made with Fahrudin Radonic, who was monitored as a new politician who possesses a media outlet just as an election candidate because his public position at least in this period was always connected to leading his party and running in the elections. With regard to TV news programs, the sample also included **Bakir Izetbegovic** as a very strong party figure running for member of the BiH Presidency. In terms of political parties, all parties that were mentioned in the media were counted.

We used the following variables for both subjects of monitoring:

Theme

Based on political party programs and the themes announced by the NGO sector and state officials as priorities for the future authorities, we created the following thematic categories:

- Constitutional changes
- Economy
- Health and social protection
- Crime and corruption
- Attitude to the past
- Education system
- Other

Journalistic form

- News item
- Report
- Commentary
- Interview
- Telephone report (only for television)
- Direct TV link (only for television)
- Other

Authorship

- Newsroom journalist
- News agency
- Press release
- Carried from other media
- Guest commentator
- Unsigned

Type of headline (this variable was used only for print media)

- Informational-narrative
- Literary (symbolic)
- Sensationalistic
- Emotional

Number of sources

In determining this variable, we used the customary practice in journalism that a source is whoever is stressed in an item as the origin of information. With regard to television, sources of information are mainly reflected through audiovisual appearances of interviewees or other people appearing in an item, but also through paraphrasing statements or documents that contain information. In newspapers, sources can be paraphrased or directly presented (interview, direct statement, etc.)

- One
- Two
- Three
- Four
- More than four

Position of source

The more sources there are, according to journalistic logic, the stand of the journalist should be more neutral and the content should be more objective. However, it happens often in journalism that we have so-called uniform sources in terms of their position. Although it is not always the rule (depending on context), different views give the recipient a greater opportunity to examine a covered issue or event. Uniform sources are sources that stand for more or less the same positions and opposing sources are sources that have opposing views or offer information whose content is opposing.

- Uniform source
- Opposing source

Content of article

When we assess if an observed content is positive, negative or neutral, we take into account the general Bosnian-Herzegovinian context and the generally accepted perceptions of attitude to the social reality. Under *neutral* in terms of content, we categorized items in which neither positive nor

negative elements are clearly pointed out, such as protocol news or activities that were expected or whose particular benefit or damage to a certain group was not pointed out.

- Positive
- Negative
- Neutral

Journalist's stand or orientation toward a subject

This variable is a value judgment on the position of a media item toward the subject appearing in it. We analyzed the journalist's stand – what was the position of the author of an article on the event (person) they are writing about. It is important to note that with journalist's stand, we do not assess the content of an article, but purely the journalist's stand/position /attitude. A journalist's stand in a commentary is a legitimate journalistic matter. However, in different ways it may be an expression of journalistic non-professionalism or political intent.

- Positive
- Negative
- Neutral

Basic observations

TV news programs: Differences in selection of information and journalists' angle

Although they belong to the same Public Service Broadcasting System of BiH, primetime news programs on the three public services in the monitoring period covered the election campaign from significantly different positions. Basically, they continued the divergent editorial policies of these media outlets, which are ethnically and politically opposed especially on the two entity televisions. The RTRS news program gave a lot of support to the Republika Srpska government and on the other hand the FTV news program based part of its content on criticism of that same government, which is somewhat in contravention of the fact that it is a public service of the other entity. BHT, for its part, tried to balance between the deeply

opposed political options. Such journalistic stands were primarily based on coverage of events in which state and entity officials who were also running as political party candidates had the leading role.

The primetime television news programs in principle did not cover the election campaign as these issues were covered in special shows – elections chronicles and debates of political party representatives – which the Law on Elections obliges them to broadcast. Nevertheless, some parties, notably the strongest ones, also found their place in the news programs, which resulted in 35 items broadcast on each entity television and 54 on the nation-wide television during the monitored month. These contents generally concerned party stands on issues of national importance, as well as some very important events or excesses during the election campaign. The SNSD had by far the most appearances in the news programs – 23, of which 11 times on RTRS, 9 on BHT and 3 on FTV. It is followed by the SDA (13), which was most present on FTV, and then SDS and Party for BiH with 11 times each. It is interesting that BOSS, a party that did not even cross the election threshold, was present in news programs 10 times, a result of its president's scandalous behavior in a debate show, which the news programs were forced to report on.

The official that had by far the biggest presence in the news programs was Milorad Dodik with 46 appearances. RTRS contributed the most to this result with 26 reports and news items on the entity prime minister. In second place was Haris Silajdzic, member of the BiH Presidency (25), closely followed by his Presidency counterpart Nebojsa Radmanovic. It is interesting that the third Presidency member Zeljko Komsic was present 7 times on FTV and not once on RTRS.

It is interesting, and somewhat expected, what kind of stand journalists took in reports on state officials in primetime news programs. Milorad Dodik appeared 12 times on FTV – 6 times with a neutral stand and 6 times with a negative stand, which is related to criticism of the then RS prime minister by journalists and anchors for his attitude to Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as criticism for prodigality, even financial crime. On the other hand, the situation on RTRS was the complete opposite – 13 positive stands on Dodik and 13 neutral stands. This is mostly related to indirect favoring by emphasizing his various statements when the news deserved to be covered, as well as when it did not. On RTRS we had as

many as 7 negative stands on Bosniak member of the BiH Presidency Haris Silajdzic, who was accused as a statesman of individualism in relations with international institutions and efforts to destroy the Republika Srpska and advocacy for a unitary BiH. BHT, unlike FTV (10) and RTRS (8), had only one negative journalistic stand, which demonstrates its editorial policy of keeping a distance.

If we look at journalists' stands on political parties, a neutral stand dominates. With regard to negative stand, FTV is in the lead (5, of which 2 on the SNSD), while RTRS and BHT have three each, but it must be noted that there were many more items on political parties on BHT.

The defined categories of themes that were expected in the election campaign totally fell short in the primetime TV news programs when political parties are in question. The category "other" dominated, followed by "crime and corruption" on BHT and FTV, while this theme was not present at all in the RTRS news program. It is interesting that only FTV in its coverage of political party activities reported on "healthcare and social protection" on three occasions. "Constitutional changes" were only observed in traces, although this topic was expected to be most prominent in TV news programs. Even when politicians were in question, the category "other" was dominant. There were somewhat more items regarding constitutional changes, with RTRS in the lead. Economy also had a significant presence, but other topics were almost negligible. The category "other" mostly included state officials' protocol activities and inter-party accusations. This basically matches research carried out by ACIPS for 2010 which also showed that politicians talked very little in the election campaign about concrete issues important to people's lives.

The content of the monitored TV items in the case of political parties was neutral in 60 percent of the cases and negative in 39 percent. There was just 2 percent positive content. In terms of state officials, we have considerable differences among the public services. BHT and FTV did not have a single positive content on the monitored officials, while on RTRS positive content was observed in 10 percent of the cases. This is a result of the fact that in its news program this television presented officials, most of them from the SNSD, in relation to statesman or economic successes. However, looking at all three televisions, this is additional proof that issues with a negative social context are preoccupying politicians and thus the media too.

The most widely used journalistic form in coverage of both political parties and state officials in party capacity is report (TV item). Reports were present on BHT in more than half of the cases (60%). On entity televisions, there were approximately 46 percent reports, which shows that TV news programs cover these contents with their own journalistic staff. Unlike political parties, a little more present with regard to state officials are news items (15% compared to 28%), a result of the fact that agencies cover state leaders, which reflects on the TV program.

Most of the monitored content had just one source (political parties 69%, state officials 56%). From the viewpoint of the election campaign, perhaps this result is expected because most reports focus on one subject. However, in terms of events that are covered in news programs because of their importance or controversy, the lack of more sources shows lack of inventiveness and even lack of desire to show the other side, which especially stands out in the category of state officials. What is even more indicative is that even when multiple sources were used, their opinions were the same in 44 percent of the cases with regard to state officials, and in 58 percent with regard to political parties.

Daily newspapers: Deep political division

The press in Bosnia-Herzegovina since the time of war has fostered a critical style of writing on various social trends, prominent individuals, governments, opposition. However, such reporting in times of election campaigns is often on the verge of crossing the line of *objectivity and even being on a mission to change political relations in the country*. These elections were no exception. Affinities for particular political parties and candidates could clearly be seen. Media division of the country along ethnic and political lines was visible.

During the election campaign month, Glas Srpske published by far the biggest number of articles on political parties – 430. EuroBlic published the smallest number – 192, which was to be expected as this is a newspaper from Serbia with an edition for BiH, with contents for our country not

even taking up half of the paper. It is interesting that *Dnevni Avaz*, the daily with the largest number of items per edition and owned by the president of a strong political party, was the last but one with only 250 items on parties. But these figures are relative because, as we will see, in the category of state officials Fahrudin Radoncic had a much bigger presence than in the other media.

Looking overall at the analyzed newspapers, the party that received the most space is HDZ BiH with 284 items. *Vecernji List BiH* and *Dnevni List* from Mostar contributed the most to its placement as the party had a big presence in them. In second place is the SNSD, thanks to *Glas Srpske* and *Nezavisne Novine*, with 244 items. It is interesting that the SDP, the party that won these elections alongside the SNSD, came in sixth. It only had a big presence in Sarajevo-based *Oslobodjenje*.

With regard to state officials, without match is Milorad Dodik with 204 appearances in newspapers and that is only as entity prime minister. In second place is Haris Silajdzic, member of the state Presidency, trailing far behind (136). Dodik appeared everywhere, in newspapers from the Republika Srpska as well as those from the BiH Federation. *Glas Srpske* and *Oslobodjenje* were in the lead, but they had different journalistic stands. *Glas Srpske* in 50 percent of the cases had a positive stand on Dodik and not a single negative stand, whereas *Oslobodjenje* had a negative stand in 47 percent of the cases and not one positive stand. But the most criticized figure during the election campaign was Haris Silajdzic, who had a more than 70 percent negative stand in *Glas Srpske*, *Nezavisne Novine* and *EuroBlic*, but also in *Dnevni Avaz*. In the former two because of his advocacy (especially before) for abolishment of the Republika Srpska as well as individualism in the work of the BiH Presidency, and in *Dnevni Avaz* due to the fact that he was running against Fahrudin Radoncic and that his name was associated with poor state governance and crime and corruption.

Another target of criticism was Zeljko Komsic, old/new member of the BiH Presidency, especially in *Dnevni List* (50%) and *Glas Srpske* (43%). It is interesting that *Vecernji List*, a newspaper that favored the HDZ BiH which was very much against Zeljko Komsic, reported on him in a neutral way. Attitude to parties in the monitored period was politically quite uniform in

the Republika Srpska, whereas in the BiH Federation newspapers targeting the Croat and Bosniak readerships were deeply divided. Thus *Vecernji List BiH* reported positively on HDZ BiH in 53 percent of the cases. On the other hand, *Dnevni List* had a positive journalistic stand on HDZ 1990 in more than one-third of articles. *Dnevni Avaz*, as expected, had a positive stand on the Alliance for a Better Future (SBB) in 57 percent of the cases, whereas *Oslobodjenje* had a nearly 90 percent negative stand. Ratios regarding the SBB president and *Avaz* owner Radoncic were nearly the same – in *Oslobodjenje* 79 percent negative and in *Dnevni Avaz* 68 percent positive. *Dnevni Avaz* reported with an extremely negative stand on the SDA (79%) and Party for BiH (84%).

If we look at parties through the number of published photographs, HDZ BiH dominates convincingly with 292 appearances of its members. Of that, *Vecernji List BiH* published as many as 154 photographs. In the overall ranking, it is followed by the SNSD and then SDA. It is interesting that the Democratic People's Union from Velika Kladusa, a relatively small party, had a considerable number of published photographs in *Glas Srpske* and *Nezavisne Novine* and not a single appearance in any of the other monitored newspapers. In the category of officials, Milorad Dodik had the most photograph appearances by far, relatively equally in all newspapers.

The thematic categories which we defined before the start of monitoring and which we expected to be in the focus of the election campaign were not at the top of political parties' or state officials' debates. The category "other" dominated, covering political party skirmishes, mutual accusations and themes related to irregularities in the campaign and state protocol activities. It was followed by economic themes and constitutional changes. The theme of education reform in most newspapers during the campaign month remained on a single-digit figure.

Newspapers reported on political parties through agency news items (49%) and reports (35%). Only *Dnevni List* and *Dnevni Avaz* had more reports than news. But most of the news items in newspapers were signed by journalists' full names or initials, which shows that agencies were not used as the dominant source of information. Only *Nezavisne Novine* and *EuroBlic* had more agency news than their own journalists' items. With regard to state officials, they were covered more frequently in

the form of reports. All other journalistic forms had a relatively small presence. *Oslobodjenje* and *Dnevni Avaz* fostered the form of commentary a little more than the other papers.

Newspapers used informative-narrative headlines the most (political parties 73%, state officials 59%). Considering the type of monitored subject and the nature of these media, this is expected. In second place are sensationalist headlines (parties 15%, officials 25%).

As for the number of sources used in articles, there were 80 percent items with just one source for both political parties and candidates. Even more devastating is that articles with multiple sources were uniform in 76 percent of the cases and offered more or less the same views on an issue. Articles with sources that have different views only dominated in EuroBlic. This is a sore point of BiH journalism and analyses made by Media Plan Institute showed sources of information to be uniform to large extent.

The following are individual analyses with comparative statistics.

Individual reports on media covered

Davor Marko, Lejla Turčilo, Tatjana Ljubić

Federal TV (FTV)

CONTINUOUS CRITICISM OF RS OFFICIALS

Federal TV's primetime news program – "Dnevnik 2" (Journal) – did not report much on political subjects during the campaign, reporting on political parties and lists only once in each show on average, whereas state officials running for key political positions in these elections had a somewhat bigger presence in the contents of this program (38 times in 31 analyzed shows). Among political parties, the Democratic Action Party had the biggest presence (17 percent), followed by Union of Independent Social-Democrats (SNSD), Party for BiH (SBiH), Bosnian Party (BOSS), Social-Democratic Union (SDU) and People's Party "Work for Betterment", which each had a 9 percent presence. Among political candidates, this broadcaster reported most about Milorad Dodik (32 percent), Haris Silajdzic (21 percent) and Zeljko Komsic (18 percent).

The main characteristic of this television's reporting is continuous criticism of SNSD officials holding senior state and entity positions. Newly-elected RS President Milorad Dodik was the "target" of criticism in 50 percent of cases in items in which he was the main actor; in 60 percent of cases a negative stand was observed toward Nikola Spiric (but unlike Dodik, who was reported on in 12 situations, Spiric was the main actor in 5 items); and one-fourth of items in which Serb member of the BiH Presidency Nebojsa Radmanovic appeared were characterized by negative stand and journalists' criticism of this politician.

The biggest observed percentage of negative stands toward political parties was related to their party, SNSD (67 percent). The only political subjects from the BiH Federation who were criticized were the SDA and BOSS parties with 33 percent items each which were dominated by a negative stand.

Judging from statistics, Federal TV focused more on political actors coming from the other entity and criticized them most, as well as their conduct and statements.

Statistics

Among relevant issues, political parties talked the most about healthcare and social protection (9 percent) and about crime and corruption (6 percent),

whereas political candidates gave priority to economy (10 percent) and constitutional reforms (7 percent).

Political parties were mostly covered through items (46 percent) and recorded statements (which were not featured in the form of items according to the principle of narration-statement-narration) (29 percent). The situation was similar with reporting on political candidates (45 percent items, 34 percent news and 21 percent recorded statements).

The authors were most often the newsroom journalists (49 percent for political parties and 46 percent for candidates) and press releases (24 percent candidates, 11 percent parties). In reporting on political parties, we observed the biggest number of unsigned items (40 percent). The reason is a large number of recorded statements (most of them in the show on election day), which the hosts only announced and no journalists appeared in them. The situation is the same with political candidates, with only the percentage being a little lower (21 percent).

Journalists usually used one source (69 percent in reporting on parties, 66 percent in reporting on candidates) or two sources (20 percent parties, 18 percent candidates). Sources in most cases were uniform (89 percent for parties, 71 percent for candidates).

In 37 percent of items, we observed negative content, whereas in the remaining 63 percent the content was neutral. As on BHT, on FTV we did not observe any items with a positive stand either toward a political party or candidate.

Reporting examples

It is interesting that FTV's "Journal", the only one of the three analyzed news programs, did not explicitly announce the start of the election campaign in its 3 September edition. In that show, only Haris Silajdzic and Zeljko Komsic appeared out of all political candidates, both of them in the capacity of members of the BiH Presidency, on the occasion of a visit by Turkish President Abdullah Gul to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The first **criticism of the RS government (and Milorad Dodik as its most exposed representative)** was presented in the show broadcast on 4 September, in which the BiH Deputy Minister of Treasury, Fuad Kasumovic, mentioned the RS prime minister in the context of politicians' prodigality. Kasumovic said that the "Republika Srpska is unable to

reduce its expenses to be more in line with its means and at the same time it is wasting borrowed money” and also mentioned “allocation of financial assistance to media and purchase of an airplane for the needs of the entity government”. A negative stand is reflected in the fact that in this item, as in many others in which the RS government is criticized, the other side was not contacted.

A negative stand toward Dodik and his party was observed in an item on a visit by a senior delegation of RS politicians to the Branko Radicevic School in Banja Luka. In the item, in which statements were made by Dodik and RS Education Minister Anton Kasipovic, the author very clearly points out the fact that this is part of the election campaign. Interestingly, an item was broadcast in the RTRS news program on the same issue and on the same day, but it was connoted in an entirely different way, with a positive stand and without mentioning the campaign.

Criticism of Dodik and his party is also evident in an item on 7 September, on the passing of the Law on Census of the Population. The host introduced the item by saying that a census of the population will be carried out next year in all of Europe, but that the RS National Assembly did not agree to the proposed law due to disputed application of data on the ethnic structure of the population according to the 1991 census because many citizens are now living abroad. The author of the item, on the other hand, focused at the very start of the item on the prime minister of this entity, alleging that the **“RS Prime Minister is also troubled by the proposed Law ... because in his opinion, it would be unfavorable for Serbs and Croats”**. From this introduction, one gets the impression that the passing of the Law was prevented by Prime Minister Dodik himself, although the item later says that the opposition in the RS was also in favor of this.

A negative stand was also noted in the 16 September show, when journalists of FTV’s news program stood in defense of their colleagues from the 60 Minutes political magazine, who were insulted by Dodik, called “cretins” and accused of being responsible for “disintegration of BiH”. In her comment, the host says that “RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik in Sarajevo, actually in Tehran, as he prefers to call it, again swooped down on my colleagues from the 60 Minutes political magazine”, adding that the “primitivism Milorad Dodik again displayed is not surprising” and that it seems to be the “only language he understands and is used to”.

In the 24 September news program, an item was broadcast on politicians' unfulfilled promises. The television's journalists asked Dodik about "lightly made promises" related to building the Banja Luka – Doboje road and contract between CMP and the RS Government, to which Dodik said to the journalist: "You have a telephone, so call and ask" and added: "You are lying and fumbling anyway, so you can fumble with that too".

If we disregard Bosnian Party (BOSS) and its President Mirnes Ajanovic, who were criticized out of solidarity with colleagues from BHTV for his conduct and insulting of a host and guests, the only negative stand toward a subject from the Federation was observed in the 25 September show, when an item was broadcast on election of a police commissioner, where it became known that an SDA member from Tuzla Canton was a member of an independent board charged with electing the commissioner, which constitutes a violation of the law and procedures.

An important observation is that this television station's journalists reported in quite a balanced way on political candidates from the BiH Federation. We are primarily referring to **Haris Silajdzic** and **Zeljko Komsic** (both were very active during the campaign in the capacity of members of the BiH Presidency). In both cases, the journalists' stand on these candidates was neutral. The items were of a protocol character and in the case of Silajdzic out of 8 items only two were observed which spoke about specific issues (constitutional changes and economy), whereas in 8 cases they were irrelevant to the general elections (international relations, liberalization of the visa regime, BiH Presidency meetings, speech at the UN Assembly in New York, Bajram greetings). Zeljko Komsic was mentioned in 6 items and in 5 cases the issues were categorized in the "other" section (visa liberalization, BiH Presidency, Bajram greetings), whereas on one occasion the context of the report was paying respects to victims of wars (item on 9 September when Komsic visited Grabovica, near Jablanica, where he paid respects to civil victims, laid a wreath and lit a candle at a monument to mark the 16th anniversary of the murder of 33 Croat civilians by members of the BiH Army First Corps). An example of a dreary protocol news item, in which both candidates appeared, was already mentioned and it was observed in the news edition on 3 September, when Silajdzic and Komsic met with Turkish President Abdullah Gul who was visiting BiH. Another item of a similar character (protocol) was noted on 7 September, on the subject of visa liberalization, in which the main news was that in the future people will be able to travel to Egypt without a visa. In all items on these two candidates, a neutral stand on the part of journalists was observed.

Television of Republika Srpska (RTRS)

SUPPORT FOR RULING PARTY IN RS

During the campaign for the 2010 General Elections, the primetime news program on this television Dnevnik 2 (Journal), at 19.30 h was dominated by a visibly positive stand toward the ruling party, Union of Independent Social-Democrats (SNSD), and its members who hold the highest state and entity positions. The positive stand was reflected in quantitative and qualitative parameters. With regard to the quantitative aspect, the observed number of items on SNSD (31 percent) was considerably bigger than the number of items on activities of the opposition (Party of Democratic Action and SDS were in second place, with 14 percent each, followed by Party of Democratic Progress, PDP, with 11 percent). Milorad Dodik was the most covered political figure (41 percent). This broadcaster also considerably reported on Nebojsa Radmanovic (22 percent) and Nikola Spiric (13 percent). Regarding the qualitative aspect and journalists' stand, a high percentage of journalists' positive stands was observed toward all three candidates – Dodik (28 percent), Radmanovic (27 percent) and Spiric (19 percent). The same applies to their political party, SNSD, on which this television station's journalists reported positively in 36 percent of cases.

Although it is legitimate for an entity television to focus on matters of importance to the entity in which it operates, in this case the Republika Srpska, based on analysis during the campaign and on these initial statistical observations, the first conclusion that imposes itself is that this television was far from professional standards and that it resembled a “single-party television” more than a media outlet of all citizens.

It is interesting that the election day news broadcast was made quite professionally, at least when candidates and politicians from the Republika Srpska are concerned. Statements and election expectations of members of the ruling party SNSD, as well as of representatives of the

opposition, were presented. However, the sequence suggested who the “favorite” was (either election favorite or editorial favorite) – the first three statements that were featured were given by SNSD members (Rajko Kuzmanovic, Milorad Dodik and Nikola Spiric). In terms of items from election headquarters, the SNSD was again covered first, followed by other parties. However, with regard to candidates from the BiH Federation, the television first featured statements by the SNSD’s former coalition partners – Bakir Izetbegovic of SDA, Dragan Covic of HDZ BiH, and Fahrudin Radoncic of the Alliance for a Better Future of BiH, who ran for political office for the first time. After that a reporter called in from the Party for BiH election headquarters. However, he did not talk to anyone and only reported that party president Haris Silajdzic “voted on his second attempt, because he was first turned back for forgetting his personal identification card”. It must be added that not a single item was broadcast, nor were any statements carried, from representatives of the strongest party in the Federation, SDP BiH, nor from the politician who won most votes in the elections as an SDP candidate, Zeljko Komsic.

Statistics

Candidates who were given most space in RTRS’s news program content (SNSD members) mostly talked about constitutional changes and economy, which was reflected in thematic representation (constitutional changes 19 percent, economy 12 percent) and which also corresponds to the pre-election rhetoric of the ruling party in the RS. Political parties talked little about concrete issues (education in just 9 percent of cases and the rest negligently little), whereas as much as 86 percent of themes were related to other issues, political accusations and skirmishing, different interpretations of the passing of the Law on Property, initiative to mark the inter-entity boundary line, abolishment of the visa regime, etc.

On this television too, we observed the most authorial items/reports (59 percent about candidates and 49 percent about political parties), followed by recorded statements by actors in the election process and candidates

(23 percent parties and 11 percent candidates). Newsroom journalists in 60 percent of the cases were authors of items about political parties and in as much as 71 percent of the cases when reporting about candidates (the most among the three analyzed broadcasters). In most cases, sources used by journalists were uniform (73 percent for candidates and 89 percent for parties), with RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik often appearing as one of the sources. An example of this is a news item broadcast in the 17 September show, in which Dodik commented on the passing of the Law on State Property of the RS, which was considered newsworthy.

With regard to content, we observed most items with a positive content on this television (10 percent about candidates and 3 percent when reporting on parties). But these very low percentages confirm once again the media reality in which bad (negative) news dominates TV news programs in BiH. The still meager, but compared to other televisions high 10 percent of positive contents related to state officials results from the fact that RTRS focused on positive situations in which entity (Serb) officials were in.

Reporting examples

Reporting on the political actors of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian elections boiled down to **two extremes – an extremely positive stand and massive reporting on Milorad Dodik, and on the other hand a very negative stand and unprofessional (i.e. one-sided) reporting on Bosniak member of the BiH Presidency Haris Silajdzic.**

Regarding Silajdzic's initiative to convene an emergency session of the BiH Presidency to discuss a statement made by Nikola Spiric in which, as he explained, he calls for secession of one part of BiH (Spiric said the "level of hatred coming from Sarajevo toward the RS will ensure its second status"), journalists of this television took Spiric's side and did not feature Silajdzic in the item to explain his move, only taking a statement from Nebojsa Radmanovic who supported his party colleague (15 September). The next day, an item was broadcast in the news with very "harsh" reactions

to Silajdzic's move. Along with Radmanovic, also featured were Spiric, Dusanka Majkic (also member of the SNSD) and Sadik Bahtic from Silajdzic's Party for BiH, but Silajdzic's statement was again absent. Radmanovic said Silajdzic is doing this for pre-election purposes and the journalist's stand on Silajdzic was visibly negative (in the item the journalist takes the liberty of stating: "Just what did Spiric say that Haris Silajdzic did not like", which clearly reflects a positive and apologetic stand toward Nikola Spiric). In the context of this story, RTRS journalists in the same edition of the news (16 September) referred to research carried out by Ipsos Strategic Marketing, according to which Silajdzic is the most unpopular politician with 81 percent. It is interesting that journalists presented the results of this research the previous day (15 September), according to which SNSD, Milorad Dodik and Nebojsa Radmanovic are the most popular in the RS. The television's journalists thus reduced the research results to just two categories – most popular in the RS and most unpopular in the BiH Federation.

Silajdzic was also criticized for his (as the RTRS news called it "anti-Dayton) speech in New York, at the UN Assembly, where he tried to warn that Spiric's statements were destabilizing BiH, as well as the whole region. Items on this issue were broadcast in the news editions of 21 and 22 September (2 items), whereas the news edition of 24 September broadcast an item which the host stressed by saying "Silajdzic said that in the RS there are forces which want to complete Slobodan Milosevic's project". The occasion for the item was Silajdzic's participation in a summit of Balkan leaders in New York where the journalist said Silajdzic "recognized Kosovo in BiH's name", to which Milorad Dodik reacted by saying that "one day someone will be sitting in such a summit in the name of the Republika Srpska".

The newly-elected President of the Republika Srpska, Milorad Dodik, was present in nearly every thematic segment of news on RTRS. His statements were relevant both for domestic and foreign politics, for sports, economy, culture, health care and events in the RS National Assembly. In the sports bloc on 5 September, an item from Novi Grad was broadcast, from a sports event on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the local team

Sloboda, which played a friendly with Belgrade's Partizan. Dodik was one of the interviewees, stating that the RS Government will continue to support sports. Four days later, on 9 September, an item was broadcast on the opening of the Radio Therapy Center in Banja Luka, where Dodik attended the formal opening ceremony (cutting the ribbon) and making a statement in which he admits he is no expert in that field (which did not prevent the journalist from airing the statement in full). The RS Government donated 30 million KM to the Center. In the same edition of the news, Dodik was also presented as a participant in a conference on neo-Osmanism, which he portrayed in his speech as a threat.

The first item in the 15 September edition was about a visit of an RS delegation to Russia. After a very pompous introduction ("...Milorad Dodik at this moment is signing one of the most important contracts for the Republika Srpska"), Dodik gave a telephone statement for the news program. The visit regarded a project to build a gas pipeline, but the information was incomplete because the item did not speak directly about the investment or about the reasons why it did not happen before, instead focusing on the delegation's visit and on cooperation between the RS and Russia, making the item rather dry and protocol. The story of cooperation between Russia and the RS continued in the 20 September edition. In a statement about a visit by Russian representatives and announcement of investments, the first statement was Dodik's, in which he did not mention investments, but spoke about the Dayton Peace Agreement and the need to shut down the Office of the High Representative in BiH.

Television of BiH (BHT)

BALANCED AND OBJECTIVE REPORTING

The umbrella nation-wide broadcaster is among rare media which equitably and objectively covered candidates and political subjects during the campaign in its primetime news program – “BHT Vijesti” (BHT News). With a relatively high number of items (54 – on average nearly two items per show), most airtime was given the parties and candidates who won most votes in the previous General Elections in 2006 – Union of Independent Social-Democrats (SNSD) – 17 percent, Party for BiH (SBiH) – 14 percent, Democratic Action Party (SDA) – 9 percent, HDZ BiH and HDZ 1990 – 7 percent each. Among candidates, Milorad Dodik (29 percent) and Haris Silajdzic (18 percent) had the biggest presence.

