

Media Intervention and Transformation of the Journalism Model in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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SUMMARY

Transformation of a journalistic model in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a long-term challenge both for international organizations engaged in media reform and for local media professionals who strive to establish a model according to developed democratic countries. Although enormous efforts have been made to establish a model that embraces the values of impartial, correct and fair reporting, patriotic journalism - based primarily on the principle "us against them" - remains as the norm for reporting on a great number of social events. It is believed that patriotic journalism is the essential journalistic model when reporting about controversial social events where opposite perspectives of ethno-political elites occur. This claim is supported by the results of analysis of reporting about the trial of Radovan Karadžić, the former president of Republika Srpska before the International Tribunal for War Crimes. The reasons for the survival of this model are found in non-reformed political spheres that generate social divisions.

Key words: media intervention, news, journalistic culture, patriotic journalism, ethnocentrism in media

Introduction

In spite of the comprehensive media intervention in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) to overcome segregation in communication among the three peoples in BiH, few believe that media represent reliable partners when mitigating the ex-

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isting nationally-based tensions. Journalists in BiH often proudly emphasize that they follow the principles of professional journalism defined by the Press Code. The progress in professionalization of reporting is indisputable compared with the time shortly after the war. Most importantly, open hate speech that was so characteristic of media during the war, has vanished. However, journalistic practice in which the attitude towards “the others” is reflected still relies on war rhetoric. “The others” are no longer described as “criminals” but they are burdened with responsibility for past events and political crises (Sladeček & Džihana, 2009). During the war, journalists built their discourse strategies on nationalism, which still functions without using war rhetoric, but which results in (re)producing national ideologies.

This paper examines a model of journalism in BiH within the specific framework of this post-war country in transition from a socialist socio-political system to a democracy. The main hypothesis of this paper is that patriotic journalism practiced and perfected during the war is the dominant journalistic model when reporting about controversial social events which cause different perspectives of ethno-national political elites. This assumption is tested by using content analysis and discourse analysis in articles of five daily newspapers from BiH and two newspapers from neighboring countries related to events of the arrest and trial of former president of Republika Srpska (RS), Radovan Karadžić.

Firstly, this paper describes the scope of media intervention in post-war BiH. This intervention strived towards reform of the entire media system including institutional reorganization of mass media as well as creation of a new model of journalism. It focuses on the transformation of journalism in BiH over the past 20 years, and uses a theoretical approach of relations between media and social division to argue that journalists rarely deeply question issues on which there is a consensus of political elites. In the case of BiH, such consensus is mainly achieved on the level of ethnic political elites. Secondly, the paper presents analysis of the reporting about the arrest of Karadžić and the ensuing trial. Content analysis and discourse analysis aim at deciphering the patterns of reporting typical of the media which speak to different ethnic audiences. The conclusion shows that without the parallel reform of a political system that continues to generate divisions in society, there is no solid base for the transformation of patriotic journalism into free, diverse and socially responsible journalism.

Media intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina

At the end of 20th century, the international community began comprehensive programs of media intervention in BiH and the region of former Yugoslavia that are

comparable to programs implemented by the Allies at the the end of World War II to restructure the post-war media environments in Germany and Japan (Price & Thompson, 2002). The priorities of international organizations in charge of implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement in post-war BiH included normalization of a media sector that was severely divided by ethno-national lines. Price (2000: 7) states that for western diplomats involved in the process of peace implementation “changing the state of the partitioned and nationalistic media was crucial for unifying the country as envisioned by the Accords.” However, it proved to be an unsurmountable challenge as media played a key role in preparing the setting for the war, and during the war they served military goals (see: Tompson, 2000: 117–119; Price, 2000). Therefore it was not a surprise that at the end of the war when it was not clear who had won and who was defeated, BiH had three separate, mutually hostile media systems with boundaries coinciding with the front lines.

Media intervention in BiH was comprehensive and its tendency was to reform almost all aspects of media. The reform process was mainly initiated or imposed by representatives of the international community whereas local actors were on the sidelines. This is how the new media legislative framework was established, new regulatory institutions and media associations were established, new media outlets were opened and hundreds of journalists completed educational programs. Howard (2003: 7) emphasizes that the main goal of these educational programs was to have journalists trained to produce correct, impartial and socially responsible media content.

Rhodes (2007: 11) sums up the basic goals of different media intervention in the Balkans in two categories: (1) support to tendencies of achieving political and social goals through empowerment of independent media and (2) support to specific media goals directed at the development of free, diverse and professional media space. Thus the conclusion could be that journalists were expected to be active promoters of democratization of society as well as to follow the principle of objectivity of reporting. However, the results required not only institutional reorganization of mass media but also the application of new journalistic practices in reporting. These practices included a new concept of the role of journalists in society and new standards of quality of reporting in journalism.

Changes in journalistic cultures and practices

In former Yugoslavia, the role of media was generally defined within the context of development of the revolutionary emergence of a self-governed society and journalists had the title of “socially-political workers” expected to serve the Communist

League (Tompson, 2000: 14). In one word, the obedience of journalists towards political elites was unquestionable. Shortly before the war and especially during the war, media were instrumentalized again and the dominant type of journalism was the so-called “nationalistic/patriotic journalism” characterized primarily by division of “us against them” (Volčič & Erjavec, 2009).

