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An analysis of print media: Perceptions of national minorities in the Croatian press during the election campaign for the Croatian Parliament in 2003

This Project was carried out to serve the needs of the Council for National Minorities and the Office for National Minorities of the Government of the Republic of Croatia for the purpose of compiling the Report on the implementation of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in the Republic of Croatia.

The Project was executed using the newspaper documentation from the publishing company Vjesnik.

Note: Analysis of the perceptions of national minorities in the Croatian press during the electoral campaign for the Croatian Parliament in 2003 and the charts included herein are solely intended for the internal use of the Council for National Minorities and the Office for National Minorities, and no duplication nor dissemination of these materials and any part thereof shall be permitted without their express permission. All documents from newspapers which served as the basis for this analysis (found in the attached CD) are the property of the original publishers.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This research into perceptions of national minorities in the Croatian press was prompted by the period of the election campaign in the Republic of Croatia. The intent was to determine the extent to which minority issues were accorded coverage in the media, how they were presented, and to what extent the media are sensitive to minority issues. The research covers the period from 1 September to 1 December 2003.

Coverage of national minorities was analysed in the following weekly magazines: *Globus*, *Nacional* and *Feral Tribune*, and daily newspapers: *Večernji list*, *Jutarnji list*, *Vjesnik*, *Slobodna Dalmacija* and *Novi list*.

The objective of the analysis was to establish how many articles that in any way whatsoever speak of national minorities were published in each of the aforementioned newspapers. Furthermore, the number of articles on each individual national minority was also determined in order to ascertain how much attention was dedicated to each of the 22 national minorities in the Republic of Croatia.

After a quantitative analysis was conducted, the *method of journalistic presentation* of minority issues was analysed, i.e. which sections mostly featured texts on national minorities. The number of articles published in each of the following sections was determined: foreign affairs, domestic affairs, business and economics, regional news, *crime pages*^{*}, sports and culture. Here it is important to note that some of these sections contained no texts on national minorities (foreign affairs, business and economics, sports), while some other sections were examined which were not foreseen in advance, but which contained texts dealing with national minorities: letters to the editor, sections containing excerpts from other media, and sections that include columns, reviews, commentary, reactions and opinions.

Attention was then focused on the *themes* covered within these sections in the context of national minorities. Each article was categorised into one of the following themes:

- cultural autonomy

^{*} **Translator's note:** this is a reference to *Crna kronika* (literally: 'black chronicle'), a standard section in all Croatian newspapers (for which there is no direct equivalent in English-language media) that features news on traffic accidents, robberies, murders and other crimes, arrests of criminals, suicides, natural disasters and other matters with a tragic or 'dark' character.

- representation of national minorities in Parliament (analysed through several narrower themes:
 - discussion of methods for electing national minority representatives to Parliament and voting
 - statements by minority representatives
 - statements by representatives of the authorities (separately for the government and opposition)
 - texts pertaining to the election campaign for national minority representatives).
- statements by independent experts
- participation of national minorities in local government
- councils and representatives of national minorities
- participation of national minorities in the media
- refugee issues pertaining to national minorities
- cooperation between national minorities and their mother-countries
- everyday life of national minorities (analysed through several narrower themes:
 - national minorities involved in criminal activities
 - positive examples of inclusion
 - discrimination
 - national minorities engaged in cultural activities
 - existential problems faced by national minorities).

These themes were foreseen prior to the commencement of research, while during the analysis of articles some other themes were discerned which could not be classified in any of the above categories, so new ones were introduced:

- elections in general
- respect for minority rights
- incidental mention of minorities
- other.

After this, the article types (news, report, reportage, interview, commentary, column, review, sketch, analysis) that predominates in individual newspapers and in general were ascertained. Such an analysis served to confirm how deeply texts that deal with

national minorities delve into the core of minority issues (reportage, interview, analysis, i.e. longer journalistic forms = deeper analysis).

For each article, the page number containing the text was determined, and the position of the text on that page, which helped provide a response to the question of the importance of minority issues in individual newspapers and magazines.

Each text, as an analysis unit, was then subjectively assessed by the researcher in terms of how minority issues are perceived, from the extremely negative to the extremely positive approach (on a scale of 1 to 5, as follows:

- 1 – exceptionally negative
- 2 – negative
- 3 – neutral
- 4 – positive
- 5 – exceptionally positive).

Also analysed were the types of headlines on each analysis unit based on the following categories:

- informative
- neutral
- sensationalist.

Charts were drawn up for each of the aforementioned daily newspapers and weekly magazines, which reflect the number of analysis units that mention individual national minorities in each category.

The final phase of the research was a comparison of the data obtained, whereby a conclusion was reached on which newspapers wrote about national minority issues the most and the least. Also determined was the degree to which national minorities were covered objectively and impartially, whether in an affirmative or discriminatory fashion, whether in a sustained manner or only for a specific purpose (campaigns), and the extent to which each newspaper placed a sensationalist accent on their coverage of minority issues.

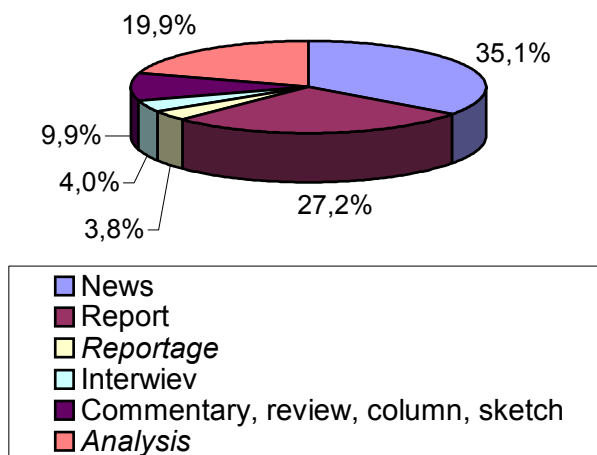
2. GENERAL ANALYSIS¹

2.1. DAILY NEWSPAPERS

During the period from 1 September to 1 December, 2003, a total of 702 published articles were analysed that dealt with national minorities either as their principal topic or only incidentally. It is worthwhile mentioning that some articles mention more than one national minority.

Based on journalistic form, the *news* (289) and *reports* (208) predominate, while there are considerably fewer long journalistic forms that delve deeper into the issues (*analyses* – 62, *interviews* – 30, *reportages* – 24). Additionally, 89 *columns, commentaries, reviews and sketches* were analysed.

Chart 1. Share of journalistic forms in all daily newspapers combined



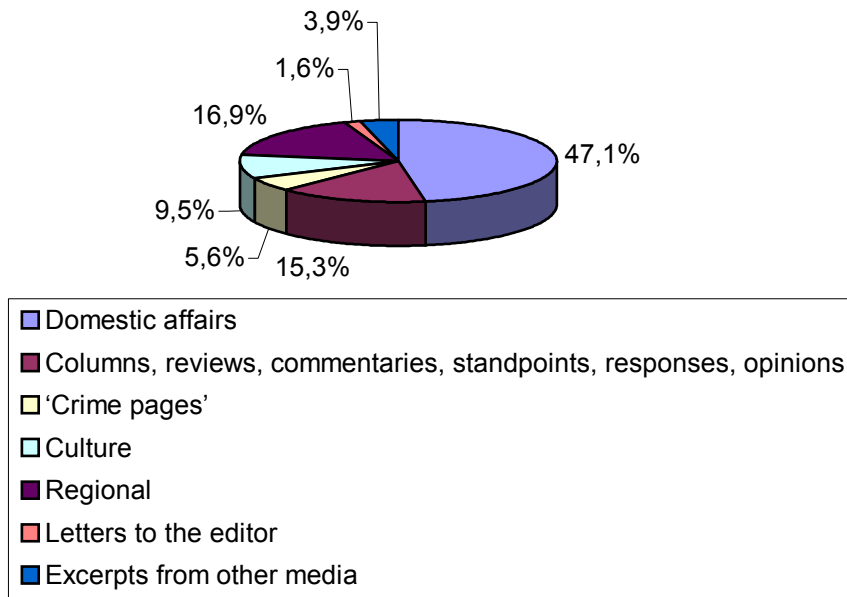
Within the total number of all cited journalistic forms, the most frequently mentioned is the *Serbian national minority* (news – 141, reports – 121, reportages – 12, interviews – 15, analyses – 41, columns, commentaries, reviews and sketches – 62), followed by *minorities in general* (news – 49, reports – 46, reportages – 6, interviews – 4, analyses – 31, columns, commentaries, reviews and sketches – 17), the *Roma national minority* (news – 18, reports – 25, reportages – 4, interviews – 4, analyses – 8,

¹ Note: In individual articles several minorities are mentioned, so the number of articles analysed in individual parts of the analysis need not correspond to the number of articles in the charts.

columns, commentaries, reviews and sketches – 9), the *Italian national minority* (news – 13, reports – 22, reportages – 1, interviews – 6, analyses – 16, columns, commentaries, reviews and sketches – 8), the *Jewish national minority* (news – 31, reports – 11, reportages – 4, interviews – 2, analyses – 7, columns, commentaries, reviews and sketches – 3), and the *Bosniac national minority* (news – 29, reports – 12, reportages – 2, analyses – 7, columns, commentaries, reviews and sketches – 2), while the remaining minorities are considerably less represented within the total number of journalistic forms.

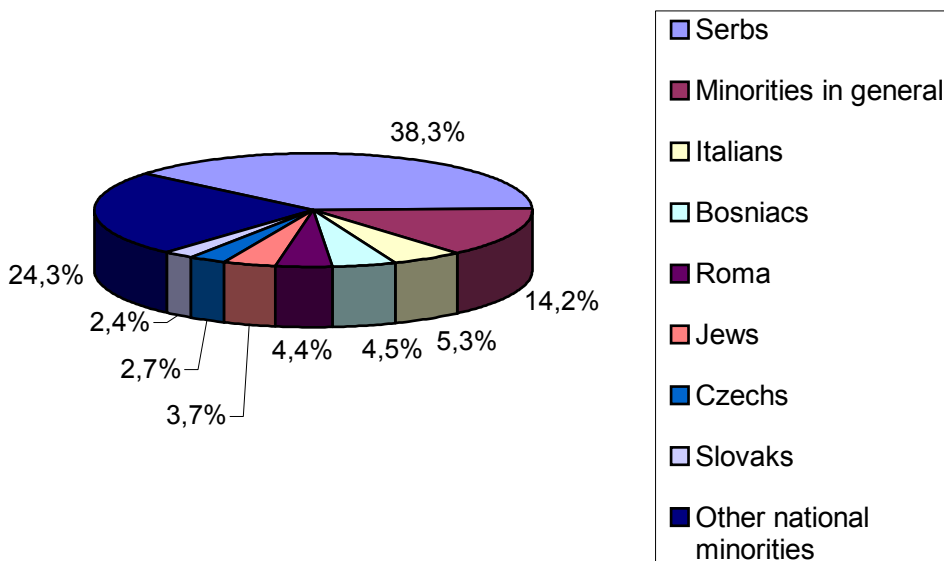
The largest number of articles were published in the *domestic affairs* category (491), followed by *columns, reviews, commentaries, standpoints, reactions and opinions* (67), then *regional news* (63), *culture* (36), *'crime pages'* (24), *excerpts from other media* (15), and *letters to the editor* (6). In the total number of articles in all categories, the most frequently mentioned is the *Serbian national minority* (domestic affairs – 319, columns, reviews, commentaries... - 27, regional news – 26, 'crime pages' – 3, culture – 2, excerpts from other media – 11, letters to the editor – 4), followed by *minorities in general* (domestic affairs – 123, columns, reviews, commentaries... - 15, regional news – 6, culture – 7, excerpts from other media – 2), and then the *Roma national minority* (domestic affairs – 37, columns, reviews, commentaries... - 9, regional news – 13, 'crime pages' – 6, culture – 1, excerpts from other media – 1, letters to the editor – 1), the *Italian national minority* (domestic affairs – 44, columns, reviews, commentaries... - 2, regional news – 6, culture – 10, excerpts from other media – 2, letters to the editor – 2), the *Jewish national minority* (domestic affairs – 31, columns, reviews, commentaries... - 6, regional news – 6, 'crime pages' – 1, culture – 13, excerpts from other media – 1), the *Bosniac national minority* (domestic affairs – 38, columns, reviews, commentaries... - 4, regional news – 7, 'crime pages' – 3), while the remaining national minorities are mentioned considerably less in these individual sections.

Chart 2. National minorities mentioned by section in all daily newspapers combined



According to the data in Chart 1, the majority of sections in daily newspapers most frequently mention the *Serbian national minority* (domestic affairs – 319 articles; columns, reviews, commentaries... - 27 articles, regional news – 26 articles). The 'crime pages' sections most often mention the *Albanian* (9 articles) and *Roma* (6 articles) national minorities, while the culture sections are dominated by the *Jewish* (13 articles) and *Italian* (10 articles) national minorities.

