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# MEDIA MIRROR

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## Media Monitoring in the Republic of Macedonia, 2005/2006

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

“Media Mirror” is a continuing monitoring of the media in the Republic of Macedonia that aims to provide a clearer picture of the professional standards and criteria of information used by the media, and the manner in which they cover and interpret the key social processes and events.

A special methodology was devised for the purpose of this monitoring, the first of its kind in Macedonia, which was tested by the team consisting of an Editor, four analysts and 11 monitors. The results of the monitoring for the period from 30 January 2005 and 26 February 2006 are presented in this report.

The monitoring included six daily newspapers and six national television broadcasters: “Vest”, “Vecer”, “Vreme”, “Dnevnik”, “Utrinski Vesnik”, “Fakti”, “A1” TV, “Kanal 5” TV, “MTV 1”, “MTV 2”, “Sitel” TV and “Telma” TV. The selection of the media to be included in the monitoring was made on the basis of estimated actual or perceived influence on the general public opinion in the Republic of Macedonia.

The applied methodology shows whether the media approach the events in an unbiased, moderate and balanced manner; whether the journalistic texts and articles are supported by clearly defined and named sources; whether they consulted all the parties in conflicting situation; whether they avoid arbitrary comments, evaluations, etc.

In addition, the analysis tested the manner of presentation of information (scope, timing, source and placement); whether it was accompanied by illustrations; what was the treatment given to various political platforms and personalities, diverse ethnic and cultural values, judged from the use of terminology and language; the use of journalistic genres and the possible differences among the monitored media regarding the presentation of the same events and phenomena. Simultaneously, the monitoring analyzed the eventual positioning of the media towards the government, the opposition, ethnic communities, individual political platforms and beliefs.

The analyses took into account the media treatment of the:

1. Matters of international integration in which the Republic of Macedonia is actively engaged: EU, NATO, the name-dispute with Greece, the Hague Tribunal, terrorism;
2. The Region: Macedonian relations with Kosovo, Serbia, Albania, Greece and Bulgaria;
3. Internal political affairs and security situation: decentralization, structural reforms (the judiciary).
4. The Decade of Roma Inclusion

A total of 1.036 published and broadcast materials were analyzed during the period covered by this report: text, illustration, comics and cartoons, news articles in the central news programmes related to the topics listed above.

## 2. MEDIA TREATMENT OF SOCIAL-POLITICAL EVENTS AND DEVELOPMENTS AND THE MANNER OF INFORMATION

### 2.1. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

● We conclude that the media paid special attention to three particular topics during the period covered by this analysis: Macedonian relations with Kosovo; the EU initiative to create a free trade zone in the Balkans; and, Macedonian relations with the Hague Tribunal.

Regarding Macedonian relations with Kosovo, the common denominator of the coverage of all media was the large amount of commentary and analysis of the future status and internal structure in Kosovo. The issue of the possible existence of territorial pretences between Macedonia and Kosovo was rarely discussed.

The differences between the positions held by Macedonian state leadership and certain foreign political actors, regarding the timing of the completion of the demarcation of the border between Macedonia and Kosovo, were visible also in the differing views the media held on this issue. Such differences were particularly evident between the media in Macedonian and the media in Albanian language. While the majority of media publishing or broadcasting in Macedonian language summarized their positions and emphasized them in headlines such as: *“Demarcation Before the Status of Kosovo”*, in the Albanian language media totally opposite headlines were seen: *“Demarcation After the Status of Kosovo”*.

The proposal of the European Commission to establish a free trade zone, on the other hand, was presented so that all media used different terminology: *Customs union, economic union, free trade zone, Balkans customs-free zone, establishment of economic union of Western Balkans countries, regional free trade zone in the Balkans*. The diverse terminology was also used by the relevant sources used by the media - politicians, economic experts, businesspeople. Almost all media shared similar headlines, such as: *"On the Road to Europe, Again in Yugoslavia"; Macedonia - EU: Is SFRY coming back?"; "The Phantom of Yugoslavia Roams the EU Member States"*. Within the coverage of the EU's proposal, some media presented their views and opinion not only through comments and suggestive headlines, headers and leads, but also through illustrations<sup>1</sup>.

Regarding the Macedonian cases at the Hague Tribunal, the media viewed the events and developments in the context of the coming Parliamentary Elections and usually described them as *"political pre-election trade and negotiations for post-electoral coalitions"*. The media presented even opposed statements (but also commentaries of their own) on whether, when and how should the four cases return from the Hague. The joint comment of the media was in line with the message that *"...nobody among the competent authorities and institutions has come out to deny the statement of Carla Del Ponte, the Head Prosecutor of the Hague Tribunal, who said a few months ago that the Government of Macedonia doesn't want, in fact, those cases back"*.

There were evident differences in the presented views and the manner of reporting of this topic between the media publishing and broadcasting in Macedonian and Albanian languages. The coverage in the Macedonian language media was dominated by the preference for the return of the cases that would be processed by the Macedonian Judiciary, while the Albanian language media presented the dominant view that the amnesty covers all persons involved in the 2001 conflict.

- During the period covered by this analysis, a prominent, although not justified, presence of the owners of the media, actively involved in politics, was detected. This was especially the case with "A1" TV and the prominent positive coverage of Velija Ramkovski, the station's owner and President of the Party for Economic Renewal, and "TV Sitel", through the occasional affirmative coverage dedicated to the leader of the Socialist Party of Macedonia, Ljubisav Ivanov – Dzingo.
- During this period, the media again used sources of information without correct identification, which left ample space for placement of speculations. The journalists used sources listed as: *"it is said unofficially", "an information came out...", "we learn off the record", "persons well versed in the functioning of the Ministry claim...", "sources in the Ministry...", "sources at ZELS...", "the mayors...", "Government representatives...", "anonymous well-informed sources..."*.

At the same time, it happens often in the journalistic texts that there is no clear distinction between the views and opinions of the quoted sources and the views of the author or the media. Situations were registered in the news programmes on certain television stations when the journalist would read a translation of a statement, without giving the identity of the quoted source.

### 2.1.1. Comparative data on the coverage of social-political affairs

The statistical processing of the data shows that in February the interest of the media in the previously most-exploited topic - Macedonian relations with the EU - diminished significantly. Compared with January of this year, when this topic was covered in a total of 377 articles, in February the media published or aired 309 articles on the topic.

The special attention that the media dedicated to European integrations during this period is due, above all, to the initiative of the European Commission (EC) regarding the regional trade links between the

<sup>1</sup> In its reporting on the proposed free trade zone, "Vreme" presented different positions of several relevant sources. One more extensive report carried the position of the Government as presented by Ministers Radmila Sekerinska and Ilinka Mitreva in a press conference. The report is descriptive in character, but its suggestive nature is expressed through the visual illustration. Namely, the report (31 January, 2006, p.3), with the headline *"The Balkan Trade Union is a Good Proposal"* is announced on the front-page under the headline *"No Danger from Resurrection of Yugoslavia"* which corresponds to the contents of the actual report. However, the cartoon on the front-page is far more suggestive: A zombie, dressed in a t-shirt with the Yugoslav flag, an "EU Express" ticket in his hand, is depicted coming out of a grave with a tombstone that says "YU 1918-1991".

countries of the Western Balkans, as a quality basis of quick economic development necessary for the EU integrations. According to the number of published materials, the most interested media in this topic were "Dnevnik" with 43 articles, followed by "Vecer" daily (39 articles), "Vreme" (33) and "A1" TV (30 articles). The fewest articles on this topic were broadcast on "Telma" TV (14).

