

# **THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN POSTWAR BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AND THE FAILURE OF EU CONDITIONALITY IN STATEBUILDING**

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## **Abstract**

The role that the media plays in a nation is based on various ramifications on how media is perceived. These varying perceptions can be impacted by cultural, historical, political, or social factors within a nation. My central argument is that the role of media in post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina plays a significant role in the public discourse on issues involving the European Union. By using a qualitative media content analysis of print media sources in Bosnia-Herzegovina I demonstrate the role that media has on building public discourse for the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina regarding the European Union by looking at how different ethnic-based print media outlets portray the European Union and Bosnia's journey towards European integration. By utilizing semi-structured field interviews conducted throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina from senior policy officials I provide a guiding framework of varying opinions on the success and failure of the European Union in statebuilding efforts throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina since the 2008 process of the European Union's Stabilization and Association Agreement. Throughout the analysis it was found that print media agencies produce articles with varying levels of ethnic-based bias for their audiences with Bosniak and Bosnian Croat having higher levels. In other words, the ethnic groups that newspaper agencies publish articles for reinstate the ethnic biases already persistently engraved within Bosnian society.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

<b>BiH</b>	Bosnia-Herzegovina
<b>B-H</b>	Bosnia-Herzegovina
<b>CEE</b>	Central Eastern Europe
<b>CRA</b>	Communication Regulatory Agency
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>EUSR</b>	European Union Special Representative in Bosnia-Herzegovina
<b>FY</b>	Former Yugoslavia
<b>ICTY</b>	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
<b>OHR</b>	Office of High Representative
<b>QMCA</b>	Qualitative Media Content Analysis
<b>RS</b>	Republika Srpska
<b>SAA</b>	Stabilization and Association Agreement
<b>SAP</b>	Stabilization and Association Process
<b>STATE</b>	United States Department of State

## Introduction

Under the communist regime of Yugoslavia prior to its dissolution, ethnic tensions between ethnic groups were not as severe than prior to the war in the 1990's.<sup>1</sup> During the presidency of Josip Broz Tito citizens of the six Yugoslavian states – Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia – were under socialist rule, but in amicable relations throughout the variety of ethnic groups throughout Yugoslavia.<sup>2</sup> Although ethnic tension was not a volatile threat, another element within society became the significant role that one form of communication played in the daily lives in the Western Balkan nations today – media. Various issues that affect the media in Bosnia are traceable to the former Communist regime. The Former Yugoslavia conducted under an authoritarian and Communist model of press. During the war period the government-owned media manipulated and heightened ethnic tensions.<sup>3</sup> During the Bosnian Civil War, the regional governments controlled all media and used television, radio, and print outlets as war propaganda tools.<sup>4</sup> The lack of an open and free media concept within Communist ideals allowed for the government to have complete control of all information about the war provided to the international arena. The outcomes of the war left Bosnia-Herzegovina the devastating memories of harsh ethnic divisions, genocide, and a meager democracy from the Dayton Peace Agreement of 1995. Bosnia is still currently a divided nation by three

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<sup>1</sup> Mazower, Mark. *The Balkans: A Short History*. New York: Modern Library, 2002.

<sup>2</sup> Glenny, Misha. *The Wall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War*. New York: Penguin Books, 1994.

<sup>3</sup> Siebert, F., Peterson, T., Schramm, W., *Four Theories of The Press*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1956.

<sup>4</sup> Silber, Linda and Little, Alan. *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*. New York: TV Books, 1996.

major conflicted regions – Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Republika Srpska.<sup>5</sup> Scholars suggest that Bosnia is home to Bosnian Muslims, the Republika Srpska has mostly Bosnian Serbs, and the Herzegovina region contains the majority of Bosnian Croats.<sup>6</sup> Despite how media was used as a tool for war propaganda and to cause further harm during the 1990s, in contemporary Bosnian society the government continues to control most state and municipal radio, television, and print outlets. The role of media in post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina has maintained its significance in society over time due to the fact that the government controls majority of media and the public relies on media in deriving public opinion on issues regionally, state, nationally, and internationally. Research from Karol Jakubowicz predicted that “less than optimistic outlook for the future whereas Bosnia-Herzegovina as a country has yet to make a proper transition to either a fully democratic political system or a free and open media”.<sup>7</sup> The steps towards EU membership for Bosnia is relying on the political system and other aspects, but one of the main avenues of the journey has been through the push towards independent media within the country due to the strong role it plays within society.

### **Bosnia’s Progress towards EU Accession**

European Union conditionality measures as stated in the EU published Bosnia-Herzegovina 2012 Progress Report for Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges of 2012-2013 (*hereinafter ‘Progress Report’*) provides the importance of

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<sup>5</sup> See Appendix I

<sup>6</sup> Taylor, Maureen. "Media relations in Bosnia: A role for public relations in building civil society." *Public Relations Review* 26.1 (2000): 1-14.

<sup>7</sup> Jakubowicz, Karol, “Media Within and Without the State: Press Freedom in Eastern Europe,” *Journal of Communications* 45: 4 (1995), pp. 125-130; p. 193

civil society, freedom of expression, public broadcasting, and a free or open media source.<sup>8</sup> The Progress Report states that:

Little progress was made on the information society and media. Harmonisation of the legal framework for the public broadcasting remains incomplete. The lack of coordination and of adequate human resources, and in particular the continued challenges to the CRA's functional and financial independence, remain a serious concern. Legislative ailment in the fields of electronic communication, the information society and media did not advance. Overall, preparations are at an early stage.<sup>9</sup>

The aforementioned requirements enhance the power that media in its various forms has accumulated throughout the pre-accession and progress stages in the enlargement process for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The work that is being conducted within Bosnia by the European Commission and its many offices is discussed in the Progress Report in length, but the progression has not reached great success over the past five years. The preponderance of supposed uncertainty of whether EU conditionality measures are in fact perpetuating the mechanisms of statebuilding as they are suppose to do for potential member states. Throughout BiH there lies broad support for EU membership varying between 70% and 80% across the nation based off tenets on the association of the EU with economic prosperity and the rule of law.<sup>10</sup> The ideals of democracy, freedom, justice, and prosperity that flourishes from the European Union has BiH citizens either eager to join or sceptical to the fact of whether

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<sup>8</sup> European Commission, *Bosnia and Herzegovina 2012 Progress Report – Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2012-2013*, (10 October 2012), [ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key\\_documents/2012/package/ba\\_rapport\\_2012\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2012/package/ba_rapport_2012_en.pdf) (accessed April 23, 2013).

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 49

<sup>10</sup> Memisevic, Tija. "EU Conditionality in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Police Reform and the Legacy of War Crimes." *Clifford Paper* 116 (2009): 49-66; pp. 54-56



the promises will be kept by the supranational institution towards a Western Balkan nation. Frank Schimmelfennig discusses the predictability and reliability one can really entrust the European Union when making political accessions in EU enlargement due to the shift in conditionality measures since the 2004 enlargement.<sup>11</sup> He unravels the factors of whether EU's political accession conditionality changed after the enlargement of 2004 against the backdrop of obvious 'enlargement fatigue' and domestic obstacles in the non-EU member countries and concluded that consistency is high, but effectiveness is greatly reduced providing further proving evidence that the external incentives model of EU conditionality is relevant.<sup>12</sup> The overall aspect of EU conditionality being successful or unsuccessful has been studied by a number of scholars focusing on the relevant incentives and how this progress is monitored, but a key aspect that is overlooked is the media coverage of EU accession and integration that takes place within and outside the country. Scholars suggest that media plays an important role in Bosnia-Herzegovina and with the obstacles that lies within the ethnically fractionalized society and its government only brings to the attention towards the European Union to ensure its productivity within its efforts in BiH.

### **Bosnian's Progress towards EU Accession- Role of Media in Society**

Next, let us consider the aim of this thesis is to investigate the role of the media as a societal actor in Bosnia's progression towards EU integration.

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<sup>11</sup> Schimmelfennig, Frank. "EU Political Accession Conditionality after the 2004 Enlargement: Consistency and Effectiveness." *Journal of European Public Policy* 15:8 (2008): 918-937; pp. 921-24.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 924

In detail the focus will consider how large of role the media plays in Bosnia-Herzegovina on the progress of European integration and the progress of European Union efforts within Bosnia-Herzegovina in integration progression with the conditionality measures set out since 2008. By examining the media and progress reports on EU integration in Bosnia closely, this thesis demonstrates that the conditionality measures set forth by the European Union are used, as milestones to initiate the presence of the European Union but the successfulness of such measures are low and further separating the already fractionalized government. The examined media demonstrates that reporting can vary depending on the city, region, canton, or national news sources and that independent media mechanisms within Bosnia-Herzegovina are pertinent in the progression towards building civil society and also in statebuilding. Through the overall analysis conducted throughout this thesis the media's role in building and shifting public discourse, the functioning of progress for conditionality compliance, evaluation of EU officials within BiH, and outlook of the European Union are existentially important to scholarship. This is advertently a new implication when focusing on media since numerous scholars state the government controls majority of the media in BiH and that they control progress of European integration. This contribution seeks to emphasize the importance of media on all levels of society with hopes to expose this significance to other Western Balkan nations in the considerable state that Bosnia-Herzegovina is in the European integration process with the EU.

## Literature Review

Some scholars have taken an instrumentalist approach to argue that Milosevic mobilized ethnic hatred amongst the ethnicities in the Balkans, slowing down progress toward civil society and integration into Euro-Atlantic bodies.<sup>13</sup> The dissolution of Yugoslavia followed Milosevic's presidency in 1989, led by his authority of the Second Yugoslavia to continue the socialist Yugoslavia rule, but he faced greater opposition when Slovenia gained independence from the republic and Croatia followed soon after. The pivotal change in Milosevic's political leadership and power was the proclamation of independence by the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Bosnia's president Alija Izetbegovic. Milosevic began to see the socialist republic lose allegiances and countries' sought independence. The 'Greater Serbia' movement came to rise and to regain territoriality in the region for Serbia; Milosevic pursued military forces to begin regaining land throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.<sup>14</sup> Throughout the war in Bosnia the Serbian government began utilizing media to solicit public support in raising ethnic tensions between Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats, and Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks). Kaufmann, Nagel, and Young and others in the interactionist tradition of sociology argue that all social reality is made through symbolic communication and focuses on the elite

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 799 – Instrumentalist perspective: political entrepreneurs perceive opportunities, cultivate fear, and pursue ethno-nationalist goals in order to advance their own political and material interests

<sup>14</sup> Vulliamy, Ed. *Seasons in Hell: Understanding Bosnia's War*. New York: St. Martin's Press. *Definition of Greater Serbia* (2004). – The creation of a Serbian land, which would incorporate all regions of traditional significance to the Serbian nation, and regions outside Serbia where Serbs populate the location mostly, derived from

manipulation of communication.<sup>15</sup> Milosevic used Serbian media that was governmentally controlled to cultivate greater military and paramilitary forces that were placed throughout Bosnia to gain territory that was deemed Serbia's under the Greater Serbia doctrine. This eventually led the prior harmonious nation of Bosnia-Herzegovina into a compilation of ethnically heterogeneous cantons divvied up throughout the country. In the Dayton Peace Agreement of 1995, which ended the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, all presidents of the involved nations (Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia) agreed on territorial cantons of Bosnia. The Federation of Croats and Muslims (the Federation) and Republika Srpska were autonomous statuses created in Bosnia, which continued the ethnically divided environment within the nation.<sup>16</sup> The impact of the war that lasted over a three-year period had a death toll of over 100,000 people and approximately 2.3 million individuals displaced, which included women and children.<sup>17</sup>

This led the contemporary Bosnia-Herzegovina into a socio-political framework in the post-Dayton society. The United States and NATO assisted in ending the war and reconstructing Bosnian society, but ethnic tensions still exist in contemporary society within Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>18</sup> These ethnic divides were institutionalized under post-Dayton Bosnian political bodies, with a Bosnian Serb,

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<sup>15</sup> Sekulic, Dusko, et al. Ethnic Intolerance and Ethnic Conflict in the Dissolution of Yugoslavia, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29:5, (2006): 800-801.

