



# **MEDIA MONITORING OF THE 2016 LOCAL ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN**

**-FINAL REPORT -**

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTES

Media monitoring in the election campaign for the 2016 local elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina was organized with the intention to monitor the way the media report during the electoral campaign and ascertain *whether and to what extent media contribute to citizens making informed decision*, i.e. whether and to what extent media provide citizens with information that would enable them to base their choice of political parties and candidates on arguments and goals presented to them through the media. Monitoring the way in which media report during the electoral campaign is important for several reasons. One, perhaps the most obvious, is to see the influence of media on voters, i.e. the possibility of media manipulation and influence on the outcome of elections. But the way media report on political subjects and candidates shows us also the degree of freedom of the media, the level of their professionalism, the way they understand their social responsibility, and their affiliation to political elites. In other words, *the monitoring aimed at showing how much media report in favor (or interest) of political entities or in favor (or interest) of citizens, and whether and to what extent the public interest is key to their reporting.*

In addition to the general conclusion on the role of the media in the election campaign for the 2016 local elections in BiH, i.e. the degree to which they report in accordance with professional standards, the monitoring focused on some specific aspects of pre-election reporting related to the privileges enjoyed by incumbents in media reporting (their greater presence in the media than those not yet elected), the presence or absence of hate speech in the media, (under) representation of women candidates in media contents, and the attitude of media towards actors in the political communication who do not aim at achieving political success, but rather at raising the level of democracy of the electoral process (specifically the Coalition *Pod lupom*).

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **Research problem**

The research problem is imposed by the general social practice of citizens being more focused on media during pre-election campaigns, and to this end, it is just to ask oneself how do media help the citizens to better understand the political campaign and to select, among political subjects running for elections and seeking citizens' support, those who will best represent them and work in their interest.

In this context, the research problem in the broader sense is fair, balanced and professional reporting of the media, i.e. the degree to which professional standards in media reporting are respected during the pre-election campaign.

### **Subject-matter of the research**

Subject-matter of the research, broadly speaking, is media coverage during the election campaign in Bosnia and Herzegovina for 2016 local elections. In the narrow sense, the subject-matter of research are media products dealing with political subjects, contextualized in a wider communication framework, to determine how much they contribute to the informed decision of citizens in the elections.

### **Research questions**

Instead of setting the general and elaborating hypotheses, which would in our opinion, partially limit the research i.e. direct it in one direction, we opted to raise a few questions that should lead to a response to the general and broadly set question: *Do the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina, during the 2016 election campaign, provide enough fair, well-balanced and professionally-generated information to citizens, in line with reporting standards and norms, in order for the citizens to make informed decisions in the elections?*

The *research questions* were the following:

- Did media report enough about the election campaign (i.e. what was the share of election related content in the total content of the media)?
- Were political entities equally represented and treated in the media (fair access to communication channels with citizens, balanced and impartial reporting to all, no favoring of certain entities)?
- Were there any examples of privileges being granted to incumbents in media reporting (i.e. them being more present in the media than those who are not yet elected officials)?
- Was hate speech present in the media during the election campaign, and if so, to what extent (and who were its carriers: reporters or other (non-media) actors)?
- Were women candidates (under) represented in the media contents?
- What was the attitude of the media towards political communication actors in the election campaign who were not aimed at achieving political success, but rather raising the level of democracy of the electoral process (specifically the Coalition *Pod lupom*)?

### **Academic and social goals of the research**

*Academic goal* of the research/monitoring was to reach objective indicators of the degree of professionalism and respect of reporting standards in the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the election campaign using quantitative and qualitative content analysis method, and by discourse and contextual analysis, and to draw a set of recommendations for media reporting during election campaigns specific to reporting on local elections.

*Social goal* of the research/monitoring was to point out to non-compliance of media with professional standards and norms and to call for raising professionalism and quality of reporting, as well as to raise awareness of the importance of professional reporting in election campaigns not only in the media community and among professional actors (reporters and editors) but also among the citizens (indirectly raising the level of media and political literacy of the general public in BiH).

## **Research methodology**

*Quantitative and qualitative content analysis methodology* was used to collect information about the share of election content in the overall media content and on the degree of objectivity, impartiality and compliance with the standard of fair, balanced and professional reporting of media during election campaign.

### ***Discourse and contextual case analysis***

Rather than analyzing individual media outlets and degree of their professionalism, the research i.e. monitoring was focused on pointing out the trends in the media scene in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and for that purpose discourse analysis of the content of media articles and features was used. The discourse analysis attempted to identify the dominant narratives in the media during election campaigns and the most frequent types of media non-professionalism (bias, favoring politically appointed incumbents, hate speech, under-representation of women candidates, etc.).

For the sake of being as objective as possible, the individual media “cases” were analyzed in a broader media context i.e. contextual analysis included the analysis of media products in the context of professional and ethical media standards, legal framework and social norms. Monitors have singled out the cases that constitute violation of reporting standards, which the authors of this report considered in close detail and incorporated some of them in their final report.

*Inductive method* has been used in a broader methodological sense to draw some general conclusions about trends in media reports in Bosnia and Herzegovina pertaining to the 2016 local elections campaign.

## **Variables**

*Variables* used by monitors for analysis of relationship between the media and political subjects were as follows:

- Total number of contents in a media outlet
- Total number of contents related to local elections
- Presence of a political subject in the media outlet (length of the feature, length of the article)
- A genre in which a political subject appears

- Authorship
- Occasion
- Topic
- Attitude of a journalist/media towards a political subject
- Position of a political subject in the media (an incumbent or a candidate)
- Biased reporting of media about a political subject
- The right of a political subject to reply (compliance with the Second Party Rule in Media)
- Number of sources in media contents
- Presence or absence of hate speech
- Form of hate speech (insult, instigation, discrimination, etc.)
- Hate speech deliverer (a reporter, a political subject or someone else)
- Presence or absence of female candidates in the contents
- Attitude of media towards female candidates

To analyze the presence of the Coalition "Pod lupom" in media the following *variables* were used:

- Presence in the media outlet (length of the feature, length of the article)
- A genre in which it appears
- Authorship
- Occasion
- Topic
- Attitude of a journalist/media towards the Coalition
- Attitude of other actors in the story (other political subjects, polled citizens, etc.) towards the Coalition

### **Sample/Body**

*The sample* includes 46 media outlets (print (dailies), electronic (public RTV broadcaster, private and public radio and TV stations) and online (news portals)) published/broadcasted at the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (both entities). Of the 46 media outlets, 28 have been monitored as a sample for the whole Bosnia and Herzegovina and 18 constitute the sample in specific municipalities and regions of interest to the Coalition *Pod lupom*.

*The body* includes all media products. Dailies have been monitored fully, their election contents collected and detailed analyses performed, while in radio and TV programs, the

primetime news program was monitored (News at 19:00h or 19:30h (depending on the station)), as well as election shows (talk-shows). Contents of news portals that referred to elections were monitored. The monitoring did not include TV election chronicles as our experience says they have a “standard format”, i.e. they cover the reporting from party promotional gatherings and convey political messages in almost the same way in most media outlets; therefore, to include these into the body would mean to “blur” the research, i.e. to significantly increase the number of analyzed contents their share in the total number of contents of a media outlet, while their “unlively” reporting would, we assume, provide a false idea on media neutrality and objectivity.

The total monitoring body included **37962 media products**, where **19790 in print media**, **2648 on the radio**, **7336 on TV** and **8188 on web portals**.

### **Research time and place**

The monitoring was conducted in the period from **September 2, 2016** (official commencement date of the election campaign) to **October 15, 2016** (the two weeks following the elections were included in order to analyze the post-election reporting as well).

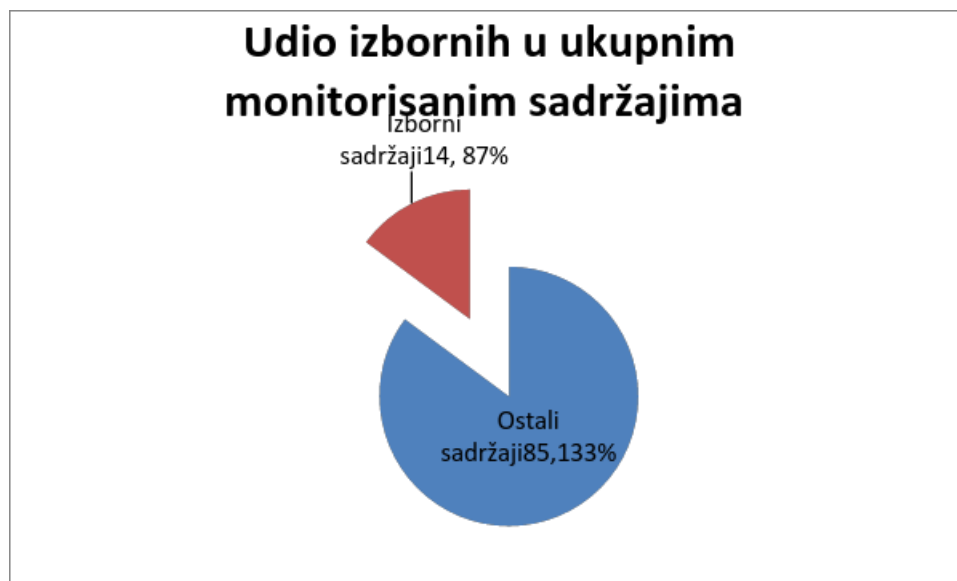
With the aim of achieving a representative sample, the media reporting monitoring was organized nationally, i.e. at the overall BiH territory. In addition, a separate monitoring was conducted in 5 municipalities in which the Coalition *Pod lupom* collects election results (Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Sarajevo, Tuzla and Zenica).

The first preliminary result was presented to the media/public on September 29, 2016 (photographs attached).

