

## **FACING THE PAST:**

### **MEDIA FRAMING OF WAR CRIMES IN POST-CONFLICT SERBIA**

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#### **CODEBOOK**

(Subheadings were removed and items were randomized for coding)

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#### **BACKGROUND**

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**B1 Name of coder**

**B2 Number of article (continuing)**

**B3 Headline of the article**

**B4 In which newspaper did the article appear?**

- 1 Politika
- 2 Vecernje Novosti
- 3 Danas
- 4 Blic

**B5 On which page number did the article appear?**

**B6 What is the date of publication of the article?**

**B7 What is the genre of the article?**

- 1 news  
(provides more or less extensive information about a given topic; the focus is on providing facts.)
- 2 analysis  
(apart from information, it provides background facts about topic; the focus is on placing the topic into a meaningful context)
- 3 commentary  
(article presents a line of reasoning, rather than information about a given topic; the focus is on journalist's evaluation / interpretation of the topic)
- 4 interview / statement
- 5 reader's letter
- 6 other journalistic piece
- 7 not a journalistic piece  
(e.g. part of the indictment, transcript from an official meeting etc.)

Note: If the article is coded as 6 - not a journalistic piece, than it is not adequate for further coding. The coder should finish its coding against the background section and then go to the next article.

**B8 What is the source of the article?**

- 1 News agency/other news outlet
- 2 Journalist - signed with full name
- 3 Journalist - signed with initials
- 4 Reader
- 5 Politician
- 6 Other

**B9 If the source is a news agency, please specify:**

- 1 BETA
- 2 TANJUG
- 3 FoNET
- 4 SRNA
- 5 Other ex-Yu agency
- 6 Foreign, non-ex-Yu agency.

**B10 What is the length of the article in number of words?**

## TOPICS

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Read the text carefully. Note whether each of the following topics is present in the text.

**T1** Note whether this topic is present in the text:

**Cooperation of Serbia and ICTY.**

yes (1) / no (0)

**T1A** If the topic is present in the text, note whether it is:

	1	2	3	4	5
briefly mentioned					main topic of the article

Info: Choose a number on the scale above having in mind that 1 means that the topic is "briefly mentioned" while 5 means that the topic is "Main topic of the article".

**T1B** If the topic is present in the text, note whether it mentions each of the following (multiple choice):

**T1B.1 Political aspects of cooperation**

( e.g. "The cooperation with the Hague will figure prominently in the election campaign")

yes (1) / no (0)

**T1B.2 Economic aspects of cooperation**

(e.g. "USA will probably not approve 200 million dollars of aid to Serbia, because it failed to deliver the remaining fugitives")

yes (1) / no (0)

**T1B.3 Legal aspects of cooperation**

(e.g. "The minister claims that all documents from Serbian archives have been accessible to the ICTY's investigators")

yes (1) / no (0)

**T1B.4 Societal/moral aspects of cooperation**

(e.g. "The will to cooperation with ICTY is a test of the success of reforms of the value system that is dominant in Serbia")

yes (1) / no (0)

**T1B.5 Current events**

(arrests, fugitive hunts, officials' statements, officials' meetings...)

yes (1) / no (0)

**T2** Note whether this topic is present in the text:

**Serbian war crimes judiciary**

yes (1) / no (0)

**T2A** If the topic is present in the text, note whether it is:

	1	2	3	4	5
briefly mentioned					main topic of the article

**T2B** If the topic is present in the text, note whether it mentions each of the following (multiple choice):

**T2B.1 Institutional aspects of Serbian war crime judiciary**  
(functioning, structure etc)  
yes (1) / no (0)

**T2B.2 Information regarding case(s)**  
yes (1) / no (0)

**T2B.3 The course of trial(s)**  
yes (1) / no (0)

**T2B.4 Serbian war crime judiciary official(s) personally**  
yes (1) / no (0)

**T2B.5 Current events regarding Serbian war crimes judiciary**  
(arrests, fugitive hunts, officials' statements, officials' meetings...)  
yes (1) / no (0)

