

**MEDIA MONITORING
TOPIC:**

**Bureau for Social Researches (BIRODI)
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**CORRUPTION/ANTI-CORRUPTION
THIRD REPORT**

PERIOD: NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 2013

considerably less coverage. United Regions of Serbia, whose leader had heard as a citizen, and after hearing got a chance to prove his innocence by telling his version of the case to the National Savings

Introduction
Bank First TV and TV Vojvodina, as well as in newspapers Politika and Kurir. This is the third preliminary report that evaluates the manner in which the Serbian media cover corruption-related issues, mismanagement of public funds and anti-corruption measures undertaken by government, political and non-government entities. All materials referring to corruption in general, to corrupt practices, to public institutions, private companies, suspected and accused of corruption, local governments, allegations of corruption brought by various parties, to the mismanagement of public funds and to anti-corruption programs were analyzed during a period from November 1st to December 31st 2013. This project is especially in Belgrade, and Democratic party as a party whose president was a mayor (of Belgrade). TV Pink excelled in putting the Democratic Party, and Dragan Djilas in a negative context. This project is realized with the support of the Slovak media monitoring organization MEMO 98 and is funded by the National

Endowment for Democracy (NED).

- If we look at the area of issues, media largely reported on corruption in politics and economy as well as about corruption sanctioning. However, what decreases the contribution to the fight against corruption is the fact that items were presented in informative, not analytical form of journalism. In general, the aim

The main findings
of the reporting was to inform and promote the fight against corruption, not to reveal new aspects of the actors or corruption or any chance to bring in doubt the approach itself in some of the cases and the way in term of the way of dealing with a case from the aspect of the integrity of the investigation.

- Most of the observed media in November and December have slightly reduced the volume of reporting on corruption in comparison with the previous period. The number of published television reports decreased from 251 to 240, a number of articles was reduced from 952 to 934.
- As in the previous period, in most of the cases, the reporting was based on official information provided by the institutions or transferred from the agencies, without further studies (analyses) and researching. In a small number of cases journalists in their reporting were including some additional information.
- Of all the monitored media, TV Pink with 50 and Blic daily newspapers with 160 offered the highest number of articles devoted to corruption in November and December. There is a lack of reporting that refers to the widest frame and provides a comprehensive analysis, but it is in the form of repetition of information that have been already transmitted.

- When it comes to the actors (mentioned in the news items and articles about corruption), the Government of Serbia and the Serbian Progressive Party as the party of government received the contrary to comprehensive analytical and investigative journalism to some extent continued also in the largest shares of the coverage and were portrayed in a positive light. While the anti-corruption bodies and whistleblowers as well as victims of corruption were also portrayed positively, they received

RTS is tending to keep a neutral position in reporting about corruption.

observed period. Unformer and Kurir had the largest number of articles written in sensationalist manner.

- Oposite to the previous reporting period, number of cases there was a violation of presumption of innocence decreased from 326 to 165. Daily newspapers Kurir, Blic had the largest number of articles
- To some extent the media continued the practice of unbalanced reporting on corruption, in the sense in which the presumption of innocence was violated, while this trend dominate in reporting of TV Pink that the reports do not cover all sides of the story. Also, there were cases in which all the actors were and TV B92 among televisions. involved (presented), but did not get equal time or area to present their point of view. This is visible in reporting on suspects and accused for corruption, where the only reference to a hearing as the citizen
- The last period of monitoring confirms the observed trend that the media in general are not proactive media presents as the arrest and beginning to serve his sentence before it was even given a verdict. and do not see their own interest in the disclosure of corruption and the fight against corruption - instead, in certain cases, media are used as a tool in the hands of certain political or economic
- The anticorruption programs that are managed by the Government, such as the National strategy for interests. The result of it is a lack of comprehensive analysis that would provide a clearer insight into the fight against the corruption, and Action plan for its implementation had not been mentioned in the current state when it comes to corruption and ways to prevent it. Part of the media showed reporting almost at all during those two months. Media were focused on reporting on the repressive part selectivity in choosing the cases of corruption that will be reported on. The media are either a means of of the fight against corruption, while the topic of prevention, promoting the whistleblowers, and concept promoting the government's fight against corruption, or promotion of the ruling party as a fighter against of a good management as the mechanism in fight against corruption were represented only marginally. corruption. Media do not use the reports of the anti-corruption body, or their databases as the source for their articles and reports. Also, the media does not carry out the promotion of successful practices
- RTS as a public service increased the number of corruption-related items to 44 compared, to 34 items that civil society or individuals make in the fight against corruption. in September. A certain number of analyzed contributions were connected with the corruption indirectly, in the context of references to specific actors or mentioning of corruption with other issues. There was just a small number of reports in which corruption was a major issue.
- Regarding the media contribution to fight against corruption, it can be concluded that they have a significant space for improvement, as they are still lacking in their researching and indicating to the public on specific cases of corruption, organizing regular programs, debates and talk shows to this topic that is very important to the public. Since it is based on public funding, RTS should have a leading role in this field and to bring the issues of public interest above other topics. Unlike some other media,

| | |
|---|---|
| State administration | 4 |
| Health | 3 |
| Police | 3 |
| Inappropriate budget spending | 3 |
| Investments | 2 |
| World events | 2 |
| European integrations | 1 |
| Legislation | 1 |
| Prosecutor's office | 1 |
| Church | 1 |
| Local elections for the local self-government | 1 |

During November Radio Television of Serbia (RTS) has issued a total of 44 items within 1:15:05 of time, and ten of them had an announcement. Nearly 8 of 10 items have been emitted in the second or third part of the daily news. In 37 cases the item had a form of a report, and 42 items had the editorial source. Considering the presentation together with a presenter in the 40 cases there was also a spoiler, while 30 items had a reporter who read from the script. From a total of 44 items, 17 items was identified violation of the presumption of innocence.

