



**ANALYSIS OF THE MEDIA REPORTING
CORRUPTION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
(15 -28. August, 2011.)**

METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

The basis of this analysis is the media reporting in the form of news genres or press releases whose content was dedicated to corruption in Bosnia and Herzegovina (examples of corruptive actions, research and reports on the level of corruption distribution, activities towards legal proceedings and prevention of corruption, etc.). While analyzing the media excerpts, attention was aimed toward determining the qualifications of the mentioned corruptive activities, i.e., the way they were mentioned and interpreted – who is the one that points out to the examples of corruption, who interprets them, and who is named as the perpetrator of these actions.

The analysis included 135 texts and features from 9 daily newspapers (Dnevni avaz, Dnevni list, Euro Blic, Fokus, Glas Srpske, Nezavisne novine, Oslobođenje, Press, Vecernji list), 2 weekly papers (Dani, Slobodna Bosna), 3 television stations (news programme of BHT, FTV, and RTRS, with two features from OBN and TV SA) and 7 web sites (24sata.info, bih.x.info, biznis.ba, depo.ba, dnevnik-ba, Sarajevo-x.com, zurnal.info) in the period between August 15 and 28, 2011.

The excerpts were cross-referenced with each date during the analyzed period in order to estimate their frequency in newspapers, assuming that the frequency is one of the indicators of importance of the topic of corruption. Moreover, they were cross-referenced with other variables, such as the media in which they appear, authors and their attitudes, journalistic genres and type of headline, text size/feature length and the dominant information source.

The factualistic genres were extracted (texts and news based on information from authorities and organizations not followed by author's interpretations or information source), interpretative genres (texts followed by opinions, authors' or interlocutors' interpretations), research and analytic genres, comments and columns.

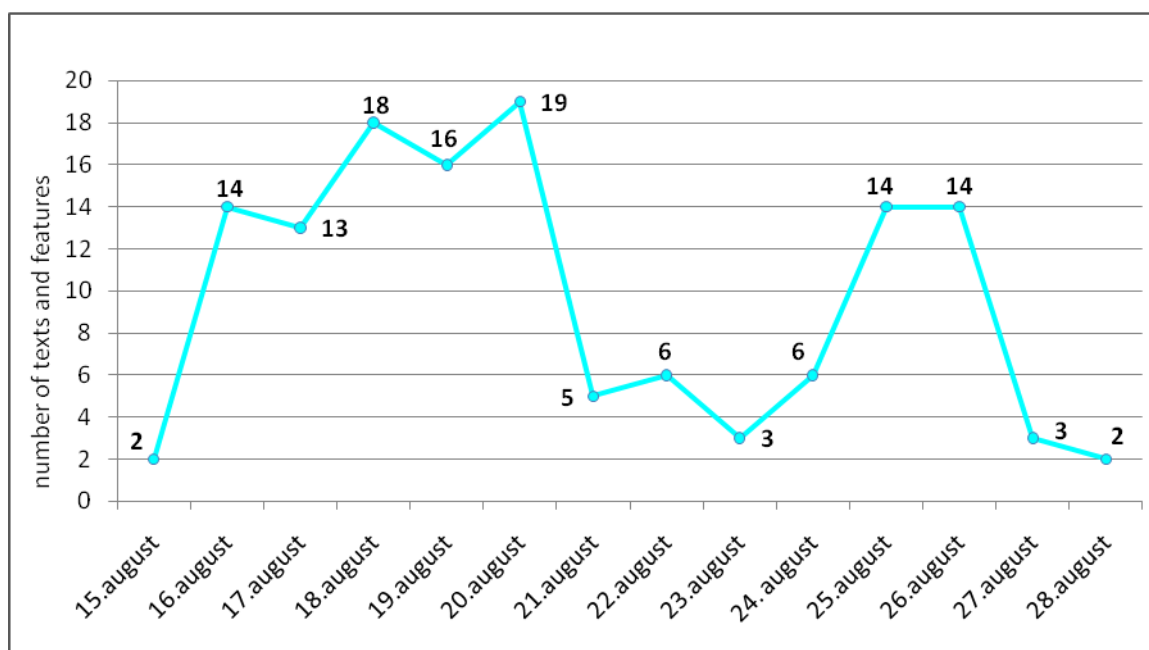
The headlines were divided into informative-descriptive (without expressing opinion, for example, *The director and board of directors were removed, 40 directors arrested*), interpretative/metaphoric (for example, *A more decisive prosecution of the corruption suspects is necessary, Family ties lead to family positions*) and sensationalistic (for example, *Bosniaks are taking control of all the public businesses in the Federation illegally, Zvonko Jurisic is intellectually incapable of being a leader*).

Value orientation of the texts and features were based on the fact that they're either only asserting or that they're identifying the cases of corruption without any activities that would lead towards sanctioning those who are responsible. Then, cases of corruption followed by an announcement of activities – investigative and judicial – aimed at prosecution, and cases of corruption followed by actual activities such as suspect arrest, pronouncing sentences, and educational actions in order to raise public awareness on the damaging effect of corruption and alike.

PUBLICATION FREQUENCY

In the period between August 15 and 28, 2011 there were 135 recorded texts and features that referred to the problem of corruption in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Based on the chart that shows the number of texts for each date of the analyzed period, we can see that the intensity of the media reporting on corruption oscillated. The most intense period was from August 16 to August 20, characterized by the beginning of quarrels between the president and vice president of HSP BiH Zvonko Jurisic and Josip Peric. They accused each other for placing cousins and friends to leading positions in public institutions and companies (from August 16). The act of placing Mirsad Niksic, the brother of the Prime Minister of the Government of Federation of BiH Nermin Niksic, as executive director for the management and maintenance in the public corporation Autoceste FBiH (from August 17), represents a topic that will dominate the overall analyzed period followed by other examples of placing cousins and friends in public functions in the Federation of BiH, especially of the members of SDP BiH. The operation “Coffee” dominated in media reporting in the period between August 19 and August 20. During this operation the members of State investigation and protection agency (SIPA) arrested more than 40 suspects for organized crime with tax evasion, customs fraud, and fictitious trade of excise goods. The number of texts on these topics increased during August 25 and 26 – conclusion of conflicts between the leaders of HSP, new appointments of cousins and friends to public functions, such as the husband of highly positioned state official of SDP Lidija Korac, and comments on the arrest of majority owner of the Tobacco factory Banja Luka Nebojsa Antonic during the aforementioned SIPA operation and his contacts with the political elite of Republika Srpska. All other analyzed themes, which will be presented in the following part, received only minor media attention, mostly one to five texts.

Chart 1. Publication frequency

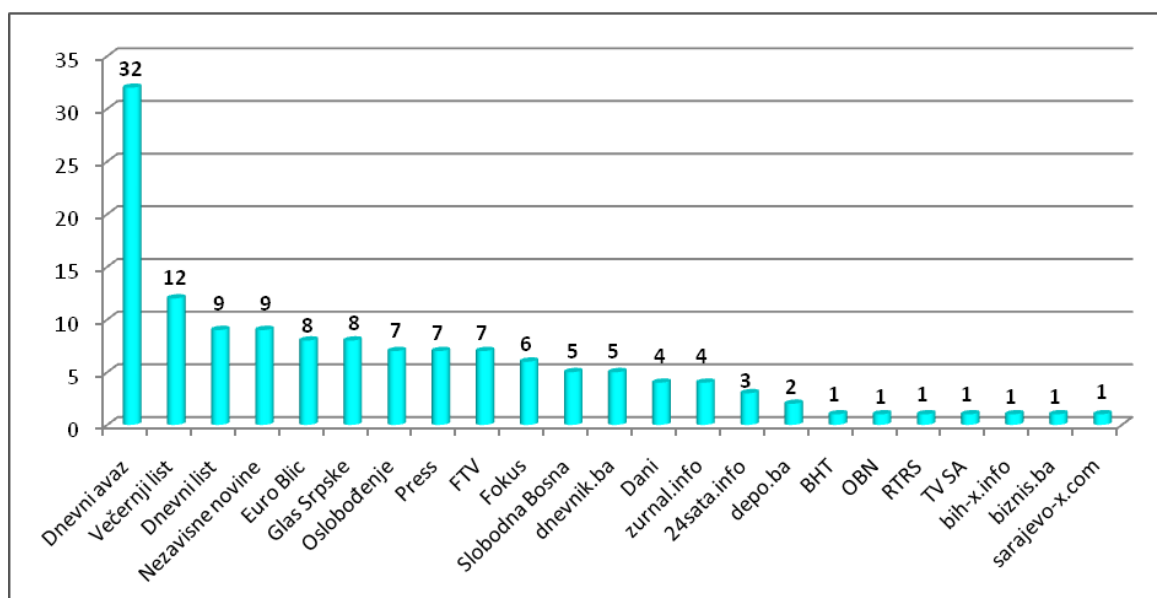


Since the media reporting was the most intense on corruptive activities of government officials and, at the same time, party leaders, it raises doubts that the intensity of some media reporting was not caused by the need to present and criticize corruption as such, but to emphasize *who* is the perpetrator of those actions, i.e., which political parties. The half of texts recorded in Dnevni avaz, whose owner and member of the opposition party SBB BiH is Fahrudin Radoncic, referred to the accusations on nepotism of the leading (“platform”) coalition or when an official position was misused, Dnevni avaz accused the “staff of SDP” (for example, it has been stated that the removed director of the Tourism Association of Tuzla Almazaga Catovic is part of SDP staff). It is reasonable to pose a question if SBB BiH was the member of the leading coalition in the Federation of BiH would reporting of Dnevni avaz on corruption have the same intensity?

