Media in Multilingual Societies

osce

OSCE

REPRESENTATIVE ON FREEDOM OF THE MEDIA

Media in Multilingual Societies
Freedom and Responsibility

Edited by

Ana Karlsreiter

Vienna 2003

On the cover is a drawing entitled *Des Schreibers Hand (The Writer's Hand)* by the German author and Nobel prize laureate (1999) Günter Grass. He has kindly let our Office use this as a label for publications of the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media.
The drawing was created in the context of Grass's novel *Das Treffen in Telgte*, dealing with literary authors at the time of the Thirty Years War.

Contents

Freimut Duve
Preface

This publication is the result of a project we launched in September 2002: *Freedom and Responsibility – Media in Multilingual Societies*. Thus, it is appropriate that in recent years there has been increasing recognition of the crucial importance of the role of the media in different languages within multilingual democracies. The project has addressed for the very first time this important issue in a complex and comprehensive way. Independent experts were appointed to write country reports investigating the current working environment for the media in five multilingual countries which, both in their pasts and presents, couldn't be more different: the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Luxembourg, Moldova, Serbia and Montenegro, and Switzerland. All reports contain the same structure: the starting point is a description of the legal framework, which is followed by a detailed overview of the media outlets functioning in different languages. A special chapter is always devoted to the best practices existing in the countries. The similar structure allows the reader to compare the situation in the different countries.

The project was a premiere not only from the point of view of its uniquely broad geographical scope but also on account of its theoretical approach. The subject was not investigated from the common majority-minority perspective, which automatically brings with it a demarcation and differentiation. Our project, on the contrary, was meant to show that what we should focus on is not how languages divide us but on what unites us, which is being a citizen of a country

where we live. The key word here is "citizenship". Of course, all of us have different backgrounds, but as citizens we have a common responsibility and common rights.

Switzerland and Luxembourg represent undeniable historical successes in the management of linguistic diversity. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the "national myth" was more or less consciously developed to this end in Switzerland. In practice, this meant that the supposedly destabilizing quadrilingualism of the country was turned into an advantage and, more precisely, construed into a worthy trait. What was perceived as a fatal rift has developed into the essence of the Swiss nation. Similarly in Luxembourg, historical tradition and, of course, economic necessity have resulted in the peculiar situation of the peaceful coexistence of three languages. In Switzerland and Luxembourg nobody sees the language variety as a threat to the security or unity of the country, but rather as an enrichment of their identity and their culture. The Swiss and Luxembourg unique experiences with diversity in their societies have validity and a value which arguably transcends their national boundaries.

Indeed, in line with our history of thousands of years of migration and mixing of different peoples, no society is truly homogeneous. According to some sources there are approximately 5,000 national groups living in the contemporary world, and about 3,000 linguistic groups. In fact, all European countries are multilingual! The question then remains, why are the different language and ethnic groups in certain geographic regions still considered as a source of problems? Statistics clearly state that in Western Europe exactly the same percentage of the population, namely 14.7 per cent, belongs to national or linguistic groups, as in the Central and Eastern European region[1]. In the 1980s in Vojvodina, part of today's

Serbia (Serbia and Montenegro), 26 nations and nationalities were present and were living peacefully together, and, according to Marta Palics, a journalist with *Magyz Szo*, even the word "minority" was almost an insult during these times. No society is truly homogeneous, and the transition to democracy cannot be accomplished without recognition of this fact. The essence of democracy assumes the full inclusion and integration of all peoples into the life of the nation, no matter what language they speak.

The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Moldova, and Serbia and Montenegro are countries at the beginning of their nation-building process and civil society development. Media, in all languages, spoken in the country represents a powerful social resource that can – and must – be mobilized to assist in this process.

The five country reports, which were elaborated in the course of the project, were made public for the first time at a conference my Office organized in co-operation with the Institute of Mass Communication Studies in Bern, on 28 and 29 March 2003 in Switzerland. We would like to thank the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs for the generous financial support to the conference. It was important that Milo Dor, himself a writer with a multilingual background, agreed to address the event. The conference brought together journalists, media NGOs and governmental representatives from the five countries not only to report about the current working environment for the media, but also to exchange information and views with their colleagues from the other countries. Thanks to this broad geographical approach – reports on Swedish-language

---

1 Snezana Trifunovska, *Minority Rights in Europe. European Minorities and Languages* (The Hague, 2001).

media in Finland and German-speaking media in Denmark were also presented – the conference became a unique forum for discussion. The session devoted to "diversity reporting", as an efficient instrument to promote tolerance and understanding through the media, became a highlight of the conference. Representatives of three well-known media NGOs presented the concept of "diversity reporting" and critically evaluated their work in South-East Europe. During the last session of the conference some of the best existing practices in all five countries were presented.

The conference has identified some key problems holding back the development of media in different languages, especially in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Serbia (Serbia and Montenegro) and Moldova:

- missing self-sustainability of the media outlets
- insufficient professionalism of the management
- low level training in diversity reporting
- lack of collegial solidarity between journalists from different ethnic backgrounds.

In the cases of Switzerland and Luxembourg, speakers at the conference acknowledged that government and media should do more to better integrate migrants by creating specific programmes in national broadcast and print products. Additionally, they should be offered better opportunities to learn the languages spoken in their new homeland.

The results of the project have shown that, despite all differences that are determining the working environment of the media in the different countries, the following factors have universal validity:

1. Support from the government is of crucial importance for the survival of media in different languages everywhere. The state

institutions should be aware of their responsibility and create a legal framework that would be favourable to media in different languages, if this has not yet been established. Possibilities for defining legal provisions that would introduce positive discrimination should be explored. In addition to this, and bearing in mind the fact that this kind of media can never be fully self-sustainable, governments should continue or begin to provide long-term financial support to these media outlets. On the other hand, the practice of direct state funding which exists in some countries always leaves room for state control over media and should be abandoned. Following the examples of Switzerland, Luxembourg, Finland and Denmark, mechanisms of indirect support, such as tax policy and postage costs, should be considered in order to enable media to operate independently. Governments should ensure that citizens who are members of linguistic groups have the right and the opportunity to freely express, preserve and develop their language via media. If this is not the case and the readers, viewers and listeners have little or no trust in the locally produced media, there is a tendency to look to the neighbouring foreign media, which I describe as "big brother media". In the long term this could have a destabilizing effect on society. Each country needs its own independent, emancipated media which is a guarantor for the public debate that is imperative for the development of a civil society.

2. The media should be able to play a constructive role in combating discrimination, promoting understanding and building stable peace in multilingual societies. The reports showed that "hate speech" and hatred against the others have to a great extent disappeared from the media scene, but the gap between the different audiences still exists. "Positive speech" about each other is still very rare. The aim of the

media should be to reflect the multi-ethnic and multilingual society instead of focusing only on their own community and forgetting the needs of other groups. Professional standards and ethical principals of journalism should be set and implemented. Journalistic education is of very high importance. All levels of education have to be developed and improved.

3. The role of public service broadcasters is still vitally important. The private sector alone cannot guarantee *per se* a pluralistic media landscape. Besides the legally secured amount of programming in different languages, public broadcasters should devote pertinent attention to the life and situation of the different ethnic groups living in the country. The coverage of issues concerning these groups must be one of the major priorities of prime time news and current affairs programmes.

4. Bilingual or multilingual media, i.e. one media outlet broadcasting or publishing in different languages, will be able to deliver positive results only if society accepts multilingualism as part of a normal everyday situation. One should consider applying the example of *Radio Canal 3* from Biel/Bienne in Switzerland. The programmes there are prepared by multilingual staff but are broadcast in one language. The Finnish example of using subtitles for most TV programmes should also be seriously considered in other multilingual countries in order to avoid the danger of "ghettoization" of society through the media, which was reported at the conference.

As a result of the project, recommendations for each country feature in our publication to be used as guidelines for future developments in the media in the respective countries.

I am convinced that this publication will have a productive effect in two ways. In the examined countries, all those involved – governments, media NGOs, journalists – will think about new ways of facing the positive challenge of their multilingual structure. Further, I am sure that the project is also very valuable because the best practices described in the country reports and the recommendations could be used to benefit the further development of the media in other multilingual societies.

I would like to share with you something on the background of the song with which I opened the conference in Bern. The history of this song was brought to my attention in a remarkable documentary by the famous Bulgarian filmmaker Adela Peeva, and is at the same time very complicated and very simple. The song exists in not less than seven languages, in Turkish, Greek, Albanian, Serbian, Macedonian, Bulgarian etc., and has a different name in all these countries. But it is always the same song and this is what is important! Songs and languages should join us and not divide us!

My Office welcomes and will support all specific project proposals which will take shape as a follow-up of this publication!

Vienna, June 2003

Milo Dor
Conference Address

My ancestors were Serbs, who had fled to Austria more than 300 years ago to escape the Turks, and settled north of the Danube, a natural border, on the fertile plain left by the now-vanished Pannonian Sea. They were granted land on condition that they would defend this border area against the Ottomans.

At this time, Belgrade was an outpost of the Turkish Empire, which was occupied for a short time by the Austrians at the beginning of the eighteenth century. After the fortress was lost again to the Turks, Maria Theresia had the area to the north, where Hungarians, Romanians and Serbs were already settled, further populated by people of Swabian and Ruthenian origin, the latter from both Ukraine and Slovakia. Others who found refuge there were Greeks and Bulgarians, who had fled before the Turkish advance, as well as Jews in search of a homeland. Thus this "miltiary frontier" became a true reflection of the multi-ethnic state.

Up to the final collapse of the Habsburg Empire, in other words until 1918, my ancestors used to receive a certain amount of salt and oil each year, under an agreement dating from the eighteenth century.

I spent my childhood in this region, known as Vojvodina (in German *Woiwodschaft),* which by the middle of the nineteenth century had acquired a kind of autonomy. Although the Austro-Hungarian Empire no longer existed, many traces remained, above all the colourful mix of ethnic groups that

were all at home there. Apart from my mother tongue, I was quite used to hearing German, Hungarian and Romanian spoken widely. My grandmother on my mother's side, a Greek lady who was brought up in Vienna, spoke German with me, because she could not express herself too well in Serbian.

My father, born in 1895 in a village in Banat, had grown up in a huge area, geographically-speaking, where many ethnic groups had lived together, willingly or not. But this state structure had fallen apart because the rulers were not in a position to solve the national problems, and therefore indirectly, the social problems.

When the First World War broke out, my father had just left school and wanted to study medicine. That was the reason why he was called up to serve in the medical corps. Although he lived after the war in the newly-created Yugoslav State, he continued his studies in Budapest, in other words in the territory of the former Dual Monarchy.

When the new Hungarian authorities began to indulge in extreme nationalism, my father, instead of returning to Yugoslavia, went on to Poland, where in Poznan he took his final two semesters and completed his doctoral diploma.

At the end of 1939, when Poland was overrun by Hitler's troops, part of the beaten and disarmed Polish army fled towards the south and came by way of Romania to Belgrade, from where the Poles wandered further. My father used to speak to Polish officers or even ordinary soldiers on the street and invite them back to lunch or dinner, just to speak to them in Polish.

The first surgery my father started practising in was in a Romanian village. Then for a time he was the local general practitioner in a village in the Batschka, inhabited by Serbs and

Ruthenians, who were known there as Russinen. Later, he studied plastic surgery with a Jewish professor in Berlin. During the middle of the war, he moved to Vienna, in order to be close to the prison in which I was kept. Here he again became a GP, and looked after the Italian forced labourers, with whom he got on well.

I admire my father, who mastered so many of the languages spoken in the former Habsburg Empire. Altogether it was six – his mother-tongue, Serbo-Croatian, or Croat-Serbian, then German, Hungarian, Polish, Romanian and Italian. To that could be added three dead languages, Ancient Greek and Latin – which he learned in secondary school – and Hebrew, which out of boredom he had picked up out of a Konvikt (Jewish book) from a Rabbi friend of his father's.

My father was a true Central European, or better, a European without being conscious of it, because for him it was natural to learn the languages of his patients, instead of forcing them to speak to him in his own language. It was just as natural for him as ministering help to sick patients; he took them as he found them, without asking about their nationality, religion or some exceptional or stupid view. He was a practising humanist, and I admire that in him because I, as a writer, only have at my disposal words, whose effect can be questionable.

