MEDIA MONITORING
TOPIC:

CORRUPTION/ANTI-CORRUPTION
THIRD REPORT

PERIOD: NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 2013

Introduction

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 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 realized with the support of the Slovak media monitoring organization MEMO 98 and is funded by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED).

The main findings

- 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.

- 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.

- 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 largest shares of the coverage andwere portrayed in a positive light. While the anti-corruption bodies and whistleblowers as well as victims of corruption were also portrayed positively, they received 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 Bank First TV and TV Vojvodina, as well as in newspapers Politika and Kurir.

- The institutions or actors portrayed in a negative light were those in the public sector (industry and public institutions), private companies, suspected and accused of corruption, local governments, 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.

- 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 decreasess 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 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 theway of dealing with a case from the aspect of the integrity of the investigation.

- 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. There is a lackof 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.

- The tendency of reporting on corruption in a sensationalist manner (identifiued in the previous period), contrary to comprehensive analytical and investigative journalism to some extent continued also in the

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

- To some extent the media continued the practice of unbalanced reporting on corruption , in the sense that the reports do not cover all sides of the story. Also, there were cases in which all the actors were 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 media presents as the arrest and beginning to serve his sentence before it was even given a verdict.

- The anticorruption programs that are managed by the Government, such as the National strategy for the fight against the corruption, and Action plan for its implementation had not been mentioned in reporting almost at all during those two months. Media were focused on reporting on the repressive part of the fight against corruption, while the topic of prevention, promoting the whistleblowers, and concept of a good management as the mechanism in fight against corruption were representedonly marginally.

- RTS as a public service increased the number of corruption-related items to 44 compared, to 34 items 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 improoovement, as they are still lackingin 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 rolein this field and to bring the issues of public interest above other topics. Unlike some other media, RTS is tending to keep a neutral position in reporting about corruption.

- Oposite to the previous reporting period, number of cases there was a violation of presumption of inoccence decreased from 326 to 165. Daily newspapers Kurir, Blic had the largest number of articles in which the presumption of innocence was violated, while this trend dominate in reporting of TV Pink and TV B92 among televisions.

- The last periodof monitoring confirms the observed trend that the media in general are not proactive 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 interests. The result of it is a lack of comprehensive analysis that would provide a clearer insight into the current state when it comes to corruption and ways to prevent it. Part of the media showed selectivity in choosing the cases of corruption that will be reported on. The media are either a means of promoting the government's fight against corruption, or promotion of the ruling party as a fighter against 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 that civil society or individuals make in the fight against corruption.

NOVEMBER

RTS

During November Radio Television of Serbia (RTS1) has issued a total of 44 items within 1:15:05 of time, and ten of themhad 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"off". From a total of 44 items, at 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. It is very interesting that none of the items were dedicated to fight against the corruption in the meaning of 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
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

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 itselfor waspraised 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 time, but was also presented in more items. In addition to the SNS and positive space, on RTS also had the United Regions of Serbia. Anti-corruption bodies were presented positive, but in a small number of items (Table 2).

Table 2. Positive list

Actor	Total positive time	positive time percent	Number of items
Serbian government	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 Nikolić	0:01:03	66.7	2
Public authorities - Health Education	0:00:26	66.7	2
Anticorruption bodies	0:00:38	100.0	4
Police	0:00:05	100.0	1

"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).

Table 3 - Negative list

Actor	Total negative time	Negative time percent	Number of items
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
SPS	0:00:13	100.0	2
Control/regulative bodies	0:00:04	100.0	1

The thematic framework of reporting on corruption primarily refers to the monitoring of what the 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).

