

Paper prepared for the
Third Euroacademia Global Conference
Europe Inside-Out: Europe and Europeaness Exposed to Plural
Observers

Prague, 15 – 16 March 2013

This paper is a draft

Please do not cite

Montenegro Media Reporting About the EU Accession Processⁱ

MSc Andrijana Rabrenović
Faculty of Political Sciences
Podgorica
University of Montenegro

Abstract: This work is part of the scientific research project "Europe, Here and There: Analysis of Europeanization Discourse in the Western Balkan Media". The project is financed by Regional Research Promotion Programme (RRPP/Western Balkan), run by the University of Fribourg upon mandate of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation.

The countries involved in this project are: Montenegro, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia. The institutions involved are: Faculty of Political Sciences - University of Montenegro, Faculty of Philosophy - University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Political Sciences - University of Sarajevo and Faculty of Law - University of Skoplje.

The goal of the research project is to analyze discourse characteristics of the Europeanization in the media from these four countries, as well as to explain relations between the EU/Europe and the Western Balkan countries. Also, one of the goals is to provide a comparative analysis of most influential media representations in the Europeanization process.

This paper presents the research results related to the reporting of the media in Montenegro's EU accession process, with special emphasis on electronic media. We analyzed the four radio stations and four television stations. Categories that were investigated, among others, are topics about Europe, EU and Europeanization in general or as the secondary focus.

The research has also shown how the electronic media of Montenegro report on the topic of improvement and accession to the EU, and whether on this topic speaks more representatives of EU or representatives of the state authorities of Montenegro.

Montenegro became an independent state in 2006, after the referendum of state and legal status From May 21, of the same year. In June, 2006, EU established relations with Montenegro as an independent state.

In 2007, Montenegro signed a Stabilization and Association agreement between the EU and member states. Finally, on December 15, 2008, Montenegro submitted its application for membership in the European Union.

According to the research, commercial media were reporting on the topic of Europe, EU and Europeanization more than (national and local) public services.

Keywords: Montenegro, EU, Europeanization, radio, television;

1. Scope of Reporting

During the seven days analyzed in October, 2012, at 8 electronic media in Montenegro, a total of 75 items were published (news items), as following:

- On the radio: 35,
- On television: 30.

Central news shows (both, radio and television) were recorded in the period from October 1 to October 27, 2012, exactly on October 1, 3, 9, 11, 19, 21 and 27, 2012.

Radio code example applies to the following radio stations: Radio of Montenegro, Radio Antena M, Radio Bijelo Polje and Radio Herceg Novi. From these stations - one is a public broadcaster with national coverage (The Radio of Montenegro), one is a commercial broadcaster with national coverage (Radio Antena M) and two radio stations are local public broadcasters (radio Bijelo Polje and Radio Herceg Novi).

By the number of recorded central news shows, by each radio station, recorded:
Radio of Montenegro - 7 shows;
Antena M - 7 shows;
Radio Bijelo Polje - 5 shows;
Radio Herceg Novi - 7 shows.

When it comes to television, materials from four televisions are coded, such as: Television of Montenegro, Atlas TV, Prva TV and Pljevlja TV. One of these is a television public broadcaster with national coverage (Television of Montenegro), two are commercial televisions with national coverage (Atlas TV and First TV), while the Pljevlja TV is a local public television broadcaster.

By the number of recorded central news shows, by each TV station it's recorded:

Montenegro TV - 7 shows;
Atlas TV- 7 shows;
Prva TV- 7 shows;
Pljevlja TV- 7 shows.

Based on data coverage of both, radio and TV stations, we conclude that the whole country is presented, because we covered its northern and southern parts, as well as the central part.

Code sheets are well aligned, but there are some differences between them. Actually, the code sheet for radio shows included a category – the section in which was not always possible to explicitly specify the same. Out of the box of sections for radio shows (domestic policy, foreign policy, society, economy, black chronicle, culture, entertainment, sports, and anything else by the specific media), 40% of reporting referred to the last option - something else by the media, while 34% of reporting is from domestic politics, 6% from foreign policy, 11% from society and 9% from the economy. The lack of explicit reporting can be explained by the fact that under the programs of radio stations, central news shows are not precisely defined criteria for reporting.

Except for these difference (and differences arising from the nature of the media), both codes are identical in categories that are the most important for the study (topics, subjects, objects, locations, etc.).

