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MEDIA AND ELECTIONS 2003
ANALYSIS OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS
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The Media and Elections 2003 monitoring project covered the items in daily newspapers, which directly or indirectly related to the activities of the relevant actors of political life in Croatia. The method used in the research was the analysis of the content. The analysis included items, which were published in six daily newspapers (Vjesnik, Vecernji list, Jutarnji list, Slobodna Dalmacija, Novi list and Glas Slavonije) in the period since October 12 until November 22, 2003. First three newspapers belong to the category of national newspapers, while other three belong to the category of regional newspapers. Two daily newspapers are majority state-owned (Vjesnik and Slobodna Dalmacija) and two are owned by domestic (mostly small) stock owners (Novi list and Glas Slavonije), while one is half-owned by domestic and foreign owners (Jutarnji list, which is the only new established daily after 1990), and one is majority-owned by foreigners. The monitored period, in spite of the fact that it represents the continuous flow, has not been analysed as a unique entity. It was divided in two separate entities: the period, which includes time of the official pre-electoral campaign (which started on November 6) and the period prior to the beginning of the official campaign (October 12 until November 5). The reasons for such division are found in the basic differences between these two periods. Specifically in the period of the official pre-electoral campaign, the election candidates were well known (political parties, coalitions, independent candidates, as well as individuals). These are the actors whose activities (covered by daily newspapers) represented the main subject of analysis. In the period prior to the official pre-electoral campaign, the relevant actors were not only parties, but also other actors of political activities (Parliament, Government and ministries, and local authorities). Differences in selection of analysed items derived from this main difference also. In first case, the analysis included items, which directly or indirectly related to the activities of election candidates, while the second referred to the items covering activities of the relevant actors. As a result of that, the obtained data, in spite of the fact that they are comparable, was analysed in two separate parts.

The aim of the analysis consisted in establishing presence (number of items and space they covered) of actors of political activities (first of all political parties) in daily newspapers. It was necessary to confirm the frequency of appearance of certain actors of political activities, their inter-relations (such as attack/or defence), topics regarding current situation in the country, presence of hate speech, political incorrectness, and negative and positive marking of political parties and coalitions. The newspapers themselves appear as actors of political activities: directly, through reporting on activities of various political actors (problems of selection) and indirectly through their own commentaries and analysis (problems of interpretation). It is exactly that by selection and interpretation, the newspapers construct suitable social and political reality.

We classified political parties, coalitions, independent lists and candidates according to two criteria. These were success at elections and frequency of appearance in analysed newspapers. The preliminary report (summarised comment and data shown in tables) does not contain all data obtained through the analysis. The data consists of journalist form of items and pertaining graphic design (page, announcement on the first page, cover design; photograph or drawing), finally followed by data on who attacks who and who supports who, specifically who is defending from whom or who is attacking whom). The report is based on the basic processing and analysis of the obtained data. The more complex processing and the analysis will merely complement the already obtained results in this report.

NEWSPAPERS IN PRE-ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

Analysis of activities of daily newspapers during pre-electoral campaign included various types of items which referred to the elections, and which were published on the first day of the official campaign until the day of actual elections (since November 6 until November 22, 2003).

The basic unit of the analysis is the items. The items such as (texts, advertisements and similar) covering the activities of parties, various types of coalitions, party/coalition candidates, independent candidates were analysed. Also, in case they are mentioned in the items covering activities of other actors (for instance NGOs, foreign statement etc.). And in case the media was analysed through (comments, analysis and similar). The items covering the activities of the Government and the ministries were also included in the analysis in cases where the work of Prime Minister or Ministers (who were candidates at the election) was concerned. Besides the aforementioned, the items covering only elections and pre-electoral campaign without mentioning parties and candidates (information on rules, education and similar) were also included in the analysis. In this way, the included items were divided into three basic groups: 1) items covering activities of actors, 2) items mentioning activities of the actors, 3) items covering self-presentation (paid advertisements) of actors of pre-electoral activities (parties, candidates).

The aim of the analysis was to establish the frequency in appearance of items covering activities of actors, manner of their activities (self-presentation, tone of the campaign, presentation of various topics), and the relation of certain daily newspapers (selection and interpretation) towards parties and candidates involved in pre-electoral campaign (attack/defence, positive/negative grading, support, journalist incorrectness). The basic and preliminary results are shown in attached tables (A1 until A19).

According to the number of analysed items and the space they cover, each daily newspaper differs significantly from another. The difference is much greater in number of items than in space (A1). The greatest difference was observed between Vjesnik and Glas Slavonije. Vjesnik published 57,7 items in average per one issue while and Glas Slavonije published merely 25,4 in average per one issue. All dailies published 40,3 items per one issue in average. According to the types of items, the greatest number belongs to the

items covering activities of actors in pre-electoral campaign (A3). These items, as it was expected, were smaller in space from other items (comments and ads).

When the issue concerns a number of items referring to all actors of activities included in analysis, the most covered ones are the ones reporting on activities of political parties, coalitions, independent lists and candidates (44,4%), and the least represented are the ones reporting on activities of foreign actors (1,8%). Regarding the space of items, almost entirely equal share (30,4% specifically 29,6%) is divided between political parties and the media with their comments, analysis and similar. (A4). A number of items covering the activities of the government and ministries, specifically of Prime Minister and ministers who were candidates during elections, in the period of pre-electoral campaign were relatively small. There were 214 such items, which means that in average 2,1 item belong to a single issue of newspapers. (This is considerably smaller than during pre-electoral campaign of the year 2000, when there were 5,3 of such items).

According to the number of items covering the activities of the parties, party coalitions etc, HDZ and the coalition SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS are almost equal (in which SDP dominates entirely). Out of total number of such items, 20,8% belong to HDZ, and 19,9% to the coalition of SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS (A5). The share in the space of these items is almost double in cases of HDZ than other parties and coalitions. The coalitions HNS/PGS/SBHS (8,7%) and DC/HSLs (7,8%), and HSS (7,1%) are separated stand out. The third group is made of HSP and the coalition HB/HIP with 4,4% and the fourth group is made of HSU (0,8%) and HDSS (0,2%). As it is seen in the shown data, the HSU and HDSS, parties which won 3, specifically 1 mandate in the Parliament are four times less covered than coalition HB/HIP which did not win a single mandate.

HDZ and the coalition SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS (in which predominates SDP) stand out from the other parties not only when the number of items covering their activities is concerned, but also in regard to the items (and space) covering positive and negative grading (A7 and A8). This especially refers to the items, which contain negative grading. HDZ and SDP, do not appear in only 14,2% of such items. Among other political parties and coalitions, only HNS (3,8%) and HSS (3,4%) stand out as parties (they formed the former ruling coalition) which were graded negatively.

Out of total number of analysed items 16,8% cover an attack against some actor of activity (A6). 19 (0,5%) of the items are characterised by hate speech, 25 (0,6%) of the items are characterised by political incorrectness and 7 (0,2%) of the items by journalist incorrectness.

Elections as dominant topic of the analysed items dominate entirely over all other topics (A9). There are 43,4% of the items, among the total number of analysed items, covering elections as dominant topic. They are followed, far behind, by topics regarding economy with 14,4% and topics regarding political parties and their relations (12,7%). These are followed by topics regarding internal affairs (5,4%) and foreign affairs (2,8%), followed by education, culture, science and similar. (3,8%). The topics regarding state building almost entirely disappeared from the analysed items regarding pre-electoral campaign (sovereignty, independence, topics related to the historic issues, spiritual renovation – 1,4%). The topics regarding so-called Homeland

war amount to (0,8%) while the topics dedicated to the Hague Tribunal to (0,8%).

The results of the analysis showed that according to the mentioned characteristics there do not exist systematic differences between analysed papers. These differences are entirely clear (number and space of items – A1) in some cases, and in other cases they are entirely nontransparent (a number of items covering activities of actors, including political parties and coalitions – A10, A11). In some cases only one singles out from others, as is the case of Slobodna Dalmacija which contains most items covering attack against any of the actor of activity (A12). In some other cases where positive or negative grading of political parties and coalitions are mentioned, the difference is entirely clear. Glas Slavonije and Vecernji list steam ahead of with items in which the coalition SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS are graded negatively, while Novi list, Slobodna Dalmacija and Vjesnik graded HDZ negatively. The obvious difference, according to the share of items with positive and negative grading of HDZ and coalition SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS is seen between Glas Slavonije and Novi list (A13 and A14).

According to the type of items Vjesnik differs from other five dailies. In comparison with other dailies, Vjesnik covers a greater share of comments and items reporting on activities of actors and at the same time it covers a considerably less advertisements (paid items) of political parties and coalitions (A15). Slobodna Dalmacija, Jutarnji list and Vecernji list are the most attractive dailies for self-presentation. Two most important political groups in pre-electoral campaign, HDZ and the SDP coalition differ according to the type of items (A16), to the number of advertisements (HDZ has more), as well as according to the number of comments (here we do not talk about “clean” comments, but about the items characterised by a form of comments) regarding their activities (more of them are dedicated to the SDP coalition). These comments contain somewhat more attacks than items reporting about activities of actors. (A17). In the items covering activities of actors, when two main political groups are concerned, there are more items in which HDZ is negatively graded. SDP is more negatively graded in comments (A18). The SDP coalition is more positively graded in such comments than HDZ (A19).

The basic results of the carried analysis could be summarised as follows:

1. There is no systematic difference between daily newspapers in their coverage of pre-electoral campaign. Only in some features differences among them become visible. In some cases Vjesnik is emphasised, in others Vecernji list or Glas Slavonije. According to some features, they are grouped in one and according to others in some other way. There was not established any kind of systematic difference which would connect the activities of analysed newspapers with their own ownership structure.

2. Coverage of political parties and coalition have been basically balanced. Daily newspapers covered equally the former ruling party coalition and the former opposition party during official pre-electoral campaign.

3. It was observed that some parties with an exceptionally low coverage in newspapers managed to receive a couple of mandates in comparison with coalitions with relatively significant coverage in newspapers.

4. Presence of certain parties in daily newspapers express their earlier achieved power (number of members, support of voting body, financial power and similar). Two parties single out from others, according to a number of items and negative and positive grading HDZ and SDP. It could be said that the electoral campaign in daily newspapers was mostly graded by activities of these parties and their relationship.

5. Election was the most dominant topic covered by the newspapers. Besides election the topics regarding economy, inter-party relationship, internal and foreign affairs, education, culture, science and similar were covered to a considerably lesser extent. The topic regarding some general discussion or debate did not appear in pre-electoral campaign. The campaign itself was carried out within limits of political and journalist correctness.

PREPARATIONS FOR PRE-ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

The analysis of the daily newspapers during pre-electoral campaign in the period prior to the official electoral campaign was made more difficult due to the fact that not all principle political actors (collective and individuals) were known at the time. Inability to define actors of activities draws with itself a problem of selection of items. That problem was solved in this analysis in a way that various political actors that had been active in that period were limited to the ones most interested in the expected pre-electoral campaign. These were certain organisations and individuals belonging to them. Here they were called relevant actors: political parties, their leaders and members, Parliament and members of the Parliament, Government and ministries (and their representatives), local authorities (county and city). The analysis also includes the items covering activities of some other actors but in which relevant actors were mentioned (for example: activities of non-governmental organisations, comments in newspapers etc) and finally the items covering the expected elections in spite of the fact that relevant actors were not mentioned in them.

The aim of the analysis was to establish coverage of various actors of activities in daily newspapers, manner in which they act (attack, defence, political incorrectness, and various topics referring to historic issues. The analysis also aimed at defining the activities of daily newspapers (their strategy – through selection and interpretation of activities of various actors).

The carried out analysis covers the period since October 12, until November 5, 2003. 24 issues of each daily newspaper were analysed in total (one of them was two-issue newspaper). The classification of political parties, coalitions etc during data processing was taken from the period of the official pre-electoral campaign. The greatest number of items, as well as those from official pre-electoral campaign was divided into three groups: 1) items covering activities of actors, 2) items commenting activities of actors, 3) items covering self-presentation of actors (paid advertisements). Basic and preliminary data are shown in attached tables (B1 to B20).

The analysis covered 4761 items (B1). 793,5 items were published per one newspaper, in other words 33,1 items per one issue. According to the number of items and the space they cover in analysed dailies there were established significant differences. The difference is greater per number of items than per space they cover. The greatest differences were observed between Vjesnik and Glas Slavonije. Vjesnik published 43,3 items per a single issue in average, and Glas Slavonije 24. According to the type of item (B2), the items, which report on activities of actors, dominated. The difference between them is smaller when it concerns space coverage.

Among actors of activities (B4), as it was expected, items covering activities of relevant actors, were covered the most. Relatively great portion is dedicated to the non-governmental organisations, and the media itself (comments, analysis, etc) which confirms their significant involvement in creation of political life. Here, as well as in the previous cases, the differences are smaller when it concerns the space covered by items. Among relevant actors, the items covering activities of political parties are covered the most, followed by activities of Government and ministries (B5). Items on activities of Parliament are covered to a very small extent. These data point to the fact that the period in question is both the period of active political activities as well as the period of pre-electoral campaign. However, not every political party, coalition and other candidate that would later on appear in official campaign, took part at the pre-electoral campaign. The most frequent items are the ones covering activities by those political parties that will during the official election campaign form the coalition SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS (B6). The greatest number of items covered activities by SDP. SDP carried out a ten-day campaign, which was regularly covered by newspapers. Out of all other parties, only HDZ somewhat comes close to the parties of the mentioned coalition. These two political groups separated from other parties and coalitions at the very beginning of the campaign. The second group, according to the coverage of items referring to their activities, was formed by HNS, HSS and until then formed coalitions DC/HSL and HB/HIP. Among other parties, only HSP stands out.

The data on attacks against certain actors of activities, mostly parties and coalitions (B7), confirm that the issue concerns the pre-electoral campaign. Every fifth item has such content. 8 items (0,2%) were characterised by hate speech, 49 items (1,05) by political incorrectness 15 items (0,3%) by journalist incorrectness, which one could say is a rather insignificant number of cases. When they happened they were immediately subjected to criticism. The parties that formed the former coalition are the most negatively graded (B8). 51,2% of total number of items relate to those parties. Among other parties and coalitions, only HDZ approaches them in number. When the issue concerns items in which certain parties and coalitions (B9) are graded positively, the advantage was given to the parties of the ruling coalition and HDZ. In this case, however, a number of such items referring to other parties and coalitions is not irrelevant. Most items have as a dominant topic economy, and then election (B10). Internal affairs, political parties, party relations, education, culture, science were covered half as much. Foreign affairs and The Hague tribunal belongs to the third group. The so-called state building topics have been covered to an insignificant extent, and in cases where these topics appear

they are mostly in relation with the Hague Tribunal. These topics, it could be said, are squeezed out by topics about daily life and general problems it brings.

There does not exist, according to the analysed characteristics, systematic difference between daily newspapers. It could not be said that they differ according to some systematically developed strategies of activities. In some cases these differences are small, or almost non-transparent as is the case regarding the number of items covering activities of all registered actors (B11). It is similar with the items covering activities of relevant actors (B12). In cases when the items which cover activities of political parties and coalitions are concerned, then there exist both similarities and differences between dailies. (B13) All analysed newspapers publish most items that cover activities of parties that would later on form the coalition SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS. However in doing so Vjesnik and Jutarnji list differ a lot. There exist other differences also, for instance, between Jutarnji list and Slobodna Dalmacija (in publishing items on HDZ and coalition HB/HIP) or the one between Vecernji list and Glas Slavonije (in publishing items on the activities of HSP). However, on the whole, it is very difficult to see some internal connection or some system by which existing differences could be understood.

Most items containing attack/or defence, almost half as much than an average, (B14) are covered by Slobodna Dalmacija. Vecernji list and especially Glas Slavonije cover most items in which the formed SDP coalition is mostly graded negatively and HDZ rarely graded negatively (B15). Such difference does not exist when the issue concerns positive grading of parties and coalition (B16). In this case neither exist some strictly based systematic difference between the analysed daily news.

Comments, as type of items, are mostly covered in analysed items of Vjesnik, and the least in the analysed items of Jutarnji list (B17). Taking into consideration that Vjesnik, besides publishing most comments, has the greatest number of analysed items (the number of advertisements is the least in Vjesnik and almost insignificant). It could be said that Vjesnik shows the greatest interest in political life and the pre-election campaign itself. Comments stand apart from the others due to the fact that they contain attack against some of the actors of activity (B18). Every fifth (5) comment has such characteristic. They are not, mere interpretation, but some sort of involvement. That is seen through their positive and negative grading of political parties and coalitions (B19 and B20). Out of total number of comments with negative grading of political parties and coalitions, 44,7% of them belong to the parties of the former ruling coalitions while 14,6% to HDZ. Out of total number of comments with positive grading the coalition parties are covered by 30,9%, and HDZ with 23,6%.

After the basic analysis of activities of newspapers during the time prior to the official campaign, the following conclusions are drawn:

1. Differences which exist in activities of the analysed daily newspapers are not of systematic character. Therefore any special strategies of activities could not be observed from them. Their activities do not express in any clear way differences in their ownership structure.
2. Only some parties, exclusively the parliamentary parties, acted as if it were actually the official pre-electoral campaign. Such activities were most characteristic for SDP, and partly of HDZ.