Glas Srpske, Fokus, Press and Nezavisne novine, the media from Republika Srpska very close to the leading structures in this entity, pointed out who is the perpetrator of these corruptive actions, but also *where* they took place. Hence all texts in these media refer to the corruption in Federation of BiH or on state level, without pointing out to these and similar actions in Republika Srpska. An example of information selection for press release that states accusations of the leading parties in Republika Srpska is recorded. Namely, during the arrest of the majority owner of Tobacco factory Banja Luka Nebojsa Antonic, the president of Democratic Party Dragan Cavic denied the connection between him and the leaders of SNSD. However, Glas Srpske, Fokus and Press avoided this part and focused on criminal activities of Nebojsa Antonic in Tobacco factory Banja Luka, to which the small shareholders of this company also pointed out.

The impact of a political background of a certain newspaper on topic selection and way of reporting is evident in Oslobođenje, usually seen as the newspaper under the influence of SDP. During the analyzed period other newspapers pointed out to dozen cases of appointing people close to the leading coalition, especially of SDP, to manager positions in public institutions and companies; however, Oslobođenje did not publish a single text, only overstated the accusations towards SDP on nepotism.

Chart 2. Survey of the number of texts and features in analyzed media



Although corruption is presented in the media as one of the key problems of Bosnia and Herzegovina, such as “empty budget, millions of KM in debt, poverty, catastrophic economic policy, ‘giant’ administration, loss of direct international investments, another wave of recession, corruption and organized crime”,¹ or, Bosnia and Herzegovina is presented as a country of “hopelessness and hate, anarchy, of corrupt and incompetent politicians”,² the activities of nongovernmental organizations, associations of citizens and European institutions aimed at preventing corruption are not in the limelight of media attention. For example, there were only three texts that the citizens of Brcko district reported 32 cases of corruption to the youth organization Vermont in six months of project “Stop corruption in health and education” supported by the Centre for Civil Initiatives Sarajevo (EuroBlic, Dnevni list, Fokus). This confirms the estimation of Transparency International BiH that health, education, and Brcko police are the most corrupt. There were only two texts (Oslobodjenje, OBN) about the action “I don’t offer or take bribe!” in Tuzla whose goal was to point out to the dangers of corruption to the overall society and uselessness of offering bribe to get proper medical care. During this action, organized by the Centre for Civil Initiatives, the citizens of Tuzla were offered badges saying “I don’t offer or take bribe!” and brochures about the patients’ right guaranteed by the law.

During the analyzed period, a report was published estimating the fight against corruption of Council of Europe Group of States against Corruption (GRECO). The report points out that there is no positive shift in the fight against corruption in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The states invited the authorities to undertake decisive measures to implement criminal law and efficacy in criminal prosecution of persons charged for corruption; to increase transparency and accountability in financing political parties and election campaigns, etc. This report was mentioned in 4 texts (Glas Srpske, Oslobodjenje, FTV, zurnal.info). Feature authors on FTV (Dnevnik 2, August 17) Edina Secerovic and Ivana Beslic reminded that Predrag Kurtesa, minister of home affairs, (statement on May 4, 2011) stated that he will make sure that police officers of the Federal Police Department investigate each information and bring to justice everyone proved to be involved in corruption, no matter who that may be. Director of the Agency for corruption prevention and coordination of fight against corruption BiH Sead Lisak pointed out that all the problems named in the report of the group of states of the Council of Europe for the fight against corruption are priorities in this Agency’s action plan to implement the Strategy for the fight against corruption (Glas Spske).³ Only one text (Glas Srpske) mentioned a semi-annual survey of activities from the document European Partnership for BiH for the period January – June 2011. This survey, among all, points out that of 151 duties to be fulfilled in the first 6 months of this year, only 21 were completed. One of the aims that BiH should have completed was to initiate legal proceedings against corruption and adopt the policy of zero tolerance for corruption, and to pass laws on verification of property origin.

Three texts (FTV, TV SA, bih-x.inf) mention that Transparency International BiH indicated that corruption while job recruiting in state institutions and companies is present on all government levels in BiH, that vacancies are announced with already determined requirements that only a specific person fulfills, that practice to offer money for a job position is omnipresent, that the citizens themselves are part of the corrupt system because many of them are willing to give money in order to find employment. Emir Djikic, chairman of Board of directors of TIBiH, pointed out that “we fail to see what is crucial in the fight against corruption – and that is political will (...) coming from our politicians, and not from the European Commission”.

¹ Dnevni list, Dragan Bradavica, *What can the new government expect – Empty budgets, debt, unemployment, blocked roads to EU*, August 18, 2011.

² Press, Sasa Miric, *BiH breeds*, August 15, 2011.

³ Glas Srpske, Z.Do., *A more decisive prosecution of the corruptive is necessary*, August 18, 2011.

Apart from these, other topics from the texts of the analyzed media will be presented in the following part: charges on nepotism and leading coalition in the Federation of BiH (42 texts), clash within HSP BiH (19 texts), the operation “Coffee” by State investigation and protection agency – SIPA (26 texts) and accusations on the corruption of employees in state, entity and cantonal institutions (33 texts).

THEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF RELEASES CONTENT

1. CHARGES ON NEPOTISM AND LEADING COALITION IN FEDERATION OF BIH

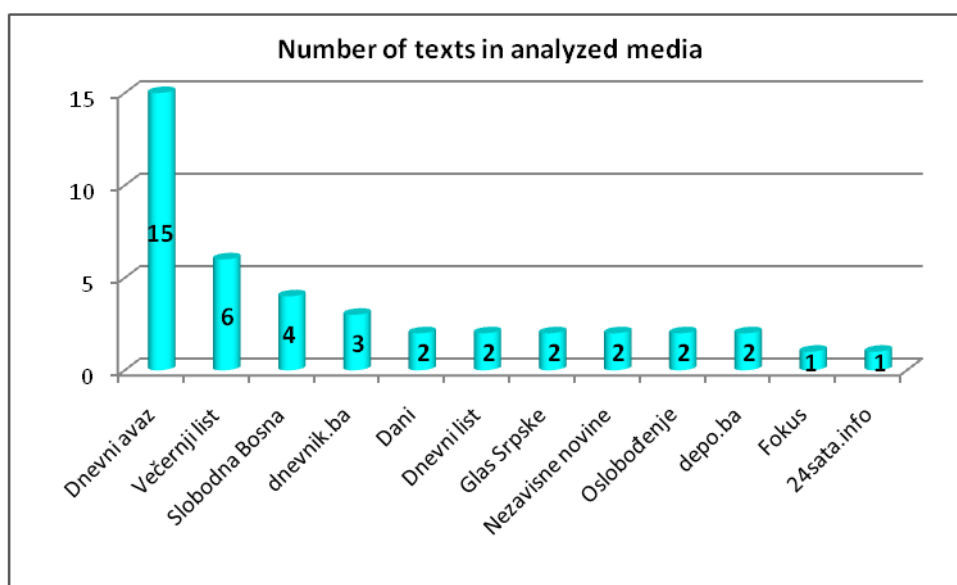


Chart 3

The media mostly focused on the actions of the Government of Federation of BiH (frequently referred to as “the new platform government”) that dismissed around 200 persons in the three-month period from leading positions in government institutions, agencies, administrations and public corporations and placed their relatives and friends of coalition leaders, especially of SDP BiH and their president Zlatko Lagumdžija. The media pointed out that such promotions are against the existing laws, especially the Law on prevention of conflict of interest, that these promotions were made possible by establishing regulations on the public corporations management under the Government of the Federation, by making changes of the statute of public corporations and institutions in the case that the candidates do not qualify (education, work experience, etc.) a certain function, or by updating tenders’ terms and other illegal actions to support certain candidates. Charges on nepotism dominated the media reporting: “*In the past days the Federal Government was in the spotlight because of the allegations for nepotism and hiring family and friends*” (Dnevni list), “*nepotism is evident during the appointment*”, “*The preoccupation with functions and hiring of people in parties has marked the actions of the so-called platform alliance in Federation of BiH*” (Dnevni avaz), “*Controlling material and financial resources of public corporations is the primary goal that the platform government, lead by SDP, has outlined ever since winning the elections*” (Vecernji list), “*After forming the government, Lagumdžija has started to fire the staff in public corporations and employ his friends, coworkers or simply those that are obedient*” (Slobodna Bosna), “*There are numerous examples on how the new platform government violates the moral rule (prohibition of nepotism), and expresses its covetousness and greed*” (Dani). The media in Republika Srpska, Fokus and Glas Srpske, very close

to the leading SNSD party, were very judgmental and biased in reporting on nepotism in the Federation of BiH, as if such practice was never recorded in Republika Srpska. Fokus points out that the Government of the Federation consists of “whole army of officials brought in by family or party ties”,⁴ while Sandra Miletic, the journalist of Glas Srpske, makes comments how “the platform government placed its friends, cousins, best men in well-paid positions”.⁵ Nepotism in government of Republika Srpska is nowhere mentioned, however there are friends, cousins, or best men of party members placed in “well-paid positions” in public institutions or, as Zeljko Jurilj, the journalist of Vecernji list, pointed out that “leaders of SNSD and their president Milorad Dodik are accused of open nepotism”.⁶