Regarding the Hague Tribunal, on the other hand, the statistics point out at a significant rise in the media interest on this topic. In January, only 34 articles on this topic were published and broadcast, while in February the return of the Macedonia cases from the Hague was covered with 208 articles. The greatest number of articles was published by "Dnevnik" daily – 27, "Vecer" daily – 25, and "Utrinski vesnik" daily with 22 articles.

In terms of the intensity of the published journalistic material, the third-ranked is the topic of Macedonian relations with the neighbouring states, dominated, as before, by the topic of Macedonian relations with Kosovo. Macedonian relations with Serbia, on the other hand, are often viewed in the context of the dispute on the autocephaly of MPC between the Serbian Orthodox Church (SPC) and the Macedonian Orthodox Church (MPC), but also surrounding the so-called Orthodox Ohrid Archbishopric (POA) and the "Vraniskovski case" (although the media sometimes treat it as a separate subject, i.e. just as the "Vraniskovski case"). The greatest number of articles on this topic was published by "Utrinski vesnik" – 37, and the smallest number was registered with "Vest" daily (four articles).

In February, the media paid the least attention to the name-dispute between Macedonia and Greece. "Dnevnik" and "Kanal 5" TV led the coverage with four articles each, while six media outlets ("Vest", "MTV 1", "MTV 2", "Sitel TV", "Utrinski vesnik" and "Fakti") didn't publish a single article on this topic.

The detailed statistical breakdown of the manner in which each media covered the given topic were presented in the appendix attached to this report (*Table on the Intensity of Publication of Materials per Media in the Analyzed period*).

## 2.2. COMMENT ON THE MEDIA APPROACH TO THE TOPICS

### Macedonia and the EU

The Macedonian media followed the EU integration processes in the country mainly from the viewpoint of the EC's proposal for regional trade ties of the Balkan countries. The analysis concluded that the media not only lacked a clear position on the proposal, but they even hesitated to take any position on this matter. Therefore, the media treated the EC initiative with a variety of approaches and different scopes, from neutral to openly critical.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> "Vecer" daily's position on the recommendations by the European Union to create a trade union of the Balkan countries was expressed in the editorial comment titled *"Uniates and Demagogues"* (31 January, 2006) (Uniates, a member of an Eastern Christian Churches: *„From the positivist point of view, it would mean that Europe wants to see us as a united, integrated regional market, inline with the matrix provided in the “non-paper” presented by Carl Bildt in the 1990s and left to circulate the neighbourhood. So, once the scheme is laid out, it will have to be realized sooner or later. “Agenda 2000”, Western Balkans, Southeast Europe, Stability Pact and what not. These are all variations on a single topic, or “intermezzos” of the international community, used when it needs to calculate the progress of its ambitions to expand the markets, the Economic Communities, the European Union, etc. It starts then it gets stuck... So much for optimism. Now, let’s see what may stand behind the latest indecent proposal made by the EC and EU Ministers. Finally, not everything that comes from them should, by default, be the essence of wisdom. They have been known to make an occasional mistake. Is it possible that they missed this time? Are we facing another sophisticated push to the side, far from the EU entrance, to wait for some better, happier times. Until the passions in France and the Netherlands calm down, until the English decide to open their pockets, until they estimate, all together, that they do need us.”* "Fakti" daily in Albanian language viewed the problem within the wider social context, i.e. through the viewpoint of the mentality of the citizens and political representatives. *“Is there a European spirit in Macedonia? Should we ask the politicians, especially those that relate the Europeization with some bureaucratic definitions, then we may get an impression that Europe is actually late to accept Macedonia in its ranks... the Europeization of our relations should start with ourselves, and we should demand the implementation of those changes we witness every time we set foot in some European country”* (*“Is there a European Spirit in Macedonia”*, "Fakti", 4/5 February 2006). However, "Fakti", too, is sceptical about this initiative: *“Well-intentioned idea or...”* (1 February, 2006), *“Yugoslav Phantom Roams the EU Countries”* (6 February, 2006). "Utrinski vesnik", on the other hand, instead of taking a "pro" or "contra" position, preferred to publish materials analysing the opportunities for Macedonia to access the EU pre-accession funds, analyses of the economic opportunities, gains and perspectives, within the context of the EC's initiative for eventual regional trade linking. "Vest" published materials with headlines that were not only suggestive,

In addition to the EC's proposal, the media paid special attention to the activities directed at the relaxation of the visa regime. Having in mind their preference for actual dates and deadlines, the media provided positive evaluation for EC President Jose Manuel Barroso and European Enlargement Commissioner Olie Rehn and their statements listing concrete dates for the start of negotiations.

Although with decreasing intensity, the media did not miss to cover the "Khalid Al Masri Case" (*"Did Germany Act as CIA Partner in the Kidnapping of its Citizen? The New York Times uncovered new developments in the investigation on the kidnapped German citizen, German agents did participate in the interrogation of Al Masri"*; "Utrinski vesnik", February 22, 2006).

The reporting on Macedonian relations with the EU was dominated, over the period covered by this analysis, by precisely identified sources of information and by the informative discourse (reports), but also by opinions and editorials written by the journalists and editors in a number of media. The articles on this topic received a "top-five" treatment in the news programmes of the TV broadcasters, and got a front-page treatment in the print-media.

### **Macedonia and NATO**

The analysis shows that, in February, Macedonian relations with NATO attracted a relatively greater interest of the media. Several media (with "Dnevnik" leading the way) followed the statements and views of Nicholas Burns, Undersecretary for Political Affairs with the U.S. State Department, with a positive and intensive coverage.<sup>3</sup> Burns's (and U.S.) presence in the meeting of the "Adriatic Groups" in Washington, D.C. was seen as important and positive in the articles reporting on the meeting. The media also reported on the request by Ilinka Mitreva, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that the U.S. should lobby for a formula that would guarantee that Macedonia will be given full NATO membership in the next round of expansion of the North Atlantic Alliance.

The media coverage was predominantly neutral and informative (and in a number of cases positive) on the decision by the Prime Minister Vlado Buckovski to give a new function to the incumbent Macedonian Ambassador to the U.S., Nikola Dimitrov and appoint him National Coordinator for Macedonian Integration into NATO. The media reporting on other meetings and events related to Macedonian relations with NATO was predominantly informative by nature.<sup>4</sup>

### **Macedonia and the Hague Tribunal**

The return of the Macedonian cases from the Hague Tribunal provoked an increasing interest in the media, and the journalistic texts on this topic were mostly of mixed character (reports containing elements of commentary) and were based on unclearly identified sources<sup>5</sup>. The prevailing approach to combine the

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but rather conclusive: *"New Yugoslavia"*; *"Don't Fear the New SFRY"*; *"COME BACK SFRY!"* (capital letters used by the paper, too).