Table 4 - The fight against corruption areas

Areas	percent
Investigations	41.7
Pointing on corruption	22.2
Indictment	11.1
Construction and development of institutions , institutional framework for the fight	8.3
The legal framework (laws and regulations, policy documents)	5.6
The trial	5.6
Investigations, citizen complaints	2.8
Fight against corruption as a requirement for entering the EU	2.8
Judiciary	2.8
Election campaign, fight against corruption	2.8

PINK

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 corruption topic. Of all the broadcasted items 18 (or 36%) had an announcement at the beginning of the central news program. Half of the items monitored were aired in the first third of the show, total - 28 of them. The dominant mode of reporting was a category 'report', which was put in 39 items of the total 50. Exactly 95% of 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 respondents present. The presumption of innocence was violated in 16 of the 50 of broadcasted items.

In the case of PINK we have observed dealing with the areas of corruption and the fight against corruption in politics, the judiciary, and inappropriate spending of budgetary funds, corruption in the private sector as well as corruption in the privatization.

Table 5 -Sectoral reporting on corruption

Area	Number of items
Politics	17
Court	9
Inappropriate budget spending	9
Economy-private sector	8
Privatization	5
State administration	4
Economy – public sector	4
Health	3
Police	2
Energy	2
Traffic	2
Public procurement	1
European integrations	1
Bad management	1
World events	1
Media	1

In terms of total amount of positive time received on TV Pink, the Government of Serbia was given the largest share of this time, and the civil society organizations received almost as much. As a dominantly positive player on this television appeared the party of the current government, SNS. Other political actors who were positively presented (had more positive than negative time), received only very limited coverage. This was the case also for anti-corruption bodies (Table 6).

Table 6 - Positive list

Actor	Total of positive time	Positive time percent	Number of items
Serbian Government	0:04:22	57.1	12
Civic society organizations	0:04:15	80.0	12
SNS	0:02:58	93.3	14
Citizens who suffered a damage	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 Nikolić	0:00:15	50.0	1
SPS	0:00:15	50.0	1
Anticorruption bodies	0:00:12	50.0	1
EU	0:00:01	50.0	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).

Table 7. Negative list

Actor	Total of negative time	Negative time percent	Number of items
Local self-governments	0:22:37	100.0	16
Public companies – health, education	0:01:21	75.0	3
Actors from abroad	0:01:18	66.7	6
DS	0:01:12	75.0	6
Tomislav Nikolić	0:00:39	50.0	1
Public companies	0:00:23	50.0	3
SPS	0:00:09	50.0	1

Looking at the thematic frame it can be clearly concluded that reporting on corruption and the fight against corruption leaned towards reporting and promotion of the Government activities in this area, and was leaning to is promote and inform about effective practice in the fight against corruption in the fringe (Table 8).

Table 8 - Fight against the corruption areas

Area	Percent
Investigations	45.2
Trials	32.3
Pointing on corruption	16.1
Indictment	6.5
The legal framework (laws and regulations, policy documents)	3.2
Construction and development of institutions, institutional framework for fighting corruption	3.2

PRVA

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 offered21 items with total duration of 0:34:55. One third of the items had the announcement, more precisely 7 of them. Of all items presented, 17was 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 "reads from the off", while the 14 items had a respondents. In more than half of the items(total 11 of them) there was a violation of the presumption of innocence.

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).

Table9 - Sectorial reporting on the corruption topic

Sector	percent
Economy-private section	42.9
Economy-public sector	19.0
Privatization	19.0
Court	14.3
Politics	14.3
European integrations	9.5
Health	4.8
Education	4.8
State administration	4.8
Police	4.8
Inappropriate budget spending	4.8
World events	4.8
Media	4.8
Corruption	4.8

Among the "good guys that were given the most of positive time on the TV Prva list are firstly the United regions of Serbia, Serbian president, court/lawyers and prosecutor as well as Serbian Government. Anticorruption 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
United regions of Serbia	0:02:20	57.1	4
Tomislav Nikolić	0:01:29	66.7	2
Court/lawyers/prosecutor	0:01:19	62.5	5
Serbian Government	0:00:51	77.8	7
Anticorruption bodies	0:00:44	100.0	4
Civic society organizations	0:00:42	100.0	2
SNS	0:00:41	100.0	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
DS	2	0:00:18	100.0

Similarly to the previous two televisions, PRVA has also adapted its reporting to informing and promotion of government work, as well as the work of investigating authorities on the field of the fight against corruption.