After the war, journalists were suddenly expected to act in accordance with the principles of American or Western-European journalistic tradition. Without discussing differences between these two models, it could be said that journalists were expected to be objective mediators through whom the audience receives impartial information about the outer world. With this model, journalists reluctantly take any role other than the role of reporters about what is actually happening (McQuail, 2000).

Therefore, journalists relatively quickly passed through all these stages. The question remains: could journalists have gone through this transformation having in mind the strong ethnic division in the society? Can it be claimed that the dominant journalistic culture in BiH nowadays illustrates correct, fair and impartial reporting no matter if there are socially indisputable or extremely controversial events?

In order to answer these questions, it is first necessary to discuss the theory relevant for observing the relation between journalism and social and political divisions.

Media and ethno-centrism

News represents the expression of journalists’ routines and practices, which are at the same time under the strong influence of a social framework within which it is produced. It is not a neutral product but “a sequence of socially manufactured messages, which carry many of the culturally dominant assumptions of our society” (Eldridge, 1995: 41). Ethno-centrism is an important feature of reporting and “the clearest expression of ethnocentrism, in all countries, appears in war news” (Gans, 2004: 42). This means that journalists largely depart from the journalistic values of impartiality and balance and instead “adopt a patriotic stance and organize their narratives around the basic conflict between “us” and “them,” between “our nation” and its “enemies” (Allan, 1999, Hallin, 1986, quoted in Mihelj, 2009: 63). This type of reporting is not only typical of war coverage, but also of other conflict situations as well, such as various national ceremonies (Mihelj, 2009). The important feature of this type of journalism is that it is related to political consensus, meaning that journalists do not question values that are considered to be a matter of consensus in the society, but rather implicitly and explicitly advocate these values.

According to Hallin (1994), there are three spheres in the field of journalism: (1) the sphere of consensus, (2) the sphere of legitimate controversy and (3) the sphere of deviance. Only within the sphere of legitimate controversy does objective journalism dominate and “neutrality and balance are the primary journalist values” (Hallin, 1994: 47), while in the spheres of “consensus” and “beyond legitimate controversy” journalists feel it is their duty to advocate certain consensus values or refuse to publish the voices of certain social actors who are considered by journalists and the political mainstream of the society to be unworthy of being heard (Hallin, 1994). However, whereas legitimate controversy in the U.S., for example, exists along the lines of political divisions between Republicans and Democrats (right vs. left), the political context in BiH is completely different.

Major divisions and polarizations in the country are based on ethno-national diversification. Basically, divisions and power relations developed prior to and during the war have come to dominantly determine the actions of political actors during peacetime as well. The party system has been marked by the domination of parties with ethno-national orientation since the nineties (Bieber, 2005: 40).

The sphere of legitimate controversy appears primarily within individual ethno-political groups on issues debated within that group. Political parties that address the same ethnic community more often than not attain the minimum of agreement on political issues that are considered to be relevant for that community. This does not mean that there are not political controversies that depart from the logic of ethnic affiliation. However, controversies between ethnic communities are more likely to be reflected beyond the sphere of legitimate controversy in the media. The application of Hallin’s concept to Bosnia and Herzegovina, therefore, requires consideration of ethno-national divisions between political parties, as well as the ethno-national segmentation of the media landscape.

The relations between the media and political actors in BiH could also be described in terms of the Mediterranean polarized-pluralist model of media developed by Hallin and Mancini (2004). A major characteristic of this model is a high level of political parallelism, with a great number of media as well as the common political instrumentalization of media. Journalism as a profession is not clearly separated from political activism, while the autonomy of journalists is limited (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 73, 74). The symbiosis of political and media discourse outside the sphere of legitimate controversy can partly be explained with the concept of “partitocrazia” (Jakubowicz, 2010), suggesting that in post-communist countries, and so in BiH, there is a unique usurpation of public discourse committed by politicians and that this is why debates on social topics regularly appear within the context of dominant

political discourse. Some studies (Hodžić, 2010; Udovičić, 2010) suggest that most media have affiliation towards certain political options and reflect the perspectives of certain political parties. However, due to the nature of political divisions in BiH, affiliations towards political parties mean also the acceptance and reproduction of interpretative frameworks based on ethno-national differentiation.

Research methodology

The basic hypothesis of this study is that patriotic journalism represents a dominant journalistic approach when reporting on controversial social events. In order to put this hypothesis to the test, the chosen controversial social event is the arrest and trial of Radovan Karadžić, the former president of RS charged for war crimes in BiH¹ before the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia. Media discourse is expected to be strongly divided along an ethno-national axis, because the perspectives of ethnic political elites severely contradict one another.

Political parties addressing Bosniak voters all have the same perspective of this issue being extremely important and they interpret it similarly. According to this perspective, beside Slobodan Milošević, Karadžić is most responsible for the aggression against BiH and for the war crimes committed against non-Serbs. Also, there is the well-developed idea of needing to take into consideration the consequences of Karadžić's politics, and not just to put him on trial. The parties addressing Serbs find this issue very important and although there are two different perspectives, they have a minimum consensus stating that even if the Hague Tribunal convicts Karadžić, the political result of his actions - the formation of Republika Srpska - is unquestionable. Croatian political parties do not find this topic critical, but they made positive statements related to Karadžić being charged.