<sup>3</sup> "Dnevnik", in the article titled "ARM Will Increasingly Operate Abroad", of 17 February, 2005, emphasized the role of ARM in NATO related activities: "Macedonia will probably double the number of soldiers pledged for participation in NATO missions abroad, after the Alliance's decision of last week to delegate to Macedonia obligations identical to those of member-states. At this moment, ARM has some 210 soldiers prepared to participate in missions abroad, including the missions in Iraq and Afghanistan."

<sup>4</sup> It was characteristic of "Vecer", in terms of its treatment of the topic of NATO and Macedonia, to not miss a single statement, position of event and produce more articles related to a single concrete occasion (unlike the other media, that cover the important events with a single integral report). The single article deviating from the correct reporting, due to the fact that it presents unconfirmed information, received from unclear and unofficial sources, was the report titled *"NATO Demands 1000 Soldiers for its Missions"* (*"high ranking Ministry of Defense official" who believes that "such demands by NATO can bring Macedonia closer to NATO standards more quickly..."*; 4/5 February 2006).

<sup>5</sup> The analysis noted an omission with "MTV 2" – Programme in Albanian language, in terms of professional standards for objective and neutral reporting. Namely, the editorial office provided ample space to the positions the Government, the International Crisis Group and DUI held on the cases of war crimes suspects from the former KLA, but not to the positions of DPA on the same issue, which are relevant, having in mind that it was often mentioned that the suspects were members of that political party. On the other hand, the return of the four cases to Macedonia was the topic of an SMS poll organized by "Vecer" (11-12 February, 2006). The question posted was "Whether the four cases should return from the Hague?"; 46% of the participants said "YES", 54% said "NO". As a standard, the poll was published without the basic data on the methodology and the number of the sample. During this past period, special interest was provoked by the text *"Brother Ljube to Carry Candidate List!?"* ("Vecer", 14 February, 2006), which speculates on the possibility for Ljube Boskovski to carry one list of candidates of VMRO-NP in the coming Parliamentary Elections.

reporting on the cases of Boskovski and Tarculovski and the reporting on the return of the four cases to be processed by the Macedonian judiciary was augmented, in February, by coverage of the Hague cases in the context of the coming Parliamentary Elections and the relations between the partners in the Government coalition. "Fakti" daily believes that *"SDSM and DUI are in a Silent War"* over the four cases, and the paper is close to DUI's position that *"Macedonian courts have no jurisdiction over these cases"*. In the context of this topic, "Fakti" provides significant space to Peter Faith, former NATO Mediator for disarming of KLA.

The question *"What did happen here in 2001?"* also received some treatment under the auspices of this complex topic, as an appendix to the coverage on the case of Ljube Boskovski and the "Rastanski lozja" affair; also, a number of comments on the relations between Macedonian politicians (*"There is an impression that you cooperate better with Crvenkovski than with Buckovski"*; a question/comment by "Utrinski vesnik" journalist in the interview with Ali Ahmeti, DUI President).

During this period, the majority of the media held the position that the four cases of alleged war crimes were not returned to Macedonia to be processed by the national courts because of the tardiness and lack of action on the behalf of competent Macedonian institutions. On the other hand, there were frequent mentions of the opinion that *"Buckovski tries to make this case political and used with the coming elections in mind"*, as well as the view that *"All suspicion that there was a deal with Ali Ahmeti or NATO not to prosecute these cases will disappear"* ("Utrinski vesnik" daily). "Dnevnik" and "Vest" dailies, as well as "Sitel" TV also presented their commentaries on this topic. "Dnevnik" believes that *"...there is a gentlemen's political agreement that all cases the Hague Tribunal returns to Macedonia will not be processes in Macedonian Courts. Simply said, the Hague will return them, and we will push those cases to the side, just to have a peace at home"* (*"The Hard Bite We'll have to swallow"*, "Dnevnik", 13 February 2006). "Vest", on the other hand, says in its editorial comment in the issue of 4/5 February, 2006: *"Macedonian judiciary was not good for Ljube (Boskovski) and Johan (Tarculovski) too, and yet they received them in the Hague. Macedonians can be tried in unreformed courts. Albanians, on the other hand, will wait for the reforms to complete. Or at least, that the terms in office as ministers and diplomats end."* "Sitel" TV commented on 31 January, 2006: *"One report issued by the International Crisis Group mentions some deal between Ali Ahmeti and the Macedonian Government that the four cases—one of them refers to the leader of DUI himself—should stay in the Hague for at least two more years"*. The material dedicated to this topic (amnesty for KLA fighters) intensively refers to a document, signed by late President Trajkovski, for amnesty for all members of the KLA, but the published articles are not clear if such a document exists, what does it say and who signed it.

### **Macedonia and the neighbors**

Almost all media publishing and/or broadcasting in Macedonian language criticized Pristina's attitude towards the question of demarcation of Kosovo-Macedonia border. Although they presented all opinions and views held on this matter by various factors, the Macedonian language media prefer and promote those views that advocate the demarcation of the border prior to, or parallel to negotiations on the final status of Kosovo. This group of media, to greater or smaller extent, recommend the so-called Ohrid Model (the Ohrid Framework Agreement) as the best solution for the future status and internal system in Kosovo.<sup>6</sup>

To the contrary, the Albanian language "Fakti" daily promotes those views that support the thesis that the demarcation of the border should follow after the solution of the final status of Kosovo. This paper, in its

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Speculation was augmented by the *"confirmation by several legal experts that there are no legal obstacles for Boskovski to participate in the electoral process"*.

<sup>6</sup> "Dnevnik" was the most critical in its treatment of the relations with Kosovo (together with "Sitel" TV, see footnote 8). The daily prefers to criticise all actors and entities involved in the story: *"Just three days ago, Macedonian President Branko Crvenkovski said publicly that our position is that the border issue should be solved first, and only then the status of Kosovo could be solved. It turns out, however, that the international community has more trust in the arguments of its protectorate than in the arguments of independent Macedonia, for whom the said international community prefers the policies of double standards"*, (*"The Kosovo Package"*, "Dnevnik", 24 February, 2006); as well as *"The strongest message presented by our leaders is their pleasure that elements of the Ohrid Agreement might be applied in Kosovo... These times and the events in the region demand courage and brave moves by the Macedonian Government... The Government stayed aside and watched the attempts to get the Gorani into the Kosovo band-wagon... They will call us the leaders of the region, and we will feel like a loser that gets nothing more than a pat on the back – borders undefined, the name of the state and the nation disputed, the language, the church"*, (*"March Forward, With Our Heads Down"*, "Dnevnik", 17 February, 2006)

article of 23 February, 2006, titled *"Only Legitimate Kosovo Institutions Can Decide on the Border"*, doesn't elaborate on the presented dilemma, whether only one side can decide on the border line that is of interest to the other side, too. In general, "Fakti" insists on promotion and improvement of relations between the two neighbours – Macedonia and Kosovo, and treats topics that are infrequently covered by the other media<sup>7</sup>.

During this period, the media brought to the fore the question of the return of refugees that fled during the Kosovo Crisis in 1999, from Macedonia to Kosovo. The media reported the position of UNHCR to leave the responsibility for the refugees to Macedonian authorities.