<sup>16</sup> Malcolm, Noel. *Bosnia: A Short History*. New York: New York University Press, (1994): p. 42

<sup>17</sup> Jenne, Erin. Barriers to Reintegration after Ethnic Civil Wars: Lessons from Minority Returns and Restitution in the Balkans, *Civil Wars*, 12:4, (2010): 378.

<sup>18</sup> Oluic, Steven. Bosnia and Herzegovina: Identity, Nationalist Landscapes and the Future of the State. Columbia University Press: New York, New York, (2007): 67-68.

Bosnian Croat, and Bosnian Muslim leader to represent ethnic groups within the governing of the nation. Furthermore, the geographical split was made between Republika Srpska and the Muslim-Croat Federation in the contemporary framework of the Bosnian nation.<sup>19</sup> The partition agreed upon in the Dayton Peace Agreement that was led by the United States endorsed three nationalist entities within a single nation whose populations are persistently divided on fundamental issues of identity and allegiance.<sup>20</sup>

The postwar situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been plagued by an influential division based on ethnic background. Although scholars agree that the ethnic division is the key factor in the contemporary framework of the nation, threatening Bosnia's progress toward EU accession, there is still no widely accepted view on the approach to ethnic conflict in postwar societies. Some scholars view ethnic conflict in postwar societies in a social-psychological approach.<sup>21</sup> Other scholars suggest that ethnic conflict is a mere spillover effect from the war period that progresses a secessionist mentality amongst the ethnically divided minority groups from the ethnic majority within the given state.<sup>22,23</sup> The views that focus on the national leader majority correlate towards the socio-psychological approach due to the

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<sup>19</sup> Burg, Steven L., and Paul S. Shoup. *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe (2004).

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p. 71

<sup>21</sup> Sekulic, Dusko, et al. Ethnic Intolerance and Ethnic Conflict in the Dissolution of Yugoslavia, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29:5, (2006): 798.

<sup>22</sup> Horowitz, Donald. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. University of California Press: Los Angeles, (1985): 281-283.

<sup>23</sup> Turton, David. *War and Ethnicity: Global Connections and Local Violence*. Boydell & Brewster, Ltd. (2003): 77-78.

features persistent in the leaders such as, deviant behavior or necessity of greed that warrants power within a nation.<sup>24</sup>

In investigating EU conditionality and its failure in state building efforts in Bosnia-Herzegovina, scholars differ over why EU conditionality has largely failed to improve Bosnia's political institutions. First, the degree of sovereignty is a pertinent factor. Scholars suggest that 'sovereignty matters for the conditionality-compliance relationship' to occur with the EU and the prospect nation.<sup>25</sup> Noutcheva notes that 'semi-sovereign countries prospect of EU conditionality can be more intrusive as it can intervene in the sovereignty of an aspiring candidate suggesting a redefinition of internal and/or external statehood structures'.<sup>26</sup> Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier provide explanatory models that display certain rules that are collected by candidate states as a response to EU pre-accession conditionality and they provide a rationalist-driven perspective and constructivist norm-driven approach.<sup>27</sup> Coles discusses a mechanism of exclusion as a driving force towards a positive or negative progress towards fulfilling EU conditionality standards. She states that Bosnians feel excluded

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<sup>24</sup> Sekulic, Dusko, et al. Ethnic Intolerance and Ethnic Conflict in the Dissolution of Yugoslavia, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29:5, (2006): 805.

<sup>25</sup> Noutcheva, Gergana. *EU Conditionality, State Sovereignty, and the Compliance Patterns of Balkan States*. Centre for European Policy Studies: Brussels, (2006): 2.

<sup>26</sup> Schimmelfennig, Frank. "Introduction: The Impact of International Organizations on Central and Eastern European States – Conceptual and Theoretical Issues," In *Norms and Nannies: The Impact of International Organizations on the Central and East European State*, R. Linden (ed.). Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002.

<sup>27</sup> Schimmelfennig, Frank and Sedelmeier, Ulrich (eds.), *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca and London (2005).

from a self-essentialized Europeaness.<sup>28</sup> To illustrate this, the understanding of the 'othering' factor implemented by the European Union and its member states are important factors. Bosnians feeling excluded from the mentality to identify as European due to the lack of membership into the EU.

### **Section A. Bosnian Integration into the EU**

Beginning the process of European integration and full membership into the European Union are of importance to the nation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a noted priority in the national government. The Council of Ministers of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 2004 passed a decision to launch an initiative to join the EU and the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the same year confirmed this decision by passing the Resolution on European Integration and Stability Pact for South East Europe.<sup>29</sup> In early 2006 Bosnia-Herzegovina officials commenced talks with the European Union on the Stabilization and Association Agreement and on 16 June 2008 the first contractual relationship was signed between Bosnia-Herzegovina and the European Union. The House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina in October 2008 unanimously approved ratification for the agreement.<sup>30</sup> In 2008 there existed clear political support to Bosnia-Herzegovina's journey to the European Union and this was shared amongst the citizens who highly supported entry

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<sup>28</sup> Coles, Kimberly. *Ambivalent Builders: Europeanization, the Production of Difference, and Internationals in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. University of California Irvine, American Anthropological Association, (2002): 8.

<sup>29</sup> Dzihana, Amer. Media Reporting on European Integration in Bosnia and Herzegovina. MediaCentar Sarajevo, 2009, p. 1-86, pp. 13-14 and DEI (2008:6) Basic outline of the Stabilization and Association Agreement, Sarajevo, Directorate for European Integration of BiH

<sup>30</sup> Terzic, A (2008) Jednoglasno za ratifikaciju SSP-a (Unanimously for Ratification of SAA), Oslobođenje, 23 October 2008, p.7

into the European Union. Although different studies reported various figures, the majority showed that more than 80 percent of Bosnian-Herzegovinian citizens wanted the country to enter the European Union.<sup>31</sup> The public perception on European integration is presented as a principle issue for the future for citizens and holds a crucial place in all Bosnian-Herzegovinian political platforms. The public debate on Bosnia-Herzegovina's journey to the European Union is structured has been deemed inadequate by institutions that are critical in the process of Bosnia-Herzegovina's accession into the European Union. For example, the Office of the European Union Special Representative in Bosnia-Herzegovina (EUSR) in 2008 launched a series of direct debates with citizens and representatives of the civil sector, which "*in contrast to conventional political and media debates in BiH*"<sup>32</sup> sought "*to identify the vision, aspiration and fears of ordinary citizens, rather than approaching the EU from the perspective of professional politicians.*"<sup>33</sup> Officials believe that the prevailing political debate in BiH are focused on the wrong issues such as instead of building on the popular support for EU integration at times elected officials often preferred to engage in secondary debates regarding issues on which they cannot agree. Parallel opinions on how European integration is discussed in public discourse and how the mass media reports on this process can be found in neighbouring countries in the

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<sup>31</sup> Dzihana, Amer. Media Reporting on European Integration in Bosnia and Herzegovina. MediaCentar Sarajevo, 2009, p. 1-86, and GfKBH (2006) Podrska gradana eventualnom ulasku u EU (Support of Citizens to Potential Entry in EU), available:<http://www.gfk.ba/PR/2006/GfK%20PR%2007-2006%20-%20ulazak%20u%20EU.pdf> or Dzonlic, A (2008) Za evropske integracije 85 posto gradana BiH (85 Percent of B-H for European Integration), Dnevni Avaz, 11 June 2008, p.2

<sup>32</sup> EUSR (2008), BiH's European Perspective: Reaching Out to Citizens, available at: <http://www.eursbih.eu/media/pic/1/template.aspx?cid=5348.2.1>

<sup>33</sup> Ibid



Balkans region through the same process as Bosnia-Herzegovina is undergoing, as media reporting is not offering citizens concrete explanation on what they can expect from the process of European integration. Throughout the evaluation of journalist the Centre for European Values it was discovered that *“EU integration reporting is mostly based on transmission of politicians’ statements but not on concrete explanation of this process and what should it bring to so called ordinary citizens – the public”*<sup>34</sup> Differing opinions exist within Statham’s observations where media performance is often considered for the European Union’s ‘democratic deficit’, i.e. lack of legitimacy of the European Union in the ‘hearts and minds’ of the public.<sup>35</sup> The lack of legitimacy of institutions is related to lack of information on their work and Statham concludes that the prerequisite for reducing the ‘democratic deficit’ is adequate media performance in providing an appropriate flow of political information on European governance in the public sphere.<sup>36</sup> Statham continues to describe the public sphere: *“The emergence of a ‘European sphere of publics’ requires the dissemination of a European news agenda that becomes part of the everyday news-consuming habits of European audiences, to an extent that publics come to understand citizenship and belonging as at least in part transcending the nation-state.”*<sup>37</sup> The issue of legitimacy of the European Union is connected to understanding the role of the European Union’s media presentation in the 1990’s when stronger integration of the EU occurred and the European Union was created

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<sup>34</sup> CEV (2009), Training Seminar for Economic Journalists, available at: [http://www.cev.com/en/read\\_moreee.php?newsid=13](http://www.cev.com/en/read_moreee.php?newsid=13)

<sup>35</sup> Statham, P. Making Europe News: How Journalists View Their Role and Media Performance, *Journalism*, SAGE Publication, 9 (4): p. 398-442

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, p. 398

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p. 399-400

out of the former European Community.<sup>38</sup> The research of media reporting in Bosnia-Herzegovina is significant outlined in objections addressed to the media with regard to responsibility for good awareness of the process of European integration as the media is the main tool of public discourse on the EU and European integration.

The balance of Bosnia-Herzegovina being a semi-sovereign country requires then for higher compliance costs for EU conditionality as it can intervene in the sovereignty of an aspiring candidate of internal statehood structures. Scholars suggest that the security nature of interventions has an effect on EU foreign policy behavior involving the two agents of conditionality, which are the European Commission and the Council.<sup>39</sup> This creates inconsistent behavior in EU policy execution, which in semi-sovereign countries like Bosnia-Herzegovina will lead to common domestic politics disputes. Domestic politics hold together compliance with sovereignty-sensitive conditions because the political nature in these specific countries tends to be very fragmented and politically opposed to EU conditions. The EU conditionality derived from a form of strict conditions that aspiring candidate countries had to comply with in order to be admitted full membership into the EU.<sup>40</sup> Through various forms of incentives that are both economic and political, the EU sought to persuade compliance and dissuade non-compliance, yet the final decision is made by the

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<sup>38</sup> Hoddes, R.B. Legitimizing Europe? News Media and the Reporting of European Union Politics, paper prepared for the panel “Public Support for European Integration”, European Community Studies Association Fifth Biennial International Conference, Seattle, WA: 1997.