Therefore, there should be differences between media situated in Sarajevo, Banjaluka and Mostar because these media operate in different ethno-ideological environments. At the same time, similarities are expected to be found between media situated in one city² although there are different ideological and political disputes. In addition, it is expected that reporting about the Karadžić case would follow patterns which would differ from those noticeable in routine reporting, that is, reporting about a certain non-controversial topic which is not related to patriotic reporting. Thus, in order to make a comparison, reporting about the process of European integration is being used (Džihana, 2009).

Research methodology is based on content analysis of texts published in five daily newspapers in BiH: *Dnevni avaz (DA)* and *Oslobođenje* from Sarajevo, *Nezavisne*

novine (NN) and *Glas Srpske (GS)* from Banjaluka and *Dnevni list (DL)* from Mostar. The content analysis method was used, i.e., the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, in order to describe the communication and draw inferences about its meaning (Riffe et al., 1998). The newspapers were chosen on the basis of criteria of regional incidence (Sarajevo, Banjaluka, Mostar), circulation and type of ownership (local ownership). Additionally, the analysis includes *Večernji list (VL)* from Zagreb and *Večernje novosti (VN)* from Belgrade.³

Oslobođenje, based in Sarajevo, is basically a politically leftist-leaning newspaper. The monitoring of reporting on the elections in 2010 shows that this newspaper still, although not as explicitly, is oriented towards the *Social-democratic party of BiH*, and is mainly focused on the activities of political parties from the Federation of BiH (Udovičić, 2010: 91). *DA*, based in Sarajevo, has been seen as affiliated with leading Bosniak political parties since its inception in 1993. In 2010, the owner of this newspaper founded a political party and decided to be a candidate for the Presidency of BiH. Since then, *DA* has openly promoted this party. *NN* from Banja Luka is strongly connected with the ruling party in the Republika Srpska, the *Alliance of Independent Social-democrats (SNSD)*. The situation is the same with the other newspaper of the same owner, *GS* from Banja Luka. As the monitoring of reporting on elections in 2010 showed, *GS* supports the ruling SNSD party (Udovičić, 2010: 68). Although both newspapers are owned by the same man, Djelko Kopanja, they are conceptually different. *NN*'s ambitions are to cover readership of all of BiH, whereas *GS* is oriented to Serb readers from the RS. Lastly, *DL* from Mostar is primarily oriented towards Croat readership in BiH and has declared itself to be a paper in the Croatian language. The results of the monitoring of the reporting on elections showed that this newspaper is affiliated with the *Croatian Democratic Union 1990* party, as they openly supported their candidate for the Presidency (Udovičić, 2010: 75). *VN* is a popular newspaper in Serbia and mainly owned by a private owner from Serbia, whereas *VL* is a popular daily newspaper from Zagreb and is the property of Austrian media group Styria AG.

The samples of newspaper content included reporting on Karadžić's arrest and trial covering the five days after his arrest (July 21–25, 2008) and the constructed period during each of the following 12 months involving five days from each month. In total, 750 texts were analyzed. These texts were coded by two people trained for this job.

The assumptions about differences and similarities among the media were tested on the basis of prominence of topics within the newspapers, as well as on the basis of how Karadžić is identified. For categories of prominence, a number of published texts, announcements on the front page, size of articles and the use of photographs within texts were analyzed. The basic unit of analysis was one article. The assumption was that “the more newsworthy an event is judged to be, the more prominently it will be covered by the mass media” (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991: 3). The *Chi-square test* was applied to determine whether there are statistically significant differences among the five newspapers in general and whether there are differences between newspapers published in one city (e.g. between the newspapers published in Sarajevo) and between the newspapers published in different cities (e.g. the newspapers from Banjaluka and the newspapers from Sarajevo).

The second analysis is how Karadžić is identified or named, as an indicator of possible differences among newspapers in social processes and actions (Volčič & Erjavec, 2009). When analyzing the way Karadžić is named, discourse analysis, developed by Volčič and Erjavec (2009), was used in order to explore the context within which each newspaper placed Karadžić, indicating different ideological positions of analyzed newspapers (Van Dijk, 1997: 28). The main units of analysis were the cases of naming which were then divided into seven categories (see Table 5). By application of the *Chi-square test* it was established whether there are statistically significant differences among the seven newspapers and whether there are differences among newspapers to which national attributes were given according to their major readership (*DA* and *Oslobođenje* – Bosniak; *NN*, *GS* and *VN* – Serbian; *DL* and *VL* – Croatian).

In addition to this analysis, the value of representing Karadžić was assessed, i.e. whether Karadžić was named and labeled in a positive, negative, or neutral manner.⁴ Three naming categories were analyzed in this sense: naming Karadžić as Dragan Dabic (his alter ego), naming Karadžić in the context of his nation, and lastly referring to Karadžić in the context of his personal characteristics. Representations of Karadžić were assessed as positive if they primarily relied on pointing out Karadžić’s positive professional or personal characteristics, such as: being a good doctor, a miracle worker, a good Serb or generally a good man. Representations of Karadžić were assessed as negative if they primarily relied on his negative personal characteristics, or on his role in war crimes; e.g. if he were presented as a cheater, as the man responsible for the death of thousands of people, or simply as a bad person. The third context, which is neutral, is where there is reliance on simple facts, with no attempt to present Karadžić either as a good or bad man, and remains impartial.