An exception to this rule is the Bosnian Party (BOSS) which in this edition of the news program was represented with 11 percent (6 items), mostly thanks to an incident the party president Mirnes Ajanovic provoked as a guest in a special election show. During the show, which was broadcast on 13 September, he kept interrupting the hosts and guests, made insults and interfered with the show, after which the BHRT Steering Board issued a statement condemning his behavior and calling on the BiH Central Election Commission to sanction the behavior (the Commission fined BOSS with 7,000 KM and Ajanovic 3,000 KM). In the 14 September show, the Steering Board statement was read in the primetime news program, with a visibly negative stand toward Ajanovic. The BHT statement says that “Mr. Ajanovic in an extremely **brazen, primitive, aggressive and vulgar way** abused the time and space on the Public Broadcasting Service of BiH”.

Statistics

As much as 19 percent of topics in reporting on political parties was related to crime, corruption and abuse of office by senior officials holding public positions. Among the other topics that we monitored, only constitutional

reforms (4 percent) and economy (2 percent) were covered. On the other hand, candidates whose media appearances we analyzed talked most of all about constitutional changes (18 percent) and education and economy (4 percent each). The group of topics that dominated included items about the campaign “It’s not late for a better life”, in which a minister from the Party for BiH, Vahid Heco, was suspected of abuse of office for the purpose of promoting party interests (items in the “Dnevnik” editions on 4, 5 and 6 September). In this context, the broadcaster also reported on monitoring of the campaign conducted by the non-governmental organization ACIPS, one of whose observations was that the parties in power such as SNSD and Party for BiH in their appearances “have not been mentioning corruption” (17 September).

This broadcaster mostly reported in the form of items (61 percent for political parties and 46 percent for officials), whereas items which were broadcast on election day were dominated by live reports (15 percent total) and statements by the political actors (32 percent for candidates and 9 percent for political parties).

The authors were most frequently newsroom journalists (72 percent when reporting on political parties and 46 percent on political candidates). In the items, just one source was usually given (75 percent candidates and 61 percent parties).

In line with the high percentage of items on the issue of corruption, as well as those mentioning government inefficiency, the content of reporting on political parties was negative in as many as 43 percent of situations (compared to 2 percent items with positive content and 55 percent with neutral content). In reporting on candidates, we noted a little less negative content (29 percent) and not one item with a positive content.

Reporting examples

BHTV journalists marked the start of the campaign with a very long and substantial item in which they reported on how the SNSD, PDP, HDZ BiH and DNZ prepared for the campaign. Although it is hard to establish the logic behind choosing precisely these five parties, the impression is that the choice was “random” rather than deliberate according to a pre-defined pattern.

Although a large number of items were observed on BHT, most had a generally neutral stand (around 95 percent for candidates and parties). The stand was negative in just 6 percent of cases when reporting on political parties (Party for BiH, SNSD and BOSS) and in 4 percent of cases when reporting on candidates (only with regard to Milorad Dodik).

Besides the case of Mirnes Ajanovic, which was described above, we observed a negative stand (or criticism, which had the form of a free comment by the item author) in one case when reporting on Dodik and twice on the Party for BiH. In an item on the start of the school year, broadcast on 6 September, the author of the item accompanied footage of Milorad Dodik with elementary school children with the comment that “some used the first school bell to give out autographs”. On the other hand, a negative stand on the Party for BiH was observed on 4 September in a report on a Transparency International suit in the case of Minister Vahid Heco who abused his position for promotion of this party, Party for BiH. A negative stand on Heco is reflected in the fact that only one side appeared in the item – Transparency International (TI) representative Srdjan Blagovcanin (who was interviewed and who explains that the broadcast clip “It’s not late for a better life” is a serious crime if it was funded by anonymous private companies connected with the relevant authorities), whereas in the case of Minister Heco the broadcast item quotes his letter in which he states that “the Federation Ministry of Energy, Mining and Industry launched the mentioned campaign on the request of managers of several companies which funded it, stating that they found their interest in these projects and expect to get jobs on them”. Even if they had acted professionally and asked the minister to respond to questions raised by TI and if Heco had not wanted to respond, journalists have an obligation to say that in the item, which they did not do. Unlike other media which have a clear political agenda (for example “Dnevni Avaz”), BHT did not use this case to discredit Heco or his political option. The only problematic thing about this case is that the public service did not have the “other side”, i.e. it did not bring Minister Heco’s statement, which makes the item incomplete.

Unlike RTRS, which reported in a very negative way on Silajdzic’s speech at the UN General Assembly (where Silajdzic said that in BiH “there are those who hope that an entity will be recognized as a state”, referring to the Republika Srpska), BHT journalists did that in a neutral way, free of comments. But this reporting style is not professional either, because the

authors did not focus on Silajdzic's speech, in his capacity of Chairman of the BiH Presidency, on which the BiH Presidency had not reached consensus (the item was broadcast on 25 September). This issue was heavily covered by RTRS as well as by media from this entity.

An item broadcast on 30 September, quoting statements by representatives of the associations "Budi moj prijatelj" and "Eurorom", criticizes a number of political parties (naming the SDP, SBB BiH, SDA, SBiH, BPS, SNSD, SDS and People's Party Work for Betterment) for attempting to "woo" members of the Roma population and buy their votes on the eve of upcoming elections. The item states that the "price of Roma votes usually ranges from 10 to 30 KM per vote, and in some cases political parties are promising infrastructure projects, such as paving roads through Roma settlements, whereas some have Roma candidates on their lists, although in their programs they have no solutions to Roma problems". President of the "Eurorom" association Nedžad Jusić especially emphasized in this context the People's Party Work for Betterment, "which is known to pay much more than 30 KM for votes," which in his opinion "shows actually not just how Roma votes are valued, but how members of this population are valued too".

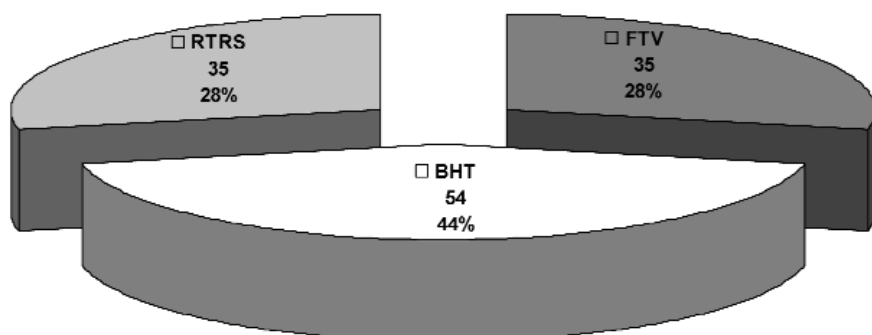
What is interesting is that we did not observe in a single case a positive stand of the broadcaster's journalists toward political subjects, which corroborates our claim from the beginning that in specific cases, such as the campaign, reporting was professional and free of bias.

BHT journalists very fairly covered reactions of candidates for senior political positions and portrayed the atmosphere in election headquarters of most political parties on election day, 3 October. The news program broadcast statements by all relevant candidates for BiH Presidency members from all three ethnic groups, as well as items from the election headquarters of the biggest political parties. The items were made professionally and without bias and they were as informational as they could be at the moment of broadcasting (the news broadcast started at 7 p.m., when not all voting stations were closed and therefore precise data on turnout and preliminary results were not yet available).

TV: Statistical data

Political parties

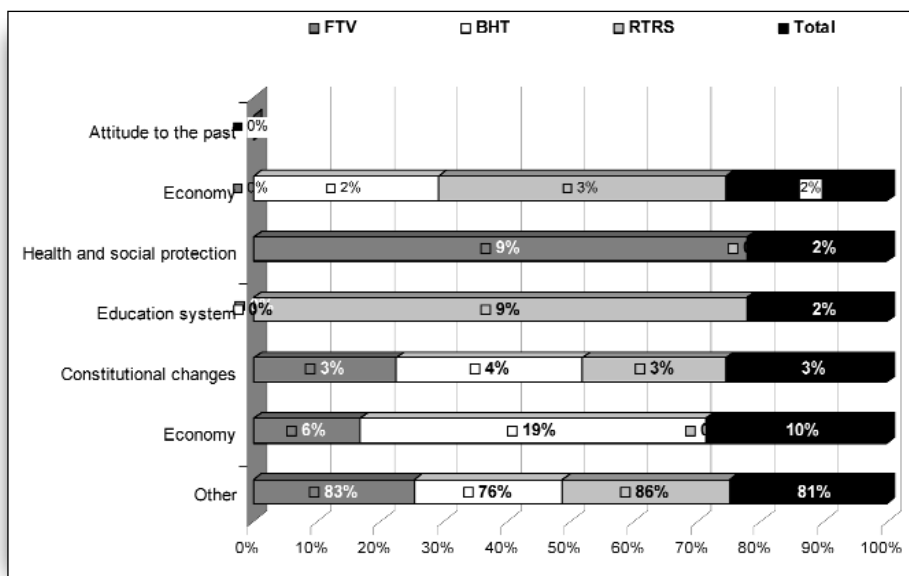
Total numbers of items published on PBS BiH



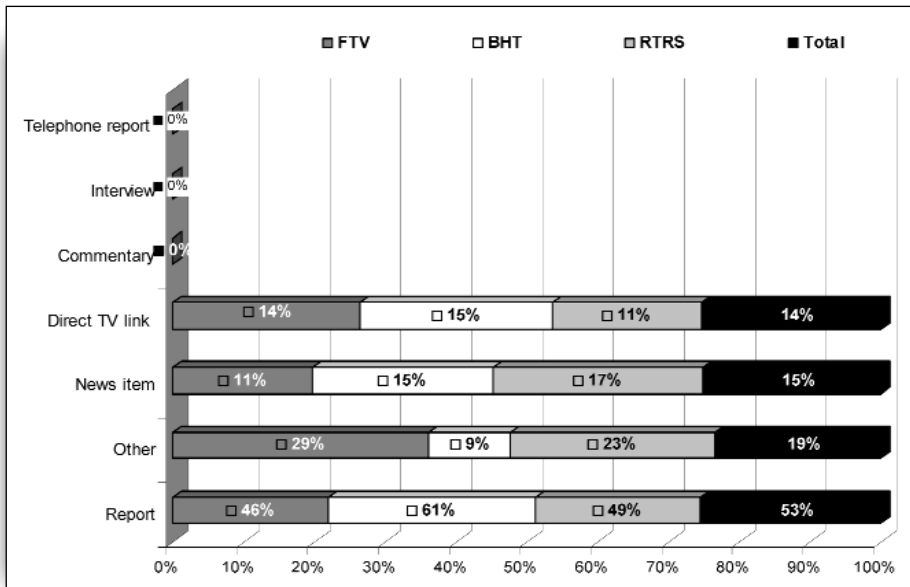
Political parties	FTV	BHT	RTRS	Total
Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)	3	9	11	23
Party of Democratic Action (SDA)	6	5	2	13
Serb Democratic Party (SDS)	1	5	5	11
Party for BiH (S/BiH)	3	7	1	11
Bosnian Party (BOSS)	3	6	1	10
Croat Democratic Union of BiH (HDZ BiH)	2	4	3	9
Party of Democratic Progress (PDP)	1	4	4	9
Social Democratic Party (SDP)	1	4	1	6
Croat Democratic Union 1990 (HDZ 1990)	2	4	0	6
Democratic People's Community (DNZ)	1	3	0	4
People's Party Work for Betterment	3	1	0	4
Our Party	2	1	0	3
Social Democratic Union (SDU)	3	0	0	3
Democratic People's Alliance (DNS)	0	0	2	2
Democratic Party (DP)	1	0	1	2
Croat Coalition (HDZ 1990 / HSP BiH)	1	0	1	2
Union for a Better Future (SBB)	1	1	0	2
Croat Peasant Party - New Croat Initiative (HSS - NHI)	1	0	0	1
Union for a Democratic Srpska	0	0	1	1
Socialist Party RS (SP)	0	0	1	1
Serb Radical Party (SRS)	0	0	1	1
Total	35	54	35	124

HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Political parties – Theme	FTV	BHT	RTRS	Total
Other	29	41	30	100
Economy	2	10	0	12
Constitutional changes	1	2	1	4
Education system	0	0	3	3
Health and social protection	3	0	0	3
Economy	0	1	1	2
Attitude to the past	0	0	0	0
Total	35	54	35	124

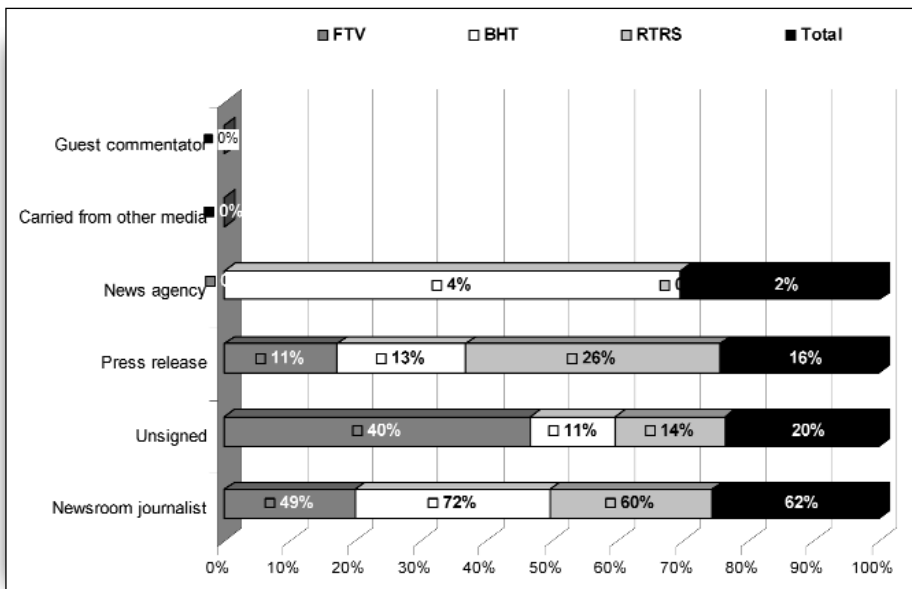


Political parties – Journalistic form	FTV	BHT	RTRS	Total
Report	16	33	17	66
Other	10	5	8	23
News item	4	8	6	18
Direct TV link	5	8	4	17
Commentary	0	0	0	0
Interview	0	0	0	0
Telephone report	0	0	0	0
Total	35	54	35	124

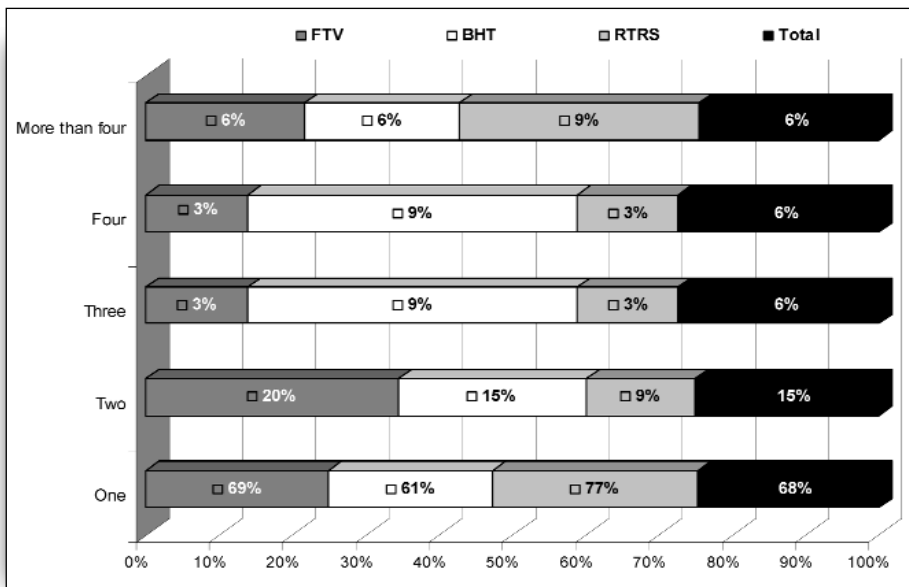


HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Political parties – Authorship	FTV	BIIT	RTRS	Total
Newsroom journalist	17	39	21	77
Unsigned	14	6	5	25
Press release	4	7	9	20
News agency	0	2	0	2
Carried from other media	0	0	0	0
Guest commentator	0	0	0	0
Total	35	54	35	124

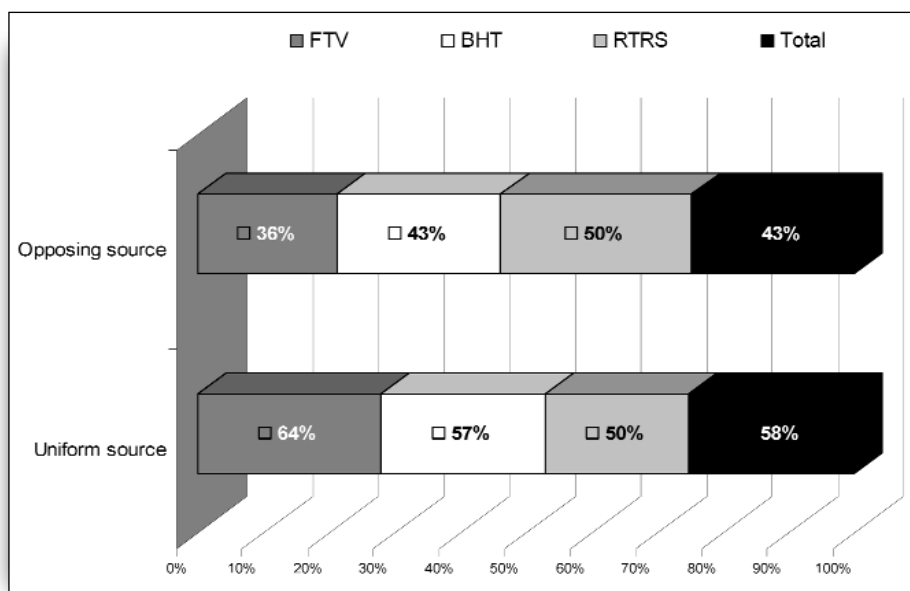


Political parties – Number of sources	FTV	BHT	RTRS	Total
One	24	33	27	84
Two	7	8	3	18
Three	1	5	1	7
Four	1	5	1	7
More than four	2	3	3	8
Total	35	54	35	124

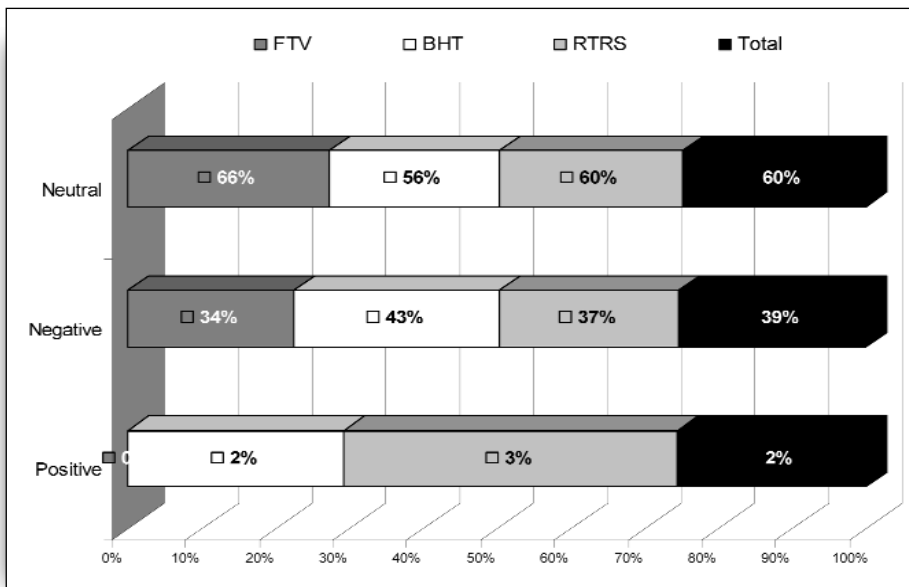


HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Political parties– Position of source	FTV	BHT	RTRS	Total
Uniform source	7	12	4	23
Opposing source	4	9	4	17
Total	11	21	8	40



Political parties– Content of article	FTV	BHT	RTRS	Total
Positive	0	1	1	2
Negative	12	23	13	48
Neutral	23	30	21	74
Total	35	54	35	124

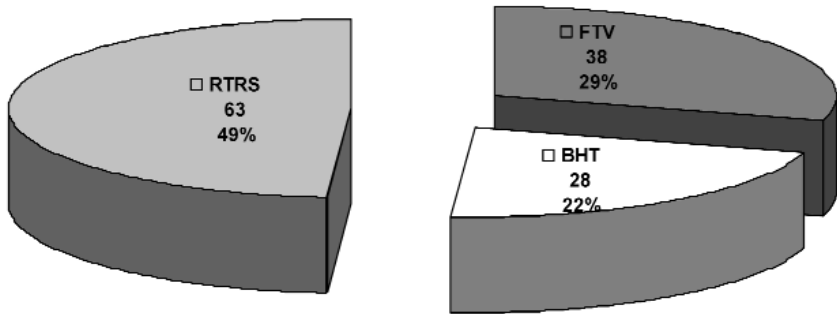


HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

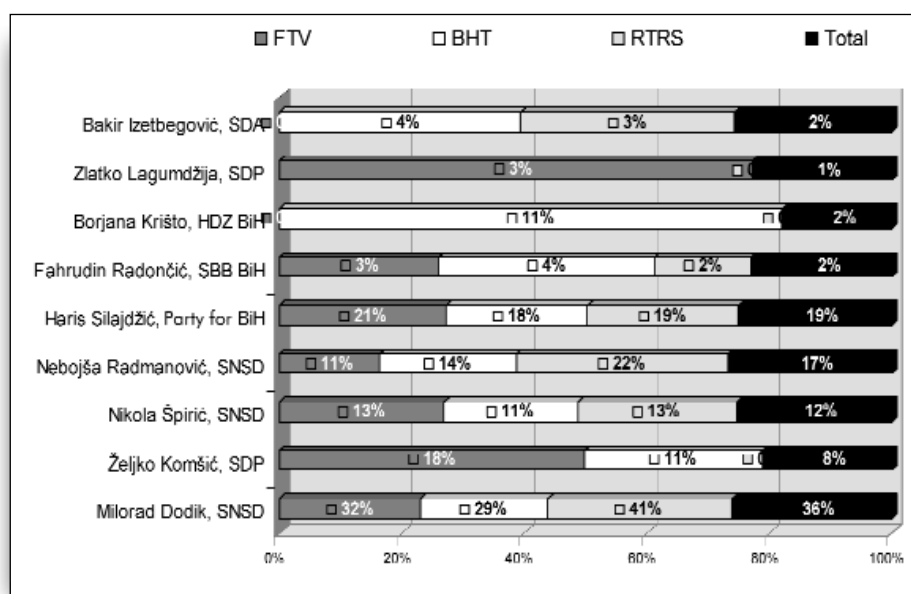
Political parties – Journalist's stand	FTV			BiH			RTS			Total						
	Pos	Neu	Neg	Pos	Neu	Neg	Pos	Neu	Neg	Pos	Neu	Neg	Total			
	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total			
Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)	0	1	2	3	0	8	1	9	4	7	0	11	4	16	3	23
Party of Democratic Action (SDA)	0	4	2	6	0	5	0	5	0	1	1	2	0	10	3	13
Serb Democratic Party (SDS)	0	1	0	1	0	5	0	5	0	5	0	5	0	11	0	11
Party for BiH (S/BiH)	0	2	0	2	0	4	0	4	0	3	1	4	0	9	1	10
Bosnian Party (BOSS)	0	2	0	2	0	6	1	7	0	1	0	1	0	9	1	10
Croat Democratic Union of BiH (HDZ BiH)	0	2	1	3	0	5	1	6	0	1	0	1	0	8	2	10
Party of Democratic Progress (PDP)	0	2	0	2	0	4	0	4	0	2	1	3	0	8	1	9
Social Democratic Party (SDP) (HDZ 1990)	0	1	0	1	0	4	0	4	0	1	0	1	0	6	0	6
Democratic People's Community (DNCZ)	0	2	0	2	0	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	6
People's Party Work for Betterment	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
Our Party	0	3	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
Social Democratic Union (SDU)	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Democratic People's Alliance (DNS)	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Democratic Party (DP)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	2
Croat Coalition (HDZ 1990 / HSP BiH)	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	2
Union for a Better Future (SBB)	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Croat Peasant Party - New Croat Initiative (HSS - NH)	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Union for a Democratic Srpska	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Socialist Party RS (SP)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Serb Radical Party (SRS)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Total	0	30	5	35	0	51	3	54	4	28	3	35	4	109	11	124

Political parties – Journalist's stand	FTV			BIT			RIRS			Total			
	Pos	Net	Neg	Pos	Net	Neg	Pos	Net	Neg	Pos	Net	Neg	Total
Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)		33%	67%	9%	89%	11%	17%	36%	64%	17%	70%	13%	19%
Party of Democratic Action (SDA)		67%	33%	17%	100%		9%		50%	0%	77%	23%	10%
Serb Democratic Party (SDS)		100%		3%	100%		9%		100%	0%	100%	0%	9%
Party for Bill (S/Bill)		100%		6%	100%		7%		75%	0%	90%	10%	8%
Bosnian Party (BOSS)		100%		6%	86%	14%	13%		100%	0%	90%	10%	8%
Croat Democratic Union of Bill (HDZ, Bill)		67%	33%	9%	83%	17%	11%		100%	0%	80%	20%	8%
Party of Democratic Progress (PDP)		100%		6%	100%		7%		67%	0%	89%	11%	7%
Social Democratic Party (SDP)		100%		3%	100%		7%		100%	0%	100%	0%	5%
Croat Democratic Union 1990 (HDZ, 1990)		100%		6%	100%		7%		100%	0%	100%	0%	5%
Democratic People's Community (DNZ)		100%		3%	100%		6%		100%	0%	100%	0%	3%
People's Party Work for Betterment		100%		9%	100%		2%		100%	0%	100%	0%	3%
Our Party		100%		6%	100%		2%		100%	0%	100%	0%	2%
Social Democratic Union (SDU)		100%		9%	100%		0%			0%	100%	0%	2%
Democratic People's Alliance (DNS)				0%			0%		100%	0%	100%	0%	2%
Democratic Party (DP)		100%		3%			0%		100%	0%	100%	0%	2%
Croat Coalition (HDZ, 1990 / HSP, Bill)		100%		3%			0%		100%	0%	100%	0%	2%
Union for a Better Future (SBB)		100%		3%			2%			0%	100%	0%	2%
Croat Peasant Party - New Croat Initiative (HSS – NHI)		100%		3%			0%			0%	100%	0%	1%
Union for a Democratic Srpska				0%			0%		100%	0%	100%	0%	1%
Socialist Party, RS (SP)				0%			0%		100%	0%	100%	0%	1%
Serb Radical Party (SRS)				0%			0%		100%	0%	100%	0%	1%
Total	0%	86%	14%	100%	94%	6%	100%	11%	80%	3%	88%	9%	100%

Candidates holding state positions or other public positions

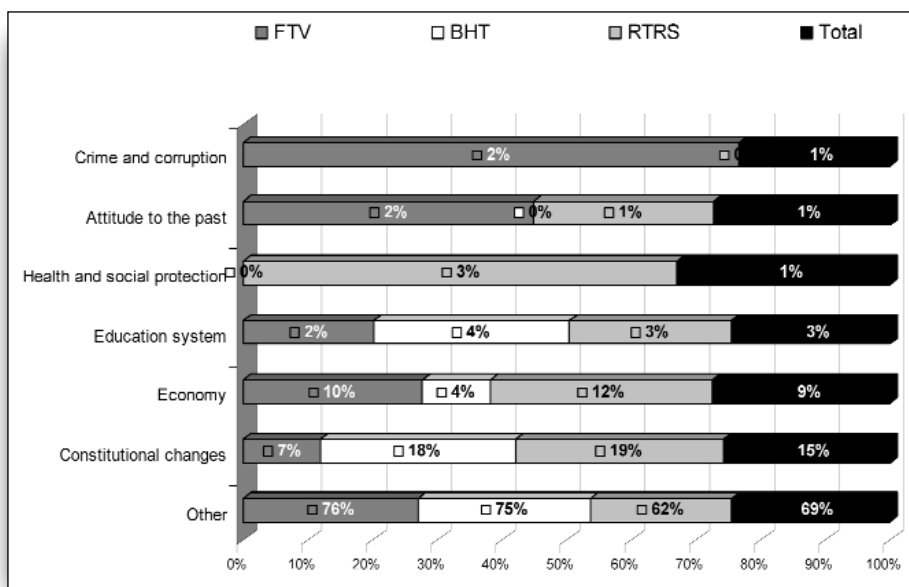


Candidates holding state positions or other public positions	FTV	BIIT	RTRS	Total
Milorad Dodik, SNSD	12	8	26	46
Željko Komšić, SDP	7	3	0	10
Nikola Špirić, SNSD	5	3	8	16
Nebojša Radmanović, SNSD	4	4	14	22
Haris Silajdžić, Party for BiH	8	5	12	25
Fahrudin Radončić, SBB BiH	1	1	1	3
Borjana Krišto, HDZ BiH	0	3	0	3
Zlatko Lagumdžija, SDP	1	0	0	1
Bakir Izetbegović, SDA	0	1	2	3
Total	38	28	63	129