Chart 3. Coverage of national minorities in domestic affairs sections in all daily newspapers



The theme *minority representatives in Parliament* is the topic of the largest number of articles published from 1 September to 1 December, 2003, and consists of these sub-themes:

- *Methods for electing minority representatives to the Croatian Parliament:* within this sub-theme minorities in general are the most frequently mentioned – 68 articles, then the Serbian national minority – 64 articles, the Italian national minority – 28 articles, the Czech national minority – 12 articles, and the Slovak national minority – 11 articles.
- *Election campaigns for national minority representatives:* only the Serbian national minority received significant coverage – 41 articles, followed by the Czech national minority – 11 articles.
- *Statements by minority representatives* (this sub-theme includes statements by minority representatives that do not directly pertain to their representation in Parliament): this sub-theme is dominated by statements of Serbian national minority representatives – 120, while the statements of other minority representatives, e.g. Italian – 17, and Roma – 10, are considerably fewer.
- *Statements by representatives of the authorities* (statements by representatives of the government and opposition were considered separately): most statements are tied to the Serbian national minority (government – 16, opposition – 12), and minorities in general (government – 17, opposition – 7)

Chart 4. Coverage of individual *sub-themes* under the theme "Minority Representatives in Parliament"

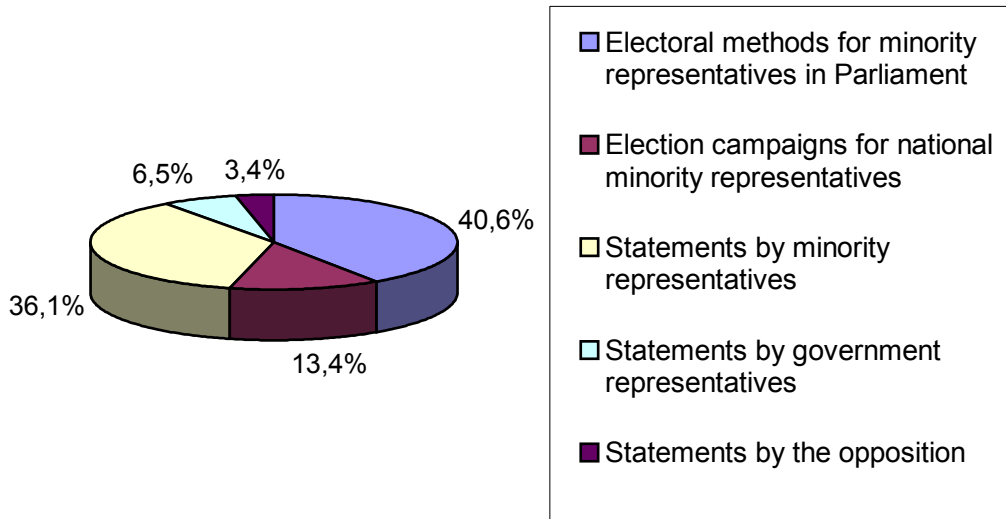
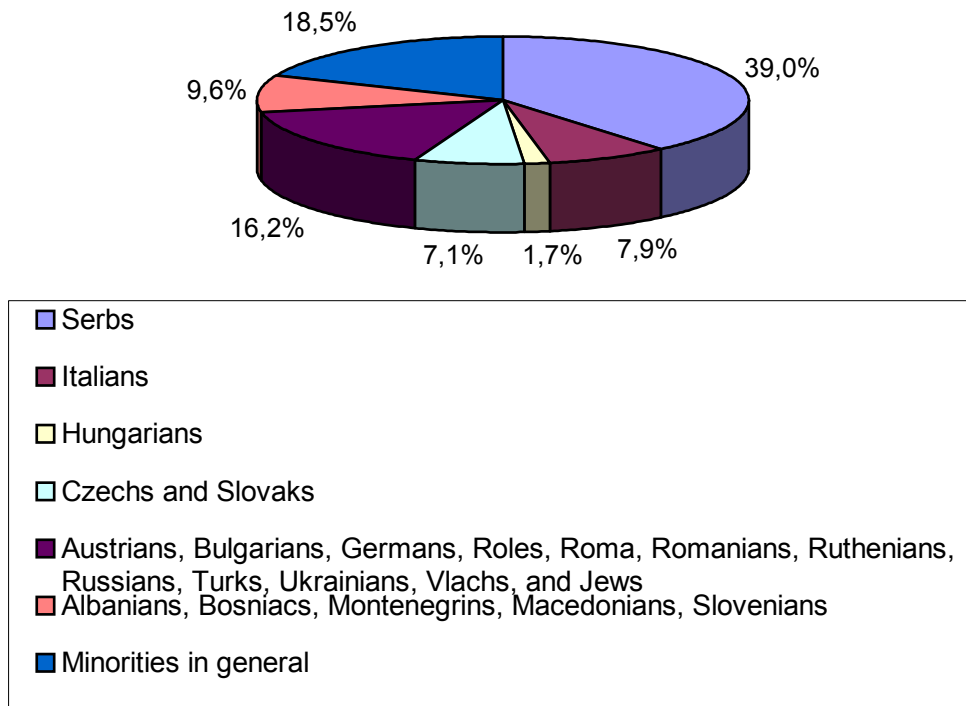


Chart 5. Coverage of minorities within the theme 'Minority Representatives in Parliament'



Elections in general (since a large number of articles that dealt with election issues were not exclusively tied to methods for electing minority representatives to Parliament, this sub-theme was introduced): the Serbian national minority was

predominant – 77 articles, followed by minorities in general – 33 articles, and the Bosniac national minority – 11 articles.

Statements by independent experts (not only statements which pertained to the election of national minorities to the Croatian Parliament were considered, but also statements tied to minority issues in general; this theme also includes statements by representatives of international organisations): the largest number of statements pertains to minorities in general– 14, and the Serbian national minority – 13.

Respect for minority rights: within this theme the Serbian national minority prevails – 37 articles, then minorities in general – 16, and the Roma national minority – 10.

Cultural autonomy: this theme has relatively low coverage in relation to political themes, and the Serbian national minority is most often mentioned in this context – 23 articles, then the Jewish national minority – 17 articles and the Italian national minority – 10 articles.

Councils of national minorities: a very small number of articles deals with this theme, and they are focused on minorities in general – 16 articles, and the Serbian national minority – 13 articles.

Participation of minorities in local government: based on the number of articles dedicated to this theme (Serbian national minority – 7, minorities in general – 4) one can conclude that daily newspapers accorded only a marginal significance to it.

Refugee issues: this theme is tied to the Serbian national minority, and given the number of 111 articles that deal with this theme, it follows that daily newspapers accord it a great importance.

The theme *everyday life* was broken down into following sub-themes:

- Minorities involved in criminal activities: the most frequently mentioned are members of the Albanian national minority – 9 articles, the Serbian national minority – 8 articles, and the Roma national minority – 5 articles. Thwe

conclusion can be drawn that the number of articles which mention minorities in this context is exceptionally small.

- Discrimination: within this sub-theme, the Serbian national minority is mentioned most often – 51 articles, then the Roma national minority – 28 articles, and minorities in general – 9 articles.
- Positive examples of inclusion (in comparison to the previous sub-theme, an exceptionally small number of articles contains positive examples of inclusion): Roma national minority – 9 articles, Serbian national minority – 5, and minorities in general – 4 articles.
- Minorities engaged in cultural activities: based on the number of articles that cover this topic (Italian national minority – 11, Jewish national minority – 10), the conclusion can be made that the cultural aspect of the lives of national minorities receives exceptionally low coverage in the media.
- Existential problems: this sub-theme is mostly tied to the Roma – 19, and Serbian national minorities – 27 articles (return, reconstruction of property, employment).

Chart 6. Coverage of individual *sub-themes* under 'Everyday Life'

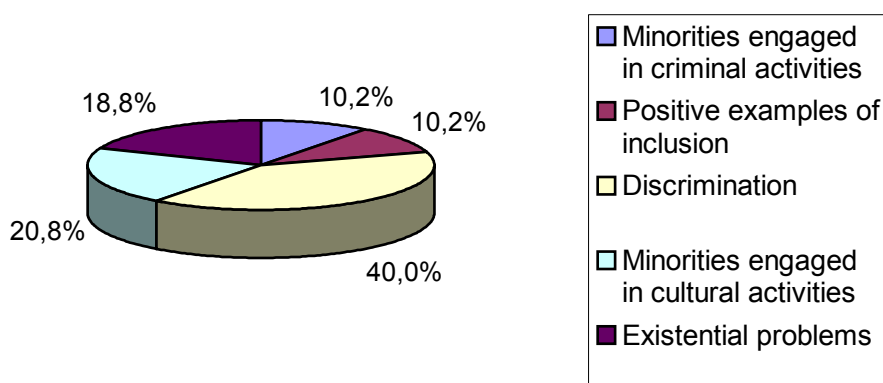
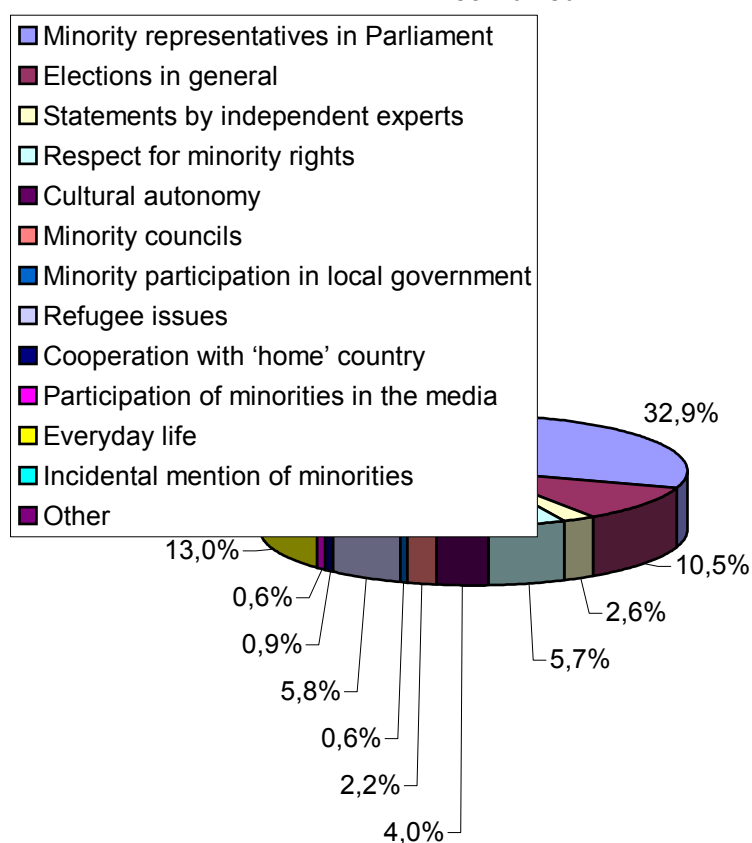


Chart 7. Share of *individual themes* in all daily newspapers combined



Headlines:

- Neutral – 170
- Informative – 375
- Sensationalist - 157

Assessment of articles:

- 1 (exceptionally negative) – 20
- 2 (negative) – 97
- 3 (neutral) – 464
- 4 (positive) – 91
- 5 (exceptionally positive) – 30

With reference to the position of texts on a given page, it has been observed that 310 articles were placed on the most visible right-hand side of the page, while the rest

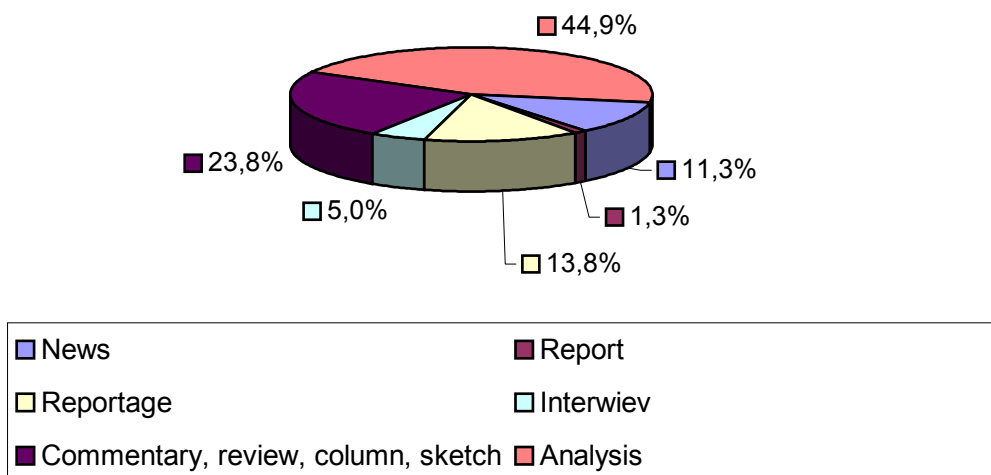
were placed on less noticeable parts of the page. It is important to note that 69 articles occupy the majority of the page, or the entire page or several pages.

2.2. WEEKLY MAGAZINES

A total of 47 articles published during the period from 1 September to 1 December 2003 were analysed, that dealt with national minorities either as their principal topic or only incidentally. It is worth mentioning that in most articles, national minorities are only mentioned incidentally within a different topic. Since this is a three-month period, the number of published articles shows that weeklies dedicate very little attention to national minority issues.

As regards the journalistic forms, equal representation was recorded for *columns, commentaries, reviews and sketches* – 14, and *analyses* - 14, followed by *reportages* – 9, *news* – 6, *interviews* – 3, *reports* – 1.

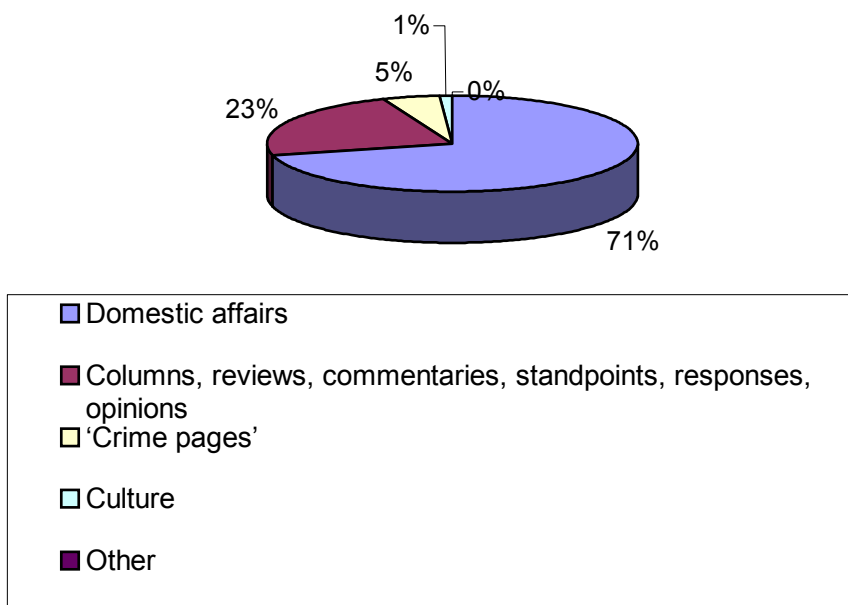
Chart 8. National minorities mentioned by *journalistic forms* in all weekly newspapers combined



Within the total number of all journalistic forms, the most frequently mentioned is the *Serbian national minority* (news – 6, reportages – 5, interviews – 2, analyses – 9, columns, commentaries, reviews and sketches – 9). Within the remaining number of journalistic forms, equal space is accorded to *other national minorities*, except *Turks* and *Macedonians*, who are not mentioned at all.

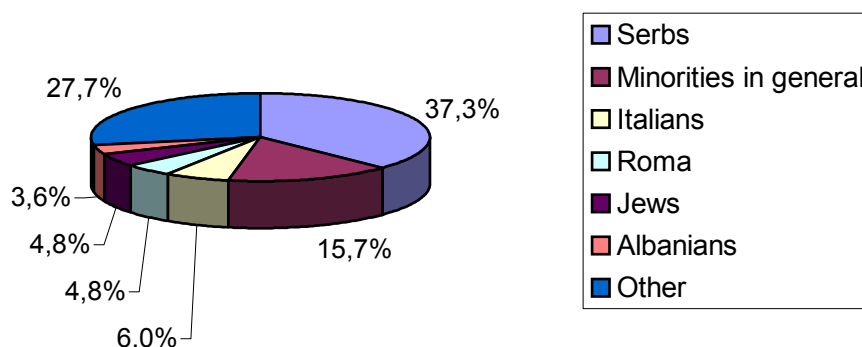
The largest number of articles were published in the *domestic affairs* section, and in sections featuring *columns, reviews, commentaries, standpoints, responses and opinions*.

Chart 9. National minorities mentioned *by section* in all weekly newspapers combined



According to the data in Chart 10, in most sections in weeklies the Serbian national minority is mentioned the most often.

Chart 10. Coverage of national minorities in all sections of all weeklies combined



The predominant themes are *minority representatives in the Croatian Parliament* (and the prevailing sub-themes: methods for electing minority representatives to Parliament and statements by minority representatives), *elections in general*, and *refugee issues*. In all of these themes, the Serbian national minority is mentioned most often.