## GENERAL FINDINGS OF THE MONITORING – MEDIA REPORTING DURING 2016 ELECTIONS

### Share of election contents in the overall contents

During the monitoring period, the media subject to monitoring issued a total of 37962 contents, where 5646 were related to the elections. In the said period, election contents constituted **14.87%** of the total contents by the monitored media, which indicates that *local elections have not been a dominant topic for media reporting in the monitored period.*



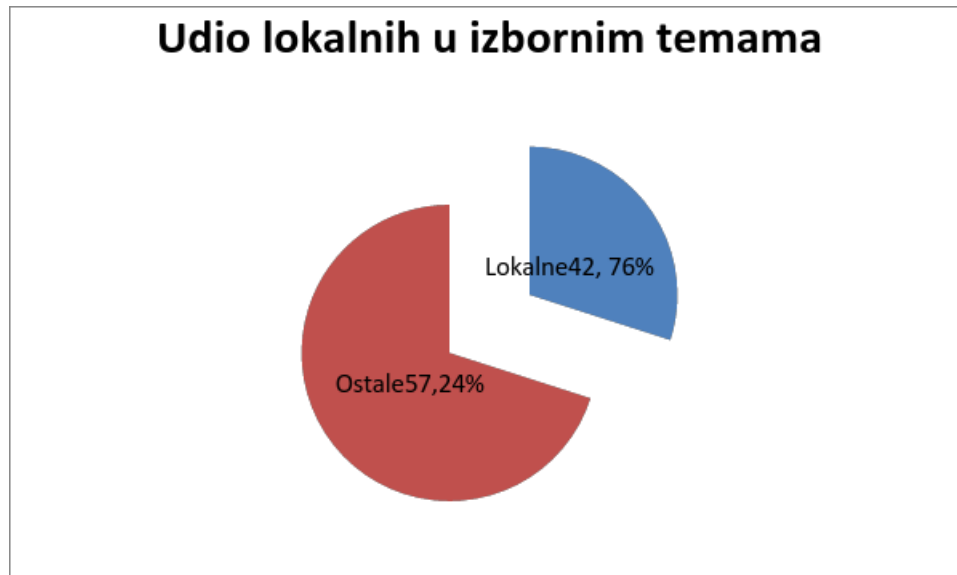
*Graph: Share of election contents in the overall media contents*

Percentage-wise, the least share of election contents was of private radio stations (where the share of election contents in the overall media contents was 9.4%), followed by print media (10%), public radio stations (13.53%), private TV stations (17.31%), public TV stations (17.55%), while web portals had the largest share of election contents in overall contents (24.67%). *However, in neither of the mentioned media types did election contents make up for more than fourth of the total media contents.*



## General and local topics

In the total number of election contents, local topics were covered by 42.76%, which is not an insignificant share. This tells us that *the media that reported on local elections mostly dealt with local topics, i.e. focused primarily on them.*



*Graph: Local topics in election contents*

Public TV stations, most of them local, had 299 contents with local topics (most of them on Federalna TV, TV Goražde, and TV TK). Private TV stations broadcasted 122 local topic contents (most of them on ATV Banja Luka). Public radio stations had 147 contents with local topics (majority broadcasted on Radio RS), while private radio stations had no stories related to local topics. Print media published 1048 local topic contents, interestingly, majority of them was not in local newspapers but in those with wide distribution (Oslobođenje is by far the first according to the number of published local topic contents, followed by Dnevni avaz, Nezavisne novine, and Faktor). Web portals published 798 contents on local topics (most of them on Klix.ba, then Otisak.ba and Buka).

When it comes to specific topics addressed by media and political subjects, *infrastructure and constructions works are in the first place with 533 coverages in local topics; utilities' services are in the second*, the third most represented topic is the **quality of local government services, while the least represented is economy and employment.**

Infrastructure and construction works	Quality of local government services	Public finance	National minorities	Utility services	Economy and employment	Topic
533	322	276	198	407	93	<b>Number of contents</b>

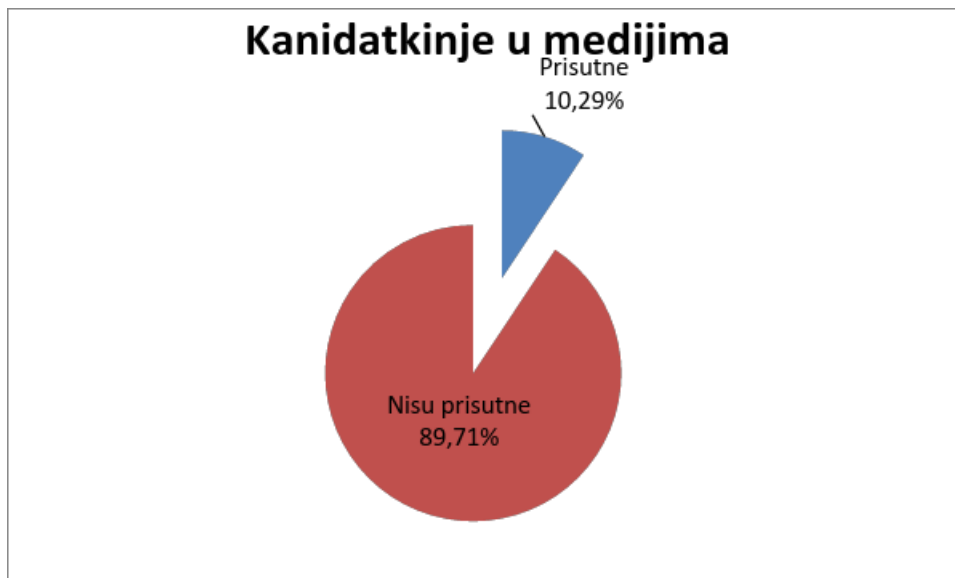
*Table: Types of local topics in pre-election reporting.*

In principle, we could say that *local topics have been relatively sufficiently represented and that the media recognized their importance in the local election context.* However, the fact that the most represented topic was construction works can be assigned to the fact that political subjects mostly used construction-related events for their self-promotion (opening of new road sections, new sports halls, etc.) which media followed and “covered” as events.

## Media reporting on women candidates

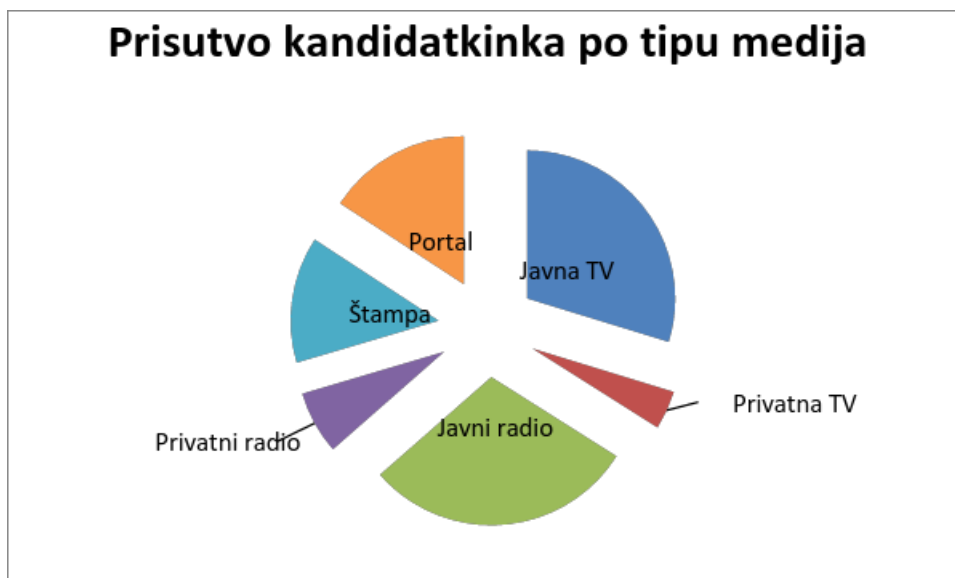
Within the election campaign media monitoring, we analyzed the specific representation of women candidates.

In relation to the total number of analyzed election-related contents, *the share of contents with women candidates was 10.29%* (527 contents of the total 5646). Of this number, 96 contents with women candidates presented this fact in a positive context, while in 9 cases it was presented in a negative context (Klix.ba 15.09.2016. – Example 1 in Annexes; Euroblic 20.09.2016. – Example 2 in Annexes).



*Graph: Presence of women candidates in the media*

With reference to the type of media outlet presenting women candidates, the following has been established: women candidates were present in 129 features on public TV stations (16.66%; they were not present in 645 election-related features), in 12 features on private TV stations (2.36%, while they were absent from 495 features), in 53 stories on public radio stations (which is 16.51%, while they were not present in 268 stories), in 1 story on a private radio (3.84%, while they were not present in 25 stories), in 154 stories in print media (7.70%, and they were not present in 1844 contents), and in 178 stories on portals (8.81%, while they were not present in 1842 contents).



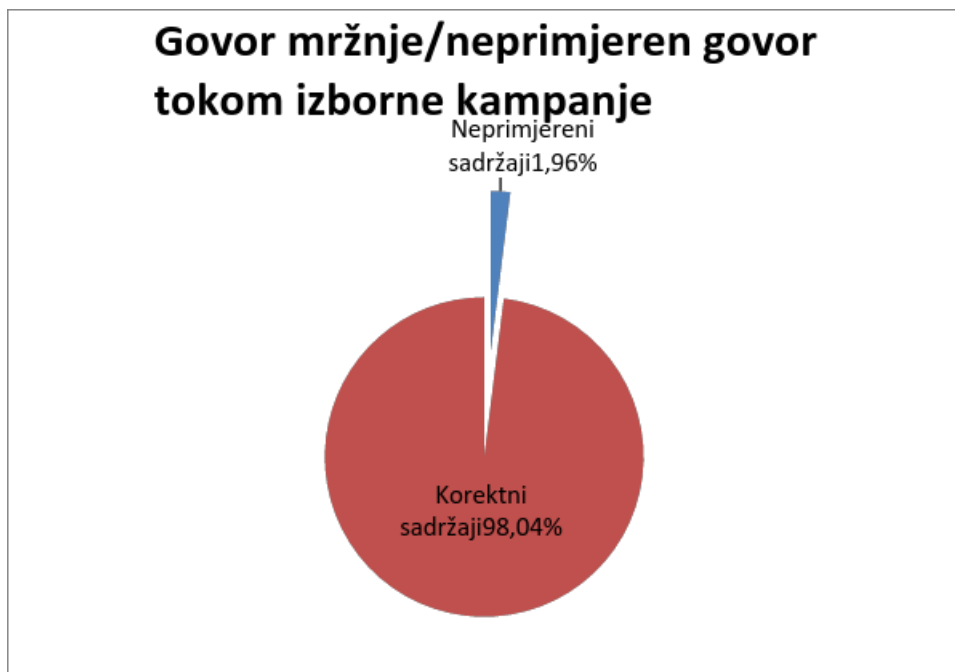
*Graph: Presence of women candidates in media contents (by media outlet type)*

*Public radio and television stations therefore had the highest share of women candidates in their programs*, although it never exceeded 17%.

### **Presence/absence of hate speech or inappropriate speech**

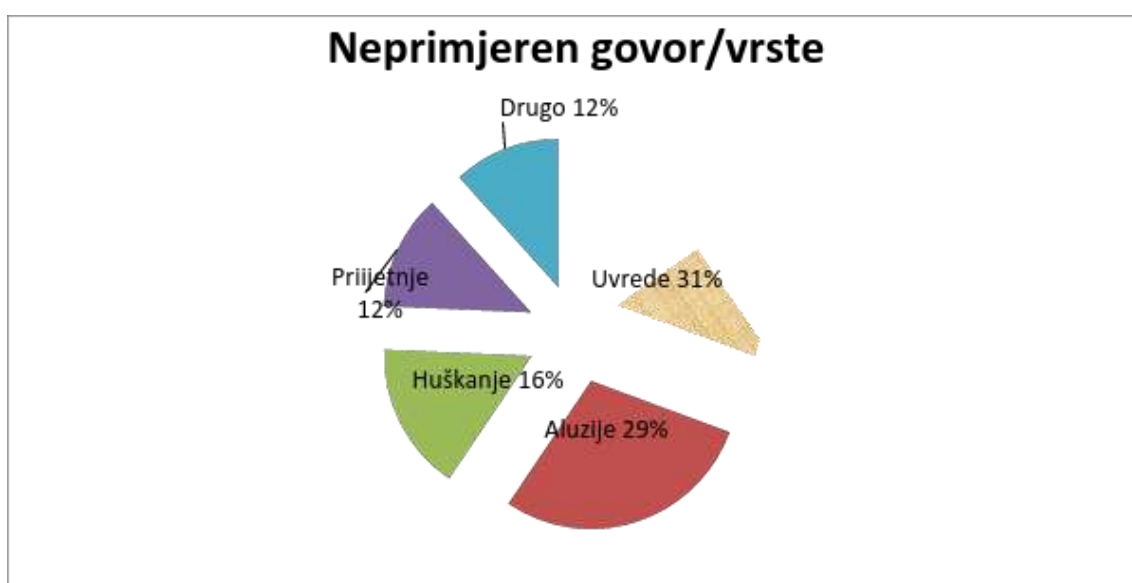
In analyzing election contents, special attention was paid to the presence of hate speech in all its forms, with specific focus on the deliverer: whether it was the journalist or not.