**T3** Note whether this topic is present in the text:  
**Croatian war crime judiciary (courts/trials/cases)**  
yes (1) / no (0)

**T3A** If the topic is present in the text, note whether it is:  
1 2 3 4 5  
briefly mentioned main topic of the article

**T4** Note whether this topic is present in the text:  
**Bosnian, excluding Republika Srpska, war crime judiciary**  
**(courts/trials/cases)**  
yes (1) / no (0)

**T4A** If the topic is present in the text, note whether it is:  
1 2 3 4 5  
briefly mentioned main topic of the article

**T5** Note whether this topic is present in the text:  
**Republika Srpska war crime judiciary (courts/trials/cases)**  
yes (1) / no (0)

**T5A** If the topic is present in the text, note whether it is:  
1 2 3 4 5  
briefly mentioned main topic of the article

**T6** Note whether this topic is present in the text:  
**Montenegrin war crime judiciary (courts/trials/cases)**  
yes (1) / no (0)

**T6A** If the topic is present in the text, note whether it is:  
1 2 3 4 5

briefly mentioned

main topic of the article

**T7** Note whether this topic is present in the text:

**Kosovo war crime judiciary (courts/trials/cases)**

yes (1) / no (0)

**T7A** If the topic is present in the text, note whether it is:

1 2 3 4 5  
briefly mentioned main topic of the article

**T8** Note whether this topic is present in the text:

**ICTY** (excluding its cooperation with Serbia)

yes (1) / no (0)

**T8A** If the topic is present in the text, note whether it is:

1 2 3 4 5  
briefly mentioned main topic of the article

**T8B** If the topic is present in the text, note whether it mentions each of the following (multiple choice):

**T8B.1 Institutional aspects of ICTY** (functioning, structure etc)

yes (1) / no (0)

**T8B.2 Information regarding case(s)**

yes (1) / no (0)

**T8B.3 The course of trial(s)**

yes (1) / no (0)

**T8B.4 ICTY officials personally**

yes (1) / no (0)

**T8B.5 Cooperation of ICTY and Croatia**

yes (1) / no (0)

**T8B.6 Cooperation of ICTY and BiH**

(excluding Republika Srpska)

yes (1) / no (0)

**T8B.7 Cooperation of ICTY and Republika Srpska**

yes (1) / no (0)

**T8B.8 Cooperation of ICTY and Montenegro**

yes (1) / no (0)

**T8B.9 Cooperation of ICTY and Kosovo**

yes (1) / no (0)

**T8B.10 Current events**

(arrests, fugitive hunts, officials' statements, officials' meetings...)

yes (1) / no (0)



**T10B.4 Personal/human consequences of war crimes**

(e.g. This family has survived ethnic cleansing, but is now forced to live in a foreign country, away from what they know as home"

yes (1) / no (0)

**T10B.5 Current events**

(reconciliation efforts, new incidents...)

yes (1) / no (0)

**T11** Note whether this topic is present in the text:

**Concrete events of war crimes**

yes (1) / no (0)

**T11A** If the topic is present in the text, note whether it is:

	1	2	3	4	5
briefly mentioned					main topic of the article

**T11B** For a maximum of three concrete events of war crimes<sup>1</sup> that are mentioned, please note if these are about:

**T11B.1**

- 1 killing of civilians by members of JNA in Vukovar
- 2 siege of Sarajevo
- 3 killing of civilians by snipers in Sarajevo
- 4 bombing of Mostar by JNA
- 5 bombing of Dubrovnik by JNA
- 6 crimes against civilians by JNA members in the surroundings of Dubrovnik
- 7 killing of civilians by Serbian paramilitaries in Bijeljina in 1992
- 8 killing of Albanian civilians, whose bodies have been found in mass graves in the area of Batajnica, Suva Reka or Perucac
- 9 killing of Bosniak civilians in and around Srebrenica
- 10 murder and forceful displacement of Albanian civilians before and during the NATO bombing campaign
- 11 other war crime committed against Croats, namely: \_\_\_\_\_
- 12 other war crime committed against Bosniaks, namely: \_\_\_\_\_
- 13 other war crime committed against Albanians, namely: \_\_\_\_\_
- 14 war crime committed against Serbs, namely: \_\_\_\_\_
- 15 other war crime, namely: \_\_\_\_\_