Chart 11. Share of individual themes in all weeklies combined

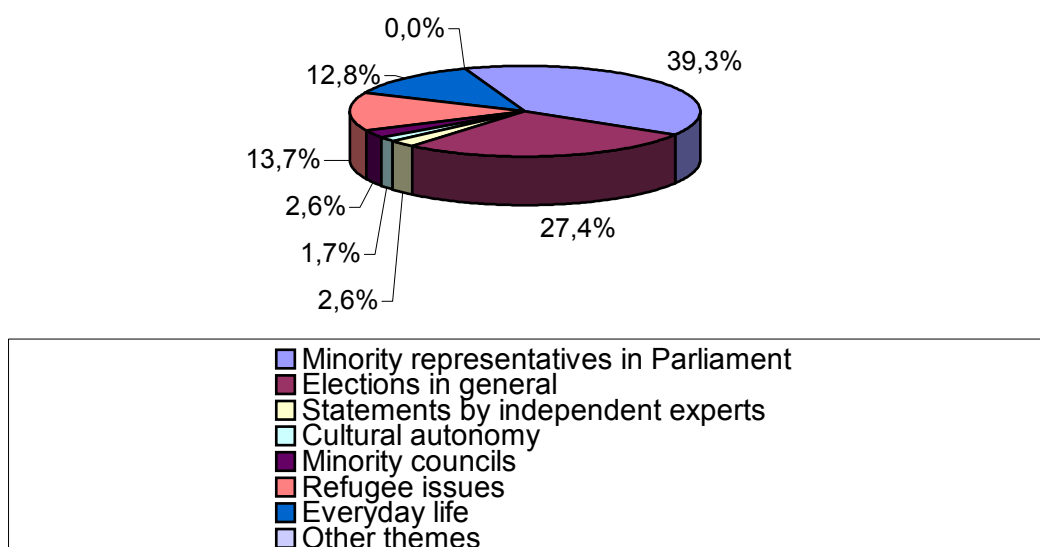


Chart 12. Share of individual sub-themes under the theme 'Minority Representatives in Parliament'

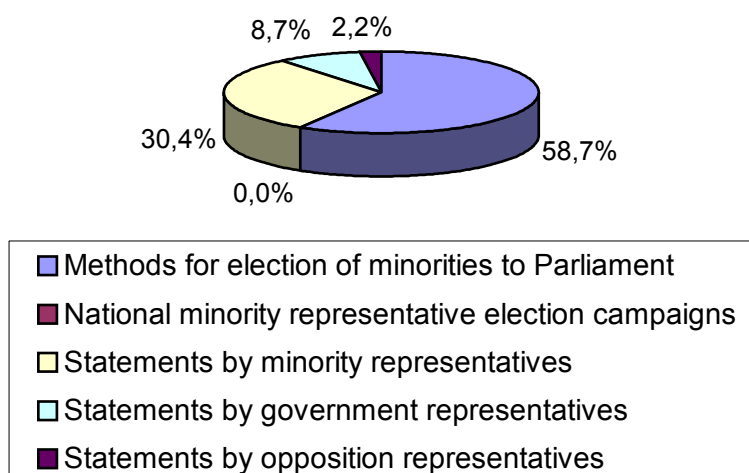
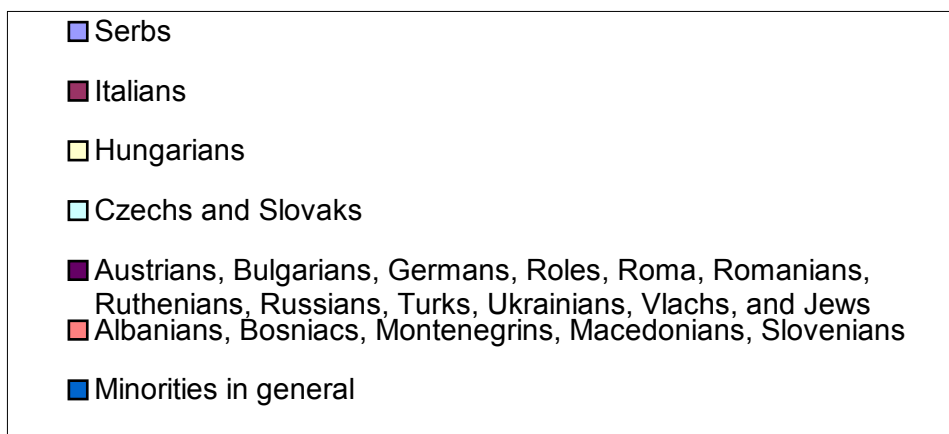
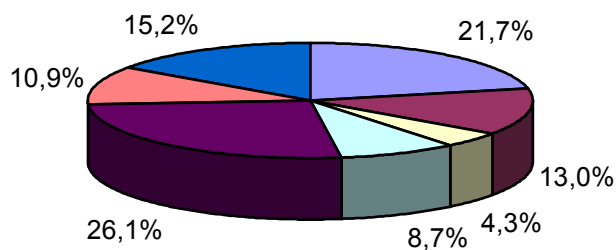


Chart 13. Share of minorities under *theme* 'Minority Representatives in Parliament' in all weeklies combined



Headlines:

- Neutral - 19
- Informative - 12
- Sensationalist – 16

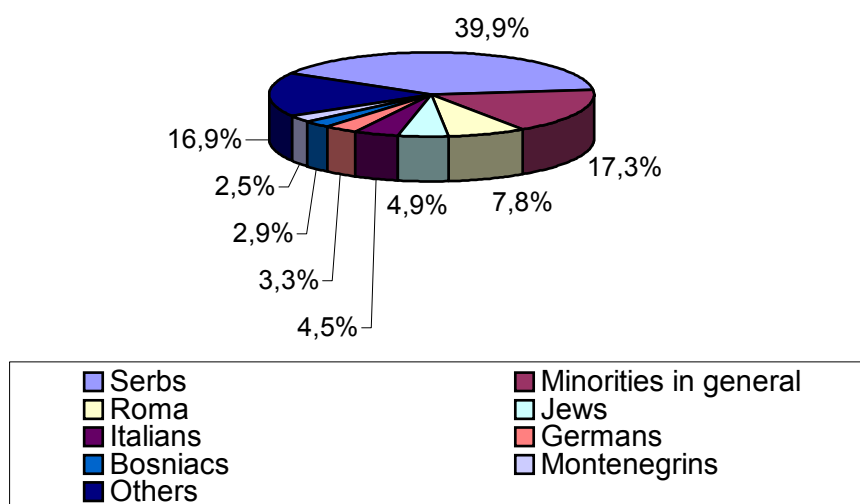
Assessment of articles:

- 1 (exceptionally negative) – 1
- 2 (negative) – 6
- 3 (neutral) – 34
- 4 (positive) – 6
- 5 (exceptionally positive) - 0

3. JUTARNJI LIST

From 1 September to 1 December 2003, *Jutarnji list* featured 169 articles that mentioned national minorities in any way whatsoever. Out of the national minorities covered by this daily newspaper, the most frequently mentioned were the *Serbs* (97 articles), followed by *minorities in general* (42 articles), *Roma* (19 articles), *Jews* (12 articles), *Italians* (11 articles), *Germans* (8 articles), *Bosniacs* (7 articles), *Montenegrins* (6 articles), *Hungarians*, *Czechs* and *Slovaks* (5 articles), and *Albanians* (4 articles), while the remaining minorities are mentioned in three, two or one article.

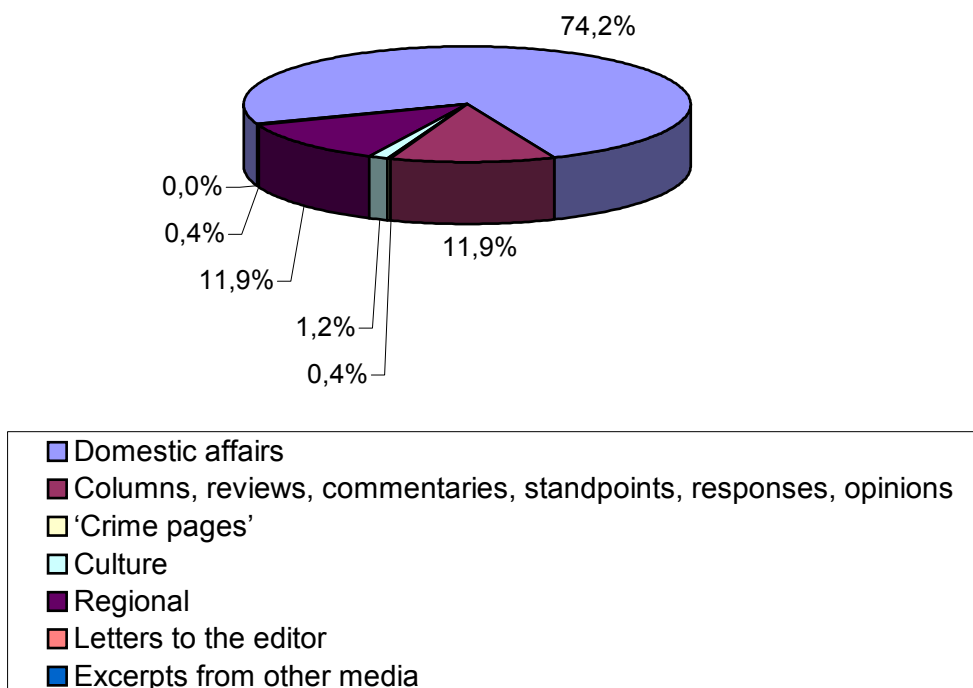
Chart 14. Coverage of national minorities in all sections of Jutarnji list combined



These articles featured most frequently in the *domestic affairs* section (107 articles), where Serbs are the most frequently mentioned minority (68 articles), followed by minorities in general (33 articles), Italians (8 articles), Roma (7 articles), Bosniacs and Montenegrins (6 articles), and others. This is followed by the *regional news* with 29 articles (Serbs – 16 articles, Roma – 8 articles, Jews – 2 articles, and Italians, Germans and minorities in general with 1 article each), and then *commentary, columns and reviews* with 28 articles (most coverage concerned the Serbian national minority – 13, and minorities in general – 8 articles). The *culture* section had 3 articles that pertained to the Jewish minority, while the *letters to the editor* had 1 piece that regarded the Roma minority. It is interesting to mention that only one article in the ‘*crime pages*’ section mentioned criminal activities by members of the

Albanian national minority (*Jutarnji list*, 2 November 2003, p. 8: “Three Albanians found holding 499 grams of heroine”).

Chart 15. Coverage of national minorities by section of Jutarnji list



After Prime Minister Ivo Sanader issued a statement calling on all Serbs to return, *refugee issues* became a top theme, and also the most frequently mentioned, naturally pertaining to the return of Serbian refugees—covered in 31 articles. The next most frequently presented theme was the election campaign. Thus *the election of minority representatives to the Croatian Parliament* is covered by 30 articles, again mostly focusing on the election of representatives of the Serbian national minority (19 articles) and the election of all national minorities (12 articles), followed by *elections in general* with 28 articles (Serbs – 19 articles, minorities in general – 11, Germans and Albanians – 4 articles, Italians, Czechs and Slovaks – 3 articles, Bosniacs – 2 articles, Austrians and Montenegrins – 1 article). The most *discriminated* minorities and the minorities most often mentioned in a negative context are Serbs and Roma, wherein this theme runs through 11 articles. There are quite a few news and reports in which all minorities are mentioned only *incidentally* (15 articles), while the Serbs are mentioned in this manner 4 times. Representatives of the Romanians, Slovenes, Ruthenians, Austrians, Vlachs, Macedonians and Turks are almost not mentioned at

all, and when they are it is in the same context as members of all other national minorities.

Chart 16. Coverage of individual themes in Jutarnji list

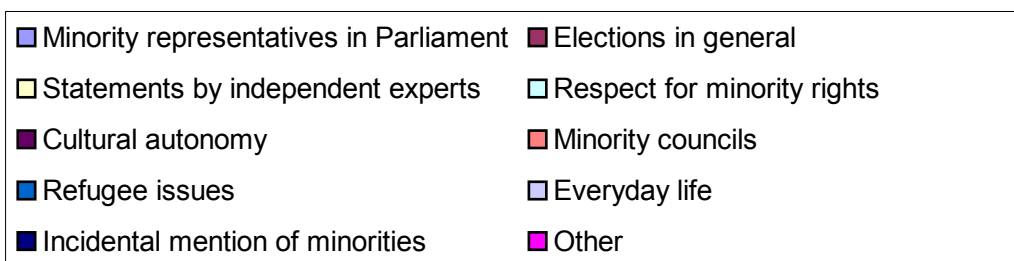
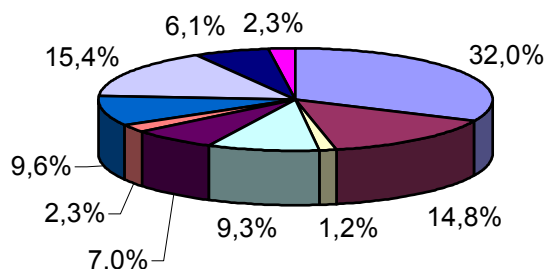
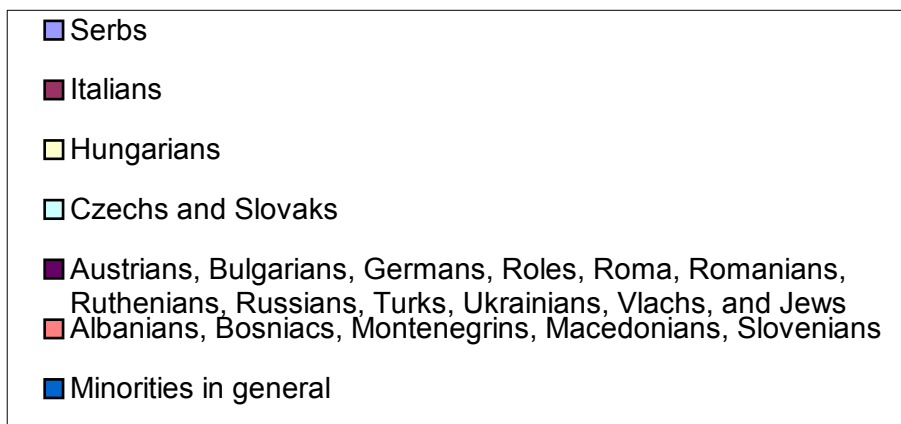
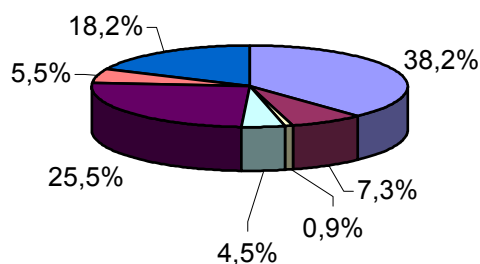
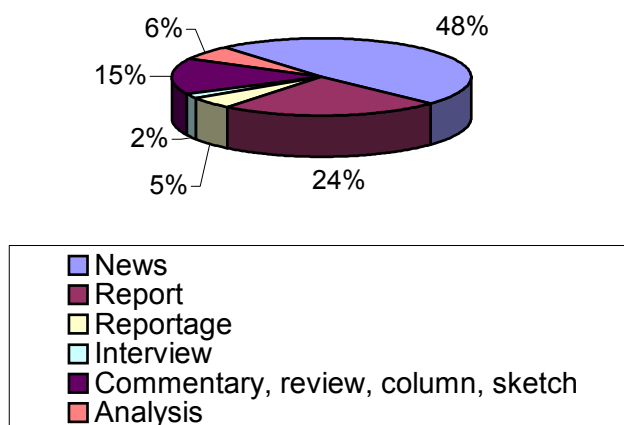


Chart 17. Coverage of national minorities under theme 'Minority Representatives in Parliament'



The types of articles lead to the conclusion that there were no deeper analyses and considerations of minority issues, as there were almost no *reportages* (9) nor *interviews* (6), while shorter texts such as *news* (71) and *reports* (46) were dominant. There were 29 *commentaries, columns, criticisms and sketches*, and 8 *analyses*.