One of the examples is the Prime Minister of the Government of Federation of BiH Nermin Niksic who signed the decision to place his brother Mirsad Niksic as the executive director for the management and maintenance in the public corporation Autoceste FBiH and the decision to promote Ivan Sakota, son in law of the Federal minister of agriculture Jerko Ivanovic Lijanovic, as executive director for financial issues in the same corporation.⁷ The president of SDP Zlatko Lagumdzija placed his assistant from the Faculty of Economy and business partner Elvedin Grabovica to the head of Elektroprivreda BiH, business partner and friend Kemal Kacapor in the Supervisory Board of BH Telecom, and close friend Ivica Velican as the director of Sarajevo Airport. Lagumdzija explained that it is customary to place people of trust at the important positions. The member of the Supervisory Board of Oil Terminals FBiH became Zvonimir Susnjar, the cousin of the president of HSP Zvonko Jurisic who commented: “Yes, so what?”. Beside public corporation Autoceste FBiH, leaders of People’s Party Radom za boljitak placed their cousins in the Supervisory Board of Development Bank of Federation of BiH. One of the candidates for the position of director on the board of directors of Agency for passive sub-balance is Senad Rahimic, a friend of Prime Minister Niksic, while the husband of Lidija Korac, highly positioned SDP official, Davor Korac is promoted to the position of the member of the Supervisory Board of Elektroprivreda BiH. In just one day, Prime Minister of Sarajevo Canton Fikret Music signed 55 decisions on appointments and dismissals regarding board of directors and supervisory boards of faculties in Sarajevo. Among the newly appointed members are Goran Behmen, son of Alija Behmen mayor of Sarajevo (BOD of Faculty of Philosophy), Amina Huseinbegovic-Cengic, godmother of Zlatko Lagumdzija (BOD of Faculty of Dental Medicine), and others.

The spokeswoman of Transparency International BiH, Ivana Korajlic pointed out that they have made charges because of the appointment of Federal Prime Minister’s brother, and son in law of Federal Minister of agriculture. Central Election Commission demanded the shorthand transcript

⁴ Fokus, author not named, *Nepotism in Federal government*, August 19, 2011.

⁵ Glas Srpske, Sandra Miletic, *Friends, brothers, best men*, August 26, 2011.

⁶ Vecernji list, Zdenko Jurilj, *Nobody responds to the appointment of brothers, sons in law, best men*, August 19 2011.

⁷ In the comment (reader's letter) the secretary to the Farmer's Association of Sarajevo Canton Sead Jelec pointed out to the examples of corruption and crime in the period when Jerko Ivanovic Lijanovic was in the government of West Herzegovina canton, and points out how the Prime Minister Nermin Niksic by placing Lijanovic as the minister of agriculture „sacrificed agriculture for the sake of creating and maintaining the government“ (Oslobodjenje, *Agricultural disgrace*, August 16). Charges against the minister of agriculture Jerko Ivanovic Lijanovic were made by the president of Veterinary chamber of the Federation of BiH, Jasmin Ferizbegovic. He points out that the federal minister of agriculture signed the new rulebook on refunds for veterinary examinations and thus violated several laws and committed severe criminal act. In this manner he provided his companies cheap veterinary examinations, refunds for the inspection of buildings registered for export were reduced for 90%, and these funds are paid by the companies themselves, such as Lijanovic’s companies that export meat products (Dnevni avaz, G.Mrkic, *Lijanovic does not care about the law, he makes his own decisions*, August 21.)

of the parliamentary meeting of the Government of Federation of BiH where Mirsad Niksic, brother of the Federal Prime Minister Nermin Niksic, was nominated as the director for the management and maintenance in the public corporation Autoceste FBiH, in order to verify if the Prime Minister voted for him which would be in the conflict of interest and subject to sanctioning (Dnevni avaz, Vecernji list, Slobodna Bosna, dnevnik.ba).

Regarding the allegations for nepotism, the Prime Minister Nermin Niksic stated: "In this country there exists the Law on conflict of interest. Not a single provision has been violated. If someone is my brother, he cannot be punished for being what he is. He cannot be punished that his brother is a Prime Minister. If he was without work or listed in the recruitment agency, someone would probably charge me for not having enough sensibility to help my family, let alone the workers of Aluminij or citizens of Federation". Although this statement was identical in Dnevni list and Dnevni avaz, it was interpreted differently in the title: Dnevni avaz – *I will not change the decision on my brother* / Dnevni list – *Being someone's kin should not be a privilege nor punishment* (August 19, 2011). Dnevni avaz has an emphatic interest for the topic of nepotistic promotions and severe criticism, which can be observed through the relation of this newspaper with the leader of the opposition party, Stranka za bolju buducnost, Fahrudin Radoncic. The press release of the party states: "We expect that SDP and Zlatko Lagumdžija will not imitate the government of Tihic, when the sons of SDA were positioned in the best state companies, and numerous cousins traded well-paid positions and state apanages". Moreover the press release states that they expect from Prime Minister Niksic to change his decision and that "SDP stops the nepotistic virus from spreading which has cost this country from war times onwards."⁸

The same interpretation in the title has been recorded during the SDP's announcement on the charges that they appoint friends and cousins to the public functions: Oslobodjenje – *Affinity is not a privilege nor a punishment* / Dnevni avaz – *Family and friends of SDP will continue to be appointed* / Dnevni list – *Being someone's kin should not be a privilege nor a punishment* (August 20/21, 2011). SDP announced that no member of this party will be appointed to a function because they are someone's kin or friend and they invite everyone to control the staff based on their achievement. It is stated later on that "the fact that someone is a kin or a friend to a member of SDP cannot be a barrier if they possess necessary qualifications and work experience to perform a certain function". It is important to emphasize that this announcement is the only public notice in Oslobodjenje regarding the nepotistic appointments to the public functions. Hypothetically speaking, because of the selective information, readers relying only on Oslobodjenje are not familiar with the cause of this announcement, or the examples of nepotism on which the allegations towards SDP are based.

An SDA delegate in the House of Representatives of the Parliament of BiH, Semsudin Mehmedovic invited the Government of the Federation of BiH to stop playing games with staff, pointing out that the Government is only bringing one profile of people and political orientation, primarily SDP, along with SDA. He points out that with this practice the Government is only slowing down the investments in the power sector and infrastructure, which can lead to strikes and financial collapse. The mentioned statement is only published in Glas Srpska, without any interpretation,⁹ in Vecernji list it is interpreted as a product of conflict of interest because the leaders of SDP BiH began to remove old party staff of SDA from public corporation,¹⁰ while in Dnevni avaz it is

⁸ Dnevni avaz, Mirela Kukan, *Niksic is requested to withdraw the decision about his brother*; August 18; Vecernji list, *Stop nepotism*, August 18, 2011.

⁹ Glas Srpske, Zeljka Domazet, *The government of the Federation of BiH cares only about staff set up*; August 23, 2011.

¹⁰ Vecernji list, Zdenko Jurilj, *The government introduced centralism through illegal decisions*, August 24, 2011.

interpreted as a beginning of confrontation between the internal factions for the position of the leader of SDA.¹¹ The example of confrontations between the president and vice president of HSP BiH, Zvonko Jurisic and Josip Peric shows how quarrels between and within parties can lead to media reports on nepotism and other corruptive actions. This example will be treated as a special topic.

The stated actions of the Federal government officials and their explanations have been the subject of journalists' critical comments and columnists of daily papers and weeklies.

Mirela Kukan, the journalist of *Dnevni avaz*, pointed out that the newspaper columns are flooded with information on nepotistic appointments to important manager positions, carried out by the new government lead by SDP. She pointed out that Zlatko Lagumdžija is as silent as a grave about the most recent scandals, and that he and his party, in the time when they were in the opposition, reacted to similar activities with such uproar that it was impossible not to wish they were in the government so they could stop the crime, corruption, nepotism, and instigate economy and country's development (*Nepotism and corruption*, August 19). Vlastimir Mijovic, the columnist of *Dnevni avaz*, among all points out in his text *So many functions* (August, 27): "If the old government favorites, those from SDA, HDZ, and SNSD, worried that the newcomers from SDP can ruin their old pattern with their principles, they can have a moment of relief. Not only that Lagumdžija's party will not disturb them in their nepotistic and similar practice, moreover it will serve as a model on how to find a position for your own people at state's cost."

Zdenko Jurilj, the journalist of *Vecernji list*, mentions nepotism examples in the Government of Federation of BiH in his comment *Nobody responds to the appointment of brothers, sons in law, best men* (August 19). He points out to the criticism against these practices that Zlatko Lagumdžija himself made in his election campaign, stating that during their term there will be no promotion according to family relations the way HDZ, SDA and Stranka za BiH did. On the other hand, "in the three-month period the new platform government dismissed around 200 persons, which has become an interest of Helsinki Committee for Human Rights and Transparency International".

In his text *Family ties lead to positions* (Dani, August, 18), Almir Seckanovic points out to the trades between SDP and SDA for the manager positions in the Clinical Centre of University of Tuzla, Brown Coal Mine Djurdjevik, Thermal power plant Tuzla, Kreka mine, bureau of BH Telecom and BH Post Office in Tuzla, Elektro distribucija Tuzla, expressing his doubt that politicians will fight with the same intensity for the companies in deficit in Tuzla. In his text *Son, brother, and other large families and friends* (Dani, August 25), Amer Tikvesa also names examples of brothers, cousins and friends of the new platform government to the highly responsible social functions, criticizing government's justification for their actions or effort to distance themselves from nepotism. "Surely, people in power will try to make everything legal, such as Nermin Niksic not voting for his brother (...) It became symptomatic that state institutions are treated as social institutions for abandoned or cousins insufficiently taken care of."