Research results

Prominence of Articles

The prominence of articles related to the Karadžić case and European integration⁵ was compared between dailies that are published in BiH, but not those from Croatia and Serbia. The assumption is that the prominence in Serbian and Croatian dailies is lessened by the simple fact that state level events are routinely given more prominence if compared to news from neighboring countries.

Number of Articles

Research results indicate that among the five analyzed newspapers there is a statistically significant difference regarding the Karadžić case ($\chi^2=49,9$; $p=0,000$).

The papers based in Sarajevo paid more attention to reporting about Karadžić than other papers. More than half of all published articles concerning the Karadžić case (52% out of $N=584$ articles) analyzed here were from the two papers from Sarajevo, with no significant difference between them ($\chi^2=0,8$; $p=0,360$). A great deal of attention to the topic was also given by the papers from Banja Luka (37%; $N=584$), with no significant difference between *GS* and *NN* ($\chi^2=0,1$; $p=0,733$). The editorial staff of *DL* from Mostar did not attribute particular significance to this case, publishing the lowest number of articles compared to other newspapers (11% of all articles; $N=584$). Based on the cities, there is a statistically significant difference between newspapers situated in Sarajevo and Banjaluka ($\chi^2=15,9$; $p=0,000$), as well as between Sarajevo dailies and *DL* from Mostar ($\chi^2=32,3$; $p=0,000$), as well as between Banjaluka dailies and *DL* ($\chi^2=10,5$; $p=0,001$).

Table 1 – Number of articles per newspapers

Newspapers	Reporting about Karadžić 2008/2009		Reporting about the EU integrations 2008/2009	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
OSLOBOĐENJE	161	27,6	242	22,1
DNEVNI AVAZ	145	24,8	254	23,2
GLAS SRPSKE	110	18,8	177	16,2
NEZAVISNE NOVINE	105	18,0	248	22,6
DNEVNI LIST	63	10,8	174	15,9
Total	584	100,0	1095	100,0

In reporting on EU integration, 45% of the articles analyzed were found in Sarajevo daily newspapers, 38% were found in the Banjaluka dailies, and 16% in DL from Mostar. There is a statistically significant difference among the five newspapers ($\chi^2=29.2$; $p=0.000$), but groups of newspapers according to cities based on the frequency of reporting do not coincide with ethno-national base, indicated by the frequency of reporting about the case of Karadžić. This is why there is a statistically significant difference between *NN* and *GS* from Banjaluka ($\chi^2=11.9$; $p=0.001$). Also, there is a difference between *GS* and Sarajevo newspapers ($\chi^2=10.1$; $p=0.001$), but not between *NN* and Sarajevo dailies ($\chi^2=0.1$; $p=0.789$). On the other hand, *DL* differs from Sarajevo dailies and *NN* ($\chi^2=11.1$; $p=0.001$), but not from *GS* ($\chi^2=0.0$; $p=0.873$).

Front Page Articles

There are significant differences among newspapers regarding the percentage of articles about the Karadžić case that appeared on the front page. The difference among five daily newspapers in the number of front page articles is statistically significant ($\chi^2=48.9$; $p=0.000$), but the established differences and similarities in percentage of front page articles among analyzed newspapers did not directly follow the ethnic pattern of differentiation.

This is seen in the fact that there is no statistically significant difference between *DA* from Sarajevo, *NN* from Banjaluka and *DL* from Mostar. There are differences between *Oslobođenje* and all other newspapers (*OSL-Avaz* $\chi^2=8.4$; $p=0.004$; *OSL-Banjaluka dailies* $\chi^2=12.2$; $p=0.000$; *OSL-DL* $\chi^2=8.4$; $p=0.004$). Also, *GS* differs from other newspapers (*GS-Sarajevo dailies* $\chi^2=0.0$; $p=1.000$; *GS-NN* $\chi^2=12.4$; $p=0.000$; *GS-DL* $\chi^2=10.3$; $p=0.001$).

Table 2 – Front page articles

Newspapers	Reporting about Karadžić 2008/2009		Reporting about the EU integrations 2008/2009	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
OSLOBOĐENJE	67	41,61	36	14,88
DNEVNI AVAZ	39	26,90	39	15,35
GLAS SRPSKE	8	7,27	33	18,64
NEZAVISNE NOVINE	26	24,76	45	18,15
DNEVNI LIST	15	23,81	32	18,39
Total	155	0	185	0

Although the established differences and similarities among dailies did not follow the ethnic pattern of differentiation directly, it is indicative that *GS* from Banjaluka had an extremely small percentage of front page articles related to Karadžić, whereas *Oslobođenje* from Sarajevo had the greatest percentage.

On the other hand, the percentages of appearances on the front page when reporting about EU integration were quite similar in these five dailies, and varied from 15% of articles related to EU integration appearing on the front page in the Sarajevo daily *Oslobođenje*, to 19% in *GS* from Banja Luka. The difference between newspapers is not statistically significant ($\chi^2=2.1$; $p=0.723$).

Length of Articles

Most articles about Karadžić published in these five newspapers in Bosnia and Herzegovina were short articles, i.e. articles that do not exceed 1/6 of the newspaper page. The newspapers from Banjaluka were reporting about the arrest and trial of Karadžić mostly in the form of short articles - 73%, followed by *DL* from Mostar with 70% and lastly, Sarajevo dailies, where the percentage of short articles was much lower - 48%. There is a statistically significant difference among the five newspapers ($\chi^2=42,0$; $p=0,000$).