3. In coverage of certain number of parties with items covering their activities, SDP and HDZ stand out. Taking into consideration the political groups that they would form during official pre-electoral campaign, the coalition SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS had considerable advantage over other parties, besides HDZ to some extent. Presence of certain parties and coalitions in the analysed daily newspapers has suited their power in the political life of country.
4. According to the number of items relating to their activities and according to the number of items in which some parties are positively or negatively graded HDZ and SDP (SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS) stand out. The first act of the electoral campaign was carried out in the sign of these two parties or political groups, prior to the beginning of the official campaign.
5. During first part of the pre-electoral campaign there was not developed a topic on which public discussion would be focused. The campaign was carried out in political and journalist correctness.

According to its characteristic, the official pre-electoral campaign was continuation of the electoral campaign which begun considerably before its official beginning. The difference lays in the fact that the presence of government and ministries were significantly reduced, while presence of smaller parties, coalition, independent candidates increased in analysed daily newspapers. Two analysed periods represent unique and continuous pre-electoral activity of political actors. Daily newspapers have not shown any particular favour towards some of the actors participating in pre-electoral game.

Attachments

Period of the Campaign

Table A1 Daily newspapers according to the space and number of items

Daily newspapers	Space of item (%)	Number of items	
		%	N
Vjesnik	20,7	23,9	981
Vecernji list	13,3	14,6	601
Jutarnji list	19,9	15,0	616
Slobodna Dalmacija	18,7	19,5	803
Novi list	16,4	16,6	683
Glas Slavonije	11,0	10,5	431
Total	100,0	100,0	4115

Table A2 Criteria of including items according to its space and number

Criteria	Space(%)	No(%)
Activities of relevant actors	44,2	57,8
Mentioning of relevant actors	34,2	28,4
Sporadically mentioning of relevant actors	9,5	7,1
Elections (rules and education and similar)	12,1	6,6
Total	100,0	100,0

Table A3 Type of items according to its space and number

Type of items	Space(%)	No(%)
Report on activities of actors	45,3	62,9
Adds (paid items and similar)	19,1	14,0
Comments, analysis and similar	27,1	18,1
Educational items and similar	5,4	2,3
Others	3,2	2,7
Total	100	100

Table A4 Actors of activities according to the space and number of items

Actors of activities	Space(%)	No(%)
Parties and candidates	30,4	44,4
Government and ministries	3,2	5,2
Local authorities and other state organisations and institutions	3,3	4,2
NGO	10,4	10,4
Working organisations and institutions	2,9	2,8
Media	29,6	20,9
Other countries	1,2	1,8
Others	19,0	10,3
Total	100,0	100,0

Table A5 Political parties according to the space and number of items

Political parties	Space of the items (%)	Number of items	
		%	N
HDZ	33,2	20,8	380
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	15,6	19,9	365
HNS	8,4	8,7	159
HSS	6,0	7,1	130
HSP	4,1	4,4	81
DC/HLSL	8,1	7,8	142
HSU	0,3	0,8	14
HDSS	0,1	0,2	3
Minorities	1,3	2,6	48
HB/HIP	2,4	4,4	80
Other parties	12,5	15,0	273
Other (combinations)	8,2	8,3	154
Total	100,0	100,0	1829

Table A6 Attack/defence according to the space and number of items

Attack and/or defence	Space(%)	Number(%)
Only attack	13,7	15,1
Only defence	0,8	0,7
Both attack and defence	2,2	1,7
Neither attacks nor defence	83,3	82,5
Total	100,0	100,0

Table A7 Negatively marked parties according to the space and number of items

Negatively marked parties	Space of items (%)	No of items	
		%	N
HDZ	23,5	25,6	194
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	17,8	21,6	165
HNS/PGS/SBHS	1,6	3,8	29
HSS	2,7	3,4	26
HSP	2,2	1,4	11
DC/HSLs	0,7	0,8	6
minorities	0,1	0,3	2
HB/HIP	0,4	0,9	7
Other parties	2,6	3,6	28
Other (combinations)*	48,6	38,6	293
Total	100,0	100,0	762

*Out of 294 items in which two or more parties are negatively marked, 91 of them (11,9%) refers to SDP/HDZ, 116 (15,2%) to SDP and other parties (out of SDP's coalition parties), 86 (11,3%) to HDZ and other parties. There is only one such item (combination) in which do not appear SDP and HDZ.

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Table A8 Positively marked parties according to the space and number of items

Positively marked parties	Space of items (%)	Number of items (%)	N
HDZ	31,9	24,1	327
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	18,6	24,5	333
HNS/PGS/SBHS	10,2	9,7	131
HSS	6,5	7,1	96
HSP	3,9	4,0	54
DC/HSLs	8,1	8,4	115
HSU	0,5	0,6	8
Minorities	0,4	1,0	13
HB/HIP	2,0	3,2	44
Other parties	8,6	12,4	168
Others (combinations)*	9,3	5,0	68
Total	100,0	100,0	1358

*There are in total 68 such items (combination). 8 belong to SDP/HDZ (0,6%), 27 belong to SDP with other parties (out of SDP's coalition parties) 27 (2,0%), 19 (1,4%) to HDZ in combination with other parties and combination with all other parties 14 (1,0%).

Table A9 Dominant topics of items according to their space and number

Dominant topics	Space(%)	No(%)
Elections	46,0	43,4
Economy	13,0	14,4
Political parties	11,8	12,7
Internal affairs	4,9	5,4
Education, culture	3,5	3,8
External affairs	2,6	2,8
BH, Slovenia, Serbia and Montenegro	1,1	1,7
Ecology	1,7	1,5
Sports	2,1	1,5
Corruption	1,3	1,4
Other	12,0	11,5
Total	100,0	100,0

Table A10 Actors of activities according to daily newspapers

Actors of activities	Daily newspapers						Total
	Vjesnik	V. list	J. list	Sl.Dal	N. list	Gl. Slav	
Parties and candidates	43,7	43,8	41,6	52,6	40,8	41,8	44,4
Government and ministries	6,6	3,8	4,9	4,7	5,4	4,9	5,2
Local authorities	4,5	6,7	2,6	4,4	2,0	5,3	4,2
NGO	9,8	16,8	8,4	8,7	10,5	8,4	10,4
Working organisations and institutions	2,5	3,2	1,6	3,1	2,2	4,6	2,8
Media	25,5	14,0	19,6	15,4	24,6	26,5	20,9
Other countries	2,4	1,8	1,6	1,1	1,0	2,8	1,8
Others (combination)	4,9	10,0	19,6	10,0	13,3	5,8	10,3
N	981	601	616	803	683	431	4115
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

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Table A11 Political parties according to daily newspapers

Political parties	k	V. list	J. list	macija	N. list	G. Slavonije	Total
HDZ	18,9	21,3	27,7	23,7	13,6	18,9	20,8
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	16,6	24,3	24,6	17,5	25,1	12,8	20,0
HNS	10,7	6,1	9,0	4,5	14,7	7,8	8,7
HSS	10,3	6,8	6,6	5,0	5,0	8,9	7,1
HSP	4,9	3,4	5,1	2,1	5,4	7,8	4,4
DC/HSLs	8,2	6,5	5,5	10,7	6,5	7,2	7,8
HSU	0,9			1,4	0,7	1,1	0,8
HDSS	0,5					0,6	0,2
Minorities	4,2	2,7	0,4	0,9	3,2	5,0	2,6
HB/HIP	6,5	4,2	2,7	3,6	2,9	6,1	4,4
Other parties	16,8	7,6	15,2	16,4	11,5	22,8	14,9
Other (combinations)	1,6	17,1	3,1	14,2	11,5	1,1	8,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table A12 Attack /defence according to daily newspapers

Attack and or defence	Daily newspapers						Total
	Vjesnik	V. list	J. list	Sl. Dalmacija	N. list	G. Slavonije	
Only attack	15,1	17,6	12,0	19,9	12,0	11,8	15,1
Only defence	0,4	0,5	1,0	0,4	1,6	0,7	0,7
Attack and defence	1,3	2,5	1,8	1,9	1,8	0,5	1,7
Neither attack nor defence	83,2	79,4	85,2	77,8	84,6	87,0	82,5
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table A13 Negatively marked parties according to the number of items

Negatively marked parties	Daily newspapers						Total
	Vjesnik	V. list	J. list	Sl. Dalmacija	N. list	G. Slavonije	
HDZ	27,3	17,0	33,1	25,2	28,6	12,1	25,5
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	20,7	35,7	23,8	12,3	15,7	36,2	21,7
HNS/PGS/SBHS	5,0	8,9	2,3	1,3	2,7	5,2	3,8
HSS	4,1	1,8	2,3	4,5	3,2	5,2	3,4
HSP	1,7	0,9	0,8	1,9	2,2		1,4
DC/HSLs	0,8	0,9	0,8	0,6	1,1		0,8
Minorities			0,8			1,7	0,3
HB/HIP			0,8	1,9		5,2	0,9
Other parties	2,5	6,3	2,3	5,2	2,7	3,4	3,7
Other (combination)	38,0	28,6	33,1	47,1	43,8	31,0	38,5
N	121	112	130	155	185	58	761
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

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Table A14 Positively marked parties according to the daily newspapers

Positively marked parties	Daily newspapers						Total
	Vjesnik	V. list	J. list	Sl. Dalmacija	N. list	G. Slavonije	
HDZ	20,9	28,2	24,1	26,8	16,0	34,3	24,1
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	19,1	29,2	25,7	22,3	32,0	11,4	24,5
HNS/PGS/SBHS	9,3	8,6	9,7	7,3	15,6	7,1	9,7
HSS	10,7	7,7	9,7	4,9	4,3	5,7	7,1
HSP	4,4	2,9	4,2	3,4	3,9	8,6	4,0
DC/HSLs	7,6	7,2	6,8	11,4	8,2	5,7	8,5
HSU	0,9			0,8	0,9	1,4	0,6
minorities	2,2	1,0		0,3	1,3	2,9	1,0
HB/HIP	4,9	2,4	2,5	3,4	3,0	2,9	3,2
other parties	14,7	7,2	11,0	14,5	12,1	14,3	12,4
other combinations	5,3	5,7	6,3	4,9	2,6	5,7	5,0
N	225	209	237	385	231	70	1357
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table A15 Types of items according to daily newspapers

Type of items	Daily newspapers						Total
	Vjesnik	V. list	J list	Sl. Dalmacija	N. list	G. Slavonije	
Reporting on activities of actors	70,3	57,4	59,9	57,0	63,8	66,8	62,8
Advertisements	2,5	19,0	19,5	21,8	13,3	12,1	14,0
Commentaries, analysis and similar.	21,6	19,6	16,2	16,9	15,7	17,2	18,2
Educational items and similar	1,7	0,8	2,9	2,1	4,8	1,2	2,3
Others	3,8	3,2	1,5	2,1	2,3	2,8	2,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table A16 Political parties according to the types of items

Political parties	Types of items				Total
	Reporting on activities of actors	Adds	Comments, analysis and similar	Others	
HDZ	14,7	36,1	9,3	10,0	20,8
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	15,9	28,8	22,2	40,0	20,0
HNS	9,0	8,0	9,3		8,7
HSS	8,2	4,7	7,4		7,1
HSP	5,9	1,1	3,7		4,4
DC/HSLs	7,2	9,2	9,3		7,8
HSU	1,1			10,0	0,8
HDSS	0,2				0,2
Minorities	3,6	0,4	3,7		2,6
HB/HIP	5,4	1,9	5,6		4,4
Other parties	17,2	9,2	16,7	30,0	14,9
Others (combinations)	11,5	0,7	13,0	10,0	8,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table A17 Attack/defence according to the type of item

Attack and/or defence	Type of items					Total
	Reporting on activities of actors	Adds	Comments, analysis and similar	Educational items and similar	Other	
Only attack	17,0	1,6	21,7		10,0	15,1
Only defence	0,9		0,5		1,8	0,7
Both attack and defence	2,4		0,7		0,9	1,7
Neither attack nor defence	79,7	98,4	77,1	100,0	87,3	82,5
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table A18 Negatively marked parties according to the types of item

Negatively marked parties	Type of items				Total
	Reporting on activities of actors	Adds	Comments, analysis and similar	Other	
HZ	31,5		17,3	18,8	25,5
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	22,9	7,7	21,2	6,3	21,7
HNS/PGS/SBHS	4,6		2,2	12,5	3,8
HSS	4,2		2,5		3,4
HSP	0,4		2,9	6,3	1,4
DC/HSLs	0,9		0,7		0,8
minorities	0,4				0,3
HB/HIP	1,3		0,4		0,9
other parties	2,4	7,7	5,8		3,7
other combinations	31,3	84,6	47,1	56,3	38,5
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Table A19 Positively marked party according to the type of item

Positively marked parties	Type of items				Total
	Reporting on activities of actors	Adds	Comments, analysis and similar	Other	
HDZ	18,8	36,2	12,7		24,1
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	19,6	31,7	27,3	55,6	24,5
HNS/PGS/SBHS	10,4	8,1	11,8		9,7
HSS	9,0	4,4	5,5		7,1
HSP	5,9	1,1	2,7		4,0
DC/HSLs	7,8	9,8	8,2		8,5
HSU	0,6		1,8	11,1	0,6
minorities	1,5		0,9		1,0
HB/HIP	4,4	1,7	1,8		3,2
other parties	16,0	6,6	10,0	22,2	12,4
other combinations	5,9	0,4	17,3	11,1	5,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Period prior to the official electoral campaign

Table B1 Daily newspapers according to the space and number of items

Daily newspapers	Space of item(%)	Number of items	
		(%)	N
Vjesnik	19,9	22,1	1044
Vecernji list	12,2	15,8	743
Jutarnji list	16,7	13,2	678
Slobodna Dalmacija	20,8	18,2	853
Novi list	19,0	18,5	867
Glas Slavonije	11,4	12,3	576
Total	100,0	100,0	4761

Table B2 Items according to the criteria of selection based on space and number

Criteria of selection of items	Space(%)	Number(%)
Activities of relevant actors	39,7	49,2
Mentioning of relevant actors	42,0	35,7
Sporadic mentioning of relevant actors	15,9	12,0
Elections (rules, education and similar.)	2,3	3,1
Total	100,0	100,0

Table B3 Type of items according to its space and number

Type of item	Space(%)	No(%)
Reporting on the activities of actors	60,6	72,4
Adds (free time and similar)	4,2	3,2
Comments, analysis and similar	30,8	21,2
Educational items and similar	1,1	1,3
Other	3,3	2,0
Total	100,0	100,0

Table B4 Actors of activities according to the space and number of items

Actors of activities	Space(%)	No(%)
Relevant actors	32,1	41,6
Other state actors	3,6	3,5
NGO	12,2	11,2
Working organisations and institutions	6,4	6,3
Media	31,2	24,2
Other countries	2,4	2,4
Others	12,2	10,8
Total	100,0	100,0

Table B5 Relevant actors according to space and number of items

Relevant actors	Space of item (%)	Number of item (%)	N
Political parties	41,0	44,3	867
Parliament	2,2	1,9	37
Government	22,4	24,1	471
Local authorities	10,7	9,8	192
Others	23,8	19,9	389
Total	100,0	100,0	1956

Table B6 Political parties/coalition according to space and number of items

Political parties/coalitions	Space	No(%)
HDZ	15,1	12,4 107
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	24,7	23,7 206
HNS/PGS/SBHS	6,9	8,1 70
HSS	8,1	7,4 64
HSP	2,5	3,5 30
DC/HSLs	6,0	6,6 57
HSU	0,7	0,7 6
HDSS	0,0	0,1 1
Minorities	1,1	2,2 19
HB/HIP	3,0	5,7 49
Other parties	9,1	11,0 95
Others (combinations)	22,7	18,7 163
Total	100,0	100,0 867

Table B7 Attack /defence according to space and number of items

Attack and/or defence	Space(%)	No(%)
Only attack	18,5	17,5
Only defence	1,6	1,6
Both attack and defence	4,2	2,7
Neither attack nor defence	75,7	78,1
Total	100,0	100,0

Table B8 Negatively marked parties according to the space and number of items

Negatively marked parties	Space of items (%)	Number of items (%)	N
HDZ	14,8	15,8	98
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	16,1	22,0	137
HNS/PGS/SBHS	2,0	2,6	16
HSS	13,0	8,7	54
HSP	0,6	1,1	7
DC/HSLs	2,9	2,3	14
Minorities	1,1	1,0	6
Ruling coalition	15,8	17,9	111
HB/HIP	1,6	1,6	10
Other parties	1,6	1,9	12
Other (combinations)	30,6	25,0	155
Total	100,0	100,0	620

Table B9 Positively marked parties according to the space and number of items

Positively marked parties	Space of items (%)	Number of items	
		(%)	N
HDZ	19,8	18,2	84
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	25,4	24,7	115
HNS/PGS/SBHS	7,1	9,1	42
HSS	9,7	8,2	38
HSP	4,2	4,3	20
DC/HSLs	7,2	8,2	38
HSU	0,4	0,9	4
Minorities	0,5	1,9	9
Ruling coalition	5,9	5,2	24
HB/HIP	2,0	5,0	23
Other parties	7,6	7,6	35
Other combinations	10,2	6,7	31
Total	100,0	100,0	463

Table B10 Dominant topics according to the space and number of items

Dominant topics	Space(%)	No(%)
Economy	23,3	22,4
Elections	19,6	20,8
Internal affairs	8,8	9,4
Education, culture	9,2	8,8
Political parties	7,4	7,6
The Hague Tribunal	3,7	4,5
Foreign politics	4,4	4,3
Corruption	3,8	2,7
Media	2,1	2,1
Ecology	2,0	2,1
Others	15,7	15,4
Total	100,0	100,0