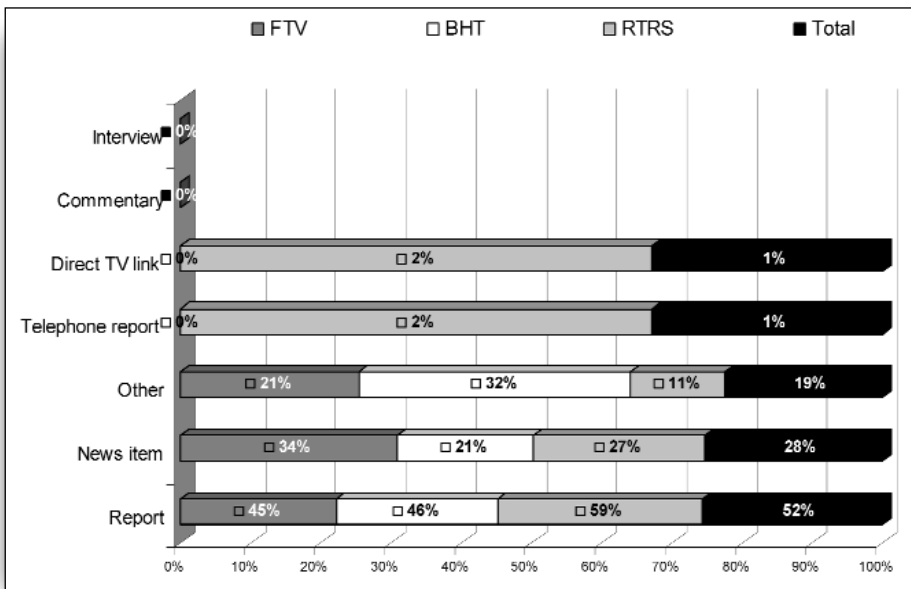


HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Candidates holding state positions or other public positions – Theme	FTV	BHT	RTRS	Total
Other	32	21	42	95
Constitutional changes	3	5	13	21
Economy	4	1	8	13
Education system	1	1	2	4
Health and social protection	0	0	2	2
Attitude to the past	1	0	1	2
Crime and corruption	1	0	0	1
Total	42	28	68	138

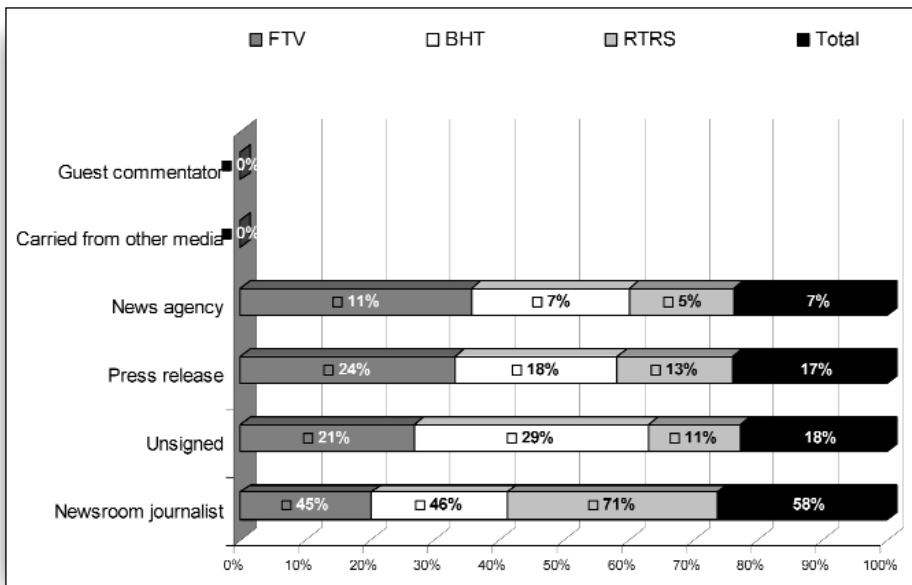


Candidates holding state positions or other public positions – Journalistic form	FTV	BHT	RTRS	Total
Report	17	13	37	67
News item	13	6	17	36
Other	8	9	7	24
Telephone report	0	0	1	1
Direct TV link	0	0	1	1
Commentary	0	0	0	0
Interview	0	0	0	0
Total	38	28	63	129

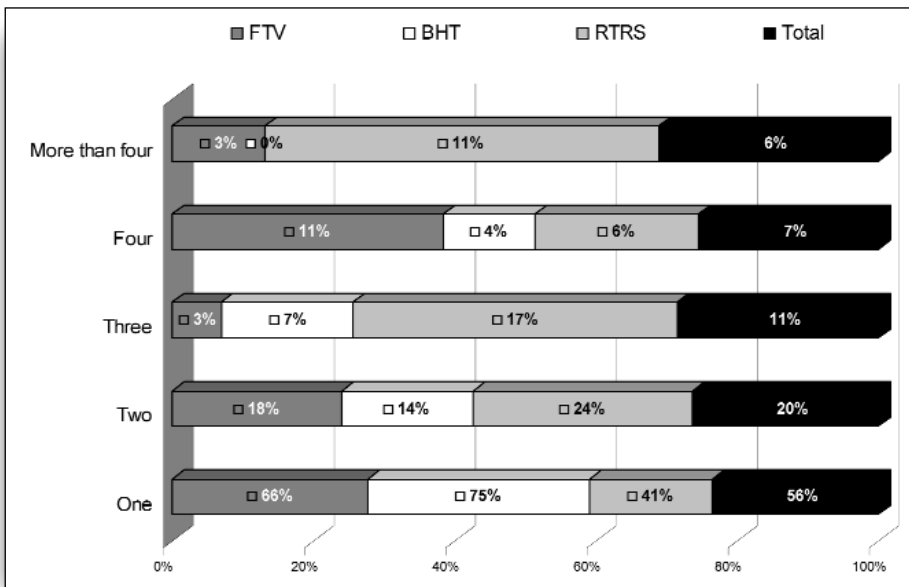


HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Candidates holding state positions or other public positions – Authorship	FTV	BHT	RTRS	Total
Newsroom journalist	17	13	45	75
Unsigned	8	8	7	23
Press release	9	5	8	22
News agency	4	2	3	9
Carried from other media	0	0	0	0
Guest commentator	0	0	0	0
Total	38	28	63	129

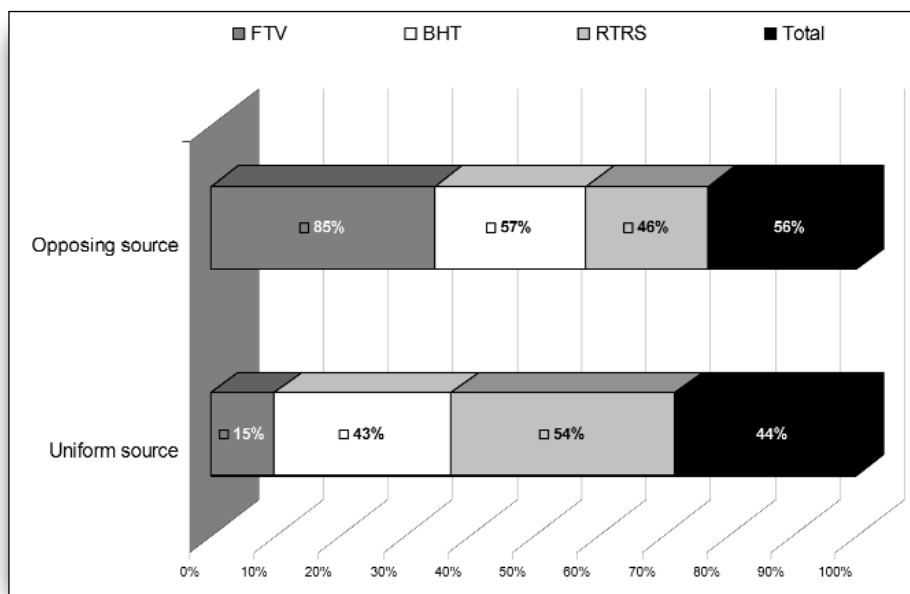


Candidates holding state positions or other public positions – Number of sources	FTV	BHT	RTRS	Total
One	25	21	26	72
Two	7	4	15	26
Three	1	2	11	14
Four	4	1	4	9
More than four	1	0	7	8
Total	38	28	63	129

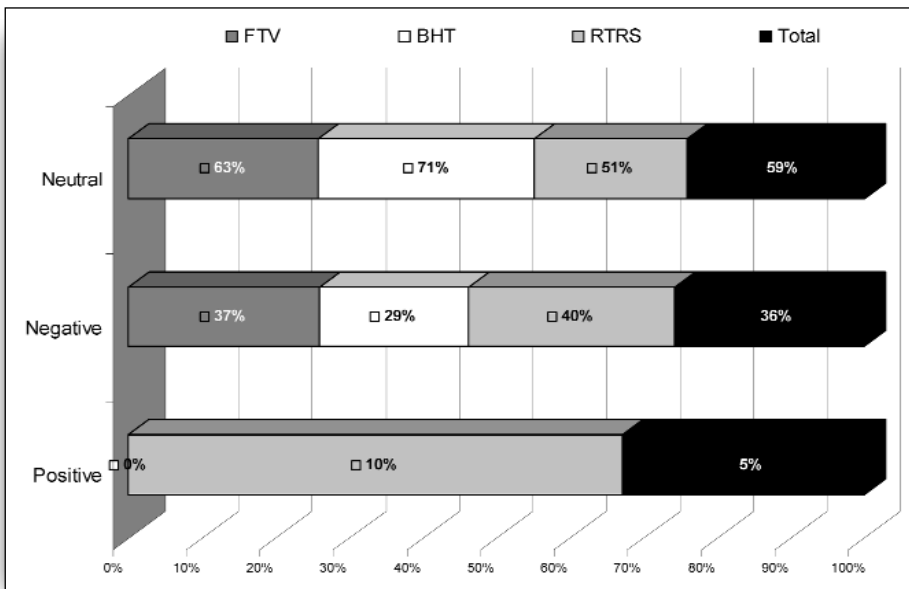


HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Candidates holding state positions or other public positions – Position of source	FTV	BHT	RTRS	Total
Uniform source	2	3	20	25
Opposing source	11	4	17	32
Total	13	7	37	57



Candidates holding state positions or other public positions – Content of article	FTV	BHT	RTRS	Total
Positive	0	0	6	6
Negative	14	8	25	47
Neutral	24	20	32	76
Total	24	20	32	76



HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Candidates holding state positions or other public positions - Journalist's stand	FTV			BHT			RTRS			Total		
	Pos	Neu	Neg.	Total	Pos	Neu	Neg.	Total	Pos	Neu	Neg.	Total
Milorad Dodik, SNSD	0	6	6	12	0	7	1	8	13	13	0	26
Haris Silajdžić, Party for BiH	0	8	0	8	0	5	0	5	0	5	7	12
Nebojša Radmanović, SNSD	0	3	1	4	0	4	0	4	6	8	0	14
Nikola Špirić, SNSD	0	2	3	5	0	3	0	3	3	5	0	8
Željko Komšić, SDP	0	7	0	7	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0
Fahrudin Radončić, SBB BiH	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Borjana Kristo, HDZ BiH	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	0
Bakir Izetbegović, SDA	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	2
Zlatko Lagumdžija, SDP	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	28	10	38	0	27	1	28	22	33	8	63
												22
												88
												19
												129

Candidates holding state positions or other public positions - Journalist's stand	FTV			BHT			RTRS			Total		
	Pos	Neu	Neg.	Total	Pos	Neu	Neg.	Total	Pos	Neu	Neg.	Total
Milorad Dodik, SNSD	50%	50%	32%	32%	88%	13%	29%	29%	50%	50%	50%	41%
Haris Silajdžić, SBH	100%	0%	21%	21%	100%		18%	18%	42%	42%	58%	19%
Nebojša Radmanović, SNSD	75%	25%	11%	11%	100%		14%	14%	43%	57%		22%
Nikola Špirić, SNSD	60%	40%	13%	13%	100%		11%	11%	38%	63%		13%
Željko Komšić, SDP	100%		18%	18%	100%		11%	11%				0%
Fahrudin Radončić, SBB BiH	100%		3%	3%	100%		4%	4%	100%	100%		2%
Borjana Kristo, HDZ BiH			0%	0%	100%		11%	11%				0%
Bakir Izetbegović, SDA			0%	0%	100%		4%	4%	50%	50%	50%	3%
Zlatko Lagumdžija, SDP	100%		3%	3%			0%	0%				0%
Total	0%	74%	26%	100%	0%	96%	4%	100%	35%	52%	13%	100%
												17%
												68%
												15%
												100%

**Analysis of media discourse and content of
the dailies related to the 2010 General
Elections in BiH**

**REPORTING THAT SERVES
POLITICAL SUBJECTS RATHER
THAN REPORTING THAT
SERVES CITIZENS**

The campaign for the 2010 General Elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina showed once again that the public and media space is divided along territorial and ethno-national lines (because dailies reported much more on candidates and parties from their respective part of BiH or in the ethnic group that dominates as their target audience). A relatively new phenomenon related to coverage of the 2010 elections is that the media agreed to directly serve specific political subjects. The analyzed daily newspapers, each in its own way and for their own reasons, favored or smeared specific political options and candidates, with lesser or greater intensity. The favoring was reflected in a very positive stand on specific political subjects (Milorad Dodik and the SNSD in “Euroblic”, “Nezavisne Novine” and “Glas Srpske”; Martin Raguz and the coalition of HDZ 1990 – HSP and People’s Party Work for Betterment in “Dnevni List”; Dragan Covic, Borjana Kristo and HDZ BiH in “Vecernji List”; Fahrudin Radoncic and the SBB in “Dnevni Avaz”; whereas the situation with Oslobodjenje was opposite and the paper wrote continuously against the latter presidential candidate and his party), which was manifested through a large number of articles about these parties and candidates, as well as through the content of the published articles (which are neutral at first glance, but they avoid any kind of criticism or disagreement, even at the price of consulting just one source). Although

some of the fundamental principles of the profession were formally adhered to in some cases (separating the election chronicles from the rest of the paper's content, separating news from commentary, etc.), others were completely neglected (separating advertisements from information, equal space for all options, use of appropriate vocabulary, etc.) and even a cursory glance at the content and front pages of the above media can tell the average citizen which option a particular daily supports. In some cases journalists understood objective reporting on election activities of political parties as shorthand reporting. These reports were made according to a pattern (information on the number of those present, speakers, providing several statements of candidates and often without a single sentence whose author is the journalist), whereas in other cases the principles of objectivity were completely set aside and the reporting was biased and took sides. In some newspapers, some journalistic forms were not used at all (interviews in "Euroblic", for example). What was completely missing is thematic reporting on problems and unsolved current issues in Bosnian-Herzegovinian society and investigative stories in which journalists would ask the political subjects to provide concrete answers to concrete questions. Therefore we may say that the election coverage was in the service of the elections and the election success of specific political parties and candidates rather than in the function of citizens and providing them with objective information and orientation in the election process. Political subjects practically imposed the issues, questions and contents that were covered in the daily newspapers in relation to the elections and the newspapers' approach was reactive instead of proactive. On the other hand, another kind of media proactivity was reflected in situations when they reported on the political subjects that they favor, showing enviable creativity in approach. These subjects were presented in a different light not just on the pages of the election chronicles, but also on sports pages (Milorad Dodik, Nebojsa Radmanovic in "Nezavisne Novine" for example), entertainment pages, even in a supplement on automobiles (Martin Raguz in "Dnevni List" for example).

Euroblic

(Belgrade/Banja Luka)

SHORTHAND AND SELECTIVE COVERAGE OF THE CAMPAIGN

Election-related content was published in “Euroblic” in the monitoring period in a total of 27 issues of the newspaper whose target audience, as well as dominant content, is focused on the Republika Srpska (some of these contents were “announced” on the newspaper’s front page). In the “Euroblic – Republika Srpska” section, articles were published regarding the position and functioning of the Republika Srpska whose actors were currently highly-ranked politicians in the RS who were running as candidates in the elections (Milorad Dodik, Nebojsa Radmanovic, Nikola Spiric), as well as articles related exclusively to the election campaign (in the section “2010 – Election Campaign”). Politicians and public figures from the BiH Federation were mentioned just several times, with the exception of BiH Presidency member Haris Silajdzic, who was mentioned 17 times in articles that were mainly related to constitutional changes and the existential issues of the survival of the Republika Srpska, and who was presented in 12 of the 17 cases as the “bad guy”. A specific characteristic of “Euroblic” compared to the other monitored dailies is that this paper in its Sunday edition did not publish election-related information (no articles related to the elections in four Sunday editions – 5 Sept, 12 Sept, 19 Sept and 26 Sept). On 30 September and 1 October a special newspaper supplement called “Elections” was published on four pages, presenting the candidates for president and vice-president of the Republika Srpska and candidates for Serb member of the BiH Presidency. However, it needs to be noted that the contents in the supplement do not fall under any journalistic form, as they were exclusively candidates’ biographies created by their PR teams, without any stands or comments by journalists, and as such they were not the subject of our analysis.

A total of 189 articles were published whose content was related to election issues (142 articles on political parties running in the elections and 47 articles on state officials and public figures who again ran as candidates

for public office in the 2010 elections). Analyzing the content and discourse in the published articles, we observed that the “Euroblic” approach to election issues was mostly reactive – political parties and candidates were the ones that defined the agenda and the newspaper followed it. Issues covered by articles were generally issues that political parties decided to talk about in press conferences or press releases, which were then just literally conveyed in the newspaper. A proactive approach was present in thematic articles that raised specific issues (e.g. an article in the 28 September edition, “Doctors happy to run for assembly”, which analyzed how many doctors were nominated on election lists without saying which parties nominated them (p. RS3); an article in the 29 September edition, “Parties are copying promises” (pp. RS 2 and 3), which analyzed what the leading parties had promised in 2006 and how much the 2010 election promises differ from those in the previous elections; an article in the 1 October edition, “Advertising on two and four wheels” (p. RS3), which explains the trend of political parties’ advertisements on cars, buses, etc.), but specific political parties were just mentioned in these articles. Their views or any kind of reaction were not sought. The discourse of such articles was mostly orientational, i.e. the articles only indicated a particular trend, without analyzing it in-depth. Nevertheless, some of these articles did have a critical stand on the election campaign in general or expressed distrust of all political parties and candidates (e.g. an unsigned commentary on the elections in the 4 September issue states: “From one moment to the next, ‘dear’ characters replace one another on the billboards. Everything started perfectly. At one minute to 12. Many of the candidates probably had not slept the night before... The candidates are making offers and promises and they are making predictions better than the famous prophets.” (p. RS8)).

The dominant issues in the “Euroblic” election section were constitutional changes and economy. As one would expect looking from the overall BiH context, issues that directly concern BiH citizens’ lives (education, healthcare, crime and corruption) generally were not focused and commented on by the political parties and candidates, on whose agenda the paper based its own agenda. Education was mentioned in six articles (5 news items based on political party press releases and 1 report on state officials/election candidates: 7 September, in an article entitled “Politicians were first to enter classrooms”, on the occasion of the opening of the renovated

“Branko Radicevic” school, it is stated: “Milorad Dodik used the opportunity to say that his education policy, along with investments, is to maintain education employees’ current wages”). Healthcare was mentioned in two articles (both in parties’ election chronicles) and crime and corruption were mentioned in three (2 articles related to the election chronicles and 1 in which a state official/election candidate, M. Dodik, promised to fight with determination against this problem). Economic issues had a bigger presence and were covered in 31 articles. Of this number, six articles presented the incumbent RS government’s economic successes, which could certainly bring the candidates who were holding positions in the government a few political points and a positive public image: on 17 September the paper published the article “Engine oil factory to be built in Modrica”, accompanied by a photograph of RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik holding a shovel (p. RS211). A large number of articles (109) focused on the election process itself (usually in the form of news, in which the SNSD for example notified the public that the party enjoys the support of Serbian President Boris Tadic (27 September edition, p. RS2) or reports which for example state that the “DNS is denying its support to Dodik and Radmanovic”, edition of 7 September).

Most articles related to political parties in “Euroblic” took the form of news items (in the section “2010 – Election Chronicles”, 4-7 news items were published each day and their total number was 119). The dominant form related to state officials/election candidates was the form of reports (24 in total). Most articles were unsigned (of the total number of 142 articles, 100 were unsigned) and these unsigned articles were usually in the form of news items, from whose content one could usually “read” their authorship: such news was mainly based on press releases issued by political parties or news agency items. This approach to reporting on the election activities of the political subjects (parties and candidates) was actually based on the “easy way method”: literally conveying agency items or news items based on political subjects’ press releases, which give an illusion of objectivity, while at the same time making the job easier for the newsroom journalists, who are just carriers/mediators of messages. “Euroblic” journalists are the authors of most reports, but they did not make a single interview with political party leaders or election candidates. The paper published just one commentary about the election campaign in general (at the very beginning of the campaign, 4 September), which is also unsigned (actually signed as “Blic team”).

The biggest number of contents by far related to elections in “Euroblic” is based on just one source (161 articles – 126 related to political parties and 35 related to state officials/election candidates). This fact is even more worrisome when compared to the number of articles in which two or more sources were consulted (only 28 articles are based on two, three, four or more than four sources). The ratio of articles with a uniform position of sources and those with opposed positions of sources is almost equal (uniform sources: 13; opposed sources: 15). It should be noted that, unexpectedly, a uniform position of sources is present in articles whose actors are state officials/election candidates. The reason is the very theme of these articles: they were usually articles in which state officials/election candidates (or their advisors) from the Republika Srpska talk about constitutional changes or criticize Bosniak member of the BiH Presidency Haris Silajdzic (7 September, article entitled “Smalltime trickery over Kosovo”, in which Nebojsa Radmanovic’s advisor Danilo Petrovic, RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik and scientist Milos Solaja condemn Silajdzic for supporting Kosovo’s independence – the position of the sources here is uniform because the “rule of the other side” was not obeyed, i.e. Silajdzic was not consulted to present his arguments and no other source was consulted who has a different opinion than the Serb officials on this matter). Therefore we may conclude that selectiveness in consulting sources was based on a tendency to provide a uniform stand and avoid any dissonant tones.

Generally speaking, the content of articles in most cases is neutral, but tension is raised when the issues of constitutional reforms, survival of the RS and/or relations among the BiH Presidency members are mentioned. Thus on 18 September the paper published an article (announced on the front page) entitled “Silajdzic and Komsic seek OHR assistance”, with an extremely sensationalistic approach and negative stand on Haris Silajdzic and Zeljko Komsic. Namely, the article was announced across two-thirds of the front page and on page RS 3 it only took one-fifth of the space. The article deals with the lack of functionality of the BiH Presidency, clearly taking the side of the Serb Presidency member Nebojsa Radmanovic.

During the election campaign, “Euroblic” had a very positive stand on RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik and a very negative stand on Bosniak member

of the BiH Presidency Haris Silajdzic. The positive stand on Dodik is shown by the fact that the front pages of “Euroblic” either featured the RS prime minister or no one from the RS and the rest of BiH and also the fact that he was presented as someone who is fighting to preserve the RS, at the same time building economic, educational and other capacities and infrastructures of the Republika Srpska. Thus in the edition on 29 September the front page featured the headline: “Dodik: demarcation is Dayton obligation”, with the subheadline: “RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik said in Istocno Sarajevo yesterday that the BiH Federation is obstructing the demarcation of the inter-entity line”. On page RS8 was an article on the prime minister’s visit to the RiTE Ugljevik with a large photograph of Milorad Dodik, taking up one-third of the page. On page RS6 the work of the RS government is criticized over small hydro-electric power plants, but the article (“Government gives concession, citizens opposed to construction”) expresses a positive stand on Dodik (who is “looking for an acceptable solution for everyone”). An example of a negative stand on Silajdzic is most pronounced in the edition of 24 September, in which on the same page the paper quotes the state prime minister Nikola Spiric (“The word secession is a word I never use; it’s somewhere deep in Haris. Well, if that’s so, way to go Haris!”), declares Silajdzic “loser of the day”, and brings a statement by Rajko Kuzmanovic, the RS president, who says that “Haris Silajdzic is destroying the state” (pp. RS 2-3).

“Euroblic” did not bring photographs of political party rallies, but it did bring photographs of candidates, contributing to their positive image (Milorad Dodik giving out autographs like a movie star on 7 September or Milorad Dodik on the front page on 10 Sept). Photographs of state officials/election candidates were often published, as were so-called photo-news (on 17 September the photo-news “Ekrem Jevric candidate in elections” was published, showing a photomontage of SDA election posters with a photograph of the folk singer Ekrem Jevric (P. RS7) instead of Bakir Izetbegovic) and flash-news (on 8 September a photograph of Milorad Dodik was published with his short statement: “We politicians aren’t so bad. Sometimes we open a school, a road, we do something good for the people” (p. RS2)).

To sum up the overview of “Euroblic” coverage of the 2010 elections, we may conclude that the daily reduced its coverage to one entity (Republika

Srpska), evidently supporting the ruling structures in the entity (primarily Milorad Dodik). The coverage followed the principle of shorthand registering of political parties' election activities, without any concrete engagement on the part of the journalists in asking questions citizens would ask if given the opportunity and searching for answers (this is often how local media understand objective reporting during election campaigns) and solely following issues and trends imposed by political subjects (parties and candidates) in their press releases, media presentations and statements. What was missing was a thematic approach to issues of importance to citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina or any kind of investigative approach. Favoring of specific candidates and parties cannot be "read" directly from the content of articles, but it is closely related to selectiveness in reporting and giving more space to just some of them (Milorad Dodik was twice as present in news and reports as the second most mentioned candidate, Haris Silajdzic, and the SNSD was twice as present as the second most mentioned party, the PDP). Therefore, to quote George Orwell, we can say that "all were equal, but some were more equal than others". What we can point out as a somewhat positive aspect in the "Euroblic" election coverage is the fact that this paper, unlike some others, at the finish of the election campaign reduced the number of "descriptive-transcriptive" news items on individual parties and candidates (in the section "2010 – Elections") and increased the number of articles aimed at analyzing some of the election activities (new methods in the election campaign, promises and slogans of political subjects, etc.). Although these articles were generally neutral and written "with caution", they are quite refreshing in the rather monotonous election content and offer of "Euroblic".

Nezavisne Novine

(Banja Luka)

QUANTITATIVELY AND QUALITATIVELY ON THE SIDE OF THE RULING PARTY

During the campaign for the 2010 General Elections, “Nezavisne Novine” acted as a mouthpiece of the SNSD, especially showing its preference for Milorad Dodik, candidate for Republika Srpska president. Its positive stand on the SNSD and Dodik is reflected both in the number of published articles about the party and candidate – SNSD was mentioned in a total of 56 articles and Dodik in 28 of them (HDZ trailed behind with 27 articles) – and photographs (38 for the SNSD, twice as many as for the second DNS, and 24 for Milorad Dodik), as well as in the content of these articles and the fact that only this party was continuously covered by “Nezavisne Novine” journalists, whereas news agency items and/or press releases were used for reporting on other political subjects.

From the very start of the election campaign, “Nezavisne Novine” published articles presenting Dodik as defender of Republika Srpska interests and uncompromising fighter for RS independence, who bravely and without mincing his words stands up to politicians from the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially Haris Silajdzic, and presenting the SNSD as the “ruling party” massively supported by the Republika Srpska citizens (photographs accompanying articles on SNSD rallies showed full halls of people euphorically cheering for the party’s leaders).

On the first day of the election campaign, 3 September, a commentary was published that was written by Serbian academic Dobrica Cosic under the title “Dodik at top of Serbian politicians”, in which the academic unambiguously says: “I have a lot of respect for Dodik... As a citizen of Serbia, I have no right to advise you how to vote, but in the Republika Srpska you don’t have a stronger politician or figure”. Already the next day, 4 September, Milorad Dodik was shown on the front page in a photograph in which two retired women hug him enthusiastically and next to it is a smaller picture of another SNSD candidate, Nebojsa Radmanovic.

On 5 September, two photographs of Dodik were published, along with an article in which he says: "There is no force that can abolish RS". On 6 September there were two articles featuring Milorad Dodik (one about a bridge between the RS and Serbia, which Dodik and Serbian President Boris Tadic opened together, and the other about an SNSD rally in which Dodik said: "SNSD victory guarantees RS survival"), plus a photograph of Dodik in the sports section showing him holding jersey number 10 with his name on it, under the headline "Igokea ahead of everyone else". Thus in just the first four days of the election campaign Dodik "received attention" in one commentary, four reports, one front page, and a total of five photographs, which undoubtedly speaks about the extremely positive stand that "Nezavisne Novine" has on him.