After the collapse of communist ideology – which had made it possible in the name of international solidarity for the Soviet Union to repress so many ethnic groups just like a nineteenth-century colonial power – there began to re-emerge from the ruins of a bankrupt system (though not only there) the ancient ideological spectres, which one had hoped had been safely packed away in the trunks of history; above all the spectre of nationalism.

By that I mean of course not national consciousness, which stems from the free, humane traditions of an ethnic group, but that form of nationalism as an aggressive ideology, which sees an enemy in every different or different-looking group.

No nation exists which has not at some point in its history committed some wrong. The battles, won or lost, in pursuit of greater empire, the power struggles between different dynasties usually ending in murder, the repression of others or groups with a different way of thinking, are no reason to feel particularly proud.

European culture, of which we can all rightly be proud, is the result of the efforts of numerous individuals from many ethnic groups, who succeeded in looking beyond the narrow horizons of their own mountains and valleys. This has resulted in the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, that promise to make Europe into a humane land, a community in which it is completely irrelevant who belongs to which nation and to which god he prays, where the only thing that counts is how one person behaves towards another and what he does.

In comparison to this diverse culture with all its freedoms and democratic traditions, the nationalist rallies with their separatist flags and their martial brass-band music shrink into a foolish folklore.

Never were half so many people so vehemently seized with the idea of a European identity as today, yet never were so many petty iron curtains erected, blocking a true association which must be based on a free exchange of people, goods and ideas.

It is plain that such a union of all European ethnic groups is the only chance to survive in this beautiful, colourful world. Yet how can we put a stop to these raised spectres of intolerance and contempt for fellow men (in the eyes of militant

nationalists all the peoples of other nations are inferior) when all appeals to intelligence apparently fail?

"What do we have left?" the great Croatian, non-conformist writer, Miroslav Krleza, has asked himself, only to respond at once: "A box of lead-type, and that is not much, but it is the only thing that humans have invented until today as a weapon to defend one's humanity."

What other choices are indeed left to us if we don't wish to look helplessly on as our hopes of a bright, free, equality-sharing Europe of many nations appear to finally disappear in the foggy haze of aggressive, dogmatic nationalism?

Tanja Popovic
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

As part of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is going through a traumatic social, economic and political transformation. This long-term and multifaceted process has a direct impact upon the development of the print and electronic media.

I. Legal framework for the media

The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is populated by various ethnic groups: Macedonians (1,378,700/ 66.4 per cent), Albanians (479,000/ 23.1 per cent), Turks (81,600/ 3.9 per cent), Roma (47,400/ 2.3 per cent), Vlachs (44,462/ 2.2 per cent), Serbs (39,900/ 1.9 per cent) and others (23,900/ 23.9 per cent).[1]

In the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia minorities' rights were relatively well respected, especially in the media field. Apart from the dominant role of the party and its socialist policies, ethnic groups could cultivate their language and promote their cultural heritage via their own media. Newspapers were published in Albanian, Hungarian, Romani and Italian and diverse TV and radio programmes were available. [2]

---

1   The population figures are based on the national census of 1994. A new census was conducted in November 2002. The first results were presented in January 2003 and the final results will not be issued before 2004.

2   Dunja Melcic, "Zwischen Pluralismus und Denkdiktatur. Die Medienland-schaft", in id. (ed.), *Der Jugoslawienkrieg. Handbuch zur Vorgeschichte, Verlauf und Konsequenzen* (Opladen, 2000), 317-31.

Since the country's independence in 1991 several regulations have shaped the general legal framework. The Constitution adopted in 1991 guarantees in Article 16 the freedom of speech, as well as the freedom to establish institutions for public information. Furthermore, it guarantees free access to information, as well as the freedom to receive and disseminate information.

Additionally, Article 48 of the Constitution guarantees that members of the ethnic communities have the right to freely express, cultivate and develop their identity and national characteristics. The Constitution guarantees the protection of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of the ethnic communities.

The Constitutional Amendment no. 8, adopted in November 2001, defines furthermore that members of the communities have a right to freely express, cherish and develop their identity and characteristics and use the symbols of their communities. This provision guarantees the protection of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of all communities. Community members have a right to establish cultural, artistic and educational institutions, as well as scientific and other associations for expressing, cherishing and developing their identity.

In accordance with the guaranteed rights of the ethnic communities as stipulated in the Constitution of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the *Law on Broadcasting Service* (the "Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia" no. 20/97) precisely defines the manner in which those rights should be implemented. Article 45, paragraphs 2 and 3, obliges public broadcasting enterprises to broadcast programmes in the languages of the respective ethnic groups in regions where these groups make up the majority or a significant proportion of the population. Paragraph 4 of Article 45 defines the right of

commercial broadcasting companies to broadcast in languages of the other ethnic communities in addition to their programmes in Macedonian. The *Law on Broadcasting Service* also contains regulations for financial support for radio and TV productions, both in Macedonian and in languages of the other ethnic communities, funded by the broadcasting fee.[3]

The *Law on Establishing the Public Enterprise Macedonian Radio and Television* converted *Makedonska Radiotelevizija MRTV* into a public broadcaster (the "Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia" no. 6/98 and no. 98/2000). Article 6 clearly stipulates the obligation of *MRTV* to provide programmes in the languages of the ethnic communities, meaning members of all communities that live in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.[4]

In January 2003, the Stability Pact Media Task Force and the Council of Europe funded efforts, under the auspices of the *Media Development Centre MDC*, to redraft the media law. The law, which is expected to be adopted by parliament later in 2003, should improve the provisions which constitutionally guarantee the independence of *MRTV* and clear the way for it to become a fully independent public broadcasting service.

The Criminal Code also safeguards linguistic freedom. Article 138 of the code states that activities that violate the right to use the language of your choice are criminal (outlined in the chapter "Criminal acts against freedoms and rights of the person and the citizen").

According to the Journalists' Code (Article 10), a journalist should not consciously create or process information that jeopardizes human rights and freedoms, should not use hate speech

---

3   Article 77, paragraph 1, line 5 and Article 78, paragraph 2.

4   Article 6, paragraph 1.

or encourage violence and discrimination of any sort (nationality, religion, race, sex, social class, language, sexual orientation, political orientation…). Article 11 obliges journalists to respect the general social standards of decency and the ethnic, cultural and religious differences in the country.

The Ohrid Framework Agreement of 13 August 2001 invites the international community to promote media in languages of different ethnic communities. Article 6 "Culture, Education and Use of Languages" states: "The parties invite the international community, including the OSCE, to increase its assistance for projects in the area of media in order to further strengthen radio, TV and print media, including Albanian-language and multi-ethnic media. The parties also invite the international community to increase professional media training programmes for members of communities not in the majority in the country. The parties also invite the OSCE to continue its efforts on projects designed to improve inter-ethnic relations."

II. Media landscape

1. Print media. As a result of all the socio-political changes and democratization of information, the interest in establishing and publishing public media has been constantly increasing in the country since its independence. Up until December 2002 the Agency of Information registered 926 print media – newspapers, magazines, reviews, journals, bulletins, as well as newsletters, almanacs and other kinds of publications.[5] The majority of these registered media are in Macedonian, but there are 73 in Albanian, 8 in Turkish, 4 in English, 4 in Vlach, 2 in Serbian, and 15 are multilingual.[6] There is tremendous competition among these publications for the rather limited market of two million inhabitants, coupled with a weak economy. Many of the outlets struggle to find sufficient

advertising revenues, international assistance and other means of support. Journalists are generally paid very low wages which has had an impact on quality. There are only two major printing houses in the country – a result of the former state control of the media. This appears to have had some effect on the independence of the media. Quality varies enormously, from the top end of the market with dailies like *Dnevnik* to poorly produced and underfunded state newspapers like *Nova Makedonija*.

1.1. Macedonian-language print media. The most popular and relatively independent Macedonian-language daily *Dnevnik* (circulation 60,000) claims that it has a policy of inclusive reporting. According to *Dnevnik*'s own information it counts many Albanians among its readership. However, the interest of the Albanian audience in the newspaper is based on its credibility as a relatively reliable source of information on the political situation in the country. The Albanian readers miss a regular and fair coverage of Albanian issues, apart from criminal or sensationalist activity. The paper does not employ any Albanian journalists (although it does have a couple of Albanian translators), but it is distributing as a supplement the free monthly magazine *Multi-ethnic forum* in Macedonian, Albanian and English. The authors of *Multi-ethnic forum* are from various language and ethnic backgrounds and report about one common topic like "Macedonia after the elections" or general subjects like gender, poverty etc.

The second most popular Macedonian-language paper *Utrinski Vesnik* (circulation 33,000) also claims to have a policy of ethnic inclusivity. In a project established by an international

---

5   According to information provided by the Macedonian Agency of Information.
6   According to information provided by the Macedonian Agency of Information.

NGO in 2002, the paper exchanged articles with the leading Albanian daily *Fakti* and in the past it has employed Albanian journalists and columnists. But the management admits that "due to the demands of our Macedonian-language readership" the newspaper's priorities centre on the interests of the Macedonian population.

1.2. Albanian-language print media. According to the latest data from January 2003, there are 15 daily and periodical newspapers published in Albanian: *Flaka, Fakti, Lobi, Globi, Dzidzelima, Ndzenesi, Edukimi Kutetar, Stili, Hana e re, Grafiti, Fatos, Lobi dito, Jehon* and *Brezi*.[7] Despite the large number of publications, the Albanian community is currently not well served by print media in its own language. The low circulations of Albanian-language newspapers can also be explained by the fact that they often focus on news from Kosovo and Albania and in many cases fail to provide the Albanian-speaking community with relevant information from their own country.

The oldest Albanian-language daily *Flaka* was founded in 1945. Today the newspaper is continuously losing readership due to its poor journalistic quality, political affiliation and biased coverage. The first non-state Albanian-language daily *Fakti,* which was founded with international financial support in 1998, offered an important alternative to the state-run *Flaka*. Today it claims to be the most widely read Albanian-language newspaper. The latest developments in 2003 show politically biased reporting. The print run is the highest among Albanian-language print media.

The independent weekly newspaper *Lobi*, founded in 2001 by Skopje-based Albanian intellectuals, is considered relatively moderate and an alternative to *Flaka* and *Fakti*. Up to now it has succeeded in resisting the strong political pressure

from Albanian interest groups and has maintained its pluralistic goal. It is demonstrating high standards of journalism but has yet to become a strong player in the market.

1.3. *Turkish-language print media*. The Turkish-language print media have to compete not only with Albanian-language newspapers and magazines but also with products from Turkey.

Birlik, which was founded in 1946, is the oldest newspaper in Turkish and has a long tradition as a political, informative newspaper. Today it is published by *Nova Makedonia* three times a week and is the main source of information in the Turkish language. However, like all *Nova Makedonia* publications, it is suffering from the problems that all its sister publications are facing. According to the latest official information the print run is 2,016 copies.

The weekly *Zaman* has been published since 1994 in Turkish and Macedonian (print run: 6,000) but only appears irregularly from time to time.

1.4 *Romani-language[8] print media*. The print market in Romani language is surprisingly rich and active. Both individual efforts and a general activeness of the Roma community have had vivid effects and within the last few years have led to a wide range of print products. The Roma population and their media are still lacking real political and public influence, but the pure existence of their own media is motivating and empowering future attempts to increase their role in Macedonian society in general. *Roma Times*, which was founded in 2000

---

7   According to information provided by the Macedonian Agency of Information.
8   Romani is a language which still lacks unification and standardization. In this report the term "Romani language" is used in a general sense.

and published by the *Romani Informatikani Agencia* (Romani Information Agency), is in fact the only newspaper for the Roma community with articles in Romani and Macedonian. It is published three times a week and provides on its 16 pages information both on international and national news, education, entertainment, marketing, sports etc. Most importantly, the newspaper focuses on coverage of Romani issues. Since 1997 a monthly children's magazine called *Cirikli* has been distributed, offering education, information and entertainment for children in Romani and Macedonian. Due to the success of *Cirikli,* the national pedagogical union recommended its use in primary schools in 1998. *Romana* and *Vilo,* established in 2001, address issues of interest to Roma women and teenagers in their monthly editions. Whereas *Vilo* focuses on entertainment, music, romance, computer and education topics, *Romana* offers typical advice on women's issues such as health, cosmetics and fashion, and interviews female celebrities. The interesting aspect of these last two publications is that they are even trilingual (Macedonian, Romani and English). The publishers print articles in Macedonian and Romani and/or English as they accept that many Roma are not fluent in Romani and need the Macedonian articles to understand the same article in Romani. Because there is no standardized Romani language, these publications are trying to promote a unified vocabulary.