In quantitative terms, in analyzed central news shows, the shortest show - Radio Bijelo Polje / 6 minutes and 4 seconds, while the longest broadcasted program - Radio Antena M / 34 minutes and 46 seconds. As far as we speak of reporting, the shortest reporting - Radio Herceg Novi / 15 seconds and the longest - Radio Bijelo Polje /6 minutes and 40 seconds.

When it comes to television, the shortest show - TV Prva / 21 minutes and 16 seconds, and the longest show – Montenegro TV/ 36 minutes and 22 seconds. The length of central news shows, TV Prva had the shortest reporting / 24 seconds, but the longest too / 9 minutes and 31 second.

Analysis of quantity in these shows is significant because it explicitly indicates the level to which the media handles the topic of Europeanization. From the coded material we can conclude that in most cases there are short shows.

2. Europeanization

There are numerous attempts to define Europeanization, European integrations and relations among them. By Howl's opinion, Europeanization:

"is conceptualized as the process of downloading European Union (EU) directives, regulations and institutional structures to the domestic level"(Howel 2003).

While Britz considers that Europeanization:

"as changes in the relationship between European and domestic policy, this means that it is a *dual* process. Even if we want to investigate domestic changes, this does not mean that we assume that the impulse of these changes is clear and "given" by the EU, obviously the member states are part of the process to create EU policy" (Britz 2007).

Specifically, for the Balkan region, Anastasakis states that:

"Europeanization is internalized differently by the various states or national actors in the Balkans, and its degree of success relies on their ability and willingness to change. The process is uneven at both the domestic and regional levels: at the domestic level, it generates a battle between the forces of reform and reaction; at the regional level, it results in differentiation and diversity among countries that demonstrate varying levels of integration with Europe" (Anastasakis 2005,1).

Perhaps the most accurate Turhan said:

"The Western Balkans are not yet Europe, and in order to reduce the fissures in the continent, European intellectual interests should be more ambitious to enlarge the European borders so as to contain all its natural parts". (Sel Turhan 2010,15)

Montenegro became an independent state in 2006, after the referendum of state and legal status From May 21, of the same year. In June, 2006, EU established relations with Montenegro as an independent state. In 2007, Montenegro signed a Stabilisation and Association agreement between the EU and member states. Finally, on December 15, 2008, Montenegro submitted its application for membership in the European Union, so on December 17, 2010, the European Council granted Montenegro with the status of candidate. Officially, the process of accession negotiations between Montenegro and the EU began on June 29, 2012, in Brussels, where the first intergovernmental conference between Montenegro and the European Union was held.

An indispensable segment of each country, therefore Montenegro, is media - the traditional and new media. If we talk about electronic media in Montenegro (radio and television), the topics on Europeanization were reported differently. As seen in Chart 1, radio and television usually reported about enlargement and accession to the EU

(42%), almost a half of the analyzed material related to the topic. Next is the economy with 20%, followed by the judiciary, human rights and freedom 11%. Except for the extension and accession to the EU, all other topics were included 58%.

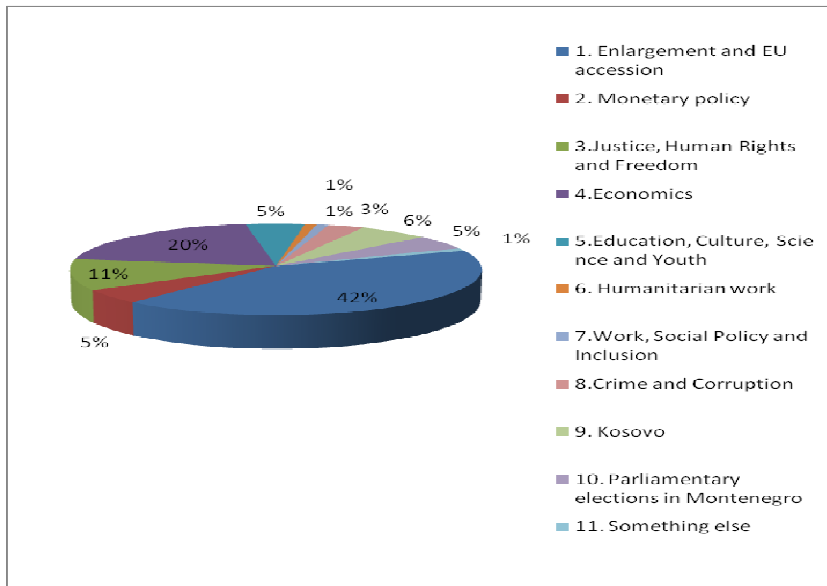


Chart 1. Europeanization topics represented on radio and televisionⁱⁱ

Radio and television reporting on the Europeanization topic show that most of reporting come from countries from which the program is broadcasted, from Montenegro (65%). The percentage refers to more than one half of the proposed locations. Brussels takes the second place (14%), while the EU and the Western Balkan countries are represented in this category with 9% each. Based on the results obtained, the conclusion is that the Montenegrin media are very interested in reporting on the Europeanization (Chart 2).