Table 12 - The fight against corruption areas

Area	Percent
Investigations	33.3
Pointing on corruption	16.7
Trial	16.7
Investigations, citizen complaints	11.1
The legal framework (laws and regulations, strategic documents)	11.1
Accusations	5.6
Judiciary	5.6

DECEMBER

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. B92together 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 12 - Areas of reporting

area	percent
Politics	22.9
Privatization	22.9
Court	16.7
World events	14.6
Economy-public sector	12.5
Inappropriate budget spending	10.4
Energy	10.4
Local elections for local self-government	8.3
Economy-private sector	6.3
public procurement	4.2
Health	2.1
State administration	2.1
Police	2.1
Legislation	2.1
Prosecutor s office	2.1

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).

Table 13 - 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-regulatory bodies	0:00:05	50.0	1

On the "negative" time list we can find the public companies and accused for corruption together with United regions of Serbia, Serbian Parliament, self-government (Belgrade) and DSS.

Table 14 - Negative list

Actor	Total of negative time	Negative time percent	Number of items
Public companies	0:02:34	83.3	10
The suspect / accused / defendant	0:02:17	51.5	17
United regions of Serbia	0:00:51	75.0	3
Serbian Parliament	0:00:28	66.7	4
Local self-government	0:00:19	75.0	3
DSS	0:00:02	100.0	1
Public institutions – health education	0:00:01	100.0	1

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

Table 15- Areas of reporting on corruption

Area	Percent
Investigations	42.9
Pointing on corruption	14.3
Trial	14.3
Election campaign, fight against corruption	11.9
Indictment	9.5
Judiciary	7.1
Anticorruption plans and programs (local level)	2.4
Anticorruption plans and programs (OCD initiative)	2.4
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

SKY +

During the monitoring period there were 47 items on SKY that all together lasted for 0:41:51, and only 12 of them had an announcement.From a total number of these items, 23 items were news, and 24 reports. Only one item that has been analyzed had editorial resources. 33 items had coverage from the off, 45 had spoiler, and 21 had a statement. At 15 of 47 contributions there were violations of innocence assumption.

TV SKY + was mostly reporting on corruption in the area of politics, privatization and court, but also on the corruption all around the world.

Table 16 - Reporting areas

Area	Percent
Politics	22.9
Privatization	22.9
Court	16.7
World events	14.6
Economy-public sector	12.5
Inappropriate budget spending budget	10.4
Energy	10.4
Local elections, local self-government	8.3
Economy-private sector	6.3
Public procurement	4.2
Health	2.1
State administration	2.1
Police	2.1
Legislation	2.1
Prosecutor's office	2.1

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

Actor	Total of positive time	Positive time percent	Number of items
Serbian Government	0:03:56	52.0	13
Civic society organizations	0:03:33	70.0	7
Anti-corruptive bodies	0:02:49	100.0	7
SNS	0:01:58	90.9	10
SPS	0:00:56	100.0	1
Journalists	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
DSS	0:00:02	100.0	1

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.

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

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).

Table 19 -Areas of reporting on corruption

Area	percent
Investigations	37.8
Electoral campaign, fight against corruption	17.8
Pointing on corruption	11.1
Trial	11.1
Investigations, citizen s complaints	6.7
Indictment	6.7
Judiciary	6.7
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
Fight against corruption as a condition for entering the EU	2.2

TV VOJVODINA

TV Vojvodina television presented smaller number of corruption items in comparison with other TV channels in December, total of 34 which have lasted 0:46:22. A little less than a third had notice of attachment (11). 26 items were in the form of reports, and 8 in the form of news. In the 32 items source of informationwas a journalist from the editorial staff. When we talk about the presentation, in 32 cases there was a journalist reporting from the off, the 33 items had spoiler, while in the 21 items there was an interlocutor.During monitoring period from the total of 34 items, in cases we identified a violation of the presumption of innocence. As mentioned above, this television is among those who haveless problems with violation of the presumption of innocence.