1.5. Vlach-language print media. The Vlach (Aromons, Cincars) are recognized as a language group speaking an ancient Rumanian dialect. As one of the smallest communities, it has largely been integrated into the majority Macedonian population, partly due to their common adherence to Orthodox Christianity. The well-integrated Vlachs are facing the risk of

becoming completely assimilated and are concerned about the decline of knowledge about the Vlach language. In recent years, the Vlach have rediscovered their cultural heritage and are attempting to maintain their language, customs and architecture. The monthly publication *Feniks* has been issued since 1995 (print run 1,000). It focuses on historical and everyday issues of Vlach life.

Since October 2002, the "Cultural Society of Vlachs Santa Sypsy" at Stip in the eastern part of the country, has been publishing a free bilingual monthly paper called *Bilten Armanamea*. This presents local issues of the Vlach community on eight pages.

1.6. Print media in Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian languages. There are no periodical print media in Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian languages produced in the country. Affordable print products imported from the neighbouring countries are easily available.

2. Broadcast media. Following the implementation of the liberal licensing laws the country has experienced a boom in the number of TV and radio stations. There are currently over 157 TV and radio broadcasters in the country – a number that is impossible to sustain in such a small market place with very limited advertising revenue. In addition there are many illegal broadcasters – particularly radio – whose existence threatens the activities of legal broadcasters.

The problem of the majority of TV stations in this small market is partly due to party political interference in granting broadcasting licences and collecting the annual fee for this licence from broadcasters. It appears that especially in pre-election times (e.g. 2002), the number of legally registered radio and TV stations seems to mushroom only for them to disappear again after ballots close.

The rules of the market place ought to dictate that many of the unprofitable broadcasters should close down, but the present situation is influenced by political donations or development aid from international organizations. The media outlets in Albanian, Romani and Turkish etc. are having even more difficulties surviving than their colleagues from the Macedonian-language media.[9] Many of these private media outlets therefore rely on support from equipment grants and donations for productions.

Due to the ever-changing broadcasting landscape, it is often difficult for an outsider to obtain accurate information. The data available not only varies from source to source but is also often out of date by the time of publication.

2.1. Macedonian-language broadcast media. The Public Broadcaster *MRTV (Macedonian Radio and Television)*, one of the strongest players in the broadcast sector, is facing a crossroad – it is overstaffed, heavily indebted, using outdated technology and facing declining viewership. It has never been considered by the majority of Macedonians, irrespective of their ethnic background, as anything other than the "state" broadcaster.

MTV's concept of multi-ethnicity is inherited from the Titoist era and is based on a quota system of a separate production for Albanian, Turkish, Romani, Vlach and Serbo-Croatian languages. Whereas *MTV 1* and *MTV 2* broadcast in the Macedonian language, the programmes in other languages are broadcast on the third channel *MTV 3*, created in 2002.

The quality of the private Macedonian-language electronic media varies enormously. There are two national Macedonian-language concessions (*Sitel* and *A1*) of which *A1* is the most popular, independent and respected. *A1* is widely watched by viewers irrespective of their ethnic background and language

preferences; however it has a limited amount of coverage of news relating to the everyday life of the other ethnic communities. *Sitel* has strong political affiliations and during 2001/2002 was regarded by many Albanians with hostility.

Apart from these few exceptions, the standard of private Macedonian-language electronic media news production is poor and is often politically influenced. There is also a lack of marketing, audience research and targeted programming. Salaries are low and management skills basic. Many local broadcasters hope for a change in the law to allow them to become regional broadcasters, in order to increase their competitive advantage.

The radio market is as overcrowded as the TV market. There are more than one hundred licensed and unlicensed radio stations, with altogether 56 Macedonian-language stations offering programmes in some other languages.

2.2. Albanian-language broadcast media. In August 2002, two days into the election campaign, the Albanian-language programme of *MTV 3* was suddenly increased from approximately 2.5 to 9 hours per day in order to implement the decisions of the Ohrid Agreement. This was hailed by the ruling coalition (VMRO-DMNE, DPA) as a clear signal that the Government was promoting Albanian language rights. However, the staff working at the Albanian-language desk did not appear to be able to use the additional broadcasting time very effectively. Much of the new programming consisted of recycled Albanian music shows and South American soaps with Albanian subtitles. The expansion of the Albanian programme

---

9   Claude Nicolet, "Medien in Mazedonien: Zwischen Kriegshetze und Friedens-förderung", *Südosteuropa Mitteilungen*, 31/41 Jg. (2001), 282-89.

was to the detriment of the other language programmes that were shunted into unpopular time-slots. The recent broadcast schedule includes a two-and-a-half-hour programme in Turkish on a daily basis. The programmes in Vlach, Romani, Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian languages are limited to half an hour three times a week and a one-hour programme once a week in each of the languages. This programme scheme did not promote inter-ethnic harmony between the different language desks at *MRTV* and there are persistent complaints from the other smaller desks that their rights are being neglected. Additionally the lack of finances for equipment, professional staff or decent programming means that *MTV 3* appears to be attracting few viewers even among its target groups. Many media experts view *MTV 3*, in its present form, as an ill-conceived mistake. However, in 2003 there are signs that a newly appointed reformist management at *MRTV* is trying to address some of the major problems afflicting the organization. The new Director General Gordana Stosik has already announced the creation of mixed editorial teams for multilingual programmes. [10]

Eleven privately-owned local TV stations, predominantly in the western and northern parts of the country, broadcast in Albanian. There are great variances in the quality and quantity of their programmes, but the majority of them are suffering from the same problems of a difficult financial situation, poorly motivated staff with low salaries and low professional expertise, as their colleagues from the private Macedonian-language media outlets.

While many of the TV stations broadcasting in Albanian claim that they need to fill an information gap resulting from the poor performance of *MTV 3*, generally the standard of news programmes is low. During the conflict in 2001 and

before the elections in 2002 Albanian stations often showed blatant bias as well, and their reactions differed little from many of the Macedonian-language media. There are, however, some notable exceptions: For example *TV Era* (Skopje), *TV Art* (Tetovo) and *TV Hana* (Kumanovo) as well as *Radio Vati* (Skopje) maintain a relatively independent editorial policy and are some of the most promising Albanian private broadcasters.

Of the five different public national radio programmes offered by *MRTV,* only *Radio 2* is dedicated to ethnic communities. Unfortunately it has a relatively small audience of no more than 5 per cent. The 29 local public radio stations broadcast programmes in other languages (depending on the composition of the population), but like the public local TV stations have almost no influence.

On the other hand there are 17 private local radio stations broadcasting in languages that include Albanian, Turkish and Romani. Some of them offer programmes in more than one of these languages. As with all privately-owned media outlets, the quality of the programming varies dramatically. Following a general, global trend towards "tabloidization", these outlets often produce programmes for entertainment rather than a real "tool" for fast and effective information and education. Some local radio stations are no more than a tape recorder and a microphone and transmit from sheds.

2.3. Turkish-language broadcast media. The choice of Turkish-language electronic media is small. *MTV 3* provides a rather small programme in Turkish and the community follows satellite programmes from Turkey. In order to improve this situation several journalists of Turkish origin established

10 Quoted from an interview with Gordana Stosik. *Forum*, br. 121 (17.1.2003), 29.

in 2001 the "Organization for the Development of Turkish-language media in Macedonia" (www.turkishmedia.org.mk). The organization is currently investing efforts into improving the professional and educational level for young journalists in order to provide their community with better access to information in their own language.

2.4. *Romani-language broadcast media.* There are two TV stations addressing the Roma community: *TV BTR Nacional* and *TV Sutel*. Both are based in the Roma suburb of the capital Skopje and broadcast in both Romani and (primarily) Macedonian. They provide an important public service by offering news, educational, language and cultural programmes in Romani, but tend to focus primarily on entertainment. Interestingly enough these two stations have both Roma and Macedonian viewers who enjoy the traditional music and local comedies on offer.

The situation regarding Roma radio stations is rather unstable: Whereas *Radio Cerenja* (Stip) is able to survive due to donor support, others like *Radio Ternipe* (Prilep) and *Radio Roma* (Gostivar) are struggling with almost no income, bad technical equipment and insufficient manpower etc.

Roma TV and radio stations suffer in general from a lack of proper financing, leading to the use of obsolete equipment and frequent technical problems. However, the Romani TV and radio stations are also among the few truly multilingual broadcasters with staff from Roma and Macedonian communities working together.

2.5. *Vlach-language broadcast media.* There are very few TV and radio programmes in the Vlach language. *MTV 3* provides an hour per week and some radio stations are currently attempting to include a Vlach-language programme.

2.6. Broadcast media in Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian languages. Croatian, Serbian or Montenegrin TV can be watched without problems and attract quite a considerable audience due to the widespread knowledge of the language and the help of subtitles. The notorious Serbian TV channel *TV Pink* attracts an especially wide audience with its folk music and entertainment. *MTV 3* offers a one-hour programme in these languages.

III. Multilingual media and programming against hate speech

The conflict in February 2001 saw the arrival of "hate speech": most Macedonian-language media were using the term "terrorists" to describe members of the ethnic Albanian community, while Albanian-language media were listing the alleged human rights abuses of the Macedonian security forces. During and immediately after the conflict public and private media were often guilty of inflammatory misinformation and few attempts were made to show the other side of the story. For example, the Macedonian-language TV station *Channel 5* broadcast a report showing an in-house reporter firing a gun at Albanian positions, whereas local Albanian-language TV stations, nominally independent, broadcast an hour-long documentary about the Albanian National Liberation Army without canvassing any opposition opinion. Likewise the Albanian dailies *Fakti* and *Flaka* became overtly political and pro the Albanian struggle, while the hitherto relatively independent national Macedonian-language daily, *Dnevnik*, adopted a veneer of Macedonian nationalism.

MRTV in particular became an efficient propaganda tool in the hands of politicians from both sides during the conflict. The separation of broadcasting between the different languages

described above made this dual influence possible – while the Macedonian ruling elites concentrated on controlling their language news programmes on *MTV 1*, the Albanian ruling parties (whichever was in the government coalition at any given time) were allowed to dominate the Albanian-language programmes. This had the rather strange effect that during times of conflict, *MRTV* would broadcast completely different news bulletins in Albanian and Macedonian. This first became very noticeable during the Kosovo Crisis in 1999, where the split in the perception of NATO's intervention, especially between Albanians and Macedonians, became obvious. The Albanian-language service rallied to the support of their relatives in Kosovo and therefore supported NATO's intervention, in direct opposition to what the Government was stating on *MTV 1*. During this period the first indications of the future conflict emerged as the Albanian position was perceived by many Macedonians as a sign of "Albanian separatism" in the country whereas the Albanian population felt rejected and accused by Macedonians. [11]

Following the Ohrid Agreement of 13 August 2001, hate speech has disappeared from the Macedonian media scene, but the politicization and polarization have remained. A Macedonian commentator in 2000 stated: "We don't have hate speech but we do have fear speech. We don't know what the Albanians think because we don't know their language. So we're frightened of them (…)."[12] These words are still valid today and truthfully describe the situation in Macedonian society and media. The media is divided linguistically with each outlet reporting to its respective ethnic community and there is often very little attempt to discover what another ethnic community is thinking or saying in the media. There is very little ethnically inclusive journalism or mixed language programmes or newspapers.