The results show that of the total number of analyzed election-related contents, **1.96% contained inappropriate speech**, i.e. 111 media contents. The journalists were the deliverers of inappropriate speech in 27 cases, and in 84 cases it was other public communication actors.



*Graph: Share of inappropriate contents in the total number of election contents*

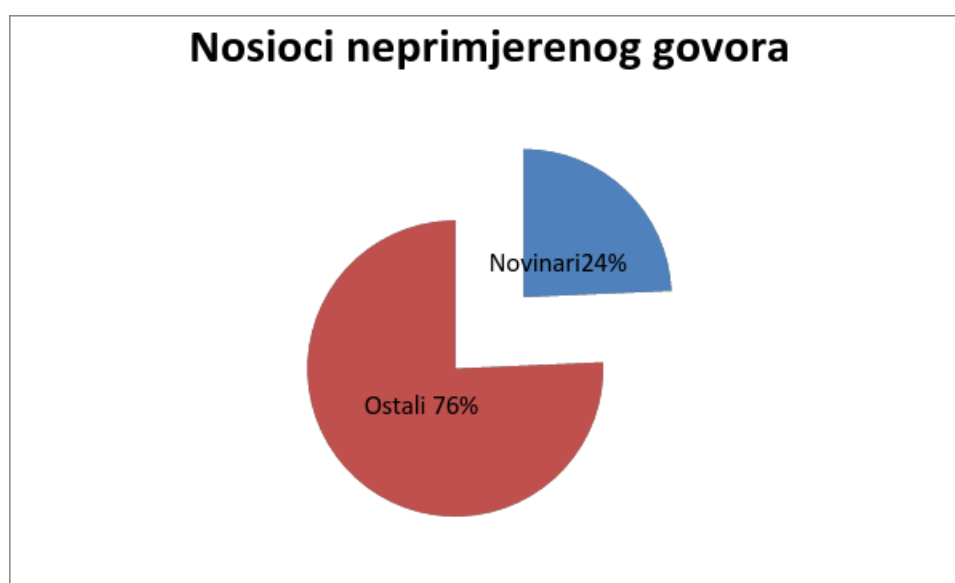
The most common form of inappropriate speech was insult (34 cases), followed allusions or comparisons (32 cases), instigation (18 cases), and threats (in 14 cases; e.g. Frontal 04.10.2016. – Example 3 in Annexes; threat deliverer was *not the journalist*). Condemnations of hate speech by politicians have also been recorded (Fokus 09.10.2016. Example 4 in Annexes).



*Graph: Types/forms of inappropriate speech*

When it comes to the structure of media outlets in which inappropriate speech was noted, 22 cases were recorded in *television outlets*, where inappropriate speech was used by actors other than journalist in 15 cases. There have been no instances of hate speech on the *radio*, while 19 cases of inappropriate speech have been recorded in *print media* (6 times delivered by the journalist). On *news portals*, 70 instances of inappropriate speech were recorded, in 14 cases by the journalist.

The presence of classical hate speech, in form of incitement to violence against individuals or groups have not been recorded. Examples illustrating certain types of threats are not those of direct threats with violence but a form of election loss threat and cannot therefore be classified as classical hate speech instances. For that reason, we may say that there has not been any classical hate speech during the election campaign, but instances of inappropriate speech have occurred, used much more by other public communication actors (political subjects in confrontation with their opponents, for instance) than by journalists.



*Graph: Deliverers of inappropriate speech during the election campaign*

The fact that the number of instances of inappropriate speech decreased and that there have not been significant examples of direct hate speech is, certainly, encouraging, but the *indicators of inappropriate speech by certain political actors and other public communication actors in the pre-election period demonstrate a low level of political culture or culture of dialogue in the public discourse of Bosnia and Herzegovina.*

## **MEDIA APPROACH TO ELECTION CAMPAIGNS, POLITICAL SUBJECTS AND CANDIDATES**

With regard to media reporting on elections, it seemed relevant to also analyze the ways in which media outlets reported during the campaign. The key aspect in this context is to analyze whether they reported on the elections sufficiently, what were the topics, and whether they favored certain political subjects.

**RTRS** published a total of 1423 election contents, where 39% were on local topics, and 60% on general political topics. Furthermore, incumbents occupied 59% of media space in this outlet's election contents.

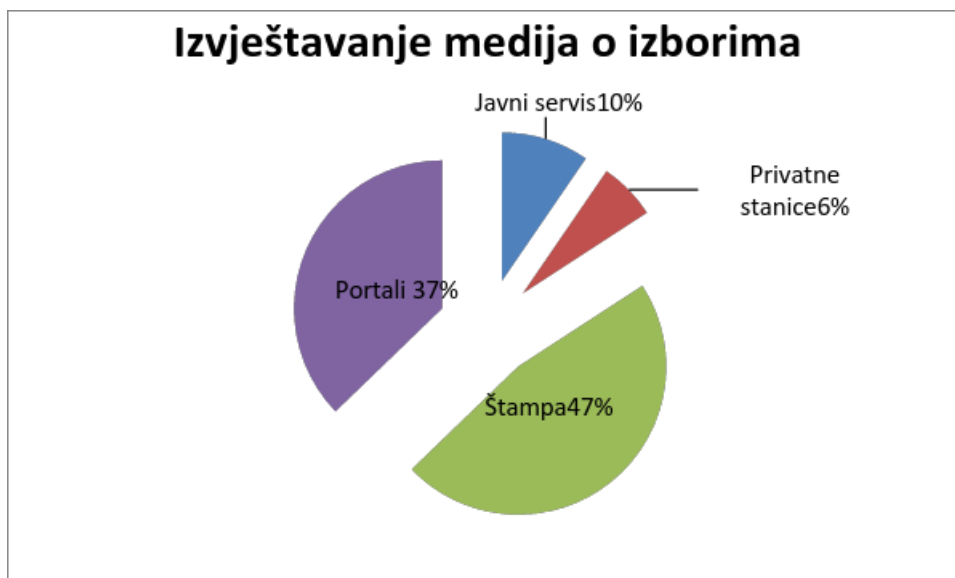
**BHT** published 1400 election related contents, where 67% on local topics. The incumbents did not have any favored position with regard to other candidates; there has been even less reporting on them (30%:58% ratio).

**FTV** published 1063 election contents, where half referred to local topics. 40% of subjects in election contents were incumbents.

**Private TV stations** published a total of 2545 election contents, where 47% on local topics. Incumbents appeared in these contents in 43% of cases.

**Print media** contained a total of 19073 election contents, where 77% referred to local topics. 56% of subjects were election candidates, not incumbents.

**News portals** published a total of 15118 contents, where 60% on local topics with 56% of subjects not incumbents but candidates.



*Graph: Media reporting on elections*

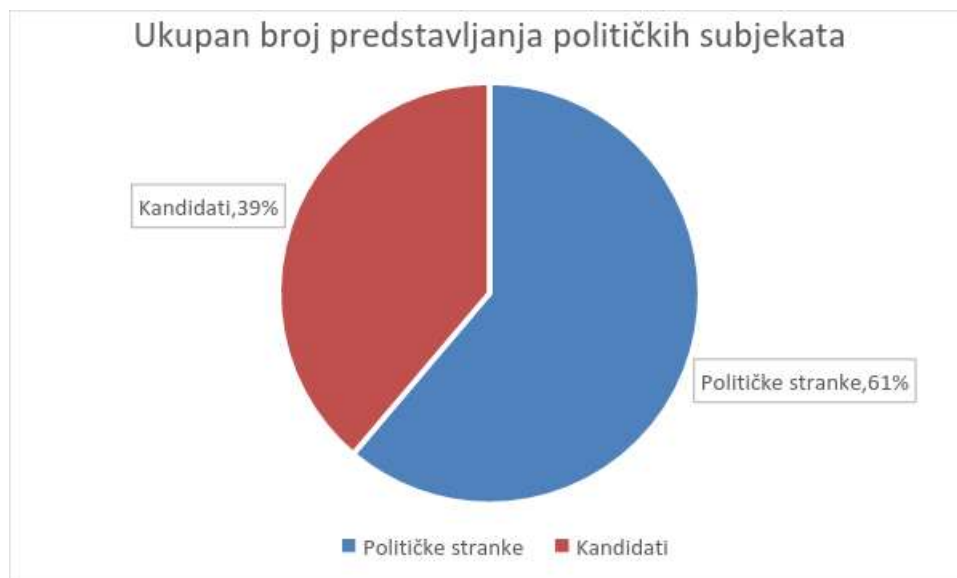
Therefore, if we are to take as the criterion the number of published election contents by individual media outlets, we can say that ***print media reported to a greatest extent on elections, followed by news portals, while a significantly lesser number of reports are recorded by public broadcasters and private stations.*** However, as was mentioned above, the share of election contents in the total number of print media contents was 10%, at news portals 24.67%, public TV 17.55%, and private TV 17.31%. From the above we may conclude that the citizens found most contents in the press, but elections comprised the greatest share in the total contents on news portals. Thus, ***for an informed decision, a citizen of BiH had to follow news portals and print media. Also, print media and news portals dealt with local topics more than other media. We cannot say that there is a media type that favored incumbents, but certain media outlets where that was the case do exist (such as RTRS).***