It should also be noted that Milorad Dodik used his position of Republika Srpska prime minister to help his election campaign by opening bridges, factories and schools and visiting thermal power plants, sports events and so on in his official capacity as prime minister, accompanied by "Nezavisne Novine" journalists who regularly covered these events on the pages of the daily. Thus on 7 September "Nezavisne Novine" reported on the opening of an elementary school at which the RS prime minister said that "investments in education will continue in the coming period", obviously believing that "in the coming period" he would continue to define the RS government's agenda and priorities. "Nezavisne Novine" carried the statement without any comments, giving the impression that this is the way it is. In the same edition on the sports pages along with a report on an Igokea-Partizan match, a photograph was published showing Milorad Dodik and Nikola Spiric, and along with a report on the opening of the European Fly-Fishing Championship the paper featured a photograph of Nebojsa Radmanovic. On 8 September the paper published an article entitled "Milorad Dodik in Belgrade opens 'Factory of knowledge'," accompanied by his photograph, and on 10 September it published an article entitled "Radio therapy center opens", with a photograph of Milorad Dodik cutting a red ribbon. On 25 September an article was featured across two-thirds of a page in "Nezavisne Novine" on the opening of a road and water system, with a huge photograph of Milorad Dodik surrounded by young girls in folk costumes. Right under the article (on the remaining one-third of the page) is a paid SNSD advertisement with

the slogan “Srpska forever” and a photograph of Milorad Dodik. On 28 September in the “Economy” section, an article was published under the headline “Dodik opens new Hemofarm facility in Novakovici near Banja Luka”, and the next day an article was published in the “Events” section under the headline “Dodik opens 141 million KM road”, also with a photograph of Milorad Dodik cutting a red ribbon. Not infrequently, in reports on SNSD rallies the party is presented as the leading investor and builder in the RS (e.g. in the report “Strongest party’s election rallies – SNSD wins Foca”, in which a box text reads: “160,000 KM road opened”, as if the SNSD and not the local authorities allocated money from the budget to build the road).

“Nezavisne Novine” gave Milorad Dodik and the SNSD additional legitimacy by bringing statements and views of prominent members of the Serbian political and academic community, as well as athletes and singers from Serbia. Along with the already mentioned comment by Dobrica Cosic (3 Sept.), on 12 September a large interview with Matija Beckovic was published in the paper, “announced” on the front page by the headline “What they want, Dodik doesn’t, and he shouldn’t”. The interview presents Beckovic’s position on the importance of preservation of the Republika Srpska and Milorad Dodik is presented as the person who can ensure that (headline of the article inside the paper: “The more defamation and lies there are, the more we like Dodik”). The article itself was not featured in the “Elections” section although its theme concerns the election process and directly influences it. On 30 September the front page announced an article in which Obrad Kesic, a political analyst from Washington, alleges that “America today acknowledges Milorad Dodik” (the same edition brings a big interview with Milorad Dodik across the whole 10th page). On 25 September on page 8 an article was published under the headline: “Savo Milosevic supports SNSD”, which quoted the Bijeljina-born Serbian football player as saying that the “SNSD is currently the best option citizens can choose”. On the eve of elections, 1 October, the whole front page was devoted to the SNSD’s final rally, entitled “Serbia for Dodik, Radmanovic and SNSD” and a big photograph of Milorad Dodik, Nebojsa Radmanovic and Serbian President Boris Tadic. The whole second and third pages were also devoted to the final SNSD rally, with a total of five photographs (two showing Milorad Dodik and Boris Tadic, one just Boris Tadic, one just Milorad Dodik, and one showing citizens enthusiastically greeting SNSD leaders).

A frequently mentioned issue in “Nezavisne Novine” was the issue of constitutional changes (in a total of 43 articles). This was a leading issue on which the ruling structures in the RS sought continuity in citizens’ support. The dominant discourse in “Nezavisne Novine” was based on raising tension between the two Bosnian-Herzegovinian entities, portraying Sarajevo as a place against which SNSD representatives have been fighting for years (against representatives of the other two ethnic groups and the international community) for the survival of the Republika Srpska. Consequently, citizens of that entity are supposed to conclude that the RS can only survive if the incumbent leaders stay in power. On 9 September, for example, “Nezavisne Novine” published a Srna agency news item quoting American Professor Steven Meyer as saying that “only the incumbent RS leadership has the courage to say NO to the United States” and a report on an SNSD rally entitled “We will defend RS in Sarajevo”, in which Nikola Spiric says: “We have the right to dream and to make our dream come true, which means regulating the status of the RS”. Although “Nezavisne Novine” journalists in their comments in such reports do not suggest in any way that they support the SNSD views, the very fact that they carry so many of them on “prominent” pages may be a sign that they agree with them. On 14 September a report was published on an SNSD election rally in Kozarska Dubica and Semberija under the headline: “Dodik: RS is my motto”, in which Nebojsa Radmanovic’s statement is carried: “We promised to safeguard the RS in Sarajevo and we fulfilled that promise” (“Elections” section, p. 7). (It must be noted that the SNSD is the only party to which “Nezavisne Novine” applied the retroactive reference method, reminding citizens of the party’s success in the previous mandate.) Articles of this kind, with the clear intention of raising tension between Banja Luka and Sarajevo, were often featured on the front page (e.g. 15 September, front page, Nikola Spiric: “Hatred from Sarajevo is pushing RS out of BiH”, although in the article itself on page 5 Spiric’s statement was explained in just one sentence). In addition, in the last week of the election campaign (25 September – 1 October), on the front pages of “Nezavisne Novine” the successes of the RS Government were emphasized three times and the failures of the BiH Presidency and the BiH state were emphasized twice, in the headlines: “RS Government raises agriculture to higher level”, “New Russian investments arriving in RS”, “Russians will invest hundreds of millions of euros”, and on the other hand, “Silajdzic

is leading BiH toward breakdown” (this headline was featured on the front page on 25 September, with the following headline immediately below it: “Cooperation between Serbia and RS: New bridge strengthens Serbia-RS cooperation”, implying that if BiH breaks down, the RS has an ally in Serbia). On 27 September in the “Events” section, Vitomir Popovic, dean of the Law School and member of the Union for a Democratic Srpska, explains in an interview that “BiH is facing disintegration” (p. 7). In addition to the SNSD, other parties and candidates also received space in “Nezavisne Novine”, but their election activities were mostly covered by carrying news about them from agencies (which are always clearly identified). The size ratio of published articles on the individual parties shows once again that the SNSD is favored over most others. Other parties are either covered in the “In brief” section or in short reports on party rallies, based on agency news items or press releases, whereas as many as two journalists and a photographer are often sent to SNSD rallies and reports on their rallies take up two-thirds of a page (even for very local rallies, in Celinac and Kotor Varos for example on 7 September, on which an article was published with two photographs, or on 10 September when the “In brief” section brought seven news items on HDZ, SDA, SDS, PDP, SNS, People’s Party Work for Betterment and Union for a Democratic Srpska, which altogether took up half a page without any photographs, while the other half was devoted to an SNSD rally, with a photograph of Milorad Dodik). Nevertheless, in some editions we do find very diverse contents (news and reports) related to political party activities (on 20 September, for example, 14 news items and reports on 13 political parties were published). Although RS-based parties were undoubtedly given more space even in these editions, this is certainly positive and it indicates that “Nezavisne Novine” continues to insist on coverage of events across the country.

The stand on most political parties (excluding the SNSD) was mainly neutral, with the exception of the SDA, which was often portrayed as “problematic”. For example, on 7 September we came upon an article with an extremely negative view of the SDA, which says that “the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as a consequence of cooperation of Alija Izetbegovic, his SDA and Islamists from Saudi Arabia, Syria and Pakistan, brought 15,000 to 2,000 Islamists and mujahedins to the Balkans”. Even if this is a fact-based news

item, raising this issue by writing the headline “Religious borders are becoming stronger” is intentional and crosses the line of facts and information. What must be noted, however, is that an interview with SDA candidate for member of the BiH Presidency Bakir Izetbegovic (13 September) was very fair and professional, both in terms of the questions asked and Bakir Izetbegovic’s presented answers. But “Nezavisne Novine” displayed an entirely opposite stand, not neutral at all, on another Bosniak candidate for member of the BiH Presidency, Haris Silajdzic, who was portrayed as one of the main causes of all problems and complications in the work of the BiH Presidency and functioning of the BiH state. On 10 September the paper published the article “Silajdzic celebrates Bajram in Banja Luka”, which was neutral by content, but along with the facts it contains a comment by Uros Vukic, which is extremely negative toward Silajdzic (“More could not be expected from the most radical Bosniak politician”). On 23 and 24 September, on the same page (page 56), two articles were published about Haris Silajdzic, with almost identical views and headlines, but with different officials who made statements (first Nikola Spiric in an article entitled “Silajdzic is destroying BiH” (23 September, p. 56) and then Rajko Kuzmanovic in an article entitled “Silajdzic is destroying his own state” (24 September, p. 56)). On 26 September in a “Nezavisne Novine” journalist’s commentary entitled “Who is destroying BiH”, an extremely negative view of Haris Silajdzic was expressed (“Instead of being an ambassador of positive breakthroughs in the country, in the world Silajdzic is smearing the state for which he is supposed to be fighting”).

“Nezavisne Novine” published research carried out by IPSOS Strategic Marketing Agency with election result predictions which favor the SNSD. On 16 September, the front page brought the headline “Dodik and Radmanovic are winning”. On pages 2 and 3, the paper presented the IPSOS research results which undoubtedly suggest the SNSD’s success, with a large photograph of Milorad Dodik and Nebojsa Radmanovic celebrating victory as if the elections were already over.

The dominant journalistic forms in “Nezavisne Novine” were news items and reports. A considerable number of interviews were also published (24), as well as several commentaries (6). An extremely negative commentary was published on 22 September under the headline “Zlatko’s buffoons”,

using inappropriate language (“Komsic threatened Vojislav Kostunica *like a bum*”). The commentary says that “it is entirely certain that the coalition gathered around the SNSD will keep the power”.

The majority of articles were signed with “Nezavisne Novine” journalists’ full names or news agencies. There was a very small number of unsigned articles (just 8 out of 301). Most articles were based on just one source. In articles in which two or more sources were consulted, the sources usually held the same position (96 uniform sources and 11 opposed sources).

All of the above examples and statistical data show that “Nezavisne Novine” is an obvious example that selectiveness and proactive reporting in favor of a particular political option can be applied even if it seems at first glance that all parties are covered in the paper’s election chronicles (only three small political parties and two coalitions did not have any coverage in “Nezavisne Novine”). Support to the SNSD and the ruling structure of politicians in the Republika Srpska was not even concealed and their favoring was very pronounced and open. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration to say that this newspaper was one of the SNSD’s election instruments which contributed to the party’s election success.

Glas Srpske

(Banja Luka)

FOR DODIK AND REPUBLIKA SRPSKA

This daily during the September campaign entirely placed itself in the service of Milorad Dodik's ruling Union of Independent Social-Democrats (SNSD). This is shown by the large number of items (22 percent, nearly one-fourth of which had a positive stand) and the large number of illustrations (34 percent related to SNSD and 44 percent related to Dodik), as well as positively connoted headlines ("RS citizens trust Dodik most", 17 September; "We will show power and strength of Serb people", 30 September; "Serbia with its friends Milorad Dodik and SNSD", 1 October). On the other hand, the paper reported on opposition representatives to much lesser degree – 10 percent on Mladen Ivanic's Party of Democratic Progress (PDP), 8 percent on Mladen Bosic's Serb Democratic Party (SDS), and 7 percent on the Together for Srpska coalition, which nominated Ognjen Tadic for RS president. But what characterizes reporting on all three opposition political subjects is a negative stand of the paper's journalists – in 37 percent of cases when talking about PDP and Mladen Ivanic, 29 percent about the SDS, and 16 percent when the Together for Srpska coalition and Ognjen Tadic were in question.

It is interesting that minor parties were given considerable space in the paper, such as Democratic People's Union (DNS) – 9 percent, Socialist Party/United Pensioners Party coalition – 7 percent, and Serb Radical Party "Dr. Vojislav Seselj" – 3 percent. The reason is evident – all three parties are either the SNSD's coalition partners (DNS and Socialists) or they openly supported the SNSD and Milorad Dodik during the campaign.

As a result of this kind of reporting and open support for Dodik's regime, the "Glas Srpske" editorial board was accused (mostly by opposition parties) of being a "pro-regime" outlet. Its editor-in-chief, Mirjana Kusmuk, partly responded to the accusations in her commentary of 17 September, publicly addressing the SDS secretary-general, Dragan Cuzulan: "That's precisely why I'm glad people like this call us 'pro-regime'. Especially when we are called that by the democrats from the SDS, which is known for strict respect of the highest democratic principles in the last 20 years. Better 'pro-regime' than 'redneck', you Cuzulan!"

Statistics

Among the issues the political subjects talked about, constitutional reforms had the biggest presence with 22 percent. The reason lies in the fact that for nearly all political subjects in this entity, preservation of the Republika Srpska in the existing Dayton framework was the most important point of their programs. For example, Perica Bundalo of the PDP pointed out in an interview that the “foundation of the program is a stable Srpska” (6 September) and Radmila Trbojevic of the SDS said that the “priority is preservation of the Dayton Agreement” (9 September). Along with this issue, a lot of space was devoted to the issue of economy (21 percent).

Fact-based genres mostly dominated – news (55 percent) and reports (29 percent). Although reports should be free of authors’ personal stands, in a number of them we observed an extremely positive stand on the SNSD, as well as a mildly negative stand on opposition parties. For example, the SNSD had a place reserved for reports on its rallies and in most cases these items were featured in the lower right-hand corner of page 6 of the paper, with an inevitable (group) photograph, pompous headlines and combined statements by the party’s leading four figures – Milorad Dodik, Nebojsa Radmanovic, Nikola Spiric and Igor Radojicic. On the other hand, opposition rallies were covered sporadically, mostly in news items which were generally short, with no illustrations, and often incomplete (for example, in the 17 September issue a news item was published under the headline – “PDP has concrete solutions” – but these solutions were not mentioned anywhere in the article, which gives the impression that this is not a serious party).

We find another interesting example on 14 September, when in an item on a rally of the Together for Srpska coalition the journalist points out that “several hundred supporters” were present in Kotor Varos, whereas a superscript headline in a report on an SNSD rally in Kozarska Dubica, which was featured as part of the same bloc of news and reports, states that “several thousand members and sympathizers” attended.

A large number of interviews were registered (as much as 11 percent of the total number of items). It is interesting that two planned interviews

were not published, both with representatives of opposition parties in the RS. First, in the 6 September issue, the “Glas” editorial board said that an interview will not be made with Miladin Stanic, head of the SDS list for the RS National Assembly in Election Unit 1. According to the paper’s explanation, Stanic asked for “special treatment compared to other candidates”, to which the editorial board did not agree. It is unclear from the statement what that means because it only says that “Stanic refused to have the interview with him made in the same format as with other candidates in upcoming elections”. The same thing happened with a planned interview with Dragan Cavic, president of the Democratic Party, which the “Glas Srpske” editorial board decided would not be published because by meeting conditions requested by Cavic (“sending the interview for authorization, after which not a single word can be thrown out or put in” and that “it must be published within 24 hours” of being made) this candidate “would have preferential treatment over other candidates” (28 September).

On the other hand, obvious “preferential treatment” in the newspaper was given to Milorad Dodik, whose interview in the 1 October issue (the day before election blackout) was published on two pages (6 and 7), compared to his challengers for the seat of RS president, Ognjen Tadic and Dragan Kalinic, whose interviews in the same issue were published on one page each (pages 8 and 9 respectively).

In a large number of cases, sources were newsroom journalists (43 percent) or agencies (28 percent), usually “Srna”. In 76 percent of cases, authors used just one source, in 11 percent they used two sources, in 7 percent three sources, and in three percent each four or more sources. The sources were usually in agreement (96 percent).

Content of items was mostly neutral (78 percent) and 19 percent of items with negative content were registered.

Among political parties and lists, most illustrations regarded SNSD (34 percent), Democratic People’s Union (14 percent), PDP (11 percent), and so on. Among candidates for state and entity positions, Milorad Dodik (32 percent) was in the lead, followed by Haris Silajdzic (24 percent) and Nebojsa Radmanovic (17 percent). This newspaper did not publish a single photograph of Fahrudin Radoncic during the campaign.

Trends

Based on the content of the “Glas” issue of 16 September, it was clear that the campaign was “heating up” and that it was being revealed who the paper’s favorite was and who was politically unsuitable. Namely, that day Dodik appeared on the front page (shaking hands with a representative of Russia’s Duma, on the occasion of his visit to Russia, with the announcement: “Russia in favor of Dayton and closure of OHR”). Meanwhile, results of public opinion research carried out by Ipsos Strategic Marketing were pompously published, announcing convincing triumph of the SNSD and its candidates in the upcoming elections (“Sixty-two percent of the Srpska will vote for Dodik, 55 percent for Radmanovic and 51 percent for SNSD”, pages 2 and 3)¹. And a third example, an item on the party’s panel in Sehovici was signed by as many as two journalists, which is the only such case during the campaign, at least in this newspaper.

The next day, 17 September, the research results are quoted again with the conclusion that “RS citizens trust Dodik most”. It is interesting that other forms present in newspapers, such as readers’ SMS messages, are also used to show support for these preliminary results which are positive for Dodik and the SNSD. One of the published messages states: “I fully agree with the results of research conducted by the ‘Ipsos Strategic Marketing’ agency, which show that Milorad Dodik and Nebojsa Radmanovic will win the upcoming elections, because that is obvious” (published the same day, 17 September).

In order to best illustrate the way this newspaper reported during the campaign, along with the already mentioned taking of sides and affirmative writing about the leading party in the RS and its candidates, we also had an example of a negative campaign against its political opponents which fully matched the SNSD’s strategy of public appearances and public communication. Namely, aiming to discredit the SNSD’s opponents and to

¹ The Communications Regulatory Agency has a rule on reporting of broadcasters during the campaign, which stipulates that research may be published, but only with strict identification of sources and samples. However, even when the rule is adhered to, a general problem with practices in many media outlets is that they publish research results in big headlines, by which they make certain suggestions to consumers.

give it the aura of a righteous and infallible party, “**internal**” opponents were identified (in the form of opposition within the RS and its most exposed leaders Ivanic, Tadic and Mihajlica), as well as the “**external enemy**” embodied in Haris Silajdzic, president of the Party for BiH. Thus, SNSD leaders, with whom Silajdzic confronted many times during their four-year rule, admitted that “Silajdzic to considerable degree is helping the project of an independent Republika Srpska” (in the issue of 24 September a whole page is devoted to Silajdzic’s “illegitimate” appearance at the UN Assembly in New York, where Nikola Spiric said that “Silajdzic is building independence of the RS”).

A series of attacks on Haris Silajdzic was observed at the very beginning of the campaign when during a visit by Turkish President Abdullah Gul to BiH the Serb member of the BiH Presidency Nebojsa Radmanovic accused Silajdzic of turning a “formal dinner into an iftar²” (3 September). Radmanovic continued to attack his “colleague” from the Presidency during the campaign. In the issue of 16 September he stated that “Silajdzic is abusing the Presidency”, referring to his intention to convene an emergency session of the body regarding Nikola Spiric’s statements on hatred from Sarajevo. The story continued the next day in an article entitled: “Silajdzic worked against Dayton his whole mandate”. In the article the sources are just SNSD officials, the other side is missing, the article is tendentious, and it presents Dodik’s party colleagues as the only protectors of the RS. The attacks culminated in the issue of 24 September when politicians from the RS reacted to what they called Silajdzic’s illegitimate speech at the UN Assembly in New York (Spiric: “Silajdzic is building RS independence”; Kulaga: “Haris’s soap opera”; “Head of state is destroying his own state”).

With regard to discrediting the SNSD’s political opponents from the Republika Srpska, the first wave of published criticism was aimed at Milanko Mihajlica, president of the Serb Radical Party of the RS. In a double issue on 4 and 5 September the front page featured a sensationalistic headline: “Mihajlica enlarged assets several times since 2006 elections”. Explaining the allegation, the author of the article refers to Mihajlica’s

² Iftar - evening meal when Muslims break their fast during the Islamic month of Ramadan.

assets report to the Central Election Commission (CIK) of BiH in which he stated that all his “assets are worth 200,000 KM, although experts estimate only his grandiose villa on the banks of the Una in Rakani near Novi Grad which Mihajlica recently bought to be worth double that”. An announcement of the article on the front page is accompanied by a photograph of the “grandiose villa”. The next day, 6 September, another illustration of the newspaper’s attitude to Mihajlica was observed and again the issue is the assets record. The paper’s journalists gave Mihajlica a “minus” with the explanation that he “concealed the value of his assets, which he enlarged several times since the previous general elections”, compared to a “plus” which Milorad Dodik received in the same item (because he “submitted to the CIK the most complete assets report in which he listed his assets to the smallest detail”). Mihajlica reacted in a press release on 15 September saying that because of “scandalous lies, insults and defamation inflicting damage to me, my family and the party I represent”, he is asking for the paper’s public apology, to which the editorial board (instead of an apology) replied that the published allegations are documented, which is why they “do not have the right to apologize for true claims”.

The second part of the campaign was marked by negative reporting on Mladen Ivanic, a candidate of the “Together for Srpska” coalition for Serb member of the BiH Presidency. On several occasions the paper reported on Ivanic’s diplomatic moves which were devastating for the Serb people and for participation of Serb representatives in BiH diplomacy. In an interview with “Glas Srpske” on 21 September, the deputy minister of foreign affairs of BiH, Ana Trisic Babic, pointed out that “the downfall of BiH diplomacy started with Ivanic”. This headline was featured on the front page and a big interview with Trisic Babic was published on two pages (4 and 5, which is a lot of space considering that this paper usually publishes interviews on one page). A day later, 22 September, an article was published in which the newspaper’s journalists accuse Ivanic of “currying favor with Sarajevo” and say that because of him the “RS will in the next eight years be without an ambassador in EU countries”. Headline manipulation in reporting on Ivanic was observed in the 1 October issue. Namely, the headline – “Ivanic’s support to resolution on genocide” – implied the politician’s active support on this issue (a very sensitive issue in the RS during the campaign – even Prime Minister Milorad Dodik said there had

been no genocide in Srebrenica). However, the headline does not match the essence of the article. The article explains that this is an extracted section of an interview he gave “Dani” magazine (in which he spoke of his support to the resolution). This statement was featured on posters put up by his political opponents all over Banja Luka. However, we do not see this important fact in the headline.

It is not just journalists of this newspaper who constantly criticized opposition leaders in the RS, reporting on their scandals and inconsistencies in protection of political interests of the Serb people. Some representatives of smaller parties which support the SNSD party from time to time also criticized the opposition in the RS and its leaders. In an interview with “Glas Srpske”, Dubravko Prstojevic from SRS Dr. Vojislav Seselj stated that “Ivanic and Mihajlica are not consistent politicians” (10 September). In a report on a Democratic People’s Party (DNS) rally, a journalist carries a statement by Nedjo Trninic who warned sympathizers “not to vote for Mladen Ivanic’s and Dragan Cavic’s parties because these are people who allowed the transfer of powers from the RS to BiH and made a catastrophic list for Srebrenica” (11-12 September). Finally, in the 1 October issue, an interview with Dragan Kalinic, candidate of the Union for a Democratic Srpska for the seat of RS president, is entitled: “Tadic is losing again, Dodik and myself are rivals”, which implies that he considers Milorad Dodik his real challenger and believes that the opposition candidate Ognjen Tadic has negligent predispositions for the presidential seat.

Dnevni List

(Mostar)

MARTIN RAGUZ CENTRAL ELECTION FIGURE

“Dnevni List”, compared to the other analyzed dailies, gave most attention to the election process in BiH (in the “2010 General Elections” section, on five or six pages in each edition), but most of the attention focused on Croat political parties (of the total 341 mentionings of political parties in “Dnevni List” articles, the HDZ was mentioned 75 times, HDZ 1990 31 times, HSP 53 times, and the HDZ 1990-HSP coalition 38 times). The “2010 General Elections” section in “Dnevni List” abounded in news items and reports on political party rallies in different parts of the country (mostly in Herzegovina and Posavina). Most of the news and reports were based on political subjects’ press releases (125 out of 336; “Dnevni List” journalists were the authors of 108 news items and reports). “Dnevni List” published a larger number of interviews than other dailies (29 with political party leaders and members and 3 with state officials/election candidates). It is important to note that “Dnevni List” did not identify agencies as authors of news and we find quite a large number of unsigned news items in this daily paper (64 on political parties and 10 on state officials/election candidates).

There is no doubt that “Dnevni List” supported Martin Raguz, candidate of the HDZ 1990-HSP coalition for member of the BiH Presidency. A total of 28 articles were published about him along with 44 photographs and nearly no reports were published on rallies of the HDZ 1990 or the HDZ 1990-HSP coalition without at least one photograph or statement by Martin Raguz, usually featured in a box within the article. On the first day of the election campaign (3 September), on page 7 “Dnevni List” published an article entitled “Raguz presents program” with a large photograph of Martin Raguz. The paper also reported the same day on the same page that Dragan Covic, Bakir Izetbegovic and Jerko Ivankovic Lijanovic presented their programs, but they received considerably less space (altogether just half a page). On 4 September a commentary was published about the start of Martin Raguz’s campaign, whose author is a newsroom journalist, with the headline “Little money, good team, culture of dialog.” The commentary reads: “Raguz is principled, consistent, always ready to take on political responsibility and statesmanship obligations,” undoubtedly suggesting to readers who they should choose. On 5 September a report was

brought on an HDZ 1990 rally which again announces Martin Raguz's success, with the headline: "Raguz: I will defeat you all". On 7 September "Dnevni List" brought a big interview (on two pages, with a huge headline and two photographs) with Martin Raguz, under the headline: "Raguz: Komsic and I will fight to end", as well as a report on the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Brusnica Parish which Raguz attended (another photograph of Raguz accompanied the report). On 14 September the front page featured a photograph of Martin Raguz with his statement trying to compromise the other two candidates for Croat member of the BiH Presidency ("Kristo and Komsic are hiding behind partisan waters"). On 15 September on page 7 the daily published the results of research carried out by the "Association of Croat Youth from Mostar research team" under the headline: "Raguz on secure road to BiH Presidency", which predicts Martin Raguz's success with an almost identical comment as already published in the 4 September commentary. "Especially in relation to the other candidates, Raguz stands out as an authentic person on the political scene: principled and consistent, always ready to take on political responsibility and statesmanship obligations" (the almost identical content of the "Dnevni List" commentary and the research implies that both were made or ordered by Martin Raguz's PR team).

On 17 September Martin Raguz was featured on the front page and on 18 September the article "Raguz presents clip" was published on page 7 with the headline: "My campaign is positive, I don't focus on competition" (although on 7 and 14 September Raguz spoke in article headlines about Zeljko Komsic and Borjana Kristo and on 20 September on page 7 in a report on an HDZ 1990 rally, Raguz says: "Kristo has no chance of being elected Presidency member"). On 19 September on page 10 the paper brought a commentary by Prof. Dr. Zravko Tomac, who says: "Raguz is the best possible choice for Croat Presidency member" (with a photograph of Martin Raguz holding his hand to his heart). On 21 September, also in Prof. Dr. Zravko Tomac's column, the headline tells citizens: "Go to the polls and vote for Martin Raguz". In the last pre-election week, Martin Raguz was given room on three front pages (25 and 26 September and 1 October), the last one suggesting that Raguz is a "true Croat choice". "Dnevni List" followed Martin Raguz during his visits to homes (22 September, front page, "Raguz opens Home for Disabled Persons"), a grape harvest (19 September, "Raguz with family participates in grape harvest in Citluk"), tennis courts (26 September, "Matesa congratulates Raguz on fascinating organization of tennis club"), unquestionably contributing to building his positive image. The "Dnevni List" edition of 28 September is very characteristic in that a full two pages in color (8 and 9) were devoted to Martin Raguz (with a total of nine of his photographs

and the symbolic headline “This is our country”), which is actually his promotional material (it is even explained “Why vote for Martin Raguz” in the form of bullet points), but “Dnevni List” does not suggest in any way that this is a paid advertisement (other paid advertisements are separated from the election chronicles and it clearly says “Advertisements” at the top of the page where they are published).

“Dnevni List” gave much less attention to the other candidates for Croat member of the Presidency, Borjana Kristo and Zeljko Komsic, who were generally presented through short news items (9 September, news item “Defenders support B. Kristo”, or 10 September, “Komsic pays respects to victims at Grabovica”). Nevertheless, on 11 September we observed a positive article related to Borjana Kristo: “Cooperation of HDZ BiH and EPP leads BiH headed by Borjana Kristo into Europe” (with 4 photographs of Borjana Kristo in Brussels).

With regard to political parties, “Dnevni List” expressed support to the HDZ 1990-HSP coalition (and these two parties individually), as well as to the People’s Party Work for Betterment, a leading advertiser in this daily. It is interesting to note that articles on the People’s Party Work for Betterment were always printed in blue color (the color of this party in the election campaign) and the headlines usually associated of the party’s slogan “Blue Revolution”, with the term “blue revolution” also printed in blue color (7 September, “Blue Revolution takes off in Tuzla toward election victory” with three photographs; 8 September, “Through Blue Revolution to 10 billion in new investments” with one photograph; 9 September, “Revolution colors Siroki Brijeg blue” with five photographs; 10 September, “Betterment website most beautiful”; 13 September, “Blue Revolution – symbol of light for young people”, etc.).