This is especially astonishing given the fact that the members of the different ethnic groups in the country as a rule speak several languages. Albanians are usually fluent in Albanian, Macedonian, Turkish[13] and Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian[14]. Turks converse in Turkish and Macedonian, sometimes in Albanian[15] and Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian as well. The representatives of the Roma community speak Romani and Macedonian, and sometimes Albanian and Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian. The Vlachs, the smallest group, speak Vlach and Macedonian, Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian and even Greek. The Serbs are usually fluent in both Serbian and Macedonian. By contrast Macedonians usually do not speak any of the other languages spoken in the country. The exception is Serbo-Croatian, the lingua franca in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Given the diversity of languages spoken by members of the national groups one would also suppose that there is great potential for co-operation among different media outlets and a large market for multilingual media. Unfortunately, the opposite is the case, especially between the Albanian and Macedonian-language media. Nonetheless there are positive examples (see below).

---

11 Two new publications reflect this issue from different points of view. See Dona Kolar-Panov, "Troubled Multicultural Broadcasting in Macedonia", *Journal of Socio-linguistics* (2002), *in press* and Veton Latifi, *The Two Truths and Two 'Publics' in Macedonia, in press.*

12 Mark Thompson, *Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia (FYROM) and Kosovo. International Assistance to Media* (Vienna: OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, 2000), 6.

13 Some of them speak Turkish because there was a forced migration, organized by authorities in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia between the two World Wars, of Albanians from Kosovo and Macedonia to Turkey. Thousands were expelled. Some of them returned after World War II. Some still have connections with relatives in Turkey and send their children there to study etc.

14 This is a legacy of Yugoslav history where Serbo-Croatian was the lingua franca. This predominantly concerns the educated population approximately over the age of 25. In this paper the term "Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian" is occasionally used to describe Serbo-Croatian.

15 Albanian is spoken only by those living in areas with an Albanian majority.

Another considerable hindrance for the development of multilingual media outlets is the lack of well-educated journalists. Although for some years training has been a priority of NGOs and international organizations working in the field of media development, the skills of journalists in the country, irrespective of their ethnic background, fall behind the European standard. The situation is exacerbated by an outdated media studies curriculum at the St Cyrill and Methodius University in Skopje which additionally produces very few recruits who are not from a Macedonian background. In 2003, for example, there was just one Albanian student studying journalism at the university. At the South-East European University in Tetovo, there are currently no journalism courses.

The international community has made some efforts to promote multilingual media. The NGO "Search for Common Ground" publishes a free monthly magazine *Multiethnic forum*, printed in Macedonian, Albanian and English, and distributed as supplements of *Dnevnik*, *Fakti* and *Utrinski Vesnik*.

In September 2002, there was an interesting venture with the privately owned, bilingual daily *Global* (Macedonian/ Albanian). It was published in two separate editions with the same content – one edition in Macedonian and one in Albanian. This was an ambitious attempt to provide news and information while trying to overcome the linguistic barrier between its readerships. Unfortunately, after a hopeful start, the distribution was stopped in December 2002, apparently due to financial problems.

Gostivar Voice, another interesting initiative, is a biweekly newspaper in Albanian, Macedonian and Turkish published in the Gostivar region and compiled by an inter-ethnic group of young journalists. Funded by the OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission in Skopje and the International Organization for Migration

(IOM) and implemented by the "Inter-ethnic Project Gosti-var", the project's aim is to establish a multi-ethnic, politically independent forum for local municipality news, serving the Gostivar region, which is deprived of print media. The purpose of this project is also to provide an opportunity for young journalists and editors, which includes inter-ethnic co-operation and confidence-building to help promote better understanding between ethnic groups. *Gostivar Voice* is non-political and avoids all political comments and other issues that are likely to prove contentious in a multi-ethnic environment. The newspaper, with a total of eight pages, is printed in three separate versions: Albanian (1,500 copies), Macedonian (1,000 copies) and Turkish (500 copies). The content of all three versions is identical.

The latest project *POINT* is an eight-page student newspaper in the Tetovo region printed in Macedonian and Albanian and focusing on the common interests of young people. Supported by the OSCE and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), *POINT* will be issued every two weeks with a print run of 10,500, of which 2,500 are in Macedonian and 8,000 in Albanian. A Turkish edition is also planned.

Five independent, private local TV stations have been co-operating since summer 2002. Three Macedonian-language stations, *TV Tera* (Bitola), *TV Vis* (Strumica), *TV Zdravkin*, and two Albanian-language stations, *TV Art* (Tetovo) and *TV Era* (Skopje), are working on current affairs productions in order to provide their audiences with information from almost all regions in the country. The programme is subtitled which is usually lacking in most broadcasts. On the one hand these productions aim to strengthen professional collaboration and programme exchange between stations of different ethnic origins. On the other hand the strategy is to empower these

TV stations to focus much more on local news by covering issues in a professional and responsible manner relevant for all inhabitants. This entails journalistic self-reflection about the variety of views on behalf of different ethnic communities and language groups.

Radio Life is an independent bilingual radio station broadcasting in Macedonian and Albanian in the Skopje area. It was originally established with international donor money in March 2001. The programmes are presented by one Macedonian and one Albanian presenter who use the technique of paraphrasing to co-present the programme in both languages. The bilingual technique is a step towards diversity and tolerance in Macedonian media. The radio station has an enthusiastic following among young people. *Radio Tetovo*, *Radio Semi* (Debar) and *Radio Albana* (Kumanovo), operating under their own authority, have agreed to rebroadcast all the programmes.

IV. Best practices

A variety of already existing or planned projects and programmes will be presented in this chapter. They all deal with multi-ethnic challenges and try to find feasible and attractive solutions for different demands in the sphere of print and broadcast media.

1. TV Tera: "Differences bind us together". A very special combination of inter-ethnic and bi- or multilingual aspects is promoted by a private local TV station. *TV Tera* has launched a regional cross-border project which is the first attempt to reflect the multi-ethnic landscape in the south-west region of the country, the north-west part of Greece and the south-west part of Albania. The production contains six broadcasts, in which the different ethnic groups

(Macedonians, Greeks, Albanians, Vlachs, Turks, Roma etc.) in the region are presented. The documentaries "Differences bind us together" focus on these ethnic groups' legal situation, their cultural activities and general way of life, confession and gender aspects, traditional conflict solutions and perspectives of multi-ethnic societies from a micro (local) and macro point of view (regional – cross-border). The project's aim is to present through life stories of the population that has lived on the same ground for centuries, ideas about open societies and future cross-border co-operation between the municipalities and communities as an important means of confidence building, preventing culmination of prejudices and half-truths. Quotes, given in speakers' native languages, will be subtitled in Macedonian and the productions will be offered to the local TV stations in Korcha/Albania and Kozani/Greece and subtitled in Albanian and Greek if requested.

2. TV M: "Lake Chronicles". *TV M* is a Macedonian-language TV station which broadcasts in Ohrid, Struga and the surrounding area. It has recently launched a new regional multilingual feature programme called "Lake Chronicles". This programme will provide more extensive and more diverse news within the whole Struga and Ohrid region at Lake Ohrid, well known for being populated by many ethnic groups since time immemorial (Macedonians, Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, Egyptians, Serbs etc.).

3. Radio Cerenja. This is a Romani-language media outlet with an ethnically mixed editorial team (Roma, Turks and Macedonians). It is going to initiate a multilingual project comprising a programme in Turkish and Vlach (one hour per week each). It will provide information about local self-government,

education, cultural events, tradition and customs. The programmes should cover current affairs for 60 per cent of the time and the other 40 per cent should provide music. This is a very interesting and hopeful experiment as it means that a Roma radio station might become a platform for other language groups and help to strengthen toleration and co-operation among ethnic communities.

4. City Desk Tetovo. This project is a multi-ethnic media desk in Tetovo, dedicated to covering daily news in the Tetovo area for all media outlets. The project was based on the idea of local journalists and initiated by the Media Development Unit of the OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission in Skopje in April 2002, as a multi-ethnic confidence-building measure in the former crisis area.

The project promotes and enables co-operation between journalists working in Macedonian and Albanian. Its objectives are to improve access to information, to widen the news agenda to serve the public better, to promote multi-ethnic news and understanding, and to improve overall standards of journalism. Its overriding goal is to produce news that is well researched, balanced and objective. The *City Desk* produces daily news features on a broad range of subjects including the economy, environment and culture of the region. The news stories are researched and produced by ethnically mixed teams and are broadcast free of charge in both Macedonian and Albanian by all partner TV and radio stations in the area. In addition the national TV station *A1* and various Skopje-based TV channels also broadcast the news features.

V. Conclusion

The current working environment for the media, irrespective of language, is very difficult. The 926 registered print media and 157 TV and radio broadcasters struggle to survive. This is not an easy task considering the rather limited market of two million inhabitants and the weak economy. The quality of reporting varies enormously, political influence is still widespread and the standards of journalism leave much to be desired.

After an initial peaceful post-independence period, tensions between the Macedonian and Albanian populations erupted in open fighting in February 2001. The conflict has dramatically affected the country's media. Hate speech became an efficient instrument for the promotion of ethnic exclusivity by some political forces. Following the Ohrid Agreement of 13 August 2001, the guns have fallen silent, hate speech has disappeared from the Macedonian media scene and there is a large number of media outlets functioning in different languages. But the ethnic divisions in the media are still present. Media outlets often still concentrate on one ethnic audience and fail to address issues beyond this group. There is very little ethnically inclusive journalism, multilingual newspapers and multilingual programmes on the radio or television. For these reasons the media is still not able to play the role it should play to promote tolerance between the different language groups in the country.

Nowadays there are plenty of good ideas and initiatives on how media could promote tolerance and understanding. Experiences have encouraged new insights, many new and promising projects have already begun and many more are pending, just waiting to be started.

Bibliography

EastWest Institute, Working Brief for the Media Transfrontier Cooperation Round Table Project. EastWest Institute project fostering inter-community dialogue and cooperation through transfrontier cooperation in the Lake Prespa/ Ohrid region – towards the establishment of the Euroregion. Meeting 8-9 November 2002, Korcha, Albania.

Forum, br. 121 (17.1.2003), 29.

Kolar-Panov, **Dona,** and **Van den Haute**, **Francis**, and **Markovik**, **Marjan** (ed.), *MAP 2000 – Macedonian Media Audience Research Project*, Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research (Skopje, 2000).

Kolar-Panov, Dona, "Troubled Multicultural Broadcasting in Macedonia", *Journal of Sociolinguistics* (2002), *in press*.

Melcic, Dunja, "Zwischen Pluralismus und Denkdikatur. Die Medienlandschaft", in id. (ed.), *Der Jugoslawienkrieg. Handbuch zur Vorgeschichte, Verlauf und Konsequenzen* (Opladen, 2002), 317-31.

Nineski, Blagoja, *Lokalnite elektronski mediumi vo Makedonija* (Prilep, 1998).

Nineski, Blagoja, *Pecatenite i elektronskite mediumi vo Makedonija* (Skopje, 2000).

Nicolet, Claude, "Medien in Mazedonien: Zwischen Kriegshetze und Friedensförderung", *Südosteuropa Mitteilungen*, 31/41 Jg. (2001), 282-89.

Sovet za radiodifuzija na Republika Makedonija, *Informacija za radio i TV programite na jazicite na nacionalnostite na elektronskite mediumi vo RM* (Skopje, 2002).

Thompson, Mark, *Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Kosovo. International Assistance to Media* (Vienna: OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, 2000).

Trpevska, Snezana, "Das Mediensystem Mazedoniens", in Hans-Bredow-Institut (ed.), *Internationales Handbuch* (Baden-Baden, 2002), 425-35.

Recommendations

In order to bridge the gap between the different communities the legal preconditions are of crucial importance:

- Several working groups are now elaborating a draft version of the broadcasting law. This modified, completed and therefore more powerful legal regulation will be important for implementing already existing laws as well as combating the well-known problems like an overcrowded media market with unfair competition.
- A new law against broadcast piracy would foster the country's own production which would then mirror its rich and colourful society better.