There is no statistically significant difference between Banjaluka newspapers ($\chi^2=0.1$; $p=0.612$) nor between the two Sarajevo dailies ($\chi^2=0.3$; $p=0.591$).

With regard to the difference among cities, there is no significant difference in using short articles between *DL* from Mostar and dailies from Banjaluka ($\chi^2=0.1$; $p=0.625$), but there is a difference between *DL* and Sarajevo dailies ($\chi^2=7.3$; $p=0.007$) as well as between dailies from Sarajevo and Banjaluka ($\chi^2=35.5$; $p=0.000$).

Table 3 – Number of short articles

Newspapers	Reporting about Karadžić 2008/2009		Reporting about the EU integrations 2008/2009	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
OSLOBOĐENJE	75	46,58	120	49,59
DNEVNI AVAZ	72	49,66	139	54,72
GLAS SRPSKE	80	74,10	108	61,02
NEZAVISNE NOVINE	77	73,33	136	54,84
DNEVNI LIST	44	69,84	103	59,20
Total	348	0	606	0

Based on the length of articles used for reporting about Karadžić, it can be concluded that Sarajevo dailies, in comparison with the dailies from Banjaluka and Mostar, paid more attention to this case.

For comparison, when it comes to the length of articles reporting on EU integration, differences among newspapers were smaller and not statistically significant ($\chi^2=6.7$; $p=0.155$). In 52% of the cases, Sarajevo dailies reported in the form of short articles, while Banjaluka dailies did this in 59% of the cases, just as *DL* from Mostar.

Use of Photographs within Articles

The five analyzed newspapers have statistically significant differences when it comes to the usage of photographs that accompany articles about Karadžić ($\chi^2=81.8$; $p=0.000$).⁶ With regard to this, *DL* from Mostar published the most photographs, while the dailies from Banjaluka published the least.

There are almost no differences between Sarajevo dailies ($\chi^2=0.3$; $p=0.599$), and the differences between the papers from Banjaluka are not statistically significant ($\chi^2=2.0$; $p=0.156$).

When it comes to comparing distribution between the cities, *DL* from Mostar is statistically significantly different than the newspapers from Banjaluka ($\chi^2=33.5$; $p=0.000$), as well as from the newspapers from Sarajevo ($\chi^2=6.9$; $p=0.008$). Also, there is a statistically significant difference between newspapers from Sarajevo and Banjaluka ($\chi^2=55,3$; $p=0,000$).

It can be concluded that the difference between the newspapers from Sarajevo and those from Banjaluka and Mostar in the usage of photographs additionally upholds the hypothesis of the ethno-national lines of differentiation. While dailies from

Table 4 – Number of articles with photography

Newspapers	Reporting about Karadžić 2008/2009	
	Frequency	Percent
OSLOBOĐENJE	123	76,40
DNEVNI AVAZ	107	73,79
GLAS SRPSKE	52	47,27
NEZAVISNE NOVINE	40	38,10
DNEVNI LIST	57	90,48
Total	379	0

Mostar and Sarajevo emphasize the importance of this event by publishing photographs with texts, Banjaluka dailies tend to lessen the importance of reporting about Karadžić by using a significantly smaller number of photographs.

Naming Strategies

As it has been noted, the manner of naming is not a neutral category, and can potentially reveal the ideological positions in the context of reporting on the Karadžić case. For the purposes of our study we have adapted semantic fields developed by Erjavec and Volčič (2009). These consist of seven categories, depending on whether Karadžić is mentioned only by name, whether he is set in the context of war crimes, the trial, politics, his persona while hiding from the Hague Tribunal, his nation, or if some other personal characteristics are mentioned. The examples of naming Karadžić can be seen in Table 5:

Table 5 – Examples of the lexicalization of Radovan Karadžić in news items

Naming category	Typical examples of key words or phrases referring to Karadžić
Only name	Radovan Karadžić; Karadžić, Raša.
War crimes	War criminal; Person most responsible for the most serious crimes/ evil; The main suspect for war crimes; One of the biggest criminals in history.
Hague Tribunal	Hague fugitive; The most wanted fugitive; The latest prisoner of the Hague.
Politics	Dodik's teacher; The first figure of the RS; War president; Ex-leader of Bosnian Serbs.
Dragan Dabić	Neuro-psychiatrist, researcher in the field of psychology; exhibitionist, Dragan Dabić.
Serbs/nation	Hero; Symbol of the resistance of the endangered Serb people; Legend; A victim of betrayal.
Other personal characteristics	The best of all Karadžićs; A great man, giant; psychopath of Durmitor; Open, Approachable; Bohemian, mystic, guru.

In total, 885 naming cases were noted. In most cases, only Karadžić's name was used (337 out of 885). The following table shows how Karadžić is named in analyzed newspapers.