<sup>39</sup> Noutcheva, Gergana. *EU Conditionality, State Sovereignty, and the Compliance Patterns of Balkan States*. Centre for European Policy Studies: Brussels, Belgium 2006: p. 1-30.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p.11

candidate country to approve or disapprove of the EU's offer.<sup>41</sup> A study by Stephen Krasner describes the degree of sovereignty, which determines to be one of the key ways of understanding compliance and non-compliance of semi-sovereign nations. Krasner discusses it as "the self-rule of a community on matters of domestic nature without interference of other states or external powers, which is Westphalia sovereignty."<sup>42</sup> Western Balkan nations are split between the aspects of having either external sovereignty or internal sovereignty according to a study conducted by Gergana Noutcheva. Noutcheva utilizes a analogous concept to Krasner's international legal sovereignty by stating that external sovereignty is recognized capacity to engage with other actors in the international system on equal terms.<sup>43</sup> Noutcheva states, "It is an external acknowledgement of the authority of a state sealed by the official recognition of a county by the others in the international system."<sup>44</sup> The reason Bosnia-Herzegovina is deemed a semi-sovereign state according to Noutcheva's research is due to the undermining of their internal sovereignty and overwhelming external sovereignty, thus equates to a semi-sovereign state. Although the EU conditionality model regarding its incentive and disincentive nature is identical in all Balkan nations it is important to still focus on sovereignty because of the conditionality-compliance relationship in states with varying degrees of

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<sup>41</sup> Schimmelfennig, Frank and Sedelmeier, Ulrich, *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005.

<sup>42</sup> Krasner, Stephen. *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004: p. 20-25.

<sup>43</sup> Noutcheva, Gergana. *EU Conditionality, State Sovereignty, and the Compliance Patterns of Balkan States*. Centre for European Policy Studies: Brussels, Belgium 2006: p. 1-30.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, p. 3

sovereignty. Balkan compliance with EU conditionality is the result of the interplay of EU-level and domestic-level political factors.<sup>45</sup>

Sovereignty of a candidate EU member state matters for the policy and politics implication on EU conditionality and compliance of the member state on the domestic level. For example, sovereignty-immersed conditionality is a reaction to the realities on the grounds that constitute additional layers of conditionality distinct from the Copenhagen criteria requiring high democratic and economic standards.<sup>46</sup> Noutcheva's study provides an example of Bosnia-Herzegovina and how they comply with EU conditionality. She states that, "the EU common state conditionality in directly affecting the country's domestic sovereignty by demanding a change in the internal balance of power between the central government and the two constituent entities – the Republika Srpska (RS) and the Bosno-Croat Federation – and by affecting the relationship between the external authority structure in the country – the Office of High Representative – and the domestic authority structures – the political institutions in BiH." The institutional implications that are provided to Bosnia-Herzegovina from the EU establish a firm set of common state conditionality different from other Balkan nations and one structured for a semi-sovereign nation like BiH. This ideally provides reasoning behind the non-compliant behavior from BiH political actors due to their inadvertent nature to subsidize Bosnia in furthering progress in

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<sup>45</sup> Schimmelfennig, Frank., Engert, S. and Knobel, H. *International Socialization in Europe: European Organizations, Political Change, and Democratic Conditionality*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

<sup>46</sup> Noutcheva, Gergana. *EU Conditionality, State Sovereignty, and the Compliance Patterns of Balkan States*. Centre for European Policy Studies: Brussels, Belgium 2006: p. 1-30.

European integration due to the inability of reaching a consensus on conditionality measures needed to be met by BiH. Although indefinite, proof of the matter is unavailable the evidence provided by Noutcheva's study shows the idea that in non-compliance literature Bosnia-Herzegovina's case is unique within its own.

### **Section B. Media Theory and Its Application to BiH**

To disentangle the puzzle of the media's role in building and shifting public discourse, the functioning of progress for conditionality compliance, evaluation of EU officials within BiH, and BiH citizens outlook of the European Union, this research will analyze one candidate country from the Balkans region: Bosnia and Herzegovina. To explore the importance of media on all levels of society in Bosnia-Herzegovina the research will focus on a polarized pluralist model based upon normative media theory. Media theory is the complex of social-political-philosophical principles that organize ideas about the relationship between media and society.<sup>47</sup> Normative theory is concerned with what the media ought to be doing in society rather than what they actually do. According to Siebert et al (1956), "the press takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates."<sup>48</sup> The press and other media, in their view, will reflect the "basic beliefs and assumptions that the society holds."<sup>49</sup> The underlying factor is that different cultures could portray different principles and priorities. Although there are four types of normative theories, the two utilized in this thesis are the alternative media theory and authoritarian theory derived from Siebert et al (1956). Alternative media theory

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<sup>47</sup> Siebert et al., *Four Theories of The Press*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1963.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, p. 1-2

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, p. 3

derives from a social critical perspective that dominates media of the established society are likely to be inadequate by definition in respect of many groups in society and too much under the control of the state and other authorities or elites. This type of theory favours media that are close to the grassroots of society, small-scale, participative, active and non-commercial. Their role is to speak for and to the social out-groups and also to keep radical criticism alive. Authoritarian theory applies to early pre-democratic forms of society and present-day undemocratic or autocratic social systems. This view states that all media and public communication are subject to the supervision of the ruling authority and expression or opinion, which might undermine the established social and political order, can be forbidden. Although this contravenes rights of freedom of expression, it can be invoked under extreme conditions. Scholars Hallin and Mancini suggest that we should dispose of normative theories and look closely at arrangements connecting media with society by gathering typology of relations between the media and political system, based on a comparative examination of contemporary national societies.<sup>50</sup> In this thesis Hallin and Mancini's thought on polarized pluralist model was most suitable for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The polarized pluralist model states that with media integrated into party politics, weaker commercial media and a strong role for the state to have media take over in majority of all aspects of society.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Hallin, Daniel C., and Paolo Mancini. *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid

## Research Design

In order to test that the media on all levels of Bosnian society (city, canton, and national) impact citizens significantly and to determine if ethnic group plays a key factor in how media is perceived will combine a qualitative media content analysis (QMCA) and semi-structured interviews. Media content is vital in understanding what audiences take in from media. Max Weber even saw media content as a means of monitoring the cultural temperature of society.<sup>52</sup> QMCA is a well-established research methodology as a specialized sub-set of a conventional content analysis. Aiming to “use a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text,”<sup>53</sup> the analysis results are to fit within content analysis guidelines derived from Berelson:

- To describe substance characteristics of message content;
- To describe form characteristics of message content;
- To make inferences to producers of content;
- To make inferences to audiences of content;
- To predict the effects of content on audiences.<sup>54</sup>

Macnamara describes qualitative media content analysis by stating that it “*examines the relationship between the text and its likely audience meaning, recognizing that media texts are open to multiple different meanings and readers that it tries to determine the likely meaning of texts to audiences*”.<sup>55</sup> The analysis results will make it easier for scholars reading texts related to the topic of this thesis and other related

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<sup>52</sup> Hansen, A., Cottle, S., Negrine, R., & Newbold, C. *Mass Communication Research Methods*. London: Macmillan, 1998.

<sup>53</sup> Weber, R. *Basic Content Analysis* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990.

<sup>54</sup> Berelson, B. *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. New York: Hafner, 1952.

<sup>55</sup> Macnamara, Jim. Media Content Analysis: Its uses; benefits; and best practice methodology. *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal*, 6(1), 1-34; pp. 5

material to “understand their deeper meanings and likely interpretation by audiences.”<sup>56</sup> The QMCA employed in this thesis focuses on ethnic-based content structure. The first structure is set out of media that is based on who is in charge of the source (i.e. the state, canton, ethnic group, or independent agency). The first structure media agencies and sources that is used in this thesis are *Oslobodjenje* (Sarajevo daily), *Nezavisne Novine* (Banja Luka daily), *Glas Srpske* (Banja Luka – Bosnian Serb government daily), *Dnevni List* (Mostar daily), Federation News Agency (FENA) (state-run based in Sarajevo), SRNA (official Bosnian Serb news agency), and ONASA (private).<sup>57</sup> The second structure of media agencies and sources that is used in this are a variety of documents to include the 2010 Human Rights Report of Bosnia-Herzegovina issued by the United States Department of State and the Bosnia-Herzegovina 2012 Progress Report for Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges of 2012-2013 issued by the European Commission.

In order to determine whether ethnic-based media is portraying the European Union in a positive or negative light and whether media can explain the puzzle revolving around governmental non-compliance towards EU conditionality in Bosnia, this thesis analyzes three main events related to the European Union and EU accession or Europeanization. The three events will be: the June 2004 adoption of the first European Partnership for BiH, the October 2008 House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina unanimously approved ratification of the SAA, and the December 2010 establishment of the visa-free regime for Schengen area introduced for all BiH citizens having a biometric passport. These are

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid

<sup>57</sup> See Appendix I for break down of ethnic majority in each locale mentioned



three pivotal events that have occurred thus far in BiH's journey to membership into the EU and the aforementioned media agencies in first structure will each be analyzed for each of these three events. The 2004 event was a landmark for Bosnian government and a step towards reform for the nation. The European Partnership for BiH was published – a document stating short- term and mid-term priorities related to preparations of BiH for further integration into the EU, and it serves as a list of commitments against which progress is to be measured. Concurrently, the Partnership for Peace (PfP) with NATO was being signed in the same time frame as the European Partnership. The beginning stages of the PfP were communicated between the entities beginning June 2004. October 2008 decision was critical because it was during the time period of a major election and constitutional reform referendum in Bosnia-Herzegovina and certain political parties showed disfavor towards pressing forward in the EU journey with national issues concerning the political agenda at that time period. The December 2010 event was a pertinent event due to the possibility of new opportunity for citizens of BiH. The ability to travel visa-free throughout the Schengen area is a remarkable step towards European integration and acceptance. It provides new cultural and travel opportunities for holders of the biometric passport in Bosnia and for youth in education to experience learning in other Schengen countries..

This thesis serves as an understanding of how the European Union is portrayed through media within Bosnia-Herzegovina. Focusing on media that is depicted within Republika Srpska (RS) and within the Federation (inclusive of areas that are mixed or solely Bosniak or Bosnian Croat with Bosnian Serb minority) is a

better representation after researching articles on the BBC Monitoring database by Lexis Nexis.<sup>58</sup> Determination of the reasoning behind choosing to discuss territorial fractionalization versus ethnic fractionalization will be included in a brief historical section to gain the bigger picture as to how things are seen nowadays throughout BiH. Nonetheless, the differentiation of territorialisation versus ethnic fractionalization is more important in explaining and understanding because of the dynamic differences within the news media released by RS and Federation news agencies. Altogether the portrayal of the European Union will be thoroughly examined and explained throughout this chapter. The first event that occurred in 2003 when the European Commission began its study to assess Bosnia-Herzegovina's ability to implement a Stabilization and Association Agreement. This is an important era in time due to its significant time frame after the start of the postwar stability and recovery efforts the nation was undergoing during the late 1990s. The potential of the ability to fulfill implementation of the SAA was an important era for Bosnian government due to the fact that it was ethnically and religiously mixed and was undergoing tough pressures in decision-making processes on societal issues occurring during the early 2000s. The fact that the European Commission began their study and led the delegation on-site in Bosnia displays the pertinent manner with regards to the situation and makes it pertinent to focus on in this thesis. The second event occurred during October 2008 and was when the House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH made their official decision to approve the ratification of the Stabilization Association Agreement. This event is parallel to the importance of the start of the European

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<sup>58</sup> See Appendix I for cantonal and regional breakdown of BiH

Commission's on-site study of the probability of the Bosnian government to implement an SAA. This event further displays the commitment of the BiH government towards European integration and the support given by civil society in joining the European Union. It also portrays a significant time period of reforms that were taken place within Bosnian society such as introduction into a public broadcasting service for broadcast and radio media agencies. The final event that is analyzed in this thesis is the December 2010 establishment of the visa-free regime for Schengen area that was introduced to Bosnia-Herzegovinian citizens who are holders of the biometric passport. This event is a pivotal in the journey towards European integration as BiH citizens are now being allowed entry into EU members states borders without holding a visa administered from the nation, which a step closer towards integration and inclusion, more importantly. The EU began its work in the country in 2003 and over a seven-year period has shown progression, regardless of speed, towards a better Bosnia-Herzegovina more fit for entry into the European Union. However, there are many issues halting that progress the establishment of the visa-free regime into BiH shows a successful milestone towards European integration for the nation, which deems it a notable event to analyze within this thesis.