In order to foster a joint public sphere and to abolish prejudice and ignorance:

- Media in all languages spoken in the country should strive to reflect the country's multi-ethnic structure instead of focusing solely on one community. This could be achieved through more "positive speech" about each other, and a greater focus on common problems and everyday issues affecting the whole population instead of informing along ethnic lines.
- Practices like inter-ethnic exchange of programmes, common newsrooms and mixed editorial staff are of crucial importance. Furthermore, one very simple but effective way of reaching a wider audience is to subtitle programmes. At the moment *MRTV* is not able to offer a multi-channel sound programme, but this very beneficial service may be feasible in the future.
- The production of local news to reflect the local population's needs and to cover issues relevant to all inhabitants,

including diverse viewpoints of the various communities, should be strengthened. The ongoing process of establishing local self-government offers huge potential, particularly for the minority media to play this important role.

Education and research require special attention:
- Research needs to be encouraged and supported in order to improve knowledge about the media. The first steps comprising professional surveys and media monitoring have already been undertaken, but these are needed on a regular basis and should be developed to guarantee permanent research and observation. These results must be shared with the media community, journalists, associations, media NGOs etc., in order to build up an exchange between scholars and journalists.
- Journalism education is of utmost importance. All levels of education have to be developed and strengthened. Whereas media NGOs are focusing on training for journalists, the Journalism Department at the St Cyrill and Methodius University in Skopje is in a period of transformation. The curricula have to be updated and the courses need to be adapted to meet the real demands of today's journalism. Education and training on diversity reporting issues should especially be fostered and fortified.

To strengthen exchange and interaction within the population in general and to encourage inter-cultural communication on all levels (national, regional, local and cross-border) media still depend on support and assistance from the international community. Further commitment and more-sustainable international support in the future are imperative.

Romain Kohn
Luxembourg

Luxembourg has a unique society. It is as much multicultural as it is multilingual. As the sociologist Fernand Fehlen remarked: "If there is one specific Luxembourgian language competence, then it is multilingualism."

In the Grand Duchy three languages coexist: Luxembourgish, French and German. So far there has been no political or cultural hierarchy between them. The use of the language depends mostly on the situation you find yourself in. For instance, in the media the linguistic use is complex and not easy to understand for an outsider. But then again there are no exact rules and those that exist are more and more difficult to define.

Until recently the language of the press was clearly German (even though there have always been articles in French and sometimes even in Luxembourgish and English in every edition). It is still the dominating language of the print media as a whole, but several monolingual French papers have recently appeared. On radio and television, Luxembourgish is spoken almost all the time. Some local programmes are broadcast in English and Romance languages.

So, while German remains the most prominent language of the press, and radio and television broadcast in Luxembourgish, the administration almost exclusively uses French. It is obvious that in everyday life French has advanced since the early 1990s as the lingua franca. This trend is counterbalanced by the fact that the Government is supporting the idea that the integration of immigrants into local society should occur

through acquiring the vernacular language. In fact, the importance of Luxembourgish and the unprejudiced use of the three common languages are perceived by a majority of the population as the focus of their national identity.

This is not much of a surprise considering the demographic composition of the country (year of reference: 2001). Out of the 440,000 inhabitants of the Grand Duchy, only 277,000 have a Luxembourgian passport. This means that non-nationals make up almost 37 per cent of the population, the Portuguese representing the largest foreign community with 59,000 people. Add to that some 89,000 French, Belgian and German commuters arriving every weekday in Luxembourg from their native country because they hold a job in the Grand Duchy. Under these circumstances it is almost impossible to determine who speaks when in which language to whom. There are many variables that influence the use of a certain language rather than another so that it is impossible to draw up a list of reliable rules.

I. Historical background

Luxembourg (Lucilinburhuc in Old Germanic language) was founded as a fortress back in 963. It was part of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and the language spoken was a High German dialect.

Four centuries later the territory had expanded to the north and the west and was divided in two: a French part (where people spoke Walloon) and a German part (where people used a Luxembourgish dialect). The written and administrative languages were divided according to region into French or German in their ancient forms. The city of Luxembourg was an exception to this rule: even though it belonged to the German part, the administration chose French as its working language.

During the first occupation by King Louis XIV and his troops in 1684, the use of the German tongue was almost completely banned. A century later due to the French Revolution the importance of the French language rose and even penetrated the local administration of the German-speaking region. But even after the introduction of the Code Napoléon in 1804 – the first code of French civil law that became necessary as a framework because of the many separate systems of case law existing in France before 1789 – Luxembourgish remained the language shared by all.

In 1839, during the London Conference, Luxembourg was given its political independence. The price to pay for this was the splitting of the territory. The Kingdom of Belgium received the Walloon region and the remaining territory consisted of what is known today as the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, which was then situated in the German-speaking area. But the German language did not jeopardize the pre-eminence of French because the Dutch King-Grand Duke William II did not back his civil servants in this matter. In the end the Luxembourgian notables succeeded in establishing French as the administrative, judicial and even political language.

The industrial revolution brought important sociodemographic changes at the end of the nineteenth century. Luxembourg, which had always been a poor agricultural country inducing many of its citizens to seek a better life overseas, now became attractive for immigrants first from Germany, then from Italy. The linguistic positioning became a political matter. In order to mark a distance from the German Confederation and to protect Luxembourg from the German nationalists, a law was passed which put French on the same level with German as a language that children had to learn in elementary school. The final linguistic programme was defined in the far-reaching school reform of 1912.

The importance of the Luxembourgish language for the country's national identity became obvious during World War II when Luxembourg was occupied by the Nazis. The German gauleiter (head of district) decided to hold a census in October 1941 as he wanted the citizens of Luxembourg to profess their affiliation to German culture. Everybody was told to choose "German" three times when asked about his or her language, citizenship and ethnicity. Even the fact that the Nazis had warned people of the consequences should they reply "Luxembourgish" did not stop the natives from doing exactly that. As the Nazis became aware of the people's pride in its own identity (more than 95 per cent said "Luxembourgish" as an answer to all three questions) they stopped counting.

II. Legal framework for the media

Freedom of speech and freedom of the press are guaranteed by Article 24 of the Constitution dating back to 1868: "Freedom of speech in all matters and freedom of the press is guaranteed, subject to the repression of offences committed in the exercise of these freedoms. No censorship may ever be introduced. A security deposit may not be demanded from writers, publishers and printers. [...]"

The use of languages was only regulated after World War II when parts of the Constitution were changed in 1948. Article 29 simply reads: "The law will regulate the use of languages in administrative and judicial matters." The former Article 29 dating back to 1868 stated: "The use of the German and French language is optional. It cannot be limited."

In 1984 a *Law on the Use of Languages* was passed. The Constitution referred to this upcoming law as early as 1948, but it took an article in a German right-wing newspaper in 1980 to start the legislative process in the Grand Duchy. Neo-

Nazis claimed that Luxembourgers were speaking German, since their native tongue was a mere German dialect. The public and the politicians were upset. Parliament passed a motion in which it asked the Government to prepare a bill. The law that resulted from the debates regulates the use of languages on the legislative, administrative and judicial level. It does not make any reference to the media as they are not generally perceived as part of the public sphere in which the Government should interfere.

There are three major points in this law, which is the only one that deals with the use of languages on a grander scale. First, Luxembourgish was granted the status of national language (an important nuance in comparison to an official language as understood by the European Union for instance). Secondly, all legislative documents have to be written in French. Last, in administrative and judicial matters, all three languages (Luxembourgish, French and German) can be used. When addressing the administration, citizens can use whichever of the three languages they prefer; the answer should be in the same language, "as far as possible", as the law states. This means that almost all requests to the administration call for a French reply, as the civil servants are not used to other languages or are not familiar with the technical vocabulary in a language other than French.

The current *Press Law* dates back to 1869. It has long been considered in need of reform and, in 2002, the Ministry of State as the government department responsible for the media submitted a draft for a new law, which is still under discussion. It takes into account the European Convention on Human Rights as well as the jurisdiction of the European Court for Human Rights. François Biltgen, the Minister of Communications in charge of the bill, expects it to become

one of the most modern media laws in Europe when it is probably passed by parliament later on in 2003. The changes mostly deal with the status of the journalist but will not add any regulations relating to languages.

In 1976 a law was passed in order to subsidize the press with public money. In 2001, the administration gave 4.3 million euro directly to the papers, notwithstanding all the indirect support the print media receives from the Government, whatever its political leanings. In order to be eligible for a subsidy, a paper has to be published at least once a week, employ at least five journalists and be of general interest (i.e. dealing with national and international news, economy, social affairs and culture). Only papers mainly written in one of the three languages of Luxembourgish, French and German qualify for public money. Some papers would have a hard time to survive without the press aid; others like *Le Jeudi* would probably never have been created without the prospect of being subsidized by the State.

III. The media and their use of languages

The situation of the Luxembourgian media, with the use of the different languages, is as unique as it is complex. As a general rule, it may be said that the press is dominated by German (even if several French only papers have been put on the market in the last few years), whereas on radio and television Luxembourgish is the lingua franca (again with some noteworthy exceptions).

1. Print media. According to UNESCO statistics, Luxembourgers are avid readers of the press. Over a quarter of all households purchase more than one national daily, almost always by subscription. Thanks to their knowledge of languages, Luxembourgers are able to read newspapers from

many different countries (mostly special interest magazines that do not exist in the Grand Duchy, with the exception of magazines dedicated to cars). However, in order to read about local news they have to rely on the domestic press.

In 1848, nine years after Luxembourg gained its independence, a Constitution was drawn up for the Grand Duchy. With the new legal rules censorship disappeared. It did not take very long for the first newspaper to be published: *Luxemburger Wort*. Not only does this daily still exist, it has moreover the largest readership (with 49 per cent) and circulation (with more than 78,000 copies sold, representing approximately double the circulation of all the other dailies combined) in Luxembourg. The paper is owned by the archbishopric and has a strongly Catholic editorial appeal. But over the last years it has opened its pages to other ideological currents without ignoring its religious origins. It surely is the most reliable paper in the news reporting section.

Its ideological counterpart is called *Tageblatt* (20 per cent readership). It was first published in 1913 and belongs indirectly to the socialist trade union OGBL. In the 1930s both papers fought each other mercilessly: *Tageblatt* saw the Nazis as a political enemy to be got rid of, whereas, at least in the early years, *Luxemburger Wort* shut its eyes to Hitler's Germany as the political right regarded him as the last hope to protect Western Europe from the communist threat. When the Nazis occupied Luxembourg in 1940, both papers were brought into line.

Downright political organs are the communist *Zeitung vum Lëtzebuerger Vollek* (established 1946, 1 per cent readership today) and the liberal *Journal* (established 1948, 5 per cent readership today), since both are owned by their respective party. The initiators of both papers played an important role in the Résistance against the Nazi invaders.

D'Lëtzebuerger Land (3 per cent readership) is the oldest political weekly. It was started in 1954 with the help of financiers close to the steel giant Arbed. The other political weekly is close to the Green party and has a readership of one per cent. Renamed *Woxx* in 2000, after it started 12 years before as *Gréngespoun*, it has always been perceived by its makers as an alternative to the "bourgeois" press.

Thus, every current in the political and economic landscape has its own paper. But in terms of the level of sales needed to run at a profit, there should be room for only one of these newspapers on the market. If all continue to exist despite their small circulation figures and revenues this is due to an overall will expressed by every political party to uphold a diversity of opinions guaranteed by the press aid.

Other papers to receive money from public finances are *Revue* (established 1946, 25 per cent readership today) and *Télécran* (established 1978, 34 per cent readership today), two weekly illustrated magazines with an emphasis on the television programme, and *Le Jeudi* (established 1997, 7 per cent readership today), a French only weekly. In late 2001 two dailies were established: *La Voix du Luxembourg* and *Le Quotidien*. They have a readership of 7 per cent each and only publish articles in French. Their political stance is far less obvious, even if they are owned by the two main press groups: Groupe Saint-Paul (*Luxemburger Wort*, *Télécran*, *La Voix du Luxembourg*) and Editpress (*Tageblatt*, *Revue*, *Le Jeudi*, *Le Quotidien*).