A direct correlation between paid advertising in the newspaper and positive content published by the newspaper is visible in the “Dnevni List” edition of 16 September, in which a paid advertisement of the People’s Party Work for Betterment was published on one-third of the front page, and then inside the newspaper, on two-thirds of page 10 two articles were published: “Blue Revolution in Bijeljina and Brcko” and “Velika Kladusa in Blue Revolution”, with a very positive stand on this party. The People’s Party Work for Betterment mostly talked about economic issues in its rallies, interviews and statements by its candidates (on 22 September, a big interview with Jerko Ivankovic Lijanovic on economic issues was published under the headline “100,000 jobs will be Betterment’s priority”) and thus issues dealing with economy that “Dnevni List” covered were mostly related to

this party (on 18 September on page 43 in the “Business” section, the paper published the article “Changing the dreadful everyday life in BiH through Betterment”, which was sparked by the fact that the company For Metal doo received the ISO 9001-2000 certificate, but we find out from the article that the company owners have joined the People’s Party Work for Betterment).

Other political parties (without a Croat prefix in their names) received considerably less space, especially Republika Srpska-based parties, with the exception of the SNSD. Many of them were not mentioned even once in “Dnevni List” during the election campaign (SNS, DNS, SRS RS, Party of United Pensioners). Secular parties also received very little space (Our Party just 1 news item; SDU not even one). We saw somewhat more items on the SDP, SDA and Party for BiH. The Alliance for a Better Future had a minor presence.

Like other daily newspapers, “Dnevni List” based most of its articles on just one source (256 articles related to political parties and 52 related to state officials/election candidates). The vast majority of articles which consulted two or more sources are reports on election rallies in which several candidates spoke and the position of these sources was uniform (77 such reports were published and only three articles had opposing sources, presenting the opposed views of Martin Raguz and Borjana Kristo, mostly related to election victory).

The dominant theme of articles related to elections was the elections themselves. Specifically, this means that most political parties presented their candidates and predicted their big victory in the elections, which “Dnevni List” covered in reports on these parties’ election rallies. Reports on press conferences, rallies and panels often conveyed party messages which by themselves did not say anything (“Satisfaction with the large number of attendees was emphasized”, “Our slogan speaks clearly about us”, etc.), as well as messages by which parties promoted themselves without concrete arguments or indicators (“We have so far received some funds and implemented some projects” – here the “Dnevni List” journalist could have asked HDZ representatives to present concrete statistics, but failed to do so). Interviews with party leaders and candidates were somewhat thematic, although even here the issues were usually defined by these leaders and candidates (People’s Party Work for Betterment – economy; HDZ – constitutional changes and position of Croats, etc.).

“Dnevni List” in four issues (20-23 September) on the front page and on pages 2 and 3, 6 and 7, published research the paper’s team conducted

in a two-week period on 1,500 respondents, predicting the results of the different political parties. It is interesting that the bigger the chances of the HDZ 1990-HSP coalition, the bigger the headline on the front page of "Dnevni List" (20 September, on one-fourth of the page, "HSP and HDZ 1990 to get one mandate more than HDZ BiH"; 21 September, "HDZ BiH in opposition in Western Herzegovina Canton", also on one-fourth of the page; on 23 September the headline "Two HDZs shoulder to shoulder in Posavina" takes up a very small section of the front page). There is no doubt that the research (whose results, indicatively, predicted the success of the parties supported by "Dnevni List") was aimed at forming public opinion and a positive stand on specific political parties.

Looking at "Dnevni List's" coverage of election activities of political parties and candidates for the 2010 General Elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina, we may say that this newspaper preferred an advocative instead of informative approach. Although "Dnevni List" journalists' big engagement in covering election activities and conducting many interviews may be mentioned as positive, their engagement did not offer citizens objective and impartial information based on which they could make up their own minds and election decisions. Although, the same as in the case of "Nezavisne Novine", the favoring of particular political subjects (parties or candidates) usually could not be "read" from the very content of articles (although there were a few extremely advocating articles directly favoring specific candidates), the space given to some political subjects (several times bigger than space given to others), and especially the emphasizing of specific parties and candidates on the front pages, revealed "Dnevni List's" positive view on them.

Generally speaking, in daily newspapers' coverage of election activities, what was missing was journalists' engagement in creating issues and questions that would be of interest to citizens on the eve of elections and an analytical approach to the election campaigns. Although such engagement and approach requires more skill and a careful balance to avoid advocacy, it would certainly be more beneficial to citizens than pure listing of election rallies and "sterile" reporting on them. Investigative reporting was completely missing, as well as consultation of the academic community and experts in various fields asking them to comment on the campaigns and suggest questions that political subjects should answer in their campaigns. The decline in journalistic standards and an "advocative" approach in daily newspapers are worrying.

Vecernji list BiH

(Zagreb/Mostar)

ABSOLUTE DOMINANCE OF HDZ BiH

The pages of the highest circulation daily in the Croatian language in BiH were dominated by one party – HDZ BiH with a presence of 29 percent, and one person – Borjana Kristo, the party’s candidate for member of the BiH Presidency – with a 38 percent presence among individual candidates. Even greater dominance was registered with regard to published illustrations – as much as 59 percent of photographs (comparing to other candidates) referred to Borjana Kristo, whereas HDZ BiH (usually personalized through its President Dragan Covic) was present in 56 percent of cases. It is interesting that when it comes to reporting on these two political subjects, among the usual journalistic genres (news, reports, interviews) we also observed a considerable number of “paid advertisements” which were published on the paper’s first few pages (from pages 3 to 8) in the form of journalistic reports, with photographs and a very positive stand which was mostly reflected in headlines. For example, on 4 September, an article was published on page 5 under the headline: “Borjana Kristo and HDZ BiH – the force I believe in”, with the likely goal (as this occurred at the very start of the election campaign) of acquainting potential voters with the party’s slogan and its program goals. On 11 September, on page 5, an advertisement was published under the headline – “Cooperation of HDZ BiH and European Populist Party leads BiH headed by Borjana Kristo into Europe”. A week before election blackout, 24 September, another paid article was observed on page 5 with the suggestive headline: “Borjana Kristo announced election victory of HDZ BiH”.

Statistics

Along with HDZ BiH, as the “pivotal Croat party” (which its President Covic often emphasized during the campaign), other parties with a Croat prefix had the biggest presence – Croat coalition (HDZ 1990 / HSP BiH) with 12% and People’s Party Work for Betterment with 10 percent, followed by HSP BiH with 8 percent. Among other parties, it is worth mentioning that the Social-Democratic Party (SDP) was covered in 9 percent of cases and the Democratic Action Party (SDA) in 8 percent.

Along with Kristo, considerable space was devoted to Milorad Dodik, who appeared as the main actor in 21 percent of cases, and to SDP's candidate for a seat in the BiH Presidency Zeljko Komsic with 16 percent. However, in contrast to Kristo, in whose case 28 percent of articles had a positive stand of the journalist, a positive stand on Dodik or Komsic was not observed once. Namely, all cases of reporting on Komsic were protocol news or brief reports, with no stand (either positive or negative), whereas in just one item reporting on Dodik the journalist's negative stand was observed.

Looking at the statistics, it was observed in *Vecernji List* that the covered political parties talked most about economy (22 percent), with candidates of the People's Party Work for Betterment taking the lead in this regard, and after that about constitutional reforms (17 percent), where the most dominant story was about a "third, Croat entity" advocated by the HDZ BiH leadership. Political parties talked about education issues in just 3 percent of cases, whereas healthcare and social protection had a presence of 9 percent. However, the highest percentage of issues referred to those categorized as "other", as much as 35 percent, dealing with less concrete issues which we did not anticipate before the start of monitoring (such as various intra-party conflicts). Looking at statistics for candidates holding state positions who were again running for top positions, more than 50 percent fall in the "other" category, whereas constitutional changes dominated among concrete issues (22 percent).

With regard to genres, news and reports dominated. A somewhat smaller number of commentaries than in other print media was registered (2 percent when writing about political parties; none reporting on political candidates).

Half of the published articles were signed by journalists when reporting on political parties (a little less, 44 percent, of articles about political candidates were signed). Headlines which they chose were usually informative and narrative (75 percent).

In a large number of cases, just one source was quoted (78 percent for parties and 69 percent for candidates) and in more than 90 percent of cases the sources were uniform, i.e. there were no contradictory or opposing views.

The majority of articles had neutral content (61 percent). However, it is interesting that unlike in other newspapers a large number of items had

positive content (24 percent for parties), which can be attributed to some extent to the paper's inclination toward a particular political option which was not criticized at all for misgovernance during the campaign. In more than one-half of items (53 percent) about HDZ BiH, the journalists' positive stand was observed, whereas in 21 percent of cases the newspaper reported positively about the Croat Coalition. Negative campaign against political options which were not "favored" did not characterize this newspaper.

Trends / reporting examples

The campaign that "Vecernji List" covered (as well as conducted, in favor of HDZ BiH) did not have excessively negative connotations, nor was there too much open criticism or negative stands toward particular political subjects as was the case with other print media. This is illustrated by the fact that out of 419 items analyzed in the newspaper, only 4 percent (with regard to political parties) and 1 percent (when reporting on political candidates) had a negative stand. In addition, the smallest number of items with negative content (15 percent of all analyzed items) was observed in this newspaper.

In a very subtle way, the paper's editors show who their favorites are in the issue of 17 September, when the front page pompously announces that "119,000 voters are voting for HDZ BiH and 28,900 for HDZ '90 and HSP BiH". This is related to a research projection made by National Democratic Institute (NDI). Thus, the authenticity of the data is not disputed, but rather the way the newspapers' journalists present them with unhidden sympathy for the "favored" (and also the leading, according to the research) party HDZ BiH. Emphasizing the above headline on the front page of the paper is one example and we find another example in an interpretation of potential results in the race for Croat member of the Presidency where "Vecernji List" journalists focus on candidates who they assess will get the biggest support of the Croat electorate. A sub-headline, also in the announcement on the front page, points out that "Borjana Kristo has half support (it does not specify whose support), but Martin Raguz stands better than Coalition". Due to the way the NDI results were presented, it remained unclear whether the organization conducted the research only among Croat voters or if the research was done on a sample from the overall electorate, but the author of the article (Zoran Kresic) took the liberty of interpreting it and applying the results only to those parties and candidates who advocate Croat interests or enjoy Croat support in BiH. In favor of the latter argument is one sentence ("...when

that is compared to figures among Croats who voted in the previous elections, **it may be concluded** that this party (HDZ BiH) would be supported by 66.64 percent of the surveyed Croats”). What is also confusing is a chart which shows support for candidates running for Croat member of the Presidency, because in the chart Borjana Kristo of HDZ BiH is in the lead with 51 percent, followed by Martin Raguz, candidate of the Croat Coalition, with 36 percent, whereas Zeljko Komsic of the SDP has only 5 percent support (support of the Croat electorate, as the chart specifies, but it does not elaborate how the figure was reached).

During the campaign there were several confrontations between the two HDZs – HDZ BiH and HDZ 1990. Verbal skirmishing which the media covered was frequent (“M. Raguz called on Zlatko and Dragan to allow Zeljko and Borjana to speak”, 11 September; on the other hand, Covic said on 15 September: “End of rule of parties from coalition which was created out of spite”), whereas a “war of posters” was waged in the field, where activists of one or the other option destroyed their opponents’ posters or put up their own posters over them. During the election “war”, “Vecernji List” journalists did not explicitly take sides, but they did give much more space to HDZ BiH.

A large number of items which were not directly related to elections, dealing with culture or sport, were accompanied by photographs of Drago Covic or Borjana Kristo of HDZ BiH. Such was the case, for example, with the Film Festival in Orasje, in which Covic and Kristo had the status of special guests (items published on 12 September, page 14, and 13 September, pages 50-51).

Milorad Dodik was attractive for the paper’s journalists and they covered his appearances and speeches heavily (21 percent of items on candidates). They found radical statements made by the newly-elected RS president very interesting, such as the ones that “Turkey is taking sides, supporting Bosniak interests” (10 September), that “Peaceful dispersal is best for BiH” (11 September) or that “RS will exist even without EU” (14 September). These items, in the form of brief news, were always accompanied by the same illustrations – the face of Milorad Dodik wearing prescription glasses. We also observed a case of non-professionalism in terms of reporting on Dodik. It was observed in an article about Biljana Plavsic who stated after serving her prison sentence that she “would like to be completely forgotten”. The article was accompanied by her picture with Dodik, who is not part of the story (it is unclear if this was done deliberately or accidentally). The article was published in the 16 September issue.

Dnevni Avaz

(Sarajevo)

FIERCE CRITICISM OF “AUTHORITIES” AND PROMOTION OF ALLIANCE FOR A BETTER FUTURE

Although when he founded his political party – Alliance for a Better Future of BiH (SBB BiH) – the owner of “Dnevni Avaz”, Fahrudin Radoncic, announced that he would not be involved with the paper’s editorial policy and that instead he would “fight for Avaz’s favor”, it was clear that the influential paper would be used in the campaign as the main media “tool” for his personal promotion, as well as for the promotion of his political party. One-month monitoring confirmed that. Not only did the pages of “Dnevni Avaz” abound in articles praising the new political force and Radoncic as a “successful businessman”, which was to be expected, but there were many more articles which reported with a negative stand about his political opponents – Sulejman Tihić and his Democratic Action Party (SDA) and Haris Silajdzic and Vahid Heco from the Party for BiH.

A negative campaign toward political opponents and extremely problematic language, often bordering on hate speech, are the main characteristics of the paper’s reporting. Also problematic is the paper’s special edition published on the occasion of its 15th anniversary, on 2 October, the day of election blackout. The special edition again brought articles which reported negatively on the SDA and SBiH parties and their officials (“Tihić is an infiltrated Serbian player”, “There is something that Haris will not admit: Heco is scared!”, or “By waging war on Avaz, Heco is avoiding SBiH obligations toward SDA”), with an extremely negative attitude, which may be considered a violation of election blackout.

Statistics

Although “Dnevni Avaz” is a newspaper which on average has more news and items than other newspapers, this was not the case with reporting on election activities of political subjects during the campaign. In the period

from 3 September to 3 October, we registered only 250 items related either to the campaign itself or to the campaign actors (parties and candidates). The reason is that only one page was devoted to the campaign and party activities (usually page 9 of the paper), whereas other items were featured in other sections (usually the domestic politics section, in which the parties in power in the BiH Federation – SDA and SBiH – were criticized).

Related to criticism of the parties in power and direct political rivals of Radonic's SBB BiH is the dominance of issues related to crime and abuse of office. There were 17 percent such items. A constant feature of reports about these parties was their implication in various scandals, which "Avaz" journalists called attention to ("Silajdzic's attempt to fix deal for Turks failed", 7 September; "How Salko Selman and his people became rich", 25 September; "Silajdzic trying to ensure monopoly in oil distribution in BiH for sister Sadzida", 28 September; "State paid Tihic 51,143 KM for mobile telephone expenses", 30 September).

During the analysis, we observed that the campaign was covered mostly through fact-based forms – news and reports – with reports on SBB BiH generally being very long, usually featuring one source (Radonic), pompous headlines and announcements ("Dr. Kabil: In this kind of bad weather, people only go to the doctor, and now also to SBB BiH rallies!", 20 September; "Radonic was greeted by column of 400 cars!", 25 September), and many photographs (5-6 per item) which showed mass rallies, columns of vehicles, Radonic with a winner's smile.

In the majority of cases, items were signed with the full name of a news-room journalist (66 percent when reporting on candidates and 62 percent on political subjects). Unsigned items were least common (5 percent for political parties and 7 percent for candidates). In most cases, journalists used just one source or took the liberty of giving comments themselves (83 percent in reporting on political parties and 80 percent in reporting on candidates), whereas sources in the largest number of cases were uniform. Sources were opposed in just 2 percent of cases.

An extremely high percentage of items had negative content, which is directly related to reporting on political opponents who were criticized for what they did or did not do (51 percent for political parties and 41 percent for candidates).

Trends

The first glance at statistics is surprising, because Fahrudin Radoncic's party, SBB BiH (20 percent), got less items than its political rivals from the SDA (23 percent) and just a little more than the Party for BiH (15 percent). However, careful analysis shows that items devoted to SBB BiH are much longer (on nearly one whole page, with many photographs), with a positive stand (57 percent of items) and very sophisticated terminology (illustrative headlines for this are: "Alliance for a Better Future of BiH spectacularly launches campaign", 12 September; "SBB: Brcko residents overcome by winning atmosphere", 21 September; "More than 10,000 people at rally in Zenica!", 28 September; or for example a caption under a photograph – "Srebrenik: nearly 2,000 people created energy which clearly showed who is winner of 3 October elections", 22 September). The same applies to Fahrudin Radoncic, the leader of SBB BiH and owner of "Dnevni Avaz". The paper's journalists had a positive stand when reporting on him in 68 percent of the case ("Radoncic has support of as much as 49 percent of voters", 8-9 September; "God gave Americans Obama and us Radoncic", 16 September; "People are following Radoncic" – published on 1 October, the last day of the campaign).

On the other hand, an extremely negative campaign towards the two leading Bosniak parties, SDA and SBiH, and their leaders Sulejman Tihic and Haris Silajdzic, was reflected in a very negative stand and choice of terminology which often crossed the boundaries of professional reporting and culture of communication in general. In as many as 84 percent of cases when reporting on the Party for BiH and 79 percent in reporting on the SDA, the journalists' stand was negative. The same is true of SBiH leader Haris Silajdzic (76 percent negative stand). "Dnevni Avaz" and its journalists, like SBB BiH itself, were in a comfortable position and could blame the "authorities" for all problems. Often, the depersonalized veil of "authorities" concealed criticism of the ruling parties – SDA and SBiH – but this was not explicitly said in the articles ("Radoncic: we will lead fight against poverty and state mafia", 7 September; "Authorities stoned by people must go", 15 September; "Authorities did nothing to prevent persecution of defenders", 23 September).

Both political leaders, Silajdzic and Tihic, appeared in the "Personality of the Day" section and of course both items had negative connotations.

First, on 17 September, an article was published about Silajdzic, entitled “The Dirty Ordering Man,” in which Silajdzic was called “sponsor of the biggest theft from the smallest apartment”, “JNA seller of weapons” and “destroyer of BiH”, with an inevitable photograph of Silajdzic in which the politician is pulling his hair (the photograph is very illustrative because it reflects anger and desperation, which matched the “Avaz” editorial policy in the campaign, and they used the photograph several times).

In the 23 September issue, it was Tihic’s turn. In an item entitled “The knocked-out loser”, the paper’s journalist assessed Tihic’s appearance in the “60 Minutes” political TV magazine as dreadful, commenting that the “SDA president in the company of serious politicians on the public stage presented himself as a small-time schemer and miserable person without rhetoric brains or human integrity”. It is interesting that, along with the sacrosanct Fahrudin Radoncic, SDP President Zlatko Lagumdžija was also viewed as a serious politician in this case (“Fahrudin Radoncic, leader of the Alliance for a Better Future of BiH, and Zlatko Lagumdžija, head of the Social-Democratic Party of BiH, are undoubtedly the winners of the first debate of party presidents on Federal Television’s ‘60 Minutes’ program”). The journalist Fadil Mandal ended the very negative article about Tihic with the following words – “If Tihic was not such a big liar and reprobate, perhaps someone would offer him a hand. This way, rejected and in panic over the likely loss of power, he will have to continue to suffocate in the quicksand of the crimes and corruption that he cooked up together with his coalition partner Haris Silajdzic”. This is not the first time Tihic was disgraced and described with very insulting words (“Tihic is a proven divider of BiH” – headline of an article in which he is called a “retarded politician”, published on 15 September).

In an effort to discredit political opponents, the paper did not shrink from any means and even reporting forms which are not journalistic were aimed at criticizing and humiliating rivals. For example, an SMS message from a reader on 7 September says that “Tihic and Silajdzic are using the people’s money for political party activities”. Or, the paper’s journalists reported in a very bizarre way about people who have no direct connection to political leaders, but the journalists created a connection – “She was struck by heart attack at SDA rally” is an example of an article in which a person’s health problem was correlated to a rival political party’s election rally (published on 30 September).

Based on the described strategy of criticizing the “authorities” and discrediting the main political opponents within the Bosniak political body, the paper’s editors in a very subtle way created an agenda for promoting the new political force – SBB BiH – and the “better” future that it offers. The “better future” was a very recognizable and often used political message which undoubtedly indicated the paper’s political orientation.

In a big interview with Reis Ceric, issued by Mina Agency and carried by “Avaz” on 1 October, the religious leader of the Bosnian Muslims says that “one should not fear **changes** or be afraid of **new ideas**”. This corresponds to the political messages sent during the campaign by Fahrudin Radoncic and his party (the party’s representatives often used the terms “better future”, “new people” and “new ideas” during the campaign). In the same interview with Ceric, a sub-headline in the article says – “Creating a **better future**”. The same case of association using a sub-headline was observed in a Bajram interview with Ceric (published on 10 September), in which one of the sub-headlines reads – “**Better future**”. The day before election blackout, 1 October, the paper published part of a statement by the British and German chiefs of diplomacy regarding elections in BiH, taking out of context their message on which politicians to elect. “Avaz” editors in the form of a sub-headline extracted part of their message that we “should work with leaders who **look to the future**”.

The “tested recipe” for promoting the SBB was used several times in presenting successful businessmen, doctors, family people, “revealing” at the end of the story that they are actually the party’s candidates in upcoming elections. An example of this kind was observed on 21 September, when a story was published about the successes of Esefa Kantic from Doboje Municipality, who hired 20 people to work for her family company which purchases and processes old iron. In the last part of the story we found out that Esefa is a candidate of the SBB BiH party for the BiH Federation Parliament.

Oslobodjenje

(Sarajevo)

NO EFFORT TO HIDE LACK OF SYMPATHY FOR RADONCIC

In terms of quantity this daily newspaper covered the election campaign in a balanced way, which is illustrated by the fact that those political subjects and individuals who were considered favorites in that part of BiH where Oslobodjenje is read the most (part of the BiH Federation and Sarajevo) were given enough space. But we observed a negative stand that was mainly reflected in authorial commentaries regarding parties and individuals who have been the target of Oslobodjenje's criticism for years. There were most items about HDZ BiH and its leader Dragan Covic (13% of the total number of items), but it is interesting that nearly one-fifth of these items contained a negative or critical stand of the journalist. The Social-Democratic Party (SDP), with whose left-oriented policy this paper has generally been associated, had a presence of 12%, followed by the Democratic Action Party (SDA) with 10% and Party for BiH with 9%, which were covered fairly considering that with the loss of support from "Dnevni Avaz" they lost the support of the only media outlet that had openly been on their side in the previous elections. The Union of Independent Social-Democrats (SNSD) had a presence of 8 percent (of which 38% with a negative stand), the same as the Croat Coalition (HDZ 1990 / HSP BiH).

It is interesting that the newspaper's reporting focused on the BiH Federation and the main political candidates from this entity. From the Republika Srpska, opportunity on the pages of this paper was given to opposition leaders such as Dragan Covic or Mladen Ivanic who were not favored by media from the RS during the campaign.

For example, Mladen Ivanic, head of the PDP and an opposition leader in the RS, on 30 September at the height of the very fierce campaign waged against him in RS-based media (primarily on the pages of "Glas Srpske"), was given room on the pages of "Oslobodjenje" and warned that the

“SNSD will leave behind devastation”. An interview with Cavic was published on 1 October, the day before election blackout, in which he openly criticized Dodik’s government and announced that the “RS after the elections is awaited by painful sobering up”. These political leaders were not given this kind of opportunity in dominant media in the RS.

However, Milorad Dodik “ruled” the pages of this newspaper too (30 percent of items among the most relevant candidates), although in a little less than one-half of the items (47 percent) the journalists’ stand toward him was negative. Often, due to his behavior and attitude to those with different opinions, on the pages of this newspaper Dodik was called the “Banja Luka master” (“Banja Luka master in Srebrenica negates genocide”, 13 September, page 4). As much as 90 percent of items about the Alliance for a Better Future of BiH and 79 percent of items about its leader Fahrudin Radoncic in *Oslobodjenje* contained a negative stand of the author of the article.

Statistics

Among relevant issues, there was most talk on the pages of “*Oslobodjenje*” about constitutional changes – political officials and candidates talked about them in 22 percent of the items, while representatives of political parties devoted 15 percent of space to this issue. It is interesting that political candidates in their appearances which were covered by this newspaper did not talk at all about education and political parties devoted least time to this issue, just 2 percent.

In coverage of political parties and candidates, fact-based forms and a protocol-like way of reporting dominated (i.e. news and reports). The biggest number of commentaries speaking about dominant political subjects in the election race was registered in “*Oslobodjenje*”. As many as 13 percent of items were commentaries when writing about political candidates and in 10 percent of the cases commentary was the form used to cover political parties. A result of the big number of commentaries is the biggest percentage of observed negative content (52 percent of coverage of candidates and 45 percent of coverage of political parties), which may be explained by a

constant note of criticism by the paper's editors and journalists toward events in BiH and their aim to bring to light problems and scandals.

It is interesting that this paper had the most unsigned items too, as much as 43 percent. These items mostly had a protocol-like character, in which activities of parties and candidates were followed in the field in the form of news and reports. In terms of authorship, on several occasions articles about the criminal activities of Fahrudin Radoncic and his connections with the Albanian mafia were signed by – “Oslobodjenje investigative team”.

Comparing “Oslobodjenje to the majority of the analyzed media, it had the largest number of opposed sources in its news. In coverage of political candidates, opposing sources were used in 9 percent of the cases, and in coverage of political parties this was the case in 7 percent of items. But even these low percentages indicate journalistic trends in covering the election campaign, which are based on fact-based (one-sided) reporting on events.

Reporting examples

The largest number of commentaries was registered in this paper (10 percent) and their authors were both the paper's editors and journalists (Vildana Selimbegovic, Faruk Boric, Josip Vricko, Gojko Beric, Muharem Bazdulj) as well as guest commentators (for example Dzevad Hodzic, Professor of the Faculty of Islamic Science of Sarajevo).

Commentaries are the best indicators of authors' stands toward political subjects. In the case of “Oslobodjenje” they reflect the pluralism and balance in its journalists' coverage. Editor Faruk Boric at the very beginning of the campaign indicated who he supports. Commenting on very favorable results of research carried out by NDI, which pointed to the SDP as an election favorite, Boric hopes that the “extremely optimistic results have not lulled the party's leaders into sleep and that the champagne has not yet been opened.” “I also truly hope that for the future health of this society even before the night of 3 October they will take a clear stand toward the ultra right-wing Bosniak option, however much that may narrow down the maneuvering space. Because the **state, after all, primarily is there**

for man". This last sentence, with which he ends the commentary, is the SDP's election slogan, which shows that the concurrence and sympathies are not accidental ("May the game begin", 3 September). The paper's experienced columnist Zija Dizdarevic in his commentary published 1 October examines the SDP's potential coalition partners and believes that Our Party is a much more natural ally than the Alliance for a Better Future of BiH, concluding that "it is time for a political shift to the left".

That expressing one's political position in a commentary is legitimate is shown by an opportunity the editors gave to guest commentator Dzevad Hodzic who, unlike Boric, supports a different political option (SDA) and criticizes the leaderships of other political options, including the SDP with which the "Oslobodjenje" editorial policy is associated ("And now, the SDP says, enough is enough. We will not do as before. It does not pay. We will be in the government, even if it is with Radoncic. It seems to me that this is the only new political fact. The top man of the SDP has decided to coalesce. As he has been repeating lately, the Top Man of the SDP has decided during the day to do something with someone, but he promises us that he will not take him home at night. The only new political fact on the Bosnian-Herzegovinian pre-election political scene is the SDP's announcement that it is ready to abandon itself. It remains to be seen", published 24 September).

Directly related to the large number of commentaries is the type of headlines. Literary headlines with a metaphoric or figurative meaning are more present in *Oslobodjenje* (10 percent) than in other media ("Waiting for iftar with Abdullah", 4 September; "All are Dodiks from one to the other", 18 September; "Vaha (or Impure Blood)", 22 September; "Bodyguard of impure spirit", 29 September; "Media are caught in Dodik's cloaca", 2 October).

During the campaign we observed an extremely **negative stand of the paper's journalists to Fahrudin Radoncic and his party, the SBB BiH**. Out of 10 items published about the SBB BiH, eight had negative content and the journalists' stand in 90 percent of the cases was negative. Most of the coverage was about Radoncic's ties with the mafia ("Radoncic under investigation for business ties with Albanian mafia", 15 September;

“Given word is given word”, 17-18 September; or “Radoncic is (was) Belgrade spy”, 1 October) and these articles were signed by – “Oslobodjenje investigative team”. In one case we noted unprofessional and selective use of information, whose source was the Center for Investigative Journalism (CIN). Namely, in the article focused on the SNSD about embezzlement of state funds and abuse of position, the Oslobodjenje editors also insist on Radoncic, placing his photograph next to the article although he is only mentioned superficially (“Along with active officials, companies owned by candidates in upcoming elections also did business with institutions and public enterprises. Among them is the ‘Bobar’ group owned by Gavriilo Bobar, candidate of the SNSD for the RS National Assembly (contract value 4,255,168 KM), and **Avaz owned by Fahrudin Radoncic, president of the Alliance for a Better Future and candidate for member of the BiH Presidency** (contract value 449,184 KM)”; the title of the article is “Millions from deceiving people”, 27 September).