## MEDIA REPORTING ON POLITICAL SUBJECTS

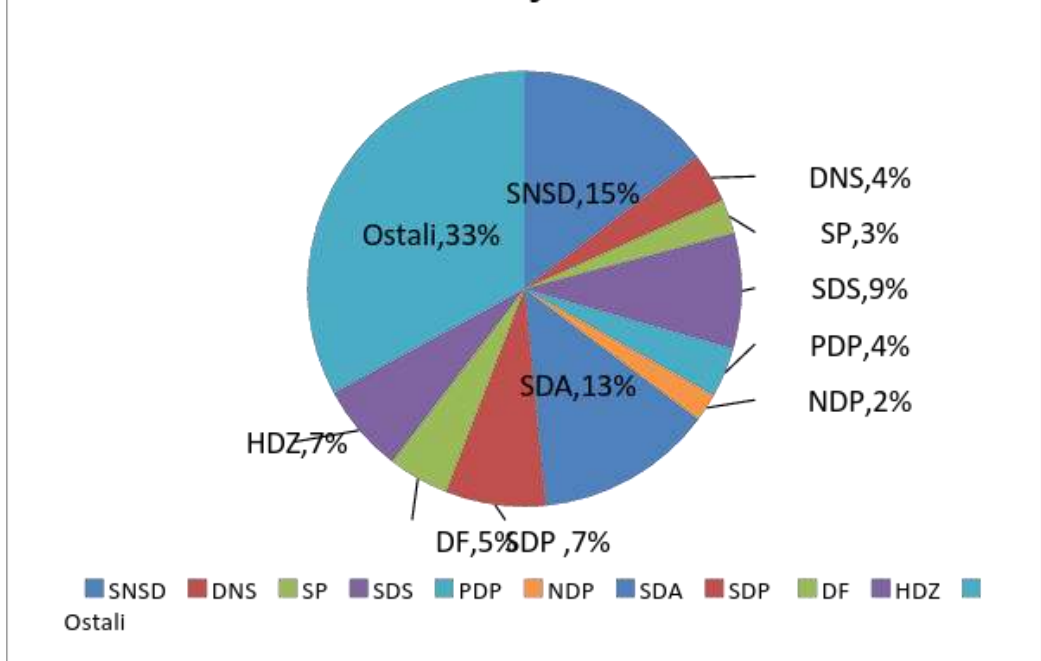
### Media reporting on political parties and candidates

During the monitoring period, the political parties from Bosnia and Herzegovina appeared in the media 4249 times, and individual candidates for councilors and municipal/city mayors, as well as party officials – 2686 times. Therefore, during the 40 days of monitoring, the political options have been the subject of reporting 6935 times.



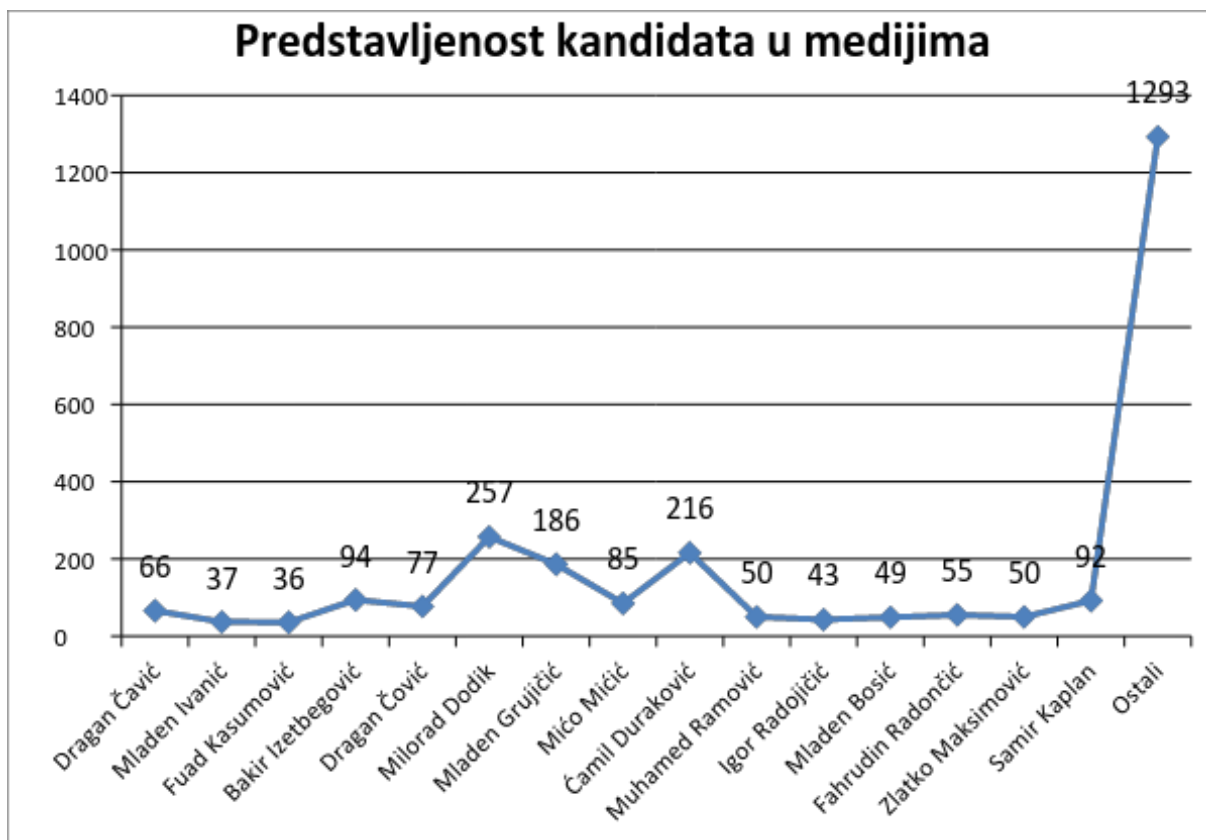
*Graph: Presence of political parties and candidates in the media in percentages*

## Predstavljenost političkih partija u medijima



*Graph: Presence of political parties in the media*

In terms of the political parties, the media reported mostly on SNSD (15%), SDA (13%), and SDS (9%). Nine largest parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina take up two thirds of electoral media reporting. Nezavisne novine Portal mostly reported on SNSD, DNS, SP, and SDS, and Klix Portal on SDA, SDP, DF, and NS.

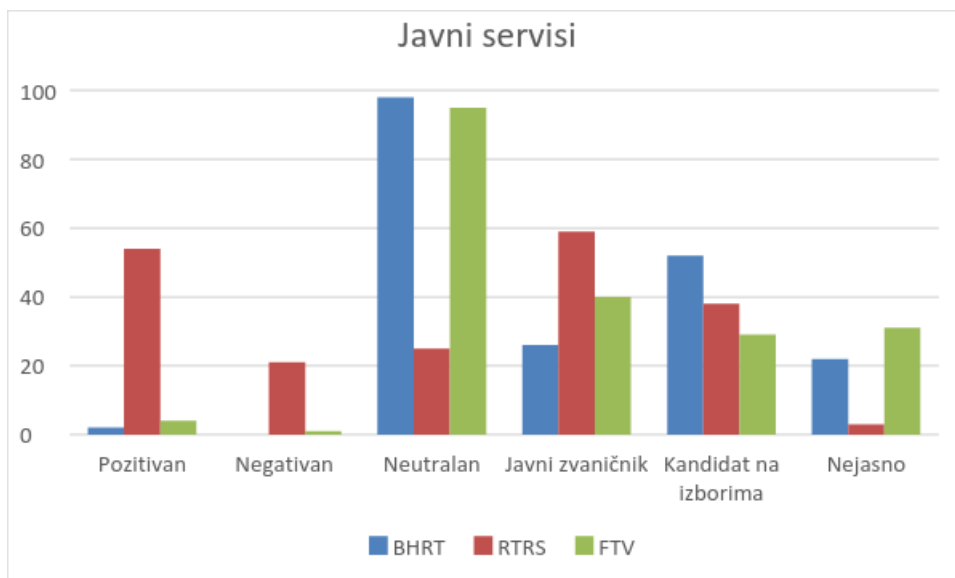


*Graph: Presence of political candidates and party officials in the media*

Data on the presence of political candidates and party officials show that media reported mostly on the president of SNSD Milorad Dodik (9.5%), Srebrenica mayor candidates Čamil Duraković (8%) and Mladen Grujičić (6.9%), and SDA president Bakira Izetbegović (3.5%). Poskok.info and RTRS reported on Milorad Dodik to the greatest extent, Radio Srebrenica on Mladen Grujičić, Klix.ba on Čamil Duraković, and Poskok.info on Bakir Izetbegović.

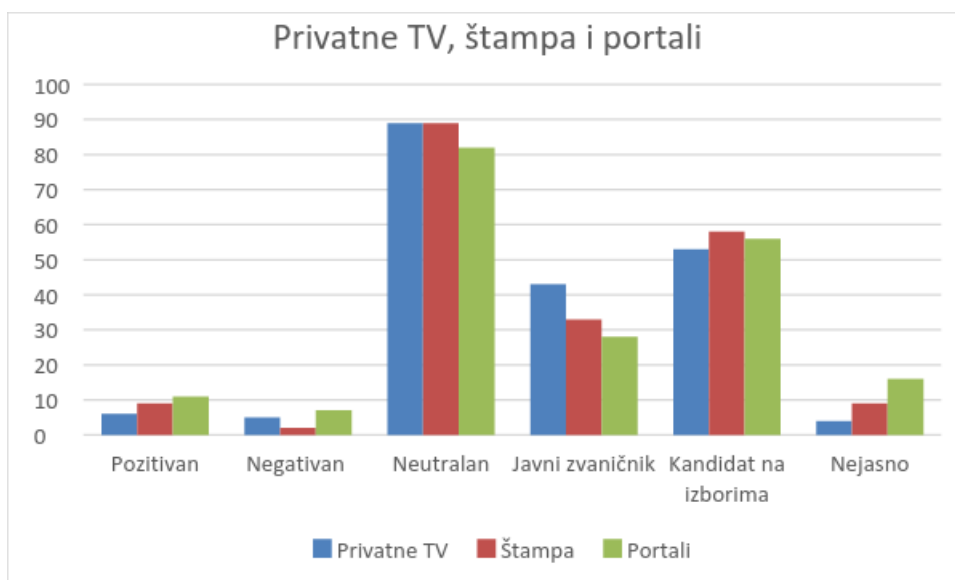
With regard to topics the media reported on, two thirds (67%) comprised topics of local nature, 32% general topics, while 1% of media contents were topics of international politics.

Political parties, candidates and party official appeared in 30% of cases as incumbents, while in 58% of cases as candidates at local elections (in 12% of cases their role was unclear). The media mostly reported in a neutral manner (83%), in 5% of cases they had a negative attitude toward the subjects, while in 12% of contents the media portrayed political subjects positively. On the other hand, the research shows different results when it comes to the nature of media contents: positive media content 29%, negative content 26%, and 45% neutral content. The data in fact show that the media generally strived for neutral reporting, regardless of the nature of the event or position of the political subject.



*Graph: Relation of the media towards candidates and the role of political subjects for public broadcasters in BiH (individually)*

When data on public broadcasters is compared, it is evident that BHRT had the highest percentage of neutral reports (98%), while RTRS was the most biased (25%). Also, BHRT in most cases reported on political subjects as candidates at elections (52%), and RTRS on candidates as incumbents (59%). In 31% of cases, FTV has an unclear role of the political subject.