1.1 Multilingual media. It is difficult to imagine that the first edition of *Luxemburger Wort*, published shortly after the abolition of censorship in 1848, contained only articles written in German. Anyone wishing to read one of the leading national newspapers nowadays will need to be familiar with German

and French at least. Articles in both languages are side by side and no translation is provided. Moreover, you can find a French quote in a German article with no translation and vice versa. German reports account for approximately 70 per cent, French articles for 25 to 30 per cent, and the difference is made up by reports in Luxembourgish or any other language. This unique system works smoothly as Luxembourg is a kind of linguistic melting pot.

In 1988, the linguist Guy Berg undertook a quantitative analysis of the languages used in the multilingual papers *Luxemburger Wort* and *Tageblatt*. He divided both papers into 13 categories and found similar results for each of them. Sports had the highest use of a single language: about 95 per cent of the articles were written in German. Editorials in German made up for 91 per cent, local news for 87 per cent, the front page for 84 per cent, international affairs for 80 per cent and national affairs for 73 per cent, the remaining percentage were French articles as Luxembourgish does not play an important role in these categories (except for local news with 4.5 per cent). At that time, the arts pages had a ratio of 56 to 41.5 per cent in favour of German articles; today this ratio may have switched in favour of French.

Job offers were the category in which French was leading with 84 per cent; today you will also find a number of job offers in English. Fifty-two per cent of advertisements were published in French, 38 in German and 10 in Luxembourgish; today there could be even less German commercial messages. An area from which German is almost banned is the social announcements. At the time, more than 80 per cent of birth or marriage announcements were written in Luxembourgish. Interestingly people tended to choose more French ads (45 per cent) when they had to announce the death of a person.

1.2. Monolingual media. As the number of foreigners living in Luxembourg has been on the constant rise since the 1970s and currently makes up for almost 37 per cent of the population, French increasingly takes on the role of the lingua franca in everyday life (especially in commerce and the catering trade where a high percentage of the workforce are French and Belgian commuters). That is why Luxembourgian publishers have recently made efforts to target the country's French-speaking community. Right now there are three French monolingual papers: the two dailies *La Voix du Luxembourg* and *Le Quotidien* as well as the weekly *Le Jeudi*.

The main reason for the foundation of these three papers is commercial (even if paradoxically no publisher really expects to make money with his venture). Some publishers believe that as there are more and more French-speaking people in Luxembourg, there should also be a new readership to be gained. This is even more the case because French speakers are usually unable to read the majority of German articles in the multilingual papers and thus have not bought a local daily or weekly so far. This is true enough, but then again *La Voix du Luxembourg* and *Le Quotidien* are not really a success as yet. Their readership of 14 per cent altogether lies only 3 points above the Luxembourgian edition of the French daily *Le Républicain lorrain* when it closed at 11 per cent at the end of 2001. This edition started in the early 1960s but in the last years circulation and revenues were constantly falling. (For the record: *Le Républicain lorrain* is a partner in *Le Quotidien*.)

There is also a cultural dimension to take into account when trying to explain the publishers' relative failure to catch a new readership. There seems to be a discrepancy between the number of inhabitants of the Grand Duchy who are fluent

in French and those among them who are interested in Luxembourg's current affairs. The potential "natural" readers of a monolingual French press (bankers, eurocrats, immigrants, commuters) prefer to stick to the papers published in their home countries (which is quite easy as all the important titles from abroad are available in Luxembourg). If this were not the case, then what possible explanation is there for the fact that *Le Quotidien* did not succeed in winning over *Le Républicain lorrain*'s readers? *Le Quotidien* is clearly *Le Républicain lorrain*'s successor (as this paper stopped publication when *Le Quotidien* first appeared and as it took over its subscriptions). The difference lies in their editorial agenda: *Le Quotidien* focuses more on Luxembourg and less on France and the Lorraine region. So when *Le Républicain lorrain* stopped publishing its Luxembourg edition after 40 years in late 2001, you could observe readers buying *Le Républicain lorrain*'s edition from Thionville rather than *Le Quotidien* or for that matter *La Voix du Luxembourg*.

Another finding of a multimedia poll conducted by TNS (Taylor-Nelson Sofres) shows that the readership of *La Voix du Luxembourg* is equally divided between Luxembourgers and foreigners (the poll does not say if this also applies to *Le Quotidien* but one could assume that the figures are the same). In the end this all means that if the fierce competition between the two monolingual French dailies continues, it is not because there is an overwhelming demand from the French-speaking inhabitants and commuters. It has to do mostly with predatory pricing between the two most important and ideologically opposed press companies in the Grand Duchy as both sides seem to assume that only one paper will survive in the end. (Ironically enough, the readers' choice between *La Voix du Luxembourg* and *Le Quotidien* does not seem to be influenced by their political views, according to the social research

institute Ilres, contrary to readers' behaviour on the multilingual press market. But then again these papers are much more politically biased.)

The English press is so far beyond the reach of the two main media groups. In 1981 the human resources manager Pol Wirtz had the idea to publish a weekly for expats: *Luxembourg News*. It was followed seven years later by the monthly magazine *Business*. Both have to survive without the support of public finances, as English is not among the three tongues mentioned in the 1984 *Law on the Use of Languages*. On 25 March 2003, International City Magazines announced that it would "cease publication of all its titles", among them *Luxembourg News* and *Business*. Pol Wirtz is currently looking for new investors and he is confident that his papers will be relaunched soon.

There are also papers addressing the local market in Portuguese. The first to appear was *Contacto* (9 per cent readership). The current weekly was founded in 1970 and belongs to Groupe Saint-Paul. Its competitor *Correio* (4 per cent readership) is owned by Editpress and was started in 1999. In April 2003, *Présence hellénique* was started as the first monthly in Greek (and French).

Apart from English, Portuguese and Greek papers and magazines, no press product for any other language groups are published in Luxembourg. If Italian, Spanish, Flemish or Dutch inhabitants want to read papers in their native tongues, they have to go to the kiosk where they will find more than one daily or weekly imported from their countries.

One final consideration or, more probably, a speculation: It is hard to imagine that one day a publisher will start a German only newspaper. This is firstly because of the Nazi occupation during World War II which made Luxembourgers adopt a certain critical distance towards Germany and its culture

(even though Luxembourgers read far more German than French papers and books and watch many more TV programmes from Germany than from France). And secondly, this is simply because nobody sees the need for a monolingual German press in a multilingual cultural context.

1.3. Foreign press. Luxembourgers are keen readers of the foreign press. This habit is not only related to their multilingualism, it is also a consequence of the country's size. You will not find any magazines with special interest themes like computers, cooking or sports at the news-stand. And those Luxembourgers who do not want to read only press agency reports about international affairs, will have to turn to foreign dailies or weeklies. The local press simply does not have the financial means to have its own correspondents throughout the world's important cities or even to send a reporter on special assignment to a place of crisis.

All the important international papers can be found at the news-stands in Luxembourg, in total more than 5,300 titles. But their single sale figures are small in comparison to the local press. With one notable exception: the German tabloid *Bild.* Even though it completely ignores the Luxembourgian reality and current affairs it is read by eight per cent of the population.

2. Broadcast media. Radio and television are definitely the areas where Luxembourgish is the lingua franca, but as in the print media there are minor multilingual exceptions on many programmes. The only national TV station *RTL Télé Lëtzebuerg* as well as the three national radio programmes, *RTL Radio Lëtzebuerg*, the sociocultural *Radio 100,7* and *DNR (Den neie Radio)*, broadcast in Luxembourgish. This also applies to two out of the three regional stations: *Radio Ara* and *Eldoradio. Radio Latina*,

however, broadcasts in the Romance languages, mostly in Portuguese. With the exception of one station (which broadcasts in Portuguese and French), all other 13 local radios use almost exclusively Luxembourgish on the air. The three TV channels that are distributed via cable are also in Luxembourgish.
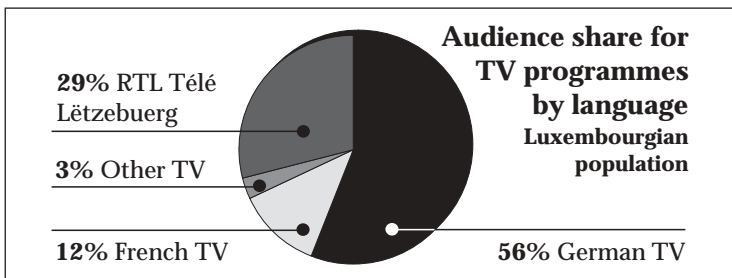
Even if nowadays there is a multitude of radio and television programmes for the local population, this is a fairly new situation as *RTL* held a broadcasting monopoly for six decades and the liberalization of the waves only started after 1991 when a law was passed. The history of electronic media began in 1931 when the Compagnie luxembourgeoise de radiodiffusion was founded, the current *RTL* Group. But in the first three decades of its existence only programmes in French, German and English were broadcast throughout Europe. These programmes did not especially address the local population. *Radio Lëtzebuerg* (in Luxembourgish) only took off in 1959. Ten years later *Télé Lëtzebuerg* started (also in Luxembourgish but for more than 20 years only as a two-hour programme every Sunday afternoon; the current daily magazine programme and news show has only been produced since 1991).

In general, the magazine programme and the news are presented in Luxembourgish. But if a guest on a radio or TV programme comes from Germany or France, the interview is conducted and broadcast in his or her language and no translation is provided. Again there is a unique feature. In order to address the foreign communities in the Grand Duchy the Government is providing funding for a French translation of the daily half-hour TV news programme. It is broadcast simultaneously on the second stereo channel.

The sociocultural *Radio 100,7*, which hit the airwaves in 1993, is the first and only programme to be financed with public money. As it has a cultural as well as a political mission, it
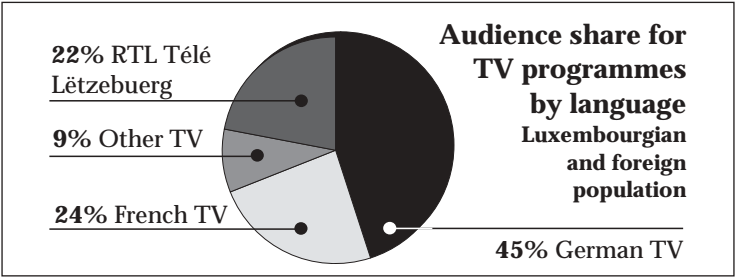
broadcasts every morning a 15-minute-long news programme in French. In the past *RTL* used to have weekly radio programmes for the Portuguese, Italian and Spanish communities and citizens from the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and on television for the Italian speakers. But over time they disappeared. As *RTL* lost its broadcasting monopoly it considered that it no longer had to assume the public mission to inform the foreign communities in their own tongue. *Radio Latina* took over and addresses especially the Portuguese, Italian, Spanish and French speakers in the Grand Duchy. Several regional and local radio stations broadcast mainly in English, but their programmes are very much music oriented and do not provide their audience with journalism.

Another quite unique phenomenon is the spillover effect. Everybody wishing to watch the main public and private TV programmes in Europe or to listen to the Belgian, French and German radio stations in the area next to the frontier can do so. This applies to both the native and the foreign population. But it is clear that, compared with non-national inhabitants, the Luxembourgers have a preference for German radio and television programmes.

Audience share for TV programmes by language
Luxembourgian population

29% RTL Télé Lëtzebuerg

3% Other TV

12% French TV

56% German TV

During weekdays the share of Luxembourgers who watch *RTL Télé Lëtzebuerg* (in Luxembourgish) is 29 per cent; German TV channels are watched by 56 per cent of natives, French by

12 per cent and the remaining TV programmes in any other language by 3 per cent (according to an Ilres poll from 2001).

Audience share for TV programmes by language Luxembourgian and foreign population

- **22**% RTL Télé Lëtzebuerg
- **9**% Other TV
- **24**% French TV
- **45**% German TV

If the survey takes into account the whole population of the Grand Duchy, the share for *RTL Télé Lëtzebuerg* and German TV drops to 22 and 45 per cent respectively, whereas the share for French and all the other TV stations climbs to 24 and 9 per cent respectively.