TV Vojvodina in its central informative show mostly dealt with the theme of corruption and anti-corruption.

Table 20 - Area of reporting

Area	
Privatization	29.4
Politics	26.5
Court	20.6
World events	20.6
Health	8.8
Economy- public sector	8.8
Finance	5.9
Economy-private sector	5.9
Bad management	5.9
Local elections for local self-government	5.9
State administration	2.9
Public procurement	2.9
Inappropriate budget spending	2.9
Society	2.9

Action plan	2.9
Energy	2.9

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.

Table 21

Actor	Total of positive time	Positive time percent	Number of items
Serbian Government	0:02:22	45.8	11
Anti-corruptive bodies	0:02:37	100.0	5
The court / lawyers / Prosecution	0:01:27	71.4	10
Civic society organizations	0:01:18	66.7	2
United regions of Serbia	0:00:52	50.0	4
Serbian Parliament	0:00:21	50.0	2
President of Serbia	0:00:17	50.0	2
Public institutions-health education	0:00:11	25.0	1
Public companies	0:00:11	20.0	1
Police	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
Private companies	0:01:06	60.0	3
Private Companies	0:00:47	60.0	3
SNS	0:00:38	55.6	5
Serbian Parliament	0:00:08	50.0	2
Serbian president	0:00:07	50.0	2
Control regulative bodies	0:00:05	50.0	1
United Serbia	0:00:02	100.0	1

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, pointing to corruption and judicial process, or judgment.

Table 23

Area	percent
Investigations	41.4
Pointing on corruption	13.8
Trial	13.8
Judiciary	10.3
Electoral campaign, fight against corruption	10.3
Investigations, citizen complaints	6.9
Indictments	6.9
Building and developing of institutions; framework for fight against corruption	3.4
Fight against corruption as a condition for entering EU	3.4

NOVEMBER

POLITIKA

Daily newspapers Politika have published 129 articles on total of 30,66analytical 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).

Table 24

Area	percent
Court	17.8
Economy	17.1
Politics	11.6
Police	10.9
World events	10.9
State administration	7.0
Privatization	5.4
Bad management	4.7
Economy-public sector	3.9
Health	3.1
Culture	3.1
Finance	2.3
Education	2.3
Economy-private sector	2.3
European integrations	2.3
Local elections/local self-government	2.3
Civic society organizations	1.6
Public procurement	1.6
Investments	1.6
Prosecution office	1.6
Sport	1.6
Society	1.6
Church	0.8
Intelligence	0.8
Media	0.8

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.

Table 25 - Positive list

Actor	Total of positive space	Positive space percent	Number of items
United regions of Serbia	1207.0	80.1	3

Court / lawyers/ prosecution	833.0	63.7	26
Civic society organization	661.0	60.7	12
Police	513.0	66.5	12
Anticorruption bodies	428.0	99.5	8
Public institutions, health education	316.0	50.6	5
Damaged citizens	149.0	59.1	5
Control regulative bodies	123.0	58.3	1
TomislavNikolić	113.0	60.4	1
SNS	91.0	66.4	6
Non-parliamentary political parties	25.0	92.6	1
Social democratic party of Serbia	18.0	100.0	1

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

Actor	Total of negative space	Negative space percent	Number of items
Serbian Government	3072.0	63.8	33
The suspect / accused / defendant	2977.0	62.7	42
Actors from abroad	1400.0	51.3	23
Private companies	556.0	77.9	6
Public companies	483.0	37.4	8
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
DSS	1.0	100.0	1

Journalists of "Politika" 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

Area	percent
Investigations	33.3
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 measures	4.6
Investigations, citizen appeals	3.4
The guiltiness for the acts of corruption	2.3
The legal framework (laws and regulations, policy documents)	1.1
Election campaign fight against corruption	1.1

BLIC

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 of40 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, 45 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.