The most unusual approach to the topics of Macedonian relations with SCG and Kosovo, respectively, was presented by "Sitel" TV. In a commentary aired in its central news programme, "Sitel" TV conditioned the national security of Macedonia with the *"strength"* of Serbia and the *"independence"* of Kosovo.<sup>8</sup> The media promoted and commended the Russian Patriarch Alexei and his view that the creation of a parallel church can't solve the existing ecclesiastical problem in Macedonia, opened by SPC. The media reported on Prime Minister Buckovski's visit to Belgrade and the issues discussed with his host, President of Serbia Boris Tadic: the final status of Kosovo, the dispute between MPC and SPC, and the talks for intensified cooperation between SDSM and Greek political party PASOK. "Vreme" daily, in its article titled *"Serbia owns the Coats-of-Arms of Skopje and Ohrid"* and *"Serbia Appropriated the Coats-of-Arms of Skopje and Ohrid"* opened a new sub-topic in the context of relations between Macedonia and Serbia and Montenegro.<sup>9</sup>

In February, the media paid extensive attention to the activities of Dora Bakoyani, the new Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs. Some media expressed the view that the fact that EC President Barosso avoided to use the name Macedonia during his visit to the country resulted from the intensive activities of Minister Bakoyani. On the other hand, the media viewed the appointment of Bakoyani as Minister of Foreign Affairs with optimism. In addition, the media find *"...signs of renewal of bilateral relations on high political level..."* in the visit of the Greek Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Evripides Stilianidis to Macedonia (*"Athens Warms its Relations with Skopje"*, "Vreme", 8 February, 2006). During the period covered by this analysis, the optimism of the media was aided by the newly installed, more lenient procedure for application for Greek working visas for the seasonal workers from Macedonia. The media also reported on the statement of Greek diplomat Aifantis, according to whom *"...the Macedonian minority in Greece wants to secede a part of Greek territory and annex it to FYROM"*, and the reactions of the "Vinozito" Association (of Macedonians in Greece) that it provoked.

In the context of Macedonian relations with Bulgaria, "Vest" daily criticized the Macedonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in view of the decree for introduction of visa regime for Macedonian citizens, announced by Bulgaria. According to the daily, Macedonian MFA did not apply adequate approach to this document (*"Bulgaria made an offer, Macedonia doesn't react – We Don't Want Free Visas"*; "Vest", 24 February, 2006).

In February, there were few events related to Macedonian-Albanian relations, and the majority of the media reported on the visit of the Albanian Defense Minister, Fatmir Mediu.

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<sup>7</sup> "Fakti" continuously follows the problem of the non-functioning of the railway line between Skopje and Pristina (sub-topic totally neglected or treated only sporadically by the other media). During this period, the paper brings to the fore: 1. *"Forged goods"* (accuses the Government of lacking the proper information on the origins of the goods exported to Kosovo); 2. *"Belanovce could have been built with the losses generated by Blace"*, *"The border crossing between Kumanovo and Gnjilane is hidden in the Government's drawers"* and *"Millions in Losses for Macedonian Businesspeople"* ("reminds" the past governments of Macedonia and Kosovo that the project for construction of a border crossing between Kumanovo and Gnjilane, promoted forcefully by the paper, exists since 1993).

<sup>8</sup> In its comment of 20 February, 2006, "Sitel" TV says: *"When Serbian state was strong, Macedonia had no problems with either Kosovo or the Kosovars. Now that Serbia is weak, we have all the problems that we want. The worst nightmare for Macedonia – independent Kosovo, is close to coming true"*

<sup>9</sup> The headlines of this article (the one used in the front-page and the other, slightly changed, for the internal pages) published on 31 January 2006, are confusing, since it remains unclear whether Serbia's demands regarding the ownership of the coats-of-arms are new, or whether the ownership of SFRY, determined 39 years ago, was transferred to Serbia and Montenegro. The claims presented in the headlines are not fully explained in the corresponding article.



## Decentralization

Regarding the decentralisation process, as in the past several months, the media were interested primarily in the problems of the functioning of local institutions ("Houses" of culture, kindergartens, schools) and the communal infrastructure problems of the City of Skopje. Several media, "Utrinski vesnik" took the lead, provided intensive commentary on the complex relations between national government on one side and the local self-government on the other.<sup>10</sup> "Fakti" daily has continued with its sustained criticism and dissatisfaction with the work of Trifun Kostovski, the Mayor of Skopje, especially regarding the non-functioning bilinguality in the city. The daily pointed out at the street and traffic signs in Skopje that were not written in Albanian as the second official language (*"There are no signs in Albanian in Skopje, Kostovski keeps silent"*, "Fakti", 3 February, 2006; as well as *"Albanian Language Neglected in the Capital"*, 24 February, 2006). In addition to Kostovski, the paper criticized the "Macedonian side": *"This will obviously take a lot of time, having in mind that the Macedonian side will present millions of reasons to prevent the use of Albanian language, such as finances, personnel needs, etc"*. All media paid great attention to the dispute between the two Skopje urban municipalities, Kisela Voda and Aerodrom. One special attraction for the media, related to the functioning of the decentralized local government, was the announced raising of a statue to Skender-Bey in the plateau in front of "Ilinden" General Store. This topic is treated positively and emotionally by "MTV 2 - Programme in Albanian language", in a report of a total length of 4 minutes and 20 seconds, while "Telma" TV expressed subtle criticism of Cair Municipality for its *"...determination to build a monument to Skender Bey in the Old Bazaar, in spite of the reservations presented by the Ministry of Culture"*. "MTV 2" reported that the Ohrid Municipal Council decided to mark the Day of the Signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement and the 120<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Dervis Hima, Albanian historical figure who was born and lived in that region. All media covered the visit to Gostivar Municipality by President Branko Crvenkovski. One novelty aspect of the topic of decentralization, introduced during this period, was the reporting on the "Gender Aspects of Decentralized Government", i.e. the public debate of the same name held at Gazi Baba Municipality in Skopje, project of a Debar-based NGO.

## Judicial Reforms

When discussing and commenting on the judicial reforms, it was a common approach for all media to insist on the complete de-politization of the judicial system and for a full reduction of its concentration of functions within a single office. In February, the media focused their coverage on the adoption of the Law on Judicial Council. The media followed the alleged conflict between the National Judicial Council (Macedonian abbreviation RSS), and the Supreme Court (VS), i.e. between Lence Sofronievska and Dane Iliev, the heads of the two institutions, respectively. The analysis concluded that the media find the statements, even speculations on the misunderstandings between the heads of the RSS and VS far more attractive to cover than the other, more essential changes in the judicial system. Nonetheless, most media believe, beyond any doubt, that the main judicial institutions that are expected to propose and implement the reforms, are engaged in a silent war. "A1" TV even predicted that the situation will further escalate and deteriorate (*"Further escalation of the conflict between RSS and VS should be expected in foreseeable future"*, 7 February, 2006)<sup>11</sup>.