The largest number of items, 13 of them, for the topic had the corruption in public sector, 12 items dealt with the corruption on the political party level, while 10 items were dedicated to the corruption in private sector. Most space for promoting their views and presenting their work considering the fight against corruption has had the Serbian government that is either praised their results itself or was praised by the actors that we observed. The next actor (CSOs) received nearly four times less space in which is almost as positively presented as Serbian Government, in contrast to the Serbian Progressive Party, which had a more positive knowledge improvement or passing the good practices and acknowledgements from this area.

Table 1 - Sectoral reporting on corruption

| Area | Number of items |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| Economy – public sector | 13 |
| Politics | 12 |
| Economy- private sector | 10 |
| Court | 9 |
| Privatization | 5 |

United Regions of Serbia. Anti-corruption bodies were presented positive, but in a small number of items (Table 2).

| | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|-------|---|
| SRS | 0:00:13 | 100.0 | 2 |
| Control/regulative bodies | 0:00:04 | 100.0 | 1 |

Table 2: Positive list

| Actor | Total positive time | positive time percent | Number of items |
|--|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| The thematic framework of reporting on corruption primarily refers to the monitoring of what the Serbian government and the Investigating authorities are working on. The prevention of corruption in widest terms, and support whistleblowers are almost non-existent issues (Table 4). | 0:07:58 | 70.7 | 29 |
| Civic society organizations | 0:01:57 | 66.7 | 6 |
| SNS | 0:01:34 | 87.5 | 7 |
| United Serbian regions | 0:01:04 | 71.4 | 5 |
| Tomislav Nikolic | 0:01:03 | 66.7 | 2 |
| Areas | | percent | |
| Public authorities - Health Education | 0:00:26 | 66.7 | 2 |
| Investigations | | | |
| Anticorruption bodies | 0:00:38 | 100.0 | 4 |
| Pointing on corruption | 0:00:05 | 100.0 | 1 |
| Police | | | |
| Indictment | | 11.1 | |
| Construction and development of institutions, institutional framework for the fight | | 8.3 | |
| "The bad guys" when it comes to corruption in RTS's primetime are private companies, the Democratic Party, players from abroad, the Socialist Party of Serbia, public enterprises and the control and regulatory bodies (Table 2). | | 5.6 | |
| The legal framework (laws and regulations, policy documents) | | 5.6 | |
| Investigations, citizen complaints | | 2.8 | |
| Fight against corruption as a requirement for entering the EU | | 2.8 | |

Table 3: Negative list

| Actor | Total negative time | Negative time percent | Number of items |
|---|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Judiciary | | 2.8 | |
| Election campaign, fight against corruption | | 2.8 | |
| Private companies | 0:02:09 | 60.0 | 9 |
| DS | 0:02:01 | 85.7 | 6 |
| Players from abroad | 0:01:14 | 55.6 | 5 |
| Public companies | 0:00:45 | 100.0 | 2 |
| SNS | 0:00:43 | 100.0 | 2 |

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| European integrations | 1 |
| Bad management | 1 |
| World PINKs | 1 |
| Media | 1 |

During the monitoring period PINK of all three televisions had the highest number of items - 50 that all together lasted for 1:32:51, which puts this television on the first place in November by the intensity of reporting on In terms of total amount of positive time received on TV Pink, the Government of Serbia was given the largest corruption topic. Of all the broadcasted items 18 (or 36%) had an announcement at the beginning of the central share of this time, and the civil society organizations received almost as much. As a dominantly positive player news program. Half of the items monitored were aired in the first third of the show, total - 28 of them. The on this television appeared the party of the current government, SNS. Other political actors who were positively dominant mode of reporting was a category 'report', which was put in 39 items of the total 50. Exactly 95% of presented (had more positive than negative time), received only very limited coverage. This was the case also the issued items had editorial resources. Presentation of items was followed in 100% by the presence of the presenters, 80% by the presence of journalists from the off, a 92% with a spoilers and 62% had the

Table 6. Positive list The presumption of innocence was violated in 16 of the 50 of broadcasted items.

| Actor | Total of positive time | Positive time percent | Number of items |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Serbian Government | 0:04:22 | 57.1 | 12 |
| Civil society organizations | 0:04:15 | 80.0 | 12 |
| SNS | 0:02:58 | 93.3 | 14 |
| Civil society organizations | 0:00:29 | 100.0 | 3 |
| DSS | 0:00:25 | 100.0 | 1 |
| Non-parliamentary political parties | 0:00:20 | 100.0 | 1 |
| United Serbia | 0:00:19 | 50.0 | 1 |
| Tomislav Nikolic | 0:00:15 | 50.0 | 1 |
| SPS | 0:00:15 | 50.0 | 1 |
| Anticorruption bodies | 0:00:12 | 50.0 | 1 |
| Economy-private sector | 0:00:01 | 50.0 | 1 |
| Privatization | | | |
| State administration | 4 | | |
| Economy – public sector | 4 | | |
| Health | 2 | | |
| Police | 2 | | |
| Energy | 2 | | |
| Traffic | 2 | | |
| Public procurement | 1 | | |
| European integrations | 1 | | |

The "bad guys" on TV PINK are local self-government (city of Belgrade) and all the public companies that are connected to it, as well as DS, as a political party from which came the city mayor (Tabel 7).