Throughout the analysis of each event the media was categorized in three areas: "clear ethnic-based bias", "somewhat ethnic-based bias", "no ethnic-based bias". The relevance to analyzing the level of ethnic-based bias in each article is to determine whether ethnicity plays a role in supplying media stories to citizens and if the audience builds discourse based off ethnic media sources or not. The different newspaper agencies are issuing dailies or weeklies to citizens within one nation, but

deliver stories in a different nature that can reveal various slants towards a single story deriving from different ethnic based media agencies.

Measuring the level of ethnic-based bias in each article is as follows. Those labeled as having "no ethnic-based bias" have <5% of ethnic-based bias throughout the analysis of the entire newspaper article. Those labeled as having "somewhat ethnic-based bias" have >5% and between 40% of bias throughout the analysis of the entire newspaper article. Lastly, those labeled as "clear ethnic-based bias" have >50% of ethnic-based bias throughout the analysis of the entire newspaper article. The methodology behind analyzing each article for ethnic-based bias is as follows. Each article is critically analyzed looking for keywords or phrases referring to superiority or inferiority of one's own or another ethnic group within BiH. After this portion is analyzed the article is scanned for any negative commentary or clear bias towards another ethnic group, the government, or Bosnia-Herzegovina as a whole. Lastly, the tone of the article is analyzed throughout both aforementioned measurements and according to media content analysis research can refer to an article or its publisher or publishing entity as a biased organization or group.<sup>59</sup>

Additionally to the qualitative media content analysis, in order to appraise the volume of attitudes towards the European Union and their progressively larger role in Bosnia-Herzegovina then the Dayton initiated Office of High Representative, and to deconstruct opinions regarding European integration for BiH from various actors working in the field of media and policy, conclusions will be made from source material of transcripts of semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews

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<sup>59</sup> Berelson, B. *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. New York: Hafner, 1952.

provides an environment for both researcher and interviewee to interact as equal partners and for interventions on the part of the researcher to ask open-ended questions in order to identify the interviewee's values and feelings toward an issue that otherwise would remain a matter of personal concern. Interviews were conducted with Nedžad Hadzimusic – the Former Ambassador of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Belgium and Luxembourg, Esmir Ganic – the President of American University in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sue Foelger – the Chief of Party for Internews, Amer Dzihana – Senior Media Researcher for Internews, and Orzen Kebo – the Media Development Expert for Internews. These interviewees were selected on the basis of the expertise in their respective fields and regarding Bosnia-Herzegovinian media, politics, and societal views on the European Union. Each interview was helpful towards understanding first-hand experiences from experts in Bosnia-Herzegovina working towards European integration for BiH. The selection of interviews was made based off the number of years of experience in their respective fields and expertise on media or European integration policy in BiH.

The interviews of media professionals within BiH were conducted in English. Interviews followed a moderately scheduled format. During the interview, individuals were asked a series of questions ranging from organizational mission, target publics, editorial and marketing practices, relationships with NGOs, relationships with other media, and needs and obstacles that impair their activities. Interviews were tape recorded, and if needed for specific cases, they were translated versions and then transcribed for analysis.

## **Chapter Division**

The thesis is organized in four comprehensive chapters. The first chapter will discuss the role of media in postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina. Scholarly literature discussing the role media plays in creating public discourse on certain issues will be the central focus within this chapter to gain a greater understanding how people derive public discourse on certain issues (i.e. the EU). The following three chapters focus on providing background on the three selected events and the content analysis conducted for each event on five different newspapers articles per event that involves European integration for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

## CHAPTER 1: ROLE OF MEDIA IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

The government in Bosnia continues to control most state and municipal radio, television, and print media outlets. However, with the international community assisting with these efforts, there are now many small, new, commercial media outlets. These private media sources are in the beginning stages of development and features many challenges. The economic infrastructure is the most significant issue in the development of public relations and an alternative media.<sup>60</sup> The economy of the three regions has suffered tremendously within BiH. Unemployment is staggering, and the regional governments and the NGOs employ citizens fortunate to obtain a job. The remainder of the population survive who are either unemployed or disabled rely on donations from international NGOs. These last years have been very difficult for the people of the region, and without the donations and services of NGOs, many people would be without food, shelter, education, legal advice, or a political voice.

The war damaged majority of the infrastructure of the nation. The automobile, computer, and steel industries have collapsed, and very few people are working in the jobs that they had before the war. The average citizen has no income to purchase consumer goods and, more importantly for the alternative print media, no money to purchase newspapers or magazines. Likewise, small business owners lack financial resources to pay for advertisements in local media. The media also face harassment from the government they criticize. Journalists and editors face physical threats and

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<sup>60</sup> Hiebert, Ray. Global Public Relations in the Post-Communist World: A New Advertising and Public Relations in Transition from Communism: The Case of Hungary, 1989-1994. *Public Relations Review*, 20:1994, pp. 357-372.

often have materials or services needed for operations—electricity, access to roads, printing presses—withheld.

After the Dayton Peace Agreement, numerous international NGOs set up offices in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska to foster peace and help with the rebuilding process. Organizations, such as the International Red Cross, Catholic Relief Services, Save the Children, U.S. Agency for International Development, and various United Nations humanitarian organizations, donated sizeable amounts of money, personnel, and resources to rebuild the war-torn area. Their mission is two-fold. First, NGOs serve the immediate needs of the population by distributing food, clothing, housing, and social assistance. Second, the NGOs also help to create civil society organizations and institutions that can allow for public discussion and resolutions of problems before violence is again viewed as the only option.

However, it is here that the similarities between Bosnian media relations and Western media relations end. Bosnian NGOs in this survey can encourage the media to cover their organization's events, however, to ensure the actual appearance of stories in the media, these organizations must pay for publicity. Topics that these organizations paid to have covered included the introduction of new community services, forums for political candidates, educational activities, and cultural programs. These topics are important activities that the Bosnian general public should be informed about. Moreover, these events and programs are at the core of civil society building in the region. State-controlled programming was never critical of the government and instead showed the commonalties of the Yugoslavian people rather than focusing on their differences.



The media in Bosnia are partly blamed for the genocide of the 1990s. Government media ownership and manipulation heightened ethnic tensions.<sup>61</sup> Today, with support from international humanitarian organizations, Bosnian alternative media offer different perspectives than the state media. Commercial media, known as “alternative,” include radio, television, and print outlets that now serve many regions of the nation. Jakubowicz has predicted that there is a “less than optimistic outlook for the future” for Bosnian media because the country has not yet made the difficult transition to either a fully democratic political system or a fully free media.<sup>62</sup>

The media has an important role in that they have become a part of the democratization process and yet must still report on it for their audiences. Shiras noted that, “given the media’s critical role in mobilizing public support and influencing public policy, they are both observers and participants” in the civil society process.<sup>63</sup> Two major findings that illustrate the nature of media relations in Bosnia emerged from these interviews. The most consistent finding about Bosnian alternative media is that they acknowledge the important role that they can play in changing the political situation.

The functions within the change-agent role that alternative media outlets play are important for the development of civil society. First, the media serve as self-appointed “watch-dogs” of government. Although the watchdog function is necessary for keeping elected officials accountable for their actions, it may diminish the media’s desire to cover less sensational events, such as the civil society activities of NGOs.

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<sup>61</sup> Glenny, op. cit.; Silber and Little, op. cit.

<sup>62</sup> Jakubowicz, Karol. “Media Within and Without the State: Press Freedom in Eastern Europe. *Journal of Communications* 45:4, 1995, pp. 125-139

<sup>63</sup> Shiras, op. cit., p. 109.

Favored topics for news include information about fraud, government abuse, and community violence. According to one Bosnian magazine editor, the rationale is clear for this strategy: “The role of the independent media is to watch the government, and tell the people what the state-controlled media won’t. People need to know what is happening. It is time to make everyone accountable for his actions.” Consequently, there is a strong focus on “hard” news stories rather than on the “soft” news that the media relations’ efforts of NGOs often generate.

A second function of the change-agent role is the practice of offering candidates with moderate or pro-democracy platforms an opportunity to communicate their positions. In Bosnia, independent political candidates and community leaders with pro-democracy views cannot get fair media coverage on the government-controlled outlets. Alternative media provide these politicians their only opportunity to reach a large number of people. Media also contribute to the civil society function because they are the only outlets for citizens to voice their opinions. Contact programs allow political candidates and elected officials to communicate their positions to a wide audience. These programs let the public call in to the station and ask important questions. This format was unknown before the war, but it is crucial for civil society because it gives the public an opportunity to ask difficult but important questions of their leaders and potential leaders. Moreover, broadcast contact shows offer opposition candidates media exposure that the state-controlled media refuses to give. For example, one radio station in the Federation planned to have the current elected leaders appear for contact shows. The radio station would play excerpts by the politicians from their past election speeches and interviews and then use these

excerpts to ask the politicians why they did or did not achieve certain political promises. This is an effective way to hold political leaders accountable for their campaign platforms.

With all this emphasis on creating a new role for media, it would be natural to assume that the alternative media are successfully serving the civil society function and monitoring much of the Bosnian social and political scene. However, media coverage of important issues is not as strong as journalists and editors would like. The next section examines the reason for this situation.

### ***1.1 Readership Statistics of Print Media in BiH***

Readership statistics of print media in Bosnia-Herzegovina has produced steadily equal numbers over the past decade. The Press Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina provides statistical information regarding print media for the entire nation. According to the Press Council of BiH, there are 11 daily newspapers, 100 different types of magazines, 71 specialized magazines, and eight religious magazines in the country and all daily newspapers are privately owned.<sup>64</sup> In general, the print media market is highly underdeveloped. As a consequence, it is difficult to get any reliable data on the circulation of the country's main newspapers and magazines, since these outlets don't publish any circulation data, and there is no independent circulation bureau that collects such information.<sup>65</sup> In general, circulation data are considered a business secret and are hard to get. The only

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<sup>64</sup> BH Press Council, 2010a, Print Media in Bosnia and Herzegovina

<sup>65</sup> IREX, 2009, Media Sustainability Index 2009: Bosnia and Herzegovina, IREX - International Research & Exchanges Board

available information is provided by independent market research agencies that collect readership data through surveys.

According to the data for 2006, provided by the GfK BiH market research agency, the daily paper *Dnevni Avaz* is read by 36% of adults (older than 15 years of age), followed by *Blic* (10%), *Glas Srpske*, *Večernje novosti* and *Večernji list* (each with 4%). 74% of males and 63% of females reads daily newspapers. Approximately one third of population does not read newspaper at all.<sup>66</sup> Newspaper readership in BiH is not very high overall. Even in the former Yugoslavia, newspapers with the greatest circulation in BiH came from Serbia and Croatia, not from BiH. Publishers are not obligated to report their circulation figures, and they appear reluctant to provide reliable data; most of them did not support an initiative by marketing agencies to introduce circulation audits, so that advertising spend could be based on real market positions.<sup>67</sup> Not surprisingly, then, actual circulations seem to be rather low. According to Freedom House, the total circulation of daily newspapers in BiH in 2010 was not higher than 90,000 copies, which would mean that only 2.5 percent of the entire population regularly bought a newspaper.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> GfK BiH, 2006a, Čitanost dnevnih novina u BiH, Sarajevo-x.com.