The biggest number of reporting about this topic from Montenegro is based on two events that occurred in the period in which they recorded shows, and these events are:

1. European Commission Draft Report on Montenegro's progress towards European integration and
2. Research of the Centre for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM) which showed that the number of Montenegrins that support joining the European Union, compare to December 2011, declined by almost 10%.

Also, the number of reporting on the Europeanization topic was affected by conflicting reactions to the above events, involving representatives of the government and the opposition, as well as the reactions of the EU representatives.

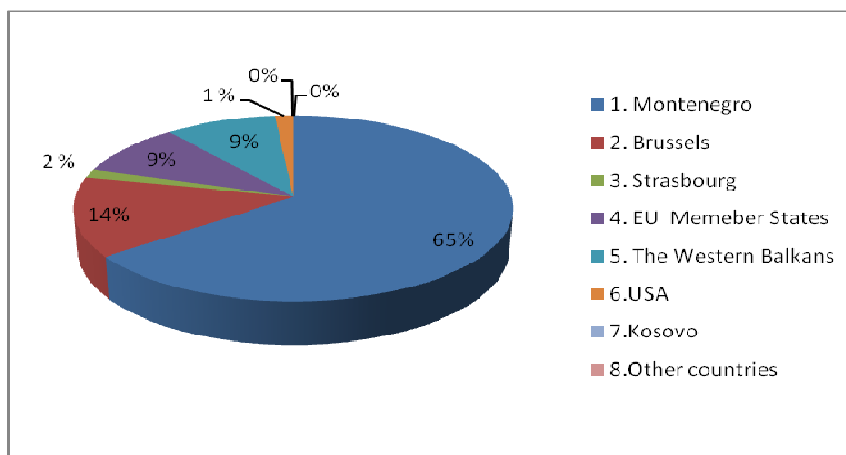


Chart 2. Location of Europeanization topics on radio and television

2.1. The focus of reporting

Europeanization topic is a central topic in 68% of media content, which is almost 3/4 of the total contributions on this topic. As a secondary topic, Europeanization occurs in 33% of reporting, which almost one third of all is reporting. This result correlates with the result of research related to location, 65% of the reporting come from Montenegro. We conclude that this topic takes priority in radio and television reporting (Table 1a and Table 1b).

In this section it is important to point (more details will be analyzed in the section "The role of journalists in reporting on Europeanization") that the Europeanization topic is not by the accident in the central focus of reporting. Specifically, for the central event in the observed period – The draft report of European Commission on the progress of Montenegro in the process of European integration - the announcement came from unnamed official of European Commission (CGTVPR9_1), so the information was published on television. Also, after publishing the information about the research of the Centre for Democracy and Human Rights of accession to EU, we got a positive assessment from the EU, directly from the member of MEPs, Jelko Kacin (CGRCG3_2).

THEME:EUROPEANIZATION	Radio	TV	TOTAL
1. The main focus	23	21	44
2. The secondary focus	7	7	14
3. One of the many topics	5	2	7
TOTAL	35	30	65

Table 1 a. Europeanization topic by criteria - research focus on radio and television (total number of reports)

THEME:EUROPEANIZATION	Radio %	TV %	TOTAL %
1. The main focus	66%	70%	68%
2. The secondary focus	20%	23%	22%
3. One of the many topics	14%	7%	11%

Table 1 b. Europeanization topic by criteria - research focus on radio and television (%)

3. Subjects and objects of the radio and television reporting

As the Chart 3 shows, the subjects that the most talked about Europeanization are political bodies of EU (in the study they are divided into: the EU in general, European Commission, European Council, European Parliament, European funds for help to the EU Delegation in Montenegro). Right after them there are the public authorities: (Government, Ministry and Parliament). In percentage terms, the EU political bodies as subjects were found in 27% of reporting, while the representatives of the state bodies are subjects in 20% of the reporting. So, overall - the political bodies of the EU and representatives of government bodies are subjects to almost half of all the reports on the radio and television (47%). Beside them, the authorities of the EU countries were identified as subjects (10%), followed by the authorities of other countries of the Western Balkan (8%), than political parties and non-governmental organizations and associations with 7%, media and experts with 6% each.