Because of the nature of program schedule and character of its news program, PRVA was the Television that had the least amount of reports of all three of the observed TV channels which were reporting on issues of corruption and anti-corruption. According to the monitoring results, TV PRVA in November offered 21 items with total duration of 0:34:55. One third of the negative items were presented, more precisely 7 of them. Of all items presented, 17 was in the form of reports, while the other four were at the news level. All broadcasted items had editorial resources. All 21 items were with presenter, 17 items had a journalist who

| Actor | Total of negative time | Negative in the percent | Number of items |
|---|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| Local self-governments | 0:22:37 | 100.0 | 16 |
| Public companies – health, education | 0:01:21 | 75.0 | 3 |
| "Acids from the roof" | 0:01:18 | 100.0 | 1 |
| DS – there was a violation of the presumption of innocence. | 0:01:12 | 75.0 | 6 |
| Tomislav Nikolic | 0:00:39 | 50.0 | 1 |
| Public companies | 0:00:23 | 50.0 | 3 |
| SPS | 0:00:09 | 50.0 | 1 |

Differently from the two TV channels that were previously analyzed, TV Prva in its focus put the reporting on corruption in the economy and privatization, while the sphere of the judiciary and politics remained in the background (Table 9).

Looking at the thematic frame it can be clearly concluded that reporting on corruption and the fight against corruption in the Government activities in this area, and was leaning

to promote and inform about effective practice in the fight against corruption in the fringe (Table 8).

| Area | Percent |
|---|---------|
| Economy-private section | 42.9 |
| Public section | 19.0 |
| Privatization | 19.0 |
| Court | 14.3 |
| Investigations | 45.2 |
| Politics | 14.3 |
| Trials | 32.3 |
| European integrations | 9.5 |
| Pointing on corruption | 16.1 |
| Health | 4.8 |
| Indictment | 6.5 |
| Education | 4.8 |
| The legal framework (laws and regulations, policy documents) | 3.2 |
| State administration | 4.8 |
| Construction and development of institutions, institutional framework for | 3.2 |
| Police | 4.8 |
| fighting corruption | |
| Inappropriate budget spending | 4.8 |
| World events | 4.8 |
| Media | 4.8 |
| Corruption | 4.8 |

PRVA

| | | | |
|----|---|---------|-------|
| DS | 2 | 0:00:18 | 100.0 |
|----|---|---------|-------|

Among the regions of Serbia, private companies were given the most PRVA time, as the TV reporting first of the regions of Serbia, Serbian president, as the lawyer of investigative authorities, and the fight against corruption bodies had a very little space, but were positively presented (Table 10).

Table 10 - Positive list

| Actor | Total of positive time | Positive time percent | Number of items |
|---|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Area | | Percent | |
| United regions of Serbia | 0:02:20 | 57.1 33.3 | 4 |
| Tomislav Nikolic | 0:01:29 | 66.7 16.7 | 2 |
| Court/lawyers/prosecutor | 0:01:19 | 62.5 16.7 | 5 |
| Serbian Government | 0:00:51 | 77.8 11.1 | 7 |
| Investigations, citizen complaints | 0:00:44 | 100.0 11.1 | 4 |
| Anti-corruption bodies | 0:00:42 | 100.0 5.6 | 2 |
| The legal framework (laws and regulations, strategic documents) | 0:00:41 | 100.0 5.6 | 3 |
| Civic society organizations | 0:00:41 | 100.0 5.6 | 3 |
| SNS | 0:00:41 | 100.0 5.6 | 3 |
| Judiciary | 0:00:41 | 100.0 5.6 | 3 |
| Public health, education | 0:00:20 | 50.0 | 1 |
| Serbian Parliament | 0:00:14 | 100.0 | 1 |
| EU | 0:00:01 | 100.0 | 1 |

The actors from abroad and local self-governments (Belgrade) together with the public services, DS and private companies were the main negative actors on PRVA (Table 11).

Table 11 - Negative list

| Actor | Total of negative time | Negative time percent | Number of items |
|---|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Actors from abroad | 2 | 0:00:48 | 50.0 |
| Local self-governments | 2 | 0:00:33 | 100.0 |
| Private companies | 2 | 0:00:22 | 50.0 |
| Public institutions – health, education | 1 | 0:00:20 | 50.0 |

president, and control/regulative bodies had less of positive space (Table 13).

DECEMBER Positive list

| Actor | Total of positive time | Positive time percent | Number of items |
|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Actors from abroad | 0:04:27 | 50.0 | 5 |
| SNS | 0:02:16 | 63.6 | 7 |
| Police | 0:00:44 | 80.0 | 4 |
| Anticorruption bodies | 0:00:38 | 100.0 | 3 |
| President of Serbia | 0:00:31 | 66.7 | 4 |
| Control-regulative bodies | 0:00:09 | 50.0 | 1 |

During December, B92, with total of 48 items that all together lasted for 1:20:34, was the television who mostly dealt with the corruption topic and the fight against corruption. Exactly one third of the issued items (16) had an announcement. The total of 36 items were in the form of reports, while the remaining 12 were news. In 42 reports a source for the story was a media outlet, while in the 5 emissions it was Insider. Journalists from off were present in 36 spoilers in 44 items, while the respondents' existed in 28 items. In 14 of the 48 monitored items there was a violation of the presumption of innocence. B92 together with TV Vojvodina are two TV channels which, in comparison with other monitored media, present less cases of breach of the presumption of innocence.

Table 10 - Areas of reporting In the negative list we can find the public companies and accused for corruption together with United regions of Serbia, Serbian Parliament, self-government (Belgrade) and DSS.

| Actor | Total of negative time | Negative time percent | Number of items |
|---|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Politics | 16.7 | | |
| Privatization | 14.6 | | |
| World events | 12.5 | | |
| Economy-public sector | 10.4 | 6:02:34 | 83.3 |
| Public companies | 10.4 | 6:02:17 | 51.5 |
| Inappropriate budget spending | 10.4 | 6:00:51 | 75.0 |
| The suspect / accused / defendant | 8.3 | 6:00:28 | 66.7 |
| Energy | 8.3 | 6:00:19 | 75.0 |
| United regions of Serbia | 6.3 | 6:00:02 | 100.0 |
| Local elections for local self-government | 6.3 | 6:00:01 | 100.0 |
| Serbian Parliament | 4.2 | | |
| Economy-private sector | 4.2 | | |
| Local self-government | 4.2 | | |
| public procurement | 2.1 | | |
| DSS | 2.1 | | |
| Health | 2.1 | | |
| Public institutions – health education | 2.1 | | |
| State administration | 2.1 | | |
| Police | 2.1 | | |
| Legislation | 2.1 | | |
| Prosecutor's office | 2.1 | | |

Unlike other so far observed televisions, on the B92 can also be found the contents of preventive character, sufficiently enough. The informing and the promotion of the investigation of corruption cases, as well as pointing on corruption (Table 15) are also present on this television.