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 28 - Sectoral reporting on corruption

Area	percent
Court	16.3
Police	10.6
Politics	10.6
Privatization	8.8
Economy	6.9
Bad management	6.9
Economy-private sector	5.6
World events	4.4
Health	3.8
Economy-public sector	3.8
Education	3.1
Local elections/local self-government	3.1
Culture	2.5
Sports	2.5
State administration	1.9
Society	1.9
Intelligence	1.3
Finance	0.6
Civic society organizations	0.6
European integrations	0.6

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).

Table 29 - Positive list

Actor	Total of positive space	Positive space percent	Number of items
Damaged citizens	1239.0	54.9	13
Civil society organizations	1000.0	79.9	23
Anti-corruption bodies	286.0	82.7	9
SNS	24.0	50.0	2
Sport clubs /athletes	16.0	16.8	1
EU	12.0	100.0	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).

Table 30 - Negative list

Actor	Total of negative space	Percent of negative space	Number of items
Serbian government	3439.0	76.6	52
The suspect / accused / defendant	5821.0	80.3	76
Private companies	3607.0	94.6	25
Public companies	2687.0	73.6	13
Police	1924.0	82.9	13
Actors from abroad	1019.0	79.2	10
Public institutions health education	712.0	73.2	7
Local self-government	534.0	79.6	4
DS	352.0	83.6	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 cubs/athletes	67.0	70.5	4
SPS	29.0	100.0	3
DSS	21.0	100.0	1
LDP	6.0	100.0	2

Similarly to Politika, on the pages of Blic the texts that are primarily informing about repressive 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

area	percent
Investigations	33.0
Pointing on corruption	31.3
Trial	10.4
Indictment	5.2
Judiciary	5.2
Investigation, citizen complaints	3.5
The culpability of the corruption act	3.5
Building and development of the institutional frame for the fight against corruption	3.5
Monitoring and evaluation, measuring of the effects of anticorruption measures	2.6
Anticorruption plans and programs /on national level	1.7
Informing and education	0.9
Supporting the fighters against corruption and whistleblowers	0.9
Fight against corruption as a condition for entering the EU	0.9
Election campaign, fight against corruption	0.9

KURIR

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, 74 were of informative and 34 of promotional character. In only 10 articles that we analyzed we have found a violation of the presumption of innocence, making this daily newspaper on the first place by not violating the presumption of innocence.

The journalists of Kurir primarily dealt with corruption and the fight against the corruption in the area of court, police, economy, politics, private and public companies (Table 32).

Table32 -Sectoral reporting on corruption

Area	percent
Court	24.2
Police	11.7
Politics	8.3
Economy-private sector	7.5
Economy- public sector	6.7
Education	5.8
Local elections/ local self-government	5.8
Sport	5.8
World events	4.2
Health	3.3
State administration	3.3
Finance	2.5
Prosecution	2.5
Society	2.5
Public procurement	1.7
Investments	1.7
Privatization	1.7
Civil society organizations	0.8
Church	0.8
Religion	0.8

United regions, SNS, civil society organizations, SPS are the actors that were given the largest shares of time to present themselves in a positive way or to be seen as positive by others (table 33).

Table 33 - Positive list

	Total of positive space	Positive space percent	Number of items
United regions of Serbia	1706.0	50.5	4
SNS	985.0	97.0	9
Civil society organizations	901.0	42.5	14
SPS	250.0	60.8	1
Anticorruption bodies	185.0	62.9	11
Damaged citizens	123.0	82.6	5
Serbian Parliament	46.0	100.0	2
European Union	44.0	95.7	1
Social-democratic league of Vojvodina	1.0	100.0	1

On the pages of Kurir the most of the negative space had the accused, local self-government (Belgrade) public and private companies and DS.