In his text *Steel wings of SDP's platform* (Sloodna Bosna, August 19) Nedim Hasic presents one of many examples of promotion of cousins and friends of SDP leaders to public functions. He states that Zlatko Lagumdžija and Zeljko Komsic (semi)illegally placed their close friend Ivica Velican as the manager of Sarajevo Airport. Considering that Velican did not have a higher education degree, the Statute of this company was changed because such qualifications were required for the managing director. In the text *The most important question is the question of staff (comrade J.V.Stalin)* Senad Avdic points out that right after the formation the Government of Federation of BiH began "an unprecedented trade, destruction of any kind of morality, dignity, and aggressive,

¹¹ *Dnevni avaz*, F.Vele-A.Hadzic, *Mehmedovic attacks the leadership of SDA*, August 23, 2011.

regularly provincial, greedy appetites". In the text *The downfall of staff policy of platform government* Asim Metiljevic claims how scandalous is the Prime Minister Niksic's action to name his own brother as a executive director of Public corporation Autoceste FBiH, as well as SDP's protection of the Prime Minister Niksic. "SDP deliberately equates flexible moral responsibility and precise legal responsibility (...) The Prime Minister Niksic's action is (not only) morally problematic, but is also contrary to the existing Law on prevention of conflict of interest." He also points out to the silence of Central Election Commission, which needed to react not only in the line of duty but because of the call addressed by the Transparency International BiH (Slobodna Bosna, August, 25).

A comment of Rijad Durkic (*The last hope that no one is the same died*, August 22) was published on the internet site depo.ba. On the occasion of the promotion of the Prime Minister's brother to the position of acting director of a public corporation, he points out that "such form of a conflict of interest was not recorded even when SDA, HDZ or SzBiH dominated in the government, at least not on that level and that capacity, to the public eyes. The fact that the Prime Minister left the room when the decision was being voted and pointed out that it is his brother, only emphasize the bitterness and discredit that this decision incites in the public. The act of leaving the room is a classic manipulative demagogy and has no positive weight at all. It is reasonable that the ministers will support the Prime Minister's suggestion, because other decisions contain names important to them too. Only worse are Prime Minister's excuses 'whom else but my own brother'".

There were three comments in Vecernji list that interpret nepotistic promotions in the nationalist key as (Bosniaks') threats to Croats. In the comment *Bosniaks are taking control of all the public businesses in the Federation illegally* Dejan Jaziv points out that "putting public businesses under the control of the Government of Federation illegally will mostly impact areas with Croat majority, since the Government is absolutely dominated by Bosniaks, and Croats cannot affect the decision making process" (August 23). The same interpretation is expressed by Zdenko Jurilj (*Through illegal decisions the Government introduces centralism*, August 24) who points out that in the whole story on the taking control of material and financial resources of public companies, which is the goal set by the platform government, lead by SDP, since winning elections, the greatest sacrifice fell upon the "public companies mostly in the hands of Croats in BiH. Knowing that it is difficult to govern public companies that were up to now in the hands of two HDZ because of negative political climate, the platform government prepared sanctions for those that ignore their political decisions made in Sarajevo as a centre of power." Zlatko Tulic believes that attempt to centralize power and completely remove competences of the Cantons is hidden behind the introduction of political monopoly in public companies, where the holder of the title is the Federation of BiH. "Namely, according to sources, the next step in conquering the Federation on the part of SDP and individuals from SDA close to Lagumdzija's party is taking over Neum, and not by populating, but by economic dependence on Sarajevo. Bringing Bosniak "investors" to Neum by previously buying Croat land in Neum did not succeed few years ago. This time investors will be under the control of the Government" (*Neum is the target, privatization with full control*, August 27).

2. CLASH WITHIN HSP BIH

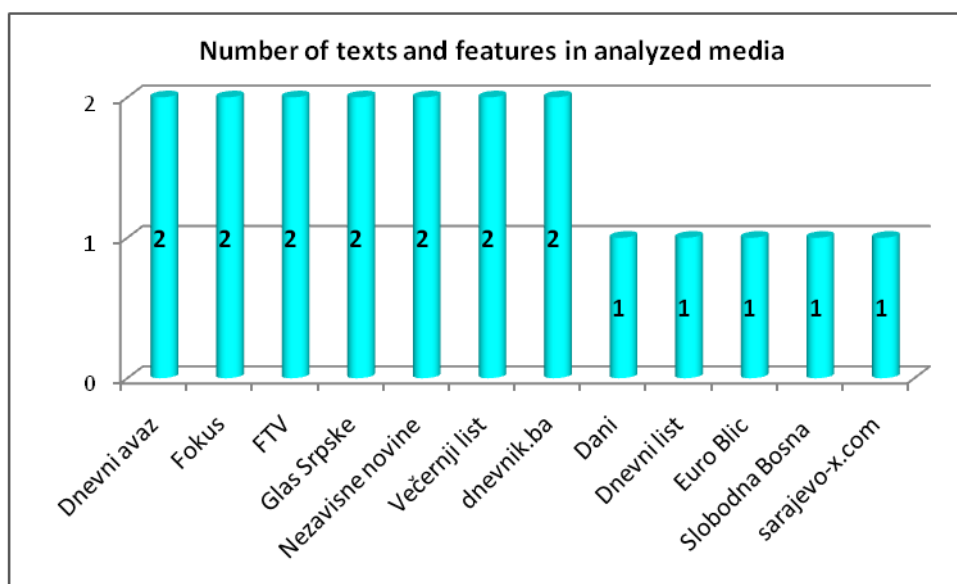


Chart 4.

The same interpretation, where it was highlighted that Croat national interests during the appointment to the manager positions in public companies were endangered, was present in the meeting of leaders of HSP BiH. Namely, the vice president of HSP and delegate to the House of Peoples of the Federation of BiH Josip Peric blames HSP president Zvonko Jurisic and his followers for the conflicts in the party that could, according to him, destabilize the Government of the Federation of BiH and platform coalition (withdrawal of the Minister of finances Ante Krajinca). The HSP president and his followers have “placed semiliterate friends, familial and other staff”, instead of “taking care of the equality of Croats” thus damaging the party and Croat people. Zvonko Jurisic and Stanko Primorac, vice president of the Main Committee of HSP pointed out that these charges were made because of the frustration that “Peric’s people are not placed in the public companies such as Elektroprivreda HZHB” and that HSP in no way wants to jeopardize Croat national interest. In an interview to *Vecernji list*, Josip Peric pointed out: “As far as Elektroprivreda is concerned, it is a treasure of the Croat people. What happened with the negotiations to include HSP with 33%, Radom za boljitak and SDP with 33% also, I think that this division, staff or any other, is not acceptable. In fact, HSP brought something different to the platform. I do not deny other Croat parties, but HSP represents the real Croat spirit, and I believe that we have great responsibility and we must not allow that Elektroprivreda, without the owner’s consent, eventually is given over to someone else. I consistently demanded that HSP owns 51% of the management structure”.¹²

The stated accusations between Peric and Jurisic dominated in the media reporting in *Nezavisne novine*, *EuroBlic*, *Vecernji list*, *FTV*, while in the reports of *Dnevni avaz* a bias towards “Peric’s current” is expressed, illustrated by the titles: Peric: *The government was never closer to a fall!* (August 16), Peric: *I’m taking down HSP and the platform!* (August 18). *Glas Srpske* and *Fokus* with an obvious bias reported the stated conflict within HSP. HDZ BiH spokesman Miso Relota, who pointed out that the conflicts in HSP BiH are in fact “distribution of the pray”, emphasized that “time has showed that the distribution of public goods and companies in Federation of BiH is only

¹² *Večernji list*, Zeljka Mihaljevic, *Z. Jurisic is intellectually incapable of being a leader*, August 18. *Day before Vecernji list published an interview with Zvonko Jurisic – Marija Medic*, We have a problem in the party, political split because of leading positions, August 17, 2011.

thing that “platform” politicians do”. His statement is accompanied by the following titles in these newspapers: *Political split because of division of prey* (Fokus), *Jurisc supports SDP in the battle for positions* (Glas Srpske).¹³ Moreover, the statement of Zvonko Jurisic is accompanied by the similar titles: *Crime in institution of the Government of the Federation of BiH* (Fokus), *Crime in companies and institutions of the Federation of BiH* (Glas Srpske).

Criticism of the conflict motivated by interest between the members of HSP is noted in the comments of Amer Tikvesa, *The government is not falling, but the state is being stricken* (Dani, August 18) and Emir Hodzic, *Peaceful Herceg-Bosna* (Slobodna Bosna, August 26). Accusations between the leaders of HSP were ended after a prolonged meeting of the members of party presidency and their boards from Canton 10 held on August 22 in Tomislavgrad. After that meeting, Juris declared that the problems in the party were forced by the media, that some criminal and corruptive activities took place in public companies run by the Government of the Federation of BiH and government institutions and that HSP wants to introduce that to the public and to initiate legal proceedings (Dnevni list, Glas Srpske, Fokus, sarajevo-x.com).