Chart 18. Minorities mentioned based on *journalistic form* in Jutarnji list



The headlines, also vital for the overall presentation, can either attract readers to or repel them from a given text. In *Jutarnji list*, a total of 89 *informative* headlines were recorded, but by the same token there were as many as 63 headlines with a *sensationalist* character whereby the editors attempt, given their position, to attract more readers, even as the headlines have little to do with the actual text. There were 17 *neutral* headlines. Most of the headlines do not have any notable negative connotations – since most of the texts dealt with the elections, the texts on minorities and representatives of given national minorities were written informatively, in line with the headlines. The reason behind the large number of sensationalist headlines should be sought in the fact that minorities played a significant role both before and after the elections (prior to the elections there was daily coverage on the way in which members of minorities would be able to vote, while after the elections attention turned to their role in the Government, whom they would support, what conditions they would seek...), and so the editors attempted to focus attention on minorities using such headlines.

Because of this, these texts were largely positioned on *noticeable* parts of the page, i.e. 90 articles were in the *upper right-hand, middle, or lower right-hand* part of the page, while 51 articles were presented in *less noticeable* parts of the page. It should be

added that the remaining 28 texts encompass *one or more pages*, regardless of whether they only incidentally mentioned minorities or the entire text (usually this is a matter of reportages, commentaries and columns) dealt with a specific minority. Such texts were mostly found in the Saturday supplement, *Magazin*, which often features broader articles on minorities. Most of the articles were accompanied by photographs. The largest number of articles dealing with minorities were recorded over the weekends, i.e. on Fridays (40) and Saturdays (36), followed by Tuesdays (29) and Thursdays (24), while on Sundays only 8 articles dealing with national minorities were published during the period under observation.

Most articles have been assessed as *neutral*, 56 in all, primarily due to the very fact that these were news and reports, wherein the reporter only provides general information, so neither positive nor negative perceptions of minority issues can be appraised in such objective texts. Nonetheless, 49 of the remaining articles were assessed as *negative*, and 36 as *positive*.

Since 27 articles were published in *September*, 45 in *October*, and 97 in *November* (twice as many as in the preceding two months), November can be seen as something of a 'boom' for minorities, because there was daily and systematic reporting on the activities of national minorities, most often in the context of the elections. The minority group most often presented in all sections, themes and articles were by far the Serbs, usually in the context of the return of Serbian refugees and restitution of their property, methods for electing Serbian minority representatives to the Croatian Parliament, and elections in general.

Since reporters generally only mention minorities in news pieces, it can be asserted that there are no deeper analyses or reporting. The themes are generally presented in noticeable places, although both negative and positive examples were excluded from the cover page. The number of discriminatory articles is exceptionally low given the number of presented articles, while most negatively-toned writing concerns Serbs and Roma (7 November 2003, p. 71, "Bureaucracy prevented schooling of Roma honour students"; 14 November 2003, p. 22, "Unable to have surgery due to lack of health insurance"...). The 'crime pages' section only mentions minorities once, with reference to members of the Albanian national minority (2 November 2003, p. 8, "Three Albanians found holding 491 grams of heroine"). Although news and reports

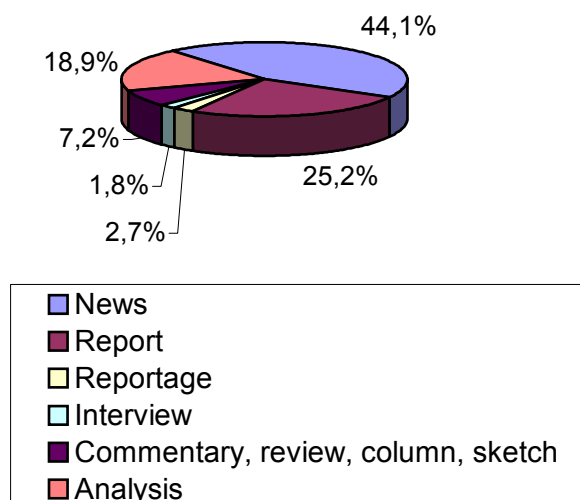
on the criminal activities of members of national minorities and discriminatory articles are often presented, it is important to mention positive examples as well, such as cultural activities and social inclusion of the Jewish national minority, and similarly, although to a smaller extent, of the Roma minority (23 November 2003, p. 6, “Roma girls in Istria learning about sexuality and contraception,”; 16 October 2003, p. 18, “Public forum on Roma illiteracy”).

4. VEČERNJI LIST

From 1 September to 1 December 2003, a total of 92 articles were published in *Večernji list* which dealt with minority issues. In *September* 29 articles were published, in *October* 26, and in *November* 37. The slight increase in November is the result of increased campaign activities by representatives of national minorities, public debate on the method for electing minority representatives to the Croatian Parliament, and discussions on the impact national minority representatives will have on the formation of the future government.

Based on journalistic forms, the shorter forms predominated (*news* – 46, *reports* – 23), while longer pieces that delve deeper into minority issues were much fewer in number (*analyses* – 10, *reportages* – 3, *interviews* – 2), with only 8 *commentaries, reviews, columns, and sketches*.

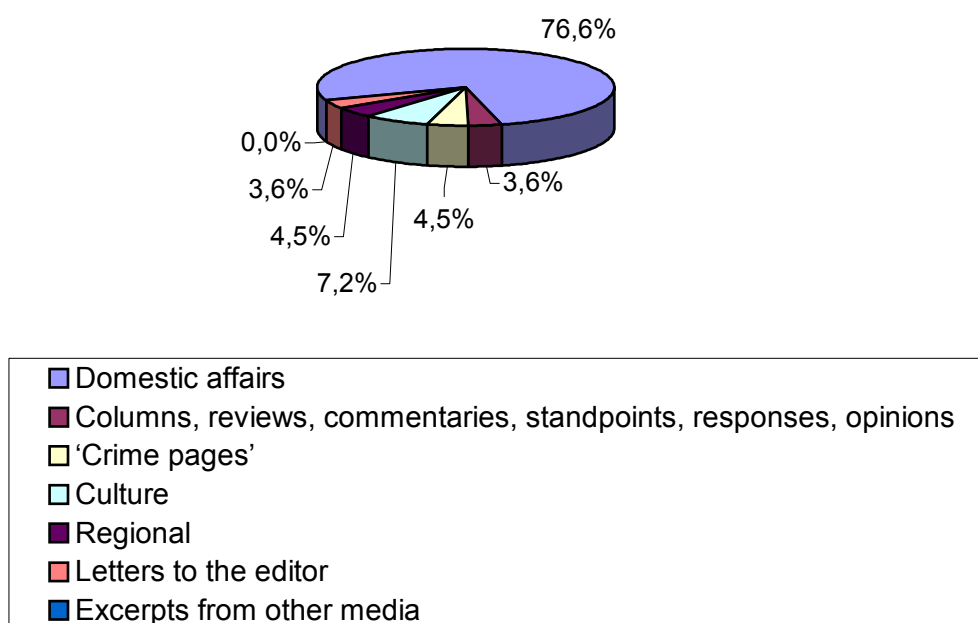
Chart 19. Minorities mentioned based on journalistic form in Večernji list



Out of the national minorities covered by this daily newspaper, the most frequently mentioned was the *Serbian national minority* (news – 20, reports – 14, analyses – 8, reportages – 2, interviews – 2, commentaries, reviews, columns, sketches – 4), followed by *minorities in general* (news – 7, reports – 5, analyses – 7, commentaries, reviews, columns, sketches – 1) and the *Roma national minority* (news – 4, reports – 6, analyses – 1, reportages – 1, commentaries, reviews, columns, sketches – 1), while the *Italian* and *Jewish national minorities* were mentioned much less in the total number of journalistic forms (Italian – 8 times, Jewish – 7 times). *Other* national minorities are as a rule mentioned incidentally.

The highest number of articles was published in *domestic affairs* section (67), while the number of articles published in other sections was negligible (*columns, reviews, commentaries...* - 4, *'crime pages'* – 5, *culture* – 7, *regional news* – 5, *letters to the editor* – 4).

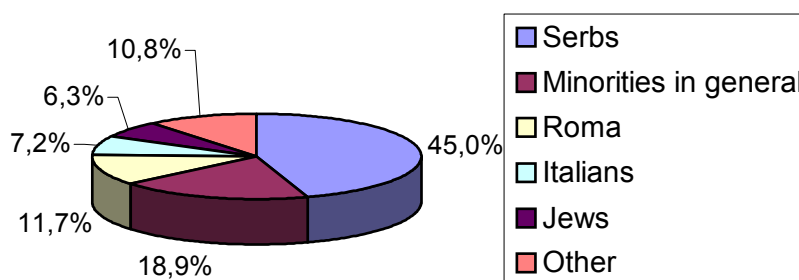
Chart 20. Coverage of national minorities by section in Večernji list



In the domestic affairs section, the most frequently mentioned is the *Serbian national minority* (44 articles), followed by *minorities in general* (18 articles), the *Roma national minority* (7 articles), and the *Jewish* (4) and *Italian* (4) national minorities. The Serbian national minority is the most represented in the section containing columns, reviews, commentaries... (2 articles). In the 'letters to the editor,' the

presence of the Serbian national minority (2 articles) is equal to that of the Italian (2 articles), while in the ‘crime pages’ section the Serbian national minority (2 articles) receives the same amount of coverage as the Roma national minority (2 articles). In the culture section, the Italian (2 articles) and Jewish (2 articles) national minorities prevail, while in the regional news the Roma national minority is mentioned most often.

Chart 21. Coverage of national minorities in all sections of Večernji list



The dominant themes in the content of articles are: *minority representatives in the Croatian Parliament* (within which the following are the most common sub-themes: *statements by minority representatives*, of which 18 are statements by representatives of the Serbian national minority; and *methods for electing minority representatives to the Croatian Parliament*, wherein the most frequently mentioned are minorities in general with 14 articles and the Serbian national minority with 10 articles; the sub-theme *election campaign for minority representatives* is reserved for the Serbian – 7 and Roma national minorities – 7 articles); *elections in general* (within which the Serbian national minority dominates – 13 articles); and *refugee issues* (exclusively tied to the Serbian national minority – 15 articles). Within the theme *respect for minority rights* the Serbian national minority is again the most frequently mentioned – 7 articles, while in the framework of *everyday life*, the sub-theme *discrimination* is again dominated by the Serbian national minority – 8 articles.

Chart 22. Coverage of individual themes in Večernji list

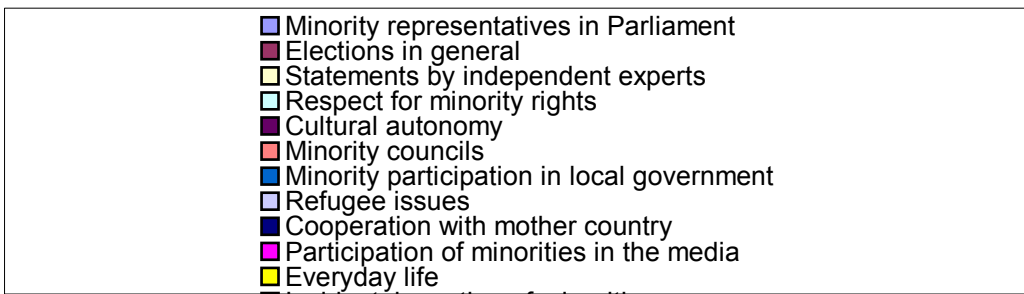
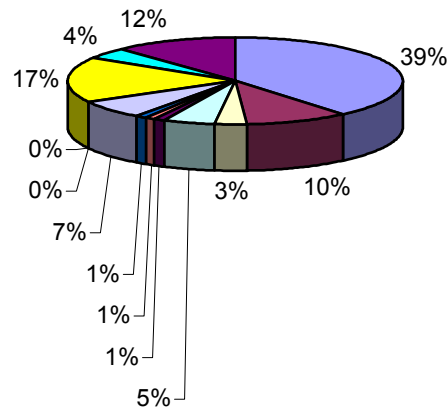
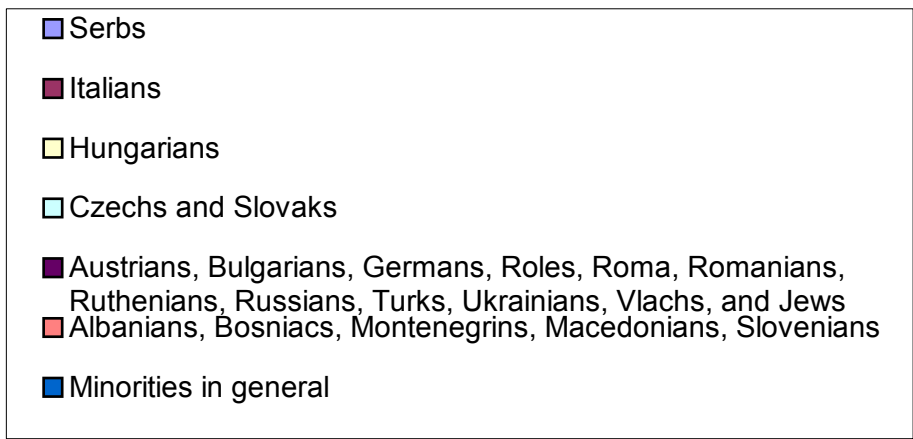
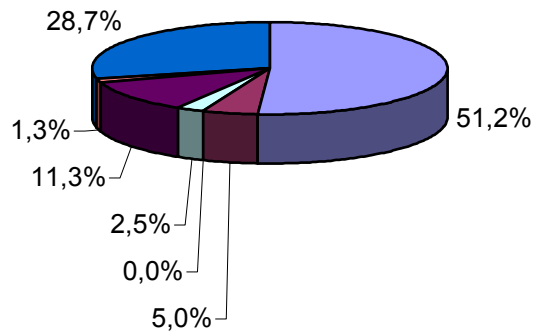


Chart 23. Coverage of national minorities under theme 'Minority Representatives in Parliament'



All of the above leads to the conclusion that the reporters and editors of *Večernji list*, with the exception of the Serbian and Roma national minorities (and the Italian and Jewish minorities to a lesser extent), consider all other national minorities marginal.