The majority of articles dedicated to the Hague Tribunal cases published and aired during the period covered by this report, simultaneously dealt with the judicial reforms in Macedonia. Some media, invoking the opinions of legal experts and the Minister of Justice Meri Mladenovska-Gjorgievska, believe that the

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<sup>10</sup> "Utrinski vesnik" criticized the central government in an editorial comment *"Dispossessing the Government of its Power"*, of 7 February 2006: *"The central Government finds it difficult to give up on its commanding manner and transfers them to the local governments with a healthy dose of mistrust. Certain levels of state administration resist the demands of the municipal administration. The local self-governments are getting nervous since they still don't have the software listing the taxpayers that should fill the local budgets... That provides the central government with a mechanism to meddle and control all the competences transferred to the municipalities."* An editorial comment, similar in tone and critical of the central government's treatment of the main characteristic of the decentralization (the transfer of competences from central to local level), was published by "Vreme" (*"Go Around – Come Around Power"*, 21 February, 2006).

<sup>11</sup> To support the conclusion that RSS and VS are *"at war"*, we could use the statement by Dane Iliev from the Supreme Court, attacking the RSS members: *"It seems that they lived quite a comfortable life until the start of the reform process and they are now bothered by the rebuilding of the judiciary. Obviously, Sofronievska is afraid that she will have to explain a lot of things. They all upgraded to the latest models of mobile phones three times a year, so the fact that they won't be able to do that anymore must hurt"* ("Vecer", 6 February 2006).

Macedonian judiciary is capable of processing those cases without the necessity to establish a special court, and that the four cases should not be connected to the reforms of the judicial system.<sup>12</sup> The media presented the suggestion of the International Crisis Group that the return of the Hague Cases should come only after the completion of the judicial reforms. Some media presented the criticism that it would be not be serious to talk about radical reforms in the judiciary in a situation when the courts don't have enough money to pay for their communal and telephone bills. Some criticism of the systemic financial weakness went to the Minister of Finances, Nikola Popovski.

The Albanian language media, in addition to approaching this aspects only sporadically, place their emphasis on the Ethnic component, i.e. the representation of Albanians in the judicial system.

### **The Decade of Roma Inclusion**

"Media Mirror" included the topic of "Decade of Roma Inclusion" in the monitoring of the media for the month of February. This topic will also be monitored in the coming period. The analysis shows that, in February, the media reported only scarcely, or didn't report at all, on the processes taking place under the auspices of the Decade.

The little coverage there was referred to the controversial reactions on the documentary film *"Sutka Book of Records"*. Several reactions by Roma politicians were presented, but also by NGO activists, on the alleged insulting notions it carries for the Roma population. "Utrinski vesnik" remarked that there is certain disunity within the Roma population and inappropriate evaluation of the successes of their compatriots, in this case the actors in the film (*"The Roma attack their film champions"*, 3 February 2006), while "Vecer" outright dismissed the thesis that the film generalizes the perception of the Roma and insults them. "Vecer" presented negative commentary on the reaction of the Roma political parties, i.e. the Member of Parliament Nezdeta Mustafa and Erduan Iseni<sup>13</sup>.

The article *"Half a settlement has no water, including the Mayor"* ("Dnevnik", 22 February 2006) was accompanied with photograph of Roma protesters carrying banners and slogans. In the caption, the newspaper comments: *"The citizens of Suto Orizari protest the fact that the water supply was cut, although they haven't paid their bills for years"*. Still, the paper balanced that with paraphrase and quote of a statement of one citizens of the settlement: *"Mukades Baftijar, citizen of Suto Orizari, who has a family of seven, said that she lives on 2000 denars of social allowance. I don't object to pay my bills, but I have neither job nor money to pay them with"*

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<sup>12</sup> The strongest criticism for Macedonian judiciary, and simultaneously for the International Crisis Group, in relation to the return of the Hague cases, presented "Vreme" daily. The ICG report with recommendations that the four cases should not return to Macedonia until the judiciary is reformed provoked an editorial headlined *"Judges, Let's Go on Recess"* (3 February, 2006): *"I call on all my colleagues charged with libel or slander to not spend their money on lawyers, since they received, for a second time, free legal advice from the influential International Crisis Group – don't recognize this court, for it is unreformed, not tuned to professional standards, involved in political and business interests and can't give you a fair trial. The original defence quotations that I just interpret here, are available for free in the latest report on Macedonia, available on ICG's web-site"*. Among the articles published by "Vest", on the other hand, there are some that go beyond the standard informative reporting: *"Will the judiciary reform before the Elections? Or, should we considered it reformed once Meri leaves office?"* ("Vest", 18 February, 2006. Meri refers to Meri Mladenovska-Gjorgievska, Macedonian Minister of Justice). It is customary for the paper to address politicians and state officials by their first names or nicknames.

<sup>13</sup> The contents of the article *"The Roma Attack their Own Cinematic Champions"* emphasizes that the final judgment of the film should be left to the most competent factor – the audience: *"While the opinion on this film, is divided, the audience in the cinema will have the chance to make its own conclusions whether the whole brouhaha surrounding this documentary, that has won several awards over a short period of time, is justified or not"*

### 3. SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF REPORTING

In order to determine and study the specific aspects and approaches characteristic of each individual media outlet, the analysis used six criteria in the treatment of the selected and reviewed materials (texts/articles, illustrations, comics, cartoons): **1.** Approach to the analyzed topics (number and intensity of published materials, their scope, placement of materials on the pages of print media or the timing and sequence of broadcasting); **2.** Genre structure and character of the given article or textual unit; **3.** Relationship between the header-headline-lead and the text-illustration [announcement-story-footage]; **4.** Source(s) of information; **5.** Actors and protagonists; and **6.** Treatment of facts.

#### 3.1. TELEVISION BROADCASTERS

##### “A1” TV

Macedonian relations with the European Union were the most common topic in the reporting of “A1” TV with 30 articles, while the name-dispute with Greece, the MPC-SPC dispute, Macedonian relations with NATO and the Decade of Roma Inclusion only merited a single article each.

Although the judicial reforms and the Hague Cases received less attention in terms of the quantity of materials, the quality of the approach to the coverage was equal to the attention paid to the European integrations.

Reports are the characteristic genre of “A1” TV coverage, with significant presence of judgmental and suggestive elements incorporated into them. The lead announcements and the headlines often are judgmental and suggestive in their character. The function of such headlines, displayed on the screen for the whole duration of the corresponding story, is to define the viewers' approach to the information in advance, regardless of whether the story is descriptive or contains judgement and opinions. The visual illustration is descriptive by character and commonly combines use of footage recorded at the actual event with archival footage.

In general, the sources are clearly identified and directly quoted, without additional comment. The unidentified sources are defined with a variety of formulations designed, on the other hand, to confirm their relevance (“*diplomatic sources*”, etc.) and are used sporadically, to present facts the veracity of which has not been confirmed. One characteristic of this period was the attempt to get into the background of certain events (EU reactions on El Masri case; the Government approach to the judiciary and the Hague Cases). The alleged background, construed on the basis of speculations presented by unclear sources or designated with the formulation “*A1 learns...*”, is partially or completely different from the presentation of an event created by the identified sources.