3. OPERATION “COFFEE” OF STATE INVESTIGATION AND PROTECTION AGENCY (SIPA)

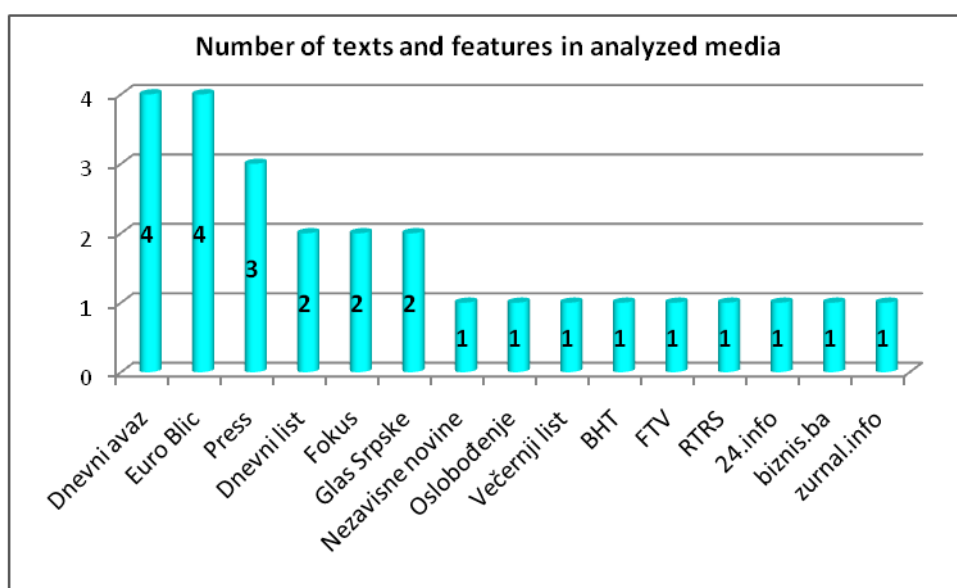


Chart 5.

Media reporting was generally identical on the operation “Coffee” during which the members of State investigation and protection agency (SIPA) arrested more than 40 suspects for organized crime with tax evasion, customs fraud, and fictitious trade of excise goods. Information sources were mostly director of the Indirect Taxation Authority of BiH Miro Dzakula and spokesman of the Prosecutor’s Office of BiH Boris Grubescic. Among the arrested persons, usually mentioned were owners of the private companies Ivan Cuk and Milan Stankovic, as well as Miroslav Crncevic, operational deputy of Ministry of Interior of RS. They have been suspected of importing coffee to BiH, and then they created documentation as if they’d exported goods from BiH to get tax return, and the imported coffee was in fact sold on the BiH market. It has been estimated that they have illegally obtained around 15 million KM. In this operation SIPA inspectors searched Tobacco factory Banja Luka and confiscated certain documentation. The majority owner of Tobacco factory

¹³ The statement of HDZ BiH spokesman Miso Relota was published on the internet website dnevnik.ba – Relota: The division of prey is the only thing that platform politicians do; SRNA agency, August 16.

Banja Luka is Nebojsa Antonic who is at the same time owner of the “Antonic Trade” company that is suspected to be the part of coffee malversations. The media paid a unusually lot of attention to Nebojsa Antonic, which can be seen as a way to make the operation “Coffee” banal, considering the fact that of nine texts reporting the operation, one source of information is Antonic himself citing that he is Crncevic’s best man. In conversations with journalists Antonic, among the rest, points out that he is not arrested, that he is on a vacation on the Croatian coast, that Tobacco factory Banja Luka is not the subject of investigation, but that documentation on the business activity of “Antonic trade” with companies from Hercegovina is excepted, pointing out that he provides help in the investigation and alike. Several days after the operation in Press text *Cuk, Antonic, and others stole 15 million KM* (Boris Knezevic, August 24) readers could read how the arrested got one-month period of prison and how Nebojsa Antonic, one of the closest associates of Ivan Cuk, was arrested. Dnevni list also reported on Antonic’s arrest, pointing out that there are doubts that suspects were informed about their arrest, so two of the suspects escaped arrest, and Miroslav Crncevic got arrested while trying to escape Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Businessmen were warned about their arrest?*, I.Herceg, August 21).

After Nebojsa Antonic got arrested, the president of the Democratic Party Dragan Cavic invited the Government of Republika Srpska to abolish the privatization of Tobacco factory Banja Luka because “there is no reason to keep it in the property of the man charged for serious criminal offences”, such as customs fraud, multimillion tax evasions, documents falsification and fictitious coffee import. He points out that Tobacco factory Banja Luka is over head and ears in debt, while at the same time “Antonic Trade” company are making an enormous profit. This statement was published in Press, Glas Srpske, Fokus, and Dnevni avaz which also reports a piece that is not mentioned in the stated newspapers from Republika Srpska. Namely, Cavic pointed out that small shareholders of Tobacco factory Banja Luka warned about several criminal operations happening in this company, as well as suspicion that the majority owner Nebojsa Antonic is engaged in money laundering, but that authorities in Republika Srpska did not take any precautions, until recent SIPA operation. He also reminded about the recent meeting of Nebojsa Antonic with the Prime Minister Aleksandar Dzombic and pointed out: “After all the controversies with this factory, no one from the Government of Republika Srpska did not speak and I can assert that they and the leadership of SNSD are in a direct relationship with him”.¹⁴ A similar accusation was expressed by the president of Small shareholders’ association of Tobacco factory Banja Luka Zlatibor Koljancic in the text of Ljiljana Kovacevic *The owner Nebojsa Antonic purposely destroys own property* published on web site zurnal.info (August 17). Glas Srpske and Fokus are omitting part of the statement concerning the accusations against government leaders in Republika Srpska, unlike very biased titles and contents in the case of the Government of the Federation of BiH. This explains the doubt that these media do not criticize corruptive actions as such, but depending on *who* (which political parties) are perpetrators.

Before the operation “Coffee”, more specifically August 17, 18, and 19, the newspaper EuroBlic published texts that stated that the members of State investigation and protection agency BiH (SIPA) and the Indirect Taxation Authority of BiH (UIO BiH) ended a months-long investigation about tax evasion. A series of arrests of well-known businessmen can be expected on the territory of BiH, because negotiations with the Prosecutor’s Office are ongoing which would provide warrants for searches and arrests. SIPA investigators confirmed that certain businessmen demanded illegal tax return, i.e. for the goods that are not practically sold. These are mostly businessmen in the area of housing construction. They deliberately left unsold apartments and demanded tax return after expiration of certain warranties and hence earned money. They

¹⁴ Dnevni avaz, B.S., *Antonic operates together with the leadership of the Government of RS*, August 25, 2011.

frequently agreed with apartment buyers, who officially bought apartments cheaply, while they paid the rest of the money in cash, in order to pay smaller taxes. In the different investigation of SIPA and the Indirect Taxation Authority they investigated customs frauds when importing coffee and cars used for illegal tax return. According to data of the Indirect Taxation Authority, in the last two years the budget was in this damaged by 40,2 million KM.¹⁵

4. ACCUSATIONS ON THE CORRUPTION OF EMPLOYEES IN STATE, ENTITY AND CANTONAL INSTITUTIONS

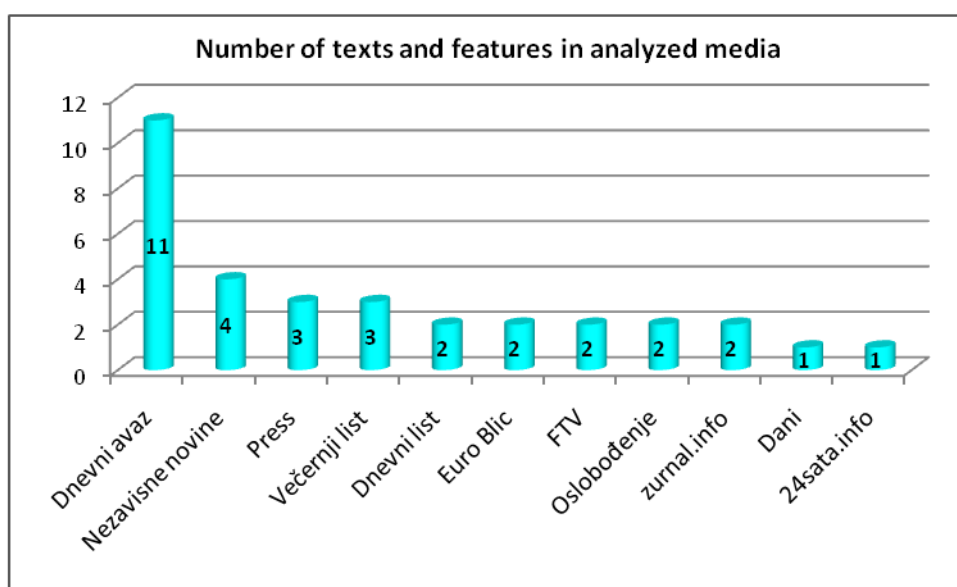


Chart 6

The next section presents accusations on the corruption of employees in state, entity and cantonal institutions to which the media paid less attention to, unlike for the previous topics, mostly one to five texts.

- Slobodan Trninic and the management of Public institution Health Centre of Sarajevo Canton were accused of recruiting workers through corruption. Management of Clinical Centre University of Sarajevo was also criticized for abusing business contracts and recruiting unnecessary staff. According to employees, inspectors of the Federal Police Department took the documents on suspicious recruitment in the Public institution Health Centre from 2007., and the union of this institution printed fliers to invite workers that offered bribe to report those actions. Because of suspicious recruitment, the government of Sarajevo Canton decided to remove the director of this institution Slobodan Trninic and members of Supervising Board and Board of Directors. (Dnevni avaz – 4, Nezavisne novine, Dani – 1 text each)¹⁶

¹⁵ Euro Blic, D.Tomic, *Even respectable businessmen will be arrested for tax evasion*, August 17; Euro Blic editorial board, *Taycoons are affraid of Copic's testimony*, August 18; Euro Blic editorial, *Some politicians would slow down the investigation on the fraud with medicines*, August 19, 2011.