Headlines:

- Neutral – 19
- Informative – 64
- Sensationalist – 9

Assessment of articles:

- 1 (exceptionally negative) – 0
- 2 (negative) – 5
- 3 (neutral) – 82
- 4 (positive) – 5
- 5 (exceptionally positive) – 0

On the basis of the analysis of the headlines, and taking into consideration the assessment of articles, conclusion can be drawn that *Večernji list*'s coverage of minorities is generally balanced. However, it is worth noting that some headlines that were on the verge of being sensationalist avoided this classification only due to the obvious professionalism of the editors, who knew how to set and not cross the fine boundary when formulating headlines. Also, commentaries and letters to the editor published in *Večernji list* were assessed as negative, which explicitly indicates the orientation of this paper.

Out of the total number of articles, 30 of them were placed on the right-hand, more noticeable side of the page, while 4 articles covered an entire page or two pages.

5. SLOBODNA DALMACIJA

In *Slobodna Dalmacija*, a total of 93 articles were published that mention national minorities; out of this 17 articles appeared in *September*, 28 in *October* and 48 in *November*. The almost double amount of articles in November can be explained by the elections and the preceding campaign, when minorities were continually covered. The *domestic affairs* section presented the most articles (56), most of them dealing with the Serbian national minority (36) and minorities in general (17), while the remaining minorities were mentioned in the context of all other minorities. This section was followed by the *regional news*, and then the 'crime pages' section, while the section containing *excerpts from other media* had 5 articles dealing with national minorities.

Chart 24. National minorities mentioned by section in Slobodna Dalmacija

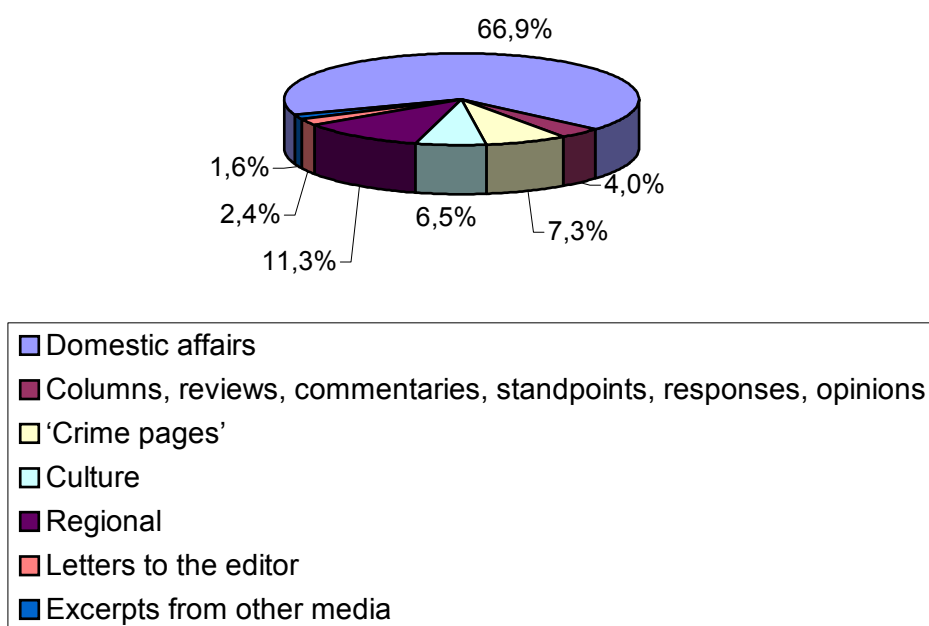
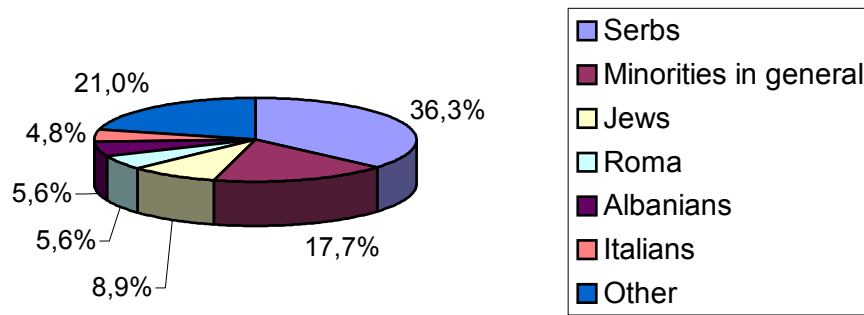


Chart 25. Coverage of national minorities in *all sections* of Slobodna Dalmacija combined



The most frequent theme was that of the *elections*. *Method for electing national minority representatives* to the Croatian Parliament was covered 15 times, *refugee issues*, pertaining to the return of Serbian refugees, was covered 22 times, and there were also 13 *statements by minority representatives* on the representation of minorities in the Croatian Parliament. The minority most often mentioned as being involved in some *criminal activity* is the Albanians (4 articles), while the theme of *discrimination* is mostly tied to Jews (4 articles), and then Serbs (3 articles).

Chart 26. Coverage of *individual themes* in Slobodna Dalmacija

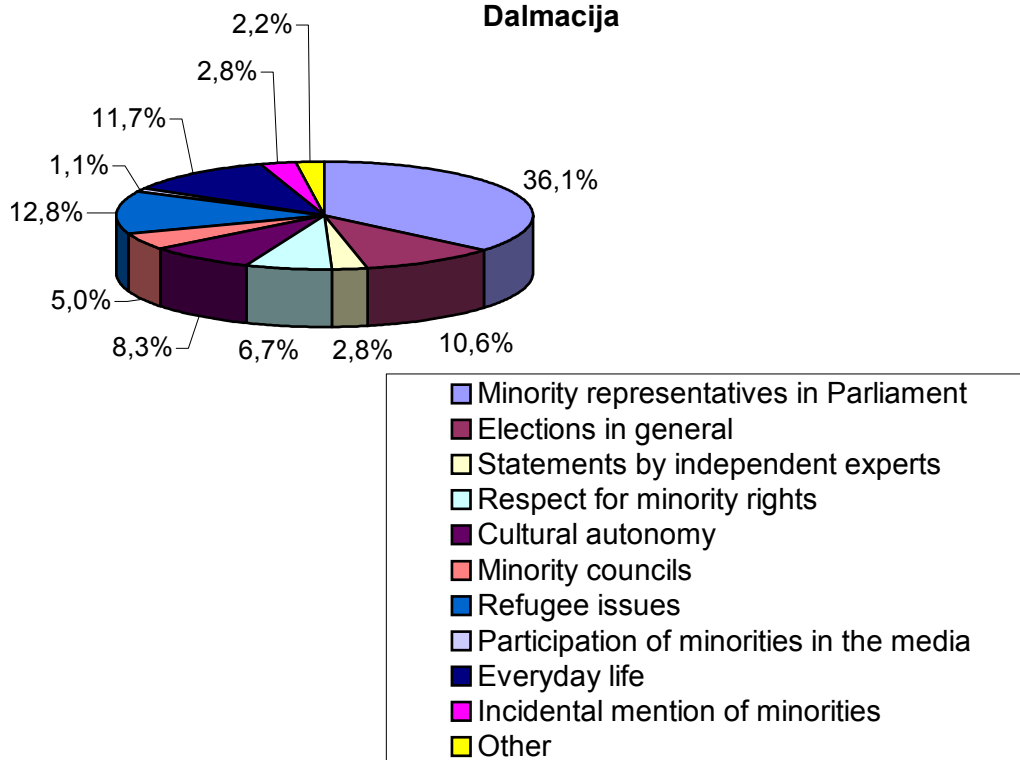
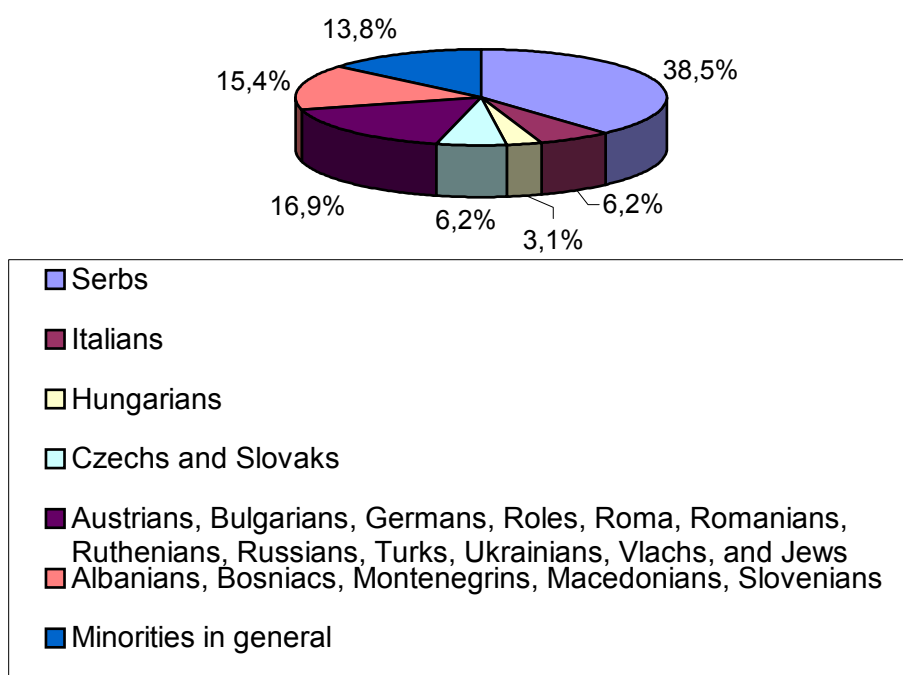
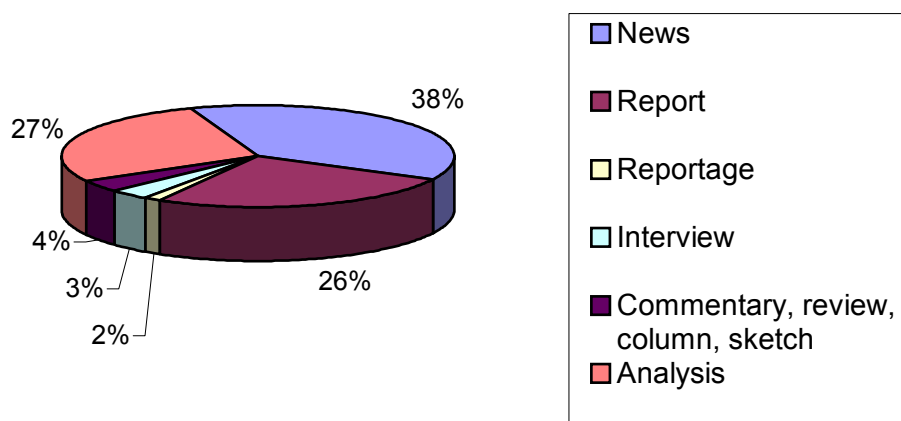


Chart 27. Coverage of national minorities under *sub-theme* 'Minority Representatives in Parliament'



Slobodna Dalmacija carried mostly short articles, so that there were 45 *news* pieces (21 dealing with the Serbian national minority, 7 pertaining to the Jews and minorities in general), followed by 27 *reports* (19 about the Serbs, 6 on minorities in general), and *analyses*, 10 in all.

Chart 28. Coverage of national minorities based on *journalistic forms* in *Slobodna Dalmacija*



As regards the position of texts on the page, most were located in positions that are *noticeable* (54 texts), i.e. in the upper right-hand and lower right-hand part of the page. 30 of them were in *less noticeable* positions. Analysing the coverage by days, there were no great differences in quantity of articles by days, because 15 of them were published on Thursdays, while only one less during this period appeared on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Fridays. No significant changes were observed for the weekends either (13 on Saturdays, 11 on Sundays). 35 articles were accompanied by photographs.

Headlines:

- Informative – 47
- Sensationalist – 33
- Neutral - 13

Assessment of articles:

- 1 (exceptionally negative) – 5
- 2 (negative) – 25
- 3 (neutral) – 32
- 4 (positive) – 18
- 5 (exceptionally positive) – 13

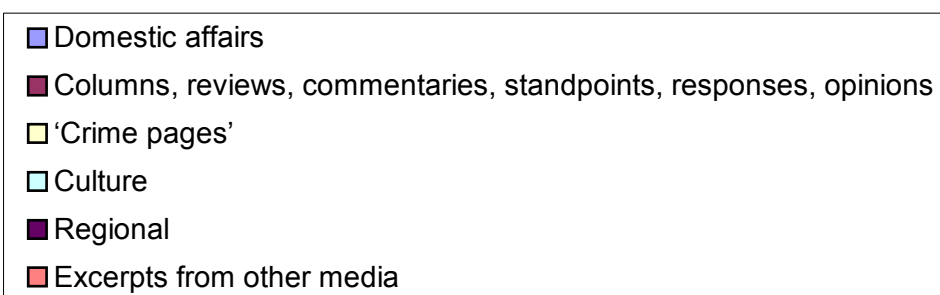
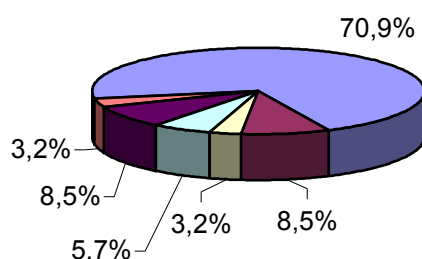
6. NOVI LIST

A total of 204 articles dealing with national minority issues were published in *Novi list* from 1 September to 1 December 2003. A total of 71 articles appeared in *September*, 65 in *October*, and 68 in *November*. This distribution of articles shows that *Novi list* covers minority issues continually and without oscillation, and considerable space is given to this matter.