Table 6 – Lexicalization of Radovan Karadžić in news items

Newspapers	Manners of naming Karadžić							Total ⁸
	Only name	War Crimes	Hague Tribunal	Politics	Dragan Dabic	Serbs/nation	Other personal characteristics	
OSLOBODENJE	Count	44	35	44	14	10	12	221
	% within Newspaper	19,9%	15,8%	19,9%	6,3%	4,5%	5,4%	
DNEVNI AVAZ	Count	69	31	28	2	2	13	192
	% within Newspaper	35,9%	16,1%	14,6%	1,0%	1,0%	6,8%	
GLAS SRPSKE	Count	3	9	3	1	1	1	113
	% within Newspaper	2,7%	8,0%	2,7%	0,9%	0,9%	0,9%	
NEZAVISNE NOVINE	Count	8	27	30	6	4	10	129
	% within Newspaper	6,2%	20,9%	23,3%	4,7%	3,1%	7,8%	
DNEVNI LIST	Count	5	12	19	3	0	3	71
	% within Newspaper	7,0%	16,9%	26,8%	4,2%	0,0%	4,2%	
VEČERNJI LIST (ZG)	Count	3	6	2	3	1	3	31
	% within Newspaper	9,7%	19,4%	6,5%	9,7%	3,2%	9,7%	
VEČERNJE NOVOSTI (BG)	Count	4	22	23	10	11	11	128
	% within Newspaper	3,1%	17,2%	18,0%	7,8%	8,6%	8,6%	
OVERAL	Count	136	142	149	39	29	53	885

Between two analyzed categories “*Hague tribunal*” ($\chi^2=12,3$; $p=0,056$) and “*Other personal characteristics*” ($\chi^2=11,2$; $p=0,083$) there are no statistically significant differences among seven newspapers, meaning that the approach of the dailies regarding these contexts is more or less the same. In other categories there are statistically significant differences but they do not follow the patterns of ethnic differences among media entirely.

It is indicative that *GS* names Karadžić more neutrally than other newspapers by using the category “*Only name*,” while all other dailies use this naming category rather similarly. Namely, there is a statistically significant difference between this newspaper and the ones with a Bosniak attribute ($\chi^2=61,4$; $p=0,000$), and it differs from other newspapers with a Serbian attribute ($\chi^2=44,1$; $p=0,000$), as well as from newspapers with a Croatian attribute ($\chi^2=20,1$; $p=0,000$). Although it could be assumed that the neutrality of such presenting indicates a distance from patriotic journalism in *GS*, this assumption is very weak. One must bear in mind the strategy of giving less importance to articles about Karadžić in this newspaper even though this case has the characteristics that fit into the accepted criteria of news, such as frequency, negativity, unexpectedness, personalization, mentioning a person in a high position, etc (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). This neutrality is more likely a reflection of “objectivity” which Tuchman (1972) defines as strategic rituals the goal of which is to oppose possible criticism as it is more likely that an open patriotic attitude and positive presentation of Karadžić would undergo criticism based on journalistic standards or on international legal norms.

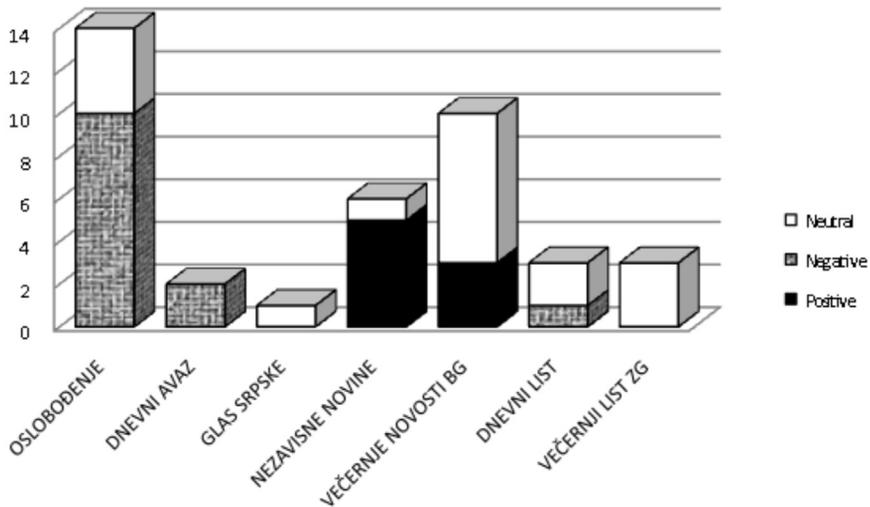
On the other hand, newspapers with a Bosniak attribute put great emphasis on naming Karadžić within the context of war crimes, particularly *DA*. This daily differs even from *Oslobođenje* ($\chi^2=15,3$; $p=0,000$) and from newspapers with a Serbian attribute ($\chi^2=15,2$; $p=0,000$), as well as from Croatian dailies ($\chi^2=12,7$; $p=0,000$). Sarajevo dailies placed Karadžić in this context 113 times (83%), while all other newspapers mentioned Karadžić in this context 23 times (17%).

As for the three other categories, differences among newspapers cannot be placed in the ethno-national categories we have established.

Value Context of Naming Karadžić

Category “Dragan Dabić”

In order to get more information about the nature of reporting in this case, we analyzed whether the name Dragan Dabić was used in positive, negative or neutral context. Graph 1 shows the results.



Graph 1 – Context of naming Karadžić as Dragan Dabić (N=39)

The chart shows that Sarajevo daily newspapers had a very similar pattern of putting the name Dragan Dabić mostly in a negative context and sometimes in a neutral one, while Dabić was never mentioned in a positive context. For example, *Oslobođenje* wrote about Dabić as a quack who harmed people’s health.