In a commentary on 16 September, Faruk Boric, describing candidates in the upcoming elections, analyzes the very open support given by Reis Cerić, head of the Islamic Community of BiH, to Fahrudin Radoncic, whom he calls an **“obscure political figure from the far right, connected with similar transition backroom-dealers of capital in the region”**.

The terminology used by the paper’s commentators in describing Radoncic and his supporters is interesting. Thus Radoncic was called on several occasions the “founder” (referring to his media company, “Dnevni Avaz”). This is mentioned, for example, in an article on 30 September in which in the context of children’s rights Fahrudin Radoncic’s pre-election promises are mentioned (“The founder, namely, publicly vowed that his first step as head of state will be to dismiss the special forces guarding him ex officio and relocate them where he says they are most needed – to schools and kindergartens?!”). On the other hand, Faruk Boric calls his supporters “Fahrists” (“SDAists and Fahrists start fight”, 18 September). Editor Vildana Selimbegović, in her commentary “Election celebration”, points to the fact that the “Dnevni Avaz” special edition celebrating its 15th anniversary of publication was announced for 2 October, election blackout day (“But Avaz is preparing a celebration: and, miracle of all miracles,

15 years of the 'highest circulation protector of Bosniak interests' will be marked on election blackout day, 2 October. In that festive moment, while other parties and their candidates are under the strict supervision of the Central Election Commission, Academician Filipovic will talk about the importance of Avaz, Radoncic and the other successful Keljendis, and perhaps Reis Cerić will also throw in a few words about zekjat and 50,000 KM and everything will be according to the law", writes Selimbegovic in the 27 September issue).

"Oslobodjenje" columnists not only criticized Radoncic; they also defended his political opponents who were fiercely attacked by his "Dnevni Avaz" during the campaign. Thus in his commentary on 28 September, Muharem Bazdulj saw nothing negative in that Sulejman Tihic, head of the SDA party, was drinking pear brandy. Bazdulj was reacting to an SBB BiH statement alleging that the "people know that Tihic drinks pear brandy" and he even concluded that they find it likeable ("Brandy, brandy, brandy is to blame for everything", 28 September).

A degree of **criticism was observed with regard the HDZ BiH and its leader Dragan Covic**. In 18 percent of the cases, the stand taken by "Oslobodjenje" journalists was negative, while in as much as 42 percent of cases the content of items was negative. In an interview with "Oslobodjenje", the president of HSP BiH, Dr. Zvonko Jurisic, warned about Covic's policies and called for "stopping Covic from creating a Greater Serbia!" (16 September). In a reader's letter published on 26 September, Dragan Covic is criticized for alleging that Dario Kordic greeted Croats from an Austrian prison (where Covic and HDZ BiH secretary Marinko Cavara visited him) and called on them to support HDZ BiH. Namely, this article was published in "Vecernji List" on 12 September, and Anto Marincic from Zepce alleges that it presents "Covic's lies and scavenging". Ivan Sarcevic ("New Croat Policy") also commented on Covic's pre-election activities and agreement with Milorad Dodik in his commentary of 27 September, maintaining that the agreement was made at the expense of the Croat people.

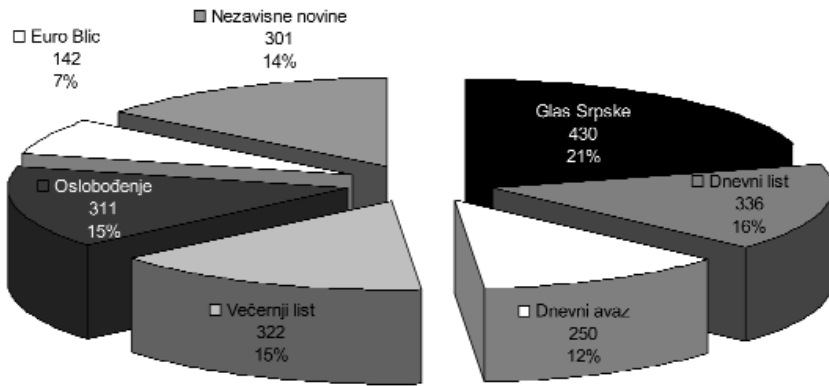
Although it is not customary for "Oslobodjenje" columnist Josip Vricko to sign reports from the field, he made an exception in the case of the Croat

Coalition (HDZ 1990 - HSP BiH). In the issue of 18 September, Vricko authored a report on a panel in which Martin Raguz, the Coalition's candidate for Croat member of the BiH Presidency, presented his program in Sarajevo. In an article entitled "I will bring back dignity to Presidency!", the author **Vricko does not hide his sympathies for Raguz** ("Raguz conducted a positive campaign, as he had announced at the beginning; he did not focus on other candidates. Especially, he did not conduct, like some, a dirty campaign").

Print: Statistical data

Political parties

Total numbers of articles published in dailies



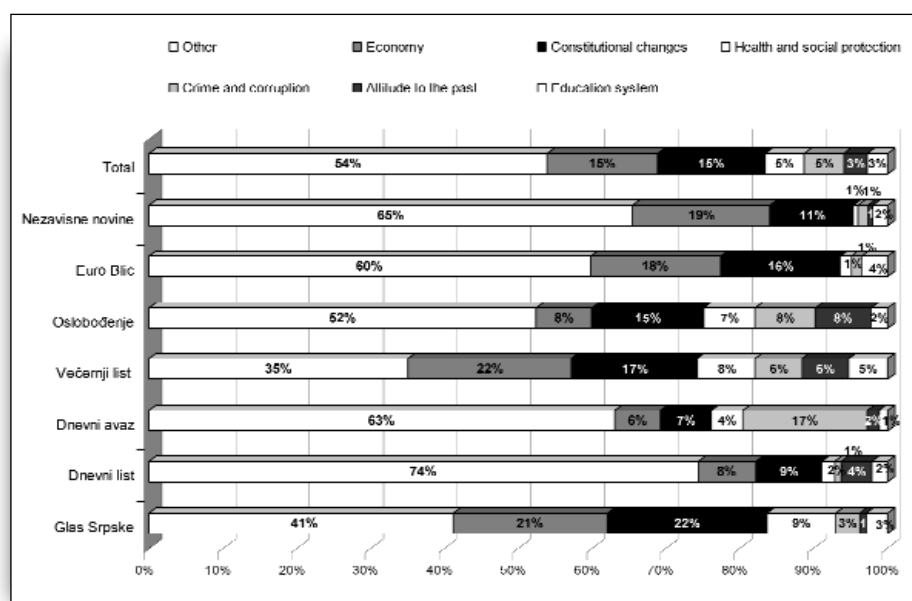
HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Political parties	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Većernji list	Oslobodjenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
Croat Democratic Union of BiH (HDZ BiH)	17	75	18	94	40	13	27	284
Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)	95	9	12	6	26	40	56	244
Party of Democratic Action (SDA)	20	22	58	27	30	14	24	195
People's Party Work for Betterment (Narodna stranka Radom za boljitak)	13	41	5	32	16	8	24	139
Social Democratic Party (SDP)	7	17	8	30	37	9	26	134
Croat Coalition (Croat Democratic Union 1990 / Croat Party of Rights) (HDZ 1990 / HSP)	5	38	16	39	26	0	2	126
Party for BiH (S/BiH)	7	17	37	7	27	8	14	117
Croat Party of Rights of BiH (HSP BiH)	0	53	0	26	13	1	3	96
Party of Democratic Progress / Mladen Ivanic (PDP)	43	3	6	4	11	17	10	94
Union for a Better Future of BiH (SBB)	1	5	49	4	10	0	13	82
Serb Democratic Party (SDS)	35	3	5	0	8	14	9	74
Democratic People's Alliance (DNS)	38	0	0	1	0	9	20	68
Union for a Democratic Srpska (Savez za demokratsku Srpsku)	28	3	0	0	1	6	25	63
Socialist Party / Party of United Pensioners	30	1	0	0	0	8	14	53
Coalition Together for Srpska / Ognjen Tadic	19	3	2	2	3	7	17	53
Croat Democratic Union 1990 / Martin Raguz (HDZ 1990)	0	31	0	16	0	1	3	51
Coalition New Socialist Party / Our Party	5	2	5	3	14	3	1	33
Serb Radical Party (SRS)	16	1	0	0	0	9	5	31
Serb Progressive Party (SNS)	16	0	1	0	0	8	5	30
Croat Peasant Party – New Croat Initiative (HSS NIII)	0	3	1	8	15	0	2	29
Democratic Party / Dragan Cavic	5	3	6	2	4	8	0	28
Bosnian Party / Mirnes Ajanovic (BOSS)	2	5	7	3	6	0	1	24
Democratic People's Community (DNZ)	3	3	1	1	1	2	7	18
Serb Radical Party Dr. Vojislav Seselj	14	0	0	0	1	0	0	15
Coalition TURNAROUND / Ibrahim Spahic	0	2	1	3	9	0	0	15
Liberal Democratic Party E5 (LDS - E5)	0	0	0	4	6	0	0	10
Social Democratic Union (SDU)	0	0	7	1	0	1	0	9
Bosnian Patriotic Party (BPS)	0	0	4	2	3	0	0	9
People's Democratic Party /Emil Vlajki (NDS)	3	0	0	0	0	3	2	8
Ecological Party of the Republika Srpska (Ekološka stranka RS)	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Party of Democratic Activities (A SDA)	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	5
True Path Party (PPP)	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
Our Party (Naša stranka)		1	0	0	0	2	0	3
Party of Diaspora (Stranka dijasporce)	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
Posavina Party (Posavska stranka)	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
Party of United Pensioners (Partija ujedinjenih penzionera)		0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Coalition Serb List for Sarajevo (Koalicija Srpska lista za Sarajevo)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Democratic Party of Disabled Persons (DSI)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	430	341	250	322	311	192	311	2157

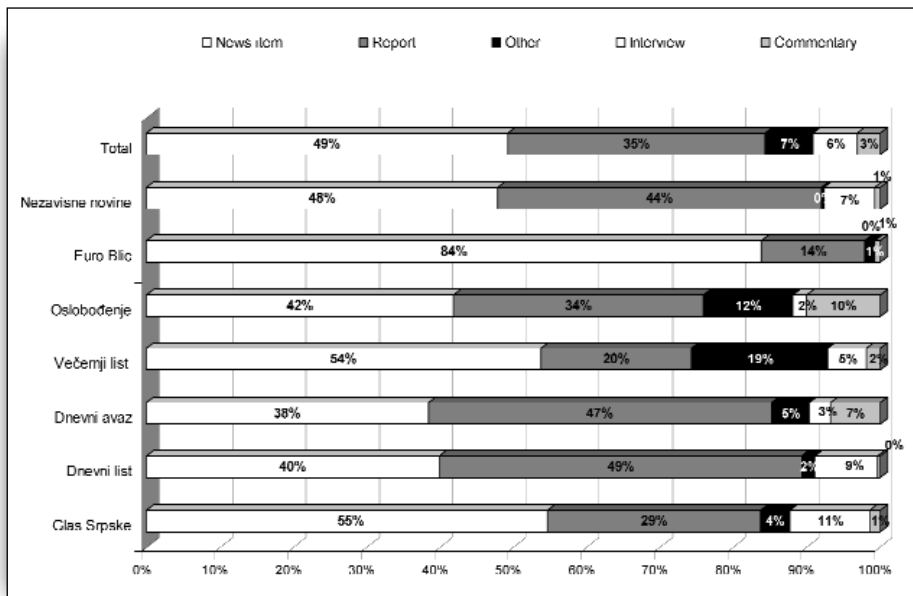
	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Oslobodjenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
Political parties								
Croat Democratic Union of BiH (HDZ BiH)	4%	22%	7%	29%	13%	7%	9%	13%
Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)	22%	3%	5%	2%	8%	21%	18%	11%
Party of Democratic Action (SDA)	5%	6%	23%	8%	10%	7%	8%	9%
People's Party Work for Betterment (Narodna stranka Radom za boljitak)	3%	12%	2%	10%	5%	4%	8%	6%
Social Democratic Party (SDP)	2%	5%	3%	9%	12%	5%	8%	6%
Croat Coalition (Croat Democratic Union 1990 / Croat Party of Rights) (HDZ 1990/HISP)	1%	11%	6%	17%	8%	0%	1%	6%
Party for BiH (SzBiH)	2%	5%	15%	2%	9%	4%	5%	5%
Croat Party of Rights of BiH (HSP BiH)	0%	16%	0%	8%	4%	1%	1%	4%
Party of Democratic Progress / Mladen Ivanic (PDP)	10%	1%	7%	1%	4%	9%	3%	4%
Union for a Better Future of BiH (SBB)	0%	1%	20%	1%	3%	0%	4%	4%
Serb Democratic Party (SDS)	8%	1%	2%	0%	3%	7%	3%	3%
Democratic People's Alliance (DNS)	9%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	6%	3%
Union for a Democratic Srpska (Savez za demokratsku Srpsku)	7%	1%	0%	0%	0%	3%	8%	1%
Socialist Party / Party of United Pensioners (Socijalistička partija / Partija ujedinjenih penzionera)	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	4%	5%	2%
Coalition Together for Srpska / Ognjen Iadic	4%	1%	1%	1%	1%	4%	5%	2%
Croat Democratic Union 1990 / Martin Raguz (HDZ 1990)	0%	9%	0%	5%	0%	1%	1%	2%
Coalition New Socialist Party / Our Party (Koalicija Nova socijalistička partija / Naša stranka)	1%	1%	2%	1%	5%	2%	0%	2%
Serb Radical Party (SRS)	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	2%	1%
Serb Progressive Party (SNS)	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	4%	2%	1%
Croat Peasant Party - New Croat Initiative (HSS - NII)	0%	1%	0%	2%	5%	0%	1%	1%
Democratic Party / Dragan Covic	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	4%	0%	1%
Bosnian Party / Mirnes Ajanovic (BOSS)	0%	1%	3%	1%	2%	0%	0%	1%
Democratic People's Community (DNZ)	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	2%	1%
Serb Radical Party Dr. Vojislav Seselj	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Coalition TURNAROUND / Ibrahim Spahic	0%	1%	0%	1%	3%	0%	0%	1%
Liberal Democratic Party - F5 (LDS - F5)	0%	0%	0%	1%	2%	0%	0%	0%
Social Democratic Union (SDU)	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Bosnian Patriotic Party (BPS)	0%	0%	2%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%
People's Democratic Party / Emil Vlajki (NDS)	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	1%	0%
Ecological Party of the Republika Srpska (Ekološka stranka RS)	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Party of Democratic Activities (A SDA)	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
True Path Party (Partija pravog puta (PPP))	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Our Party (Naša stranka)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Party of Diaspora (Stranka dijaspore)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Posavina Party (Posavska stranka)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Party of United Pensioners (Partija ujedinjenih penzionera)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Coalition Serb List for Sarajevo (Koalicija Srpska lista za Sarajevo)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Democratic Party of Disabled Persons (Demokratska stranka invalida (DSI))	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Political parties – Theme	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Oslobodenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
Other	217	250	164	121	166	85	197	1200
Economy	110	26	16	76	24	25	56	333
Constitutional changes	114	30	18	59	48	23	31	326
Health and social protection	49	6	11	27	22	2	2	119
Crime and corruption	17	3	44	22	26	2	4	118
Attitude to the past	5	14	4	22	24	0	2	71
Education system	15	7	3	18	7	5	6	61
Total	527	336	260	345	317	142	301	2228

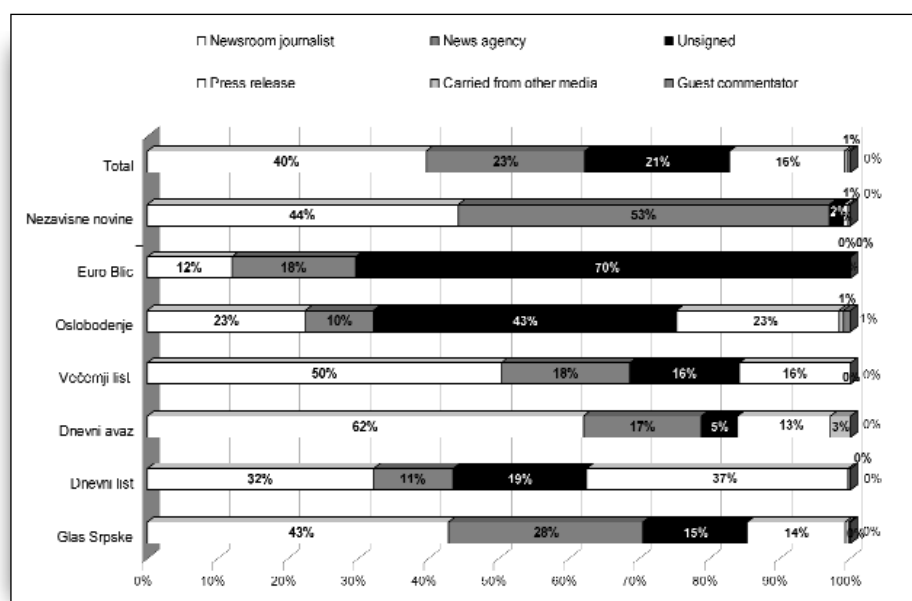


Political parties Journalistic form	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Oslobodenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
News item	235	134	96	173	130	119	144	1031
Report	125	166	117	66	106	20	133	733
Other	17	6	13	60	38	2	1	137
Interview	47	29	7	17	6	0	21	127
Commentary	6	1	17	6	31	1	2	64
Total	430	336	250	322	311	142	301	2092

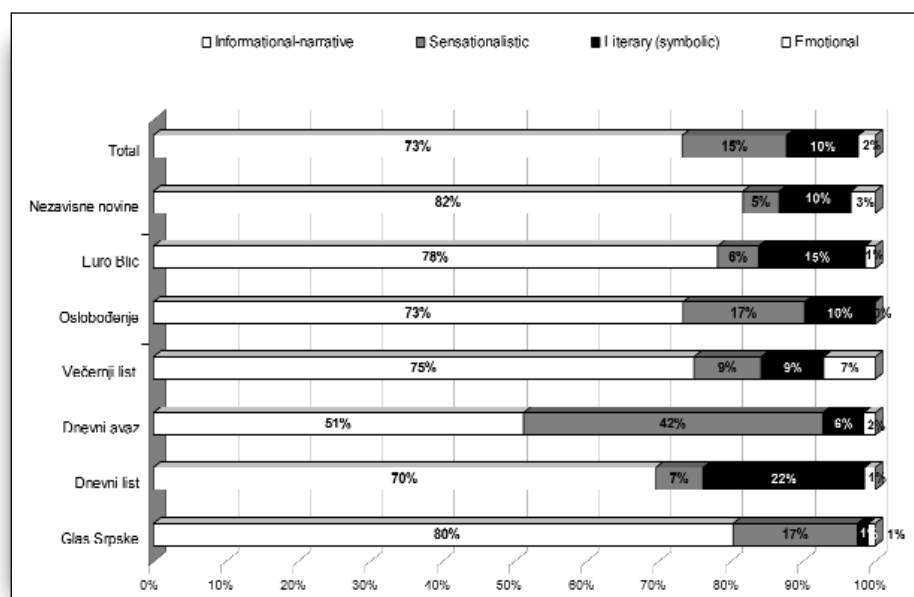


HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Political parties Authorship	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Oslobodjenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
Newsroom journalist	181	108	155	162	70	17	133	829
News agency	119	38	42	59	30	25	159	472
Unsigned	64	64	13	50	134	100	6	431
Press release	60	125	33	51	72	0	2	343
Carried from other media	2	0	7	0	2	0	0	11
Guest commentator	1	1	0	0	3	0	1	6
Total	430	336	250	322	311	142	301	2092

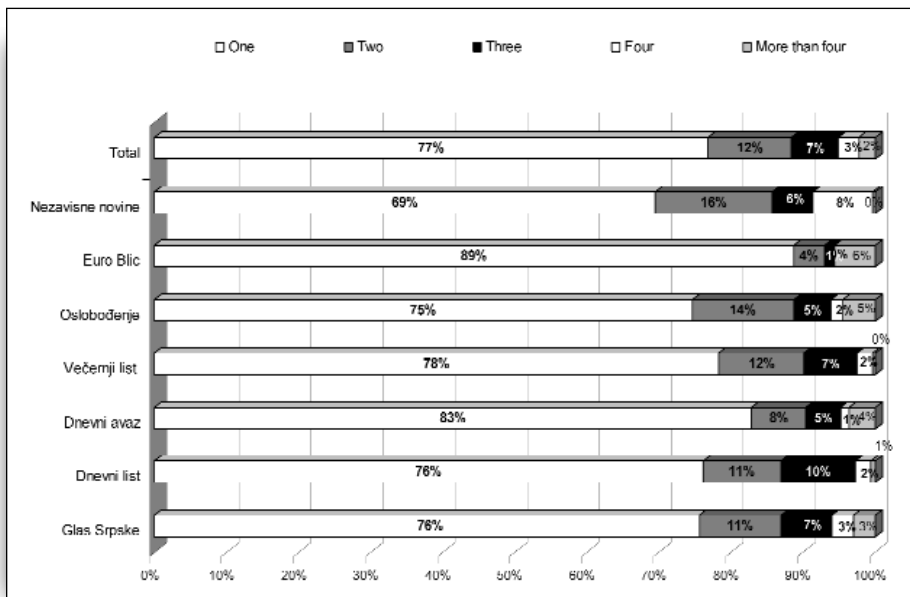


Political parties – Type of headline	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Oslobođenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
Informational-narrative	327	231	127	241	201	111	246	1490
Sensationalistic	70	22	103	30	47	8	15	295
Literary (symbolic)	6	75	14	28	27	21	30	201
Emotional	4	5	4	23	0	2	10	48
Total	407	336	248	322	278	142	301	2034

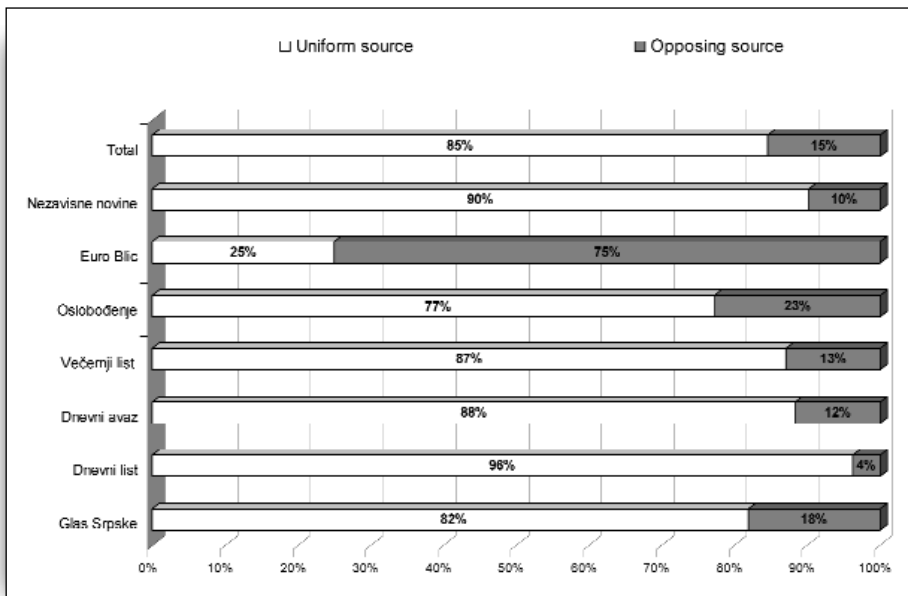


HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Political parties – Number of sources	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Oslobodjenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
One	325	256	207	252	232	126	209	1607
Two	49	36	19	38	44	6	49	241
Three	30	35	12	24	16	2	17	136
Four	13	7	3	7	5	0	25	60
More than four	13	2	9	1	14	8	1	48
Total	430	336	250	322	311	142	301	2092

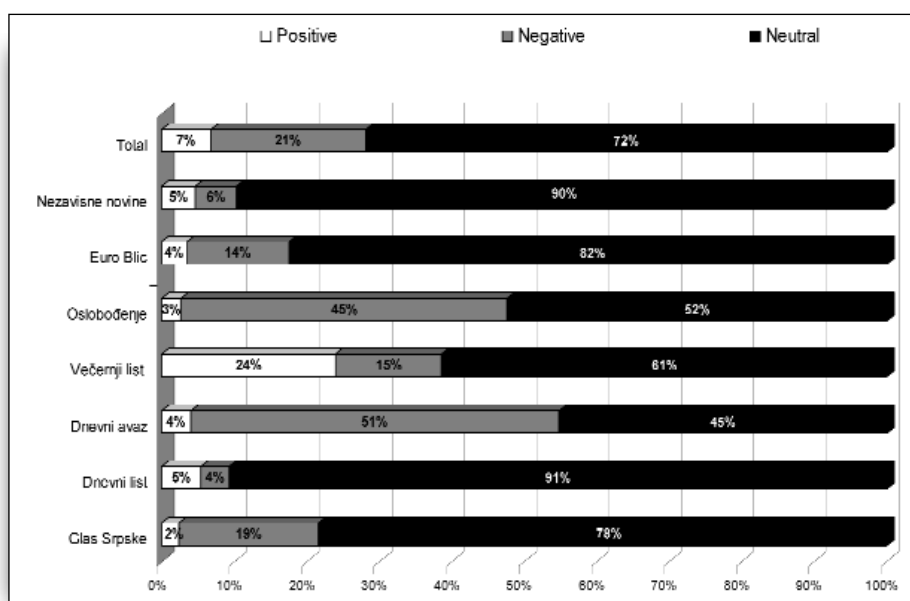


Political parties– Position of source	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Oslobođenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
Uniform source	86	77	38	61	61	4	83	410
Opposing source	19	3	5	9	18	12	9	75
Total	105	80	43	70	79	16	92	485



HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Political parties– Content of article	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Oslobođenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
Positive	10	18	10	77	8	5	14	142
Negative	83	13	127	47	140	20	17	447
Neutral	337	305	113	198	163	117	270	1503
Total	430	336	250	322	311	142	301	2092



Political parties Journalist's stand	Glas Srpske				Dnevni list				Dnevni avaz				Večernji list			
	Pos	Neu	Neg	Total	Pos	Neu	Neg	Total	Pos	Neu	Neg	Total	Pos	Neu	Neg	Total
Croat Democratic Union of BiH (HDZ BiH)		17		17	6	69		75		18		18	50	41	3	94
Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)	22	73		95		9		9	1	8	3	12		7		7
Party of Democratic Action (SDA)		19	1	20		22		22		12	16	28		27		27
People's Party Work for Betterment (Narodna stranka Radom za boljitak)		13		13	11	30		41		5		5		32		32
Social Democratic Party (SDP)		7		7		16	1	17		5	3	8	1	27	2	30
Croat Coalition (Croat Democratic Union 1990 / Croat Party of Rights) (HDZ 1990 / HSP)		5		5	36	12		48		16		16	8	29	2	39
Party for BiH (SaBiH)		5	2	7	1	16		17		6	31	37		6	1	7
Croat Party of Rights of BiH (HSP BiH)				0	25	28		53		0		0		26		26
Party of Democratic Progress / Mladen Ivanic (PPP)		27	16	43		3		3		6		6		4		4
Union for a Better Future of BiH (SBB)		1		1		5		5	28	21		49		4		4
Serb Democratic Party (SDS)		25	10	35		3		3		5		5				0
Democratic People's Alliance (DNS)	2	36		38				0				0				0
Union for a Democratic Srpska (Savez za demokratsku Srpsku)		28		28		3		3				0				0
Socialist Party / Party of United Pensioners		30		30		1		1				0				0
Coalition Together for Srpska / Ogrjezi Izdici		16	3	19		3		3		1	1	2		2		2
Croat Democratic Union 1990 / Martin Raguz (HDZ 1990)				0	16	15		31						16		16
Serb Radical Party (SRS)		11	5	16		1		1				0				0
Serb Progressive Party (SNS)		16		16				0		1		1				0
Coalition New Socialist Party / Our Party		5		5				0	4	1	5			2		2
Democratic Party / Donji Cioce		1	4	5		3		3		6		6		2		2
Croat Peasant Party - New Croat Initiative (HSS - NIH)				0		3		3		1		1		7	1	8
Bosnian Party / Mirnes Ajmovic (BOSN)		2		2		5		5		7		7		3		3
Democratic People's Community (DNP)		3		3		3		3			1	1		1		1
Serb Radical Party Dr. Vukoslav Seselj		14		14				0				0				0
Coalition TURKAROUND / Ibrahim Spahic				0		2		2		1		1		2		2
Liberal Democratic Party - L5 (LDS - L5)				0				0				0		4		4
Social Democratic Union (SDU)				0				0		2		2		1		1
Bosnian Patriotic Party (BPS)				0				0		4		4			2	2
People's Democratic Party / Mil Vlahici (NDS)		3		3				0				0				0
Ecological Party of the Republika Srpska (Ekološka stranka RS)		6		6				0				0				0
Party of Democratic Activities (A SDA)				0				0				0		4		4
True Path Party (PPP)		1	1	2				0				0				0
Party of Diaspora (Stranka dijasporc)				0				0		1		1		1		1
Our Party (Naša stranka)				0		1		1								0
Prosvetni Party				0				0				0		1		1
Party of United Pensioners (Partija ujedinjenih penzionera)				0				0				0				0
Coalition Serb List for Sarajevo (Koalicija Srpska lista za Sarajevo)				0				0				0				0
Democratic Party of Disabled Persons (DSD)				0				0				0		1		1
Total	24	364	42	430	85	282	1	339	29	135	86	250	49	282	11	322

HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Political parties – Journalist's stand	Oslobodjenje				Euro Blic				Nezavisne novine				Total			
	Poz	Neu	Neg	Total	Poz	Neu	Neg	Total	Poz	Neu	Neg	Total	Poz	Neu	Neg	Total
Croat Democratic Union of BiH (HDZ/ Bill)		33	7	40		13		13		27		27	56	218	10	281
Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)		16	10	26	11	29		40	20	36		56	54	178	13	245
Party of Democratic Action (SDA)	2	27	1	30		9	3	14		18	6	24	2	124	59	193
People's Party Work for Betterment (Narodna stranka Radom za boljiak)	1	13	2	16		8		8		24		24	12	126	2	139
Social Democratic Party (SDP)	3	33	1	37		8	1	9		23	3	26	4	119	11	134
Croat Coalition (Croat Democratic Union 1990 / Croat Party of Rights) (HDZ 1990 / HSP)	1	23	3	26				0		2		2	35	86	5	126
Party for Bill (SaZBil)		26	1	27		7	1	8		10	4	14	1	76	40	117
Croat Party of Rights of BiH (HSP Bill)	1	12		13		1		1		2	1	3	26	69	1	96
Party of Democratic Progress / Mladeničevci (PDP)	3	9		12		17		17		10	0	10	3	76	16	95
Union for a Better Future of BiH (SBH Bill)		1	9	10		0		0		12	1	13	28	44	10	82
Serb Democratic Party (SDS)		8		8		14		14		8	1	9	0	64	11	74
Democratic People's Alliance (DPS)				0	1	8		9		20		20	3	64		67
Union for a Democratic Srpska (Savez za demokratsku Srpsku)		1		1		6		6	3	22		25	3	60		63
Socialist Party / Party of United Pensioners				0		8		8		14		14		54		54
Coalition Together for Srpska / Ognjen Tadić		3		3		7		7		17		17		49	4	53
Croat Democratic Union 1990 / Marin Rapar (HDZ 1990)				0		1		1		3		3	16	35	0	51
Serb Radical Party (SRP)				0		9		9		3		3		26	3	31
Serb Progressive Party (SNS)				0	2	6		8		3		3	2	28		30
Coalition New Socialist Party / Our Party	1	12	1	14		1		1		0		0	1	25	2	28
Democratic Party / Dragomir Cvijović	2	2		4		8		8		0		0	2	22	4	28
Croat Peasant Party – New Croat Initiative (HSS – NHI)		12		12		0		0		2		2	0	26	1	27
Bosnian Party / Mirnes Ajmović (BOSS)		5	1	6		0		0		1		1		24	1	24
Democratic People's Community (DPC)		1		1		2		2		7		7		17	1	18
Serb Radical Party Dr. Vojislav Seselj		1		1				0				0		15		15
Coalition TURNAROUND / Ibrahim Spahic	1	8		9				0				0	1	14		15
Liberal Democratic Party – FS (LDS FS)	1	5		6				0				0	1	9		10
Social Democratic Union (SDU)				0		1		1				0		9		9
Bosnian Patriotic Party (BPP)		3		3				0				0		7	2	9
People's Democratic Party / Ljilj Vukijević (NDP)				0		5		5		2		2		8		8
Ecological Party of the Republika Srpska (Ekološka stranka RS)				0				0				0		6		6
Party of Democratic Activities (A-SDA)		1		1				0				0		5		5
True Path Party (PPP)		1		1				0				0		2	1	3
Party of Diaspora (Stranka dijaspore)		1		1				0				0		3		3
Our Party (Naša stranka)				0		2		2				0		3		3
Posavina Party (Posavska stranka)		1		1				0				0		2		2
Party of United Pensioners (Partija ujedinjenih penzionera)				0		1		1		1		1		2		2
Coalition Serb List for Sarajevo (Koalicija Srpska lista za Sarajevo)		1		1				0				0		1		1
Democratic Party of Disabled Persons (Demokratska stranka invalida (DSI))				0				0				0		1		1
Total	16	258	36	311	14	166	7	190	23	270	16	309	250	1697	199	2152

Political parties – Journalist's stand	Glas Srpske				Dnevni list				Dnevni avaz				Večernji list			
	Pos	Neu	Neg	Total	Pos	Neu	Neg	Total	Pos	Neu	Neg	Total	Pos	Neu	Neg	Total
Croat Democratic Union of BiH (HDZ BiH)	0%	100%	0%	4%	8%	92%	0%	22%	0%	100%	0%	7%	53%	44%	3%	29%
Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)	22%	77%	0%	22%	0%	100%	0%	3%	8%	67%	25%	5%	0%	100%	0%	2%
Party of Democratic Action (SDA)	0%	95%	5%	5%	0%	100%	0%	6%	0%	21%	79%	23%	0%	100%	0%	8%
People's Party Work for Betterment (Narodna stranka Radom za boljitak)	0%	100%	0%	3%	21%	73%	0%	12%	0%	100%	0%	2%	0%	100%	0%	10%
Social Democratic Party (SDP)	0%	100%	0%	2%	0%	94%	6%	5%	0%	64%	38%	3%	3%	90%	7%	9%
Croat Coalition (Croat Democratic Union 1990 / Croat Party of Rights) (HDZ 1990 / HSP)	0%	100%	0%	1%	68%	32%	0%	11%	0%	100%	0%	6%	71%	74%	5%	12%
Party for BiH (SrBiH)	0%	71%	29%	2%	6%	94%	0%	5%	0%	16%	84%	15%	0%	86%	14%	2%
Croat Party of Rights of BiH (HSP BiH)				0%	17%	53%	0%	16%				0%	0%	100%	0%	8%
Party of Democratic Progress / Mladen Ivacic (PDP)	0%	63%	37%	10%	0%	100%	0%	1%	0%	100%	0%	2%	0%	100%	0%	1%
Union for a Better Future of BiH (SBB BiH)	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	1%	57%	43%	0%	20%	0%	100%	0%	1%
Serb Democratic Party (SDS)	0%	71%	29%	8%	0%	100%	0%	1%	0%	100%	0%	2%				0%
Democratic People's Alliance (DNS)	5%	95%	0%	3%				0%				0%				0%
Union for a Democratic Serpka (Savez za demokratsku Srbiju)	0%	100%	0%	7%	0%	100%	0%	1%				0%				0%
Socialist Party / Party of United Pensioners	0%	100%	0%	7%	0%	100%	0%	0%				0%				0%
Coalition Together for Srpska / Ognjen Tadic	0%	84%	16%	4%	0%	100%	0%	1%	0%	50%	50%	1%	0%	100%	0%	1%
Croat Democratic Union 1990 / Martin Raguez (HDZ 1990)				0%	52%	48%	0%	9%				0%	0%	100%	0%	5%
Serb Radical Party (SRP)	0%	69%	31%	4%	0%	100%	0%	0%				0%				0%
Serb Progressive Party (SNS)	0%	100%	0%	4%				0%	0%	100%	0%	0%				0%
Coalition New Socialist Party / Our Party	0%	100%	0%	1%				0%	0%	80%	20%	2%	0%	100%	0%	1%
Democratic Party / Dragan Covic	0%	20%	80%	1%	0%	100%	0%	1%	0%	100%	0%	2%	0%	100%	0%	1%
Croat Peasant Party - New Croat Initiative (HSS - NIH)				0%	0%	100%	0%	1%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	88%	13%	2%
Bosnian Party / Mirnes Ajanovic (BOSS)	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	1%	0%	100%	0%	3%	0%	100%	0%	1%
Democratic People's Community (DNZ)	0%	100%	0%	1%	0%	100%	0%	1%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
Serb Radical Party Dr. Vojislav Seselj	0%	100%	0%	3%				0%				0%				0%
Coalition TURNAROUND / Ibrahim Spahic				0%	0%	100%	0%	1%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	1%
Liberal Democratic Party – F5 (LDS - F5)				0%				0%				0%	0%	100%	0%	1%
Social Democratic Union (SDU)				0%				0%	0%	100%	0%	3%	0%	100%	0%	0%
Bosnian Patriotic Party (Bosanska patriotska stranka (BPS))				0%				0%	0%	100%	0%	2%	0%	0%	100%	1%
People's Democratic Party /Lilil Vlatki (NDS)	0%	100%	0%	1%				0%				0%				0%
Ecological Party of the Republic Srpska	0%	100%	0%	1%				0%				0%				0%
Party of Democratic Activities (A - SDZ)				0%				0%				0%	0%	100%	0%	1%
True Path Party (PPP)	0%	50%	50%	0%				0%				0%				0%
Party of Diaspora (Stranka dijaspora)				0%				0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
Our Party (Naša stranka)				0%	0%	100%	0%	0%				0%				0%
Posavina Party (Posavska stranka)				0%				0%				0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
Coalition Serb List for Sarajevo (Koalicija Srpska lista za Sarajevo)				0%				0%				0%				0%
Koalicija Srpska lista za Sarajevo				0%				0%				0%				0%
Democratic Party of Disabled Persons (DST)				0%				0%				0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
Total	6%	85%	10%	100%	25%	74%	0%	100%	12%	54%	34%	100%	18%	78%	3%	100%

HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Political parties – Journalist's stand	Osnovnoenje				Euro Bilie				Nezavisne novine				Total			
	poz	Neu	Neg	Total	poz	Neu	Neg	Total	poz	Neu	Neg	Total	poz	Neu	Neg	Total
Croat Democratic Union of BiH (HDZ BiH)	0%	83%	18%	13%	0%	100%	0%	7%	0%	100%	0%	9%	20%	77%	4%	13%
Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)	0%	67%	38%	8%	28%	73%	0%	71%	36%	64%	0%	18%	27%	73%	5%	11%
Party of Democratic Action (SDA)	7%	90%	3%	10%	0%	64%	30%	7%	0%	75%	25%	8%	1%	69%	30%	9%
People's Party Work for Betterment (Narodna stranka Radom za boljinstvo)	6%	81%	13%	5%	0%	100%	0%	4%	0%	100%	0%	8%	9%	90%	1%	6%
Social Democratic Party (SDP)	8%	89%	4%	17%	0%	89%	11%	5%	0%	88%	17%	8%	4%	89%	8%	6%
Croat Coalition (Croat Democratic Union 1990 / Croat Party of Rights) (HDZ 1990 HSP)	4%	83%	17%	8%				0%	0%	100%	0%	1%	28%	68%	4%	6%
Party for BiH (S/BiH)	0%	96%	0%	9%	0%	88%	13%	4%	0%	71%	29%	5%	1%	65%	34%	5%
Croat Party of Rights of BiH (HSP BiH)	8%	92%	0%	4%	0%	100%	0%	1%	0%	67%	33%	1%	27%	72%	1%	4%
Party of Democratic Progress / Mladka Ivanic (PDP)	25%	75%	0%	8%	0%	100%	0%	9%	0%	100%	0%	2%	3%	80%	17%	4%
Union for a Better Future of BiH (SHH BiH)	0%	10%	90%	8%				0%	0%	97%	8%	4%	34%	54%	12%	4%
Serb Democratic Party (SDS)	0%	100%	0%	5%	0%	100%	0%	7%	0%	89%	11%	4%	0%	87%	13%	4%
Democratic People's Alliance (DNS)				0%	11%	89%	0%	3%	0%	100%	0%	6%	4%	96%	0%	2%
Union for a Democratic Srpska (Savez za demokratsku Srpsku)	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	3%	17%	83%	0%	8%	5%	95%	0%	4%
Socialist Party / Party of United Pensioners				0%	0%	100%	0%	4%	0%	100%	0%	5%	0%	100%	0%	2%
Coalition Together for Srpska / Opatina Udruženje	0%	100%	0%	1%				4%				6%				2%
Croat Democratic Union 1990 / Martin Rapuz (HDZ 1990)				0%	0%	100%	0%	1%	0%	100%	0%	1%	31%	69%	0%	2%
Serb Radical Party (SRPS)				0%	0%	100%	0%	5%	0%	100%	0%	2%	0%	81%	16%	1%
Serb Progressive Party (SNS)				0%	75%	75%	0%	4%	0%	100%	0%	2%	7%	93%	0%	1%
Coalition New Socialist Party / Our Party	7%	86%	7%	5%	0%	100%	0%	1%				0%	4%	89%	7%	1%
Democratic Party / Dzenica Cavic	0%	100%	0%	1%	0%	100%	0%	4%				0%	7%	99%	14%	1%
Croat Pensioner Party - New Croat Initiative (HSS - NH)	0%	100%	0%	4%				0%	0%	100%	0%	1%	0%	98%	4%	1%
Bosnian Party / Mirnes Aljanovic (BOSS)	0%	84%	17%	2%				0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	96%	4%	1%
Democratic People's Community (DNP)	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	1%	0%	100%	0%	2%	0%	94%	6%	1%
Serb Radical Party Dr. Vojislav Seselj	0%	100%	0%	0%				0%				0%	0%	100%	0%	1%
Coalition TURNAROUND / Ibrahim Spahic	11%	89%	0%	3%				0%				0%	7%	93%	0%	1%
Liberal Democratic Party 1-5 (LDS - L5)	17%	82%	0%	2%				0%				0%	10%	90%	0%	0%
Social Democratic Union (SDU)				0%	0%	100%	0%	1%					0%	100%	0%	0%
Bosnian Patriotic Party (Bosansko patriotska stranka) (BPS)	0%	100%	0%	1%				0%				0%	0%	78%	22%	0%
People's Democratic Party (Emil Vlahaj) (NDS)				0%	0%	100%	0%	2%	0%	100%	0%	1%	0%	100%	0%	0%
Ecologist Party of the Republic of Srpska (Ekološka stranka RS) Party of Democratic Activities (A SDA)	0%	100%	0%	0%				0%				0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
True Path Party (Partija pravog puta) (PPP)	0%	100%	0%	0%				0%				0%	0%	67%	33%	0%
Party of Dinepor (Stranka dinjaporc)	0%	100%	0%	0%				0%				0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
Our Party (Naša stranka)				0%	0%	100%	0%	1%				0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
Posavina Party (Posavska stranka)	0%	100%	0%	0%				0%				0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
Party of United Pensioners (Partija ujedinjenih penzionera)				0%	0%	100%	0%	1%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
Coalition Serb List for Sarajevo (Koalicija Srpska lista za Sarajevo)	0%	100%	0%	0%				0%				0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
Democratic Party of Disabled Persons (Demokratska stranka invalida) (DSI)				0%				0%				0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
Total	5%	83%	12%	100%	7%	87%	4%	100%	7%	87%	5%	100%	12%	79%	9%	100%

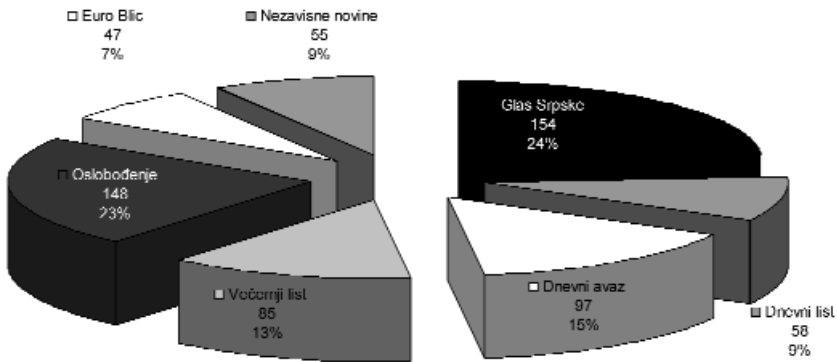
Political parties – Number of photographs	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Ostobodenje	Euro Dne	Nezavisne novine	Total
Croat Democratic Union of BiH (HDZ BiH)	7	73	13	154	31	1	13	292
Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)	62	6	11	5	23	1	38	146
Party of Democratic Action (SDA)	5	16	71	7	22	2	9	132
People's Party Work for Betterment (Narodna stranka Radom za boljitak)	2	62	5	28	11	0	14	122
Croat Coalition (Croat Democratic Union 1990 / Croat Party of Rights) (HDZ 1990 / HSP)	0	43	8	35	18	0	0	104
Union for a Better Future of BiH (SBB)	1	4	82	2	8	0	5	102
Party for BiH (Szbil)	1	13	49	2	22	0	4	91
Croat Party of Rights of BiH (HSP BiH)	0	60	0	19	6	0	1	86
Social Democratic Party (SDP)	0	15	7	15	27	0	14	78
Democratic People's Alliance (DNS)	25	0	0	0	0	0	19	44
Croat Democratic Union 1990 / Martin Raguz (HDZ 1990)	0	27	0	14	0	0	3	44
Party of Democratic Progress / Mladen Ivanic (PDP)	20	1	2	0	8	0	0	31
Serb Democratic Party (SDS)	14	2	3	0	4	1	2	26
Union for a Democratic Srpska (Savez za demokratsku Srpsku)	6	3	0	0	0	0	13	22
Croat Peasant Party - New Croat Initiative (HSS - NIH)	0	4	1	6	7	0	2	20
Socialist Party / Party of United Pensioners	11	0	0	0	0	0	8	19
Coalition New Socialist Party / Our Party	2	0	5	0	9	0	1	17
Coalition Together for Srpska / Ognjen Tadic	5	3	0	0	3	0	5	16
Srpska radikalna stranka	12	0	0	0	0	1	0	13
Koalicija PREOKRET / Ibrahim Spahić	0	7	0	1	5	0	0	13
Democratic Party / Dragan Cavic	1	1	4	0	4	0	0	10
Bosnian Party / Mirnes Ajanovic (BOSS)	0	2	5	0	3	0	0	10
Srpska radikalna stranka dr Vojislav Šešelj	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Bosnian Patriotic Party (BIPS)	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	5
Democratic People's Community (DNC)	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	4
True Path Party (Partija pravog puta (PPP))	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	4
Liberal Democratic Party - E5 (LDS - E5)	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	4
People's Democratic Party /Emil Vlajki (NDS)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Social Democratic Union (SDU)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Our Party (Naša stranka)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	181	345	271	290	218	6	152	1463

HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Political parties – Number of photographs	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Ostobodenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
Croat Democratic Union of BiH (HDZ BiH)	4%	21%	5%	53%	14%	17%	9%	20%
Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)	34%	2%	4%	2%	11%	17%	25%	10%
Party of Democratic Action (SDA)	3%	5%	26%	2%	10%	33%	6%	9%
People's Party Work for Betterment (Narodna stranka Radom za boljitak)	1%	18%	2%	10%	5%	0%	9%	8%
Croat Coalition (Croat Democratic Union 1990 / Croat Party of Rights) (HDZ 1990 / HSP)	0%	12%	3%	12%	8%	0%	0%	7%
Union for a Better Future of BiH (SBB BiH)	1%	1%	30%	1%	4%	0%	3%	7%
Party for BiH (S/ BiH)	1%	4%	18%	1%	10%	0%	3%	6%
Croat Party of Rights of BiH (HSP BiH)	0%	17%	0%	7%	3%	0%	1%	6%
Social Democratic Party (SDP)	0%	4%	3%	5%	12%	0%	9%	5%
Democratic People's Alliance (DNS)	14%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	13%	3%
Croat Democratic Union 1990 / Martin Raguz (HDZ 1990)	0%	8%	0%	5%	0%	0%	2%	3%
Party of Democratic Progress / Mladen Ivanic (PDP)	11%	0%	1%	0%	4%	0%	0%	2%
Serb Democratic Party (SDS)	8%	1%	1%	0%	2%	17%	1%	2%
Union for a Democratic Srpska (Savez za demokratsku Srpsku)	3%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	9%	2%
Croat Peasant Party – New Croat Initiative (HSS – NHI)	0%	1%	0%	2%	3%	0%	1%	1%
Socialist Party / Party of United Pensioners	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	1%
Coalition New Socialist Party / Our Party	1%	0%	2%	0%	4%	0%	1%	1%
Coalition Together for Srpska / Ognjen Tadic	3%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	3%	1%
Serb Radical Party (SRS)	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	17%	0%	1%
Coalition TURNAROUND / Ibrahim Spahic	0%	2%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	1%
Democratic Party / Dragan Cavic	1%	0%	1%	0%	2%	0%	0%	1%
Bosnian Party / Mirnes Ajanovic (BOSS)	0%	1%	2%	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%
Serb Radical Party Dr. Vojislav Seselj	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Bosnian Patriotic Party (BPS)	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Democratic People's Community (DNC)	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
True Path Party (PPP)	1%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Liberal Democratic Party – E5 (LDS - E5)	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%
People's Democratic Party / Emil Vlajki (NDS)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%
Social Democratic Union (SDU)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Our Party (Naša stranka)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

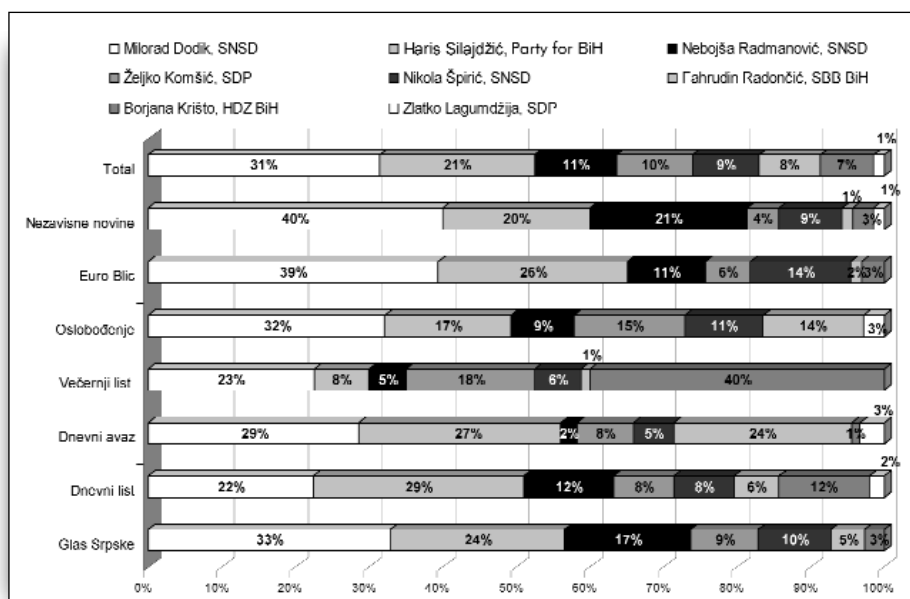
Candidates holding state position or other public position

Total numbers of articles published in dailies

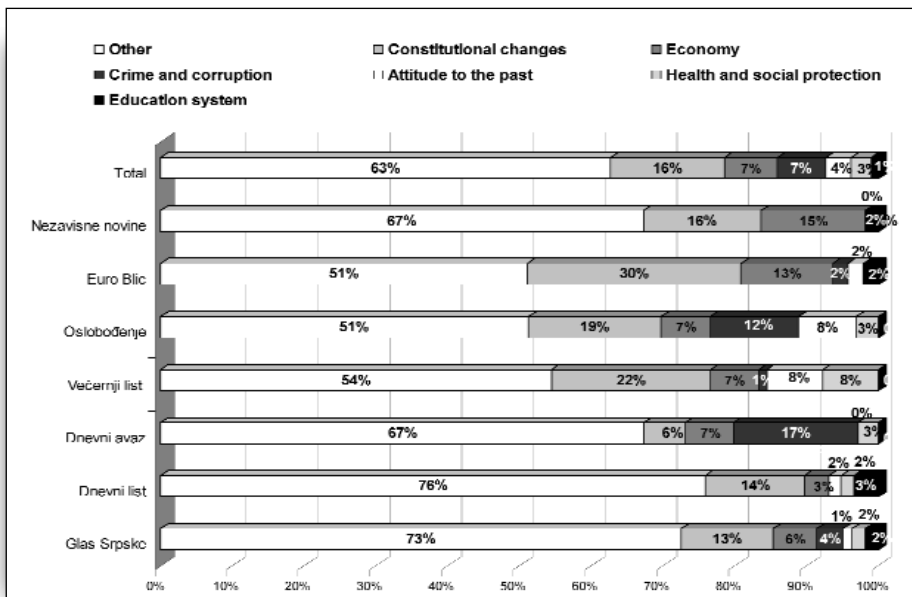


HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Candidates holding state positions or other public positions	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Oslobođenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
Milorad Dodik, SNSD	50	11	26	18	45	26	28	204
Haris Silajdžić, Party for BiH	36	14	25	6	24	17	14	136
Nebojša Radmanović, SNSD	26	6	2	4	12	7	15	72
Željko Komšić, SDP	14	4	7	14	21	4	3	67
Nikola Špirić, SNSD	15	4	5	5	15	9	6	59
Fahrudin Radončić, SBB BiH	7	3	22	1	19	1	1	54
Borjana Krišto, HDZ BiH	4	6	1	32	0	2	2	47
Zlatko Lagumdžija, SDP	0	1	3	0	4	0	1	9
Total	152	49	91	80	140	66	70	648

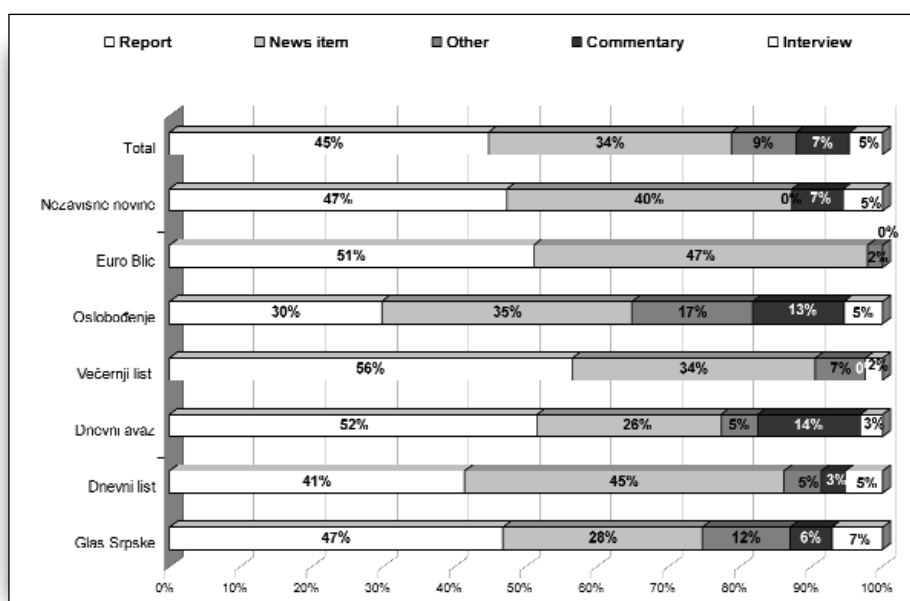


Candidates holding state positions or other public positions – Theme	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Oslobodjenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
Other	119	44	70	49	83	24	37	426
Constitutional changes	21	8	6	20	30	14	9	108
Economy	10	2	7	6	11	6	8	50
Crime and corruption	6	0	18	1	20	1	0	46
Attitude to the past	2	1	0	7	13	1	0	24
Health and social protection	3	1	3	7	5	0	0	19
Education system	3	2	0	0	0	1	1	7
Total	164	58	104	90	162	47	55	680

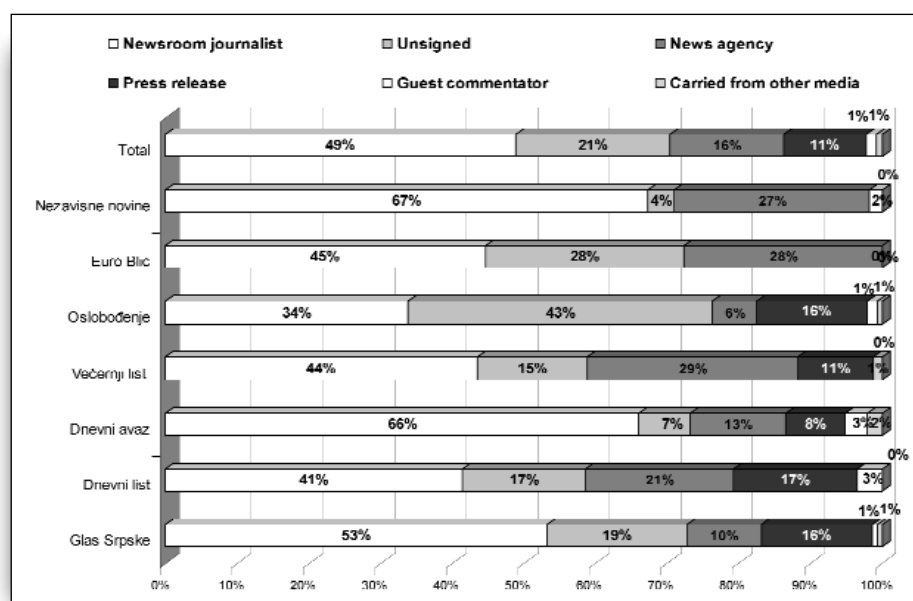


HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Candidates holding state positions or other public positions – Journalistic form	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Oslobodenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne n.	Total
Report	72	24	50	48	44	24	26	288
News item	43	26	25	29	52	22	22	219
Other	19	3	5	6	25	1	0	59
Commentary	9	2	14	0	19	0	4	48
Interview	11	3	3	2	8	0	3	30
Total	154	58	97	85	148	47	55	644