According to the initial research plan, each article was to be categorised into one of the seven previously cited sections. However, such a classification was not possible in the case of *Novi list*, which has no precise division between, e.g. its foreign and domestic affairs sections, but everything is rather placed into one general section simply called *News*. Under the *News* section, the first five pages are set aside as a separate *domestic affairs* section. There is no specific world or foreign policy section, so a certain number of articles (11) appeared in the *News* and *domestic affairs* sections, even though thematically they were foreign affairs pieces. It is interesting to note that on the pages dedicated to business and economics, and sports, there was not one article dedicated to national minorities. The biggest number of articles were published in the *domestic affairs* section (77), and somewhat fewer in the *News* section (61). This is followed by a section that was subsequently introduced and entitled *columns, commentaries, reviews, reactions, standpoints and opinions*, which featured 27 articles. In the *regional news* 18 articles appeared. The fact that the 'crime pages' section contained a relatively small number of articles mentioning members of national minorities has been considered very satisfactory. There were a total of 9 such articles. It should be emphasised that there nonetheless has been some criticism of these articles, which primarily pertains to their headlines. Namely, some of them have a sensationalist tone, employing the name of the minority that the perpetrator of some criminal activity belongs to, even though this is not warranted. Examples of such headlines are: "Man kills wife over 3 kg of potatoes" (3 October, p. 67), "Albanian gets one year in prison for attacking a Serb" (4 October, p. 71), "Slovene hits neighbour with hammer" (8 November, p. 59). Such headlines hurt the public "image" of national minorities and lead to the creation of a negative perception and stereotypes pertaining to all members of a given national minority. In the *culture* section, only 12 relevant articles appeared in the entire three-month period. This clearly shows that the cultural segment of the lives of national minorities is not a sufficiently attractive subject to merit more space, which has been assessed as very

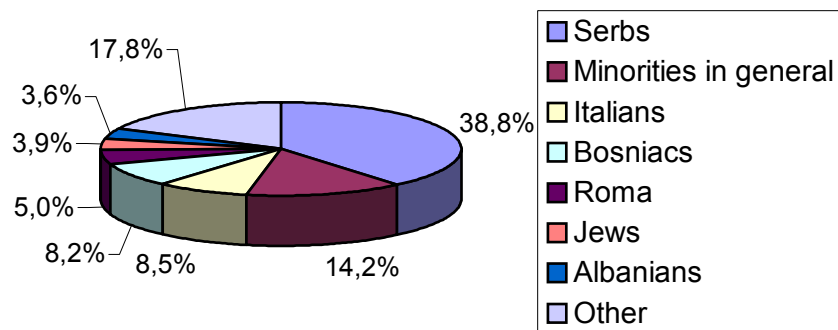
negative. A category containing *excerpts from other media* was added subsequently, and it contains a total of 9 articles.

Chart 29. National minorities mentioned by section in Novi list



Monitoring of the representation of individual national minorities in the total number of articles led to the conclusion that a large number of texts speak of a total of 6 national minorities (Serbs, Bosniacs, Italians, Albanians, Roma and Jews), while the remaining 16 national minorities are mentioned only incidentally, i.e. their presence in the media is sporadic and inadequate. The *Serbian national minority* is by far the most represented, with 109 articles. In 21 of these articles, Serbs are not the main topic, but are only mentioned in passing within a broader context. The *Bosniac* and *Italian national minority* are almost equally represented with 23 and 24 articles, but in overall terms, very little is written about them. The fourth national minority in terms of representation are the *Roma*, on which 14 articles were published, although in four of these they are only mentioned incidentally. A total of 11 articles appeared on the *Jews*, and 10 on the *Albanians*. Other minorities are mentioned very rarely, and when they are it is only incidentally. There are almost no articles dedicated exclusively to one of these national minorities. An exception is a reportage about the *Slovaks*, and several articles on the *Hungarians* in the culture section. A large number of articles (40) were dedicated to *minorities in general*, and 22 of them were published in the domestic affairs section.

Chart 30. Coverage of national minorities in *all* sections of Novi list combined



The minority mentioned most often in a negative context are the *Albanians* (they appear four times as those *involved in criminal activities*).

After analysing the themes, the conclusion was reached that a large number of articles contains *statements by minority representatives*, wherein the representatives of the Serbian national minority dominate with 33 statements, followed by Italians with 8 statements. At the beginning of November, reporting intensified on topics pertaining to the elections. Each minority was mentioned under the theme of *methods for electing minority representatives to the Croatian Parliament*, mostly minorities in general (20 times), Serbs (6 times), and Italians (5 times). The theme entitled *elections in general* was only added subsequently, since there were articles pertaining to the elections that did not speak of the election of minority representatives to the Croatian Parliament. Within this theme, it is once more the Serbs (22 times) who predominate, followed by minorities in general (10 times). *Election campaigns for national minority representatives* did not garner much coverage, so that minorities are mentioned only a few times in this context (with the exception of the Serbian national minority – 10 times). Also mentioned here were the Albanians, Roma and Ukrainians, and minorities in general. *Refugee issues* pertain exclusively to the Serbs (22 articles). It is important to note that one article as an analysis unit need not pertain solely to a single national minority. Moreover, a large number of articles speak of several national minorities.

Chart 31. Coverage of individual themes in Novi list

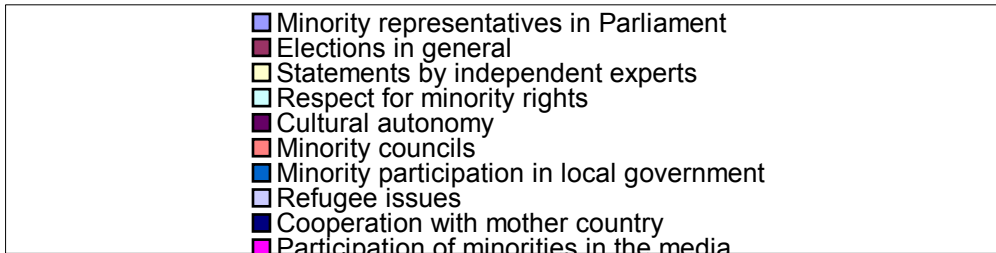
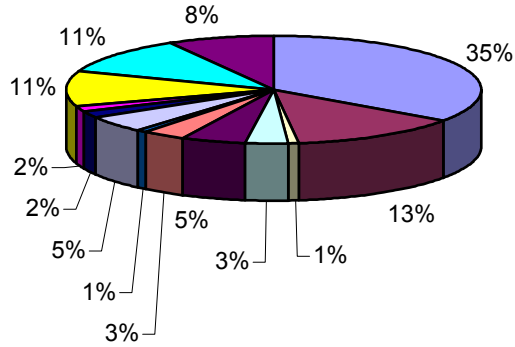
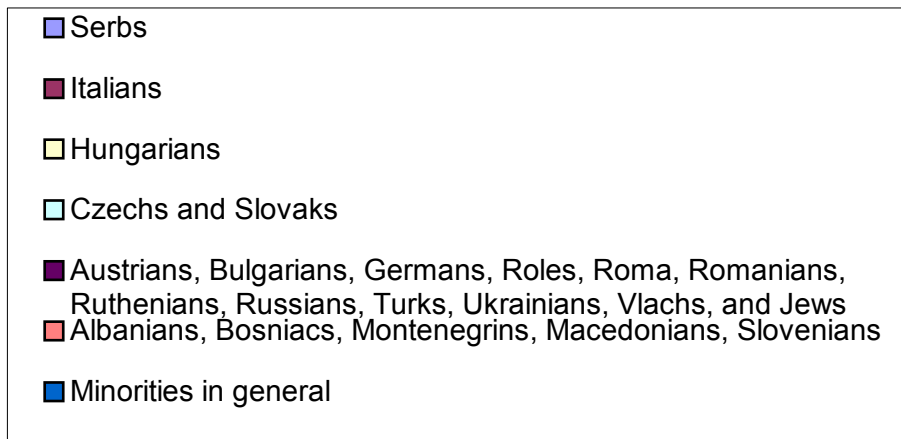
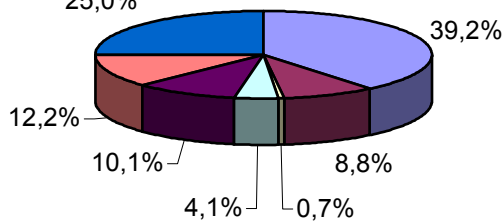


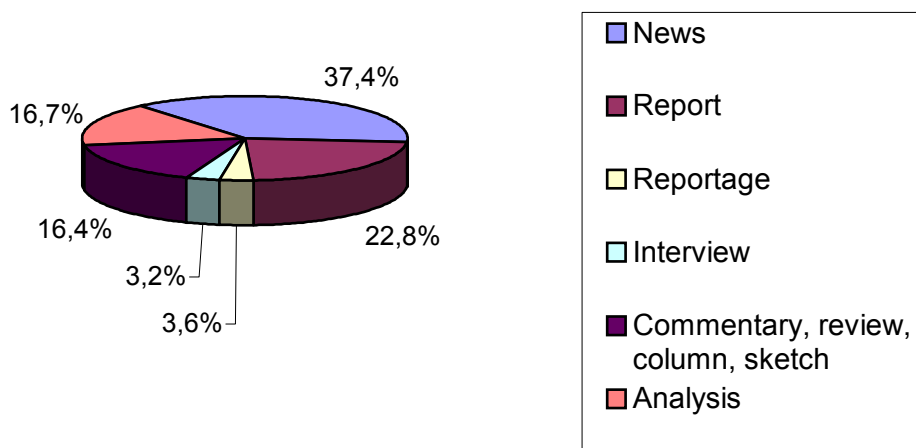
Chart 32. Coverage of national minorities under the theme 'Minority Representatives in Parliament' in Novi list



An analysis of articles by their form shows that short journalistic forms predominate, such as news and reports, which do not delve very deeply into minority issues, while far fewer reportages, interviews and analyses were published. Specifically, there were 78 news pieces, 51 reports, 16 analyses, 9 interviews and 7 reportages.

Commentaries, sketches, reactions and columns have been placed in one category, with a total of 42.

Chart 33. National minorities mentioned based on journalistic form in Novi list



As for the position of the texts on the page, the editors accorded considerable space to national minorities and the articles were distributed relatively equally over entire pages. A large number of texts (83) were located in the best positions (upper, middle and lower right-hand side), while 65 articles were located in the same positions on the left-hand side. Besides this, the number of articles that occupy the majority of a page or all of it is not insignificant (55).

An important indicator of the perception of minority issues is the type of headline which can easily be manipulated to achieve a desired effect. In that respect, this newspaper retained a high level of professionalism, reflected in the fact that among the 195 headlines reviewed, those that are *informative* (86) dominate, followed by *neutral* (80) headlines, while the *sensationalist* headlines are the fewest (29).

Assessment of articles:

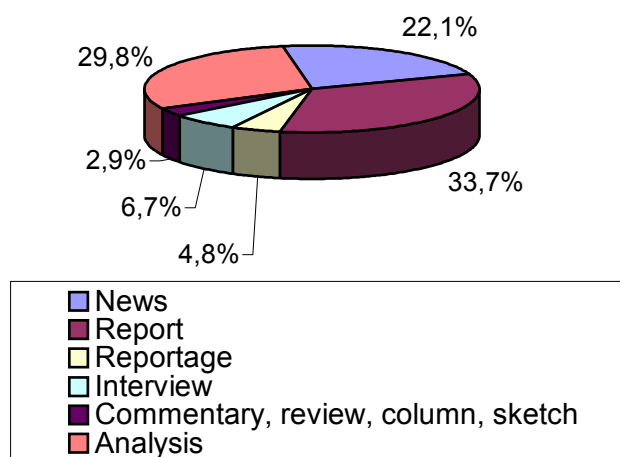
- 1 (exceptionally negative) – 1
- 2 (negative) – 10
- 3 (neutral) – 170
- 4 (positive) – 21
- 5 (exceptionally positive) – 2

7. VJESNIK

From 1 September to 1 December 2003, a total of 145 articles in *Vjesnik* were published that mentioned national minorities in any way whatsoever. In September 36 articles appeared, 33 appeared in October, and 75 in November. The twofold number of articles published in November is the result of intensified activities by national minority representatives in the pre-election period.

The journalistic forms were dominated by *reports* – 60 and *news* – 49 as the shorter forms, while longer forms (*analyses* – 18, *interviews* – 9, *commentaries*, *reviews*, *columns*, *sketches* – 6 and *reportages* – 3) were much fewer in number.

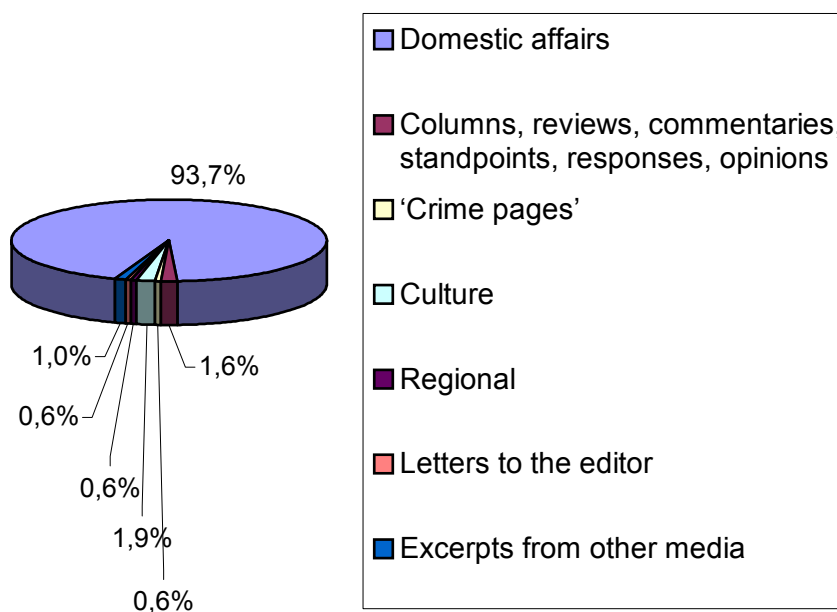
Chart 34. National minorities mentioned based on journalistic form in Vjesnik



Within the total number of aforementioned journalistic forms, the most frequently mentioned is the *Serbian national minority* (news – 23, reports – 35, reportages – 1, interviews – 2, commentaries, reviews, columns, sketches – 6, analyses – 14), followed by *minorities in general* (news – 6, reports – 12, reportages – 1, interviews – 1, commentaries, reviews, columns, sketches – 3, analyses – 5), the *Roma national minority* (news – 4, reports – 8, reportages – 3, interviews – 3, analyses – 4), the *Italian national minority* (news – 1, reports – 8, reportages – 1, interviews – 2, analyses – 5), the *Jewish national minority* (news – 4, reports – 6, interviews – 2, analyses – 5) and the *Bosniac national minority* (news – 7, reports – 4, reportages – 1, analyses – 3). Other national minorities are featured in much fewer journalistic forms.

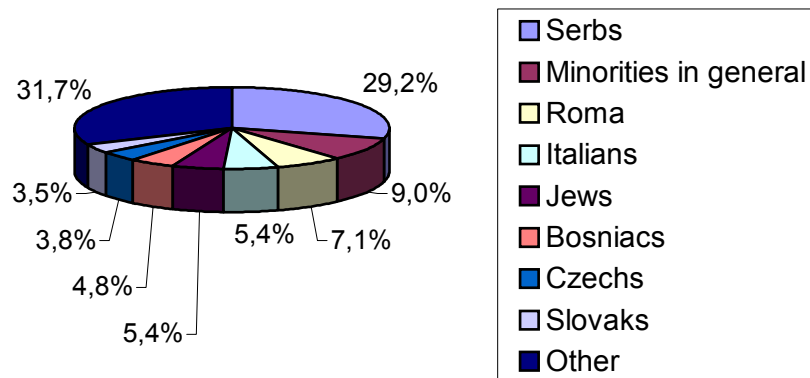
The largest number of articles appeared in the *domestic affairs* section (130), while the number of articles published in other sections is insignificant (*columns, reviews, commentaries...* - 3, '*crime pages*' – 1, *culture* – 6, *regional news* – 1, *letters to the editor* – 1, *excerpts from other media* - 3).