“A1” TV treats the majority of entities and protagonists correctly and neutrally. It provides ample space to all sides involved in the event/matter that is being reported, without further effort to evaluate their positions of the facts they present. There exceptions to this rule: The almost constant critical approach to some Government activities, whose positions are presented, but further “colour” is added through suggestions and opinions held by the media or the unclearly identified sources; the emphasized positive coverage dedicated to the stations owner, Velija Ramkovski, in his role as a politician, i.e. representative of PEO political party (Party for Economic Renewal).

## “KANAL 5” TV

The relations with the EU were the most covered topic in the programmes of “Kanal 5” TV (25 articles), followed by the Macedonian cases at the Hague Tribunal (18 articles).

In terms of genre, the stories broadcast are mostly reports, although there were articles of mixed genre (commentary and report).

On a number of current issues, the editorial office usually invokes sources representing several sides: politicians and experts. For instance, such was the case with the coverage of the EU’s proposal to create a free trade zone.

On occasion, the topic or the event that is being covered is “framed” in the very lead announcement, i.e. judgement and opinion is expressed even before the story is presented.

The visual presentation is mostly adequate and consists of footage filmed at the actual events, archival footage of past events discussed in the story, or still shots of persons who are interviewed or report over the phone.

The positioning of the media depends on the given topic, so it happens that the same protagonist or entity is treated differently, depending on the character of a given event. For example, President Crvenkovski was criticized for his statement that the courts are prepared to accept and process the Hague Cases, while his statement regarding the demarcation of the border with Kosovo was supported by the broadcaster.

## “MTV 1”

The most interesting topic for “MTV 1” during the period covered by this report, were the four cases on which the Hague Tribunal did not start official procedures, as well as the final status of Kosovo.

The genre designation is obvious and presents no difficulty, and the news programmes are dominated by reports.

The stories maintain their informative character, but this is a general evaluation, having in mind that in a number of examples, the journalists presented their own views and opinions on the actions of political subjects (*"Slightly over a month after the publication of the EC document that proposes a free trade zone in the Western Balkans, the Macedonian opposition finally remembered to demand from the Government information whether the country is in position to accept or refuse to become a part of this project". 15.02.2006*).

The lead announcements are compatible with the actual contents of the corresponding articles.

The sources of information are clearly identified, using full names, with the exception of formulations such as *"Greek sources"* and *"some people we talked to..."* The most commonly used sources are representatives of the current governmental and international political figures, while the time dedicated to the opposition is slightly restricted.

The protagonists of the events are equally directly and indirectly quoted, without further judgment in any possible context.

The facts were presented as they were, without additional evaluation and interpretation, although it happens that a single issue or event is covered on several consecutive days, within a short period of time.

## “MTV 2” (PROGRAMME IN ALBANIAN LANGUAGE)

The three main topics, in terms of the dedicated coverage, were Macedonian relations with the EU, the relations with the neighbouring countries, and the decentralization processes. The other topics were only sporadically covered, while the name-dispute with Greece, the SPC-MPC dispute and the Decade of Roma Inclusion were not covered at all.

The coverage is dominated by informative genres – news and reports.

The lead announcements correspond to the contents of the articles they announce. Although the stories are adequately illustrated with footage from the events or persons they refer to, still, in certain articles archival footage is used, especially in reports filed by the station’s local correspondents.

During the period covered by this report, “MTV 2” usually named its sources. Anonymous sources were used only in limited number of articles.

The treatment of protagonists is usually neutral. When approaching certain topics and subjects, the protagonists usually are Albanians, which produces cases when the sources from the other ethnic communities are missing, especially on topics that warrant their presence. There was a noticeable absence of positions held by the representatives of the Hague Tribunal, as well as the attempt to treat this matter from the neutral expert position, but only by experts from the Albanian ethnic community.

The “MTV 2” news treat the facts neutrally, but the use of ethnically keyed sources does contribute to some favouring, i.e. neglect of other persons or entities that may offer different views on a given topic.

## “SITEL” TV

In terms of the topics included in this analysis, “Sitel” TV was most interested in information related to the European Commission's proposal for economic cooperation of the Western Balkans countries, as well as the discussion of the four cases that the Hague Tribunal should return to Macedonia.

In terms of genre variety, the coverage is dominated by reports. Quite often, the articles venture beyond the limits of purely informative reporting, presenting opinions and judgement of the events and developments (regarding the EU's proposal: *“Actually, the support goes to an issue that, and this was rather evident and clear, should start functioning anyway, and the importance of which was emphasized previously by other political entities...”* 31 January, 2006)

A major part of the aired articles are not presented in the lead announcements of the news programmes. For those that are announced, on the other hand, the announcements correspond to the actual contents of the articles, with exceptions such as: *“When Serbian state was strong, Macedonia had no problems with either Kosovo or the Kosovars. Now that Serbia is weak, we have all the problems that we want. The worst nightmare for Macedonian - independent Kosovo, will probably happen”*, in the news of 20 February 2006. Otherwise, the introductions to the articles are often too long and sometimes the reporters jump from one topic to the other, creating a general impression of confusion. Almost all articles are adequately illustrated, although the authors of the footage are often not identified.

Although the majority of the articles clearly name the used sources of information, there are constructs such as *“Sitel learns...”*, *“...according to information available to Sitel”*, and in some cases, the sources of information are not mentioned at all. During the period covered by this analysis, there was a noticeable favouring and promotion of Ljubisav Ivanov – Dzingo, the leader of the Socialist Party of Macedonia and owner of “Sitel” TV, who was mentioned as *“quality politician”*.

The protagonists of the events and their statements are presented both in direct and indirect speech. We have to mention here the example of presenting a statement with inappropriate and vulgar language, regardless of whether it was a technical omission by the editorial office or not (*“...we can't let Ali Ahmeti or Vlado Buckovski to screw around with the feelings of the missing persons.”* 16.02.2006). The broadcaster usually uses several sources and contacts several sides of a given issue, so that no visible inclination towards a single political option is visible, although the current government was present slightly over its usual levels.

The facts were generally presented as they happened, without additional interpretation, with the exception of cases when the reporter would present his or her own conclusions before the viewers were given an opportunity to see what exactly is discussed: the EU's idea for regional trade linking is interpreted euphorically and enthusiastically, promoting one group of entities and criticizing the others (*"... One of the parties that has demanded regional trade and economic links for the past ten years was the Socialist Party. Its leader, Ljubisav Ivanov – Dzingo, was accused that his ideas were retrograde, pro-Yugoslav and federalist. However, the moment the EU proposed the same idea, it was accepted by the Macedonian political elite, but this time only because the idea came from the Europeans... Europe doesn't want feuding neighbours, Europe doesn't want obstacles to free movement of business, capital and people. Europe proved that when it accepted, generously and expressly, those that were always one level below us.* 31 January 2006).

### **"TELMA" TV**

The decentralization was the main topic of interest for "Telma" TV, both in terms of sheer number of broadcast articles and the quality of the coverage. Although with lesser intensity, depending on their relevance at a given point of time, quality coverage was dedicated to the topics related to the Hague Tribunal and Macedonian relations with the EU.

The coverage is dominated by informative genres (report, news, statement), while some issues were approached with longer reports on the topic or the event (for instance, the case of the secondary school in Rostuse).