However, an upsetting fact is that citizens as subjects are appearing in only 6% of reporting on Europeanization, while workers and syndicate in a smaller percentage (1%). These results suggest that the media pay more attention to official sources of information.

Considering the position of the object, the political bodies of EU and national authorities also dominate (Government, Ministry and Parliament). In percentage, political bodies of the EU are objects in 36% of reporting, while the authorities in 22%. So, in more than one half, these two options are in the role of the object which leads us to the conclusion that there is a balance (only when we consider these two options) in subject / object relations of Europeanization.

Out of other options, as objects the EU authorities appear (9%), followed by the authorities of other countries of the Western Balkan (6%), media (7%), then political parties (4%) and companies, firms, entrepreneur with 1%. It is interesting fact that non-governmental organizations and associations appear as an object in 1% of reporting, compared to 7% in the role of the subject.

Citizens are represented as objects also in only 1% of reporting, while there is nothing about workers and syndicates (0%).

If we compare reporting from radio and television on the topic of Europeanization in terms of the subject, we come to the following data: on the radio the percentage is larger - 33% in the role of the subject are identified political bodies of the EU, while they as subjects in television are represented in 19% of reporting. With government authorities (Government, Ministries, Parliament) the situation is different. In fact, in the role of the subject they are on television in 25% and 15% on the radio.

In other categories, in terms of subjects, larger variations in comparison radio- television exist in state authorities of other countries of the Western Balkan which are subjects in 15% of radio reporting on Europeanization, versus 0% on television.

In terms of objects, in comparison between radio and television, television more as an object had political bodies of the EU 43% vs. 30% on the radio. While, on the other hand, the authorities (Government, Ministry, Parliament) in a larger number of reporting (27%) were objects on the radio, compared to 17% on television.

So, in both, the category of the subject and the category of the object, two options dominated - the political body of the EU and national authorities. According to the findings of the research, the same are ones that talk about Europeanization and the ones that are discussed.

We have already stated that citizens do not stand out either as subjects or as objects about Europeanization, which can be a critique to the media, but also at the same time the incentive to pay more attention to the future citizens of the European integration process. Among other things, as one of identified subjects said - Professor and former Minister of European Integration Gordana Djurovic "Citizens of Montenegro are not sufficiently informed about the negotiation process with the EU" (CGTVA3_2).