Table B11 Actors of activities according to the daily newspapers

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Actors of activities	Daily newspapers						Total
	Vjesnik	V. list	J. list	Sl. Dalmacija	N. list	G. Slavonije	
Relevant actors	40,9	43,3	31,4	41,4	41,5	48,8	41,1
Other state actors	4,8	3,9	2,4	3,9	2,3	2,6	3,4
NGO	10,2	17,6	13,4	8,7	9,1	7,6	11,0
Working organisations and institutions	5,1	6,7	4,4	8,3	4,8	8,3	6,2
Media	30,4	15,7	28,9	19,0	24,1	24,3	24,0
Other countries	2,5	3,2	1,3	2,8	1,5	3,0	2,4
Others	6,2	9,4	18,1	15,9	16,6	5,4	12,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

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Table B12 Relevant actors according to the daily newspapers

Relevant actors	Daily newspapers						Total
	Vjesnik	V. list	J. list	Sl.Dalmacija	N. list	G. Slavonije	
Political parties	45,0	48,8	57,7	30,9	42,2	47,7	44,3
Government	1,6	2,2	0,5	2,3	3,1	1,1	1,9
Government and ministries	26,9	28,6	15,5	22,1	26,1	21,0	24,1
Local authorities	4,0	5,9	5,2	13,0	18,3	11,7	9,8
Others	22,5	14,6	21,1	31,7	10,3	18,5	19,9
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table B13 Political parties/coalition according to the daily newspapers

Political parties	Daily newspapers						Total
	Vjesnik	V. list	J. list	Sl. Dalmacija	N. list	G. Slavonije	
HDZ	9,9	14,6	13,8	6,4	13,8	14,9	12,3
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	17,7	28,7	37,4	22,0	21,1	19,4	23,9
HNS/PGS/SBHS	7,3	10,2	7,3	8,3	6,6	9,0	8,1
HSS	9,9	2,5	6,5	3,7	9,2	11,2	7,4
HSP	5,7	3,2	2,4	2,8	2,6	3,0	3,5
DC/HSLs	7,3	8,3	4,1	0,9	8,6	8,2	6,6
HSU	1,0			1,8	0,7	0,7	0,7
HDSS	0,5						0,1
Minorities	2,6	1,3	2,4	1,8	2,6	2,2	2,2
HB/HIP	5,7	5,1	1,6	8,3	6,6	6,7	5,7
Other parties	9,9	7,6	8,1	13,8	16,4	10,4	11,0
Other (combinations)	22,4	18,5	16,3	30,3	11,8	14,2	18,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

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Table B14 Attack/ or defence according to the daily newspapers

Attack and/or defence	Daily newspapers						Total
	Vjesnik	V. list	J. list	Sl. Dalmacija	N. list	G. Slavonije	
Only attack	17,3	16,0	11,5	31,1	10,4	15,8	17,3
Only defence	1,2	1,1	1,2	1,6	2,4	2,3	1,6
Both attack and defence	1,3	2,8	2,1	6,1	2,3	1,2	2,7
Neither attack nor defence	80,1	80,1	85,3	61,2	84,9	80,7	78,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table B15 Negatively marked parties according to daily newspapers

Negatively marked parties	Daily newspapers						Total
	Vjesnik	V. list	J. list	Sl. Dalmacija	N. list	G. Slavonije	
HDZ	23,1	11,7	16,2	12,4	18,8	8,1	15,8
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	22,0	26,7	25,2	14,7	22,2	40,5	22,1
HNS/PGS/SBHS	2,2	5,0	3,6	1,7	2,8		2,6
HSS	7,7	13,3	9,9	10,2	4,2	10,8	8,7
HSP	2,2	1,7	0,9		2,1		1,1
DC/HSLs	6,6	3,3	0,9	1,1	1,4	2,7	2,3
Minorities	1,1			0,6	2,8		1,0
Ruling coalition	5,5	11,7	18,9	28,2	16,0	13,5	17,9
HB/HIP	1,1	1,7	1,8	2,3	0,7	2,7	1,6
Other parties	1,1	1,7		1,7	4,2	2,7	1,9
Other (combinations)	27,5	23,3	22,5	27,1	25,0	18,9	25,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

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Table B16 Positively marked parties according to the daily newspapers

Positively marked parties	Daily newspapers						Total
	Vjesnik	V. list	J. list	Sl. Dalmacija	N. list	G. Slavonije	
HDZ	15,9	16,7	26,1	7,8	19,2	21,4	18,1
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	28,0	18,8	26,1	22,1	24,4	26,2	24,8
HNS/PGS/SBHS	11,2	14,6	9,9	10,4	3,8	2,4	9,1
HSS	8,4	8,3	11,7	9,1	5,1	2,4	8,2
HSP	4,7	8,3	3,6	2,6	3,8	4,8	4,3
DC/HSLs	12,1	12,5	9,0		7,7	7,1	8,2
HSU	1,9			1,3	1,3		0,9
Minorities	1,9		0,9	1,3	2,6	7,1	1,9
Ruling coalition	1,9	8,3	2,7	15,6	2,6	2,4	5,2
HB/HIP	4,7	6,3	2,7	3,9	9,0	4,8	5,0
Other parties	6,5	4,2	5,4	5,2	15,4	9,5	7,6
Other combinations	2,8	2,1	1,8	20,8	5,1	11,9	6,7

Table B17 Type of items according to the daily newspapers

Type of items	Daily newspapers						Total
	Vjesnik	V.list	J. list	Sl. Dalmacija	N. lis	G. Slavonije	
Reporting on activities of actors	67,4	70,1	63,1	74,0	78,0	76,6	71,4
Advertisements	1,3	3,5	8,3	2,1	1,3	4,3	3,2
Comments, analysis and similar.	27,7	23,0	12,4	23,2	18,5	16,7	21,0
Educational items and similar	2,2	0,1	2,7		1,7	0,3	1,2
Other	1,3	3,2	13,6	0,7	0,6	2,1	3,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

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Table B18 Attack/defence according to the type of item

14 Attack and /or defence	Type of item					Total
	Reporting on activities of actors	Adds	Comments, analysis and similar	Educational items and similar	Others	
Only attack	15,8	4,0	26,8	1,7	8,5	17,3
Only defence	1,9		0,9	1,7	2,0	1,6
Both attack and defence	3,0		2,5		0,7	2,7
Neither attack nor defence	79,3	96,0	69,8	96,6	88,9	78,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table B19 Negatively marked parties according to the type of items

Negatively marked parties	Type of items					Total
	Reports on actors	Ads	Comments, analysis and similar	Edu. items and similar	Others	
HDZ	16,6	22,2	14,6	100,0		15,8
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	25,5	11,1	18,6		20,0	22,1
HNS/PGS/SBHS	2,2		3,2			2,6
HSS	7,4		10,4		20,0	8,7
HSP	1,5		0,7			1,1
DC/HSLs	1,8		2,9			2,3
Minorities	1,5		0,4			1,0
Ruling coalition	22,8	22,2	12,5			17,9
HB/HIP	2,2	11,1	0,7			1,6
Other parties	1,2		2,9			1,9
Other (combination)	17,2	33,3	33,2		60,0	25,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

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Table B20 Positively marked parties according to the type of item

Positively marked parties	Type of items				Total
	Reporting on activities of actors	Adds	Comments analysis and similar	Others	
HDZ	17,9	15,6	23,6		18,1
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	20,6	51,9	12,7		24,8
HNS/PGS/SBHS	8,2	15,6	5,5		9,1
HSS	10,0	3,9	3,6		8,2
HSP	5,5		3,6		4,3
DC/HSLs	9,4	6,5	3,6		8,2
HSU	1,2				0,9
Minorities	2,7				1,9
Ruling coalition	5,8		9,1		5,2
HB/HIP	6,4	1,3	1,8		5,0
Other parties	7,0	5,2	14,5		7,6
Other combinations	5,5		21,8	100,0	6,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

PROJECT MEDIA AND ELECTIONS
Branimir Krištofić

TELEVISION

Summary

During electoral campaign, coverage of parties and candidates participating at elections was regulated by rules that have not significantly changed since 1995. The rules refer to the strict principle of equality. According to the rules each party is given equal, free of charge quantity of time for presentation of their programs and candidates at elections. The rules prescribe manner and forms of reporting; the questions have to be the same for all parties. The paid program must be available to all under equal conditions. The quantity of advertisement is not restricted and depends on financial possibilities of parties. The rules demand that regular informative program and political program be carried out according to the principle of balance, fairness and impartiality.

Until today analysis of the media monitoring of elections showed that the principle of strict equality was respected in the part of the program defined by the rules. In Croatia there are always a great number of parties and candidates that participate in elections therefore the entire pre-electoral campaign turned to be unattractive and watched by an insignificant percentage of viewers.

Since the paid time is not restricted, the largest parties had the greatest number of advertisements financed from the state budgets (according to the number of members in Parliament).

The greatest differences were observed in the regular informative program. It was said that the HTV in their newscasts had to follow the regular activities of state officials. Such editorial policy at 1997 elections created prime time TV newscast (Dnevnik) in which the former ruling party HDZ was covered by 95.8% of all editorial items. During 2000 elections, HTV was subject to the control of the international institutions and domestic independent media, thus the number of items covering HDZ was reduced to 25.2%. The items covering the government, which at that time consisted exclusively of HDZ members (20.7%) should be added to the aforementioned items and therefore the results showed that slightly less than a half of editorial items covered HDZ.

These are the first elections where the HDZ is in the opposition with two television houses with national concession and with unchanged rules for monitoring electoral program. As it was previously observed, the main problem

in monitoring of former elections was uneven coverage of parties in informative programs. Therefore the main task of the research was analysis of the informative program on HTV and NOVATV and confirming whether there exist difference in coverage by these two televisions. Most rated political shows on HTV were analysed. The period of analysis included six weeks prior to the day of elections (since October 12 until November 22, 2003). Taking into consideration that the “Rules on behaviour of electronic media with national concession in the Republic of Croatia during electoral campaign” essentially changed the manner on reporting about the electoral actors, the period and research report was divided into two parts: before (October 12 until November 5, 2003) and after (November 6 and November 22, 2003) application of **RULES**. The only change in **RULES** is that two-minute reports from the meetings of parties that were broadcast within informative programs were moved to special programs after prime time TV news (Dnevnik). The analysis therefore included those shows also. The electoral program on third channel of HTV, which lasted from early morning hours until late night hours, was not included in the analysis.

As it is well-known, in spite of the order of the State Electoral Commission NOVATV refused to respect the **RULES** and reported on actors within its regular informative programs. Program set by **RULES**, was not changed into some special electoral program.

Besides mentioned, we analysed advertising program prior and after selected shows. The report is divided into three sections. First relates to the period prior to the official campaign (attachment A), second to the electoral campaign (attachment B), and third (attachment C) to the political programs.

Considering the first period, the results show that there are no essential differences between the analysed informative programs of HTV and NOVATV. Both televisions mostly cover the work of the Government and largest parliamentary parties. The main parties of the SDP ruling coalition and the largest opposition party HDZ have small advantage. Thus, in that period there was not a single item covering HSU (Croatian Party of Pensioners) which entered the new convocation of the parliament with three representatives. Equally the work of the Parliament was monitored in balanced manner and therefore the representatives of the largest parties were invited evenly. The

parties of the ruling coalition, especially SDP and LIBRA obtained advantage through items covering the work of government. Each minister whose work was covered by TV reporters brings additional seconds. However, when the entire results are observed, the items on coalition SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS do not overpass the quarter of all broadcast items.

When the tone of the item is concerned, the greatest number of items was assessed as neutral on both televisions. On NOVATV they were somewhat more critical and there are more negatively intoned items and the items in which the journalists of NOVATV appear as “attackers” expressing criticism about certain political actors.

In the second period, during electoral campaign, the informative program on HTV is entirely depoliticised and the coverage of electoral actors was moved into electoral program. During HTV campaign, 107 editorial items were broadcast on HTV, and 270 on NOVATV. Before the campaign, 17 items were broadcast in average daily, covering relevant political actors while that number was decreased to 6.3 during electoral campaign. On NOVATV average number of such items decreased from 18 to 16 and this shows that NOVATV did not have any special editorial policy during monitoring elections. Both televisions mostly reported about largest parties and coalitions SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS that had most ministers in government. The items covering that coalition make one third of all editorial items.

There had not been reported any violations of prescribed **RULES** in special programs, which broadcast reports from party meetings. Specifically, only one coalition complained about violations of its rights, but the State Electoral Commission refused the complaint with an explanation that they the meeting had not been registered on time.

Out of paid program, 65% covered large parties and coalitions, which entered the new convocation of Parliament, and 35% to other parties. HDZ and the coalition SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS invested most in advertising. Among parties which did not win mandates, the greatest number belong to the HB/HIP (100 advertisement) and independent list of Boris Mikšić. The Croatian Party of Pensioners that won three mandates and the coalition HDSS/HDC/DPS with the independent candidate on their list, Ivo Loncar did not have a single advertisement.

Considering the tone of items, both televisions used equally neutral tone. It was assessed that around four fifths of items did not contain any attacks against electoral actors. When the topics are concerned, there was an obvious progress towards daily political topics and neglect of the historic and state-building topics.

The main problem regarding television coverage of electoral campaign changed from the one concerning uneven coverage of parties in informative program and focused on the official electoral program imposed by **RULES**.

Political shows on HTV were also almost entirely “depoliticized” during electoral campaign. Politicians and candidates at elections were not invited as guests nor were they or their actions discussed. However, before this depoliticization was introduced, besides representatives of the largest parties, the representatives of the smaller parties were also invited. Thus, the president of the Croatian Party of Pensioners who announced winning of his party with at least one mandate, was a guest in **LATINICA**.

When the electoral campaign ended, the editors and journalists of HRT sent open letter to the President of the Croatian Parliament, Zlatko Tomcic. The letter said: “Journalist profession was humiliated, and television program brought to an absurd situation. However, not a single candidate or journalist association reacted to the humiliating position of journalists and HTV employees.” The HRT journalists are not ready to accept the rules set by the highest legislative body on how they should behave during elections. In spite of the fact that the **RULES** have not changed significantly since 1995, this is the first “rebellion” of HRT journalists and as such points out to the need for necessary improvement.

PROJECT MEDIA AND ELECTIONS

Branimir Krištofic

TELEVISION

Attachment A:

Analysis of the results in the period prior to the electoral campaign:

October 12 until November 5, 2003

The analysis included informative shows of only two televisions with national concession: Dnevnik and Meridijan 16 on first channel of HTV, 24 sata and Meta on NOVATV. The items covering the work of the relevant political actors were included in the analysis. Under relevant actors we consider parties and institutions which are related to the work of parties. These are the parties themselves, Parliament (when we started monitoring the Parliament was not dissolved at the time), the Government (in narrower sense includes the Prime Minister and members of the government, and in broader sense the work of ministries, deputy ministers, government agencies, and similar) and authorities at local level (counties, cities, municipalities). The analysis includes items in which relevant actors do not appear but elections are mentioned.

Whenever possible, the party belonging of the actors reported on in the item was marked. For instance, if the items reports on the work of the city mayor of Varaždin, Ivan Cehok, Parliament is the relevant actor, and when it reports on activities of the vice-president of HSLS, Ivan Cehok the relevant actor is the party he belong to. In all three cases the party belonging is HSLS.

The unit of the analysis was the item. Two measures were used: number of item and duration of item in seconds. The thematic blocks and larger items may be divided among smaller items if there remain the meaningful entities that may act independently as information. In certain number of items more actors appear and if the item cannot be divided to smaller entities the combination of actors is marked. Thus the comment regarding the relationship between HDZ and SDP will be included in the combination with special marking that these two parties are involved. For combinations it is possible to give only a number of appearance of certain actors and parties, but not the time dedicated to certain actor.

“Direct speech” which contains tone fragments, telephone interviews and conversations carried out in studios was analysed separately. Regarding “direct

speech”, since it always concerns one speaker, there is no combination, and time of duration is attributed to one relevant political actor.

We managed to define the tone of the item by introducing two variables. We asked whether item covers the actor in positive or negative way. Here the issue concerns subjective assessment of analysts; thus the results should be accepted as subjective grading.

By using second variable we tried to establish whether there were any attacks against the actors, who were the actors and who was attacked.

The dominant topic, covered by the item, was noted also.

RESULTS

In the period of 25 days prior to the beginning of the official campaign 66970 seconds were broadcast, specifically 841 items reporting on the work of relevant actors or preparations for elections.

TABLE 1 - NUMBER AND DURATION OF ANALYSED ITEMS

TELEVIZIJ A	N	%	seconds	%
HTV1	407	48,39	37162	55,49
NOVA TV	434	51,61	29808	44,51
TOTAL	841	100,00	66970	100,00

On NOVATV there were more items broadcast while the HTV1 spent more time on reporting about the activities of relevant actors.

On both televisions the greatest number of items regarding the work of the Government (Table 3) was broadcast. Since the Parliament was dissolved on October 17, the analysis included only five days of its work; thus the number of items is relatively small. However, NOVATV covered half as much items than HTV regarding the work of the Parliament. There are also more items on NOVATV that cover the work of the parties. In total there are 19 items covering the work of the local authorities. When the items are added covering the work of several actors (combination – table 2) the picture does not change significantly. Taking into consideration the actors, difference between HTV and NOVATV are small. NOVA TV managed to “squeeze” more actors in less time.