<sup>67</sup> IREX MSI, 2012, at [http://www.irex.org/system/files/u105/EE\\_MSI\\_2012\\_Bosnia.pdf](http://www.irex.org/system/files/u105/EE_MSI_2012_Bosnia.pdf), p. 34.

<sup>68</sup> See: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2010/bosnia-and-herzegovina>

## CHAPTER 2: ADOPTION OF EUROPEAN PARTNERSHIP

The European Partnership with Bosnia and Herzegovina is the main instrument for assisting the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina in realizing their country's European perspective, confirmed at the 2000 Zagreb summit<sup>69</sup> and reinforced at the 2003 Thessaloniki summit.<sup>70</sup> It is an instrument of the SAP, which was introduced for the countries of the western Balkans concerned under the Thessaloniki agenda in 2003.<sup>71</sup> The European Partnerships are modeled on the accession partnerships with the candidate countries. The partnerships for the Western Balkans countries have a specific legal basis.<sup>72</sup> The objective of the EP is to be carried out in a single framework that addresses priority areas that enact reform mechanisms within the nation, to provide guidelines for financial allocations, and to deliver the principles of conditions governing implementation of the partnership. Key priorities are those short-term in nature that enforces a better Bosnia and Herzegovina for its society such as police reform, full cooperation with the ICTY, reform of public broadcasting, and many other short-term reforms that needed to be enacted within BiH. Furthermore, it covers areas of political criteria for BiH to fulfill like democracy and rule of law, human rights and the protection of minorities, and

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<sup>69</sup>See: [enlargement/enlargement\\_process/accession\\_process/how\\_dows\\_a\\_country\\_join\\_the\\_eu/sap/Zagreb\\_summit\\_en.htm](http://enlargement/enlargement_process/accession_process/how_dows_a_country_join_the_eu/sap/Zagreb_summit_en.htm)

<sup>70</sup>See: [enlargement/enlargement\\_process/accession\\_process/how\\_dows\\_a\\_country\\_join\\_the\\_eu/sap/Thessaloniki\\_summit\\_en.htm](http://enlargement/enlargement_process/accession_process/how_dows_a_country_join_the_eu/sap/Thessaloniki_summit_en.htm)

<sup>71</sup>See: [enlargement/enlargement\\_process/accession\\_process/how\\_dows\\_a\\_country\\_join\\_the\\_eu/sap/Thessaloniki\\_agenda\\_en.htm](http://enlargement/enlargement_process/accession_process/how_dows_a_country_join_the_eu/sap/Thessaloniki_agenda_en.htm)

<sup>72</sup>See Regulation (EC) No 533/2004 at [europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/enlargement/western\\_balkans/r18008\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/enlargement/western_balkans/r18008_en.htm)

regional issues and international obligations.<sup>73</sup> The EP also discusses economic criteria and European standards that involve actions such as the Partnership for Peace and other relevant Community *acquis*.

The Partnership for Peace (PfP) is a significant institutional and defense reform mechanism that encourages focus on cooperation with Bosnia-Herzegovina and NATO. The PfP demanded similar mandates from BiH of the European Partnership with a heavier focus on military and defense actions ongoing within BiH. In 2004, primary responsibility for the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina was focused on military aspects that were handed from the European Union.<sup>74</sup> NATO continues military headquarters in Sarajevo to assist the authorities of BiH with reforms and commitments related to the Partnership for Peace and integration with NATO, and by providing logistical assistance for supporting the European Union Force in BiH and the ICTY occasionally.<sup>75</sup>

Ultimately both the European Partnership and Partnership for Peace were pushing towards the same reforms for Bosnia-Herzegovina, but only from two different external actors (EU and NATO).

## **2.1 Event Analysis: Adoption of European Partnership**

The articles analyzed for this event extended through the period 10<sup>th</sup> June 2004 – 28<sup>th</sup> August 2004. The keywords used for filtering the articles were: Bosnia-Herzegovina and European Union with the time frame period search set to June 2004

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<sup>73</sup> [europa.eu/legislation\\_summaries/enlargement/western\\_balkans/r18012\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/enlargement/western_balkans/r18012_en.htm)

<sup>74</sup> “Statement on Bosnia and Herzegovina: Press Release S-1(13)30.” *NATO Official Home Page*. 2013. North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Web. 12 May 2013. [www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics\\_49127.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49127.htm)

<sup>75</sup> Ibid

– August 2004. The total number of analyzed articles is 5 (3 from *ONASA*, 2 from *SRNA*, and 1 from *Federation News Agency*). There were no reports found within researching that were from daily newspaper agencies other than *SRNA* – the news agency for Republika Srpska, the Bosnian Serb state. *ONASA News Agency* is an independent news agency based in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina and has been labeled to deliver news with affiliation closely to the Croat Democratic Union (HDZ).<sup>76</sup> *Federation News Agency (FENA)* was founded by the Decree of FBiH Government in November 2000 and is state-run.<sup>77</sup> These papers were chosen mainly because in the analysis search they were prominent results. As mentioned previously, the circulation of newspapers in BiH are quite low and only approximately 2.5 to 3 percent of the population regularly bought newspapers.<sup>78</sup>

Throughout the analysis many articles during the time period analyzed for this event took a very strong or neutral position on the subject at hand. The articles went from either putting the blame on Republika Srpska for not fulfilling requirements to meet PfP or discussing supportive RS leadership. The report submitted by *ONASA* (Bosnian Croat) was the most neutral by providing a unbiased summary of the Bosnian defense minister's visit to Germany for talks on PfP and army reforms in Bosnia-Herzegovina to fulfill conditionality set forth by EU and NATO. The article provides a summarized overview of the entire visit to Germany in brief terms. It discussed, "*the present processes in BiH and its preparations for the Partnership for*

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<sup>76</sup> Dizdarevic, Zija., Jusic, Tarik., and MPI Analytic Team. *Analysis of News Agency ONASA Service*. Press Now & MediaPlan Institute: Amsterdam, 2006.

<sup>77</sup> See: [www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17211939](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17211939)

<sup>78</sup> <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2010/bosnia-and-herzegovina>

*Peace*".<sup>79</sup> Army and general military reforms were discussed regarding BiH's progression in those two areas. The defense minister stated, "*The replacement of Sfor NATO-led Stabilization Force by EU armed forces was also discussed. "Defense Minister Kolbow expressed his satisfaction with the progression of reforms in BiH."*<sup>80</sup> The visit concluded with an agreement to allow German experts to assist in the further reforms in military relations within BiH and mutual understanding in the further progression with the following statement: "*there is a mutual interest in improving bilateral military relations...The officials agreed to have German experts involved in the defence reforms in BiH."*<sup>81</sup>

The most clear ethnic-based biased article that reported on this event was the *Federation News Agency's* article. This article primarily blames Serbian leaders for the fall through of the PfP fulfilment prior to the Istanbul summit. Although a window of hope lies within the possibility of BiH to gain entry into the PfP and it eventually does this article bashes the RS leadership through harsh tonal usage and ghastly commentary towards those leaders and the RS region as a whole. Council of Ministers member Adnan Terzic stated, "*full responsibility will lie with the Bosnian Serb Republic authorities if Bosnia-Herzegovina is not accepted into the Partnership for Peace at the Istanbul summit."*<sup>82</sup> The chairman of the Council of Ministers believed that the main areas of concern were the fight towards corruption, organized

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<sup>79</sup> Bosnian defence minister visits Germany for talks on PfP, army reforms. (2004, June 10). Bosnia-Herzegovina. *BBC Monitoring Europe – Political – BBC World Monitoring* Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com/>

<sup>80</sup> Ibid

<sup>81</sup> Ibid

<sup>82</sup> Bosnian premier says Serbs to blame if PfP falls through. (2004, June 17). Bosnia-Herzegovina. *BBC Monitoring Europe – Political – BBC World Monitoring* Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com/>



crime, and fulfilment of cooperation with the ICTY. He provided this statement in support of his argument, *“Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities were committed to the prompt and effective establishment of a few key departments which will be formed with the law on the Agency for Information and Protection (SIPA). These departments for criminal investigation, within which most of the activities in the fight against organized crime will be carried out, and a department for arresting war criminals.”*<sup>83</sup> The significance of Mr. Terzic’s statement is that it symbolizes the areas in which RS leaders have stalled progressive movements – i.e. arresting war criminals. The mere fact that a member of the Council of Ministers – a national governmental body – blatantly ridiculed a sector of society (RS) for hindering the process towards PfP solidified this article as a “clear ethnic-based bias”. Mr. Terzic’s statement carried a tone negatively impeding the Bosnian Serb population and the RS leaders throughout BiH government.

There were three articles analyzed that resulted in “somewhat ethnic-based bias” and they were published one by *ONASA* (Bosnian Croat) and two by *SRNA* (Bosnian Serb) on the identical topic of the adoption of the European Partnership. *ONASA* provides a detailed overview of the Peace Implementation Council’s assessment on political and economic progress throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina. It touched on areas of concern for the BiH steering committee to focus on such as, *“rule of law reforms, including the war crimes chamber project and initiatives to tackle*

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

*organized crime in BiH and cooperation with the ICTY.*”<sup>84</sup> The article talked positively regarding RS leaders by stating, “*work of the RS Bosnian Serb Republic Srebrenica Commission, and the recent statement of RS President Dragan Cavic, are welcome positive steps that may represent a significant turning point in postwar reconciliation in BiH.*”<sup>85</sup> Although not a pervasive attempt the article provided some recommendations for RS leaders to take ICTY indictees and the criminal process seriously by proclaiming, “*RS failed to locate or apprehend even one war crimes indictees in the nine years since the Dayton accord. The RS, an entity of BiH guaranteed under Dayton, is failing to carry out a key obligation under Dayton and international law, for which the relevant individuals and institutions must be held accountable.*”<sup>86</sup> The statement was followed up by a more obligatory statement in accordance to following justice for criminals who are to report to The Hague for proceedings, “*peoples of BiH come face to face with the crimes committed in their names and recognize that the people who committed those crimes are not national heroes, but the worst sort of criminals who must now face justice in The Hague.*”<sup>87</sup> The article had clear notions that the RS leadership was mostly to blame and may have stated recommendations for RS leaders, but it did not use negative tonal commentary or pervasive speech. The first article by SRNA provides an estimate from the Bosnian Presidency that the nation will gain entry into the PfP by the end of 2004. The reasoning behind it’s categorization into the “somewhat ethnic-based bias”

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<sup>84</sup> Peace Implementation Council assesses political, economic progress in Bosnia. (2004, June 25). Bosnia-Herzegovina. *BBC Monitoring Europe – Political – BBC World Monitoring* Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com/>