**T11B.2**

[categories see T11B.1]

**T11B.3**

[categories see T11B.1]

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<sup>1</sup> Choose the war crimes that seem most prominent in the text to you and code them in order of their prominence.

**T12** Note whether this topic is present in the text:  
**Information about victims/victims' families (excluding information related to war crime trials)**

yes (1) / no (0)

**T12A** If the topic is present in the text, note whether it is:

1 2 3 4 5  
briefly mentioned main topic of the article

**T13** Note whether this topic is present in the text:  
**Information about perpetrators/accused and/or their families (excluding information related to war crime trials)**

yes (1) / no (0)

**T13A** If the topic is present in the text, note whether it is:

1 2 3 4 5  
briefly mentioned main topic of the article

## ACTORS

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Read the text carefully. Identify the actors that are present in the text. Actors can be individuals, group of individuals, institutional bodies, organisations, or similar. Actors are all such entities explicitly mentioned in the article and relevant for the article narrative and/or the issue that is being covered.

Identify a maximum of four "main actors" in the article. As a criterion for selection and the order within the "main actors", use the prominence of the actor in the article at hand: how much space (not merely in terms of sentences / words but also in substantial terms) is given to dealing with the actor / given to the actor to make him/herself heard.

NOTE: It may not always be necessary to code four main actors even if there are four or more actors present in the article at hand. It is possible that some actors in the article are too minor to be coded as main actors, and should thus be left out - even if this would mean coding less than four main actors.

### **A1 Can any actors be found in the article?**

yes (1) / no (0) (skip the rest of the actors section)

### **A2 Can more actors be found in the article than those identified as the four "main actors"?**

yes (1) / no (0)

*The following six questions refer to the first "main actor" in the article (i.e. the actor identified as the most prominent one)*

### **A3 What's the name of the actor?**

### **A4 What is the type of the actor?**

- 1 an individual (e.g. victim, eyewitness, politician, expert)
- 2 a group of individuals (not formally belonging to an organisation, e.g. a group of demonstrators, an electorate)
- 3 an individual representing an organisation (e.g. NGO spokesperson)
- 4 an organisation (e.g. political party, international institutions)

### **A5 What is the gender of the actor (if applicable)**

- 1 female
- 2 male
- 3 mixed (groups)
- 4 not stated
- 5 not applicable

### **A6 Who is the actor?**

- 1 (Representative of) Serbian government official
- 2 Serbian president or associates
- 3 other Serbian politician
- 4 (Representative of) Serbian military (or police) official

- 5 (Representative of) Serbian judicial official (e.g. court PR)
- 6 Serbian war crimes prosecutor
- 7 (Representative of) Serbian NGO
- 8 (Representative of) Serbian Orthodox Church
- 9 (Representative of) any other Church (i.e. excluding Serbian Orthodox Church)
- 10 Victim or victim's family
- 11 Victim's legal representative
- 12 Witness
- 13 Accused war criminal
- 14 Defense lawyer (of accused war criminal)
- 15 Outspoken supporter, associate of accused war criminals
- 16 (representative of) inter- and supranational institution (e.g. EU, UN)
- 17 (representative of) ICTY prosecution
- 18 (representative of) ICTY judges or registry
- 19 (representative of) international legal body (not ICTY)
- 20 national politician from an EU country (excluding Slovenia)
- 21 (representative of) government of an EU country (excluding Slovenia)
- 22 national politician of a country of former Yugoslavia
- 23 (representative of) government of an ex-Yu country (excluding Serbia)
- 24 national politician from other country (i.e. non-EU, non former Yugoslavia)
- 25 (representative of) government of another country (i.e. not EU not ex-Yu)
- 26 (Representative of) international NGO
- 27 expert or academic in the field of war crimes or related topics
- 28 other: \_\_\_\_\_