TV viewing preferences by language among Portuguese population

- **11**% Other TV
- **17**% German TV
- **26**% Portuguese TV
- **46**% French TV
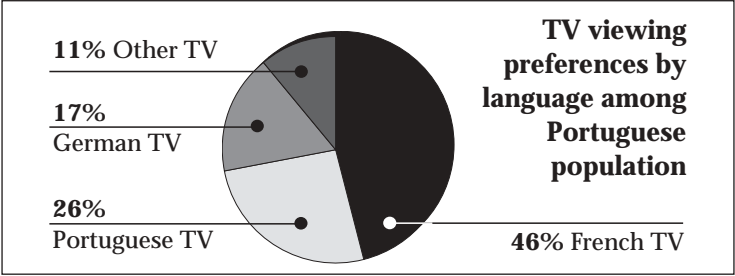
Portuguese people watch mostly French channels (46 per cent), followed by Portuguese TV (26 per cent), German programmes (17 per cent) and the other TV stations (11 per cent).

The same trend can be observed when you analyse the radio listening habits of the population. Luxembourgers prefer to tune in to German rather than to French programmes. However, the share of French radio stations goes up when you consider the whole population. But there is one big difference from TV: 85 per cent of the audience share from the native

population listen to Luxembourgian radio stations. This means that in contrast to TV only 15 per cent of Luxembourgers are tuning in to foreign radio programmes. The main reason for this is the poor range of programmes on *RTL Télé Lëtzebuerg*, which has 30 minutes of a magazine programme and 30 minutes of local news per day, but no movies and shows for instance.

3. Internet. There are no rules for the choice of language on an Internet site but French and English are dominant. The administration almost exclusively uses French, not because it responds to a public demand but because it is the administration's language in general. The newspapers' sites are predominantly in German with the exception of *Tageblatt* which is mainly in French, even if the print edition is pending towards the German language. The common Internet site for *RTL* radio and television is one of the few written in Luxembourgish and at the same time one of the most – if not the most – visited sites in the country.

IV. Language preferences of journalists

Regarding multilingual print media, a journalist's reasons for picking one language rather than another can be very diverse. A journalist may have studied in a German-speaking country and so prefer to use German. Or a reporter who generally writes articles in German, might switch to French out of courtesy when covering a conference given by a philosopher from Paris – if he considers his bilingual talents to be good enough. *Revue* and *Télécran* are almost exclusively German-language magazines, in which most French words are used in the advertisements. These magazines address the whole native population, from the housewife to the manager and from the teenager

ROMAIN KOHN **65**

to the grandparent. So they have to use German, as it is the language most easily read by the majority of Luxembourgers.

V. Conclusion

Luxembourg is definitely a multilingual country, but unlike other multilingual societies like Switzerland and Belgium there are no (separate) linguistic communities. In the Grand Duchy everybody speaks three languages reasonably well: Luxembourgish, German and French. At least those people who went through the local school system are in command of all three.

Reading books and papers, listening to a radio programme or watching TV without worrying about the language (be it Luxembourgish, French or German) is part of the cultural and political identity of Luxembourg and its citizens. Of course everybody has their personal linguistic preferences but they are not led by a hidden agenda.

So far, the use of languages in public life followed some rules that developed through decades of practical evolution rather than through legislative measures. The administration's written language is French and its spoken tongue Luxembourgish. Radio and television programmes are broadcast in Luxembourgish and the papers are mainly written in German. But it is getting more difficult to stick to these strict distinctions. The transitions are more than ever in a state of flux.

So far Luxembourg prides itself for being at the crossroads of two important cultures. Its citizens not only speak the different languages, they also grasp the cultural differences. If this is the core of the country's identity, then there is no reason why people should not continue to stick to it in the future.

Bibliography

Berg, Guy, *Mir wëlle bleiwe, wat mir sin. Soziolinguistische und sprachtypologische Betrachtungen zur luxemburgischen Mehrsprachigkeit* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1993).

Kohn, Romain, "Ein Volk von Zeitungslesern", in Editions Saint-Paul (ed.), *Kaleidoskop* (Luxembourg: Editions Saint-Paul, 2002), 115-24.

Kohn, Romain, "Im Zweifel für den Leser. Wie Presse, Radio und TV die Sprachenvielfalt im Land meistern", *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 19 January 2001.

Loi du 24 février 1984 sur le régime des langues, Mémorial A n° 16, 27 February 1984, 196-197 <http://www.legilux.lu>

Loi du 3 août 1998 sur la promotion de la presse écrite, Mémorial A n° 81, 23 September 1998, 1592-1593 <http://www.legilux.lu>

Majerus, Pierre, *L'Etat luxembourgeois. Manuel de droit constitutionnel et de droit administratif* (Luxembourg, 1990).

Newton, Gerald (ed.), *Luxembourg and Lëtzebuergesch. Language and Communication at the Crossroads of Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

Peeters, Roger J., "Trilinguisme et triglossie: l'emploi des langues dans la presse quotidienne luxembourgeoise", *Orbis* (Bulletin international de documentation linguistique), Tome XXXIX 1996-1997, 127-57

Service Information et Presse (ed.), *About... languages* (Luxembourg, 1999) <http://www.gouvernement.lu/publications/download/about.pdf>

Service Information et Presse (ed.), *About... media and communications* (Luxembourg, 2002) <http://www.gouvernement.lu/publications/download/mediaENG.pdf>

Recommendations

Luxembourg is a multilingual society, where Luxembourgish, French and German are used following numerous practical, written and unwritten rules. To argue in favour of monolingual media would probably lead to social segregation and in the end to a "dilution" of citizenship. The cultural identity of Luxembourgers is very strongly linked to an equal-to-equal coexistence of both their national language and their multilingualism. This type of multilingualism is specific to Luxembourg and probably not comparable with any other nation.

It is important to note that a major part of Luxembourg society is in command of more than one of the three official languages: Lëtzebuergesch, German and French. Also, a majority of Luxembourg's immigrants speak at least one of the three official languages, French having become a lingua franca or a common denominator. French is also the language mostly used by cross-border workers from France, Belgium and Germany.

Immigrants especially from Romance-speaking countries have "their" media: two Portuguese weeklies, a radio in different Romance languages, a French translation of the TV news (in Luxembourgish) and a French daily radio news programme (on public radio). Two all-French newspapers and an exclusively French weekly give French commuters and immigrants from Romance-speaking countries a broad insight into Luxembourg activities.

In the press, Luxembourgish has never been established as a language of communication. This is largely due to the fact that there is no real demand from the citizens to read their newspapers in the national language, as it remains first and foremost a spoken language and is hard to read (and to

write) when you are not accustomed to this exercise. Things are different on radio and television, where Luxembourgish is the major language of communication.

Put in this perspective, the Government should:
• Continue to encourage foreigners/immigrants to learn Luxembourgish as a language of integration;
• Encourage the creation of multilingual broadcasting or boost the production of radio and TV broadcasts for a multilingual audience in languages other than Luxembourgish (in particular on the public radio station);
• Leave the choice of the language to the speaker, i.e. journalist (not to the readers or the radio and TV audience).

Natalia Angheli
Moldova

Situated at the crossroads between the Slavic and the Latin worlds, Moldova is home to many ethnic groups. According to the results of the latest census, 64.5 per cent of the population are of Moldovan descent, 13.8 per cent are ethnic Ukrainians, 13 per cent are Russians, 3 per cent are ethnic Gagauz, 2 per cent are Bulgarians, 1.5 per cent Jewish and 2.2 per cent belong to other ethnic groups (Belarusian, Polish, German, Roma, etc).[1]

The cultural landscape of Moldova is a kaleidoscope of traditions and languages. Some are similar to those of other peoples in the region – Romanians, Russians, Ukrainians, Bulgarians. Others are unique to this area – like the Gagauz, a Christian Orthodox group speaking a Turkic language.

Eleven years after the break-up of the Soviet Union, the country is still in search of its identity and its place in the new Europe – all of which affect the ways in which different ethnic groups perceive themselves and each other. Safeguarding the interests of these groups remains a challenge both for the country's authorities and the civil society, especially in conditions of grave economic crisis and the unresolved Transdniestrian dispute.

---

1 Quoted from "The Decision of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova No. 1039-XII from 26.05.92 on The Legal Status of Persons Belonging to Ethnic, Linguistic and Religious Minorities in the Context of the Armed Conflict in the Districts of the Eastern Part of the Dniester".

I. Legal framework for the media

In Moldova, the rapport between the titular nation and the other ethnic groups is often viewed through the perspective of the language issue. Until the late 1980s, despite the diversity in the national structure Russian and Moldovan languages predominated. Thus, in 1989, 59.4 per cent of scholars were taught in Moldovan and 40.6 per cent in Russian.[2] Russian was the main language of official communication.

Moldova's emancipation from communist rule brought about the revival of the national awareness of ethnic Moldovans. As part of this movement, a *Law on the Functioning of Languages on the Territory of Moldova* was adopted in 1989. Under the law, Moldovan gained the status of the official language, while Russian was declared "the language of communication among nations".[3] While raising the status of Moldovan, the law also stipulated the use of Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Hebrew, Yiddish, Roma language, etc. to meet the needs of various ethnic groups living in Moldova.[4]

The law also stipulated the use of Latin alphabet, eliminating the only difference between Moldovan and Romanian. However, the name of the language, i.e. Moldovan vs. Romanian, has become a topic of heated debates. Part of the population use the name "Romanian", and call themselves "ethnic Romanians", while others maintain that they speak Moldovan. Since "Moldovan" is the name used in all legal acts, this is the term that will be used in the present report in reference to the country's official language.

The use of Moldovan as the country's official language is also stipulated in Article 13 of the Constitution. The Article also recognizes the right of Moldovan citizens to promote Russian and other languages spoken on its territory. Article 10 of the Constitution safeguards the right of Moldovan nationals

to preserve, develop and express their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity.

Neither the language law nor the Constitution was accepted in Transdniestria, a region in eastern Moldova largely populated by ethnic Ukrainians and Russians. Here the residents protested most vocally against Article 7 of the language law, which prescribes the knowledge of Moldovan to those holding positions in state administration bodies.

In the rest of the country, the implementation of the language law and linguistic provisions of other legal acts has been piecemeal at best, and striking a balance between Moldovan and Russian, especially in the spheres of business and media, has remained a sensitive issue. Most educated Moldovans speak both Moldovan and Russian, whereas for many other ethnic groups Russian remains the first, and, sometimes, the only means of communication.

Even though the 1989 law did not contain any provisions expressly regulating the media, it has laid the foundation for many of the subsequent developments in that field.

In line with the language law are the linguistic provisions of the country's broadcast legislation. Article 13 of the 1995 *Law on Broadcasting* stipulates that a minimum of 65 per cent of programmes should be in the country's official language. The law has set the framework for the activity of the Audiovisual Co-ordinating Council (CCA), which, among other things, is required to facilitate the development of broadcasts in the country's official language.[5]

---

2   Atanasia Stoianova, "National Minorities Education in Moldova: The Legal Framework and Practice", Report presented at *The World Congress on Language Policies*, Barcelona, 16-20 April 2002 <www.linguapax.org/congres/taller/taller3/article23_ang.html>

3   Article 3 of the *Law on the Functioning of Languages on the Territory of Moldova*.

4   Article 4 of the *Law on the Functioning of Languages on the Territory of Moldova*.

5   Article 37 of the *Law on Broadcasting*.

The language provisions of the 1997 *Law on Advertising* are fairly liberal. Following an amendment adopted in 2001, advertisements can be published in the country's official language or, upon the request of the advertiser, in other languages.[6]

Access of different ethnic groups to the media is also provided for by the 2001 *Law on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National Minorities*. Article 13 of that law stipulates that representatives of ethnic minorities and their organizations have the right to produce publications in their native languages, while the government authorities are required to organize broadcasts in these languages on the state TV and radio. Similarly, the 2002 *Law on the National Public Broadcaster* proclaims cultural diversity, and acknowledges the right of ethnic groups to have programmes in their languages.

In order to facilitate the implementation of the language law and promote the state policies in the area of inter-ethnic relations, the Government created the Department on National Relations and the Functioning of Languages (subsequently renamed the Department of Inter-ethnic Relations). The department is charged with monitoring the situation with respect to the rights of ethnic groups and those of the titular nation, as well as supporting the activities of various non-governmental organizations in that field.