The largest space for presentation and promotion of their goals and opportunity to be praised by others during the monitoring period, on B92 had the actors from abroad and SNS. Police, anticorruption bodies, Serbian president and control/regulative bodies had less of positive space (Table 13)

| | |
|---|---------|
| Privatization | 22.9 |
| Court | 16.7 |
| World events | 14.6 |
| Economy-public sector | 12.5 |
| Inappropriate budget spending budget | 10.4 |
| Area | Percent |
| Energy | 10.4 |
| Investigations | 42.9 |
| Local elections, local self-government | 8.3 |
| Pointing on corruption | 14.3 |
| Economy-private sector | 6.3 |
| Trial | 14.3 |
| Public procurement | 4.2 |
| Election campaign, fight against corruption | 11.9 |
| Health | 2.1 |
| Indictment | 9.5 |
| State administration | 2.1 |
| Judiciary | 7.1 |
| Police | 2.1 |
| Anticorruption plans and programs (local level) | 2.4 |
| Legislation | 2.1 |
| Anticorruption plans and programs (OGD initiative) | 2.4 |
| Prosecutor's office | 2.1 |
| Investigation, citizen complaints-Diagnosis | 2.4 |
| The legal framework (laws and regulations, policy documents) | 2.4 |
| Support to the fighters against corruption and whistleblowers | 2.4 |
| Construction and development of institutions; institutional framework for the fight | 2.4 |

On SKY + TV most of the positive time was given to Serbian Government, civic society, anti-corruption bodies and SNS (Table 17)

Table 17 - Positive list

| SKY for | Total of positive time | Positive time percent | Number of items |
|---|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| During the monitoring period there were 47 items on SKY that all together lasted for 0:41:51, and only 12 of them were news announcements. From a total number of these items, 23 items were news, and 12 reports. Only one item that has been analyzed had editorial resources. 33 items had coverage from the 6ff, 45 had spoiler, and 21 had a statement. At 15 of 47 contributions there were violations of innocence assumption. | 00:56 | 52.6 | 12 |
| SNS | 0:01:58 | 90.9 | 10 |
| TV SKY + was mostly reporting on corruption in the area of politics, privatization and court, but also on the corruption all around the world. | 0:00:48 | 50.0 | 1 |
| DS | 0:00:46 | 50.0 | 1 |
| Police | 0:00:07 | 100.0 | 2 |
| EU | 0:00:07 | 100.0 | 2 |
| Table 16 - Reporting areas | 0:00:02 | 100.0 | 1 |

| Area | Percent |
|----------|---------|
| Politics | 22.9 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Fight against corruption as a condition for entering the EU | 2.2 |
|---|-----|

On the other side the largest share of negative time on TV SKY + was related to the United regions of Serbia, those accused for the corruption, and public companies.

TV VOJVODINA

Table 18 - Negative list

| Actor | Total of negative time | Negative time percent | Number of items |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| United regions of Serbia | 0:01:43 | 72.7 | 8 |
| The suspect /accused /defendant | 0:01:22 | 56.0 | 14 |
| Public companies | 0:01:03 | 100.0 | 3 |
| Control regulative bodies | 0:00:27 | 100.0 | 2 |
| Private companies | 0:00:21 | 85.7 | 6 |
| Serbian Parliament | 0:00:18 | 60.0 | 3 |
| Local self government | 0:00:18 | 66.7 | 2 |
| Public institutions- health education | 0:00:16 | 66.7 | 2 |
| DS | 0:00:01 | 50.0 | 1 |

Table 20 - Area of reporting

| Area | percent |
|------------------------|---------|
| Privatization | 29.4 |
| Politics | 26.5 |
| Other | 20.6 |
| Health | 8.8 |
| Economy- public sector | 8.8 |

Table 19 - Areas of reporting on corruption

| Area | percent |
|---|---------|
| Finance | 5.9 |
| Investigations | 5.9 |
| Economy- private sector | 5.9 |
| Electional campaign, fight against corruption | 5.9 |
| Bad management | 5.9 |
| Pointing on corruption | 5.9 |
| Local sections for local self-government | 5.9 |
| State administration | 2.9 |
| Investigations, citizen's complaints | 2.9 |
| Public procurement | 2.9 |
| Indictment | 2.9 |
| Inappropriate budget spending | 2.9 |
| Judiciary | 2.9 |
| Society | 2.9 |
| The legal framework (laws and regulations, policy documents) | 4.4 |
| Anti-corruptive plans and programs (national level) | 4.4 |
| Building and development of the institutions: institutional framework for the fight | 2.2 |