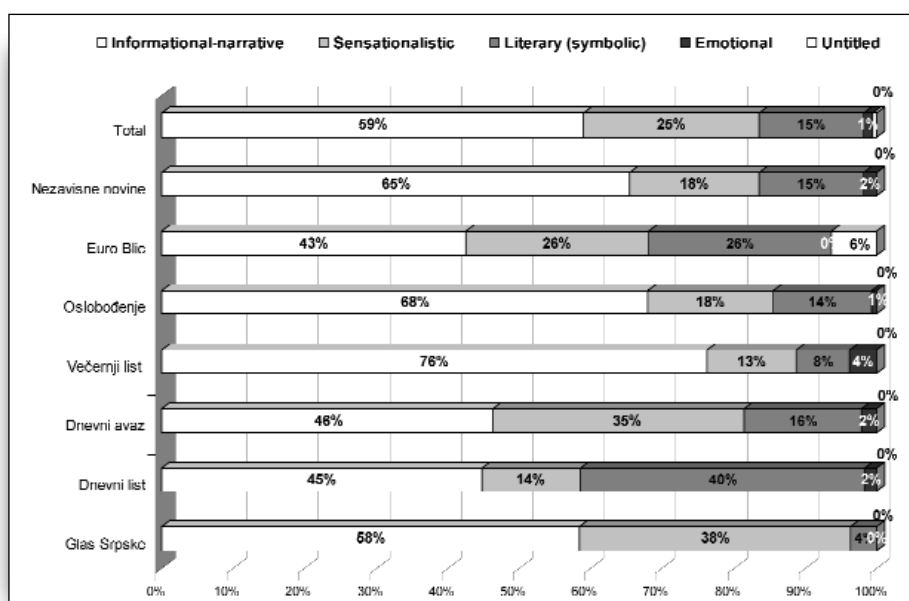


Candidates holding state positions or other public positions – Authorship	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Oslobodjenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
Newsroom journalist	82	24	64	37	50	21	37	315
Unsigned	30	10	7	13	63	13	2	138
News agency	16	12	13	25	9	13	15	103
Press release	24	10	8	9	23	0	0	74
Guest commentator	1	2	3	0	2	0	1	9
Carried from other media	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	5
Total	154	58	97	85	148	47	55	644

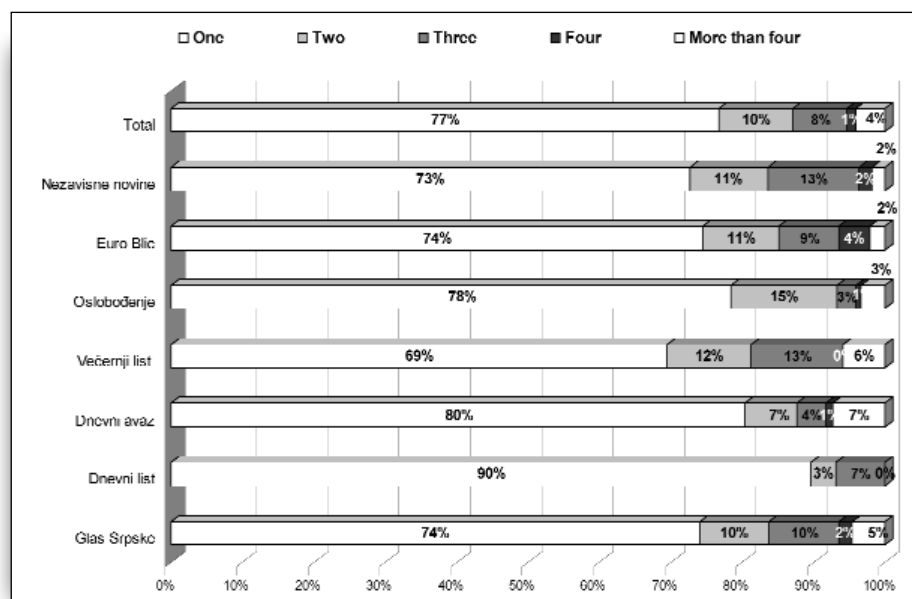


HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Candidates holding state positions or other public positions – Type of headline	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Oslobođenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
Informational-narrative	80	26	45	61	89	20	36	357
Sensationalistic	52	8	34	10	23	12	10	149
Literary (symbolic)	5	23	16	6	18	12	8	88
Emotional	0	1	2	3	1	0	1	8
Untitled	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Total	137	58	97	80	131	47	55	605

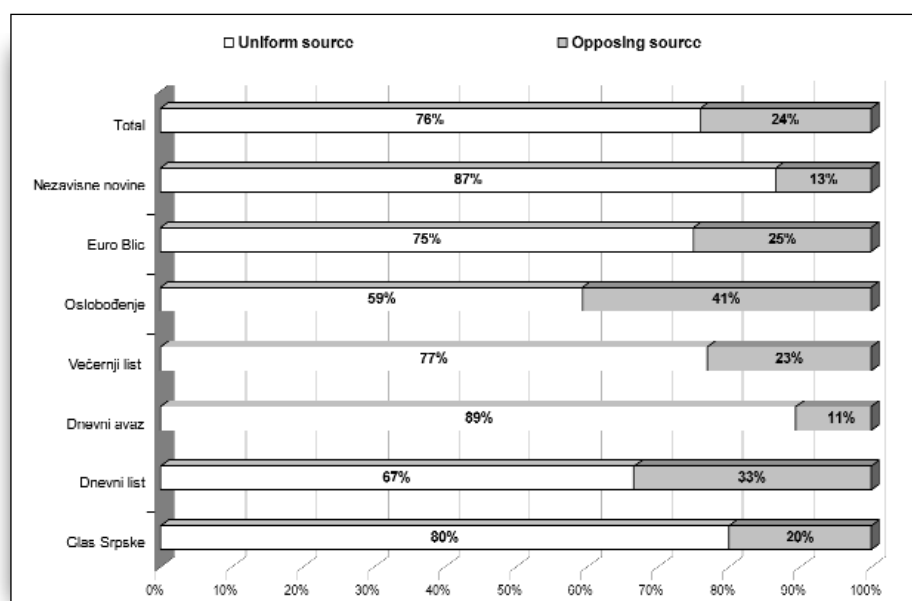


Candidates holding state positions or other public positions Number of sources	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Oslobođenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
One	114	52	78	59	116	35	40	494
Two	15	2	7	10	22	5	6	67
Three	15	4	4	11	4	4	7	49
Four	3	0	1	0	1	2	1	8
More than four	7	0	7	5	5	1	1	26
Total	154	58	97	85	148	47	55	644

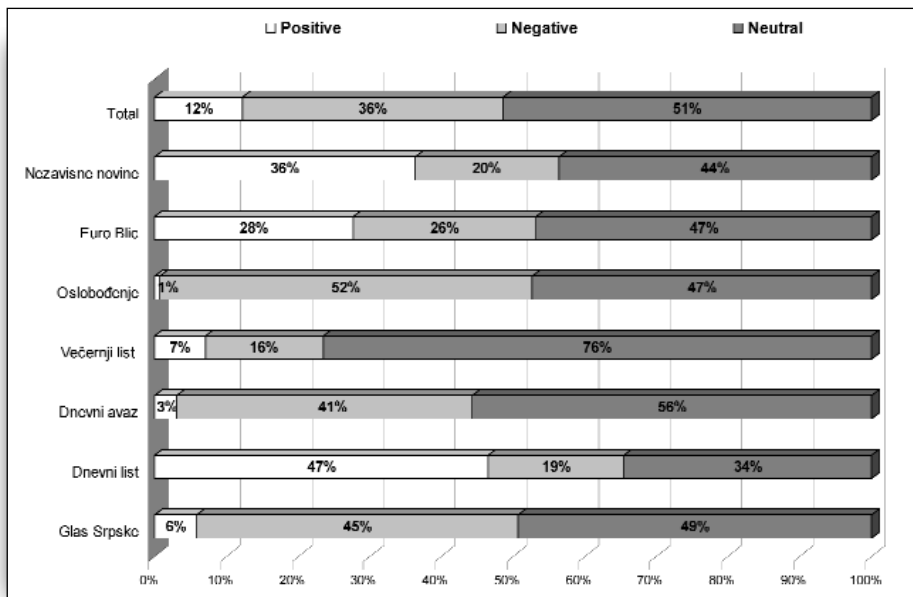


HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Candidates holding state positions or other public positions – Position of source	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Oslobodjenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
Uniform source	32	4	17	20	19	9	13	114
Opposing source	8	2	2	6	13	3	2	36
Total	40	6	19	26	32	12	15	150



Candidates holding state positions or other public positions – Content of article	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Oslobođenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
Positive	9	27	3	6	1	13	20	79
Negative	69	11	40	14	77	12	11	234
Neutral	76	20	54	65	70	22	24	331
Total	154	58	97	85	148	47	55	644



HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Candidates holding state positions or other public positions – Journalist's stand	Glas Srpske				Dnevni list				Dnevni avaz				Večernji list			
	Poz	Neu	Neg	Total	Poz	Neu	Neg	Total	Poz	Neu	Neg	Total	Poz	Neu	Neg	Total
		25	25		50		8	3	11		23	5	28		17	1
Milorad Dodik, SNSD		10	26	36	1	11	2	14		6	19	25		6		6
Ilija Štalić, Party for BiH	13	13		26		6		6		2		2		4		4
Nebojša Radmanović, SNSD	0	8	6	14		2	2	4	2	3	2	7		14		14
Željko Komšić, SDP	5	10		15		4		4		3	2	5		5		5
Nikola Špirić, SNSD		7		7		3		3	15	7		22		1		1
Fahudin Radončić, SBB BiH		4		4	2	4		6		1		1	9	23		32
Borjana Krišto, HDZ BiH				0		1		1		3	0	3				0
Zlatko Lagumdžija, SDP	43	77	32	152	3	39	7	49	17	48	28	93	9	70	1	80
Total																

Candidates holding state positions or other public journalist's stand	Oslobađenje				Euro Blic				Nezavisne novine				Total			
	Poz	Neu	Neg.	Total	Poz	Neu	Neg.	Total	Poz	Neu	Neg.	Total	Poz	Neu	Neg.	Total
Milorad Dodik, SNSD	0	24	21	45	12	14	0	26	20	8	0	28	57	119	30	206
Haris Silajdžić, Party for BiH	2	20	2	24	0	5	12	17	0	3	11	14	3	61	72	136
Nebojša Radmanović, SNSD	0	9	3	12	2	5	0	7	9	6	0	15	24	45	3	72
Željko Komšić, SDP	2	19	0	21	0	1	3	4	0	1	2	3	4	48	15	67
Nikola Špirić, SNSD	0	11	4	15	2	6	1	9	4	2	0	6	11	41	7	59
Fahudin Radončić, SBB BiH	0	4	15	19	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	15	24	15	54
Božjana Krišto, HDZ BiH	0	2	1	3	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	11	38	1	50
Zlatko Lagumdžija, SDP	0	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	9	0	9
Total	4	93	46	143	16	34	16	66	33	24	13	70	125	385	143	653

HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Candidates holding state positions or other public positions Journalist's stand	Glas Srpske			Dnevni list			Dnevni avaz			Večernji list				
	Poz	Ncu	Neg Total	Poz	Ncu	Neg Total	Poz	Ncu	Neg Total	Poz	Ncu	Neg Total		
Milorad Dodik, SNSD	50%	50%	32%	0%	73%	27%	14%	82%	18%	30%	0%	94%	6%	21%
Haris Silajdžić, Party for BiH	0%	28%	72%	7%	79%	14%	18%	24%	76%	27%	0%	100%	0%	7%
Nebojša Radmanović, SNSD	50%	50%	17%	0%	100%	0%	8%	100%	0%	2%	0%	100%	0%	5%
Željko Komšić, SDP	0%	57%	43%	0%	50%	50%	5%	29%	43%	29%	8%	100%	0%	16%
Nikola Špirić, SNSD	33%	67%	10%	0%	100%	0%	5%	60%	40%	5%	0%	100%	0%	6%
Fahudin Radončić, SBB BiH	0%	100%	5%	0%	100%	0%	4%	68%	32%	0%	24%	100%	0%	1%
Borjana Krišto, HDZ BiH	0%	100%	3%	33%	67%	0%	8%	100%	0%	1%	28%	72%	0%	38%
Zlako Lagumdžija, SDP			0%	0%	100%	0%	1%	100%	0%	3%				0%
Total	28%	51%	21%	6%	80%	14%	100%	18%	52%	30%	100%	88%	1%	100%

Candidates holding state positions or other public positions – Journalist's stand	Oslobodena je				Euro Blic				Nezavisne novine				Total			
	Poz	Neu	Neg	Total	Poz	Neu	Neg	Total	Poz	Neu	Neg	Total	Poz	Neu	Neg	Total
Milorad Dudik, SNSD	0%	53%	47%	30%	46%	54%	0%	39%	71%	29%	0%	37%	28%	58%	15%	29%
Haris Silajdžić, Party for BiH	8%	83%	8%	16%	0%	29%	71%	26%	0%	21%	79%	19%	2%	45%	53%	19%
Nebojša Radmanović, SNSD	0%	75%	25%	8%	29%	71%	0%	11%	60%	40%	0%	20%	33%	63%	4%	10%
Željko Komšić, SDP	10%	90%	0%	14%	0%	25%	75%	6%	0%	33%	67%	4%	6%	72%	22%	9%
Nikola Špirić, SNSD	0%	73%	27%	10%	22%	67%	11%	14%	67%	33%	0%	8%	19%	69%	12%	8%
Fahruđin Radončić, SHH BiH	0%	21%	79%	13%	0%	100%	0%	2%	0%	100%	0%	1%	28%	44%	28%	8%
Borjana Krišto, HDZ BiH	0%	67%	33%	2%	0%	100%	0%	3%	0%	100%	0%	3%	22%	76%	2%	7%
Zlatko Lagumdžija, SDP	0%	100%	0%	3%				0%	0%	100%	0%	1%	0%	100%	0%	1%
Total	3%	65%	32%	100%	24%	52%	24%	100%	47%	34%	19%	100%	19%	59%	22%	100%

HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

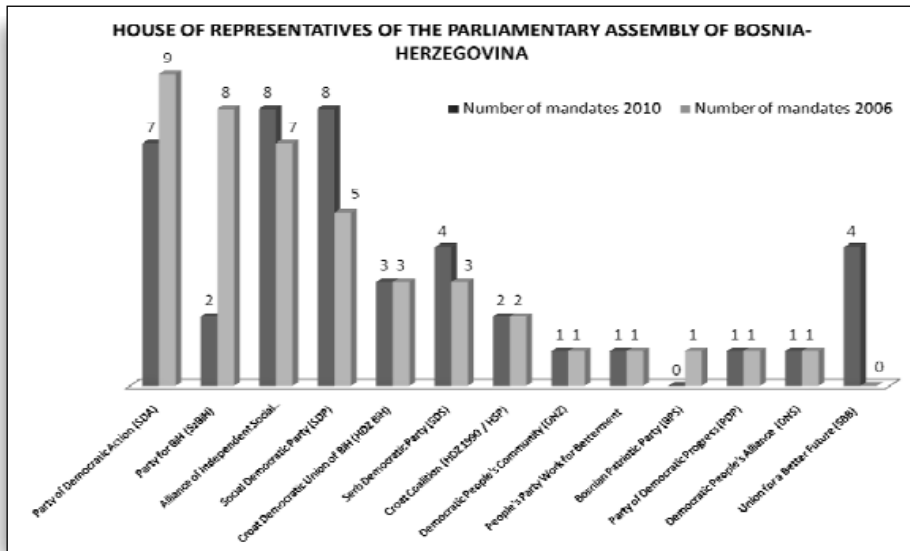
Candidates holding state positions or other public positions – Number of photographs	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Oslobodjenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
Milorad Dodik, SNSD	31	8	12	14	16	11	24	116
Borjana Krišto, HDZ BiH	1	5	0	62	0	0	0	68
Iharis Silajdžić, Party for BiH	12	8	12	6	14	2	8	62
Nebojša Radmanović, SNSD	11	5	1	2	10	2	12	43
Nikola Špirić, SNSD	10	8	4	4	6	3	7	42
Željko Komšić, SDP	4	4	4	15	10	0	1	38
Fahrudin Radončić, SBB BiH	0	1	12	0	8	0	0	21
Zlatko Lagumdžija, SDP	0	1	3	0	4	0	2	10
Total	69	40	48	103	68	18	54	400

Candidates holding state positions or other public positions – Number of photographs	Glas Srpske	Dnevni list	Dnevni avaz	Večernji list	Oslobodjenje	Euro Blic	Nezavisne novine	Total
Milorad Dodik, SNSD	44%	20%	23%	13%	22%	61%	44%	28%
Borjana Krišto, HDZ BiH	1%	13%	0%	59%	0%	0%	0%	16%
Iharis Silajdžić, Party for BiH	17%	20%	23%	6%	19%	11%	15%	15%
Nebojša Radmanović, SNSD	16%	13%	2%	2%	14%	11%	22%	10%
Nikola Špirić, SNSD	14%	20%	8%	4%	8%	17%	13%	10%
Željko Komšić, SDP	6%	10%	8%	14%	14%	0%	2%	9%
Fahrudin Radončić, SBB BiH	0%	3%	23%	0%	11%	0%	0%	5%
Zlatko Lagumdžija, SDP	0%	3%	6%	0%	5%	0%	4%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

ELECTION RESULTS 2010/2006

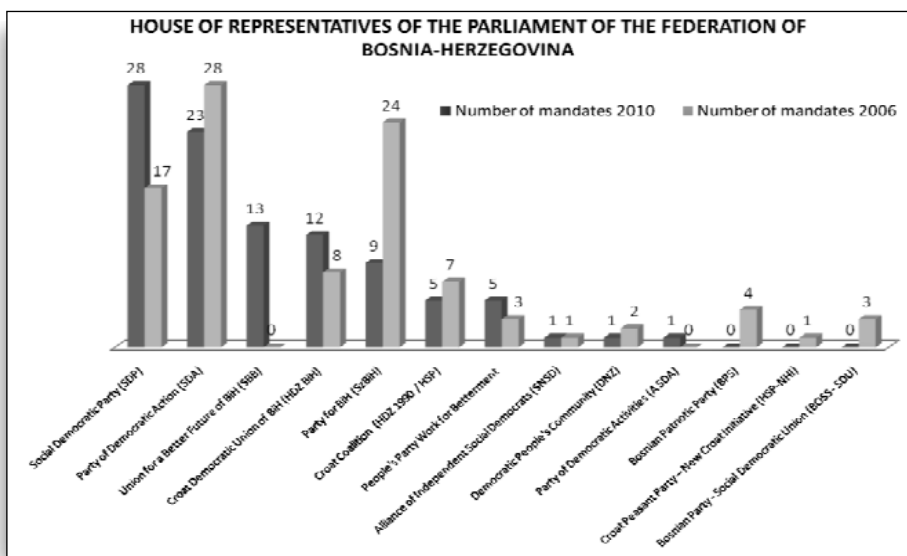
Source: Central Election Commission of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Political subject	COMPOSITION IN 2010.		COMPOSITION IN 2006	
	Number of mandates	%	Number of mandates	%
Party of Democratic Action (SDA)	7	16,67%	9	21,43%
Party for BiH (SzBiH)	2	4,76%	8	19,05%
Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)	8	19,05%	7	16,67%
Social Democratic Party (SDP)	8	19,05%	5	11,90%
Croat Democratic Union of BiH (HDZ BiH)	3	7,14%	3	7,14%
Serb Democratic Party (SDS)	4	9,52%	3	7,14%
Croat Coalition (HDZ 1990 / HSP)	2	4,76%	2	4,76%
Democratic People's Community (DNZ)	1	2,38%	1	2,38%
People's Party Work for Betterment	1	2,38%	1	2,38%
Bosnian Patriotic Party (BPS)	0	0,00%	1	2,38%
Party of Democratic Progress (PDP)	1	2,38%	1	2,38%
Democratic People's Alliance (DNS)	1	2,38%	1	2,38%
Union for a Better Future (SBB)	4	9,52%	0	0,00%
	42	100,00%	42	100,00%

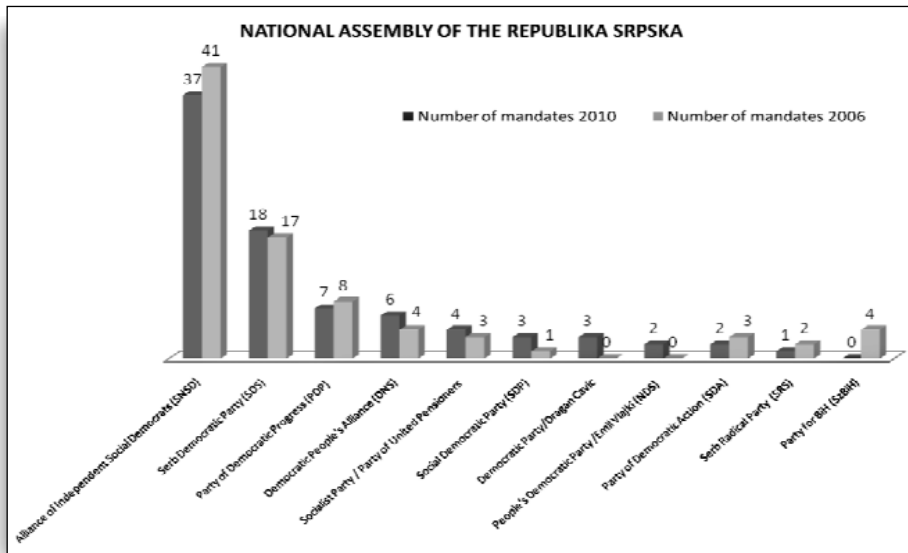


HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE FEDERATION OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA				
Political subject	COMPOSITION IN 2010		COMPOSITION IN 2006	
	Number of mandates	%	Number of mandates	%
Social Democratic Party (SDP)	28	28,57%	17	17,35%
Party of Democratic Action (SDA)	23	23,47%	28	28,57%
Union for a Better Future of BiH (SBB)	13	13,27%	0	0,00%
Croat Democratic Union of BiH (HDZ BiH)	12	12,24%	8	8,16%
Party for BiH (SzBiH)	9	9,18%	24	24,49%
Croat Coalition (HDZ 1990 / HSP)	5	5,10%	7	7,14%
People's Party Work for Betterment	5	5,10%	3	3,06%
Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)	1	1,02%	1	1,02%
Democratic People's Community (DNZ)	1	1,02%	2	2,04%
Party of Democratic Activities (A SDA)	1	1,02%	0	0,00%
Bosnian Patriotic Party (BPS)	0	0,00%	4	4,08%
Croat Peasant Party – New Croat Initiative (HSP-NHI)	0	0,00%	1	1,02%
Bosnian Party - Social Democratic Union (BOSS - SDU)	0	0,00%	3	3,06%
	98	100,00%	98	100,00%



NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIKA SRPSKA				
Political subject	COMPOSITION IN 2010.		COMPOSITION IN 2006	
	Number of mandates	%	Number of mandates	%
Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)	37	44,58%	41	49,10%
Serb Democratic Party (SDS)	18	21,69%	17	20,48%
Party of Democratic Progress (PDP)	7	8,43%	8	9,64%
Democratic People's Alliance (DNS)	6	7,23%	4	4,82%
Socialist Party / Party of United Pensioners	4	4,82%	3	3,61%
Social Democratic Party (SDP)	3	3,61%	1	1,20%
Democratic Party/Dragan Cavic	3	3,61%	0	0,00%
People's Democratic Party /Emil Vajki (NDS)	2	2,41%	0	0,00%
Party of Democratic Action (SDA)	2	2,41%	3	3,61%
Serb Radical Party (SRS)	1	1,20%	2	2,41%
Party for BiH (SzBiH)	0	0,00%	4	4,82%
	83	100,00%	83	100,00%



HOW THE MEDIA COVERED THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

MEMBERS OF THE BIH PRESIDENCY 2006/2010	Winner 2006.	Winner 2010.	Not elected 2010.
HARIS SILAJDŽIĆ (SzBiH)	62.80 %		25,10%
NEBOJŠA RADMANOVIĆ (SNSD)	53,26%	48,92%	
ŽELJKO KOMŠIĆ (SDP)	39,56%	60,61%	
BAKIR IZETBEGOVIĆ (SDA)	Did not run	34,86%	

Analysts

Davor Marko was born in Osijek and raised in Subotica. He obtained his Bachelor's Degree in Journalism in Belgrade and his Master's Degree in Democracy and Human Rights in Sarajevo and Bologna. In the last five years he has been living and working in Sarajevo as a journalist, media analyst and researcher. He works as an academic tutor at the Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies, University of Sarajevo.

As part of Media Plan Institute's research activities, he participated in dozens of research projects and media analyses. He specializes in media reporting on diversity. He led the regional media project *Diversity Dialog*, in the framework of which various research, educational and production activities were organized in 2007 and 2008.

He is the editor of the academic magazine *Novi pogledi*, which is published by ACIPS, and has worked as a journalist for several media outlets from BiH and the region, such as Belgrade's *Ekonomist*, Sarajevo-based *Dani*, Subotica-based *Hrvatska rijec*, *Puls demokratije*, Mostar's *Status*.

Marko is the author of the book *Zar na Zapadu postoji drugi Bog?* (Is There a Different God in the West?) on stereotypes and prejudice against Islam in the media. He was the editor of the guide for journalists *PROMIcanje medijske odgovornosti u multikulturalnim društvima* (Promotion of Media Responsibility in Multicultural Societies).

Lejla Turcilo, Ph.D., is a senior lecturer at the Department of Journalism, University of Sarajevo Faculty of Political Science (Bosnia-Herzegovina), where she teaches *Theory of Mass Media* and *New Media*.

She is the author of the book *On-line komunikacija i off-line politika u Bosni i Hercegovini* (On-line Communication and Off-line Politics in Bosnia-Herzegovina) (2006) and co-author of the book *Manjinske skupine i mediji u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Minority Groups and Media in Bosnia-Herzegovina) (with Jelenka Vockic-Avdagic, Asad Nuhanovic and Valida Repovac-Pasic) (2010).

She published scientific and technical articles in magazines in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, France, United States of America and Columbia. She participated in a number of scientific research projects (COST Action *Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies*, Brussels (Belgium), Radio Deutche Welle monitoring, *Research on Internet Use in BiH*, SOEMZ, (Bulgaria), *Research on PR Practices in Companies in BiH*, Rutgers University (USA).

Tatjana Ljubic was born in 1981 in Subotica. She obtained a Master's Degree in Religious Studies from the Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies (CIPS) in Sarajevo, BiH, and Bachelor's Degree in Journalism from the Faculty of Political Science of Zagreb. She specialized in television journalism at the Media Plan High College of Journalism in Sarajevo.

She worked for several years as a journalist for the Zagreb-based Jutarnji list, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian public service BHT, regional internet portals and *Novi pogledi* magazine, which is published by the CIPS Alumni organization (ACIPS). While working at ACIPS for two years, she created and coordinated its public relations department.

She is the author of several documentaries: *Medjunarodna zajednica u BiH – Gospodar koji to nije* (The International Community in BiH – The Master Who Isn't That) and *Zelena – boja buducnosti* (Green – The Color of the Future), produced by Media Plan Institute and Heinrich Boell Stiftung, and *Osnovci u BiH – hoce li imati zajednicke uspomene* (Elementary School Students in BiH – Will They have any Memories Together), produced by ACIPS and Embassy of France in BiH. She worked on several research project and papers on media and the political situation in BiH.

Editor

Radenko Udovicic holds the position of Program Director, Media Plan Institute in Sarajevo. He was born in 1969 in Sarajevo. He holds a Master's Degree in Journalism and is currently defending his doctoral thesis on Media Credibility at the Faculty of Political Science, Department of Journalism of Sarajevo.

He started working in journalism in 1991 at the private Sarajevo-based radio Studio 99, where he held the position of News Program Editor. During his professional career, he has worked in all media – from radio and television, through press and web. He was a correspondent for numerous media from the region and Radio Free Europe in South Slavic languages. He worked as Editor-in-Chief of the media web portal *Mediaonline* and editor of the books *The Stumbling of the Media in Times of Transition* (2005) on key media issues in South East Europe, *Indicator of Public Interest* (2007) based on analysis of content of primetime news programs on public and private TV stations in region, and *Internet – Freedom without Boundaries?* (2010), which analyzes comments on web portals. He is the author of the book *Public Relations and Journalism – INFORMERS WITH DIFFERENT GOALS*, published in December 2007.

He worked as a lecturer at Media Plan Institute on writing press releases in public relations education and synthesis of information in journalism. He has been working on media content analysis and public opinion research for the last 10 years.