<sup>85</sup> Ibid

<sup>86</sup> Ibid

<sup>87</sup> Ibid

is due in fact to the claims made by Presidency membership regarding requirements set forth by NATO in meetings during the creation of the PfP. Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member Dragan Covic stated, *“that the arrest of war crimes suspects was not a condition for Bosnia-Herzegovina’s entry into the Partnership for Peace programme until just a few months ago, and pointed out that it was evident it would not be accepted into this NATO programme at the forthcoming summit in Istanbul.”*<sup>88</sup> Covic claimed, *“Bosnia-Herzegovina’s entry into the Partnership for Peace was used to show whether or not there was cooperation with the Hague tribunal.”*<sup>89</sup> The conditions Covic remembers that were set in the beginning were different. He stated, *“The conditions for entry into the PfP were the reorganization of the armed forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which had been achieved, as a Bosnia-Herzegovina Defence Ministry exist today.”*<sup>90</sup> The article was categorized as “somewhat ethnic-based bias” due to the fact that it is focusing on commentary from a Bosnian Serb government leader who claims that war criminal indictment and tribunal adherence were not conditions set forth by NATO in PfP when they were clearly defined in the conditions of the formal agreement.<sup>91</sup> The second *SRNA* article also discusses the forecast of BiH entry into the PfP, but from the perspective of the Bosnian Foreign Minister. Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Affairs Minister Mladen Ivanic stated, *“he expects Bosnia-Herzegovina to join the Partnership for Peace programme and to begin*

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<sup>88</sup> Bosnian Presidency members forecasts PfP entry at end of year. (2004, June 22). Bosnia-Herzegovina. *BBC Monitoring Europe – Political – BBC World Monitoring* Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com/>

<sup>89</sup> Ibid

<sup>90</sup> Ibid

<sup>91</sup> See: “Statement on Bosnia and Herzegovina: Press Release S-1(13)30.” *NATO Official Home Page*. 2013. North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Web. 12 May 2013. [www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics\\_49127.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49127.htm)

*negotiations with the European Commission on joining the EU by the middle of next year.*” Foreign Affairs Minister Ivanic was the chairman of the Party of Democratic Progress of Republika Srpska and optimistically projects EU membership for BiH within this article. He discusses several areas that important towards this transition into PfP and EU by stating, *“the process of transformation in the OHR Office of the High Representative and the reduction of the High Representative’s powers...privatization of larger companies in Bosnia-Herzegovina.”*<sup>92</sup> He proclaims that BiH faces *“an interesting period in politics”*.<sup>93</sup> This article is only “somewhat ethnic-based bias because it focuses on the RS leadership and the Foreign Affairs Minister’s commentary upon PfP and EU entry. The commentary is positive and optimistic and does not include negative or pervasive speech.

In summary of the analysis of the articles on the adoption of the European Partnership, the important factor is focusing on the breakdown of ethnic-based bias supplied by each print media agency analyzed. *ONASA* (Bosnian Croat) news agency provided both “neutral” and “somewhat” ethnic-based media articles on the event of the adoption of the European Partnership. The Bosnian Croat affiliated agency provided commentary and recommendations for RS leaders to better fulfill their roles as politicians by working towards meeting ICTY requirements. The central aspect of detailing the RS leaders throughout the article specifically alludes to the fact that there could be a specific bias towards RS leaders from articles published by *ONASA*. The two articles published by *SRNA* provides accusations regarding a crucial aspect of conditionality set forth by the EU and NATO, which is fulfilling requirements of the

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid

<sup>93</sup> Ibid

ICTY. The fact that the article provides claims that RS leaders do not believe this was a condition of the PfP agreement reveals a possibility to cover up actions of the RS leaders. Since *SRNA* is a Bosnian Serb affiliated news agency it hypothesizes that *SRNA* is the RS-biased news agency to provide excusatory claims to support RS leaders. The article labelled “clear” ethnic-based bias derives from *FENA*, which is a federal news agency that has claims to affiliate with the Bosniak population as it is based in the Bosniak canton in Sarajevo. This article outright blame RS leaders for the prolonged journey towards fulfilling PfP requirements. It ensues the claims that a particular ethnic group and its governmental leaders are the blame to the slow process towards PfP and European integration, which is ethnically driven and eludes heavy levels of bias.

## CHAPTER 3: BiH Launch Journey to Join European Union

European Union accession and European integration strategies for Bosnia-Herzegovina are one of the most important political priorities in the federal government. The government has aspired through a political consensus since the beginning talks in 1997 of acquiring full membership into the EU. The key milestones in Bosnia's journey towards full membership into the EU are the following: Declaration on Special Relations with the EU was adopted in 1998<sup>94</sup> and in 2004 decisions by the BiH Council of Ministers and the Parliamentary Assembly<sup>95</sup>, as well as the statement made by heads of political parties.<sup>96</sup> The Parliamentary Assembly adopted conclusions, which, inter alia, present the presence of a full political consensus that EU membership is the highest possible priority for BiH.<sup>97</sup> Following the Feasibility Study and the Programme for Implementation of 16 Priority Areas, the current stage is that BiH has considerable areas of improvement that needs to develop the strategic ways to define its future path towards the EU.<sup>98</sup>

At its 33<sup>rd</sup> session, held on 3 December 2003, the BiH Council of Ministers adopted a decision, tasking the BiH Directorate for European Integration to establish

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<sup>94</sup> Decision for the Initiative for Accession of BiH to EU

<sup>95</sup> Resolution on European Integration and Stability Pact for South-East Europe

<sup>96</sup> Statement No. 01-50-3-180/04 dated 18.2.2004, whereby heads of parties represented at the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH '*confirm our readiness for political consensus and further democratization of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the constitutional order, with the aimed of entering the European Union and Partnership for Peace.*

<sup>97</sup> Conclusions of both Houses of the BiH Parliamentary Assembly No. 01-020661/03, dated 23.4.2003.

<sup>98</sup> Programme of Activities for Implementation of Priorities for 2004 contained in the EC Report to the EU Council of Ministers on Feasibility of Negotiations Between BiH and EU on SAA

and coordinate the work of seven consultative working groups, in order to develop the EU Integration Strategy of BiH. The working groups were made up of civil servants – experts in different fields included in the Strategy, European integration coordinators from FBiH, RS and the Brcko District BiH, and staff from Entity ministries appointed to represent their institutions in the process of preparing the Strategy. The BiH Council of Ministers passed a Conclusion on announcing a public invitation to external experts, in order to attract as many experts from across the country as possible.

Public competition for offers for services in developing strategic documents for accession of BiH to the EU was published on 23 January 2004, in daily newspapers and at the Directorate's web site. The Council of Minister's competition committee confirmed that of 105 applicants, 80 met the criteria. The Directorate has data on all the experts and their respective fields of expertise, in order to use their services in future activities on developing similar strategic documents.

In the period from 1996 to 2004, the structure of the Council of Ministers changed three times, both in terms of the number of ministries and in terms of organization. In 1997, the Council of Ministers comprised three ministries, and in 2000, it comprised six. Until 2003, co-chairmen, who were also ministers in one of the ministries, chaired the Council of Ministers and they rotated in office every eight months. Pursuant to the 2003 Law on the Council of Ministers, the position of the chairman of the Council of Ministers was set for a term of office of four years. In particular, the chairman of the Council of Ministers coordinates and follows activities

of BiH institutions related to integration of Bosnia and Herzegovina into the EU.<sup>99</sup>

The changes in structure and competences of the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period 1996-2004 allow for the functioning of BiH institutions in the process of integration of BiH into the EU. In addition to the above, these reforms in the role, structure and organization of the Council of Ministers provide the precondition for successful trends in the process of creating a functional state of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Council of Ministers and entity governments have translated reform points and requirements of the Stabilization and Association Process into action plans for implementation of priority reforms. Actions plans serve as guidelines and priorities for work of the Council of Ministers in the European integration Process. With a view to successful preparations for negotiations, signing and implementation of the Stabilization and Association Agreement, the Council of Ministers works continuously on improving institutional capacities and functional development of BiH to assume the commitments arising from the status of a candidate country and EU membership.<sup>100</sup>

The aforementioned breakdown of the changes in power and structure that was undergone throughout the time span of this event is critical in analyzing the various media sources. The Council of Ministers has a crucial role within BiH government and critical decisions that affects the entire society. Throughout the changes it went various entities throughout BiH gained heightened levels of frustration with the

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<sup>99</sup> For details, see the Law on the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Official Gazette of BiH, No. 30/03.

<sup>100</sup> Bosnia and Herzegovina, Government Official Report, European Integration Strategic Progress,



government while others were satisfied with the progression of the Council of Ministers and other governmental bodies. The key aspect is the significance of a role that the Council of Ministers play in initiating the journey towards the European Union and European integration for the nation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and embody and enact the steps it will take to make this a reality for BiH.

### **3.1 Event Analysis: BiH Launch Journey to European Union**

The articles analyzed for this event extended through the period 8<sup>th</sup> October 2008 – 30<sup>th</sup> October 2008. The keywords used for filtering the articles were: Bosnia-Herzegovina and European Union with the time frame period search set to September 2008 – 15 November, 2008. The total number of analyzed articles is 5 (1 from *Nezavisne Novine*, *Dnevni Avaz*, *Oslobodjenje*, *SRNA*, *Dnevni List*). Throughout the analysis many articles during the time period analyzed for this event took a very strong or neutral position on the subject at hand. The articles went from either supporting the efforts toward the European Union to negating the fact that it should be a priority for Bosnian politicians. The report submitted by *SRNA* was the most neutral by providing an unbiased summary of the Council of Ministers meeting proceedings in the endorsement of the SAA with the EU.<sup>101</sup> It states that “*The SAA was signed on 16 June in Luxembourg by Bosnia-Herzegovina Council of Ministers chairman Nikola Spiric, EU Enlargement Commissioner Olli Rehn, Slovene Foreign Minister*

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<sup>101</sup> Bosnian parliament's upper house endorses SAA with EU. (2008, October 27). Bosnia-Herzegovina. *BBC Monitoring Europe – Political – BBC World Monitoring* Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com/>

*Dimitrij Rupel, and EU foreign ministers*".<sup>102</sup> SRNA is a Bosnian-Serb news agency and provides a daily newspaper and contrary to other articles read from SRNA this is the most neutral by far and provides, "*The SAA is the first political and economic accord between Bosnia-Herzegovina and the EU and Bosnia-Herzegovina's first step in the process of European integration,*" and the article concludes with summarizing statement – that provides no ethnic-based bias – "*This confirms that Bosnia-Herzegovina may become an EU member.*"<sup>103</sup> The article has a strong professional tone and the manner that it is written is very non-biased and slant is not detectable throughout the analysis of this article.

The most controversial article analyzed was the article from *Dnevni Avaz* (Bosniak) and *Nezavisne Novine* (Bosnian Serb). These two articles were identical in the information provided, but just different news agencies. This article portrayed an extremely negative tonal commentary throughout the entirety of the article.<sup>104</sup> It states, "*Once the dust has settled after the election, Bosnia-Herzegovina politicians should get their heads together and step up the activities to meet the conditions which will allow Bosnia-Herzegovina to resume its journey to the EU*".<sup>105</sup> The article continues to provide negative feedback on the performance of the nation's leaders from the Bosniak perspective by stating, "*It is difficult to see our top politicians embracing this particular interest*".<sup>106</sup> The article displays the sentiment that the

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid

<sup>103</sup> Ibid

<sup>104</sup> Commentary says EU agenda not a priority for Bosnian politicians. (2008, October 8). Bosnia-Herzegovina. *BBC Monitoring Europe – Political – BBC World Monitoring*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com/>

<sup>105</sup> Ibid

<sup>106</sup> Ibid

citizens of BiH want the progression towards EU membership to continue and including the Office of High Representative, but not the government apparently. The outside assistance of the European Union hub – Brussels is what the citizens are calling upon in the statement, “*Lajcak and Bosnia-Hercegovina citizens are rightly turning their eyes to Brussels. However, the messages coming from Bosnia-Hercegovina’s political centres of power indicate that they want to move in the opposite direction. Nikola Spiric, the most incompetent prime minister post Dayton Bosnia-Hercegovina has specified on several occasions that out of 30 set priorities, not even half are likely to be implemented by the end of this month.*”<sup>107</sup> This statement provides a clear negation towards the political arena in BiH for a newspaper article from any reputable news or media agency. The article is distinctively infused with clear ethnic-based bias and is thus labelled as such as the results in this media content analysis.