Note: If the actor falls into more than one of the above mentioned categories, place her/him/it into the category which is the most relevant for that actor's role in the given article

**A7 Is the ethnicity of the actor known to the coder / explicitly mentioned / deducible from the article?**

no (0) / yes:

- 1 Serbian
- 2 Bosniak
- 3 Croatian
- 4 Albanian
- 5 Montenegrin
- 6 Macedonian
- 7 Roma
- 8 other: \_\_\_\_\_
- 9 mixed (groups)
- 10 not know or not stated
- 11 not applicable

**A8 Is the actor quoted in the article (only direct quotes in quotation marks)?**

yes (1) / no (0)

*The following six questions refer to the second "main actor" in the article, if present. If there is no second actor, skip the rest of the actor section.*

**(A3-A8)**

*The following six questions refer to the third "main actor" in the article, if present. If there is no third actor, skip the rest of the actor section.*

**(A3-A8)**

*The following six questions refer to the fourth "main actor" in the article, if present. If there is no fourth actor, skip the rest of the actor section.*

**(A3-A8)**

## **FRAME: VICTIMIZATION OF SERBS**

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**FV1 Does the article mention war crime(s) in which Serbs were the victims?**

yes (1) / no (0)

**FV2 Does the article suggest [i.e. mentioned in the article without later being criticized, treated ironically, or in a similar way clearly disregarded] that the Serbian people collectively<sup>2</sup> are the victims of the wars in former Yugoslavia?**

yes (1) / no (0)

**FV3 Does the article suggest [i.e. mentioned in the article without later being criticized, treated ironically, or in a similar way clearly disregarded] the idea that other states or international community<sup>3</sup> have, in any sense, been unjust towards Serbia/the Serbs/a Serb?**

yes (1) / no (0)

**FV4 Does the article suggest [i.e. mentioned in the article without later being criticized, treated ironically, or in a similar way clearly disregarded] the idea that the responsibility for war crimes has been and/or is being imposed on the Serbian state/ the Serbian people?**

yes (1) / no (0)

**FV5. Does the article suggest [i.e. mentioned in the article without later being criticized, treated ironically, or in a similar way clearly disregarded] the idea that the Serbia/Serbian people/a Serb are/is suffering because of the ICTY?**

(e.g. because it was demanded from it to deliver its highest officials or because cooperation with ICTY is posed as precondition for its EU integrations etc.)

yes (1) / no (0)

**FV6. Does the article make reference to war crime(s) from history before 1990, in which Serbs were the victims?**

yes (1) / no (0)

**FV7. Does the article make reference to history before 1990 when other states or international community have, in any sense, been unjust towards Serbia/the Serbs?**

yes (1) / no (0)

## **FRAME: POSITIVE CONSEQUENCES**

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**FPC1 In the article, are efforts of facing the past<sup>4</sup> presented as positive in that they will help fulfilling a moral obligation**

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<sup>2</sup> The Serbian people can either refer to all Serbs wherever they live, or to some collective of Serbian people (e.g. Serbs in Bosnia, Serbs in Serbia etc.).

<sup>3</sup> International community refers to any entity representing other states, international organizations or associations of states.