*Graph Relation of the media towards candidates and the role of political subjects for other media (by groups)*

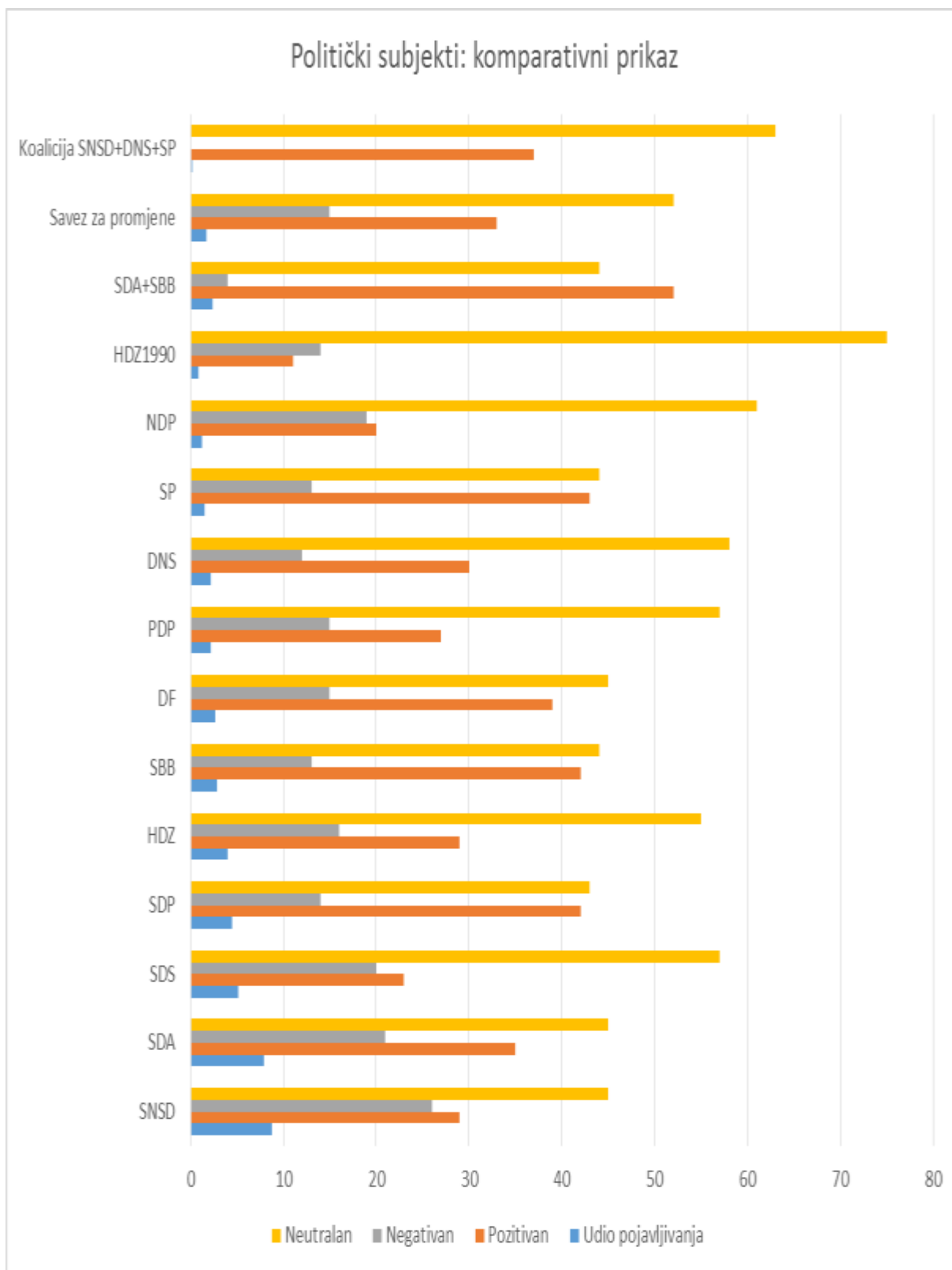
When looking at summary results for other media, there are no significant differences in terms of the relation towards political subjects. The only difference is in the appearance of political subjects and their roles, where private televisions in 43% of cases reported on incumbents, while internet portals in 16% of cases had an unclear role of the political subject.

Generally speaking, we can say that, *despite the fact that these were local elections, the media reported quite extensively on political party leaders* (primarily B. Izetbegović and M. Dodik) and some of media outlets highly favored certain political options. Also, it can be concluded that there are examples of higher representation of incumbents in the media compared to candidates who are not elected officials.

### **Presence of political subjects in the media during the pre-election period**

With regard to media reporting on individual political subject, i.e. the manner in which certain political parties and candidates have been presented in the media during the election campaign, we note that there has been a difference in terms of the space devoted to different subjects of media reporting. Some have been presented to a significantly greater extent than others.

Namely, if we compare the presence of political parties in the media, we notice that there is a focus on a group of political subjects and the reporting is to the greatest extent concentrated on them (in all monitored media together). This means that half of the overall media reporting on political subjects focuses on 15 of them, while the remaining half concerned all other parties and candidates.

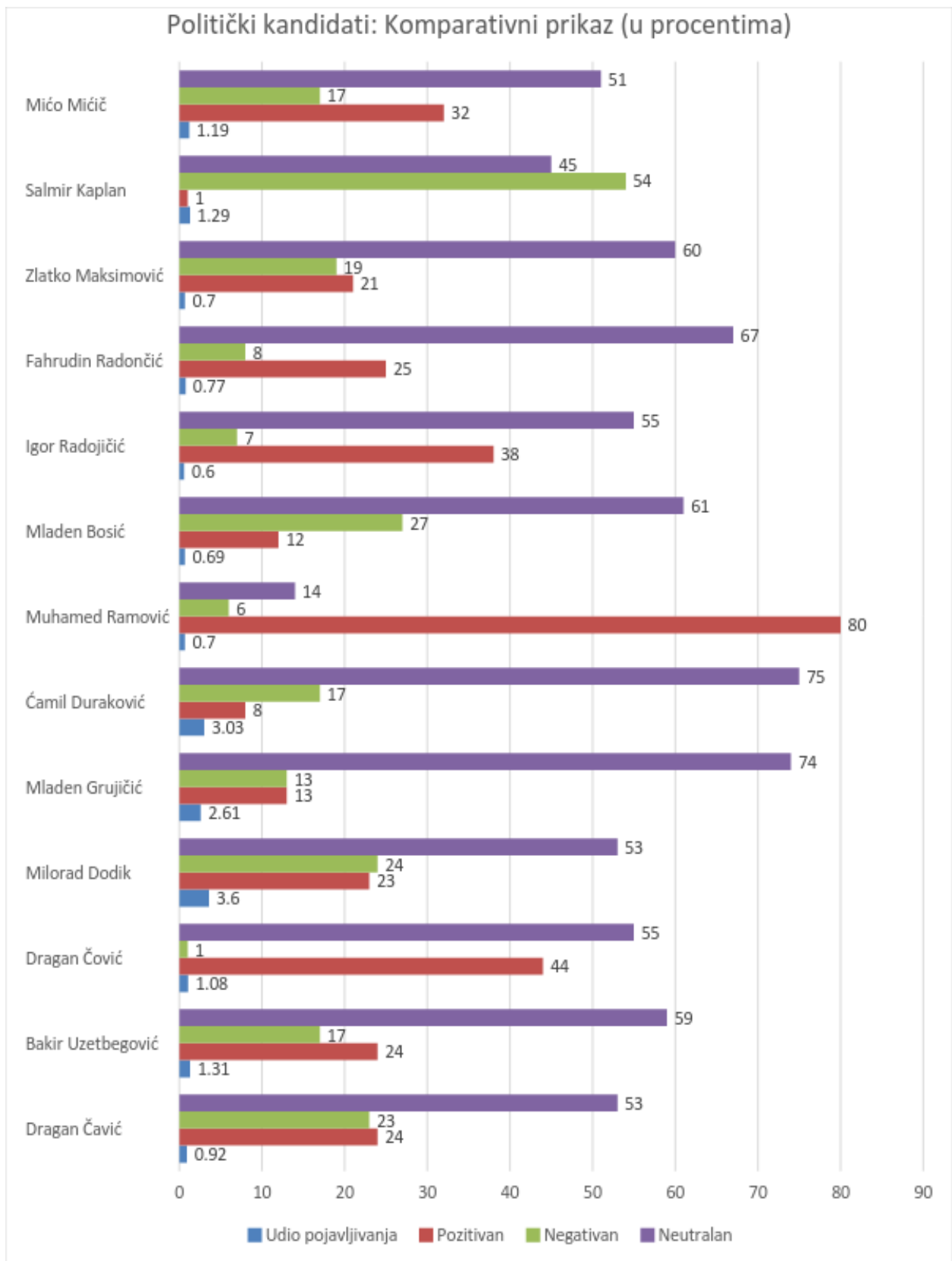


*Graph: Presentation of political parties in the media – a comparative overview*

Among the 15 subjects presented in the above graph, the largest share in the total media contents (7125) is taken by the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD) – 8.73%, followed closely by the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) – 7.87%. Considering the context in which these subjects appeared (types of events reported on, comments of other subjects, etc.), SNSD appeared in a *positive* context 29 times and in a *negative* one 26 times. SDA appeared in a *positive* context 35 times and in a *negative* one 21 times. Besides these political parties, a significant share in appearances is recorded for the Serb Democratic Party (SDS) – 5.1%, Social Democratic Party (SDP) – 4.44% and Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) – 3.95%. The ratio of the contexts of their appearances is quite balanced, except in the case of SDP which appears in a *positive* context 42 times and 14 times in a *negative* one. HDZ was reported on 29 times in a *positive* context, and 14 in a *negative* one. Of the total number of appearances of political subjects in the media, most *neutral* context reports have been on HDZ1990 (75 times), SNSD+DNS+SP Coalition (63 times), and NDP (61 times).

Among other political subjects, the three coalitions that received most media space are: SDA+SBB (2.33%), Alliance for Change (1.68%) and SNSD+DNS+SP Coalition (0.22%). It should be noted that SDA+SBB Coalition was covered 52 times in a *positive* context, 44 in a *negative* context and only 4 times in a *neutral* context. There have been 37 reports on the SNSD+DNS+SP Coalition in a *positive* context, 63 in a *neutral* one, while there have not been any *negative* context reports.





*Graph: Presentation of candidates in the media – a comparative overview*

The previous graph shows that Muhamed Ramović had the highest number of appearances in the media in a positive context (80%). After him, the highest number of appearances in the

media in a positive context was of Dragan Čović (44%), and the third place is held by Igor Radojičić (38%). The least positive context reports were about Salmir Kaplan (1%), followed by Ćamil Duraković (8%) and Mladen Bosić (12%).

When it comes to negative reporting on political candidates and party officials, Salmir Kaplan was the subject of negative reports in 54% of instances, Mladen Bosić 27%, and Milorad Dodik 24%. The least negative context reports relate to Dragan Čović (1%), then Muhamed Ramović (6%) and Igor Radojičić (7%).