The article analyzed that resulted to be “somewhat ethnic-based bias” were articles published by *Dnevni List*, *Nezavisne Novine*, and *Oslobodjenje*. *Dnevni List* provides an overview of a Bosnian-Croat political leader’s opinion on the progress towards European integration and the intra-conflicts and issues facing BiH society during the latter part of 2008. He stated, “*The situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina is significantly worse than has been portrayed.*”<sup>108</sup> The most pertinent concern for Mr.

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<sup>107</sup> Bosnia meets “only” 13 short-term conditions for progress toward EU entry. (2008, September 29). Bosnia-Herzegovina. *BBC Monitoring Europe – Political – BBC World Monitoring*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com>

<sup>108</sup> Bosnian Croat leader tells British MPs “situation worse than portrayed. Covic: Situation is Worse Than Portrayed. (2008 October 22). Bosnia-Herzegovina. *BBC Monitoring Europe – Political – BBC World Monitoring*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com>

Covic that was displayed in the article was constitutional reform. He stated, “*the key thing at this moment is reform of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Constitution, for which we need help of the British, US, and EU administrations,*” and through his emphasis of the assistance needed by external actors leads towards a bias towards the internal political actors and although a political leader himself he specifically identifies as Bosnian Croat for the media sources that shows somewhat ethnic-based bias.<sup>109</sup>

Conclusively, the article portrays a somewhat uncertainty of positive progress that can be conducted on behalf of the national government in Bosnia-Herzegovina by the statement, “*that all representatives of the political parties had spoken in the names of their parties and that there was an array of opinions about Bosnia-Herzegovina.*”<sup>110</sup>

The *Oslobodjenje* article displays a Bosnian Serb leader’s perspective on the importance of the political election over the constitutional reform that was undergoing in the fall of 2008 in BiH.<sup>111</sup> The leader stated, “*changes to the country’s Constitution are not possible before the general election due in 2010, that the international community serves B-H politicians as a shoulder to cry on, and that I prevents them fro negotiating important issues among themselves.*”<sup>112</sup> The commentary provided a high level of ethnic-based bias solely focusing on the potential challenges that constitutional reform could cause on the Bosnian Serb population whom may have been involved within the war in any way. The

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid

<sup>110</sup> Ibid

<sup>111</sup> Bosnian Serb leader says constitutional reform not possible before election. Constitutional Changes After 2010 Election (2008 October 29). Bosnia-Herzegovina. *BBC Monitoring Europe – Political – BBC World Monitoring*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com>

<sup>112</sup> Ibid

“somewhat ethnic-based bias” label was given for this article by the means that it is still not as negating as the *Dnevni Avaz* article. It brings insight towards the EU talks between BiH and EU officials. It dispels a very strong tonal difference when questions refer towards Republika Srpska leaders and other Bosnian Serb leaders. This article provided questions in the interview that would lead to negative answers due to the way the questions were framed.

In summary of the analysis of the articles on BiH launch to the journey European Union, the important factor is focusing on the breakdown of ethnic-based bias supplied by each print media agency analyzed. The *SRNA* news agency was labelled the “neutral” ethnic-based bias due to the fact that it merely summarizes the Council of Ministers proceedings in the meeting endorsing the SAA. This Bosnian Serb news agency dispels the neutrality it seeks to produce to its audience. This is not to say *SRNA* is neutral of all ethnic-based bias, but is a mere finding from the overall analysis conducted throughout the content of the articles from this event. The “somewhat” ethnic-based bias articles derive from *Nezavisne Novine* (Bosnian Serb), *Dnevni List* (Bosnian Croat), and *Oslobodjenje* (Bosniak) news agencies. The Bosnian Croat and Bosnian Serb articles focused on identical areas of the issue towards further progression for European integration. Blame was put on the RS leadership by the Bosnian Croat paper while the government in the general sense was articulated as the problem in the Bosnian Serb article. The varying levels of ethnic-based biases does not solidify that Bosnian Croat news is anti-RS, but it provides an indicator that RS leadership is not seen in a positive light by the Bosnian Croat press. Bosnian Serb media in this sense seems to rarely point the finger back to themselves

when there is an issue in the government. They generalize the issue rather than point fingers in this case. The Bosniak media agency *Dnevni Avaz* portrays the “clear” ethnic-based bias as it comments negatively towards the government, blames RS leaders for the halt in European integration progress, and ridicules the work of former Council of Minister Nikola Spiric in promoting EU and fulfilling conditionality measures set for BiH by the EU. This article provides an example of the Bosniak sentiment on issues towards the European Union. The expressiveness throughout the content of the article portrays a strongly opinionated agency.

## CHAPTER 4: VISA FREE SCHENGEN REGIME FOR BIH

At the 2003 Thessaloniki European Council meeting it was decided that the Western Balkans nations under political objective were granted visa-free travel. Towards this initiative the European Community in 2003 concluded visa facilitation and readmission agreements with Bosnia-Herzegovina, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Albania.<sup>113</sup> These agreements were entered into force in January 2008. Abiding to the Council's conclusion in December 2007 visa liberalization dialogues began with all five countries in the months following and the dialogues were based on fulfilment of requirements set out in details. The implementation and fulfilment of these requirements was regularly assessed in a detailed manner by the European Commission and assisted by the Member States expert mission within the five countries. On the guidelines of the roadmap presented by the European Commission, Bosnia-Herzegovina made significant progress in bettering passport security, strengthening border controls, reinforcing the institutional framework to fight organized crime and corruption and as well as external relations and fundamental rights within BiH.<sup>114</sup> In April 2010 the Council, European Commission, and European Parliament completed an investigative assessment of the progress of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which resulted in the allowance of visa free travel to Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>115</sup> The remaining benchmarks for BiH to achieve are the strengthening of law enforcement capacity and effectiveness in implementation of the legal frameworks set out against organized crime and corruption of general and

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<sup>113</sup> Commission Press Release, MEMO/10/218 (May 27, 2010)

<sup>114</sup> Ibid

<sup>115</sup> Ibid

financial resources, harmonizing criminal codes with state-level codes with entity and Brcko district levels, and implementing the March 2010 action plan to establish the electronic data exchange between police and prosecution bodies.<sup>116</sup>

#### **4.1 Event Analysis: Visa Free Schengen Regime for BiH**

The articles analyzed for this event extended through the period 3<sup>rd</sup> November 2010 – 30<sup>th</sup> December 2010. The keywords used for filtering the articles were: Bosnia-Herzegovina and European Union with the time frame period search set to November 2010 – 31 December, 2010. The total number of analyzed articles is 5 (1 from *Nezavisne Novine*, *Dnevni Avaz*, *FENA*, *SRNA*, *Dnevni List*). Throughout the analysis many articles during the time period analyzed for this event took a very strong or neutral position on the subject at hand. The articles went from discussing the successful visa-free travel provided to BiH citizens on 15 December from illegal immigrants, civic state, and various EU conditionality measures to be met in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Two articles were categorized as having “neutral” ethnic-based bias and one was from *SRNA* while the other was from *Dnevni List*. The *Dnevni List* article discussed the commentary from B-H Border Police Chief Director Vinko Dumancic regarding speculation on BiH being a port of entry for illegal immigrants and the successful work of Border Police in securing the EU’s trust with allowing visa-free travel throughout BiH. Dumancic praises his organization’s work by stating, “*we have been a highly serious element in the efforts to get visa-free travel. With this we have proved that we are a highly serious agency, having in mind the work tasks that*

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid



we fulfilled.”<sup>117</sup> The mandate on having a biometric passport is was also discussed by Dumancic, B-H Border Police Chief Director, in detail, “*You know very well that B-H citizens are required to have biometric passports for visa-free travel, and this is something that we are in control of. All our international border crossings already have biometric passport readers. Our neighbors also control this, and this in my opinion is very good control.*”<sup>118</sup> Dumancic continues a positive attitude throughout the article by proclaiming, “*We will work on bringing Bosnia-Herzegovina as close to the EU as possible.*”<sup>119</sup> This article provided informative details regarding the role the Border Police had throughout the process of gaining EU visa-free travel and there were no clear ethnic-based biases throughout the entirety of this article. The *SRNA* article outlines Bosnia-Herzegovina’s Security Minister Sadik Ahmetovic’s commentary on the visa-free travel victory for BiH. He states, “*today’s EU decision to abolish visas is a clear message that Bosnia-Herzegovina has European prospects and that the country should continue on its path to the EU.*”<sup>120</sup> The positive tone in Ahmetovic’s speech is free of any type of ethnic-based bias and only of a political leader ecstatic for the future potential of his nation. He declared that, “*all EU member countries voted for the decision on the liberalization of the visa regime...abolition of visas would be of great benefit of the people of Bosnia-*

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<sup>117</sup> Border police chief says Bosnia not attractive for EU-bound illegal migrants. B-H Is Not Main Route for Illegal Immigrants. (2010 December 29). Bosnia-Herzegovina. *BBC Monitoring Europe – Political – BBC World Monitoring*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com>

<sup>118</sup> Ibid

<sup>119</sup> Ibid

<sup>120</sup> Bosnia security chief hails EU decision to scrap visas. (2010 November 08). Bosnia-Herzegovina. *BBC Monitoring Europe – Political – BBC World Monitoring*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com>

*Hercegovina and that the established high security standards would be a security guarantee for B-H itself, the region and the EU.*"<sup>121</sup> Throughout this article there were no clear signs of political affiliation or mention of a political party or ethnic group, thus it was designated a "no ethnic-based bias" article.

There were two articles categorized as "somewhat ethnic-based bias" throughout the media content analysis and *Dnevni Avaz* and *Nezavisne Novine* published them. The *Dnevni Avaz* article was interview commentary by B-H Civil Affairs Minister Sredoje Novic. Novic alluded to the fact that BiH finally met requirements to fulfil the visa-free travel requirements set forth by the EU and would have no issue with having visas abolished for BiH citizens. He assured, "*their approach to the EU, deserved the abolition of visas, and I have no dilemma that this will happen.*"<sup>122</sup> The article denoted Novic as one of the most serious candidates for the Serb Republic prime minister seat in the upcoming election. Throughout the article Novic explains the creation of new laws and other areas of improvement to fulfil requirements set forth by the EU. The areas of concern derived in the commentary provided on the ethnic blocs in BiH and Novic's response. Novic proclaimed, "*I see no problem in the ethnic blocs, provided that the leaders and the party leaderships have the democratic attitude to the formation of authorities...we should really stop being burdened with the past; we must turn to some new pro-*

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid

<sup>122</sup> Bosnian minister says country met requirements for EU visa-free travel. "There Is No Dilemma, Visas Will Be Abolished!" (2010 November 03). Bosnia-Herzegovina. *BBC Monitoring Europe – Political – BBC World Monitoring*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com>

*European values and issues.*"<sup>123</sup> The article touched upon speculative stories that Novic was receiving instructions from RS headquarters by the RS prime minister. He shot this claim down by stating, *"These are senseless speculations...I am the only minister in B-H who visited all the cantons and spoke to all the respective ministers and the prime ministers of the cantonal and the entity governments...I think that the key problem in B-H is the incompetence of the ministers and the personnel."*<sup>124</sup> Novic concluded the interview by providing an overview of the political dialogues that were on going in late-2010 between the interethnic government. He said, *"some people thought that they could manage B-H and the people in B-H...they forgot that B-H consisted of two entities and the three ethnic groups and that we had to sit down and talk...I am confident that B-H can be a fully functional state, if we choose people who want to take B-H to the EU, but also to create B-H to suit all of us."*<sup>125</sup> The sole reasoning behind categorization of "somewhat ethnic-based bias" was determined by the RS representation of Minister Novic and the speculative stories regarding RS leadership. The *Nezavisne Novine* article provides commentary from Igor Radojicic, speaker of the RS National Assembly and deputy chairman of the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD). Although a lengthy article the commentary regarding visa-free travel was short and straightforward. Radojicic stated, *"We satisfied the conditions, and that was a long list of 174 conditions, back in the spring. We were twice visited by monitoring teams and commissions from the European Commission that came to assess our progress. I think that it is all now a technical*

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid

<sup>124</sup> Ibid

<sup>125</sup> Ibid

matter and that as of the new year or a little before, B-H citizens will be able to travel freely to Schengen countries.”<sup>126</sup> The article was categorized as “somewhat ethnic-based bias” primarily due to the party representation of Radojicic.