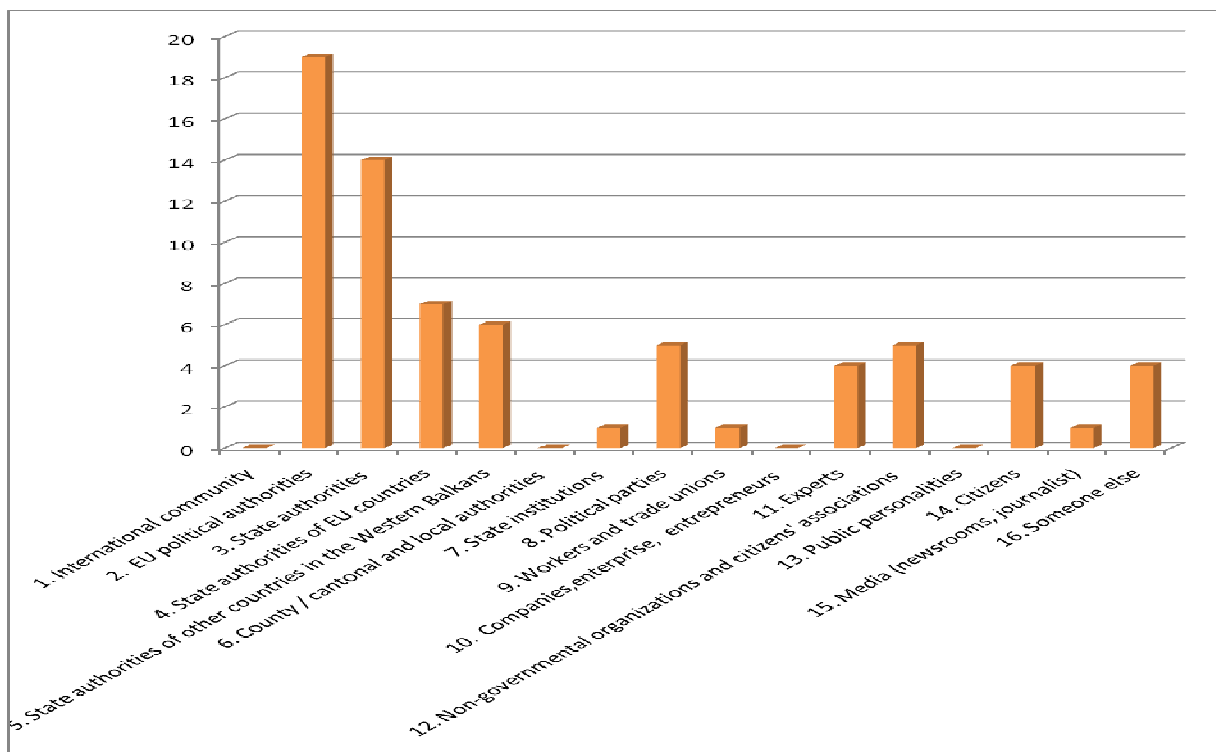


Chart 3. Subjects of reporting on radio and television

4. Value relation of the subject to the Europeanization

From the total of 35 radio reports on the Europeanization, in 11 of them valuable relationship to the Europeanization is identified, while in the case of television a total of 30 reports, in 27 is identified the same.

In the total number of reporting, the value relation of the subject to join the EU is positive in 47% of reporting, while in 50% is neutral, and negative in 3%. It is interesting that the value relation of the subject to this topic is almost identical in two options - positive and neutral. As shown in Chart 4, a negative relation toward topic is, in relation to these values, negligible (3%).

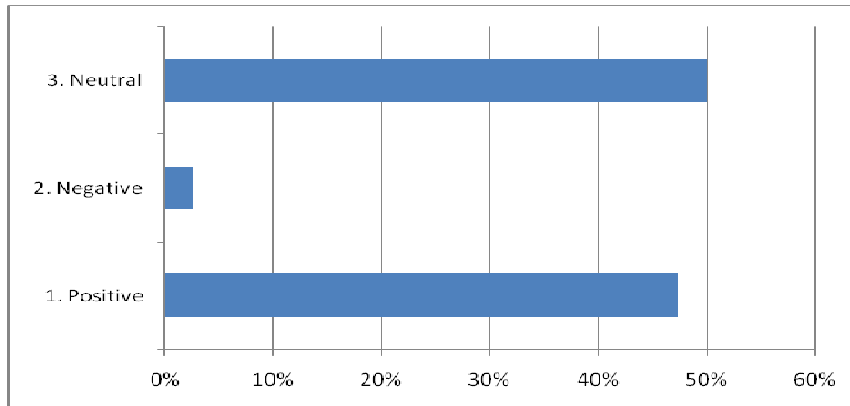


Chart 4. Value relation of the subject to the Europeanization

5. The role of journalists in reporting on the Europeanization

5.1. Authorship

No (existence) of authorship in the creation of reporting broadcasted in central news (and all other) shows, is indicator of (non) professionalism of the media and their editors, as well as their journalists.

The signing of reporting, either with the full name or with initials of journalists, is the basis of journalism, in any kind of show.

However, in the analyzed period, we find that the authorship of the media reporting was not indicated in 48% of reporting, in almost one half, which reflects to extremely unprofessional attitude of editors and journalists to the job. Research has shown that the authorship indicated in 38% of reporting, while 11% of reporting was taken from agencies (Table 2 a and Table 2 b).

According to the relevance and specificity of topics that appear daily in the media, its interesting fact that in any reporting was not engaged an expert, and not even one multiple authorship.