As in the case of B92, issues of prevention of corruption were also explored, but at a negligible extent. On the other hand, there was a trend in dealing with the topics about on a daily bases or reporting on the activities of the government in the fight against corruption (Table 19)

| | | | |
|---|---------|-------|---|
| Private companies | 0:01:06 | 60.0 | 3 |
| Private companies | 0:00:47 | 60.0 | 3 |
| ENS | 0:00:08 | 55.6 | 5 |
| Serbian Parliament | 0:00:08 | 50.0 | 2 |
| Serbian president | 0:00:07 | 50.0 | 2 |
| Among the actors who were present on TV Vojvodina, the Serbian government, anti-corruption bodies, courts / lawyers, prosecutors and civil society organizations received the most positive coverage. | 0:00:02 | 100.0 | 1 |

courts /

On TV Vojvodina the dominant topics about corruption are related with sanctioning, while issues relating to the prevention of corruption are almost non-existent (Table 23). Thus, the main topics were the investigation,

| Actor | Total of positive time | Positive time percent | Number of items |
|---|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Serbian Government | 0:02:22 | 45.8 | 11 |
| Investigative bodies | 0:02:37 | 100.0 | 5 |
| Police / court / lawyers / Prosecution | 0:01:27 | 71.4 | 10 |
| Civic society organizations | 0:01:18 | 66.7 | 2 |
| University regions of Serbia | 0:00:52 | 50.0 | 4 |
| Electoral campaign, fight against corruption | 0:00:21 | 50.0 | 2 |
| Investigations, citizen complaints | 0:00:17 | 50.0 | 2 |
| Public institutions-health education | 0:00:11 | 25.0 | 1 |
| Public companies | 0:00:11 | 20.0 | 1 |
| Fight against corruption as a condition for entering EU | 0:00:10 | 100.0 | 1 |
| Control regulative bodies | 0:00:05 | 50.0 | 1 |

The list of 'bad guys' is lead by a suspect and accused of corruption, Democratic party, public institutions and public and private companies (Table 22).

Table 22 - Negative list

| Actor | Total of negative time | Negative time percent | Number of items |
|--|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| The court / lawyers / Prosecution | 0:02:10 | 75.0 | 18 |
| Democratic Party | 0:01:29 | 66.7 | 6 |
| Public institutions – health education | 0:01:09 | 50.0 | 2 |

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| Health | 3.1 |
| Culture | 3.1 |
| Finance | 2.3 |
| NOVEMBER | 2.3 |
| Economy-private sector | 2.3 |
| European integrations | 2.3 |
| Local elections/local self-government | 2.3 |
| POLITIKA | 1.6 |
| Civic society organizations | 1.6 |
| Public procurement | 1.6 |
| Investments | 1.6 |
| Prosecution office | 1.6 |
| Society | 1.6 |
| Church | 0.8 |
| Intelligence | 0.8 |
| Media | 0.8 |

Daily newspapers Politika have published 129 articles on total of 30,66 analytical pages during November. 20 articles had an announcement, and 15 of them had an announcement with a photo. The genre structure is characterized by 59 reports, 23 news, 18 articles, six interviews and 5 comments. Every tenth text, more precisely the total of 15 texts were signed. The greatest number of sources for writing articles is editorial, total number of 107. The largest number of articles (89) had an informative discourse. In 35 cases in the texts published by the Politika there was a violation of the presumption of innocence which makes 27.1%.

The journalists of Politika mostly dealt with the corruption and fight against corruption in the area of courts, economy, politics, world and state administration (table 24).

The largest shares of the positive space on the Politika pages was given to United regions of Serbia, court/prosecutor, civic society organizations, police and anti-corruption bodies.

| Area | percent |
|---------------------------------|---------|
| Court | 17.8 |
| Economy | 17.1 |
| Politics | 11.6 |
| Table 25 - Positive list | 10.9 |

| Actor | Total of positive space | Positive space percent | Number of items |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| World events | 10.9 | | |
| State administration | 10.9 | | |
| Privatization | 5.4 | | |
| United regions of Serbia | 1207.0 | 80.1 | 3 |
| Bad management | 4.7 | | |
| Economy-public sector | 3.9 | | |

| | | | |
|---|--------|------------------------|-----------------|
| LDP | 5.0 | 100.0 | 1 |
| OSCE / lawyers/ prosecution | 833.0 | 68.7 | 26 |
| Civic society organization | 661.0 | 60.7 | 12 |
| Police | 513.0 | 66.5 | 12 |
| Anticorruption bodies | 428.0 | 99.5 | 8 |
| Journalists of "Politi " | 428.0 | 99.5 | 8 |
| Public institutions, health education | 316.0 | 59.6 | 5 |
| Damaged citizens | 149.0 | 59.1 | 5 |
| Control regulative bodies | 123.0 | 58.3 | 1 |
| Tomislav Nikolic | 113.0 | 60.4 | 1 |
| SNS | 91.0 | 66.4 | 6 |
| Area | | percent | |
| Non-parliamentary political parties | 25.0 | 92.6 | 1 |
| Investigations | | 33.3 | |
| Social democratic party of Serbia | 18.0 | 100.0 | 1 |
| Trial | | 14.9 | |
| Pointing on corruption | | 12.6 | |
| Support for the fighter for anticorruption and whistleblowers | | 6.9 | |
| Indictment | | 6.9 | |
| Judiciary | | 5.7 | |
| Building and developing the institutions; institutional framework for fight | | 4.6 | |
| Monitoring and evaluation of measuring the effects of anti-corruptive | | 4.6 | |
| Actor | | | |
| measures | | Negative space percent | Number of items |
| Investigations, citizen appeals | | 3.4 | 63.8 |
| Serbian Government | 3072.0 | | 33 |
| The guiltiness for the acts of corruption | | 2.3 | |
| The suspect / accused / defendant | 2977.0 | | 42 |
| The legal framework (laws and regulations, policy documents) | | 1.1 | 62.7 |
| Actors from abroad | 1400.0 | | 23 |
| Election campaign fight against corruption | | 1.1 | 51.3 |
| Private companies | 556.0 | 77.9 | 6 |
| Public companies | 483.0 | 37.4 | 8 |
| BLIC | | | |
| DS | 249.0 | 53.0 | 11 |
| Local self-government | 210.0 | 68.4 | 4 |
| Sport clubs/athletes | 126.0 | 100.0 | 1 |
| LDP | 5.0 | 100.0 | 1 |

Journalists of "Politi " have primarily dedicated their texts to topics that were current on a daily basis, while a negligible number of articles dealt with the topics that are important for the prevention of corruption and

the systematic fight against corruption (Table 27)

Table 27 - Anticorruption areas

On the other hand, the largest shares of the negative space had the Serbian government, suspected of corruption, the actors from, private and public companies, and the Democratic Party.