Table 34 - Negative list

	Total of negative space	Negative space percent	Number of items
The suspect / accused / defendant	4708.0	73.2	57
Local self-government	2520.0	96.5	19
Public companies	1767.0	78.7	9
Private companies	1410.0	76.8	13
DS	1039.0	60.5	20
Police	722.0	61.9	5
Public institutions health education	696.0	83.1	4
United Serbia	632.0	63.6	3
Sport clubs/athletes	448.0	73.1	7

Actors from abroad	407.0	80.8	9
Control regulative bodies	241.0	91.3	3
Others	226.0	52.7	3
LDP	140.0	99.3	3
Non-parliamentary political parties	89.0	54.9	1

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).

Table35

area	percent
Investigations	31.8
Pointing on corruption	21.6
Trial	15.9
Indictment	9.1
Support for the fight against corruption and whistleblowers	4.5
Building and developing the institutions for the fight	3.4
Judiciary	3.4
Investigation, citizen complaints, diagnosis	2.3
Election campaign (anti-corruption corruption)	2.3
Anticorruption plans and programs (OCD initiative)	1.1
The legal framework (laws and regulations, policy documents)	1.1
The culpability for acts of corruption	1.1
Monitoring and evaluation of measuring the effects of the anticorruption measures	1.1
Anti-corruption plans and programs (local level)	1.1

NAŠE NOVINE

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 highnumber of texts that were not signedthe text - 63 articles or 44% was not signed. Half of the 76 texts are for informational purposes only, while 46 for promotional.

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).

Table36 -Sectoral reporting on corruption

Area	percent
Court	19.7
Anticorruption	16.2
Politics	14.1
Police	8.5
World events	8.5
Privatization	6.3
Health	5.6
State administration	4.2
Finance	2.8
Education	2.8
Bad management	2.8
Local elections/local self government	2.8
Economy-public sector	2.1
Society	2.1
Prosecution	1.4
Economy	0.7
Economy-private sector	0.7
European integrations	0.7
Inappropriate spending of budget	0.7

Religion	0.7
Media	0.7

In Naše novinethe civil society organizations, the Serbian Progressive Party, the anti-corruption bodies and the police received the largest shares pf positive space(Table 37).

Table 37 - Positive list

Actor	Total of positive space	Positive space percent	Number of items
Civil society organizations	984.0	69.7	12
SNS	486.0	55.5	8
Anticorruption bodies	266.0	89.9	11
Police	252.0	60.3	8

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.

Table 38 - Negative list

Actor	Total of negative space	Negative space percent	Number of items
Actors from abroad	960.0	80.7	16
Public institutions, health, education	600.0	90.9	7
Private companies	585.0	61.8	11
URS	541.0	51.4	7
Serbian parliament	458.0	74.6	4
Local self-government	340.0	88.5	7
DS	168.0	56.4	7
SPS	149.0	52.3	3
Sport clubs/athletes	61.0	98.4	3
Control regulative bodies	32.0	48.5	4

In Naše novinethe 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).

Table39 -Areas of reporting on corruption

Area	percent
Investigation	26.8
Trial	20.5
Pointing on corruption	9.8
Judiciary	9.8
Electoral campaign, fight against corruption	8.9
Construction and development of institutions institutional framework for the fight	7.1
Indictment	6.3
Research, citizen complaints Diagnosis	3.6
The legal framework (laws and regulations, policy documents)	1.8
The culpability for acts of corruption	1.8
Support to the fighters against corruption and whistleblowers	0.9

Informer

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 3 columns. Sources for the published texts were the source of their editorial in all together128 of them.Slightly more than a third of the articles (37) were not signed. The dominant mode of reporting is informative - 77 of them, noting that less than 1/4 of texts (32) had mobilizing character.