¹⁶ Dnevni avaz, E.Halac, *Trninic brags about suspcious award from Madrid* (16.8), *Clinical centre Universtiy of Sarajevo: No doctors, plenty of repairmen* (16.8.), *Inspectors of Federal Police Department investigate job recruitment* (17.8.), *Finally leaving* (18.8); Nezavisne novine, *Davud Muminovic, Direktor and Board of the Public Institution Health care removed* (18.8); Dani, A.T., *Slobodan Trninic* (18.8)

- The commissar of the Ministry of home affairs of Tuzla Canton, Nedim Mutapcic is under investigation of the Prosecutor's Office in Tuzla because of the suspicion that he committed crime by taking bribe from convicted criminal Senadin Karic promising him that he will hire his cousin in the Ministry of home affairs of Tuzla Canton. In the FTV feature (Dnevnik 2, August 24) it is pointed out that "people close to Mutapcic, some of them even employees of EUPM, are pressuring the members of the Independent board who are ready to make the decision on suspension". (FTV – 2, Dnevni avaz, Nezavisne novine, Oslobodjenje – 1 text each)¹⁷
- The president and member of Board of directors of Association for the Protection of Guarantors, Jovica Cvjetkovic and Mika Nikic accused the governor of the Central bank of BiH Kemal Kozaric that he is responsible for corruption because "he is at the top of banking system that deceived 200.000 guarantors", that he accepts bribe and covers up credit frauds. They maintain that the Central bank of BiH is not trying to protect the citizens, instead, together with the banking agency of entities, "try to protect banking frauds by any means possible". Governor Kozaric denied these charges pointing out that the Central bank is not in charge of finding solutions for guarantors. (Press – 3 texts)¹⁸
- The director of Tourism Association of Tuzla Canton, Almazaga Catovic, was relieved of duty "because of corruption, illegitimacy and tyranny". The Prosecutor's Office of this Canton opened an investigation on irregularities in Catovic's work. He is suspected of recruiting persons without necessary qualifications, firing employees without justification and spending Association's money recklessly. (Dnevni avaz – 2, Nezavisne – 1 text)¹⁹
- Inspectors of the Financial Police of the Federation of BiH gathered data that the public companies, certain directions and institutes, such as the Federal pension and disability insurance institute of FBiH, placed on time deposit around 1,5 billion KM with unbelievable low interest rate. The legal background of such transactions will be the subject of further investigation, as well refund in the so-called parties' slush funds. On the account of the government of the Federation of BiH, inspectors of the Financial Police are verifying financial transactions of ministries and other institutions and agencies of the entities. According their judgments, it is about time that the Federation, the entire country as well, fight against organized crime and corruption because, on the contrary, the country will just collapse. The chief inspector of the Financial Police of FBiH Zulfer Dervisevic confirmed the allegations about term deposits of public companies, as well as the suspicions that these transactions were illegal. He pointed out that the country undoubtedly and most firmly needs to fight against crime and corruption: "We have reported tons of evidence and criminal charges; unfortunately, we do not see the end of this story in terms of judgments with final force and effort. I responsibly claim that we lack courageous and firm prosecutors that would bring these processes to the end." (Dnevni list)²⁰
- Different malversations during recruitment in elementary schools and high schools in Tuzla Canton are enabling that "children whose parents are in the education-politics clan

¹⁷ FTV, Dnevnik 2, Edina Secerovic, August 18, 24; Nezavisne novine, E.Sk. *Tomorrow on the suspension of police commissar* (22.8); Oslobodjenje, A.Se., *Today on the suspension of Nedim Mutapcic* (25.8); Dnevni avaz, *Mutapcic violated his function* (26.8)

¹⁸ Press, Boris Knezevic, *Governor Kozaric and bankers in BiH are silencing guarantors* (16.8.), official denials: Kozaric: *I do not accept bribe and I do not hack guarantors!* (17.8), Boris Knezevic, *Kozaric is a quack!* (20.8)

¹⁹ Dnevni avaz, A.H., *Almazaga Catovic is no longer the director of Tourism Association* (17.8), H.C., *Mustafic: I was Catovic's victim* (18.8); Nezavisne novine, Edin Skokic, *Controversial director stil in position* (19.8)

²⁰ Dnevni list, L.Maric, *1,5 bilions KM of state money places on time deposit* (19.8), Antun Mrkonjic, *There are time deposits, and illegal transactions* (20.8)

usually get the job". Teachers with a temporary job were forced to give 1000 KM each year to keep their jobs. (Dnevni avaz, zurnal.info)²¹

- It has been pointed out to the inconsistency with public procurements in the case of Department of health insurance and reinsurance of FBiH (ZZO FBiH), because the Department favored certain providers of medical equipment. The owner of Medimpex company from Sarajevo, Semso Mujezin pointed out that the Department's terms in the procurement tender of medical equipment were adjusted to a specific company although its products do not meet the required criteria or in the case of products that are not registered, then the product price increases after the first shipment unlike the determined price for which the Department adds extra finances. Journalist Almasa Hadzic points out that the state, i.e., party governors forming their government, is a perennial patron of dishonest actions concerning goods procurements through tenders, where medications procurement and sale is one of the most lucrative businesses, and party leaders of health institutions best workers in that business, "hence the conflicts after the elections between the parties trying to become directors of Departments of health insurance and leading medical institutions or who will become Health Ministers". (Dnevni avaz – 2 texts)²²
- In the middle of September the Financial Police of the Federation of BiH will start controlling all institutions and ministries in this entity that received negative mark from federal auditors because of illegally spending budget money in 2010. This will be the first time since initiating the Audit Office for the Institutions of the Federation BiH that their reports are the basis for making criminal charges against individuals or groups responsible for loss of millions of KM. The Audit Office for the Institutions of the Federation BiH did not provide a positive opinion for not a single out of 51 revised financial reports in 2010. The most important inconsistencies are spending money for public procurement, representation, usage and maintenance of official vehicles, postal charges systems of internal control, piece work agreement, stimulations and overtime, travel costs. (Vecernji list)²³
- The Report on work of previous assembly of Commission of inquiry to determine the spending of donor funds of House of Representative of the Parliament of BiH states that although there are doubts that millions of KM in donations for BiH embezzled, there is no political will to determine where that money went. It is estimated that more than 7 billions KM worth of donations arrived to BiH. Investigation bodies are not interested for the donation embezzlement. The Prosecutor's Office received last report in the beginning of 2010. But the investigation on the misuse of the money was never initiated. (Vecernji list)²⁴
- Agencies, directions, funds, and departments in RS have access to 327,4 million of KM from the budget even though tax payers never heard for most of them, but they are a good opportunity to find a job for party members. New departments are announced. Ministries transfer their obligations to agencies and hence multiply the number of

²¹ Dnevni avaz, A.Hadzic, *Whose fixing the recruitment of teachers? (22.8) Internet site zurnal.info started a series of texts with confessions of teachers planning to report the authorities to the Ministry of home affairs of Tuzla Canton; Nermina Sunj, Young people from Zivinice declared war on „education mafia“ – I paid 1000 KM to work for a year (27.8)*

²² Dnevni avaz, F.Karalic, *How to lose millions of KM on medicine procurement (15.8), Almasa Hadzic, Medicine crime (16.8)*

²³ Vecernji list, Zdenko Jurilj, *Ministries in front of court (17.8.)*

²⁴ Vecernji list, G.S., *There is no political will to determine where did millions of KM of donations go (17.8)*

employees in administration. Many agencies actually do nothing and no one controls their work. (EuroBlic)²⁵

- At the protest in front of the Municipal court in Sarajevo, hundreds of Granit workers from Jablanica demanded, among all, that the court ends insolvency proceedings until the criminal proceedings against former owner are final: “We fight against insolvency, corruption and money laundering of former management. Let the Government of the Federation of BiH take over Granit. Granit is an example of mafia grouping, politic power, and, sadly, judiciary”, along with announcement that they will report corrupt judges to the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council. (Oslobodjenje)²⁶
- According to the research of European Road Assessment Program, the roads in BiH are among the worst in Europe. Because of such state in the following 10 years at least 25.000 people could die or be injured in BiH. Delay, irresponsibility of national experts, fixing tenders, scandals when choosing companies to perform work, are some of the problems when building highways in BiH. (24sata.info)²⁷
- Representatives of the Association of refugees and displaced persons “Moj dom” from Mostar point out that “millions of donated money were washed” on the reconstruction of destroyed houses and buildings, and that in these activities everyone was included – from the leaders of Mostar City government, Ministry of refugees and displaced persons, company owners participating in the reconstruction, to donors. (Vecernji list)²⁸
- Government of Banja Luka gave 18.000 KM from the city budget for this year Banja Luka Open championship in horseback riding organized by the private equestrian club “Cokorska polja” whose owner Milutin Jovic, controversial businessman from Banja Luka, is close to current government in Republika Srpska. (zurnal.info)²⁹
- A research on the habits of tourists in 4 cities in BiH (Sarajevo, Neum, Mostar, Medjugorje), done by the Tourism Institute of Croatia for the Ministry of tourism and environment of the Federation of BiH, cost 300.000 KM. The employees in tourist agencies point out that the research is not useful, that the research was awarded to a company from Zagreb against all procedures and that that money could have used for a lot more. For them it is an example of reckless waste of budget. These allegations were denied by Nedeljko Babic, assistant minister of tourism. (Nezavisne novine)³⁰
- In the audit report on financial business of BH Telecom in 2010 states that the company concluded millions-worth of secret contracts through procurement. The contracts were concluded by negotiation without prior notification. In this way 495 contracts worth 66,1 million KM were concluded. (EuroBlic)³¹
- Police station in Odzak received a complaint against their employees who accepted bribe during assessment of vehicles and documents. An investigation has been initiated afterward. (Dnevni avaz)³²