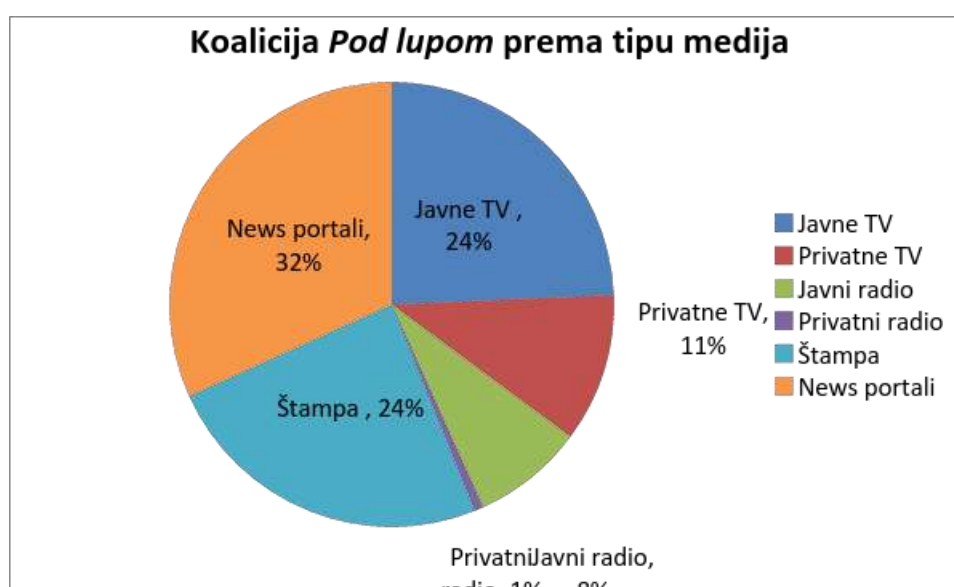
Most neutral reports were on Ćamil Duraković (75%); the other Srebrenica mayor candidate Mladen Grujičić also had a high number of neutral reports (74%), and Fahrudin Radončić is on the third place with 67%. On the other hand, least neutral context reporting was firstly on Muhamed Ramović (14%), secondly on Salmir Kaplan with 45%, and thirdly on Mićo Mićić (51%).

Generally speaking, we can say that *there have been certain biases when it comes to some political parties and candidates.*

## MEDIA REPORTING ON THE COALITION “POD LUPOM”

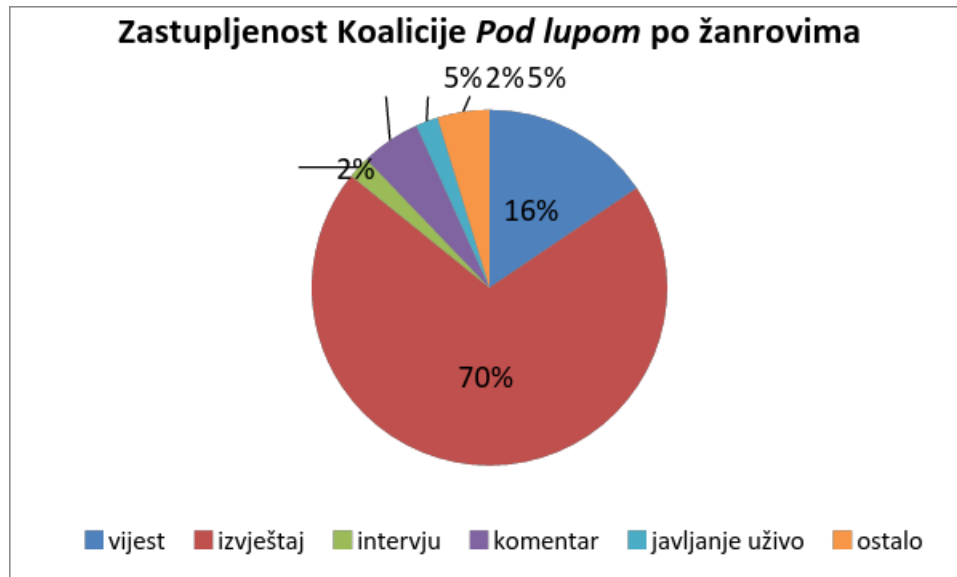
As was mentioned above, media monitoring in the local elections period encompassed 37962 media contents, of which 5646 were contents with election topics. Of that number **148 contents (2.46%) referred to the Coalition Pod lupom** (hereinafter: the Coalition). Given that this organization was founded with the purpose of monitoring the democratic nature and transparency of the election process and that its key activity was exclusively related to the election process in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it was expected that media reporting on the Coalition in the given period will mostly refer to local elections. This expectation has also been confirmed by the fact that of the 148 media contents mentioning the Coalition, **all referred to the local elections context in Bosnia and Herzegovina.**

Looking at the reporting on the Coalition by the *type of media outlet*, we reveal that the largest representation of the Coalition was found on internet portals (32%); equal representation was recorded on public televisions and in print media (24% each). Individually, among the print media reporting on the Coalition, *Nezavisne novine* come first (10 contents); among the television stations, *RTV Federacija BiH* reported most (8 contents); among private television stations, the Coalition was most represented at *Hayat TV* (8 contents); while of the internet portals, the Coalition was mentioned most at *Fokus.ba* (12 different contents).



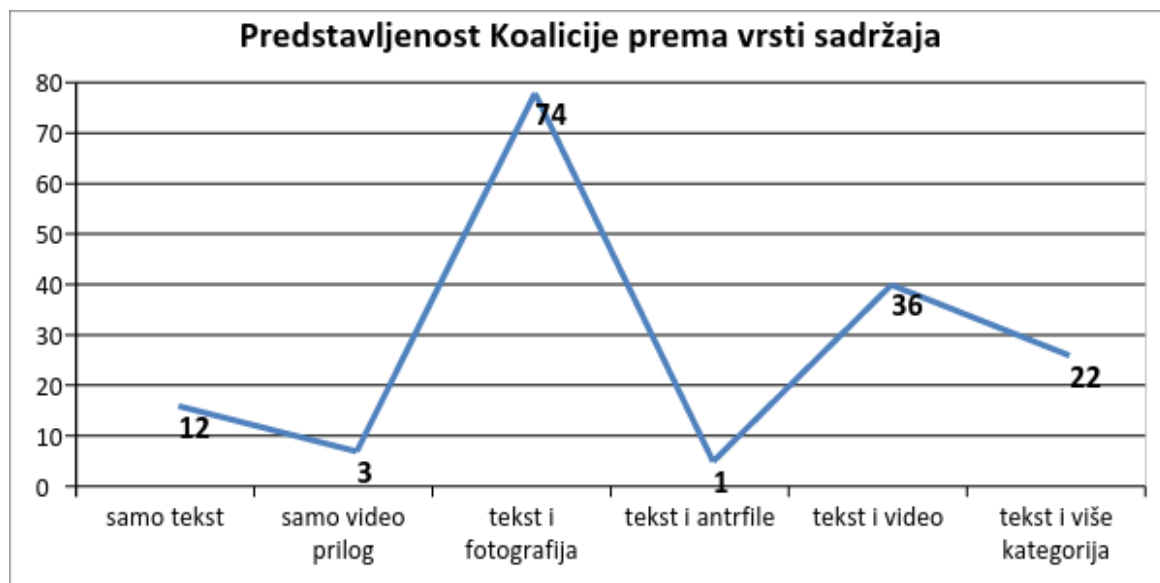
*Graph: Media presence of the Coalition Pod lupom during local elections*

Looking at reporting genres where the Coalition was mentioned, the representation is dominant in reports (70%) and news (15.5%), while other genres include a negligible number of contents.



*Graph: Dominant genres mentioning the Coalition Pod lupom*

Given this representation of the Coalition in the media, the question arises: what is the type of content shared by the Coalition which is most attractive to the media? The research shows that in half of the cases the reports on the Coalition were found in contents combining text and photographs, and in one fourth of cases, text and video. Having in mind that internet portals, public television stations and the print reported on the Coalition to the largest extent, sharing of such contents is reasonable and expected.



*Graph: Types of contents mentioning the Coalition Pod lupom*

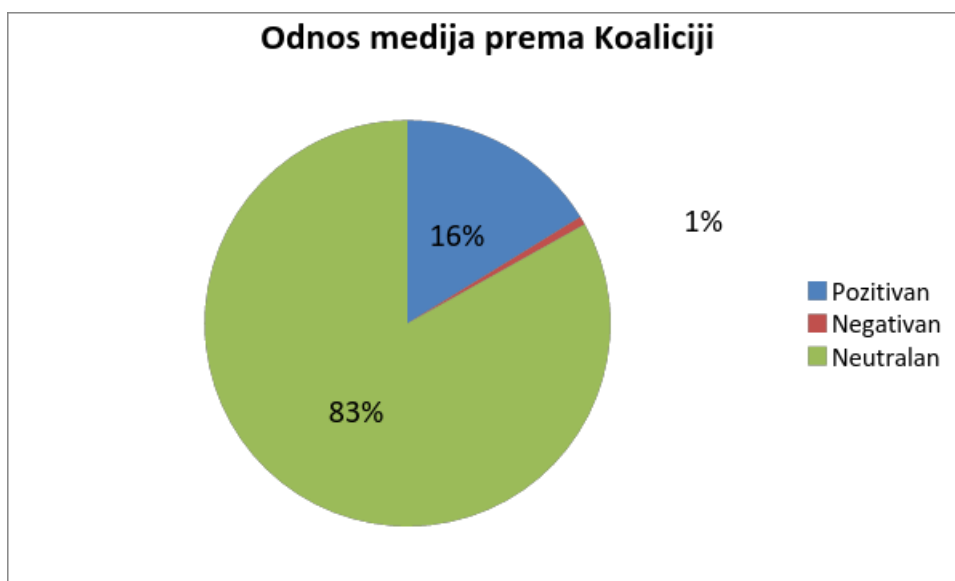
*Types of events* the media reported on and which involved the Coalition are as follows: in three fourths, the occasion was an actual event, while in other cases the reports were on pseudo-events.

The most common media topics mentioning the Coalition are the regularity of the election process and violation of election rules. These are closely followed by topics on the conduct of political subjects and the work of the Central Election Commission. The following table provides an overview of the topics related to which the media mentioned the Coalition:

Teme	Regularnost izbornog procesa	Kršenje izbornih pravila	Ponašanje političkih subjekata	Govor mržnje u političkim nastupima	Rad CIK-a	Ponašanje medija tokom predizborne kampanje	Djelovanje organizacija civilnog društva	Ostalo
Prisustvo Koalicije	88	74	52	9	22	13	7	21

*Table: Dominant topics in relation to which the Coalition Pod lupom is mentioned in the media*

Finally, we should take a look at the relations of the media towards the Coalition within these contents. The monitoring showed that in most cases the media reported on the Coalition neutrally, objectively, and impartially, while in 16% of cases, there was a positive attitude recorded towards the Coalition and there was one instance of negative reporting.