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

Table 40 -Sectoral reporting on corruption

area	percent
Court	23.9
Politics	15.2
Anticorruption	13.0
World events	10.1
Police	9.4
State administration	5.8
Bad management	4.3
Local elections	4.3
Economy-private sector	3.6
Sport	3.6
Privatization	3.6
Health	2.2
Economy-public sector	1.4
Society	1.4

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, damaged citizens and the European Union (Table 41).

Table 41 - Positive list

Actor	Total of positive space	Positive space percent	Number of items
Serbian Government	3472.0	51.2	32
SNS	415.0	81.7	14
Anticorruption bodies	260.0	50.1	9
Damaged citizens	35.0	72.9	1
EU	3.0	100.0	1

The 'bad guys' list is lead by those suspected and accused of corruption, private companies, actors from abroad, local government (Belgrade), URS and Serbian Parliament (Table 42).

Table 42 - Negative list

Actor	Total of negative space	Negative space percent	Number of items
The suspect / accused / defendant	6048.0	74.1	79
Private companies	2246.0	83.4	13
Actors from abroad	1819.0	70.5	19
Local self-governments	1399.0	75.4	13
United regions of Serbia	1119.0	82.5	8
Serbian Parliament	1022.0	91.6	7
Civil society organizations	783.0	40.8	3
Police	688.0	58.7	4
DS	250.0	85.3	18
Sport clubs/athletes	190.0	100.0	3
Public institutions health and education	155.0	73.5	4
PUPS	16.0	50.0	1
LDP	1.0	100.0	1

Trend of the dominant presence of the repressive acts of fighting corruption persisted in Informer(Table 43).

Table 43 - Corruption reporting areas

Area	percent
Investigations	31.7
Trial	25.0
Pointing on corruption	12.5
Election campaign and fight against corruption	8.3

Research, citizen complaints Diagnosis	5.8
Judiciary	5.0
Indictment	4.2
Support to a fighters against corruption and whistleblowers	3.3
The culpability for acts of corruption	2.5
The legal framework (laws and bylaws, strategic documents)	0.8
Construction and development ofinstitutions, institutional framework for the fight	0.8

Večernje Novosti

This 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 structures. Fifth of the articles (31) wasn't signed. Of 145 texts, 139 articles were the result of editorial resources. Two thirds of the articles (97) are of informative characters, and a fifth (34) has a component of mobilizing. In 27 cases we noted a violation of the presumption of innocence.

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).

Table 44 -Sectoral reporting on corruption

Area	percent
Trial	17.2
Anticorruption	15.9
World events	11.7
Politics	8.3
Police	7.6
Privatization	6.2
Bad management	5.5
Health	4.1
Economy-public sector	4.1
Society	3.4
State administration	2.8
Economy, private sector	2.8
Prosecution	2.8
Economy	2.1
Local elections	2.1
Finance	1.4
Culture	1.4
Public procurement	1.4
Europian integrations	1.4
Legislation	1.4

The Serbian government, civil society organizations, the aggrieved citizens / vigilantes, public institutions, the Serbian Progressive Party, the Socialist Party of Serbia and local self-government are those presented in a positive terms in December in Večernje novosti (Table 45).

Table 45 - Positive list

Actor	Total of positive space	Positive space percent	Number of items
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
Anticorruption bodies	337.0	85.3	7
SPS	139.0	100.0	2
SNS	114.0	60.6	5
Local self-government	106.0	15.2	2
DS	55.0	59.8	1
Serbian Parliament	50.0	82.0	3
DDD	30.0	100.0	1
EU	3.0	75.0	2
PUPS	1.0	100.0	1

SDS	1.0	100.0	1

On the one hand there is a dominanceofrepressive approach, on the other prevention and anti-corruption education are neglected, that is characteristic for anti-corruption reporting of Vecernje Novosti. Court process, investigation, 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 Večernje 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
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
Control regulative bodies	10.0	100.0	2