AUTHORSHIP	Radio	TV	TOTAL
No, it is not indicated	13	18	31
A journalist (name or initials)	14	11	25
News agency	6	1	7
Other media (published from another media)	2	0	2
External author (reader, expert)	0	0	0
Multiple authorship	0	0	0
TOTAL	35	30	65

Table 2 a. Authors of reporting on radio and television
(total number of shows)

AUTHORSHIP	Radio %	TV %	TOTAL %
No, it is not indicated	37%	60%	48%
A journalist (name or initials)	40%	37%	38%
News agency	17%	3%	11%
Other media (published from another media)	6%	0%	3%
External author (reader, expert)	0%	0%	0%
Multiple authorship	0%	0%	0%

Table 2 b. Authors of reporting on radio and television (%)

5.2. Occasion

The occasion of the media reporting explicitly points out how the media is organized and prepared to independently initiate reporting of certain topics or how to simply follow the hit topics or pseudo-events.

According to the criterion of cause, on radio and television - 75% are current events, while pseudo events are 18%. Media initiatives exist in only 6% of the reporting on the Europeanization. According to these results the media preferred monitoring of actual events and pseudo-events. That is why there is not enough space for additional topics that will only be handled by specific media. Implicitly, this means a lack of staff to deal with self-initiated topics.

If we compare the radio and television (Table 3a and Table 3b), we see that the television coverage is based on current events (87%) compared to the radio (66%). As far as media initiatives - the radio precede compare to television. The existence of the media initiative of the radio can be explained by the fact that the production was cheaper on the radio than on television.

OCCASION	Radio	TV	TOTAL
Current event	23	26	49
Pseudo event	9	3	12
Media initiative	3	1	4
TOTAL	35	30	65

Table 3 a. The occasion of reporting in electronic media (total number of items)

OCCASION	Radio %	TV %	TOTAL %
Current event	66%	87%	75%
Pseudo event	26%	10%	18%
Media initiative	9%	3%	6%

Table 3 b. The occasion of reporting in electronic media (%)

5.3. Genre

The most general division of journalistic genres would be on the factual, fiction and analytical. In the analyzed electronic media on the Europeanization, factual journalistic genres dominated. On the radio, they are the only genres represented, because 26% of reporting is carried in the form of news, 74% in the form of reports. Factual genres dominate on television too, so it was 37% of live news illustrated with a photo, then 23% statements and 10% of event reporting (Table 4 a and 4 b).

On the radio, there were no interviews while on television we recorded 13% of reporting. If we take into account that the (classical) interview is not just factual genre, but also a method for finding out of view, then the lack of this genre on the radio is concern. The number of interviews on television was low, mostly on television Prva, the reason why is because in the election block they had interviews with participants in the campaign for the parliamentary elections in Montenegro.

The total absence of analytical and fictional genres is evident. Although these genres request more time and journalistic engagement, it can not be an excuse for their lack of contributions.

The dominance of factual genres shows that editors / journalists are not willing to go into the deeper issues of Europeanization.

GENRE	TOTAL	%
1. News	9	26%
2. Report	26	74%
3. Radio package	0	0%
4. Interview	0	0%
5. Reportage	0	0%
6. Poll	0	0%
7. Something else	0	0%
TOTAL	35	100%

Table 4 a. Genres on the radio

GENRE	TOTAL	%
1. News without picture	0	0%
2. News with live picture	11	37%
3. Report	3	10%
4. TV Package	2	7%
5. Interview	4	13%
6. Statement	7	23%
7. Feature	1	3%
8. Telephone report	0	0%
9. Vox populi	0	0%
10. Alive report	0	0%
11. Reportage	0	0%
12. Hybrid genre	0	0%
13. Something else	2	7%
TOTAL	30	100%

Table 4 b. Genres on TV

5.4. Journalists valuable relationship to topic

In the analyzed media, journalist had balanced reporting on the Europeanization topic (68%), followed by 26% of neutral reporting. Positive attitude from journalists to topics (5%), negative (2%) (Table 5 a and Table 5 b).

As we already determined that most of reporting belong to factual genres, it is logical that journalists report them objectively, so these results correlate with genres that are commonly used in creating topics.

Only in one case was reported that the journalist had a negative attitude towards the topic, it was on the radio.

Journalists valuable relationship to topic	Radio	TV	TOTAL
1. Positive	1	2	3
2. Negative	1	0	1
3. Balance	25	19	44
4. Neutral	8	9	17
TOTAL	35	30	65

Table 5 a. Journalists valuable relationship to topic
(total number of items)

Journalists valuable relationship to topic	Radio %	TV %	TOTAL %
1. Positive	3%	7%	5%
2. Negative	3%	0%	2%
3. Balance	71%	63%	68%
4. Neutral	23%	30%	26%

Table 5 b. Journalists valuable relationship to topic (%)

6. Conclusion

Electronic media of Montenegro reporting, on the Europeanization topic, has shown that this topic is in the central focus of their reporting. The key event in the analyzed period - the publication of the draft report of the European Commission about progress of Montenegro towards European integrations, confirmed that this topic has a significant place in agenda of media.