A quack, swinger and a passenger who dodges fare in a city bus, in January 1992 openly threatened in the parliament of B&H that if Bosnia and Herzegovina used its right guaranteed in the Constitution of the SFRJ, there would be a war. (Hadžić, 2008: 12)

On the other hand, *NN* from Banja Luka and *VN* from Belgrade follow a different pattern, where positive and neutral contexts are predominant, with the exception of several articles with a negative value. *GS* from Banjaluka referred to the name Dragan Dabić very rarely, and only in a neutral context. One example of reporting putting Dabić in a positive context, portraying him as a person of free spirit and dedicated to scientific research for the purpose of promoting the welfare of humanity, which can be seen in the following:

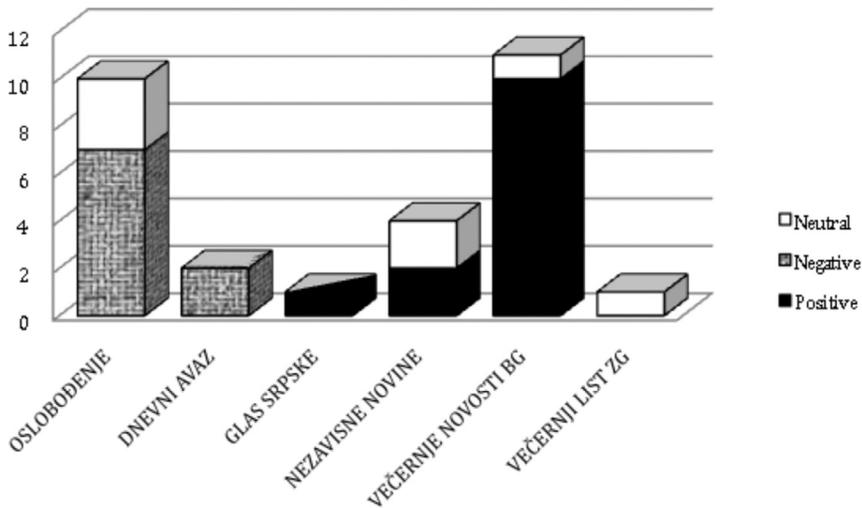
There was no trace of that likeable guru, Dragan David Dabić, “a researcher in the field of psychiatrics and bio-energy” whose character represented a successful combination of Freud and bohemian from Skadarlija. (N. N., 2008: 10)

DL from Mostar and *VL* from Zagreb mostly prefer the neutral contextualization of Dabić, while a positive value was not detected in any of the articles.

Category “Serbs/Nation”

Sarajevo daily newspapers again follow a pattern of predominantly negative value in presenting Karadžić in the context of his nationality. This is how *Oslobođenje* reminds us about Karadžić’s wartime nationalist rhetoric:

Karadžić imposed himself on Serbs quickly with his strong advocacy of war which sounded like nonsense (...) only two months after the massacre of Bosniaks in Srebrenica, with an incredible wickedness he said: “Srebrenica is news, but Srebrenica is the proof of the superiority of Serbian weapons and an example of Serbian generosity.” (Berić, 2008: 10)



Graph 2 – Naming Karadžić in the context of Nation (N=29)

On the other side are the media from Banjaluka and Belgrade, which employ a positive value of representation of Karadžić in terms of his national identity and role. Even if Karadžić’s flaws were mentioned in *VN* from Belgrade they are interpreted in terms of the national traits of naïveté and “faith.”

He was not an exception when it comes to gullibility, that innate characteristic of Serb people. (Jovanović, 2009: 19)

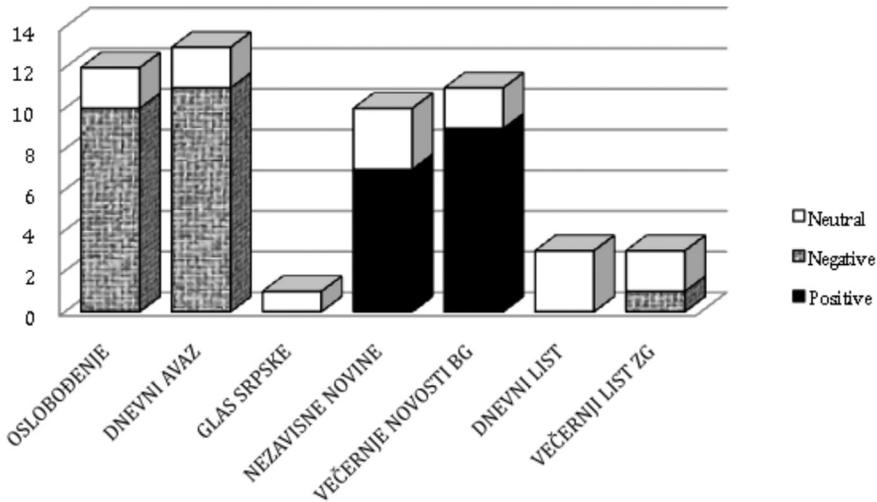
DL from Mostar did not mention Karadžić in this context and *VL* from Zagreb very rarely related Karadžić to his nationality, and when it did it did not mention him in a positive context.