²⁵ EuroBlic, Tijana Veselinovic, Jelena Vujic, *They secretly spend millions, and the public doesn't even know who they are* (24.8)

²⁶ Oslobodjenje, M.Djurovic Rukavina, *Granit workers reported judges for corruption* (19.8)

²⁷ www.24sata.info, S.B., „Negligence and corruption“: *In the following 10 years around 25.000 people could die in BiH!* (16.8)

²⁸ Vecernji list, Zdenko Jurilj, *Robbery on ruins* (25.8)

²⁹ www.zurnal.info; Vladimir Kovacevic, *Citizens of Banja Luka are financing private equestrian club* (20.8)

³⁰ Nezavisne novine, Davud Muminovic, *For a useless research, they paid 300.000 KM* (22.8)

³¹ EuroBlic, *Secret contracts* (18.8)

³² Dnevni avaz, Ta.B., *A patrol reported for accepting bribe* (22.8)

VALUE ORIENTATION

Value orientation of the texts and features were based on the fact that they're either only asserting or that they're identifying the cases of corruption without any activities that would lead towards sanctioning those who are responsible. Then, cases of corruption followed by an announcement of activities – investigative and judicial – aimed at prosecution, and cases of corruption followed by actual activities such as suspect arrest, pronouncing sentences, and educational actions in order to raise public awareness on the damaging effect of corruption and alike. According to the chart, we can conclude that corruption is more a phenomena that is being “talked about” but nothing’s being done to sanction or prevent it.

Chart 7. Overview of value orientation of releases content

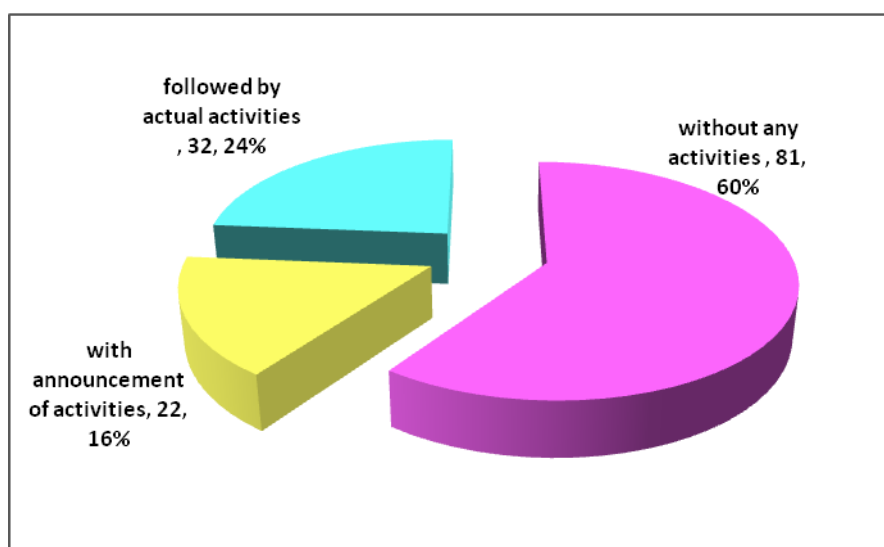
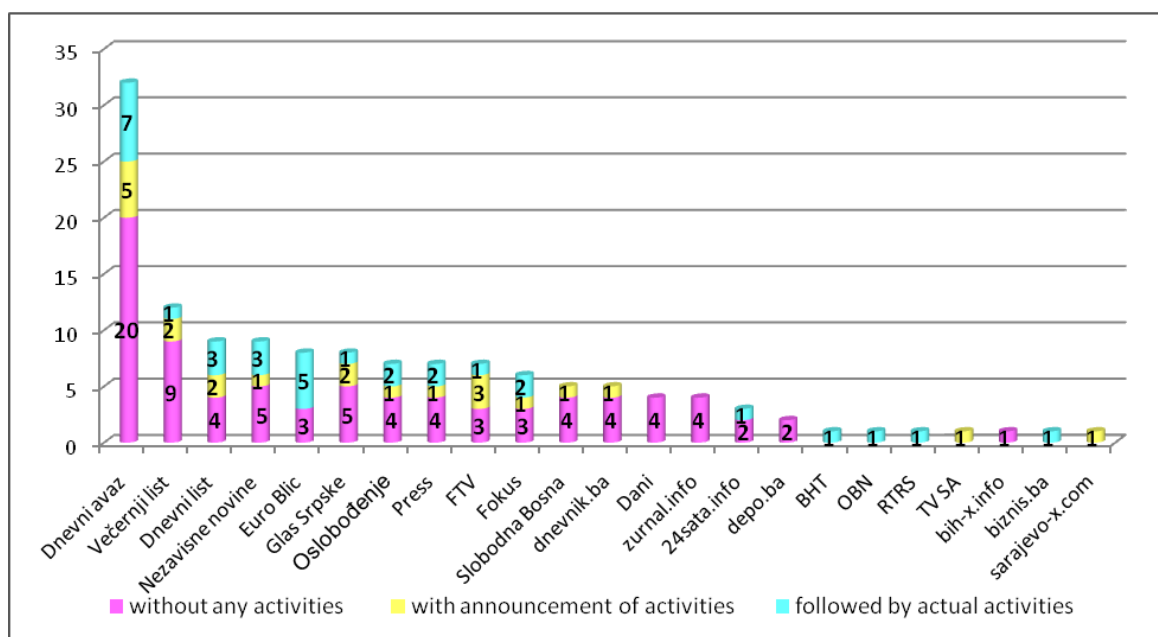


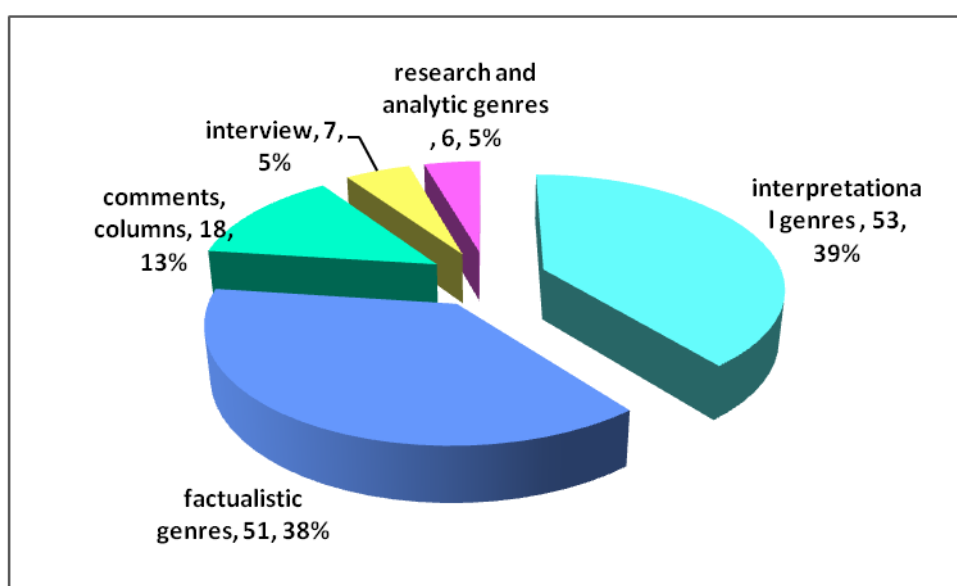
Chart 8. Overview of value orientation of releases content according to the analyzed media



JOURNALISTIC GENRES, AUTHORSHIP AND INFORMATION SOURCES

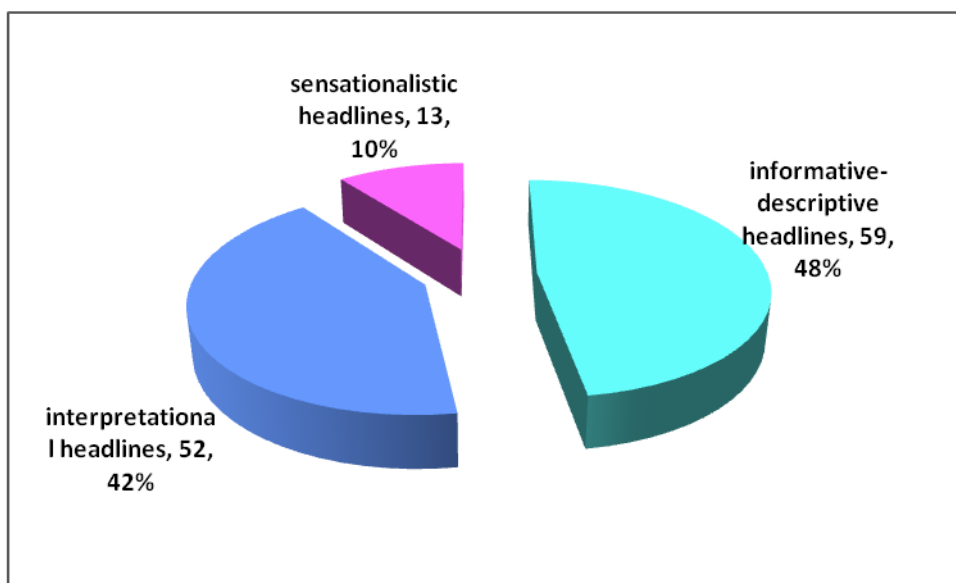
When we consider the genres of the analyzed texts and features we see that there is a very high percentage (39%) of interpretational genres – reports and news where male/female journalists and/or sources of information interpreted certain events and added their own opinions. If we add comments, columns, research and analytic genres where authors add their own views too, we conclude that almost half of the analyzed texts are interpretative. High percentage of factualistic genres are noticed in texts dedicated to the operation “Coffee” of State Investigation and Protection Agency, because the media reporting was generally based on the data obtained from the Prosecutor’s Office and Indirect Taxation Authority of BiH.