Table 26 - Negative list

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| Culture | 2.5 |
| Sports | 2.5 |
| State administration | 1.9 |
| Society | 1.9 |
| Intelligence | 1.3 |
| Civic society organizations | 0.8 |
| European integrations | 0.6 |

Of all monitored newspapers, Blic is with 160 publications of different genre a daily newspaper that published biggest number of corruption reports in November. This is proven by the fact that Blic had total of 40 analytical text pages, which is the highest rate among all monitored newspapers in November. Of the total number of articles published, 25 contributions had the announcement on the front page. The genre structure makes 78 reports, 49 news, 18 articles and 8 interviews. A quarter of the texts (40) were not signed. From a total of monitored articles, 130 had a source from the newsroom / press level. The dominant discourse of the text is informative (70%) while 12% of them are promotional. In one fifth of texts, namely 34 of them, there were a violation of the presumption of innocence. Among the actors that received the largest shares of positive space on the pages of Blic, were damaged citizens, civic society organizations and anticorruption bodies are standing out (Table 29). The court, police, politics, privatization are the areas and processes that were most frequently mentioned in the context of combating corruption and corruption (Table 28).

Table 29 - Positive list

| Actor | Total of positive space | Positive space percent | Number of items |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Table 28 - Sectoral reporting on corruption | 1239.0 | 54.9 | 13 |
| Area | percent | | |
| damaged citizens | 1000.0 | 79.9 | 23 |
| Civic society organizations | 16.3 | 286.0 | 9 |
| Anticorruption bodies | 10.6 | 24.0 | 2 |
| Police | 10.6 | 16.0 | 1 |
| Sports clubs /athletes | 8.8 | 12.0 | 1 |
| Privatization | 6.9 | | |
| Economy | 6.9 | | |
| Bad management | 5.6 | | |
| Economy-private sector | 3.8 | | |
| Health | 3.8 | | |
| Economy-public sector | 3.1 | | |
| Table 30 - Negative list | 3.1 | | |
| Local elections/local self-government | 3.1 | | |

Negative actor list in Blic is lead by the Serbian government, which received the largest shares of the negative space, followed by the accused/defended for the corruption, private and public companies and the police (Table 30).

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| Health | 3.8 |
| Economy-public sector | 3.8 |
| Table 30 - Negative list | 3.1 |
| Local elections/local self-government | 3.1 |
| Culture | 2.5 |

| Actor | Total of negative space | Percent of negative space | Number of items |
|---|-------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| Judiciary | | | |
| Investigation, citizen complaints | 3439.0 | 70.6 | 52 |
| The susceptibility of the corruptor and the suspect/accused/corruptor | 5821.0 | 80.5 | 76 |
| Private companies development of the institutional frame for the fight against corruption | 6507.0 | 94.6 | 25 |
| Monitoring and evaluation, measuring of the effects of anti-corruption measures | 2087.0 | 73.6 | 13 |
| Anti-corruption plans and programs /on national level | 1924.0 | 82.0 | 13 |
| Informing and education | 1019.0 | 70.2 | 10 |
| Supporting the fight against corruption and whistleblowers | 102.0 | 70.2 | 7 |
| Equalizing corruption as a condition for entering the EU | 534.0 | 70.0 | 4 |
| Section campaign, fight against corruption | 352.0 | 80.8 | 8 |
| Others | 349.0 | 55.1 | 9 |
| United Serbia | 229.0 | 58.9 | 1 |
| Control regulator bodies | 193.0 | 61.7 | 7 |
| Serbian Parliament | 174.0 | 100.0 | 2 |
| Sport clubs/athletes | 67.0 | 70.5 | 4 |
| SPS | 29.0 | 100.0 | 3 |
| DSS | 21.0 | 100.0 | 1 |
| LDP | 6.0 | 100.0 | 2 |

This daily newspapers during the monitoring period had smallest number of texts on corruption, exactly 120 items, i.e. total of 31 analytical pages. On the other hand, Kuriris the newspaper in which the most articles had an announcement on the front page. Kurir in this period had 74 reports, 23 news and 8 articles and 4 interviews. A third of the articles (36) that were subject to monitoring, werenot signed. From a total of analyzed articles, 71 were of informative and 4 of promotional character. In only 10 articles that we analyzed we have activities on the fight against the corruption field are dominant, and there are just a few dealing with its prevention (Table 31).

Table 31. Anticorruption areas The journals of Kurir primarily dealt with corruption and the fight against the corruption in the area of

| area | percent |
|------------------------|---------|
| Investigations | 33.0 |
| Pointing on corruption | 31.3 |

| | space | Positive space percent | of items |
|---|------------|------------------------|----------|
| Table 32 - Sectoral reporting on corruption | 1706.0 | 50.5 | 4 |
| ANA | 985.0 | 97.0 | 9 |
| Civil society organizations | 24.2 901.0 | 42.5 | 14 |
| BBSe | 11.7 250.0 | 60.8 | 1 |
| Political corruption bodies | 8.3 185.0 | 62.9 | 11 |
| Domestic private sector | 7.5 123.0 | 82.6 | 5 |
| Domestic public sector | 6.7 46.0 | 100.0 | 2 |
| European Union | 5.8 44.0 | 95.7 | 1 |
| Social institutions at the level of self-government | 5.8 1.0 | 100.0 | 1 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Sport | 5.8 |
| World events | 4.2 |
| Health | 3.0 |
| (Belgrade) public and private companies and DS. | 3.0 |
| Finance | 2.5 |
| Table 34 - Negative list | 2.5 |
| Prosecution | 2.5 |
| Society | 2.5 |