On the other side, the results of mentioned research of the Centre for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM), which showed that support to EU accession decreased, indicate that this topic is the reality of Montenegro and it is not present only in media but also in other segments of society.

Given that Montenegro officially started the accession negotiations with the EU, it is expected for this topic to dominate in the media content. This is one more reason for the double education: training of journalists about the European integration process and educating citizens about the negotiation process and what to expect from joining the EU.

Upsetting facts are that Montenegro citizens are not sufficiently represented either as subjects or as objects of Europeanization topic. When we talk about the topic of Europeanization, in fact, the citizens in media are completely marginalized.

Analysis of media content about Europeanization has shown that this is a topic reported dominantly at the level of factual genres, so it is necessary to employ journalists to deal with these issues from the perspective of more complex, analytical journalistic genres. As a logical result, the valuable relationship of journalists to the topic is extremely balanced - because in factography there is no place for personal views of journalists.

Also, research has shown that the media in some cases is the initiator of the Europeanization topics which is a clear sign to editors and reporters that they invest more in topics that became everyday life and reality. It is also distinguished that, even when reporting on this subject, journalists of different media use almost identical words, phrases, expression which leads us to a conclusion that they write about the topic lightly, their contributions are almost reduced to quoting or paraphrasing statements by interviewees. It would be useful to organize the press (and editors) school on how to report on Europeanization, European integration and similar topics.

As the largest number of reporting is based on actual events, it is confirmed that the media reporting about Europeanization is a result of the impact "agenda setting theory", by which they report about the topics that are forced by various groups.

For journalists from Montenegro media the devastating fact is the existence of unsigned contributions or contributions where authorship is not clearly indicated. It is the basis of journalism and clearly shows that within the media centers there is no clearly conceived editorial policy which should not allow these amateur mistakes.

Assessment of radio and TV reporting showed that they were in almost the same percentage interested in reporting on Europeanization and their two significant subjects in reporting contributions are political bodies of the EU and the national authorities of Montenegro.

Research has shown that the commercial media reporting on this subject reported more than public broadcaster.

References

1. Anastasakis, Othon. 2005. "The Europeanization of the Balkans". *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 12, 1 : 77–88.
2. Britz, Malena. 2007. "Translating EU civil protection in the Nordic states – towards a theoretical understanding of the creation of European crisis management capacities". Paper prepared for the European Union Studies Association's Tenth Biennial International Conference Montreal, Canada, May 17 - 19.
3. Fatma Sel Turhan. 2010. "The Europeanization of the Western Balkans: Is It Just A Dream?". Accessed February 22, 2013. URL: http://www.setadc.org/pdfs/SETA_Policy_Brief_No_54_Western_Balkans_Fatma_Turhan.pdf
4. Howell, Kerry . 2009. "Developing Conceptualizations of Europeanization and European Integration: Mixing Methodologies". Paper prepared for the ESRC Seminar Series / UACES Study Group on the Europeanization of British Politics Sheffield, United Kingdom, November 29.

Brief biography:

I am working as a expert associate at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Podgorica, University of Montenegro. I am also the editor in chief of Radio Bijelo Polje. I am currently at doctoral studies at the Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade where I am writing a dissertation titled "The media system of Montenegro in transition". I participated in several scientific conferences and symposia. Also, I was a member or leader of a project team on several projects. I am also the co-founder of the School of Journalism for the youth in Bijelo Polje (from 2012 to the present).

Contact E-mail: rabrenovic.andrijana@gmail.com

ⁱ This work is part of the scientific research project "Europe, Here and There: Analysis of Europeanization Discourse in the Western Balkan Media". The project is financed by Regional Research Promotion Programme (RRPP/Western Balkan), run by the University of Fribourg upon mandate of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation.

The opinions expressed in this work are those of the author and do not represent the views of SDC nor necessarily the University of Fribourg.

ⁱⁱ On the chart are not shown Europeanization threads with 0%, ie. that do not exist in the coded material for any radio or television. These themes are: foreign affairs and security, environment and climate change, sustainable development, health, agriculture, immigration, restitution, war, sports, entertainment and relationship between entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.