**TABLE 2 – TOTAL NUMBER OF
ACTORS
INDEPENDENTLY +
COMBINATION**

	HTV1	NOVATV	TOTAL
PARTIES	165	186	251
PARLIAMENT	59	68	127
GOVERNMENT/ NARROW	130	167	297
GOVERN/BROA DER	100	93	193
LOCAL AUTHORITIES	19	11	30
OTHER	37	23	60

Table 4 shows party belonging of actors. The results of certain parties and coalitions that obtained seats and formed a part of the new convocation of the Parliament are given separately, while all other parties are included by the category “other parties”. There are 31 items in this category. Since the parties presented in the table belonged to the former convocation of the Parliament, it is evident that they obtained a satisfactory media promotion. The results show that significant parliamentary parties and parties of government coalition dominate on television. Among the parties, which won new mandates in the Parliament, there is not a single item on Croatian Party of Pensioners, Hrvatska stranka umirovljenika. Also, only two items in combination with other actors covered HDSS Hrvatska demokratska seljacka stranka, on which list, Ivo Loncar entered the Parliament.

Table 5 sums up the results of the independent items about parties and items covering certain party in combination with other parties. The leading party of the former ruling coalition SDP appears in one fourth of the item, and the leading opposition party HDZ appear in half the number. HSS have also half the number of items than SDP. The coalition HSLs/DC with 60 items in total converted this relatively satisfactory media position into a significantly lesser

number of mandates than expected. In spite of the fact that according to the TV reports, HNS and HSP seemed to hold somehow bad positions, they increased the number of mandates.

Tables 6, 7 and 8 depict separately items covering the work of the parties, Parliament and the Government (narrow government: Prime Minister and Ministers). Coverage of the work of the Parliament and activities of the parties, taking into consideration the coverage of parties, is relatively equal. HDZ and Coalition SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS with somehow more items stand out among the parties and that even more on private NOVATV, than on public HTV. The parties, which formed the ruling coalition, obtained quantitative advantage by their reports regarding the work of the Government. SDP and LIBRA stand out among other parties regarding the work of their ministers. There are more items on NOVATV than on HTV.

When “direct speech” is concerned, the parties participating in the government (Table 9 and 10) were covered by most tone fragments. It seems that the following is the rule: the more ministers the more tone fragments. Most tone fragments covered HDZ, while 39 tone fragments together covered HSL and DC, who first announced coalition. Irrelevant number of items covered all other parties and especially the non-parliamentary parties.

TONE OF THE ITEM

The task of the analysis of these pre-electoral activities of the media was first of all to establish quantitative coverage of parties in informative programs of HTV and NOVATV. At the request of the orderer we tried to establish the tone of the item. The question was posed whether the actors had been covered by positive or negative tone. The procedure demands that each item be assessed by two analysts, and when they are unable to reach a decision, the third analysts grades the item. We did not have financial nor technical possibilities to carry out such a procedure thus the items were graded by only one analyst. Therefore the grade is subjective and the results should be considered as such. The results show that coverage of a great number of items is neutral. In 152 items (74 on HTV and 78 on NOVATV) the coverage is graded as positive. Positive items refer to the work of the Government (49), SDP (28), HDZ (17),

HSS (17), HSP (11) and HNS (9). Other parties were covered with a rather insignificant number of positive broadcasts and are not worth mentioning at all. Since the entire pattern of positive items is small, differences between HTV and NOVATV are also small. There are somewhat few positive items in favour of government on HTV and in favour of HDZ and SDP on NOVATV.

There were 184 negatively marked items on NOVATV and twice as much than on HTV (118 to 66). However, the order of five actors is the same on both televisions. Most negative items were the ones covering the Government (33-NOVA/24HTV), followed by SDP (40/13), HDZ (21/11), HSS (14/5) and ruling coalition (7/4). HNS (7/4) and LIBRA (8/1) share sixth and seventh place.

262 items were found in the entire material, which according to the assessment of analysts, contained attacks against some of the actors. 105 were recorded on HTV and 156 on NOVATV. The similar situation is repeated to the one with positive and negative tone item. Government is the most attacked actor with (80 items) on NOVATV and with (50) items on HTV, followed by SDP (23/10) and HDZ (17/9). They are followed by the ruling coalition (10/7) and parties which make the coalition HSS (8/5) and HNS (5/5). Other parties are "attacked" by an irrelevant number of times. The journalists on NOVA TV were mostly "the attackers" (in 64 items) while the journalists on HTV were considerably "milder". The analysts assessed only 10 items as the attack against actors. The most regular "attacker", belonging to relevant actors, was the Government (20 items on NOVA /21 items on HTV). HDZ (7/15), SDP (10/4) and HSP (0/3) attacked the most. However, let us repeat once again, both televisions reported neutrally in the greatest number of items. There were a significantly small number of items covering the attacks against actors among all the analysed items.

TOPICS

Each item sets aside a dominant topic and the results relating to that dominant topic. Eight (8) out of (17) topics, anticipated by analytical pattern, was covered by somewhat greater number. Previously significantly covered topics

(demographic, state building, historical) did not appear at all. The Homeland war was a dominant topic in only four items, and topics regarding returnees and reconstruction in 12. Two leading topics on both televisions were economy (94 items on HTV and 81 on NOVATV) and elections (81HTV/98NOVA). The preparations regarding these issues ran smoothly and the pre-electoral campaign was already in the full swing. The third place occupies topics regarding activities and relations between parties (57/81), followed by topics from internal politics (42/57). Topics regarding war crimes and relationship between The Hague are in fifth place on both televisions (30/33). Topics regarding corruption, foreign affairs, (23/23) and education, culture and science (28/24) hold last position.

CONCLUSION

The analysed period prior to the official campaign, when the rules on behaviour of electronic media with national concession were not brought as yet was focused on the coverage of the work of Government and most important parliamentary parties. Irrelevant number of items covered smaller parliamentary parties and non-parliamentary parties, minorities and other electoral actors. Reporting on the work of the parties is equal within the limits of the mentioned focus on the parliamentary parties. A leading party of the ruling coalition and leading opposition party obtained preference. Similarly, reporting from the Parliament obtained preference also. Quantitative advantage of the ruling coalition was gained by covering the work of Government, specifically the work of its ministers.

Considering the tone of the item, the greatest number of items is neutral. These items represent more than four/fifths of all broadcast items. NOVATV is somehow “more critical” and there are more negatively toned items and items in which the actors are attacked. However, Government, SDP and HDZ are the most often attacked actors. Therefore it cannot be said that anyone has a special, privileged position. The fact that some other actors are not attacked, or are less attacked, does not mean at the same time that they are praised in any way.

Regarding topics, it is evident that there is a great turn from historic, state-building topics regarding destiny of the country and its sovereignty, which

were significantly covered by previous elections, to topics regarding economy and internal affairs.

TABLE 3 - ACTORS

A - NUMBER OF ITEMS

ACTORS	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1 PARTIES	93	22,85	121	27,88	214	25,45
2 PARLIAMENT	22	5,41	45	10,37	67	7,97
3 GOVERN/NARROW	88	21,62	96	22,12	184	21,88
4 GOVERN/BROAD	72	17,69	51	11,75	123	14,63
5 LOCAL AUTHO.	13	3,19	6	1,38	19	2,26
6 COMBINATIO	86	21,13	92	21,20	178	21,17

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NS						
7 OTHERS	33	8,11	23	5,30	56	6,66
TOTAL	407	100,00	434	100,00	841	100,00

B - DURATION OF ITEMS IN SECONDS

Actors	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
	seconds	%	seconds	%	seconds	%
1 PARTIES	5658	15,23	7391	24,80	13049	19,48
2 PARLIAMENT	1635	4,40	2340	7,85	3975	5,94
3 GOVER/ NARROW	6670	17,95	6414	21,52	13084	19,54
4 GOVER/BROA D	13448	36,19	2887	9,69	16335	24,39
5 LOCAL AUTHO.	638	1,72	938	3,15	1576	2,35
6 COMBINATIO NS	6270	16,87	8259	27,71	14529	21,69
7 OTHERS	2843	7,65	1579	5,30	4422	6,60
TOTAL	37162	100,00	29808	100,00	66970	100,00

TABLE 4 - PARTIES

A - NUMBER OF ITEMS

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PARTIES	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
02 HDZ	21	5,16	23	5,30	44	5,23
03 HNS/PGS/SBHS	13	3,19	13	3,00	26	3,09
04 HSLs/DC	14	3,44	16	3,69	30	3,57
05 HSP/ZDS/MS	7	1,72	9	2,07	16	1,90
06 HSS	24	5,90	28	6,45	52	6,18
08 SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS	83	20,39	112	25,81	195	23,19
09 OTHER PARTIES	11	2,70	20	4,61	31	3,69
13 COMBINATIONS	58	14,25	72	16,59	130	15,46
14 OTHERS	176	43,24	141	32,49	317	37,69
TOTAL	407	100,00	434	100,00	841	100,00

B - DURATION OF ITEMS IN SECONDS

PARTIES	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
	seconds	%	seconds	%	seconds	%
02 HDZ	769	2,07	1512	5,07	2281	3,41
03 HNS/PGS/SBHS	688	1,85	811	2,72	1499	2,24
04 HSLs/DC	560	1,51	882	2,96	1442	2,15
05 HSP/ZDS/MS	232	0,62	700	2,35	932	1,39
06 HSS	1055	2,84	2022	6,78	3077	4,59
08 SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS	7035	18,93	7675	25,75	14710	21,97
09 OTHER PARTIES	371	1,00	1181	3,96	1552	2,32
13 COMBINATIONS	4648	12,51	6187	20,76	10835	16,18
14 OTHERS	21804	58,67	8838	29,65	30642	45,75
TOTAL	37162	100,00	29808	100,00	66970	100,00

TABLE 5 - PARTIES INDEPENDENTLY AND IN COMBINATION

NUMBER OF ITEMS

PARTIES	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL		TOTAL
	independ	combin	independ	combin	independ	combin	
DC	2	3	7	5	9	8	17
HB	0	1	0	1	0	2	2
HDZ	21	31	23	33	44	64	108
HIP	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
HKDU	0	2	0	0	0	2	2
HND	1	1	1	0	2	1	3
HNS	12	11	12	9	24	20	44
HSLs	5	8	5	3	10	11	21
HSP	7	6	8	7	15	13	28
HSS	24	29	28	22	52	51	103
IDS	2	1	2	2	4	3	7
LIBRA	21	7	23	14	44	21	65
LS	6	2	12	4	18	16	24
NZ	0	5	3	1	3	6	9
PGS	0	1	1	0	1	1	2
SBHS	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
SDP	54	38	74	57	128	95	223
SNS	2	2	2	0	4	2	6
ASH	0	2	0	2	0	4	4
HCSP	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
HDSS	0	1	0	1	0	2	2
HPS	0	0	1	2	1	2	3
HSP 1861	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
JHS	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
SDSS	2	0	2	0	4	0	4
FHS	1	0	2	0	3	0	3
DSU-SN	0	0	3	0	3	0	3
VLAK	0	2	0	5	0	7	7
DC/HSLs	7	8	4	3	11	11	22
HB/HIP	2	0	3	1	5	1	6
SDP/IDS	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
HNS/SBHS	1	0	0	1	1	1	2

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HNS/PGS	0	1	0	1	0	2	2
HCSP/HKDU	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
HSP/ZDS	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
SDP/LS/LIBR A	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
OTHERS	176	4	141	5	317	9	326

TABLE 6 - ITEMS ON ACTIVITIES OF PARTIES

A - NUMBER OF ITEMS

PARTIES	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
02 HDZ	15	16,13	16	13,22	31	14,49
03 HNS/PGS/SBHS	5	5,38	4	3,31	9	4,21
04 HSL/DC	6	6,45	10	8,26	16	7,48
05 HSP/ZDS/MS	2	2,15	3	2,48	5	2,34
06 HSS	8	8,60	11	9,09	19	8,88
08 SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS	15	16,13	21	17,36	36	16,82
09 OTHER PARTIES	9	9,68	13	10,74	22	10,28
13 COMBINATION	21	22,58	32	26,45	53	24,77
14 OTHERS	12	12,90	11	9,09	23	10,75
TOTAL	93	100,00	121	100,00	214	100,00

B - DURATION OF ITEMS IN SECONDS

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PARTIES	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
	seconds	%	seconds	%	seconds	%
02 HDZ	562	9,93	1117	15,11	1679	12,87
03 HNS/PGS/SBHS	264	4,67	118	1,60	382	2,93
04 HSLs/DC	269	4,75	692	9,36	961	7,36
05 HSP/ZDS/MS	37	0,65	137	1,85	174	1,33
06 HSS	300	5,30	926	12,53	1226	9,40
08 SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS	657	11,61	921	12,46	1578	12,09
09 OTHER PARTIES	298	5,27	604	8,17	902	6,91
13 COMBINATIONS	1213	21,44	2037	27,56	3250	24,91
14 OTHERS	2058	36,37	839	11,35	2897	22,20
TOTAL	5658	100,00	7391	100,00	13049	100,00

TABLE 7 - ITEMS COVERING ACTIVITIES OF PARLIAMENT

A - NUMBER OF ITEMS

PARTIES	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
02 HDZ	1	4,55	3	6,67	4	5,97
04 HSLs/DC	2	9,09	2	4,44	4	5,97
05 HSP/ZDS/MS			2	4,44	2	2,99
06 HSS	2	9,09	5	11,11	7	10,45
08 SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS	2	9,09	4	8,89	6	8,96
09 OTHER PARTIES	1	4,55	3	6,67	4	5,97
13 COMBINATION	3	13,64	7	15,56	10	14,93
14 OTHERS	11	50,00	19	42,22	30	44,78
TOTAL	22	100,00	45	100,00	67	100,00

B - DURATION OF ITEMS IN SECONDS

PARTIES	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
	seconds	%	seconds	%	seconds	%
02 HDZ	10	0,61	151	6,45	161	4,05
04 HSLS/DC	116	7,09	63	2,69	179	4,50
05 HSP/ZDS/MS			46	1,97	46	1,16
06 HSS	47	2,87	209	8,93	256	6,44
08 SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS	229	14,01	82	3,50	311	7,82
09 OTHER PARTIES	18	1,10	61	2,61	79	1,99
13 COMBINATION	330	20,18	550	23,50	880	22,14
14 OTHERS	885	54,13	1178	50,34	2063	51,90
TOTAL	1635	100,00	2340	100,00	3975	100,00

TABLE 8 - ITEMS COVERING ACTIVITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT

B - NUMBER OF ITEMS

PARTIES	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
HNS	5	5,68	7	7,29	12	6,52
HSS	8	9,09	6	6,25	14	7,61
LIBRA	15	17,05	22	22,92	37	20,11
LS	3	3,41	3	3,13	6	3,26
SDP	29	32,95	37	38,54	66	35,87

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NON-PARTY	28	31,82	21	21,88	49	26,63
TOTAL	88	100,00	96	100,00	184	100,00

B - DURATION OF ITEMS IN SECONDS

PARTIES	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
	seconds	%	seconds	%	seconds	%
HNS	354	5,31	645	10,06	999	7,64
HSS	387	5,80	425	6,63	812	6,21
LIBRA	1418	21,26	1482	23,11	2900	22,16
LS	277	4,15	187	2,92	464	3,55
SDP	2560	38,38	2263	35,28	4823	36,86
NON PARTY	1674	25,10	1412	22,01	3086	23,59
TOTAL	6670	100,00	6414	100,00	13084	100,00

TABLE 9 - DIRECT SPEECH

A - NUMBER OF TONE FRAGMENTS

	HTV1	NOVA	TOTAL
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CROATIAN HELSINKI COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

PARTIES	N	%	N	%	N	%
DC	7	3,07	12	6,98	19	4,63
HDZ	22	9,65	15	8,72	37	9,02
HKDU	1	0,44			1	0,24
HND	2	0,88			2	0,49
HNS	15	6,58	9	5,23	24	5,85
HSLs	12	5,26	6	3,49	18	4,39
HSP	6	2,63	10	5,81	16	3,90
HSS	30	13,16	15	8,72	45	10,98
IDS	2	0,88	3	1,74	5	1,22
LIBRA	22	9,65	17	9,88	39	9,51
LS	5	2,19	8	4,65	13	3,17
NZ	5	2,19	4	2,33	9	2,20
SDP	47	20,61	43	25,00	90	21,95
SNS	3	1,32	2	1,16	5	1,22
HCSP	1	0,44			1	0,24
HPS			3	1,74	3	0,73
JHS			1	0,58	1	0,24
SDSS	3	1,32	1	0,58	4	0,98
FHS	1	0,44			1	0,24
DSU-SN			1	0,58	1	0,24
DC/HSLs			2	1,16	2	0,49
HB/HIP	1	0,44	1	0,58	2	0,49
HSP/ZDS			1	0,58	1	0,24
OTHERS	43	18,86	28	16,28	71	17,31
TOTAL	228	100,00	172	100,00	410	100,00

TABLE 10 - DIRECT SPEECH

CROATIAN HELSINKI COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

B - DURATION OF TONE FRAGMENTS IN SECONDS

PARTIES	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
	seconds	%	seconds	%	seconds	%
DC	103	2,28	215	3,74	318	3,10
HDZ	376	8,34	632	11,01	1008	9,84
HKDU	11	0,24			11	0,11
HND	21	0,47			21	0,20
HNS	253	5,61	481	8,38	734	7,16
HSLs	242	5,37	155	2,70	397	3,87
HSP	98	2,17	329	5,73	427	4,17
HSS	454	10,07	980	17,07	1434	13,99
IDS	31	0,69	64	1,11	95	0,93
LIBRA	491	10,89	433	7,54	924	9,02
LS	103	2,28	153	2,67	256	2,50
NZ	54	1,20	101	1,76	155	1,51
SDP	1142	25,33	1313	22,87	2455	23,59
SNS	58	1,29	44	0,77	102	1,00
HCSP	11	0,24			11	0,11
HPS			55	0,96	55	0,54
JHS			42	0,73	42	0,41
SDSS	42	0,93	9	0,16	51	0,50
FHS	10	0,22			10	0,10
DSU-SN			9	0,16	9	0,09
DC/HSLs			21	0,37	21	0,20
HB/HIP	15	0,33	20	0,35	35	0,34
HSP/ZDS			31	0,54	31	0,30
OTHERS	993	22,03	654	11,39	1647	16,07
TOTAL	4508	100,00	5741	100,00	10249	100,00

PROJECT: MEDIA AND ELECTIONS

Branimir Krištofić

TELEVISION

ATTACHMENT B:

Analysis of the results of the media monitoring for television for the period from November 6 until November 22, 2003

During electoral campaign the electoral program was entirely prescribed by the „Rules on behaviour of electronic media with national concession in the Republic of Croatia during electoral campaign.” The **RULES** respect the principle of strict equality and they distribute equal amount of time among each electoral actor. Each “list of political parties, party coalitions, independent candidates and candidates of the ethnic minority members” is entitled to a following shows: special TV show in which without a mediation of a journalist, the parties represent their programs, another show in duration of 45 minutes in which each party is represented by a journalist (the same question for each party), and ten reports from electoral meetings in duration of two minutes with two tone fragments and participation in confrontations according to each electoral units (same questions for all participants of the confrontation).