Chart 35. National minorities mentioned in Vjesnik by section



In the domestic affairs section, the most frequently mentioned is the *Serbian national minority* (84 articles), followed by *minorities in general* (24 articles), the *Roma national minority* (20 articles), the *Italian national minority* (16 articles), the *Bosniac national minority* (15) and the *Jewish national minority* (14). The section containing columns, reviews, commentaries... mostly features the *Serbian national minority* (2 articles) and *minorities in general* (3 articles), while the 'crime pages' section only covered the *Roma national minority* (2 articles). The culture section mentioned the *Italian, Hungarian, Macedonian, Jewish and Bulgarian national minority*, with one article each, and *minorities in general*, also with one article. In the 'letters to the editor' only the *Serbian national minority* was mentioned (in 2 letters), and the same is true of the "excerpts from other media" (3 – articles).

Chart 36. Coverage of national minorities in *all* sections of Vjesnik combined



In *Vjesnik*, the most frequent theme was *minority representatives in the Croatian Parliament* (with the sub-themes: *statements by minority representatives*, of which 38 pertain to statements by Serbian national minority representatives; *election campaigns for national minorities*, in which the Serbian national minority accounts for 28 articles; and *methods for electing minority representatives to the Croatian Parliament*, in which the largest number of articles also pertains to the Serbian national minority – 20, minorities in general – 17, and the Italian national minority – 11); followed by *refugee issues*, wherein only the Serbian national minority was mentioned – 21 articles; and *everyday life* (with the sub-themes *discrimination*, in which the Serbian national minority was the most represented – 15 articles, and *existential problems*, where the Serbian national minority was again the most often mentioned – 20 articles, followed by the Roma national minority – 15 articles).

Chart 37. Coverage of individual themes in Vjesnik

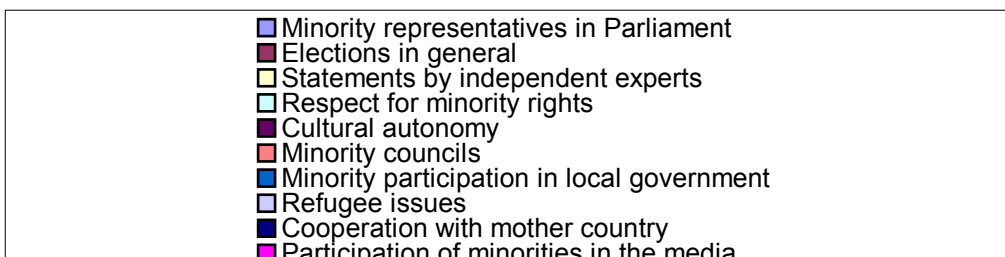
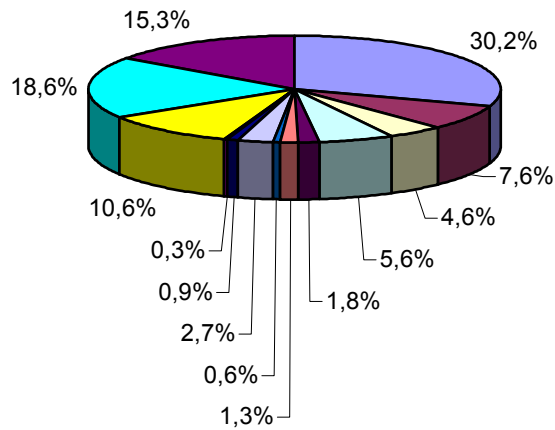
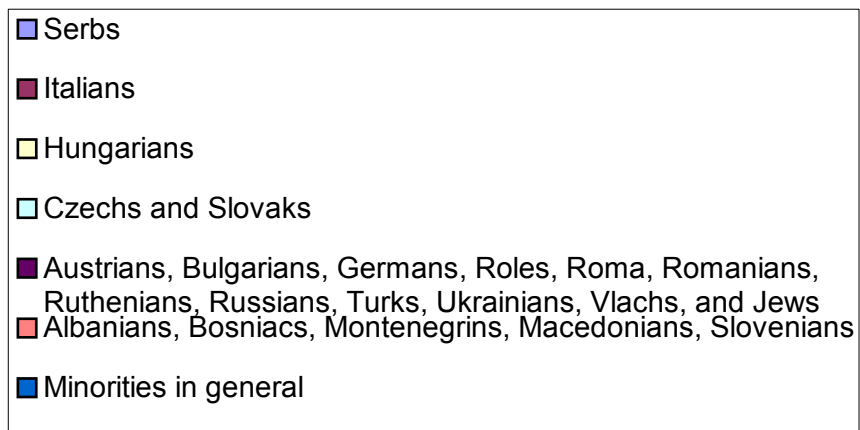
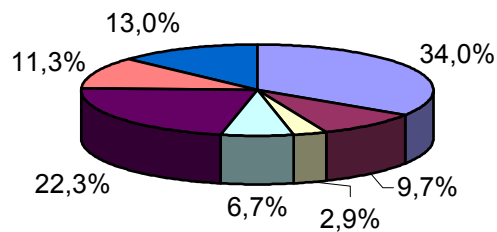


Chart 38. Coverage of national minorities under the theme 'Minority Representatives in Parliament'



Headlines:

- Neutral – 42
- Informative – 89
- Sensationalist – 14

Assessment of articles:

- 1 (exceptionally negative) – 3
- 2 (negative) – 8
- 3 (neutral) – 117
- 4 (positive) – 11
- 5 (exceptionally positive) – 0

Out of the total number of articles, 52 were placed on the more visible right-hand part of the page.

8. GLOBUS

During the three-month period that has been analysed, 17 relevant articles appeared in this weekly newsmagazine. *Serbs* were the most often mentioned minority, in 8 articles of the section pertaining to *domestic affairs* and 2 articles in special sections featuring *commentaries, columns* and *reviews*. They were followed by *minorities in general* in 5 articles of the domestic policy section and 2 articles in the special sections, then the *Italians* (2 articles in domestic affairs), *Montenegrins* and *Slovaks* (1 article in domestic affairs), while the *other minorities* were not mentioned *even once*.

Chart 39. National minorities mentioned in Globus by section

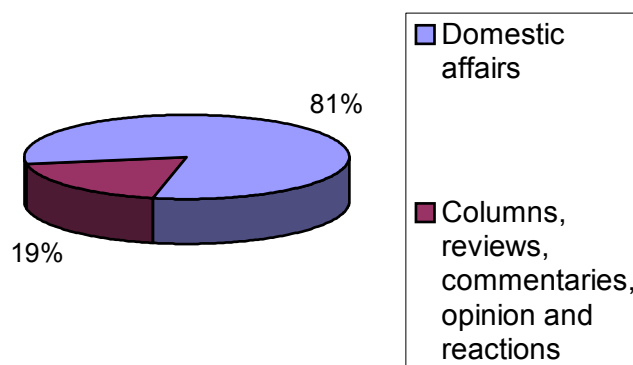
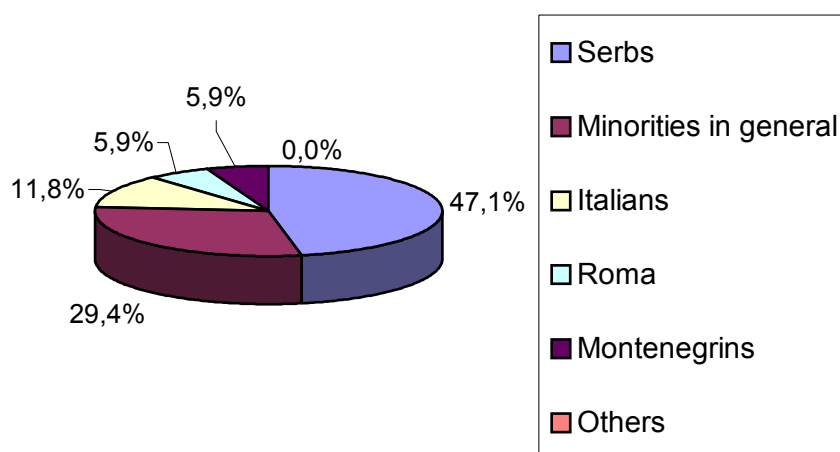


Chart 40. Coverage of national minorities in domestic affairs section

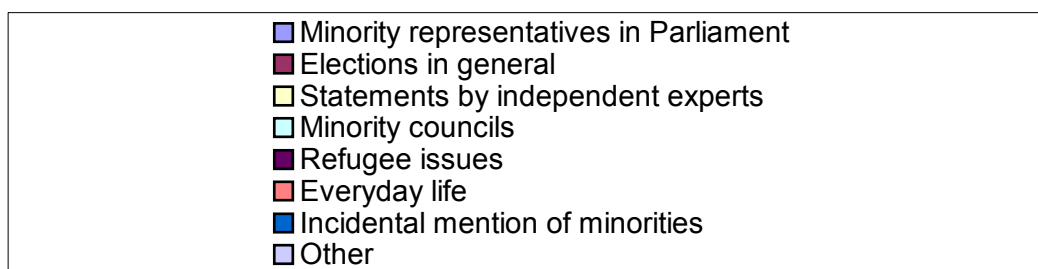
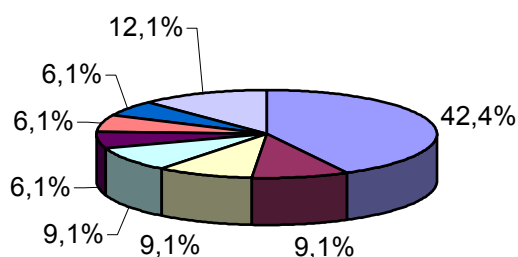


Out of the 17 articles, 12 of them dealt with the *elections*, as the most frequently mentioned item. There were 4 articles on *elections in general*, 3 articles on *methods*

for electing minority representatives to the Croatian Parliament, and 2 articles on refugee issues.

There was only *one* article that dealt with *discrimination against the Roma national minority*. (5 September 2003, p. 15, “Anti-Roma graffiti in Zagreb’s Trnje neighbourhood”).

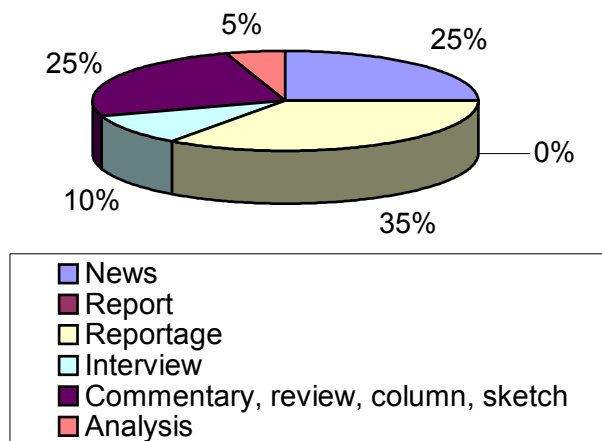
Chart 41. Coverage of individual themes in Globus



Since this is a weekly, *there is a smaller number of short forms* (news, reports) dealing with national minority issues, so that generally *reportages* and *commentaries* dominate (5 articles), followed by *news* pieces (4 articles). There were only 2 *interviews* and one *analytical* piece. Most articles, 13 of them, were accompanied by photographs.

One of the key indicators of perceptions of national minorities is the position of texts on the page. While reportages and commentaries or columns occupy *more than one page*, the remaining themes pertaining to minorities were generally presented in places that are *noticeable*, i.e. the upper and lower right-hand part of the page. Only 2 texts were located in *less noticeable* positions on the page.

Chart 42. National minorities mentioned based on journalistic form in Globus



Of particular importance are headlines that can attract readers to or repel them from a given text. Although most headlines are *informative* (7), there is no shortage of *sensationalist* headlines (6), as the editors attempt to attract readers' attention with them, with little concern that these headlines often do not correspond to the text. The remaining 4 headlines were *neutral*.

The texts were also assessed in order to determine the degree to which reporters write negatively or positively about minorities:

- 1 (exceptionally negative) - 1
- 2 (negative) - 5
- 3 (neutral) - 7
- 4 (positive) - 4
- 5 (exceptionally positive) - 0

9. NACIONAL

Although the figure of 20 articles in which national minorities were mentioned may seem solid at first glance (since this is a weekly magazine), it should be stressed that this is nonetheless a case of *incidental mentioning*. This periodical actually accords a marginal importance to minority issues, for in 17 relevant articles national minorities are literally mentioned by *one word*. It is also important to mention that these were texts that occupied *from an entire page to several pages*, in other words, extensive articles, rather than simple news pieces. Out of the 20 articles, 14 fit into the *domestic affairs* category (9 – on *Serbs*, 5 – on *minorities in general*). In the category consisting of *columns, commentaries, reviews, reactions...* Serbs were mentioned four times, while *Bosniacs, Hungarians, Czechs* and *Slovaks* were mentioned once each. The *'crime pages'* section contains 3 articles (2 – *Albanians*, 1 – *Roma*), while *culture* contains 1 article (*Jews*).