The article deemed “clear ethnic-based bias” derived from *FENA* and provides commentary from a Muslim leader regarding the visa-free travel regime. The president of the Party of Democratic Action Sulejman Tihic began by stating, “*Lack of dialogue, readiness for agreement and compromise, stagnation of the process of intern integration and road of BiH towards membership to EU are some of the basic characteristics which marked 2010.*”<sup>127</sup> He applauds BiH by its success of fulfilling the requirements, but signifies his sentiment towards RS and its leaders by professing that, “*Anti-Dayton actions and rhetoric is still tolerated, mostly from RS and its officials, in the sense of denying the state of BiH...Court, Prosecutor’s Office, SIPA are especially denied.*”<sup>128</sup> Tihic builds upon negative tonal usage when moving from visa-free travel regime to discussing political actions of the RS leadership. It designates the position as the article categorized as having “clear ethnic-based bias”.

In summary of the analysis of the articles on visa free Schengen regime for BiH, the important factor is focusing on the breakdown of ethnic-based bias supplied by each print media agency analyzed. The *SRNA* news agency was labelled the “neutral” ethnic-based bias due to the fact it was a portrayal of Security Minister

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<sup>126</sup> Serb entity Speaker says “civic state” ideal but unworkable. “Civic B-H Is a Fiction”. (2010 November 17). Bosnia-Herzegovina. *BBC Monitoring Europe – Political – BBC World Monitoring*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com>

<sup>127</sup> Muslim leader says lifting of EU visa requirements for Bosnia highlight of 2010. (2010 December 30). Bosnia-Herzegovina. *BBC Monitoring Europe – Political – BBC World Monitoring*. Retrieved from <http://www.lexisnexis.com>

<sup>128</sup> Ibid

Sadik Ahmetovic's thoughts on the victory of the visa-free regime for BiH. It discussed the varying accomplishments met by the government in fulfilling requirements set forth in the agreement for the visa-free regime set forth by the EU. Alike *SRNA* the *Dnevni list* article discussed the B-H Border Police Chief Director Vinko Dumancic's sentiment on how proud he was of his agency's work towards the visa-free regime victory for BiH. Both articles simply provided reassurance to the leaders in government of the successful job they did with the visa free regime victory. The two articles labelled "somewhat" ethnic-based bias discussed ethnic blocs and difference within BiH. The *Dnevni Avaz* article focused on Novic covering up the speculations that have been made upon him and his work as Civil Affairs minister. Speculations on the RS political leader provide another potential aspect that the Bosniak media agency targets Bosnian Serb leaders. The *Nezavisne Novine* article focuses on the positive-minded commentary from Igor Radojicic, speaker of the RS National Assembly and deputy chairman of the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD). Analysis of this event shows that this provides yet another Bosnian Serb media agency portraying an RS politician in a positive light, while Bosniak and Bosnian Croat media have portrayed them in a negative light. The *FENA* article deemed "clear" ethnic-based bias gave commentary from a Muslim leader ridiculing RS leaders on the progression of European integration. This seems to follow suit because *FENA* is favorable in Bosniak and Bosnian Croat audiences.

## Conclusion

Media is not just something that provides news everyday to us it is something much greater. It depicts how we think and derive our discourse on issues whether they are economic, social, or political concerns. It validates what we do in our everyday lives by professing the latest fashion, what the weather will be like, and what political party is doing what within the government within a nation. Therefore, one has to realize the significant importance our media plays in society to understand the general principles that media represents in daily lives. The fact that media portrayal of events can vary based on the ethnic origin of a given population shows that the nation has ethnic tensions within it and may be uneasy within interacting with one another. Although mere speculation that could be possible; however, the relevant fact is that media can be ethnic based in general, which could cause varieties of biases that citizens soak up to believe and live by.

This argument is supported by media analysis conducted in this thesis. In fact, by analyzing the role of ethnic-based media throughout various significant events that occurred in Bosnia-Herzegovina for their journey towards European integration and European Union membership it appears that ethnic-based media may be a factor in guiding public discourse on these issues. This analysis of different ethnic media and their portrayal of events leading up to EU accession has focused on the style of writing, tonal usage, and other speech and writing techniques, suggesting that they may be creating different social realities for their ethnic readerships with respect to Bosnia's integration into Euro-Atlantic bodies. The political scenario in Bosnia-

Herzegovina shows the interethnic setup is one that takes a longer time than other governments to settle or to come to any consensus. Nonetheless, as Bosnia-Herzegovinian government continues their journey towards the European Union one must understand the role the media plays within this journey. They write the story in playback from what the government does in conducting meetings, attending summits, and interacting with the EU officials in and outside the B-H borders. Also, they are still being somewhat ran by the federal government so depending who has majority leadership they have more manipulative powers in building a public discourse towards a specific initiative (EU) and against other ethnic-based people's and political parties. After the review of media in various forms covering various issues the relevance factor of how media can portray ethnic groups and there believe should be realized within news articles. The future towards European Union membership for Bosnia-Herzegovina relies on a government who will work together and come to consensus on fulfilling EU conditionality measures set, which also involves a society that supports the efforts of the government. The sight of this is unknown as the journey continues but from this standpoint the viability of the Bosnian government to fulfil the goal of EU membership is at least foreseeable in the future.

The media content analysis conducted on ethnic-based media in Bosnia-Herzegovina for this thesis portrays more of the media sources connected with the Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) population have clear levels of ethnic-based bias in reporting on the events analyzed. This eludes to the fact that majority of the print media agencies are based in Sarajevo, which is the Bosniak canton in BiH.<sup>129</sup> The

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<sup>129</sup> See Appendix I

chart shows for each event the number of articles labelled “neutral”, “somewhat”, and “clear” ethnic-based bias.<sup>130</sup> From the initial beginning of the analysis the Bosnian Serb media was sought out to be the heavy ethnic-based bias media, but contrary to the belief the Bosniak media fills that gap more. Finally, by acknowledging this insight the level of ethnic-based bias within Bosniak and Bosnian Croat media outweighs Bosnian Serb media that was analyzed in this thesis.

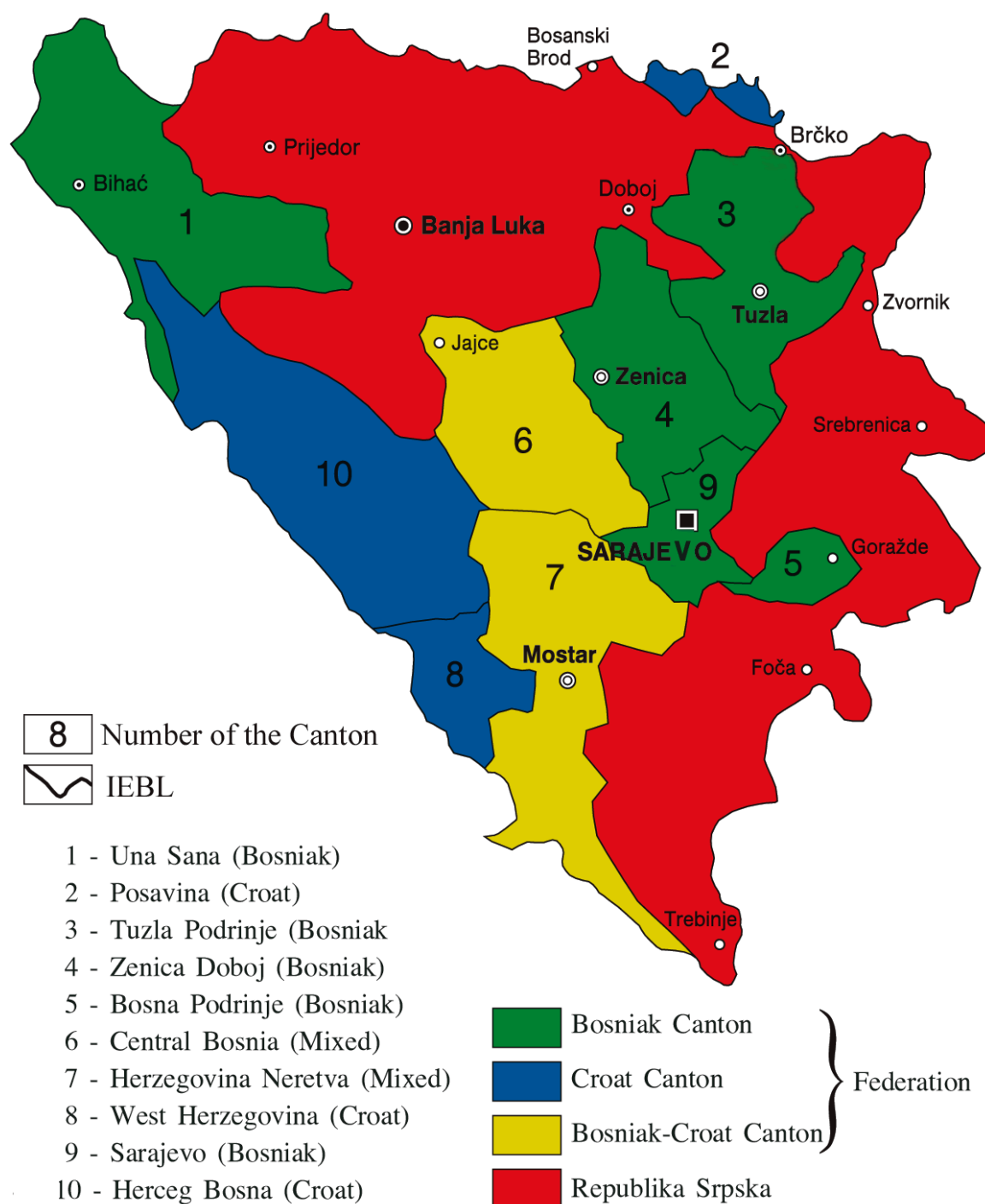
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<sup>130</sup> See Appendix II



## Appendix I. Administration Divisions Map of Bosnia-Herzegovina

Federation of BiH



## Appendix II. Media Content Analysis Findings Chart

	Clear	Somewhat	Neutral
1 Bosniak		3 - 1 Bosnian Croat / 2 Bosnian Serb	1 Bosnian Croat
1 Bosniak		3 - 1 Bosniak / 1 Bosnian Croat/ 1 Bosnian Serb	1 Bosnian Serb
1 Bosnian Croat		2 - 1 Bosniak/ 1 Bosnian Serb	2 - 1 Bosnian Croat / 1 Bosnian Serb

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