Two-minute reports from the meetings were broadcast in special programs prior and after prime time TV news *Dnevnik* on HTV1. All other electoral program was broadcast on HTV3. The monitoring included the program on HTV1 since the beginning of electoral campaign prior to *Dnevnik* until the end of the electoral program after *Dnevnik* including party advertisements which were broadcast in that period. Besides *Dnevnik* and electoral program the analysis included also a show *Meridijan 16* on HTV1 and advertisements prior and after the show. The electoral program on HTV3 lasted from the early morning hours until late in the night and is not included by the monitoring.

The **RULES** were prescribed for the electoral campaign for NOVATV, but to a lesser extent. NOVATV filed a complaint at the Constitutional Court in which it offered an explanation that as independent and commercial TV it may not act

according to the imposed rules. The Constitutional Court did not respond to NOVATV until the end of the campaign. Therefore NOVATV decided to ignore THE RULES. When the party Hrvatski blok-pokret za modernu Hrvatsku (Croatian block) asked the State Electoral Commission whether NOVATV is obliged to act according to the rules, they responded positively. NOVATV ignored the opinion of the State Electoral Commission. Thus NOVATV did not broadcast any special electoral program. The reports from the meetings of the parties, according to the editors' choice of NOVATV were broadcast in normal informative program. Monitoring included shows *24 sata* and *Meta* with party advertisements prior and after those shows.

All items reporting on parties, candidates, coalitions, independent lists, etc involved in campaign were analysed. Besides those items, the analysis included items in which electoral actors do not appear but elections are mentioned (electoral procedure, voting instructions, statements by the Electoral commissions, GONG and similar).

RESULTS

1622 items were found in analysed material which suited the elections criteria. Those items lasted for 117.261 seconds, which amounts to more than 32 hours of analysed program.

TABLE 1 - NUMBER AND DURATION OF ITEMS

TV	N	%	Seconds	%
HRTV1	1164	71,76	96566	82,35
NOVA	458	28,24	20695	17,65
TOTAL	1622	100,00	117261	100,00

Great imbalance in favour of HTV was accomplished in agreed items and advertisements. As it is evident from table 2, only agreed items on HTV overcome by number and duration the total analysed program of NOVATV. Since NOVATV reported on elections in regular informative program it has much more editorial items. In structure of program of NOVATV, the editorial items make 59% while on HTV only slightly more than 9%.

The results will be shown for each type of item (agreed, paid, editorial, and educational) separately. Since the greatest number of candidates and parties participated at these elections until now, 127 parties/coalitions, independent and minority lists appear in the analysed corps. It is practically impossible to depict the results individually, thus they are shown for those parties and coalitions which entered the Parliament (15 parties), and all other parties were included in the category „other parties“ (50 parties). Summary results of the independent lists (33lists) and list of minorities (18) and Diaspora list (6) are shown separately. The category „combination“ contains items in which several electoral actors are mentioned, and category „other“ the ones in which parties and candidates do not appear, but the elections are mentioned.

FREE TIME ITEMS

At agreed items the issue concerns two minute reports including two tone fragments broadcast prior and after *Dnevnik* on HTV1. The rules allow broadcast of at the most five such items prior and after *Dnevnik*. The parties were obliged to announce their meetings at the latest 48 hours prior to the holding the meetings covered by HTV. Table 3 shows that some parties did not use all 10 possibilities of reporting from the meetings. Those, which, in different electoral units acted independently and in coalitions, collected even more than 10 items. According to the report of the State electoral commission only HCSP-HKDU complained regarding the violations of their rights referring to coverage of pre-electoral campaigns. HRT responded that the meetings of HCSP-HKDU which were not broadcast „had not been announced within the prescribed period of 48 hours prior to the holding of the meeting“. The State Electoral Commission accepted the reply by the HRT and established that „the principle of equality“ had not been violated.

Among 626 "events" which the parties announced to HTV there were the following: 256 (41%) PRESS conferences, 221 (35%) party meetings, 54 (9%) meetings and interviews with citizens and 15% refers to all other types of pre-electoral „events“. The parties, which entered into Parliament, announced 11 press conferences, and all other parties announced 122 press conferences. Independent, minority and Diaspora announced 133 Press conferences and 64 electoral meetings.

According to the assessment of analysts, out of 626 agreed items in 266 the main topic could not be separated but the topics greatly varied. 132 items covered the economic situation, 74 covered internal affairs, and 62 covered mostly the elections, party disagreements, post-election coalitions and such type of election folklore. Only three items covered the main topic war crimes and the Hague Tribunal, and 13-homeland war. On one variable we asked whether there were attacks against anyone, who did the attacking and against whom. In 484 items there were no attacks thus it seems that the campaign was relatively peaceful or was as such shown on television. The attackers were dispersed among great number of parties. HSP more often attacked others 1816 (22 times), followed by a coalition HSLs/DC(14), Vladimir Bebic – Treci blok (11) and HDZ and independent list of Boris Anzulovic with ten attacks. There are less attacked persons than attackers. HDZ was individually most attacked party (44 times), followed by the Government (37 times), ruling coalition (31) and the parties of the ruling coalition SDP (35), HSS (14) and HNS (10).

PAID ITEMS

Taking into consideration the paid items, the RULES prescribe that the publishers of the electronic media must provide all „parties with publishing of paid promotional messages under equal conditions“. Promotional messages must be „clearly separated from the remaining program, thus the public may clearly observe the difference between paid promotional messages and others“. The principle of strict equality is thus neglected and the paid program is left to the financial possibilities of each party. HDZ was financially the most capable party (according to the text in *Jutarnji list* issued on November 25, 2003), which spent 5,1 million Kn for the advertisements on HTV and HR, which is

1,6 million Kn more than the budget announced for the election campaign. It is followed by SDP, which spent 2,1 million Kn. According to our data (Table 4) most time was paid by HDZ (37%), followed by SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS (16%), HNS/PGS/SBHS (10%), and HNS/PGS/SBHS (10%), HSS (8%), HSLS/DC (6%) and HSP/ZDS/MS with (2%) of paid time. Except in the case of the coalition HSLS/DC that invested in the advertising far more than it obtained seats in the Parliament, the order of the parties according to the paid time responds to the order of the obtained parliamentary seats.

Among 143 paid advertisement in the category of „second party“ 100 refers to the advertisements of coalition of HB/HIP and taking into consideration the results of the campaign it is evidently badly invested money. The following 24 advertisements are by Hrvatske pucke stranke, and thus the outcome is that 19 advertisements cover all other parties.

33 out of 60 advertisements belong to Boris Mikšić, and 10 to Zdravko Tomac. 17 advertisements cover all other independent lists.

Hrvatska stranka umirovljenika (HSU) and coalition HDSS/HDC/DPS (Ivo Loncar) obtained three seats in the Parliament without any paid advertisement. Ivo Loncar won the same number of votes as HSS in third electoral unit. The HSS recognises the fact that Loncar carried out his campaign extremely well. During the entire campaign, Loncar constantly interacted with his voters. Allegedly Loncar was unbelievably successful in his conquests on city markets where he charmed women who sell their products there. During his visits to markets, women would become „jittery“ and there is no doubt that they gave their votes to Loncar and not to HSS.“ (*Novi list*, December 1, 2003).

EDITORIAL ITEMS

Since NOVATV did not respect the RULES, and informed about the meetings in regular informative programs, there are 2,5 more editorial items on NOVATV than on HTV (Table 5). The coalitions SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS greatly surpass other electoral actors both on NOVATV and HTV. As it is obvious from the tables 6 and 7, the advantage was achieved by reporting about the

work of the government officials. HTV broadcast 29 out of 43 items referring to the work of the government of the members of the coalition, and NOVATV broadcast 40 items out of 78 about the work of ministers of the mentioned coalition. Regarding the items referring to the parties, HTV obviously restricted such items to the most. HTV broadcast only 25 items in the period of 17 days, while NOVATV broadcast 168 items. Since the **RULES** prescribe that “no party nor candidate broadcast on in the shows “by outlets of electronic media should have a privileged status“, HTV limited its reporting about parties in informative programs to a minimum. NOVA decided to report on the work of the parliamentary parties. 90 items cover the work of such parties, while the rest of the parties obtained 28 items.

Hrvatska stranka umirovljenika, (HSU) which entered the parliament, received 4 items by NOVATV, while none on HTV.

In the category „combination“ HDZ (7 times), SDP (7), HSS (3) and all other parties (12) appear on HTV. HDZ appears 31 times, followed by SDP (29) times, HSS (16), HNS (8), HSP (6), HB/HIP (5) and HSL/DC (4) appear on NOVATV. The rest of the parties appear 41 times.

There were only a few tone fragments reported on HTV. (Table 8). The Prime Minister and ministers – members of the coalition SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS (24 tone fragments) collected the most tone fragments. The same coalition gathered the most tone fragments on NOVATV, also (33), followed by HSS (17), HDZ (12) and HSL/DC (8). The rest of the parties are covered by tone fragments only modestly.

The most dominant topics in editorial items were the ones regarding economy and disputes among election parties. The Hague Tribunal appear as the most dominant topic 6 times and Homeland war, 11 times.

As in the agreed items, the most seriously attacked party was HDZ (27 items), followed by SDP (21), Government (18) and until now the ruling coalition (11 times) and HNS and HSS attacked four times.

The most regular attackers among parties are HDZ (15 times) and SDP (12 times).

In total, the campaign on both televisions seems very decent. Furthermore, enormous number of items cover the campaign in neutral tone. It is evident from the positive and negative marking of parties. The analysts estimated most items as neutral here also. HDZ collected 26 positive and 31 negative marks, SDP 22 plus and 34 minuses, HSS 17 pluses and 6 minuses. HNS 11 positive and 6 negative points, HSP 11 positive but only 2 negative points.

CONCLUSION

A summary depiction of results for both televisions is shown in table 9. Among all parties, which entered the Parliament, two parties did not have any media support. Ivo Loncar on the list of HDSS/HDC/DPS obtained his seat as a result of work among voters in his electoral unit. According to the newspaper sources, Hrvatska stranka umirovljenika (HSU) prepared for the elections far before elections in co-operation with various pensioners' organisations. The president of the party announced his entrance in the Parliament in one TV show of *Latinica*, however it seems that nobody took him serious at the time. Two largest parties, HDZ and SDP (with coalition partners) invested the most into the media promotion, and the media covered their activities and work the most. SDP, and other parties belonging to the former ruling coalition, gained additional time on TV by coverage of work of their ministers in the Government. The **RULES** allowed such informing but without „mentioning candidature at elections and party belonging“. Such reporting was restricted to a necessary limit on HTV.

Other parties that entered the Parliament belonged on the list of the former parliamentary parties and the reporting about their activities was carried out in proportional manner. Contrary to Loncar and HSU, HB/HIP invested a lot into media promotion (100) advertisements and the independent list of Boris Mikšić, but failed to win a single mandate.

All other parties used the time given to them according to the **RULES**. According to some newspaper reports, the electoral program on HTV was watched by 1% of the viewers. Electoral game was fair, but entirely unattractive. Rules disabled competition.

TABLE 2 - STRUCTURE OF ITEMS

A - NUMBER OF ITEMS

TYPE OF ITEMS	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1 AGREED	626	53,78			626	38,59
2 PAID	412	35,40	182	39,74	594	36,62
3 EDITORIAL	107	9,19	270	58,95	377	23,24
4 EDUCATIONA L	19	1,63	6	1,31	25	1,54
TOTAL	1164	100,00	458	100,00	1622	100,00

B - DURATION OF ITEMS IN SECONDS

TYPE OF ITEMS	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
	seconds	%	seconds	%	seconds	%
1 AGREED	75694	78,39			75694	64,55
2 PAID	9838	10,19	3676	17,76	13514	11,52
3 EDITORIAL	9310	9,64	16783	81,10	26093	22,25
4 EDUCATIONA L	1724	1,79	236	1,14	1960	1,67

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TOTAL	96566	100,00	20695	100,00	117261	100,00
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TABLE 3 - FREE TIME ITEMS ON HTV

PARTIES	N	%	seconds	%
01 HDSS/HDC/DPS	12	1,92	1450	1,92
02 HDZ	8	1,28	985	1,30
03 HNS/PGS/SBHS	23	3,67	2748	3,63
04 HSLS/DC	10	1,60	1226	1,62
05 HSP/ZDS/MS	20	3,19	2415	3,19
06 HSS	9	1,44	1086	1,43
07 HSU	6	0,96	733	0,97
08 SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS	35	5,59	4277	5,65
09 OTHER	245	39,14	29784	39,35
10 INDEPENDENT	176	28,12	21109	27,89
11 MINORITIES	51	8,15	6176	8,16

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12 DIASPORA	23	3,67	2748	3,63
13 COMBINATION	8	1,28	957	1,26
TOTAL	626	100,00	75694	100,00

TABLE 4 - PAID ADVERTISEMENTS

A - NUMBER OF ITEMS

	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
PARTIES	N	%	N	%	N	%

CROATIAN HELSINKI COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

02 HDZ	81	19,66	25	13,74	106	17,85
03 HNS/PGS/SBHS	45	10,92	17	9,34	62	10,44
04 HSLs/DC	29	7,04	5	2,75	34	5,72
05 HSP/ZDS/MS	21	5,10	7	3,85	28	4,71
06 HSS	27	6,55	22	12,09	49	8,25
08 SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS	65	15,78	28	15,38	93	15,66
09 OTHER PARTIES	81	19,66	62	34,07	143	24,07
10 INDEPENDENT	46	11,17	14	7,69	60	10,10
11 MINORITIES	5	1,21			5	0,84
14 OTHER	12	2,91	2	1,10	14	2,36
TOTAL	412	100,00	182	100,00	594	100,00

B - DURATION OF ITEMS IN SECONDS

PARTIES	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
	seconds	%	seconds	%	seconds	%
02 HDZ	3920	39,85	1113	30,28	5033	37,24
03 HNS/PGS/SBHS	932	9,47	379	10,31	1311	9,70
04 HSLs/DC	727	7,39	121	3,29	848	6,27
05 HSP/ZDS/MS	260	2,64	105	2,86	365	2,70
06 HSS	577	5,87	457	12,43	1034	7,65
08 SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS	1629	16,56	531	14,45	2160	15,98
09 OTHER PARTIES	821	8,35	833	22,66	1654	12,24
10 INDEPENDENT	340	3,46	102	2,77	442	3,27
11 MINORITIES	62	0,63			62	0,46
14 OTHERS	570	5,79	35	0,95	605	4,48
TOTAL	9838	100,00	3676	100,00	13514	100,00

TABLE 5 - EDITORIAL ITEMS

CROATIAN HELSINKI COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

A - NUMBER OF ITEMS

	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
PARTIES						
02 HDZ	9	8,41	21	7,78	30	7,96
03 HNS/PGS/SBHS	2	1,87	13	4,81	15	3,98
04 HSLs/DC			14	5,19	14	3,71
05 HSP/ZDS/MS			9	3,33	9	2,39
06 HSS	6	5,61	21	7,78	27	7,16
07 HSU			4	1,48	4	1,06
08 SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS	43	40,19	78	28,89	121	32,10
09 OTHER PARTIES	5	4,67	30	11,11	35	9,28
10 INDEPENDENT			6	2,22	6	1,59
11 MINORITIES			2	0,74	2	0,53
12 DIASPORA			2	0,74	2	0,53
13 COMBINATION	10	9,35	43	15,93	53	14,06
14 OTHER	32	29,91	27	10,00	59	15,65
TOTAL	107	100,00	270	100,00	377	100,00