On the pages of Kurir the most of the negative space had the accused, local self-government

| | Total of negative space | Negative space percent | Number of items |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Public procurement | 1.7 | | |
| Investments | 1.7 | | |
| Private sector / accused / defendant | 4708.0 | 73.2 | 57 |
| Civil society organizations | 2520.0 | 96.5 | 19 |
| Public companies | 1067.0 | 78.7 | 9 |
| Private companies | 1410.0 | 76.8 | 13 |
| DS | 1039.0 | 60.5 | 20 |
| Police | 722.0 | 61.9 | 5 |
| Public institutions at the level of self-government | 590.0 | | |
| United regions, SNS, civil society organizations, SPS are the actors that were given the largest shares | 592.0 | | |
| Of them 3 present themselves in a positive way or to be seen as positive by others (table 33). | 592.0 | | 3 |
| Sport clubs/athletes | 448.0 | 73.1 | 7 |

Table 33 - Positive list

| | Total of positive | Positive space percent | Number |
|--|-------------------|------------------------|--------|
|--|-------------------|------------------------|--------|

Naše novine are one of the daily newspapers that, according to the monitoring results to a greater extent follows the theme of corruption. During the monitoring period this newspaper published 142 texts on 32 analytic pages. Only 18 of them dealing with this subject had an announcement on the front page. During the reporting period, in this daily newspaper, we noted 69 reports and 37 news, 14 articles and six interviews. In the same period monitoring showed high number of texts that were not signed the text - 63 articles or 44% was not signed. Half of the 76 texts are for informational purposes only, while 46 for promotional.

In Kurir, we also concluded that there is the rule of reporting and promoting mostly that part of the fight against corruption that is oppressive, while the preventive part is ignored (Table 35). Court, the anti corruption bodies, politics, and police are the areas that were mostly reported on in the context of corruption and the fight against it (Table 36).

Table 35 - Sectoral reporting on corruption

| Area | percent |
|---|---------|
| Investigations | 13.78 |
| Politics of corruption | 12.6 |
| Politics | 14.1 |
| Trial | 15.9 |
| Police | 8.5 |
| World events | 9.1 |
| Support for the fight against corruption and whistleblowers | 6.5 |
| Building and developing the institutions for the fight | 5.4 |
| State administration | 4.4 |
| Judiciary | 3.4 |
| Finance | 2.8 |
| Investigation, citizen complaints, diagnosis | 2.3 |
| Education | 2.8 |
| Election campaign (anti-corruption corruption) | 2.3 |
| Bad management | 2.3 |
| Anti-bribeptions/local self programs (DCD initiative) | 2.1 |
| Foreign public sector | 2.1 |
| The legal framework (laws and regulations, policy documents) | 2.1 |
| Society | 2.1 |
| The culpability for acts of corruption | 2.1 |
| Prosecution | 1.4 |
| Monitoring and evaluation of measuring the effects of the anticorruption measures | 1.1 |
| Economy | 0.7 |
| Anti corruption plans and programs (local level) | 0.7 |
| Economy private sector | 0.7 |
| European integrations | 0.7 |
| Inappropriate spending of budget | 0.7 |

NAŠE NOVINE

| | | | |
|---------------------------|------|------|---|
| Sport clubs/athletes | 01.0 | 30.4 | 3 |
| Control regulative bodies | 32.0 | 48.5 | 4 |
| Religion | | 0.7 | |
| Media | | 0.7 | |

In Naše novine the largest shares of the space were given to the section of repression (investigations, trials, pointing to corruption), and very little to prevention of these deviations (Table 39). In Naše novine the civil society organizations, the Serbian Progressive Party, the anti-corruption bodies and the police received the largest shares of positive space (Table 37).

Table 39 - Areas of reporting on corruption

| Area | | | percent |
|---|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| Table 37 - Positive list | | | 26.8 |
| Trial | | | 20.5 |
| Pointing on corruption | Total of positive | Positive space | Number of |
| Judiciary | space | percent | items |
| Electional campaign, fight against corruption | 984.0 | 69.7 | 8.9 |
| Civil society organizations | 486.0 | 55.5 | 7.1 |
| Construction and development of institutions | | | 6.3 |
| Indictment | 266.0 | 89.9 | 3.6 |
| Anti-corruption bodies | 252.0 | 60.3 | 3.8 |
| Research, citizen complaints | | | 1.8 |
| Diagnosis | | | 1.8 |
| Police | | | 0.9 |
| The legal framework (laws and regulations, policy documents) | | | |
| The culpability for acts of corruption | | | |
| Support to the fighters against corruption and whistleblowers | | | |

Among the 'bad guys' on the pages of Naše novine, the biggest space was dedicated to the actors from abroad, public institutions, URS, Serbian Parliament, local self-government /Belgrade, and DS.

Informer

Table 38 - Negative list

| Actor | Total of negative space | Negative space percent | Number of items |
|--|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Informer, in this period, have published 138 articles on corruption and the fight against corruption on a total of 37 analytical pages. Of all the postings 18 had an announcement on the front page. In the genre structure, in Informer 31 report were in the form of news, 61 in the form of reports, 25 articles and 36 columns. | 600.0 | 90.9 | 7 |
| Public institutions, health education | 585.0 | 61.8 | 11 |
| Private companies | 341.0 | 51.4 | 7 |
| URS | 459.0 | 74.6 | 4 |
| Serbian Parliament | 340.0 | 88.5 | 7 |
| Local self-government | 168.0 | 56.4 | 7 |
| DS | 149.0 | 52.3 | 3 |
| SPS | 61.0 | 22.4 | 2 |
| Sport clubs/athletes | | | |

| | | | |
|----|-----|-------|---|
| EU | 3.0 | 100.0 | 1 |
|----|-----|-------|---|

Areas that are reported in the context of corruption are the judiciary, widgets, politics, anticorruption, world events and the police.