Chart 43. National minorities mentioned in Nacional by section

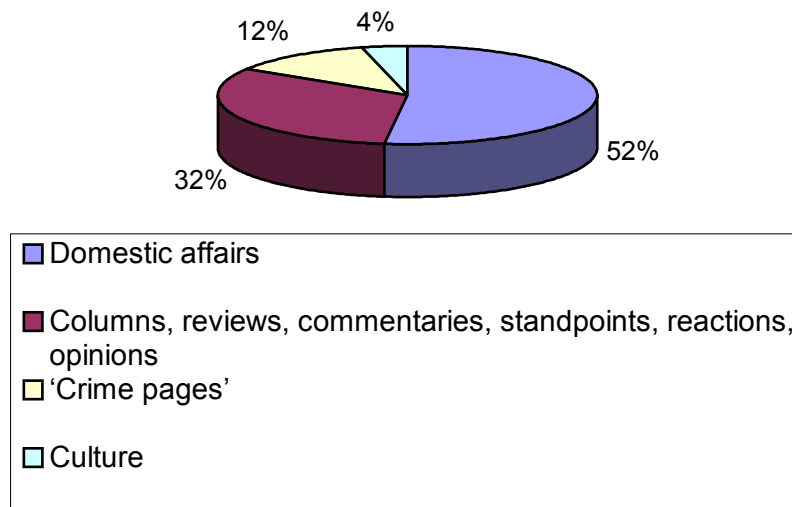
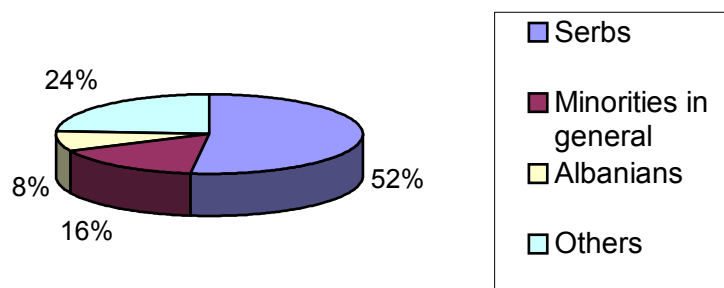
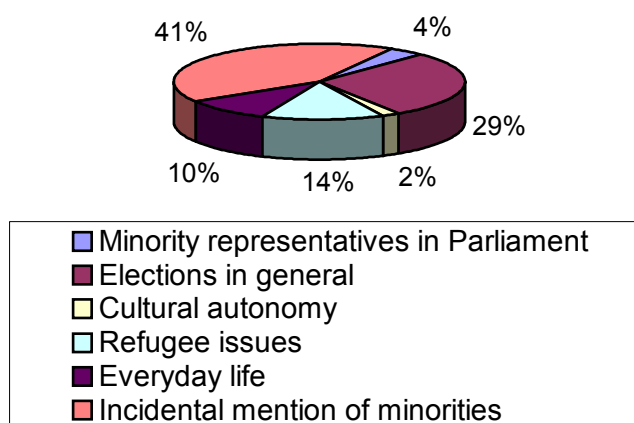


Chart 44. Coverage of national minorities in all sections of Nacional combined



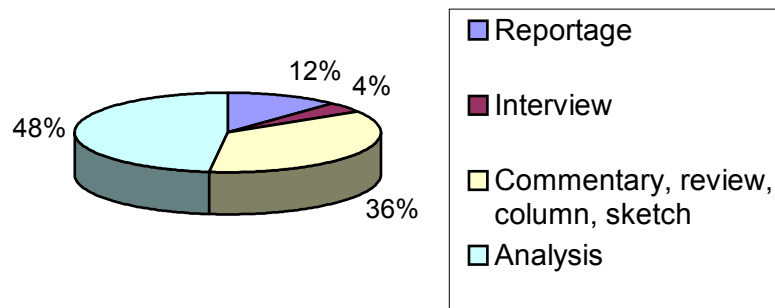
As regards the themes, *refugee issues* prevail. These deal with members of the Serbian national minority (but again only incidentally mentioned), while the theme of *elections in general* was also touched upon. Within the framework of this theme the *Serbs* were mentioned five times, the *Bosniacs*, *Italians*, *Hungarians*, *Czechs* and *Slovaks* once, and *minorities in general* five times. *Minorities involved in criminal activities* was a theme “reserved” for members of the Albanian national minority, in which they were mentioned in the context of underworld showdowns. Under the theme of *discrimination* the *Serbs*, *Albanians*, and *Roma* were mentioned. Also recorded was one *statement by a national minority representative*, and one *statement by a government representative*. One article dealt with *Jewish cultural autonomy*. Other themes were not given any space in *Nacional*.

Chart 45. Coverage of individual themes in Nacional



As for the journalistic presentation, or predominant journalistic forms, the *analytical articles* predominate, of which there were 13 (Serbs – 7, minorities in general – 5, Albanians – 1), followed by *columns*, *reviews*, *commentaries*, *reactions and sketches* within which Serbs were mentioned 5 times, and Bosniacs, Hungarians, and Czechs and Slovaks once each. Three *reportages* were also recorded (Serbs, Roma and Jews).

Chart 46. national minorities mentioned based on *journalistic form* in *Nacional*



Neutral headlines predominate (10), followed by *sensationalist* (8), and *informative* (only 2).

Assessment of articles:

- 1 (exceptionally negative) – 0
- 2 (negative) – 1
- 3 (neutral) – 17
- 4 (positive) – 2
- 5 (exceptionally positive) – 0

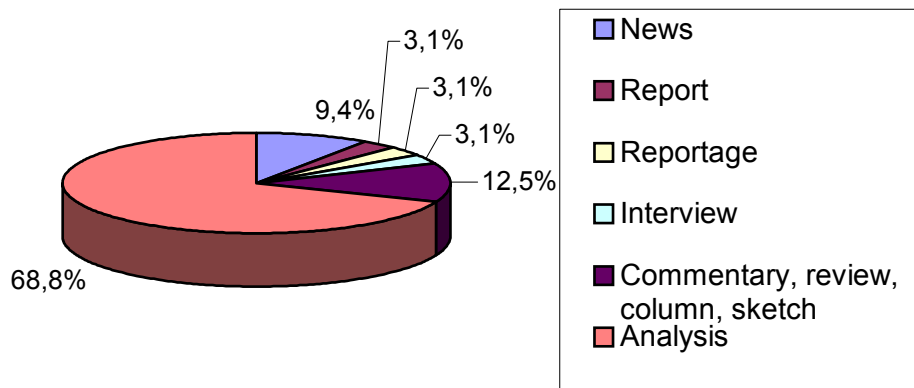
The general conclusion is that *Nacional* does not dedicate great attention to minority issues, and that national minorities are only mentioned incidentally or within the context of other themes.

10. FERAL TRIBUNE

12 articles published in *Feral Tribune* during the period from 1 September to 1 December, 2003 were analysed, which deal with minority issues. Only two of these articles were entirely dedicated to themes pertaining to national minorities, while the rest contain statements by national minority representatives, public personalities and politicians, or mention minority-related issues only incidentally.

As regards the journalistic forms, there are *news* (3), *reports* (1), *reportages* (1), *interviews* (1), *commentaries, reviews, columns, sketches* (4), and *analyses* (2).

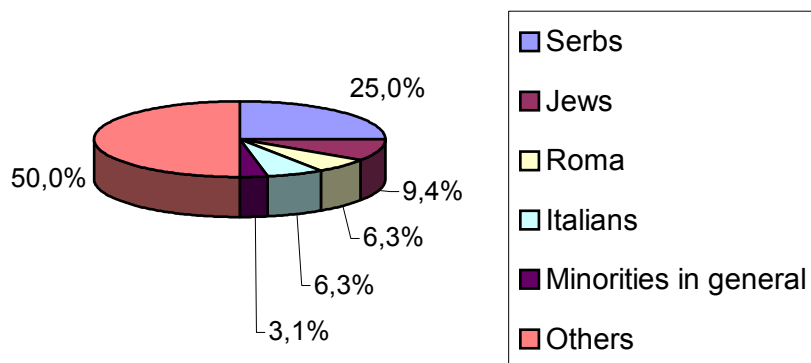
Chart 47. National minorities mentioned based on journalistic form in Feral Tribune



In all journalistic forms, the *Serbian national minority* is the most frequently mentioned.

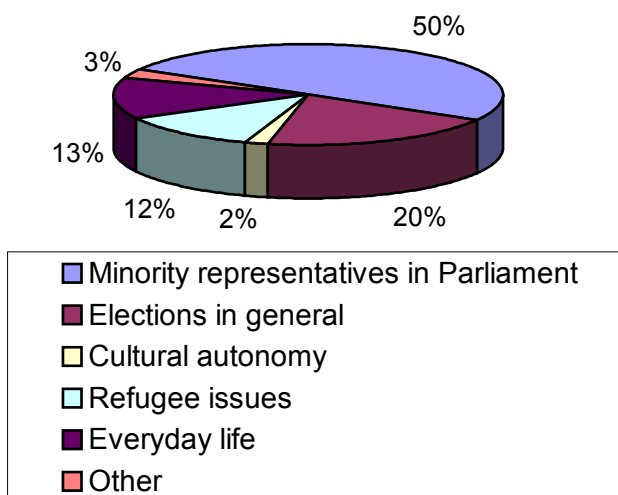
The most represented sections are *domestic affairs* and *columns, reviews, commentaries...*, containing 4 articles each, with the Serbian national minority mentioned the most often throughout.

Chart 48. Coverage of national minorities in all sections of Feral Tribune combined



The predominant themes were *methods for electing minority representatives to the Croatian Parliament, statements by minority representatives, elections in general, and refugee issues*, pertaining exclusively to the Serbian national minority (7 – articles), and *discrimination* against the Serbian (3 – articles) and Roma (1 article) national minorities.

Chart 49. Coverage of individual themes in Feral Tribune



5 articles cover 2 or more pages.

Headlines:

- Informative – 4
- Neutral – 4
- Sensationalist – 4

Assessment of articles:

- 1 (exceptionally negative) – 4
- 2 (negative) – 0
- 3 (neutral) – 4
- 4 (positive) – 4
- 5 (exceptionally positive) – 0

11. COMPARISON OF ANALYSED PUBLICATIONS

An analysis of published articles that deal with national minorities in five Croatian daily newspapers shows that minority issues are not covered in a sustained manner. The exception is *Novi list*, in which the number of articles dealing with minority issues is roughly equal every month. In comparison to other dailies, *Novi list* also published the most articles (204) in the period under observation. In terms of the number of articles, it is followed by *Jutarnji list* (169), *Vjesnik* (145), *Slobodna Dalmacija* (93), and *Večernji list* (92).

In almost all sections and themes, the most frequently mentioned is the Serbian national minority, followed by minorities in general, then the Roma national minority, and the Italian, Jewish and Bosniac national minorities. The culture sections are dominated by the *Jewish* and *Italian* national minorities, while the 'crime pages' section mostly mentions the *Albanian* and *Roma* national minorities, although it should be noted that the number of articles published in this section is exceptionally small in relation to the total number of articles, which can be deemed positive. Other national minorities received less space and are mentioned only incidentally.

Most articles appeared in the domestic affairs sections, and it follows that political themes dominate. This is due to the discussion on the methods for electing minority deputies to the Croatian Parliament and their impact on the formation of the future government, and the more intense campaigning in November, in which the number of articles on national minorities increased greatly in all newspapers except *Novi list* (which covered minorities in a sustained fashion) and *Večernji list*, in which the number of articles grew negligibly. Other themes, such as cultural autonomy, respect for minority rights, participation of minorities in local government and the media received considerably less coverage, which leads to the conclusion that they are of marginal interest to these dailies. In the case of the Serbian national minority, the topic of elections was tied to the refugee issues, which garnered a great deal of attention.

Shorter journalistic forms (news and reports) prevailed in all dailies, and here minority issues are analysed superficially, without any deeper consideration of the problems at hand. There are negligibly few reportages and interviews, while the

number of analytical articles is nonetheless somewhat greater, primarily due to the debate on methods for electing minority deputies to the Croatian Parliament.

In *Novi list*, *Slobodna Dalmacija* and *Jutarnji list*, most articles occupy a noticeable position on the page, with a considerable number of articles published over most or all of one page or several pages, while in *Večernji list* and *Vjesnik* this is not the case.

Informative and neutral headlines prevail, with only *Slobodna Dalmacija* and *Jutarnji list* featuring a notable number of sensationalist headlines.

With reference to weeklies, here it has also been noted that minorities are not covered in a sustained manner. *Nacional* published 20, *Globus* 17, and *Feral Tribune* 12 articles. Although one may conclude that *Nacional* dedicated the most attention to minority issues, in most of its articles this weekly literally only mentions them with one word.

Like the dailies, the weeklies also focus their attention on the Serbian national minority, followed by minorities in general, while the rest are mentioned in a far fewer number of articles.

The most represented sections are domestic affairs, and columns, commentaries, etc., while the most represented themes are minority representatives in the Croatian Parliament, elections in general and refugee issues (exclusively tied to the Serbian national minority). All of this once more confirms the predominance of politics in the Croatian press.

Among the journalistic forms, analyses and commentaries, reviews, columns, and sketches dominate, but within these forms, which delve more deeply into their given topics, minorities are generally mentioned incidentally within a broader context.

Neutral and informative headlines prevail, and most articles have been assessed as neutral.

12. CONCLUSION

Upon completion of the analysis, the conclusion that imposed itself is that the general “politicisation” of Croatian society, including the media, did not bypass the issue of national minorities.

The press is dominated by political themes, within which minority representatives and their activities are mentioned most often. Other aspects of the lives of minorities are accorded much less attention in the Croatian press.

Although most analysed articles have been assessed as neutral, and the headlines neutral and informative, there have also been some negative articles and sensationalist headlines. This leads to the conclusion that reporters and editors objectively and impartially approached minority issues, but most of the analysed articles are news and reports, while analytical articles and reportages were neglected, which indicates that journalistic forms that could comprehensively portray the lives of national minorities and their importance for the society are actually lacking. Most articles are located at noticeable places on the page, but this should be attributed to the elections, which dominated as a theme due to the heated debate on the methods for electing minority representatives to the Croatian Parliament.

All of this indicates that reporters and editors still consider minorities a secondary theme that will only be more seriously covered in case of their involvement in intriguing and controversial events – exclusively to increase their circulation.

Based on this situation, it would appear that there is a need to educate and train reporters who cover or want to cover minority issues, to keep them from limiting their writing to shorter forms and so that they can competently present minority issues in longer journalistic forms. Additionally, members of minority communities should work on the media presentation of their activities both at the general societal and local levels. This can be achieved by training them in public relations, so that they can present their content to the media as meriting attention.

Appendix:

ANALYSIS OF MEDIA PERCEPTIONS OF THE ROMA NATIONAL MINORITY

Upon analysing the total number of articles in Croatian daily and weekly newspapers, the conclusion was reached that the Roma national minority is third in terms of coverage, mentioned in 68 articles. Most articles on the Roma can be found in the *domestic affairs* section, while in the '*crime pages*' section they are mentioned slightly less than the Albanian minority (Albanians – 9 articles, Roma – 6 articles). These are also the two national minorities most often mentioned in this section.

A large number of articles, 28, stress negative examples of discrimination against members of the Roma national minority, while positive examples of inclusion are much fewer in number (9 articles). This clearly indicates the need to undertake many measures to give this minority the opportunity to exercise its rights. This is confirmed by the fact that within the theme of *existential problems* the Roma are mentioned more often than any other national minority, and they are also mentioned as perpetrators of criminal activities (5 articles, after Serbs and Albanians). Positive examples are the articles that speak of the respect for minority rights, within which the Roma national minority is mentioned, but their number is relatively small in comparison to the total number of analysed articles. They are mentioned very rarely within so-called political themes (*minority representatives in the Croatian Parliament*), with the possible exception of statements by representatives of the Roma national minority, of which there were 10 in all.

This analysis almost completely pertains to the dailies, since the weeklies dedicate very little space to minority problems in general, much less Roma problems. In all three weeklies, all have only one article each that mentions the Roma national minority, all stressing examples of discrimination or intolerance, e.g. "Anti-Roma graffiti in Zagreb's Trnje neighbourhood" (*Globus*, 5 September 2003) and "Biggest bullies are spoiled children" (*Nacional*, 18 November 2003).

From the above it follows that most media attention was dedicated to the problems of everyday life confronted by members of the Roma national minority, while their inclusion in the community's political life and the election of their representatives to

Parliament (as well as the corresponding election campaign) received very little coverage.