B - DURATION OF ITEMS IN SECONDS

	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
	seconds	%	seconds	%	seconds	%
PARTIES						
02 HDZ	525	5,64	1466	8,74	1991	7,63
03 HNS/PGS/SBHS	239	2,57	370	2,20	609	2,33
04 HSLs/DC			365	2,17	365	1,40
05 HSP/ZDS/MS			396	2,36	396	1,52
06 HSS	222	2,38	1935	11,53	2157	8,27
07 HSU			50	0,30	50	0,19
08 SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS	2507	26,93	4243	25,28	6750	25,87
09 OTHER PARTIES	1105	11,87	924	5,51	2029	7,78
10 INDEPENDENT			518	3,09	518	1,99
11 MINORITIES			29	0,17	29	0,11
12 DIASPORA			210	1,25	210	0,80
13 COMBINATION	937	10,06	3894	23,20	4831	18,51
14 OTHERS	3775	40,55	2383	14,20	6158	23,60
TOTAL	9310	100,00	16783	100,00	26093	100,00

TABLE 8 - TONE FRAGMENTS IN EDITORIAL ITEMS

	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
PARTIES						
02 HDZ	3	8,57	12	13,48	15	12,10
03 HNS/PGS/SBHS	3	8,57	3	3,37	6	4,84
04 HSLs/DC			8	8,99	8	6,45
05 HSP/ZDS/MS			5	5,62	5	4,03
06 HSS	4	11,43	17	19,10	21	16,94
08 SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS	24	68,57	33	37,08	57	45,97
09 OTHER PARTIES	1	2,86	9	10,11	10	8,06
11 ETHNIC MINORITIES			1	1,12	1	0,81
12 DIASPORA			1	1,12	1	0,81
TOTAL	35	100,00	89	100,00	124	100,00

	HTV1		NOVA		TOTAL	
	seconds	%	seconds	%	seconds	%
PARTIES						
02 HDZ	296	31,49	653	19,11	949	21,78
03 HNS/PGS/SBHS	66	7,02	62	1,81	128	2,94
04 HSLs/DC			160	4,68	160	3,67
05 HSP/ZDS/MS			194	5,68	194	4,45
06 HSS	73	7,77	1136	33,25	1209	27,75
08 SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS	456	48,51	901	26,37	1357	31,15
09 OTHER PARTIES	49	5,21	189	5,53	238	5,46
11 MINORITIES			37	1,08	37	0,85
12 DIASPORA			85	2,49	85	1,95

CROATIAN HELSINKI COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

TOTAL	940	100,00	3417	100,00	4357	100,00
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TABLE 9 - ITEMS ACCORDING TO THE PARTIES AND STRUCTURE

		agreed	paid	editorial	education	TOTAL
01 HDSS/HDC/DPS	N	12				12
	%	100,00				100,00
02 HDZ	N	8	106	30		144
	%	5,56	73,61	20,83		100,00
03 HNS/PGS/SBHS	N	23	62	15		100
	%	23,00	62,00	15,00		100,00
04 HSLs/DC	N	10	34	14		58
	%	17,24	58,62	24,14		100,00
05 HSP/ZDS/MS	N	20	28	9		57
	%	35,09	49,12	15,79		100,00
06 HSS	N	9	49	27		85
	%	10,59	57,65	31,76		100,00
07 HSU	N	6		4		10
	%	60,00		40,00		100,00
08 SDP/IDS/LIBRA/LS	N	35	93	121		249
	%	14,06	37,35	48,59		100,00
09 OTHER PARTIES	N	245	143	35		423
	%	57,92	33,81	8,27		100,00
10 INDEPENDENT	N	176	60	6		242
	%	72,73	24,79	2,48		100,00
11 MINORITIES	N	51	5	2		58
	%	87,93	8,62	3,45		100,00
12 DIASPORA	N	23		2		25
	%	92,00		8,00		100,00
13 COMBINATION	N	8		53		61
	%	13,11		86,89		100,00
14 OTHERS	N		14	59	25	98
	%		14,29	60,20	25,51	100,00
TOTAL	N	626	594	377	25	1622
	%	38,59	36,62	23,24	1,54	100,00

PROJECT: MEDIA AND ELECTIONS 2003
Branimir Krištofić

TELEVISION

**Attachment C: Analysis of political shows in the period since October 12
until November 23, 2003**

Nedjeljom u 2, Latinica, Forum and Brisani prostor are the most watched political programs on HTV. It is very important for public actors that the editors in chief invite them as guests to various political shows or broadcast certain items about them. The six-week period is too short to obtain a full picture regarding policy on selection of guests. Different editorial concepts, forms and topics, which are currently processed, disable forming of one unique category of political shows. The results depicted in tables show how many seconds were collected by members of certain parties hosted in those four

shows and items broadcast in them. Data relate to the period prior to the beginning of the official campaign (during the campaign, the parties appeared only in *Latinica* during advertising part of the program broadcast within the show). It is evident from the table that *Forum* and *Brisani prostor* invite guests or speak about parliamentary parties in power or opposition parties. HB/HIP (Hrvatski blok i Hrvatski istinski preporod) appeared in *Latinica*, *Forum* and *Brisani prostor*, which did not help it to maintain the status of parliamentary party. One hour hosting of Zlatko Canjuga in *Nedjeljom u 2* did not help HND (Hrvatski nezavisni demokrati) to pass election threshold, in spite of the fact that 53% of viewers stated that Canjuga was a good politician. *Latinica* is somewhat more “democratic” show where the chance was given to the representatives of the smaller parties. Thus in the show dedicated to the pensioners, the guest was a president of the HSU (Hrvatska stranka umirovljenika, Vladimir Jordan,) who announced that the coalition of pensioners associations and parties (contrary to all the surveys) would obtain one seat in the Parliament. To general surprise of all those who did not watch *Latinica*, HSU won three mandates.

The rules of monitoring electoral campaign demanded that the shows “which could effect the voters” apply the principles of “harmony, fairness and impartiality”. These rules were implemented on TV by depolitization of the mentioned shows. The election candidates were not invited nor it was allowed to talk about the parties that participated in elections. NOVATV wished to organise confrontation of presidents of largest political parties. However, electoral commission forbade such confrontations because “not any political

party, nor candidate in electronic programs should have privileged position in relation to other political parties and candidates participating in electoral procedures”. At the same time the electoral commission believed that NOVATV should organise confrontation of all candidates according to the rules. NOVATV did not do so.

Rules of Electoral Commission thus disabled the editors and journalists from presenting, introducing or questioning the attitudes of the most important electoral actors. According to the journalists sources only 1% of the viewers regularly watched the “official” confrontations on third program of HTV where all the candidates should have been asked the same questions.

Since the TV network CCN does not have national concession and is not committed by the rules, it took advantage of such a situation and broadcast a series of programs hosting presidents of the greatest political parties. At the end of the campaign it also broadcast the confrontation of the two possible candidates for the post of the future Prime Minister: Iвица Račan (SDP) (Socijal demokratska partija) and Ivo Sanader (HDZ)(Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica).

Upon termination of the campaign, the HRT journalists sent an open letter to the president of the Croatian Parliament regarding the electoral rules. The letter stated that that they would not respect the Rules on monitoring of the campaign in future because the “journalists profession was humiliated”, and “television program brought to absurd situation”. In spite of the fact that the same rules had been applied during past elections, this was the first “rebellion” of HRT journalists.

TABLE - PARTIES IN POLITICAL SHOWS

CROATIAN HELSINKI COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

	NEDJELJ OM U DVA	LATINICA	FORUM	BRISANI PROSTOR	TOTAL
HDZ	3744	914	1458	189	6305
HND	3600	119			3719
SDP	47	1502	2067	172	3788
DC	15			194	209
ASH		490			490
HSU		208			208
HSS		498	1094	323	1915
IDS		865			865
HB/HIP		252	864	516	1632
HPS		431			431
FHS		111		172	283
LIBRA			1033		1033
HSP		280	639	65	984
HNS		251	425	170	846
HSLs		249	683	26	958
APD		159			159
TOTAL	7406	6329	8263	1827	23825

A SUM OF SECONDS OF COVERAGE OF THE MEMBERS OF
CERTAIN PARTIES WAS DEPICTED

A SHORT CONTENT OF BROADCAST SHOWS

NEDJELJOM U 2 – EDITOR: ALEKSANDAR STANKOVIC 12 Sunday, 2003

A photographer Ivo Eterovic was invited as the guest to the show. The main topic concerned Ivo Eterovic' meetings with Tito and Jovanka. The question was raised regarding his co-operation with Ivo Sanader on monograph in Split. Sanader was nominated as the member of the HDZ and practically the heir to Franjo Tudman. This part of the conversation was short and lasted 75 seconds. To the question "Who was a greater historic figure?", 63% (42690) of the viewers responded that it was Tito, while 37% (24986) gave their vote to Franjo Tudman.

Sunday, October 19, 2003

A president of the HND (Hrvatski nezavisni demokrati), Zlatko Canjuga was a guest at the show. Main topics of the interview concerned his relationship to Franjo Tudman, soccer, and how does it feel to be in power and later loose that power. Canjuga additionally used the opportunity to advertise his HND and the best program on the political scene. Honorary president of HND, Josip Manolic (15 seconds), the HDZ council at the City Council of Zagreb, Tomislav Jelic (41 seconds) and deputy to the mayor of Zagreb, Milan Bandic (6 seconds), and Pavo Gagulic (HDZ/independent – 23 seconds) were given the opportunity to talk about Canjuga. To the question "Whether we consider Zlatko Canjuga good or bad politicians", 53% of interviewed persons (12887) replied by stating that he was good, and 47% (11290) of the interviewed persons said that he was a bad politician.

Sunday, October 26, 2003

A vice-president of the HDZ, Andrija Hebrang was a guest at the show. The host announced that the main topic would concern the behaviour of (HDZ) before the elections. Andrija Hebrang used the given 60 minutes and accused

the current authorities for neo-communism, total media blockade of HDZ, cleansing, failures in economy, incapability to co-operate with The Hague Tribunal etc.. Former HDZ member, Dario Vukic (12 seconds), Nenad Stazic from SDP-a (41 seconds), Vesna Škare Ožbolt from DC (15 seconds) and Vladimir Šeks from HDZ-a (28 seconds) were given a chance to talk about Andrija Hebrang.

To the question "Whether HDZ and right wing coalition could help bring the country out of crisis" there were 41% (37362) of affirmative replies and 59% (53192) of negative.

Sunday 2, November 2003

The show was broadcast from prison, and the guest was Marko Marcinko, convicted and accused for damaging his own Gluma bank. He spoke in detail about his case, and mentioned in very negative context a member of the HB, Ivic Pašalic as allegedly given a bribe in order for the bank to continue functioning. He also mentioned in negative light the former Member of Parliament, Ljerka Mintas Hodak, now independent candidate for elections. Marcinko enabled her to draw the money from the bank immediately prior to the bankruptcy.

Sunday, November 9, 2003

During official electoral campaign all political shows were depoliticised. That means that the electoral candidates were not invited as guests to the shows or were political parties or elections discussed at all. A writer, Miljenko Jergovic, was a guest at the show.

Sunday 16, November 2003

The show was not broadcast.

Sunday 23, November 2003

A Macedonian politician Vasil Tupurkovski was invited as a guest to the show on the day of elections.

LATINICA – editor: Denis Latin

Monday, October 13, 2003

The topic of the show was life of retired persons («Life by Dole Out») being the social group, which the HDZ robbed and coalition deceived. The authorities remember them only prior to the elections. People of modest pensions “experts of survival”, experts and journalists. Petar Kuzele from the HSU Hrvatska stranka umirovljenika (70 seconds), president of the HSU, Vladimir Jordan (138 seconds), who announced coalition of pensioners’ organisations, parties and one secure seat in the Parliament. President of the ASH, (Akcija socijaldemokrata) Zlatko Klaric (490 seconds) delivered a speech on history of their preoccupation for pensioners and announced that when the ASH enters the Parliament, they would annul parliamentary pensions. That was the reaction to two parliamentary pensioners who talked in additional items of the show. The issue concerned honorary president of the HND, Josip Manolic (119 seconds) and the former Member of Parliament, HDZ member, Đuro Perica (89 seconds).

Monday October 20, 2003

The topic concerned the local self-administration. Besides principle discussions on establishment and authority of local self-administration, a great number of cases where people suffer injustice in their local communities and their conflicts with the “higher” levels of authority were described. Among relevant political actors, Teodor Antic (308 seconds) and deputy to the Minister of Finance, Damir Kuštrak (198 seconds) were invited as representatives of the authorities. A president of the Local Council Zmajevci, Emma Raucher (282 seconds) represented HSS (Hrvatska seljačka stranka). The representative of the parliament, a member of IDS, Damir Kajin talked around 10 minutes (599 seconds) and the deputy to the mayor of the city of Zadar, Ana Lovrin talked around six minutes (350 seconds).

Ante Prkacin, a private entrepreneur and a former war commander of HOS (549 seconds) (Croatian Defence Forces) and the mayor of Slavonski Brod, Dr. Jozo Meter (HB – 232 seconds), talked about their local conflict in *Latinica*. A member of municipal council of Baška and HDZ member talked in the items from Jurandvor, and a member of city council of Zadar, (SDP member),

Omerka Šarić talked in the items from Zadar (116 seconds), and from Zagreb, Jadranka Kosor (HDZ – 61 seconds).

Monday, October 27, 2003

The topic was slander. Some of the journalists accused for slander (Robert Frank, Drago Hedl, Eni Ambrozić, Zdenko Maticić) together with some persons who filed complaints against journalists (Tomislav Mercep, Ivan Jakovčić, Željko Racki), Minister of Justice, Ingrid Anticević, lawyer Veljko Miljević (a member of the CHC Executive Committee) and Zorislav Antun Petrović ((Transparency International) were invited to the show. Among relevant actors, Ingrid Anticević spoke 460 seconds, a president of HPS, Hrvatska pučka stranka, Tomislav Mercep spoke for 431 seconds, president of the IDS, (Istarski demokratski sabor) Ivan Jakovčić spoke for 266 seconds. A lawyer and a president of the SDP from Brod, Željko Racki spoke in total in studio and in TV items for 450 seconds. Zdravko Tomac (111 seconds) and Branimir Glavaš (69 seconds) “appeared” in items. The question asked was: “Should politicians endure public criticism without filing complaints at courts?” . 86% of the viewers responded positively.

Monday, November 3, 2003

This was the last show prior to the start of the official electoral campaign when the rules were enforced according to which politicians should not be invited to the shows. The program was entitled: “Your vote counts also”. The issue was discussed whether one should come out and vote. The guests were persons who expressed their concrete problems, and the politicians were the public in studio attempting to find solutions to these problems. Darko Milinović – HDZ (374 seconds), Marin Jurjević-SDP (476 seconds), Dorica Nikolić-HSLS (249 seconds), Luka Rojić-HSS (216 sec.), Branislav Babić-HNS (219 sec.) and Zdravko Radman-APD (159 seconds) sat and played public.

Monday, November 10, 2003

The show was dedicated to the problems of blind people.

Monday, November 17, 2003

The show was dedicated to the people “craving for publicity”, scandals, yellow newspapers. Two advertisements of the coalitions HB/HIP (20 seconds) and one HNS-a (32 seconds). A title from the newspapers: “Ingrid Anticevic is a very sexy lady” appeared suddenly on the large screen in studio. The sentence was pronounced by Miroslav Blažević, and since the matter concerns the Minister of Justice and a candidate by SDP, the host of the show asked himself: “I do not know whether we are allowed to publish such writings?”.

FORUM

Tuesday, October 14, 2003 – Editor: Tihomir Ladišić

The topic concerned the case of Ante Gotovina (a former Croatian general indicted by the Hague Tribunal) and the relationship with the Hague Tribunal. Vice president of the Government, Goran Granic, a president of HB, Ivic Pašalic, president of the Administrative Board of *Nacional*, Ivo Pukanic and a journalist from Globus, Gordan Malic. The host of the show mentioned that they had invited someone from HDZ but no one had come. Ivo Pukanic a journalist who interviewed Ante Gotovina, ran the show and was an exclusive star. He interrupted everybody and insulted his colleague journalist. The host of the show, Tihomir Ladišić, with his mild warnings did not stand a chance. Pukanic collected 1185 seconds, Goran Granic 992, and Gordan Malic hardly 415 seconds. The numbers should be taken as orientation because the overlapping in speech were such that it was difficult to measure duration of an individual speaker.

Tuesday, October 21, 2003 – editor: Hloverka Novak Srzic

The following topic was discussed: «Privatisation, new challenge for new elections». The guests were politicians: Slavko Linic, Željko Pecek, Tonci Tadic and Ivan Šuker and experts Dr. Slavko Kulic and Dr. Miroslav Dragicevic. The experts tried to lead the discussion towards finding the way out from the troubles of privatisation, but the host insisted on questions

regarding white collar crimes and badly carried out privatisation. The *Forum* was somehow “ more decent” than the last one, however there were cases of interruption and overlapping during speech. All questions by phone were directed to Slavko Linic who spoke in total for 1031 seconds. Ivan Šuker collected 593 seconds, and Željko Pecek 402 and Tonci Tadic 196. The results of PULS’s survey showed that only 2% of the viewers consider privatisation as an important subject for the elections. 4% were interested in the Hague Tribunal, 7% in joining European Union. Mostly the viewers were concerned about unemployment (53%), life standard (40%), economic situation (23%) and problems of pensioners (10%).