*Graph: Relations of the media towards Coalition Pod lupom*

Ultimately, although the Coalition was not much presented in the media (less than 3% of the total number of election contents), *we could say that the Coalition is a partner recognized and an acknowledged by the media in the election process; the media report on it objectively and positively, but still insufficiently.*

## CONCLUSIONS

Media monitoring was conducted with the aim of establishing to what extent did the media enable the citizens to make an informed decision at 2016 local elections, i.e. to what extent did they serve as providers of useful and quality information to the citizens, presented in compliance with professional norms and standards that primarily refer to objective, fair and well-balanced reporting on political subjects. As was mentioned above, the *research questions* have been defined to this end, which will help us draw some general *conclusions in the manner in which the media reported during the election period*:

- The first research questions was: Did media report enough about the election campaign (i.e. what was the share of election related content in the total content of the media)? The indicators obtained by monitoring point to a decreased interest of the media for reporting on local elections, which primarily refers to private radio stations and print media that reported on elections in the percentage of less than 10%. In general, the percentage of 14.87% of share of election contents in the total number of contents of all monitored media provides us with the conclusion that the elections have not been the **dominant content**. *However, we can also say that it was important for citizens, in order to make an informed decision at the polls (based on sufficient information), to follow various types of media outlets, primarily print media and news portals.*
- The second research questions was: Were political entities equally represented and treated in the media (fair access to communication channels with citizens, balanced and impartial reporting to all, no favoring of certain subjects)? *The results show that a significant number of media outlets based their reporting on the principles of fair and well-balanced journalism, but in a number of media outlets there have been contents of extremely positive or extremely negative nature directed at certain political subjects. Examples of bias, among the public broadcasters, we find most often with RTRS, while BHT respected the principles of fair, objective reporting to the greatest extent.*
- The third research questions was: Were there any examples of privileges being granted to incumbents in media reporting (i.e. them being more present in the media than those who are not yet elected officials)? *The research showed that in some media outlets*

*there are examples of higher representation of incumbents than of candidates not holders of public functions and that, in addition to the local nature of the 2016 elections, holders of state and entity functions appear as actors in media stories to a significant extent* (as leaders of political parties – dominant examples are Milorad Dodik and Bakir Izetbegović).

- The fourth research question was: Was hate speech present in the media during the election campaign, and if so, to what extent (and who were its carriers: reporters or other (non-media) actors)? The monitoring showed a decreased presence of direct hate speech, but a still significant presence of inappropriate speech, particularly by public communication actors other than journalists. The presence of allusions and inappropriate comparisons, then insults of political opponents and instigation speak of *a low level of political culture, culture of dialogue or conflict in the public space of Bosnia and Herzegovina* and indicate a stronger need to raise the level of public discussion in election campaigns in order to enable citizens to make their decisions on whom they are going to vote for in democratic conditions, without raising tensions and using inappropriate vocabulary.
- The fifth research question was: Were women candidates (under) represented in the media contents? The monitoring showed that *there was underrepresentation of women in media reports at local elections as well* (in 89.71% they were not represented). The somewhat better treatment of women candidates in public media programs should be noted, however, in statistical terms, it has not been more significant. One of the reasons for this may be that there are in general less women candidates than men, but also the fact that men candidates are much more represented than the political parties themselves. However, this points to another phenomenon in the relation between media-political subjects during the campaign – *the media follow the agenda, i.e. the rules imposed by political subjects* so if these fail to “offer” stories about their women candidates, or if women are not ranking high on the lists (such as for mayor positions), they are definitely less present in the media.
- The sixth research question was: What was the attitude of the media towards political communication actors in the election campaign who were not aimed at achieving political success, but rather raising the level of democracy of the electoral process



(specifically the Coalition *Pod lupom*)? Monitoring results show that *reporting on political subjects directly involved in the campaign is still dominant, while sources such as the Coalition Pod lupom are consulted to a much lesser extent. However, despite the quantitatively lower presence of actors focusing on increasing the quality of political communication, transparency of the election process and fair elections, it is obvious that the media did recognize the Coalition Pod lupom as a serious and relevant interlocutor, but have failed to fully utilize this potential.*

Finally, the key question that this monitoring started with was:

*Do the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina, during the 2016 election campaign, provide enough fair, well-balanced and professionally-generated information to citizens, in line with reporting standards and norms, in order for the citizens to make informed decisions in the elections?*

In principle, we can say that the *standards of fair, objective and well-balanced reporting were mostly respected by the majority of media outlets and that there have not been any conspicuous violations of journalistic deontology and professional principles.* The decrease of instances of hate speech is encouraging, although we still find examples of some other forms of inappropriate speech in the public space. Of concern are cases of advocacy reporting in some media, i.e. the tendency to report more positively on some subjects than on others. This particularly refers to incumbents who used their positions for self-promotion, which the media covered without any significant critical reporting. Furthermore, underrepresentation of women in media space during the election campaign is still present; but we could say that it is a reflection of the underrepresentation of women in politics in general. More serious cases of highly misogynous reporting have not been recorded. In general, we can conclude that the *media did meet their informative role, but the education function (educating the political public, especially about local topics), and the orientation function have been used to a somewhat lesser extent. In other words, media reporting remained at the 5W level (who, what, where, when and in what way), failing to explain the causes and consequences i.e. the “why”.*

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE REPORTING

In line with the above conclusions, we provide a set of key recommendations for future media reporting in election campaigns:

- The media, particularly public media outlets, must demonstrate *a higher interest for reporting on elections*. The fact that these are local elections does not exempt, for instance, the public RTV broadcasters at national level from the reporting obligation. Also, irrespective of the fact that reporting on local elections in programs other than advertising brings no commercial profit, these media outlets should, at least in part, be meeting their social, not just commercial role and focus on election contents.
- In reporting on pre-election activities of political subject, the media should *focus more on local topics* in their reporting by making the stories more specific with an analytical approach (comparison of political party programs, for instance).
- In pre-election reporting, the media should *primarily focus on the public interest, not the political subject*, which entails *reporting on programs, not just candidates and parties and their pre-election activities*.
- In reporting on incumbents participating in the campaign, the media *should care not to allow manipulation by or privilege of incumbents in relation to other candidates*. Reporting on incumbents *should, furthermore, apply the method of retroactive reference* (comparison of promises given and realized – that some media outlets did, particularly web portals).
- It is necessary to take care of a *higher representation of women candidates in media reporting, as well as of avoidance of stereotypical reporting*.
- Although hate speech decreased, there is still the need to raise the level of political culture, even culture of conflict in the public space, *and journalists should make it clear to their interlocutors that inappropriate speech is unacceptable in their media outlet*. When used by other subjects, *media outlets should let the citizens know that political subjects (or other actors) used inappropriate speech so that the public gets informed as to the level of communication culture of those subjects; the assessment as to the manner in which such content will be presented should be based on professional standards and personal journalist deontology (in other words: there should be no reporting on inappropriate speech at any cost and for the sake of sensationalism, but for the purpose of transparency and political education of the*

*public, as well as of holding the political subject responsible for the inappropriate behavior).*

- The media should *use NGO sector information, analyses and interlocutors to a greater extent*, as these can help them not just meet their information role (what candidate or party had a presentation where and how) but also their orientation and education role (political education of the public, informing on the election process, principles and rules, the process of voting, etc.).
- The media *must base their reporting on principles of fair, objective and impartial reporting, and any favoring of any subjects is completely unacceptable.*
- *The purpose of the media in election campaigns is to ensure a sufficient quantity of reliable and quality information to citizens based on which they can make an “informed decision” on election day; therefore, media reporting may not be based exclusively on the 5Ws and the following of pre-election activities of political subjects, but on thematic reporting and analyses of candidates’ programs and competencies, where well-balanced reporting is necessary as well.*

In order to achieve at least some of the above recommendations, it seems reasonable to suggest to editorial staff of media outlets *to try to invest*, despite the limited possibilities (in terms of human and financial resources), *in additional training and specialization of their staff for election reporting.*

## ANNEXES

### MEDIA REPORTS EXAMPLES

#### EXAMPLE 1: KLIX.BA 15.09. 2016. – Negative attitude to a woman candidate

klīx Vjesti Biznis Sport Magazin Lifestyle Scitech Auto Forum Krizajka

Početna / Vjesti / BiH

BiH

### Supruga osuđenog Bojana Cvijana na kandidatskoj listi za ovogodišnje izbore

Pisao: M. S. Milićević  
15. 9. 2016. u 18:30

881 140

Na kandidatskim listama za ovogodišnje Lokalne izbore u BiH našli su se neki zanimljivi kandidati. Pjevačima, glumcima, borcima i drugim kandidatima zanimljivim javnosti sada se pridružila i Miljana Cvijan, supruga Bojana Cvijana koji je jučer u Sudu BiH osuđen na 20 godina zatvora zbog više kriminalnih djela.



Miljana Cvijan kandidatkinja je za Općinsko vijeće Novo Sarajevo iz Saveza za bolju budućnost (SBB). Cvijan se može naći pod visokim rednim brojem 4, a uz njeno ime je i parola "Mi garantujemo stabilnost".

Bojan Cvijan jučer je osuđen na 20 godina zatvora za krivično djelo organizovanog kriminala u vezi s krivičnim djelom razbojništva, ubistva i dogovora za izvršenje krivičnog djela.

Cvijan je uhapšen 2012. godine u okviru akcije "Lučka" sa još 30 osoba, a njegova grupa dobila je reputaciju "najveće zločinačke organizacije u BiH".

## Indira Sinanović iz Zavidovića otvoreno širi mržnju **ČLANICA** A-SDA MRZI SRBE, JEVREJE I HOMOSEKSUALCE

**BANJALUKA** » Indira Sinanović, prva žena s nikabom koja učestvuje na izborima u BiH, preko svog Fejsbuk profila otvoreno širi mržnju.

Kandidatkinja stranke A-SDA za odbornicu u Zavidovićima, koja je pažnju javnosti privukla neobičnim stilom odjevanja, Srbe na Fejsbuku naziva „lažovima“, Jevreje „čifutima“, dok pripadnike LGBT populacije naziva „pederima“.

Ništa osjetljiviji rečnik ne koristi ni kada su u pitanju vlasnici pasa u stambenim zgradama, koji su za ovu strogu islamsku vernicu – „paščad“.

Sarajevska novinarka Lejla Čolak, koja se zbog svojih liberalnih stavova nedavno našla na meti jednog radikalnog pripadnika Oružanih snaga BiH, žestoko je osudila stavove kandidatkinje A-SDA.

– Indira, ja bih vrlo rado



» NESKRIVENA MRŽNJA: Profina slika Indire Sinanović na Fejsbuku

živela u društvu u kojem ćete vi prihvatiti i podržati nekog ko je ateista, Srbin

(za koje kažete: „Laž je u samom biću Srbina“), Jevrejin (koje zovete „čifutima“), pripadnik LGBT populacije (koje zovete „pederima“).

Ovo o čemu vi govorite nije demokratija, već jeftina politička demagogija kojom vredate inteligenciju ljudi koji vas slušaju. Už to je i fašizam – napisala je Lejla Čolak. **B. Knežević** ■

### ALAHOVO PRAVO

Osim netrpeljivosti koju gaji prema Srbima, Jevrejima i homoseksualcima, Sinanovićeva preko svoje Fejsbuk stranice voli da spominje i verske teme. „Islamu pripada pobjeda, islam će zavladati bez obzira na sve jer je to Alahov hak“, piše Sinanovićeva.