The lead announcements are almost exclusively a summary of the actual contents of the articles, which are usually accompanied with appropriate footage filmed at the given event, with the exception of some topics (the Hague Tribunal, EU) which are illustrated with archival footage.

"Telma" usually names its sources correctly, although it does use, on occasion, unnamed sources. Nonetheless, although anonymous, such sources are not treated within a manipulative discourse. In at least one case (for instance, regarding the generally prevailing suspicion of political meddling in the election of judges), there is a perception that more sources should have been used in the reports.

The treatment of protagonists is usually neutral. A certain amount of criticism, placed in a small number of articles, was directed primarily at the institutions and offices, not the persons working there or holding those offices (in the lead to an article of 31 January, the Ministry of Justice and the Office of Public Prosecutor were criticized for the fact that *"...regarding the obligation to contact the Hague Tribunal, they continue to drop the ball in the other one's yard"*).

The articles present a great amount of facts that the editorial office does not, as a general rule, comment further.

## **3.2. DAILY NEWSPAPERS**

### **"VEST"**

"Vest" continues to cover the topics included in this analysis with short and superficial articles.

The news is the dominant genre, and some articles (the regular column written by the Editor-in-Chief) maintain the continuity in terms of its opinionated reporting (*"After all, the return of SRFY doesn't look that bad at all. The idyll reminds us of Tudjman, Milosevic, Izetbegovic, Gligovor and Kucan. Once Ante Markovic joined them, the country soon began falling apart and the wars followed. The EU's idea is similar to what Ante had in mind - wealthy and prosperous Balkans. That is the reason why nobody has anything against SFRY. Macedonia can't break up any further."* 4/5 February, 2006)

"Vest's" style of using "loud and bold" headlines was maintained, regardless whether the headline corresponds to the actual contents of the article it refers to. (*"Animal Farm"*, 18 February, 2006; *"Bulgaria Makes an Offer, Macedonia doesn't React"*, *"We Don't Want Free Visas"*, 24 February, 2006).

Illustrations, when used, take more space than the actual articles and, sometimes, commentaries are included in the captions (*"Hundreds of Macedonian citizens from the towns and villages near the border cross the Bulgarian border daily, just to earn a piece of bread"*), which can be seen as criticism of the current government.

*"Well-informed sources"* and *"sources in the Government"* are commonly used in "Vest" articles. There is an impression that "Vest" doesn't preoccupy itself with whom it may list as a source, as long as the statement promotes the overall aim of the text. Over the period covered by this report, there was an increased criticism of the current Government.

The protagonists of the events are largely paraphrased rather than quoted directly, and the Saturday columns, already mentioned above, often talks negatively about them (*"Will the judiciary reform itself after the Elections? Or, should we considered it reformed once Meri (Mladenovska) is out of office?"*, 18 February, 2006).

The facts are presented as they are, and their evaluation and interpretation is left for one of the Saturday columns and editorials.

### **"VEČER"**

The relations between Macedonia and the EU was the most covered topic in "Vecer", with 39 articles. The daily, however, dedicated important coverage to the four cases at the Hague (25 articles). The least coverage (two articles) was dedicated to the name-dispute with Greece.

"Vecer" presents the top-stories on pages 4 and 6 of the paper, in the top right corner, while the speculations are usually listed in the "Vecer Spec" department.

As a standard, the dominant genres are the report and the news. The articles are primarily descriptive in character, but some of them contain subtle evaluations, opinions and prediction made by the authors. Some topics (the name-dispute and the MPC-SPC dispute) are covered exclusively by informative articles, while others (the relations with the EU) are more present in the commentaries and articles with judgmental and suggestive nature.

The headlines reflect the contents of the actual article, which mostly means descriptive headlines, with some presence of judgmental, suggestive and speculative headlines, usually resulting from use of information received from quoted speculative sources. Only a small part of the articles were attractive enough for "Vecer" to decide to give them front-page treatment. Occasionally, pure speculations (by any standard used) were considered attractive (*"El Masri – German Spy!?"*). The photographs have either descriptive or associative function, without pretence to carry message different from the message presented in the text.

Although most sources are precisely named, there is noticeable presence of speculative, unidentified sources used to present attractive information, but also for "regular" information that would be easily confirmed or denied by the relevant sources. In this period, too, the edge of the strong, often sarcastic judgment of the editorial comments fell on the actions of individual or collective actors which "Vecer" considers non-productive in terms of the European future of Macedonia. Only rarely the commentaries carry positive and affirmative notions of a given subject, especially political entities, having in mind its critical position towards a great number of actors and entities (SDSM, VMRO-DPMNE, DPA, the parties of the Roma, the judiciary, Prime Minister Buckovski, President Crvenkovski, etc.). The other articles are characteristic for their correct treatment of the protagonists and actors. One example of that position is the fact that "Vecer" published the protest letter by Nezdet Mustafa, with strong criticism of "Vecer's" editorial policies (provoked by the fact that the daily criticized the political parties of the Roma and their views on the "Sutka Book of Records" documentary).

The facts, with the exception of those presented by unidentified sources, were presented without further interpretation and evaluation, which would give the added meaning.

## “VREME”

“Vreme” dedicated the greatest number of articles to European integrations (33 articles) and the four cases in the Hague Tribunal (19 articles). This paper doesn't have a rule regarding the placement of the articles on the page in order to emphasize their importance, with the exception of the “Tema” department and a number of regular articles (the editorial comment). Some articles are printed in white letters on black background, which makes the page visually striking.

In terms of the genres used, the coverage is dominated by informative and descriptive articles. A small part of the topics included in this analysis are covered with comments and editorials with clear, on occasion strong and ironic judgments and opinions about different subjects (*“Judges, let's go on Recess”*).

The headlines mostly provide a summary of the contents, but some are judgmental and suggestive constructs. The general impression about the correct visual illustration is disturbed by rare use of dominant photographs which deviate the general picture of the event with their tasteless associations (for example, a photograph of Minister of Justice Meri Mladenovska, depicted standing behind bars, was printed on the front-page as a lead to the text on the four cases in the Hague Tribunal). Sometimes, opinions are offered in the captions of photographs.

With the exception of the comments, headlines, photographs and captions mentioned above, the major part of the articles in “Vreme” treats the protagonists of the events in a neutral manner. Their views and activities are presented correctly, descriptively, without additional evaluation. The sources are clearly identified, while anonymous and unidentified sources are used as a cover for presentation of speculative, unconfirmed facts and predictions.

“Vreme” first presents the facts in informative articles, and later interprets and judges them in editorial comments. One exception from this professional standards applied by the media in the past period, was the suggestive, even negative view of certain events, expressed in upside-down order - prior to exhausting all available sources and presentation of the positions of all involved entities and persons (for ex. the suggestive commentary on the lack of reaction by the Government on the proposal to create a trade union in the Balkans – *“Towards Europe, it's 'Yugoslavia' again”*, or the suggestive cartoon on the resurrection of SFRY, printed on the front-page).

## “DNEVNIK”

“Dnevnik” published a great number of articles on the topic of Macedonian relations with the European Union – 43, while the least coverage was dedicated to the topics of the name dispute with Greece and the decentralization (four articles each). “Dnevnik” also dedicated prominent space to the judicial reforms, with special emphasis on the Elections Code and the coming Parliamentary Elections.