The 'bad guys' list is lead by those suspected and accused of corruption, private companies, actors

Table 40 - Sectoral reporting on corruption (Belgrade) (PUS and Serbian Parliament (Table 42)).

| area | percent | | |
|--|---------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Table 42 - Negative list | 23.9 | | |
| Politics | 15.2 | | |
| Anticorruption Actor | 13.0 | Total of negative space | Negative space percent |
| World events | 10.1 | | Number of items |
| Police suspect / accused / defendant | 604804 | | 74.1 |
| State administration | 2246508 | | 83.4 |
| Business abroad | 181903 | | 70.5 |
| Local self-governments | 139903 | | 75.4 |
| Border regions of Serbia | 1119306 | | 82.5 |
| Serbian Parliament | 1022306 | | 91.6 |
| Private company organizations | 78306 | | 40.8 |
| Media | 68802 | | 58.7 |
| Economy-public sector | 25004 | | 85.3 |
| Sports/clubs/athletes | 19004 | | 100.0 |
| Public institutions health and education | 1550 | | 73.5 |
| PUPS | 160 | | 50.0 |
| LDP | 10 | | 100.0 |

Government of Serbia and the administration party received the largest shares of positive time in Informer to present their work and to receive the compliments from the others. Shoulder to shoulder to them are standing

the anti-corruption bodies, damage the citizens and the EU of fighting corruption (Table 41) listed in Informer (Table 43).

Table 43 - Positive list reporting areas

| Area | Total of positive space | Positive space percent | Number of items |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Investigations Actor | | | 31.7 |
| Trial | | | 25.0 |
| Political Government | 3472.0 | 51.2 | 32.5 |
| ENP | 415.0 | 81.7 | 18.3 |
| Anticorruption bodies | 260.0 | 50.1 | 9 |
| Damaged citizens | 35.0 | 72.9 | 1 |

| | | | |
|---|-----|--|-----|
| State administration | 2.8 | | |
| Recently, private complaints Diagnosis | 2.8 | | 5.8 |
| Presentation | 2.8 | | 5.0 |
| Procediment | 2.1 | | 4.2 |
| Supplications | 2.1 | | 3.3 |
| The responsibility for acts of corruption | 1.4 | | 2.5 |
| Culture | 1.4 | | 0.8 |
| The legal framework (laws and bylaws, strategic documents) | 1.4 | | 0.8 |
| Public procurement | 1.4 | | 0.8 |
| Construction and development of institutions, institutional framework for the fight | 1.4 | | 0.8 |
| European integrations | 1.4 | | |
| Legislation | 1.4 | | |

Vecernje Novosti

The Serbian government, civil society organizations, the aggrieved citizens / vigilantes, public institutions, the newspaper published in December 145 texts on 30.5 Analytical pages. One sixth- 26 of them had an announcement on the front page. 73 were reports, 28 news as well as articles and interviews - five genre positive terms in December in Vecernje novosti (Table 45), structures. Fifth of the articles (31) wasn't signed. Of 145 texts, 139 articles were the result of editorial

Table 45. Positive items of the articles (97) are of informative characters, and a fifth (34) has a component of

| Actor | Total of positive space | Positive space percent | Number of items |
|--|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Vecernje novosti reporters were reporting on corruption dealing with the judiciary, anti-corruption bodies and activities in this field, politics and the police (Table 44). | | | |
| Serbian Government | 1817.0 | 57.8 | 33 |
| Civil society organizations | 606.0 | 52.8 | 11 |
| Damaged citizens | 439.0 | 84.6 | 5 |
| Public institutions | 352.0 | 66.2 | 3 |
| Anti-corruption bodies | 337.0 | 85.3 | 7 |
| SPS | 139.0 | 17.2 | 2 |
| ANS | 114.0 | 15.9 | 5 |
| Local self-government | 106.0 | 11.7 | 2 |
| Politics | 55.0 | 8.3 | 1 |
| Serbian Parliament | 50.0 | 7.6 | 3 |
| Privatization | 30.0 | 6.2 | 1 |
| Bad management | 3.0 | 5.5 | 2 |
| Health | 1.0 | 4.1 | 1 |
| Economy-public sector | | 4.1 | |
| Society | | 3.4 | |

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------|-------|----|
| The suspect/accused/defendant | 2021.0 | 55.9 | 56 |
| Private companies | 892.0 | 89.5 | 13 |
| Public companies | 762.0 | 81.6 | 12 |
| Local self-government | 539.0 | 77.2 | 6 |
| Police | 352.0 | 58.3 | 7 |
| URS | 149.0 | 65.4 | 6 |
| Sports clubs/athletes | 68.0 | 100.0 | 2 |

On the one hand there is a dominance of repressive approach, on the other prevention and anti-corruption education are neglected, that is characteristic for anti-corruption reporting of Vecernje Novosti. Court cases, investigations, pointing to corruption is less common than building anti-corruption instruments and institutions and the transfer of information on good practices from around the world (Table 46)

Table 46 - Areas of reporting on corruption

| Area | Percent |
|---|---------|
| Trial | 22.5 |
| Investigations | 21.7 |
| Pointing on corruption | 13.3 |
| Development of institutions for fight against corruption | 9.2 |
| Pointing on corruption | 7.5 |
| Election campaign and fight against corruption | 5.0 |
| Research, citizen complaints Diagnosis | 5.0 |
| Judiciary | 4.2 |
| Indictment | 3.3 |
| Support to a fighters against corruption and whistleblowers | 2.5 |
| The culpability for acts of corruption | 2.5 |
| The legal framework (laws and bylaws, strategic documents) | 2.5 |

The 'bad guys' on the Vecernje novosti pages were suspect / accused for offenses of corruption, private and public companies, local government (Belgrade) and the police (Table 47).

Table 47 - Negative list

| Actor | Total of negative space | Negative space percent | Number of items |
|-------|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
|-------|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|