On Monday NATO declared that the report on the arrest of the accused for war crimes, Bosnian Serb Radovan Karadžić, is long awaited good news. (“Haško tužiteljstvo i EU pozdravljaju uhićenje” 2008)

Category “Other Personal Characteristics”

Again, the pattern of Sarajevo dailies is almost the same and involves a predominantly negative value of presenting Karadžić in the context of his personal characteristics, with some articles involving neutral value as well. In *Oslobođenje* we find:

It is difficult to resist the need, almost a physiological need, to write something about the arrest of the slayer from Durmitor, the murderer, the person who ruined homes, the monster and about his appearance at the Hague tribunal (...) The most important thing is that the long wanted criminal was brought to justice and television viewers could clearly see how the former monster’s face and appearance, healing masks and epic boasting suddenly came down to the half-aware face of a tidy peasant and coward in front of the cold face of judge Alphons Orié (Hajdarević, 2008: 10)



Graph 3 – Naming Karadžić in context of other personal characteristics (N=53)

NN from Banja Luka and *VN* from Belgrade belong to the second group of newspapers, characterized primarily by a positive value towards Karadžić in the context of his personal characteristics, with few articles involving a negative or neutral value. It is difficult to put *GS* from Banja Luka into this group or into any of these groups

because it published only one text referring to Karadžić's personal characteristics. This is how in *NN* we find a glorification of Karadžić's almost surreal abilities.

Radovan showed the ability to lead his people and the ability to find his way in impossible situations by hiding for 12 years. This shows what kind of a man we are talking about, a man with power and the ability to manage everything. (Popović, 2008: 4)

In the end, *DL* from Mostar and *VL* from Zagreb belong to the third category which is characterized mostly by mention of Karadžić's personal features in a neutral context.

Discussion and conclusion

The results of content analysis largely support the initial hypothesis that the basic type of reporting about Karadžić is patriotic journalism, which is in accordance with perspectives of national political elites regarding this issue. What supports this hypothesis the most is the results related to the prominence of articles which mainly confirm similarities between reporting of media from the same city, or differences if we compare media in different cities. The greatest similarities are found in Sarajevo dailies resulting in the high level of agreement of Bosniak political parties about the Karadžić case. Distancing of *DL* from Mostar was identified, which only follows the indifference of the Croatian political elite in BiH. Serbian political parties refer to this issue in a complicated manner which is noticeable in the differences found between the two Banjaluka newspapers.

On the other hand, the results of content analysis referring to the ways of naming Karadžić are not at all as convincing as the results regarding prominence. The most obvious indicators of the patriotic model are found in the unnaturally neutral attitude of *GS* towards Karadžić, as well as the clear placement of Karadžić into the war crimes context in Sarajevo daily newspapers.

Still, discourse analysis of the context within which Karadžić is found in these newspapers clearly shows noticeable patterns of patriotic journalism. Media which address primarily Bosniak readership put Karadžić mostly in a negative context. Croatian media do so in a neutral context whereas Serbian media mainly put him in positive and then in a neutral context.

The results of this research indicate that when reporting about Karadžić, dailies do not cross the line of political consensus set within ethnic groups. This paper thus shows that within the sphere of "consensus" of political elites mentioned by Hallin (1994), journalists shape events in order to fit a desired political context, although such practices differ from what is generally seen as objective and impartial jour-

nalism. In that sense, it is noticeable that despite different national, historical and cultural contexts within which there are journalistic models, main commonalities in journalism exist in the spheres where we want them the least. This is fully subordinate to the interpretative frameworks defined by political elites.

Finally, journalism cannot achieve the desired transformation to a non-patriotic model because ethnic divisions are dominant in the political activities in BiH. Only if consensus can be achieved among all three peoples in BiH on questions of common interest (an almost impossible task), can it be expected that journalism will depart from the patriotic model of reporting. Therefore, efficient reforms in the political sphere are necessary to stimulate reform in media and journalism, creating a new culture of objective, fair, and non-patriotic reporting.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ The used data are from a two-year regional research named *Covering Karadžić - Media (re)production of national ideologies through reporting about war crimes in former Yugoslavia*, carried out with the financial help of Swiss regional program for Western Balkans - RRPP (SDC – Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation and the University of Freiburg).
 - ² In the case of Mostar, only one daily newspaper was analyzed so that it is not possible to determine differences among newspapers published in Mostar.
 - ³ *Oslobodjenje*, DA and NN were searched by using the digital archives of Mediacentar, *Infobiro*, based on key words: Karadžić, Karadžića, Karadžiću, Karadžićem. DL and GS were accessed by using their own archives of published editions. The articles from VL were accessed through the online archives of National and University Library in Zagreb and texts from VN through online archives Ebart.
 - ⁴ Determining the valence includes the subjectivity of the coder so we used a sample of 20% to do an inter-coder reliability test, which showed a satisfying level of compliance between coders ($p = 0,83$).
 - ⁵ Data are from the unpublished study Džihana, A 2009, *Izvjestavanje medija o evropskim integracijama u Bosni i Hercegovini*, carried out by Mediacentar Sarajevo upon request of the Embassy of Great Britain in BiH. The sample includes five dailies in BiH: *Dnevni avaz*, *Oslobodjenje*, *Nezavisne novine*, *Glas Srpske* and *Dnevni list*, from three ten-day periods during 2008 and 2009.
 - ⁶ The results were not compared with texts about European integrations because the data about them of this kind are lacking.
 - ⁷ Percents are relative in relation to the total number of articles of each newspaper, so that the final result is not 100.
 - ⁸ Percentages and totals are based on cases.
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