The report is the dominant genre, with noticeable use of the mixed genre – commentatorial report.

The commentatorial reports interpret and judge the facts, especially in commentaries on topics related to current political affairs that are intensively debated on the political scene in Macedonia. This genre is most common in the treatment of the Macedonian cases at the Hague Tribunal and the relations with the neighbouring countries, especially the articles on Macedonian relations with Kosovo.

The use of headlines designed to give emphasis to the discussed topic, but also the use of headlines with suggestive character, is common in “Dnevnik” (for example, *“The Hague Big Bite we have to Swallow”*, 13 February, 2006; *“Silk Garrotte for Prcevski”*, 14 February 2006). “Dnevnik” increasingly uses double headlines (one for the front-page, one for the actual article) to emphasize the contents of the article. They use of key-words in the headlines doesn't always correspond to the actual contents of the article (*“Brussels will interrogate Macedonian prime-ministers”*, 04/05 02.2006).

Quite often, the articles are illustrated with realistic photographs, accompanied by suggestive and opinionated captions.



The clear identification and direct quotations are used for actors present in the informative articles dedicated to least attractive topics. The "Eurorama" Department regularly uses unclear sources, listed as members of the diplomatic corps, a diplomat whose identity is known to the editorial office, etc.

"Dnevnik" is openly supportive of MPC, it is positive and affirmative on the issue of reforms of the ARM, promotion of the opposition VMRO-DPMNE, and to a lesser extent of VMRO-NP. In that context, there was a noticeably criticism of political parties in power and criticism of *"double-standards policies"* applied by the international community.

### "UTRINSKI VESNIK"

"Utrinski vesnik" published 37 articles on the topic of Macedonian relations with the neighbouring countries, with special emphasis on the developments surrounding Kosovo and the Kosovo-Macedonia relations. Compared to previous period, when the daily was focused on the Macedonian relations with the EU, during the period covered by this analysis, it shifted its attention towards several topics and dedicated approximately the same coverage to the following: Relations with the EU (27 articles); judicial reforms (24); decentralization (22); the Hague Tribunal (22). The name-dispute is treated as an auxiliary subject in articles dedicated to the relations with the EU and regional relations.

"Utrinski vesnik" publishes articles of diverse genre structure, with the report being the most commonly used genre. The use of a given genre depends on the actual importance of that topic at a given point of time. While articles of mixed genre (usually combining commentary, analysis and report) were most common in the coverage of the Macedonian relations with the EU, because of the procedure to gain the status of candidate, the treatment is now reserved to the topic of Macedonian cases at the Hague Tribunal.

The analysis concluded that the mixed genre articles are usually judgmental and suggestive in character and are almost exclusively based on unclear sources (*"Mitrevska transferred the blame for the resignation on Karanfilovska"*, 4 February 2006).

The majority of headlines summarize and emphasize the contents of the articles. The emphasis of the main message of the article is achieved by the newspaper with the use of double-headlines, headers and leads (one set is used on the front-page, the other in the inside page that carries the whole article). The only difference in this type of headline design comes from the use of terminology and lexicon and punctuation.

The articles are usually illustrated with realistic photographs related to the topic covered by the article. The captions of the photographs often provide a summary of the main idea of the text.

The informative articles identify their sources precisely and their statements are quoted both directly and indirectly. The mixed-genre articles are usually based on unidentified sources.

In addition to the use of unidentified sources, the daily sometimes uses slang and colloquial names for the actors and events. This tendency is especially present with articles dedicated to the four cases in the Hague tribunal (members of DUI are called *"integrationists"*; members of VMRO-NP are *"Ljubco Georgievski's populists"*; Tito Petkovski is *"fractioner and party veteran"*; Peter Faith is named as *"the diplomat that boxed out the agreement between KLA and Macedonian leadership"*).

In February, as previously, the paper treated the relations between the President and the Prime Minister, with an emphasis on the position of Buckovski, described as *"the lonely position on the political scene"*. The paper noted a tendency of rapprochement to the President through *"notching down the level of play with the President with whom he (the Prime Minister) has engaged in a prolonged undeclared war"*.

## “FAKTI”

The most covered topics during the period covered by this analysis were the relations between Macedonia and EU, Macedonian relations with the neighbouring countries (primarily with Kosovo), and the Macedonian cases at the Hague Tribunal. The other topics are represented to a much lesser degree, and some were not covered at all (the name-dispute with Greece, the SPC-MPC dispute, the Roma Inclusion Decade).

Most common are articles that belong to the informative genres (report, news, statement), but interviews (on the topics of EU and NATO) and commentaries (the Hague Tribunal, EU, etc.) were also registered.

There is clear correlation between the text and the headline section, with some messages being emphasized through the use of headlines, aimed to promote the importance of the criteria that Macedonia needs to comply to in order to qualify for EU integration (the emphasis is on the implementation of the Ohrid Agreement and organization of fair elections). Quite often, the headlines are used to present the editorial office's view on a given issue (*“There are no signs in Albanian in Skopje, Kostovski keeps quiet”*, "Fakti", 3 February 2006, p. 5; *“The Albanian Council Member is Deaf and dumb”*, "Fakti", 2 February, 2006, p.10).

“Fakti” uses named sources whose views and positions are not commented. There was no common use of unnamed sources in manipulative context.

The informative genres present neutral approach to the protagonists (although there are exceptions to this rule), while the commentaries carry criticism of some actors (critical of DUI regarding the Hague Cases against KLA - *“DUI Scores Four Own Goals”*, 14 February 2006, p.2).

The paper presents facts on the majority of subjects covered by this analysis, which are usually presented without further comment, with the exception of a small number of articles, especially those with commentatorial approach.

# ***APPENDICES***

**INTENSITY OF PUBLISHED MATERIALS PER MEDIA, DURING THE ANALYZED PERIOD  
FOR THE PERIOD: 30 JANUARY – 26 FEBRUARY 2006**

Topic	Media												Total (Per topic)
	A1	Vest	Vecer	Vreme	Dnevnik	Kanal 5	MTV 1	MTV 2 In Albanian	Sitel	Telma	Utrinski vesnik	Fakti	
1. Relations with EU	30	17	39	33	43	25	26	16	18	14	27	21	<b>309</b>
2. The Hague Tribunal	18	14	25	19	27	18	14	9	17	14	22	11	<b>208</b>
3. Regional Relations	14	4	13	12	18	6	15	15	10	6	37	21	<b>171</b>
4. Decentralization	5	9	11	7	4	4	4	10	1	19	22	14	<b>110</b>
5. Judicial reforms	8	3	14	7	30	11	0	1	1	5	24	2	<b>106</b>
6. Relations with NATO	1	0	11	4	13	7	10	1	5	3	6	4	<b>65</b>
7. Decade of Roma Inclusion	1	0	9	12	5	1	1	0	0	1	3	0	<b>33</b>
8. SPC-MPC Dispute	1	0	3	1	5	1	1	0	1	1	6	0	<b>20</b>
9. Name dispute	1	0	2	1	4	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	<b>14</b>
<b>Total (per media)</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>1036</b>