### EXAMPLE 3: FRONTAL 4.10.2016. – Threats



VIJESTI

## Nove prijetnje srpskom kandidatu za načelnika Srebrenice. Grujičić: Neće me uplašiti!

Mladen Grujičić, kandidatu srpskih stranaka za načelnika Srebrenice, upućene su nove prijetnje, ovaj put njemu i njegovoj porodici prijeti se klanjem.

U međuvremenu, CIK je objavio i nove podatke o rezultatima izbora u Srebrenici gdje su obrađena još tri biračka mjesta, prema kojima Grujičić sa 3.957 glasova ubjedljivo vodi ispred Čamila Durakovića kojeg podržavaju bošnjačke partije, a koji je dobio 1.645 glasova birača.

Prijetnje mojoj porodici i meni uistovremeno, neće me uplašiti, poručuje Grujičić. Adresa sa koje su mu upućene prijetnje, kaže, poznata je i njemu i policiji.

- Neko ne može da prihvati poraz ali to su ljudi sa strane, kaže Grujičić.

Prijetnje smrću osudio je predsjednik SO Srebrenice Miloš Milovanović. Za prvog čovjeka lokalnog parlamenta ovo je neuspjelo pokušaj zastrašivanja, i traži od policije da do kraja istraži slučaj.

- Prijetnje moraju da se zaustave i nikom u Srebrenici ne smije da se prijeti, pa ni novom načelniku Mladenu Grujičiću, naglasio je Milovanović.

Na sajtu CIK-a BiH, tokom dana, objavljeni su dopunjeni rezultati, prema kojima su obrađena još tri glasačka mjesta. Razlika između Grujičića i Durakovića sada je 2.300 glasova.

- Sve je urađeno kako treba i pobjeda Grujičića ne dolazi u pitanje, dodao je Milovanović.

I dok Duraković još ne priznaje rezultate ni poraz, nadajući se glasovima iz tzv. 'vreća', iz Koalicije zajedno za Srebrenicu poručuju da ni 2000 glasova iz odsustva i putem pošte, na koje Duraković računa, neće biti dovoljni da se ugrozi Grujičićeva pobjeda.

U međuvremenu, portparolka CIK-a Maksida Pirić rekla je da će CIK Opštinskoj izbornoj komisiji Srebrenica odobriti otvaranje izbornih vreća za ponovno prebrojavanje glasačkih listića kako bi se, kontrolnim brojanjem, utvrdilo da li je bilo eventualnih nepravilnosti u do sada objavljenim rezultatima lokalnih izbora provedenih 2. oktobra.

Izvor: RTRS  
05.10.2016. u 08:05h

## EXAMPLE 4: FOKUS 9.10. 2016. – Condemnation of hate speech among politicians

Politika.ba | 09.10.2016. | 18:11 | Salkić oštro osudio govor mržnje Milorada Dodika

Novi.ba

### Salkić oštro osudio govor mržnje Milorada Dodika

09.10.2016.



Potpredsjednik bh. entiteta RS Ramiz Salkić danas je oštro osudio govor mržnje kojim je Milorad Dodik, predsjednik ovoga entiteta, najavio oštre sankcije protiv Bošnjaka koji nisu glasali za SNSD.

Govoreći o izborima u Podrinju, Dodik je Bošnjake koji su glasali za SDS-ovog kandidata za gradonačelnika Bijeljine okarakterizirao kao, podsjeća Salkić, destabilizirajući faktor i rekao da će poduzeti ozbiljne mjere protiv njih.

Entitetski potpredsjednik Salkić je u svom pisanom regiranju upozorio da su „islupi Milorada Dodika iz dana u dan sve radikalniji i opasniji po budućnost“.

– Treniranje na ovakav način Bošnjaka, koji su autohtoni i konstitutivni narod u Bosni i Hercegovini, ukazuje na opasne šovinističke stavove na kojima se pokušava graditi jedan segment srpske politike. On će imati dugoročne posljedice – ukazao je Salkić.

Bošnjaci su, podsjeća, ravnopravan narod i imaju pravo na poštovan život, rad i opredjeljenje.

– Prijetnje koje je Dodik uputio su otvorene, konkretne i one su usmjerene prije svega na žene, među građane. On je poslao Srbima opasne poruke, markirajući Bošnjake kao ljude koji destabiliziraju RS, kao ljude koji su opasnost konceptu jakе RS. Nije teško zamisliti kakva će biti reakcija u bazi i ne treba nas čuditi ako dođe do pritiska na Bošnjake da se iseljavaju. Mnogi danas žive u strahu i brigama – istakao je entitetski potpredsjednik.

Milorad Dodik je svjestan, kaže, da bi kreiranje stabilnog društva, društva koegzistencije, dovelo do propasti njegovog političkog koncepta.

– Na proteklim izborima Dodikov koncept je izgubio tamo gdje je postojala dobra saradnja između Bošnjaka i Srba. Što je boja ta saradnja bila, Dodikov rezultat je bio slabiji. Ne samo zbog glasanja Bošnjaka, već zato što radikalna razbija strukove i kod Srba, tako da onda ljudi glasaju za budućnost, a u Bosni i Hercegovini budućnost je jedino moguća kroz izgradnju stabilnog i mirnog društva, koje daje mogućnosti svima. A Dodik, nažalost, nije budućnost. On pokušava ovaj prostor vratiti u daleku prošlost – upozorio je Salkić.

Bošnjaci imaju, navodi on, svoje političko, nacionalno i vjersko rukovodstvo koje jasno vidi put u budućnost.

– Taj put je zacrtan i podrazumijeva izgradnju multietničke zemlje, u kojoj će biti svi ravnopravni. Bošnjaci su u nekim mjestima podržali i kandidate vladajućih partija, kao što se to desilo u Zvorniku, Prijedoru, Banjoj Luci, ali ne zato što je to tražio Dodik, niti je to njemu podrška. To je odgovor na pozitivnu politiku koju vode kadrovi SNSD-a u tim mjestima – naglasio je Salkić.

Umrjetno odgovora na našu pruženu ruku, već godinama Milorad Dodik vodi, kako je dodao, protivstavnu politiku insistiranja na samostalnosti i otčepijenju RS, bez obzira na posljedice.

– Separatizam koji je nametnuo srpskom narodu kao imperativ, na ove prostore ne može donijeti dobro i to je svima jasno. Nažalost, svojim radikalizmom Dodik je mobilizirao srpski narod i umjesto našeg zajedničkog puta ka Evropi, zbog njegovog opasnog političkog djelovanja, mi se vraćamo velikom brzinom u devedesete. Očekivali smo ozbiljnu reakciju međunarodne zajednice, ali do konkretnih poteza nije došlo – mnogi su prijeli, pisali pisma, razgovarali sa Dodikom i sa nama, deklarativno nas podržavali, ali ništa konkretno već godinama nisu poduzeli. Bošnjaci su postali svjesni ozbiljnosti aktualnog trenutka i znamo da nakon održanog referenduma sami moramo naći koncept zaštite i očuvanja integriteta naroda i države, jer definitivno ona neće doći spolja. Mi se pokušavamo izboriti za zemlju istih prava i mogućnosti za sve, a nama se uskrađuje pravo na polovinu teritorije na osnovna ljudska prava – mi moramo naći način da to zaustavimo. Očigledno se ovdje primjenjuju dvostruki standardi i stoga mi moramo napraviti redefiniciju svoje politike i svoga odnosa prema tim procesima – kazao je Salkić.

Podsjeća da je Milorad Dodik došao na vlast zahvaljujući glasovima Bošnjaka.

– I odmah potom se pretvorio u našeg otvorenog protivnika, spremnog da negira naš identitet, naš jezik, naše mrtve i žive. Koristeći institucije entiteta Dodik je učinio sve da onemogući političko djelovanje Bošnjaka. Međunarodne organizacije nam nisu pomogle ni u jednom slučaju da riješimo problem, naprotiv, preuzimanjem ekskluzivneta u rješavanju tih pitanja udajile su nas i naše prijatelje od mogućnosti rješavanja ovih pitanja – kazao je Salkić.

## LIST OF MONITORED MEDIA OUTLETS

		Media outlets	HQ	Coverage area
<b>Public and private TV stations</b>	1	BHT	Sarajevo	BiH
	2	RTRS	Banja Luka	BiH
	3	FTV	Sarajevo	BiH
	4	BN TV	Bijeljina	BiH
	5	ATV	Banja Luka	BiH
	6	TV 1	Sarajevo	BiH
	7	TV Hayat	Sarajevo	BiH
	8	RTV 7 (TV)	Tuzla	Tuzla Canton
	9	Elta TV	Banja Luka	RS
	10	RTV USK	Bihać	Una –Sana Canton
	11	RTV Goražde	Goražde	BP Kanton
	12	RTV Zenica	Zenica	ZE DO Kanton
	13	TV SA	Sarajevo	SA Kanton
	14	RTV Tuzlanskog kantona	Tuzla	Tuzla Canton
<b>Public and private radio stations</b>	1	Radio Brčko Distrikt	Brčko	Brčko District
	2	Radio Srebrenica	Srebrenica	Birač Region
	3	Radio postaja Čapljina	Čapljina	HNK
	4	Radio Stari Grad	Sarajevo	BiH
	5	Bobar radio	Bijeljina	RS
	6	BH radio 1	Sarajevo	BiH
	7	Radio Federacije	Sarajevo	BiH
	8	Radio RS	Sarajevo	BiH
<b>Press</b>	1	Oslobodjenje	Sarajevo	BiH / F BiH
	2	Faktor	Sarajevo	BiH/ F BiH
	3	Dnevni list	Mostar	BiH / F BiH
	4	Dnevni avaz	Sarajevo	BiH/ F BiH
	5	Euro Blic	Banja Luka	BiH/ RS
	6	Nezavisne novine	Banja Luka	BiH / RS
	7	Kozarski vijesnik	Prijedor	Prijedor Region
	8	Semberske novine	Bijeljina	Semberija
	9	Naša riječ	Zanica	ZE DO Canton
	10	Unsko –sanske novine	Bihać	USK
<b>News portals</b>	1	MojaHercegovina.info	Trebinje	All - Internet
	2	Bljesak.info	Mostar	All - internet
	3	Klix.ba	Sarajevo	All - Internet
	4	Poskok.info	Mostar	All, Internet
	5	RadioSarajevo.ba	Sarajevo	All, Internet
	6	Frontal.rs	Banja Luka	All, Internet
	7	Buka.ba	Banja Luka	All, Internet
	8	Radioorašje.com	Orašje	All, Internet
	9	Otisak.ba	Brčko	All, Internet
	10	Frontal.ba	Banja Luka	All, Internet
	11	Tuzlarije.net	Tuzla	All, Internet
	12	Tuzlanski.ba	Tuzla	All, Internet
	13	Fokus.ba	Sarajevo	All, Internet
	14	Zeportal.net	Zenica	All, Internet



## **MONITORING TEAM**

### **Monitoring Leader**

Lejla Turčilo Sarajevo

### **Monitoring Assistants**

Bojana Miodragović Banja Luka

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## PRESENTATION OF THE FIRST PRELIMINARY REPORT – PHOTOGRHAPS



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