<sup>4</sup> Under *facing the past* we understand any action, statement, claim or any other kind of effort that leads/can lead to determining the truth about war crimes from the 1990s, and/or

towards victims or a general moral obligation? (e.g., "victims families deserve closure / justice", "those that have been killed must not be forgotten", "crimes have to be punished")  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FPC2** In the article, are efforts of facing the past presented as positive in that they will help fulfilling a moral obligation towards Serbia and/or the Serbian people?  
(e.g., "necessary for Serbian society to move on", "truth finding as an obligation towards future generations of Serbs")  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FPC3** In the article, are efforts of facing the past presented as positive in that they will help assigning guilt to individual perpetrators and thus shift it away from the Serbian nation as a whole?  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FPC4** In the article, are efforts of facing the past presented as positive with respect to Serbia's aspirations for EU/ NATO membership and/or in that they will bring Serbia financial aid?  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FPC5** In the article, are efforts of facing the past presented as positive with respect to Serbia's reputation in the world / amongst the international community?  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FPC6** In the article, are efforts of facing the past presented as positive in that they will help fulfilling Serbia's obligations under international law? (e.g. mentioning Serbia's duty to arrest and try/extradite alleged war criminals)  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FPC7** In the article, are efforts of facing the past, presented as positive?  
yes (1) / no (0)

## **FRAME: NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES**

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**FNC1** In the article, are efforts of facing the past presented as negative in that they will pose a threat to Serbia's social/political stability?  
(e.g. arrest of Mladic would lead to mass demonstrations / public apology for war crimes would strengthen position of radicals)  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FNC2** In the article, are efforts of facing the past presented as negative in that they will contribute to creating / confirming Serbia's negative image / reputation in the world?  
(e.g. "conviction of more Serbian war criminals will lead to an increase in negative opinions about Serbs in the world")

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understanding and accepting in the consequences - moral, political and legal - which arise from it.

yes (1) / no (0)

**FNC3** In the article, are efforts of facing the past presented as negative, arguing that indictments / convictions of Serbian leaders are indictments / judgments of the whole Serbian nation?

yes (1) / no (0)

**FNC4** In the article, are efforts of facing the past presented as negative with respect to possible demands for reparations from victims / victims families / states directed at the Serbian state?

yes (1) / no (0)

**FNC5** In the article, are efforts of facing the past presented as negative, arguing that no Serbian security force member will ever be sure whether he will soon face a indictment as well?

yes (1) / no (0)

**FNC6** In the article, are efforts of facing the past presented as negative, arguing that such acts are a betrayal of Serbian heroes / national ideals?

yes (1) / no (0)

**FNC7** In the article, are efforts of facing the past, presented as negative?

yes (1) / no (0)

## **FRAME: RELATIVISATION OF WAR CRIMES**

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**FR1.** Does the article suggest [i.e. mentioned in the article without later being criticized, treated ironically, or in a similar way *clearly* disregarded] **any kind of justification/rationale/defence for any aspect of the perpetration of a concrete war crime?** (e.g. self-defence, revenge, lack of control of a commander etc.)

yes (1) / no (0)

**FR2** Does the article suggest [i.e. mentioned in the article without later being criticized, treated ironically, or in a similar way *clearly* disregarded] **any kind of justification/rationale for perpetration of war crimes in general, without reference to a particular case?**

yes (1) / no (0)

**FR3** Does the article link in any way war crimes perpetrated by Serbs to those perpetrated by other sides in the conflict, in other wars, or in wars in general?

yes (1) / no (0)

**FR4** Does the article suggest [i.e. mentioned in the article without later being criticized, treated ironically, or in a similar way

*clearly* disregarded] **partiality of any aspect of legal proceedings<sup>5</sup> related to the ICTY?**  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FR5 Does the article suggest** [i.e. mentioned in the article without later being criticized, treated ironically, or in a similar way *clearly* disregarded] **partiality of any aspect of legal proceedings related to the Serbian war crime judiciary?**  
yes (1) / no (0)

## **FRAME: DENIAL OF WAR CRIMES**

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**FD1 Does the article contest, doubt or outrightly deny one or more elements (e.g. actors, scope, place, sequences of events, etc.) of a concrete war crime event?**  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FD2 Does the article contest, doubt or outrightly deny the responsibility of one or more alleged war criminals?**  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FD3 Does the article contest, doubt or outrightly deny court testimonies of victims, court evidence or facts established by judgments of domestic or international war crime courts?**  
yes (1) / no (0)