Chart 9. Survey of newspaper genres



Apart from expressing their own attitudes or by choosing information that supports certain interpretation, journalists interpret certain events by choosing the headlines. It frequently occurs that a particular headline favors one interpretation unlike other information source. More than half of analyzed texts (52%) had interpretational headline, but some headlines were flagged as sensationalist because of its inappropriateness. As an example of an inappropriate headline we can take the headline of an interview with vice president of HSP BiH Josip Peric in Vecernji list - *Zvonko Jurisic is intellectually incapable of being a leader* (August, 18). Although it is one of Peric’s statements during the interview, the journalist Zeljka Mihaljevic cannot be justified for putting that line as the interview’s headline. A similar headline choice was noticed in Press when the members of the Association for the Protection of Guarantors of BiH accused the governor of the Central bank Kemal Kozaric of being responsible for hacking Association’s web site - *Governor Kozaric and bankers in BiH are silencing guarantors* (August 16), *Kozaric is a quack!* (August 20).

Chart 10. The overview of types of headlines in the analyzed texts



Pored broja objava objava posvećenih analiziranoj temi, veličina teksta i trajanje priloga smatra se jednim od indikatora značaja koji se pridaje temi o koji se izvještava. Najveći broj analiziranih tekstova zauzimao je površinu od $\frac{1}{4}$ do polovine stranice (62), zatim slede tekstovi manji od $\frac{1}{4}$ stranice (18), površinu između polovine i cijele stranice zauzimalo je 14 tekstova, a više od cijele stranice zauzimalo je 13 tekstova. Optužbe za nepotistička imenovanja vladajućih stranaka u Federaciji BiH (SDP, SDA, HSP, Radom za boljitak) i akcija Državne agencije za istrage i zaštitu predstavljaju teme kojima je posvećeno najviše medijskog prostora – od polovine do cele stranice ili više od jedne stranice. Navedene teme bile su zastupljene i u okviru tekstova površine od $\frac{1}{4}$ do polovine stranice, kao i najveći broj slučajeva predstavljenih u okviru teme optužbe za korupciju zaposlenika u državnim, entitetskim i kantonalnim institucijama. Najmanju površinu medijskog prostora zauzelo je izvještavanje o antikoruptivnim akcijama nevladinih organizacija i ukazivanjima evropskih institucija o izostanku aktivnosti u borbi protiv korupcije u Bosni i Hercegovini. Najduži prilozima u centralnim informativnim emisijama televizijskih stanica posvećeni su akciji Državne agencije za istrage i zaštitu, dok su ostale teme bile zastupljene u kraćim prilozima (od 30 do 60 sekundi), izuzev priloga posvećenih aktivnostima Transparency International BiH zabilježenim na FTV (310 sekundi) i TV SA (180 sekundi).

The accentuated presence of interpretative genres in which authors express their own views on topics enables the overview of the importance of their attitudes. Pointing out to the corruptive actions accompanied with authors' condemnation is valued as a positive attitude. Informative-descriptive genres point out to the lack of authors' attitude, therefore, in these cases, the authors' attitudes are valued neutrally. This is in the case where authors do not give their own interpretation but source of information. Authors who used insulting and/or sensationalist headlines were labeled with negative attitude. They also emphasized one-sided interpretation without adequate argumentation that would justify them or they would interpret the corruptive actions as a threat of one constitutional people of another.

Chart 11. Overview of the attitude value of authors' texts and features

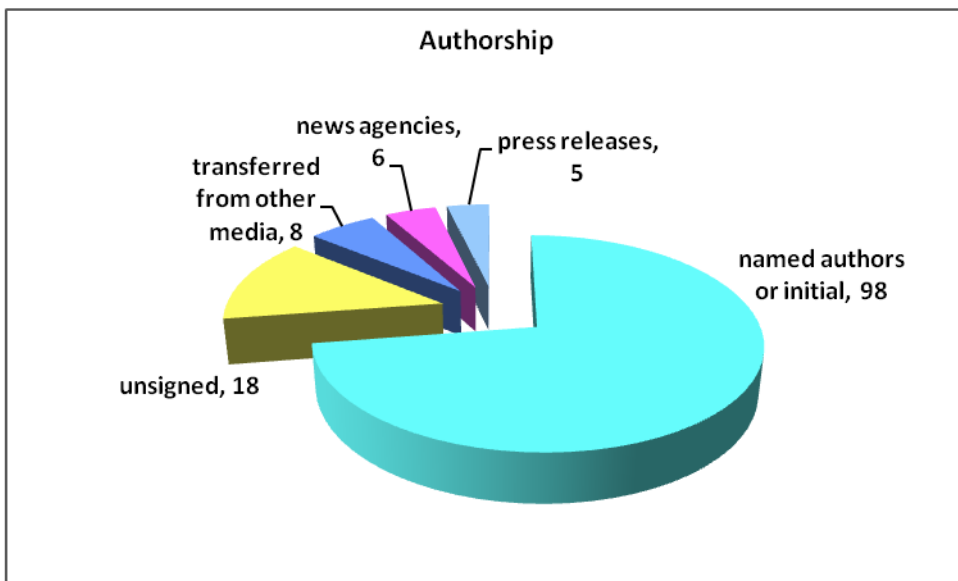
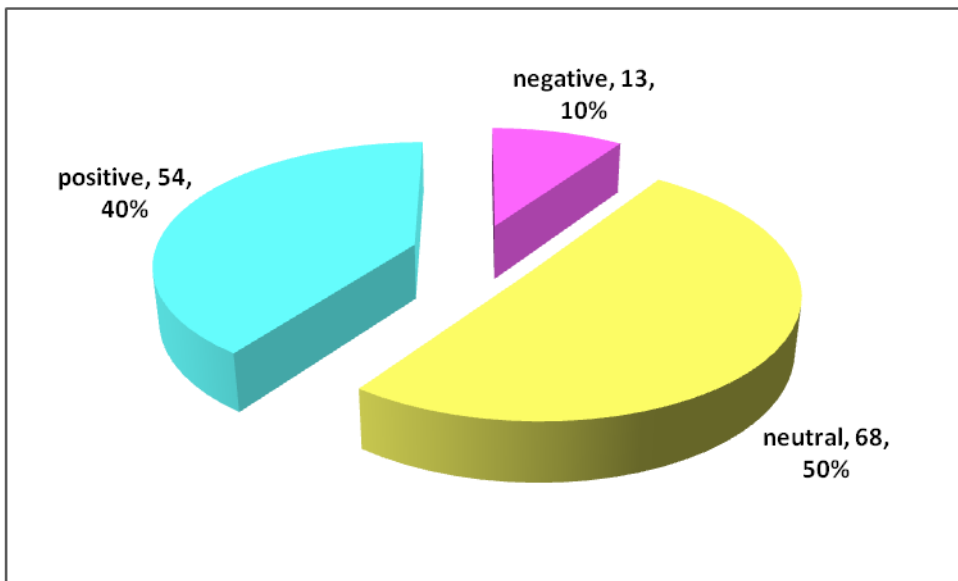


Chart 12.

Table 1. Overview of male and female journalists who were authors of two or more texts/features:

author:	media	positive	neutral	negative
Almasa Hadžić	Dnevni avaz	2	1	
Amer Tikveša	Dani	3		
Boris Knezevic	Press	1		2
Davud Muminovic	Nezavisne novine	1	1	
Dejan Jazvić	Večernji list	1		1
E.Halać	Dnevni avaz	3	1	
Edina Šećerović	FTV	2	2	
Faruk Vele	Dnevni avaz	1	1	2
M.Kukan	Dnevni avaz	6	2	
M.Rener-Smajovic	Nezavisne novine		3	
V. Stevanović	Dnevni avaz		3	
Zdenko Jurilj	Večernji list	3	1	1

Information sources were usually the members of political parties (HSP, SDP, SDA, HDZ, DP) who pointed out to the corruptive activities connected to inter-party conflicts, in case of HSP BiH, or intra-party accusation – opposition against leader parties (36 texts). The credibility of such charges in certain cases questionable because it comes from party leaders whose members were suspects or legally prosecuted for corruption during the time in office (for example, HDZ BiH). Frequent information source were institution representatives, especially Prosecutor’s Office BiH, the Indirect Taxation Authority, the Agency for corruption prevention and coordination of fight against corruption BiH, state and entity ministries, courts and the Prosecutor’s Office on lower government levels (26 texts). The members of Transparency International BiH and the Centre for Civil Initiative were usually the information sources of international and nongovernmental organizations (11 texts). Union representatives and workers of companies and institutions whose management was charged for corruption, corruption victims, as well as citizens themselves were mentioned in certain texts as information sources (16 texts), as well as suspects, primarily Nebojsa Antonic who is the source of information in 9 texts. Anonymous sources were used in 13 texts.

The content of 51 texts was based on just one source, 14 texts on two sources, 11 texts on three or more sources, while the content of 59 texts was not based on statements of the information sources. The views of information sources were inconsistent or opposing in 17 texts, and consistent in 8 texts.

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