Tuesday, October 28, 2003 – Editor: Tihomir Ladišić

A fine example of TV show with decent guests. The host was in full control of the situation. The topic discussed was issuing permission for fixed telephone company to the firm Divan. The guests were: Deputy to the Ministry of Transport and Communication, Tatjana Holjevac, a member of the HT Administrative Board, Ivana Šoljan, owner of the firm Divan, Ante Krznic, a president of the Council for Communication, Željko Debanic and court expert Želimir Manenica. Relevant actors for us were: Tatjana Holjevac (578 seconds) and Željko Debanic (781 seconds). Goran Granic was interviewed in items, (17 seconds), Ivica Racan (14 seconds) and the Minister of Transport and Communication, Roland Žuvanic (24 seconds).

Tuesday, November 4, 2003 – Editor: Hloverka Novak Srzic

The last *Forum* prior to the beginning of the electoral campaign hosted presidents of six largest parties. HTV officials, journalists and reporters working for that particular show waited at the entrance of the HTV building for the following guests: Zlatko Tomcic (HSS), Dražen Budiša (HSLs), Anto Đapic (HSP), Vesna Pusic (HNS), Ivica Racan (SDP) and Ivo Sanader (HDZ). The host of the show was Hloverka Novak Srzic. Various topics were discussed while the topics of importance for the voters such as: unemployment (53%), standard of life (44%) and economic situation (27%) were discussed the least. The host insisted of finding out who would join coalition with whom after the elections and the great part of the time was dedicated to this topic.

There were many interruptions and speaking at the same time, thus the seconds could not have been measured precisely but they outline quantitative relation of power. Ivica Racan collected most seconds, (1022) since most questions by phone were directed at him. He was followed by Dr. Ivo Sanader (820), Zlatko Tomcic (692), Dražen Budiša (683), Ante Đapic (443) and Vesna Pusic (425).

Tuesday, November 11, 2003 – Editor: Tihomir Ladišić

The main topic was employment in Croatia. In accordance with the electoral rules no electoral candidates were invited to the show.

Tuesday, November 18, 2003 – Editor: Hloverka Novak Srzic

The main topic was violence against women. By taking into a consideration a journalist commentary in which “courageously but without printing his name” a case of “well-known, distinguished Zagreb lawyer” was reported, Novak Srzic investigated the case herself and came up with the name of Anto Nobilo”. Since the issue concerns a member of the HNS, the following day a spokesperson of HNS issued a statement saying that the entire matter could be considered as electoral imputation.

BRISANI PROSTOR – Editor: GORAN MILIC

Thursday, October 16, 2003

BRISANI PROSTOR broadcast four items in which relevant actors were talked about. First item introduced young members of HNS (54 seconds), of HSS (37 seconds), of SDP (43 seconds), HDZ (44 seconds), DC-a (34 seconds) and HSLs (26 seconds). All of them were rather enthusiastic, they all believed in their parties and believed that by becoming politically active they could change many things.

In the played sketch, two men from Zagorje while drinking wine, decided to form their own party and in the course of that they mention a series of politicians, however it would be unjust to attribute the sketch to any one of them. In the item concerning older population who decided to finish elementary school Vladimir Strugar (HSS – 58 seconds) explained that the state incite and finance such programs. The report on Sisak described the local politicians as the ones “whose political culture is highly commendable”. Sisak

is almost an idyllic place in which reconstruction, renovation and rebuilding has started but as elsewhere people are short of money. Dinko Pintaric, a mayor of Sisak (HDZ – 55 seconds), is taking care of Sisak, and Dr. Mesur Peco (SDP - 27 seconds), and Josip Anducic (HNS-16 seconds).

Thursday, October 23, 2003

The program was full of relevant actors. First item broadcast various politicians walking down the streets talking to citizens who regularly expressed their support to them and assured them that they would vote only for them. Only Dr. Slaven Letica sat on the horse in the uniform of Ban Jelacic, but not on the Jelacic square but in some stable on racetrack. They shot advertising spot for HSP (65 seconds). Zdravko Tomac and Ante Klaric (Forum hrvatske sloge – 172 seconds), Jadranka Kosor (HDZ – 90 seconds) Vesna Pusic (HNS, Hrvatska narodna stranka – 100 seconds) and Mate Granic (DC/HSLs Demokratski centar/Hrvatska socijalno liberalna stranka– 120 seconds) walked down the city streets also.

In order to comment phenomena of planetary fame of the soccer player David Beckham, the editor brought a publicist, Nenad Ivankovic, to the studio. However, Ivankovic immediately switched to other topic, Ante Gotovina, and failure of the authorities to solve Gotovina case, national pride and identity, and demographic problems. The editor forgot to mention that Ivankovic was one of the members of HIP (Hrvatski istinski preporod) (453 seconds). Item concerns the topic regarding prohibition of work of stores on Sunday. The mayor of Samobor, Žarko Adamek (HSS – 3 seconds) was asked for his comment.

Thursday, October 30, 2003

The show was introduced by a comparison of elections of the year 2000 and the current pre-electoral campaign. The various opening of roads, kindergartens, houses of culture and similar were depicted in ironic sense. Many former and current politicians were filmed but only voices of Ivica Racan heard (SDP – 26 seconds) and Ingrid Anticevic (SDP – 12 seconds) were heard while entering the lift.

First ladies from various parties talked about women in politics. Ljubica Lalic promoted “change in attitudes and relations between men and women”. (HSS –

59 seconds), Snježana Brzica, a mother of five children and entrepreneur, was rather satisfied by “emphasised agricultural orientation of economic program” of her coalition (HIP/HB, 63 seconds), Vesna Škare Ožbolt (DC – 40 seconds), would introduce order in country and the Swedish model “half/half”, and Željka Antunovic would like to “open up more space for women in region of politics and power” (SDP – 64 seconds). In the item concerning difficulties encountered in the process of obtaining building permissions, vice-president of GOHSS, from Zagreb (HSS-134), Silvija Cikoš introduced their project which would be able to solve these problems by setting up a network of computers and unification of seeking permits in one place.

Thursday, November 6, 2003

The show was not broadcast. The program of drawing out of a list of order in which certain parties should appear in official electoral program of HTV.

Thursday, November 13, 2003

In accordance with the rules, the electoral candidates did not appear. In the introductory item, the reporter travelled from Zagreb to Vukovar with the task of interviewing people in larger towns enquiring about essential problem without mentioning politicians and parties.

Thursday, November 20, 2003

The show did not violate monitoring of the campaign in any sense.

Zagreb, December 15th 2003

PROJECT: MEDA AND ELECTIONS 2003.
Ankica Marinovic Bobinac Ph.D.

RADIO

Analysis of the monitoring results of radio broadcast in the period of October 12th – November 22nd

Monitoring of the radio broadcast includes six weeks – from October 12th until November 22nd. Monitoring period was divided in two parts, both lasted three weeks: period **before** the official pre-electoral campaign (from October 12th until November 5th) and period of the official pre-electoral campaign (from November 6th until November 22nd 2003.)

Two radio broadcast were monitored: Hrvatski Radio 1 (Croatian National Radio 1) and Obiteljski radio (Family Radio). Three News Programs were monitored on Hrvatski Radio 1 and one on Obiteljski Radio. In the period of pre-electoral campaign special election programs were also monitored on both radio stations, which were broadcast immediately after the news, as well as paid advertisements before and after the news programs. It was analysed total 1817 items, 829 in the first and 988 in the second monitoring period.

In this report only data the most relevant to the research goals are presented. Results are presented in total for both monitoring periods and on each program. Results are displayed in 14 tables and 12 graphics.

Goals of the research were to establish the following:

1. coverage of relevant actors in the period before the pre-electoral campaign
2. coverage of political parties and coalitions during the election campaign, specifically the balance of the coverage of political actors in each radio broadcast
3. general tone of election presentations and inter-parties communication (recording mutual attacks and defences, cases of political incorrectness and hate speech)
4. general tone of the media (radio) presentations (balance in coverage of each political party, editorial (journalists') attitude, cases of journalistic incorrectness)

Analysis unit was item. Item means part of a show/program, which contains separate logic unit within the entire show/program. Duration of an item was measured by seconds.

Basic criteria for selection of items was a status of relevant actors: election actors, political parties, parliament, central government, local government (City of Zagreb, regions, cities, municipalities). Items in which appeared relevant actors in any of the following cases were analysed:

1. items on activities of relevant actors
2. items in which someone else speaks about relevant actors
3. items in which relevant actors were only mentioned
4. items in which relevant actors were not mentioned although they speak about elections

During the campaign we retain the same criteria for selection of items (graphic 2), while the emphasis was put only to items referring to the elections:

- a. on activities of parties and their candidates (coalition, independent candidates, minority and Diaspora candidates)
- b. items in which other actors (economic entities, firms, groups and institutions, than NGOs, media, other countries...) speak about actors, participants in the election campaign
- c. items in which actors were prime minister and ministers of the government, but only if in role of candidates on party lists
- d. items in which parties and candidates were not mentioned although speak about elections
- e. items in which parties and candidates present themselves (paid ads.

If we compare the mentioned variable in both monitoring periods it is obvious that prevailed items on activities of relevant actors. The percentage of such items increased significantly during the pre-electoral campaign (graphics 1 and 2 and tables 1 and 2).

Who are the relevant actors whose activities were predominantly covered in both monitoring periods? From the graphic 3 (and table 3) it is obvious that in the first monitoring period four groups of relevant actors were covered: political parties, parliament, government and ministries and local government. Results showed that the government and ministries were more covered than political parties, although the coverage of political parties were increasing as the beginning of the election campaign were getting closer, (especially in third week of monitoring, before the very beginning of the campaign). Coverage of MPs was gradually decreasing as the day of dissolution of the parliament was getting closer. Similar were the results on each broadcast, although Obiteljski radio covered slightly more political parties in comparison to the government see table 3.

In the period of pre-electoral campaign a definition of relevant actors changed. Basic criteria were their presence on electoral lists. Besides parties and their candidates (coalitions, independent candidates, minority and Diaspora candidates), relevant actors were Prime Minister and ministers in the government, but only those who were on electoral lists. Representatives of local governments were also considered only if they

were on the electoral lists. Parties and their candidates were, of course, the most covered actors in total as well as in each item (graphic 4 and table 4).

Next analysed variable shows coverage of political parties in broadcast items for both monitoring periods.

In the first period the most covered were the parties of the ruling coalition SDP, HSS and the coalition in whole, while the opposition party HDZ took fourth place, (graphic 5). Then followed HNS, coalition DC-HSLS and HSP. Similar was in each items (table 5).

During the campaign the most covered was the ruling SDP with its coalition parties, followed by equally covered the biggest opposition party HDZ, then HNS with its coalition parties, HSS and the coalition DC-HSLS. After them with some lower percentage of coverage came coalition HB-HIP (leader son of late President Tudjman) and HSP with its coalition partners. Category «all other parties» appeared with relatively high percentage (graphic 6 and table 6).

It was already mentioned that party activities included the activities of Prime minister and ministers in the government as candidates on party electoral lists. Their moderate coverage indicates that they did not misuse their ruling functions for the promotion of their parties and that they exercised their regular daily duties.

Variable Direct Speech indicated the length of tone insert (in seconds) dedicated to political parties and party candidates in the news programme or special election additional programme.

In the first monitoring period members of relevant parties which were expected to have the main role in the election campaign were speaking the most of the time (graphic 8): SDP, HDZ, HSS, than follow HNS, DC-HSLS, HSP...

During the pre-electoral campaign time dedicated to direct speech was almost equal to the time of coverage of certain parties and coalitions in programs (graphic 8 and table 8). The most time for direct speech got candidates who were supposed in advance to have the main role in the campaign. In the first place was SDP with its coalition partners, immediately followed by HDZ, then HNS with its coalitions, then HSS, DC-HSLS, HB-HIP, HSP etc. All other parties are presented in total and appeared in relatively high percentage.

Next variable refers to the content of monitored items – to the main theme of item in which relevant actors appear.

In the first monitoring period two themes were equally covered in first two weeks – electoral theme and economic theme. In third week on the eve of the beginning of the campaign on the first place came electoral themes. Economic themes as well as the following themes important for the functioning of the state and society (internal politics, education, culture, science, arts,) took important place in party programs which showed their coverage (graphic 9 and table 9).

During the campaign electoral themes were presented the most, followed by economics, internal politics, just like in the first monitoring period (graphic 10 and table 10). In both analysed period the most covered themes were oriented to the present and future. In both period retrospective discourse were marginalised (themes on past and traditional values – especially statebuilding, demographic, spiritual renovation, topics related to the past etc...)

Regarding professional journalistic presentation before and during the electoral campaign could conclude that it was correct due to, among other, the predominant form of journalistic reporting. In monitored radio programs in period predominant journalistic form of reporting was a report/news, only few were comments and it was in the period before the starting of the campaign.

In both analysed period in the majority of items there were no polemic tones – in second period number of neutral items increased, nobody attacked, nobody defended (graphic 11 and 12 and table 11 and 12). As attacker (critic) in the first analysed period only in five cases were the media, and in the period of pre-electoral campaign only once (target were the government and Parliament). In the period before the campaign only two cases of journalistic disdain were noted while during the campaign there was no such case.

Reduction of number of attacks in the pre-electoral campaign in comparison to the period before the campaign indicates to the relatively correct behaviour among parties during the campaign. In both analysed period the basic tone of items was monitored also. The majority was neutral items. In the first period only in 26 items certain parties got attribute positive (HSS, HDZ, HNS and the ruling coalition...), and 38 parties got negative attribute (the ruling coalition and the biggest opposition party HDZ 9 times). During the campaign a number of positive and negative attributes to the parties increased significantly, see tables 11 and 12. The most positive attributions went to HDZ, coalition DC-HSLS, then to coalition SDP and HNS. The most negative marks got SDP and its coalitions then HDZ. In the period before the campaign there were only three cases of political incorrectness registered, while during the campaign there was no such case at all. Neither in the period before nor during the campaign cases of hate speech were noted.

One of the goals of this research was to present comparative data, point out similarities and differences while reporting on two monitored radio broadcast. More similarities than differences were shown not only because both broadcasters reported on the same topics related to the Parliamentary elections. Indicators which could point out to the significant differences in editorial conceptions and approach in coverage of the social and political events were not found.

It was easier to find out the differences between two-monitored period.

Number of items speaking about activities of relevant actors, especially political parties, was increased. Frequent appearances of parties of the then ruling coalition were expected. But that domination in comparison to the

HDZ was not so emphasised, especially referring to the time of direct speech given in programs to the two strongest parties – SDP and HDZ. They got equal number of seconds in direct speech. However, number of items in which appeared HDZ couldn't signalise their election victory. Relatively high coverage of coalition DC-HSLS did not correspond to their poor election results (only three mandates), especially coalition HB-HIP (no mandate). On the contrary HSP was not covered in programs according to its electoral results (eight mandates).

Regarding main themes of items rating of first three was not changed neither in monitored programs nor in total. However, electoral themes increased in comparison to other themes in the period of pre-electoral campaign.

Contrary to expectation correctness of the pre-electoral campaign, tolerance and fair play among actors of electoral competition increased during the campaign in comparison to the previous period. Campaign as well as elections were conducted almost without any serious incident.