## **FRAME: FACING THE PAST**

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**FFP1 Does the article contain a story, or a part of a story about a concrete war crime perpetrated by Serbs?**  
(Note: the article should be coded even if it is only one sentence that gives a short draft of a story)  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FFP2 Does the article suggest** [i.e. mentioned in the article without later being criticized, treated ironically, or in a similar way *clearly* disregarded] **that Serbia has responsibility (symbolic or financial) towards the victims?**  
(e.g. to ask forgiveness from victims, to publicly state the truth/accept responsibility for war crimes, to pay reparations to victims or similar)  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FFP3 Does the article contain information about the following?**

**FFP3a estimated number of victims**  
yes (1) / no (0)

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<sup>5</sup> under "legal proceedings" we would understand: investigation, prosecution, procedure, legal foundations of war crime courts, judges, war crime legal system as a whole, war crime legal officials etc.

**FFP3b the way(s) in which the victims were mistreated, i.e. does the article give more information than simply naming the mistreatment in one word (e.g. naming it as "tortured", "raped", "murdered", "expelled")**  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FFP3c place(s) where the crime occurred**  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FFP3d socio-demographic identifiers of victim(s)**  
(e.g. name, gender, age, civilian/soldier or similar)  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FFP3e socio-demographic identifiers of the perpetrator(s)**  
(e.g. name, gender, age, civilian/soldier, rank or similar)  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FFP3f legal treatment/status of the war crime**  
(e.g. is there an investigation ongoing, or what the indictment contains, or has the judgment been delivered, or similar)  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FFP3g proof(s)/documents/testimonies relevant for the crime**  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FFP3h information from the indictment against an accused Serb war criminal**  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FFP4 Does the article suggest responsibility of an individual Serb (e.g. politician, police/military officer etc.), or a Serb organization/institution (e.g. Serbian government, Arkan's paramilitaries, 5<sup>th</sup> Republic of Srpska Army, etc), for a concrete war crime(s), or for war crimes in ex-Yu in general?**  
yes (1) / no (0)

**FFP5 Does the article suggest responsibility of an individual non-Serb (e.g. politician, police/military officer etc.), or a non-Serb organization/institution (e.g. USA President, Oric's soldiers, 5<sup>th</sup> Croatian army, etc), for a concrete war crime(s), or for war crimes in ex-Yu in general?**  
yes (1) / no (0)

## **MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS**

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**WC1 Does the article suggest [i.e. mentioned in the article without later being criticized, treated ironically, or in a similar way clearly disregarded] that the Croatian, Bosnian or Albanian people collectively are the victims of the wars in former Yugoslavia?**  
yes (1) / no (0)

**WC2 Does the article suggest that all sides in ex-Yu wars are equally responsible, given that they have all committed war crimes?**

yes (1) / no (0)

**WC3 Does the article mention the ethnicity of one or more victims?**

- 0 the article doesn't mention the ethnicity of victims
- 1 Serbian
- 2 Non-Serbian
- 3 both Serbian and Non-Serbian

**WC4 Does the article mention the ethnicity of one or more perpetrators?**

- 0 the article doesn't mention the ethnicity of perpetrators
- 1 Serbian
- 2 Non-Serbian
- 3 both Serbian and Non-Serbian

**WC5 Does the article suggest [i.e. mentioned in the article without later being criticized, treated ironically, or in a similar way *clearly* disregarded] that Serbia has responsibility (symbolic or financial) towards the accused/perpetrators?**

yes (1) / no (0)

**WC6 Are persons who promote the process of facing the past clearly negatively represented in the article? (e.g. their personalities, behaviour or life styles are presented as negative, presented as "bad guys", called offensive names, or similar)**

yes (1) / no (0)

**WC7 Does the article contain a story, or a part of a story about a concrete war crime perpetrated by non-Serbs?**

(Note: the article should be coded even if it is only one sentence that gives a short draft of a story)

yes (1) / no (0)