Graphic 1

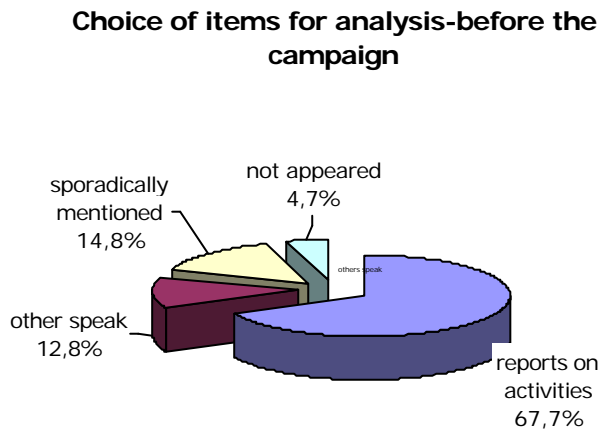


Table 1
Criteria for item selection (before the campaign)

Choice of items	Broadcast		Total
	Hrvatski radio	Obiteljski radio	
reports on relevant actors activities	66,2	72,1	67,7
others speak about relevant	13,5	10,8	12,8

actors			
rel. actors mentioned by the way	15,3	13,2	14,8
actors not mentioned, speaking about elections	5,0	3,9	4,7
Total	622	204	826
	100,0	100,0	100,0

Graphic 2

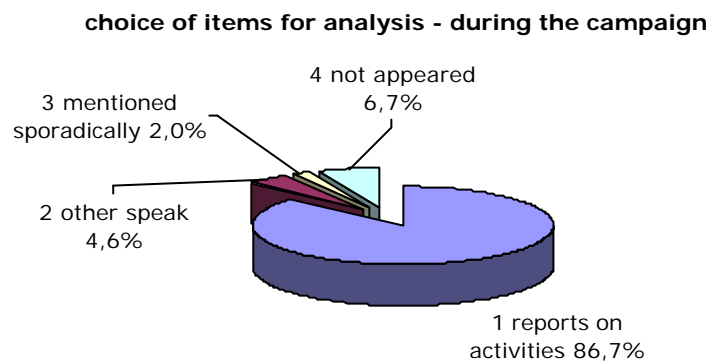


Table 2

Criteria for items selection (during the campaign)

Choice of items	Broadcast		Total
	1 Hrvatski radio	2 Obiteljski radio	
reports on relevant actors activities	88,5	81,3	86,7
others speak about relevant actors activities	4,0	6,2	4,6
rel. actors mentioned sporadically	2,1	1,7	2,0
actors not appeared, speaking about elections	5,4	10,8	6,7
	746	241	987

Total	746	241	987
	100,0	100,0	100,0

Graphic 3

Relevant actors - before the campaign

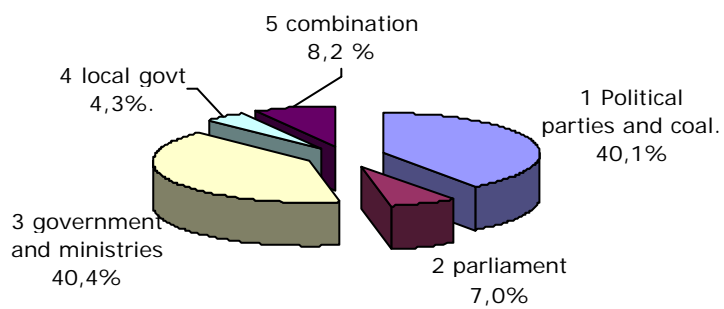


Table 3
Relevant actors (before the electoral campaign)

Relevant actors	Broadcast		Total
	Hrvatski radio	Obiteljski radio	
Political parties and	163	61	224
	72,8	27,2	100,0
	39,6	41,5	40,1
2 Parliament	31	8	39
	79,5	20,5	100,0
	7,5	5,4	7,0
3 Govt. and ministries	173	53	226
	76,5	23,5	100,0
	42,0	36,1	40,4
4 Local govt.	18	6	24
	75,0	25,0	100,0
	4,4	4,1	4,3
5 combinations	27	19	46
	58,7	41,3	100,0
	6,6	12,9	8,2
Total	412	147	559
	73,7	26,3	100,0

Graphic 4

Relevant actors during the campaign

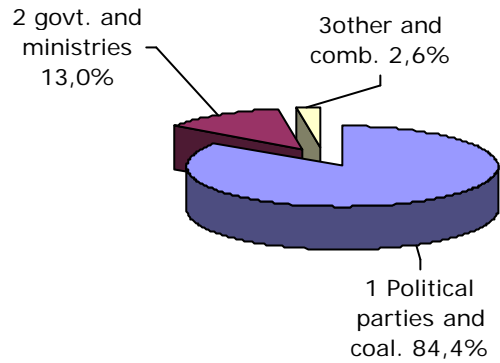


Table 4

Relevant actors (during the campaign)

Relevant actors	Broadcast		Total
	1 Hrvatski radio	2 Obiteljski radio	
1 Political parties and coalitions	561	158	719
	78,0	22,0	100,0
	85,4	81,0	84,4
2 govt. and ministries	84	27	111
	75,7	24,3	100,0
	12,8	13,8	13,0
3 other and combinations	12	10	22
	54,5	45,5	100,0
	1,8	5,1	2,6
Total	657	195	852
	77,1	22,9	100,0
	100	100	100

Graphic 5

Parties - before the campaign

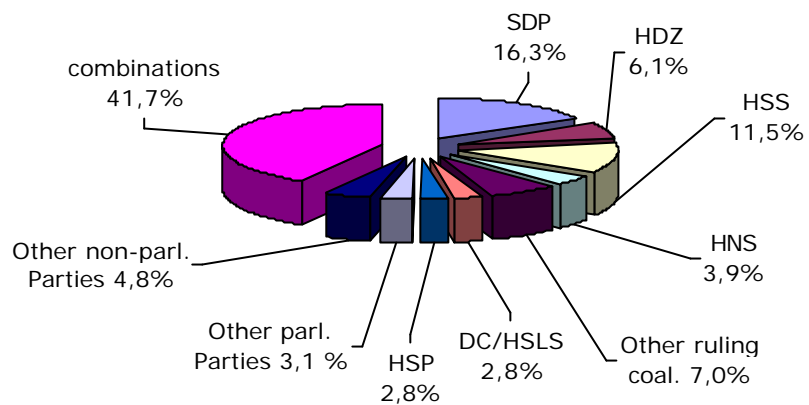


Table 5 (before the campaign)
Coverage of political parties

Parties	Broadcast		Total
	Hrvatski radio	Obiteljski radio	
SDP	70	18	88
	79,5	20,5	100,0
	17,6	12,7	16,3
HDZ	22	11	33
	66,7	33,3	100,0
	5,5	7,7	6,1
HSS	45	17	62
	72,6	27,4	100,0
	11,3	12,0	11,5
HNS	17	4	21
	81,0	19,0	100,0
	4,3	2,8	3,9
Other ruling coal. parties	27	11	38
	71,1	28,9	100,0
	6,8	7,7	7,0
DC/HSLs	12	3	15
	80,0	20,0	100,0
	3,0	2,1	2,8
HSP	10	5	15
	66,7	33,3	100,0
	2,5	3,5	2,8
Other parliamentary parties	12	5	17
	70,6	29,4	100,0
	3,0	3,5	3,1
Other non-parliamentary parties	20	6	26
	76,9	23,1	100,0
	5,0	4,2	4,8
Combinations	163	62	225
	72,4	27,6	100,0
	41,0	43,7	41,7
Total	398	142	540
	73,7	26,3	100,0
	100	100	100

Graphic 6

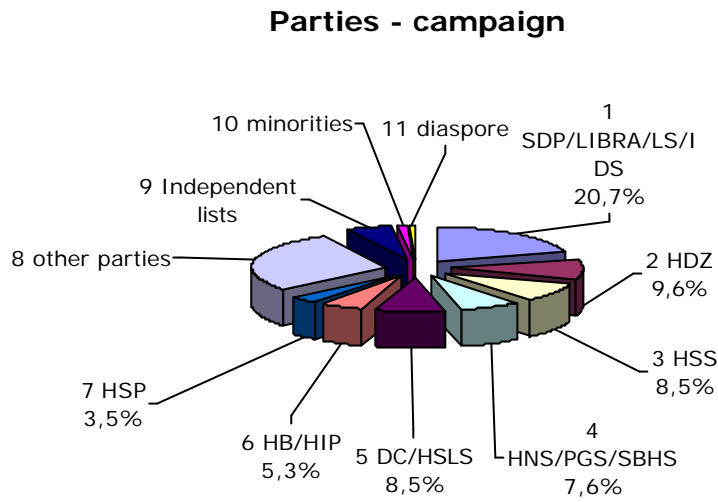


Table 6
Parties during the campaign

Parties	Broadcast		Total
	Hrvatski radio	Obiteljski radio	
1 SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	132	45	177
	74,6	25,4	100,0
	20,0	23,0	20,7
2 HDZ	61	21	82
	74,4	25,6	100,0
	9,2	10,7	9,6
3 HSS	50	23	73
	68,5	31,5	100,0
	7,6	11,7	8,5
4 HNS/PGS/SBHS	46	19	65
	70,8	29,2	100,0
	7,0	9,7	7,6
5 DC/HSLs	59	14	73
	80,8	19,2	100,0
	8,9	7,1	8,5
6 HB/HIP	33	12	45
	73,3	26,7	100,0
	5,0	6,1	5,3
7 HSP	22	8	30
	73,3	26,7	100,0
	3,3	4,1	3,5
8 other parties	201	45	246
	81,7	18,3	100,0
	30,5	23,0	28,7
9 independent lists	41	7	48
	85,4	14,6	100,0
	6,2	3,6	5,6
10 minorities	10		10
	100,0		100,0
	1,5		1,2
11 diaspora	5	2	7
	71,4	28,6	100,0
	0,8	1,0	0,8
total	660	196	856

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	77,1	22,9	100,0
	100	100	100

Graphic 7

Direct speech before the campaign

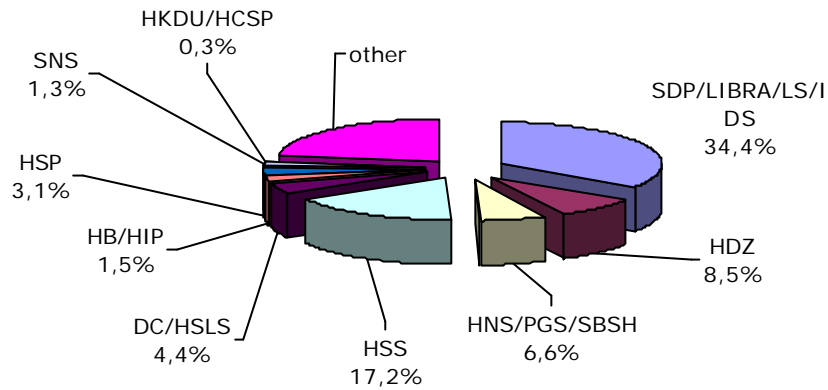


Table 7
Direct speech (before the campaign)

	speech	
	Duration in sec.	%
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	2063	34,3
HDZ	512	8,5
HNS/PGS/SBSH	397	6,6
HSS	1031	17,2
DC/HLSL	265	4,4
HB/HIP	92	1,5
HSP	189	3,1
SNS	80	1,3
HKDU/HCSP	19	0,3
Other	1359	22,6
Total	6007	100,0

Graphic 8

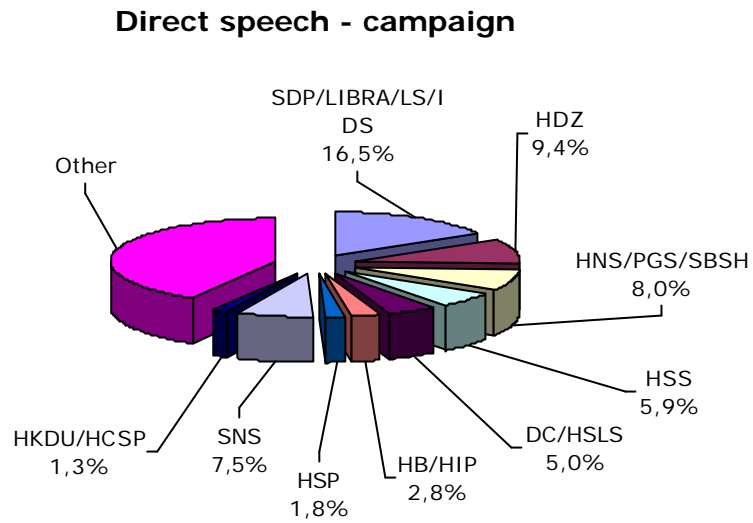


Table 8
Direct speech (during the campaign)

Parties	on	
	sec.	%
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	3879	16,5
HDZ	2194	9,4
HNS/PGS/SBSH	1885	8,0
HSS	1388	5,9
DC/HSLs	1178	5,0
HB/HIP	657	2,8
HSP	421	1,8
SNS	1753	7,5
HKDU/HCSP	302	1,3
Other	9793	41,8
Total	23450	100,0

Graphic 9

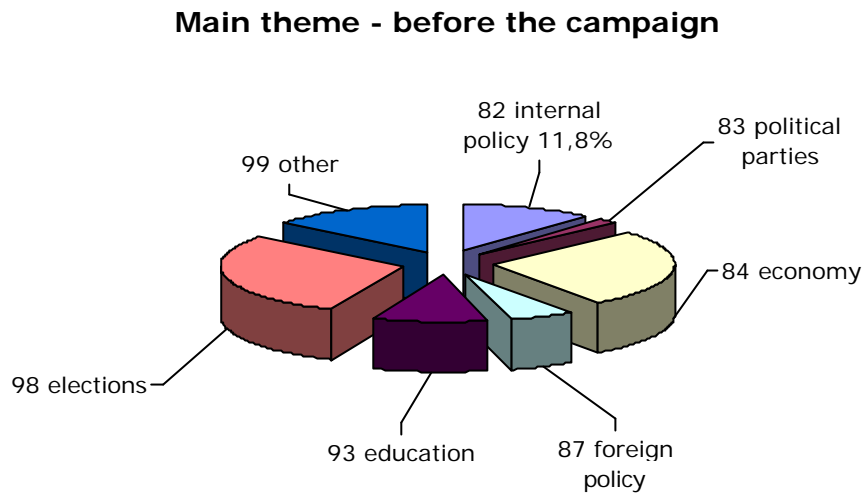


Table 9 (before the campaign)

Main theme	Broadcast		Total
	1 Hrvatski radio	2 Obiteljski radio	
82 internal policy	10,7	15,0	11,8
83 political parties	1,5	1,4	1,5
84 economy	28,0	24,2	27,0
87 foreign policy	6,0	4,8	5,7
93 education	10,9	8,7	10,3
98 elections	28,3	32,4	29,3
99 other	14,6	13,5	14,4
	615	207	822
	100,0	100,0	100,0

Graphic 10

Main theme - during the campaign

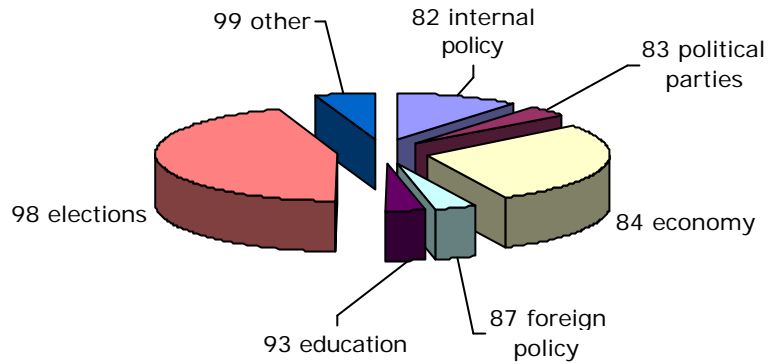


Table 10
Main theme (during the campaign)

Main theme	Broadcast		Total
	1 Hrvatski radio	2 Obiteljski radio	
82 internal policy	11,5	8,6	10,8
83 political parties	3,6	5,0	3,9
84 economy	28,7	27,1	28,3
87 foreign policy	3,8	2,9	3,6
93 education	2,9	6,4	3,8
98 elections	44,5	43,6	44,3
99 other	5,0	6,4	5,4
Total	418	140	558
	100,0	100,0	100,0

Graphic 11

Attack/defend of actors- before the campaign

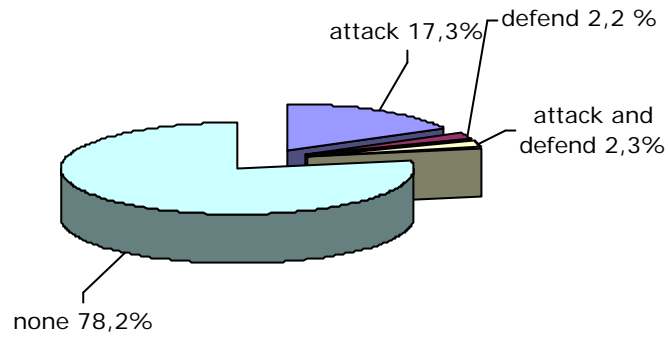


Table 11
Attack and defend (before the campaign)

Attack/defend	Broadcast		Total
	Hrvatski radio	Obiteljski radio	
attack	17,2	17,4	17,3
defend	2,3	1,9	2,2
attack and defend	1,6	4,3	2,3
none	78,8	76,3	78,2
Total	609	207	816
	100,0	100,0	100,0

Graphic 12

Attack/defend - during the campaign

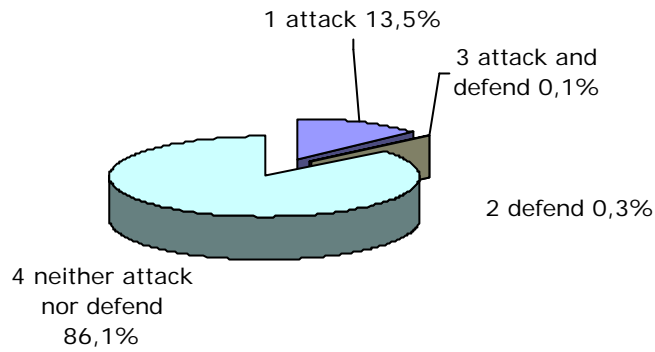


Table 12
Attack/defend of actors (during the campaign)

Attack/defend of actors	Broadcast		Total
	1 Hrvatski radio	2 Obiteljski radio	
1 attack	13,0	14,9	13,5
2 defend	0,3	0,4	0,3
3 attack and defend	0,1		0,1
4 neither attack nor defend	86,6	84,7	86,1
Total	745	242	987
	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 13
Positively marked parties (during the campaign)

Positively marked parties	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	28	3,3	11,6	11,6
HDZ	35	4,1	14,5	26,0
HNS/PGS/SBHS	23	2,7	9,5	35,5
HSS	29	3,4	12,0	47,5
DC/HSLs	30	3,5	12,4	59,9
HSP	5	0,6	2,1	62,0
HB/HIP	12	1,4	5,0	66,9
ostalo	80	9,3	33,1	100
Total	242	28,3	100	
System missing	614	71,7		
Total	856	100		

Table 14
Negatively marked parties (during the campaign)

Negatively marked parties	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
SDP/LIBRA/LS/IDS	10	1,2	13,7	13,7
HDZ	10	1,2	13,7	27,4
HNS	1	0,1	1,4	28,8
HSS	2	0,2	2,7	31,5
DC/HSLs	2	0,2	2,7	34,2
HSP	1	0,1	1,4	35,6
HB/HIP	1	0,1	1,4	37,0
other and combinations	46	5,4	63,0	100
Total	73	8,5	100	
System missing	783	91,5		
Total	856	100		