II. Media landscape

A plethora of print and electronic media outlets have appeared in Moldova since it gained independence in 1991. As most have been financed by political parties and groups, they have reflected the whole spectrum of political opinions in the country. There has been, however, far less variety in the way these publications have reflected the interests of various ethnic groups in Moldova.

The media scene in Moldova is extremely volatile. Due to the low purchasing capacity of the population and fickle political interests the lifespan of many outlets has been fairly short. According to the data collected by the Independent Journalism Center, Moldova, as of November 2002 there were 79 national print publications, 23 local print outlets, 2 national TV channels, 1 national radio channel, 32 local TV channels, 24 local radio stations and 8 news agencies. Out of a total of 169 outlets, 82 published or broadcast their programmes in Moldovan, 33 in both Moldovan and Russian, 44 in Russian only, 6 in Russian and Gagauz and 4 in other languages (these data do not include information about media outlets in the breakaway Transdniestrian region).[7]

The price of newspapers and magazines is prohibitively high for most Moldovans, and radio and television channels broadcast through the state network are the most likely sources of information and entertainment. *Radio Moldova*, *TV Moldova 1* and *ORT Moldova* are available in practically all households. Until 10 August 2002, *TV Romania 1*, the public channel from the neighbouring country, was also broadcast to most Moldovan homes through the state communications system.[8] The Moldovan authorities suspended the broadcasts claiming that additional intergovernmental accords stipulating the method of payment for the use of the Moldovan relaying facilities were necessary. A wave of public protests followed, and rebroadcasts were finally resumed in March 2003.

It is also possible for residents of northern Moldova and the Transdniestrian region to receive broadcasts from the neighbouring Ukraine in their homes.

---

6   Article 8 of the *Law on Advertising*.

7   "Media Guide 2001-2002", Independent Journalism Center, Moldova.

8   Victor Bogaci, "TV Transmitters and Stations in the Counties of Moldova", *Mass Media in Moldova*, December 1999, Independent Journalism Center, Moldova.

Still, low salaries do not allow many Moldovans to purchase up-to-date radio or television equipment. As a result, they do not have access to the stations broadcasting over the air, and rely chiefly on transmissions of state-owned local stations through old-style cable radio.

1. Russian-language media in Moldova. Russian remains the main language of the media in Moldova. In fact, due to their large number, high circulation and vast penetration it is hard even to call these outlets "minority". According to a summer 2002 opinion poll, three of the five most widely read newspapers in Moldova were published in Russian, and two of the five most popular radio stations broadcast their programmes in that language.[9] The same poll showed that the most popular TV channel was the Russian-language *ORT*. The newspaper with the highest popularity rating in Moldova is *Komsomol'skaya Pravda*, with a circulation of 50,000 plus copies, far more than that of any Moldovan-language publication.

In fact, many of the most popular Russian-language newspapers are Moldovan editions of famous Russian titles (*Komsomol'skaya Pravda, Argumenty i Fakty, Trud*). Similarly, Russian-language broadcasts with the highest rating are rebroadcasts of TV and radio channels from Russia (*ORT, Russkoe Radio, Radio Hit FM*).

In general, the share of rebroadcasts from Russia is considerable. According to the CCA register, as of summer 2002 out of 23 licensed over-the-air radio stations 11 rebroadcast the programmes of Russian stations. By comparison, two stations had valid licences to rebroadcast programmes from Romania, one from Turkey, and one station was authorized to rebroadcast *Radio Liberty*.

The number of broadcasters who are engaged in illegal broadcasts is much higher. According to the CCA, unauthorized retransmission of foreign broadcasts is the most common violation of broadcasting regulations.[10] Estimates of the Association of Electronic Media (APEL) put the number of such violators at 90 per cent of licence holders.[11]

The choice of programmes for rebroadcasting is often indiscriminate, and Moldovan news consumers frequently learn about the exact time in Moscow, the price of real estate in St. Petersburg, or the weather forecast for Siberia. Lacking the necessary financial means, and technical or professional expertise, local stations often use these rebroadcasts as a way to stay alive.

A typical example in this sense is *Info Radio* – a private channel, which was launched in August 2000 with listings that contained primarily news from Moldova (in Moldovan and Russian). By late 2001 it was rebroadcasting the Moscow-based *Ekho Moskvy* station.

According to the CCA regulations, applicants that provide "adequate" coverage of relations between the titular nation and other ethnic groups living in Moldova, and promote the values of the Moldovan national culture and those of "co-living" ethnicities get priority in the selection process. However, these criteria have seldom been put into practice giving rise to vocal criticisms from local media watchdogs.[12]

---

9   "Mass Media in the Republic of Moldova: Access, Audiences, Preferences, Attitudes", *Mass Media in Moldova*, June 2002, Independent Journalism Center, Moldova.

10 "Broadcast Council Head Criticizes License Holders", *Moldova Media News,* 17, October 2002.

11 Interview with Victor Osipov, APEL executive director, October 2002.

12 "Criteria for Distributing Licenses to Winners of Contests for Broadcast Authorization" <www.cca.md>

In 2000, the Association of Graduates of Foreign Universities (CAIRO) even brought a lawsuit against the Council claiming that it had failed to "protect the national information space from foreign incursion". The court ruled in their favour and ordered the broadcasters to respect the linguistic provisions of the country's broadcasting law. The decision caused uproar among Moldova's Russian-speaking population, and the OSCE High Commissioner for National Minorities criticized the restrictions on a human rights basis. Other international pressure followed, and the Moldovan parliament issued an interpretation of the language provision, stipulating that 65 per cent of locally produced content, rather than that of the total airtime, had to be in the official language. For local affiliates of stations from Russia this meant remaining on the air without having to make any changes in the listings.

The CCA has had little success in enacting the language and other provisions of the country's broadcasting legislation. Most of the broadcasters simply defy the sanctions and remain on the air. Thus, for example *Avto Radio* continued to broadcast even after both its broadcast and technical licences were withdrawn.

Most recently, the Council has adopted a far more cautious approach and has not applied any serious sanctions. Unable to effectively facilitate the implementation of the relevant legislation, the CCA now claims it avoids applying harsh sanctions for fear of "destroying" the Moldovan broadcast space.[13]

2. Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Yiddish and Roma-language media. The weight of media in languages other than Russian and Moldovan in Moldova is minimal. As of November 2002, there were no nationally distributed print media in languages other than Moldovan and Russian.[14] The only two publications

with nationwide circulation were *Istoki* and *Nash Golos*. Both focus on the life of the Jewish community in Moldova, and publish all their materials in Russian.

Ukrainian-language media are underdeveloped even though this is the second largest ethnic group after Moldovans. The Chisinau-based Ukrainian-language *Ukrainski Golos* depends on private donations for existence, and these are not enough to ensure that the paper with a circulation of 3,000 copies appears regularly. *Promini,* a Ukrainian-language newspaper published in the northern town of Balti, is also issued irregularly.[15]

The situation is similar in the Bulgarian-language press. *Rodno Slovo*, the newspaper of the Bulgarian society in Moldova ceased publication some three years ago because of lack of funds. Insufficient funding has also hampered the publication of *Blgarski Glas* in the southern town of Taraclia. Since its foundation in 1991, only 50 issues of the newspaper have been published. There is no full-time staff working for the publication, and new issues appear when private donations are made. In 2002, the attempts of local authorities to subsidize the paper only had a limited effect – even though support for 12 issues had been pledged, funding for just 3 issues was secured.[16]

Several local broadcasters have programmes in Bulgarian. Thus, the state TV channel *STV 41* based in Taraclia broadcasts local news, business programmes, and entertainment

13 "Broadcast Council Head Criticizes License Holders", *Moldova Media News,* 17, October 2002.

14 "The Catalog of Periodicals in the Republic of Moldova and CIS", 2002.

15 Interview with Pyotr Grabchiuk, president of the Ukrainians Association in Moldova, November 2002.

16 Interview with Dimitr Borimechkov, editor-in-chief of *Blgarski Glas*, November 2002.

shows in Bulgarian. *TVardita*, an over-the-air channel in the town of Tvardita in southern Moldova also has several broadcasts in Bulgarian.

However, the ratio of original programming on most of these stations is very small, and the different languages are mostly used to broadcast "musical greetings". The same applies to Ukrainian-language broadcasts of the *AVM Studio* in Edinet, and *Canal-X* in Briceni – both in northern Moldova, as well as *BAS-TV* in the town of Basarabeasca in central Moldova. The range of coverage of all these channels is well below 50 kilometres.

There are programmes in six languages other than Moldovan on *TeleRadio Moldova*, the country's national broadcaster. The "Comunitatea" department of Moldovan public TV carries 8 hours and 30 minutes of programming, whereas the monthly broadcasts of the languages department of the national radio total 7 hours and 45 minutes. TV and radio listings include programmes in Bulgarian, Gagauz, Yiddish, Roma, Russian and Ukrainian.

However, lack of qualified staff and adequate financing seriously affect their quality. Because of low salaries, few young journalists join the staff of these departments. As of November 2002, the Roma TV programme was not broadcast because there was no host.[17] Journalists miss important events because they lack funds, which are necessary to go on field trips outside the capital Chisinau. Their daily communication needs are poorly served because the offices are not equipped with computers or fax machines.

Representatives of the ethnic communities in Moldova have repeatedly expressed their dissatisfaction with the amount and schedule of programmes in their languages on the Moldovan national broadcaster. In July 2002, these concerns

were voiced in a letter sent by the director of the Department of Inter-ethnic Relations to the head of *TeleRadio*. The letter called for an increase in the volume of broadcasts in the languages of the different ethnic groups, their scheduling during prime time, and improving the coverage of the small ethnic groups in Moldova (Belarusians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Tartars, Poles, Lithuanians, etc). The letter also urged the broadcaster's management to provide an international perspective in programming by covering ethnic issues from abroad.[18]

Since November 2002, the content and broadcast time of programmes in different languages on the national TV and radio has remained largely unchanged.

The shortcomings in the field of minority access to the media came under the scrutiny of the Council of Europe (CoE) in January 2003. In the context of monitoring the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*, its Committee of Ministers called on Moldovan authorities to "take account of the legitimate interests of all national minorities including those disadvantaged or numerically smaller." According to the CoE, the implementation of the Convention "has not been fully successful with respect to the Roma", and further efforts are needed to provide "access to media *inter alia* for Ukrainians."[19]

3. Media in the Gagauz autonomous region. The 1994 *Law on the Special Legal Status of Gagauz Yeri* granted territorial autonomy to some 170,000 ethnic Gagauz who live in southern

---

17 Interview with Tamara Saapega, head of the Comunitatea Department at *TeleRadio Moldova*, November 2002.

18 Letter from Tatiana Mlecico, director general of the Department of Inter-ethnic Relations to Ion Gonta, chairman of the State Company *TeleRadio Moldova*, 8 July 2002.

19 "Protection of Minorities in Germany, Armenia and Moldova", *Council of Europe News*, 15 January 2003 <www.coe.int>

Moldova, and gave them the right to independently settle issues relating to the political, economic and cultural development of the region.

Under the law, the official languages of Gagauz-Yeri are Moldovan, Gagauz and Russian. However, the predominant means of communication in the region are Russian and Gagauz.

The problems that the media in the region face are similar to the professional and economic challenges to journalists in other parts of Moldova. Lack of qualified staff, lack of funds, and attempts of the authorities to censor the media – these are the main issues.

The circulation of most periodicals does not exceed several thousand copies, and many of them are produced by very small teams of journalists, sometimes even by editors-in-chief themselves.

The region's parliament is the founder of *Vesti Gagauzii*, a four-page weekly with a circulation of 5,000 copies. Three pages appear in Russian, and one is published in Gagauz. Two more periodicals are sponsored by the local authorities – *Znamea* from Ceadir-Lunga and *Panorama* from Vulcanesti. Both are Russian-language weeklies. *Znamea* has a print run of 5,000 copies, whereas *Panorama* is a two-page flyer with a circulation of 500 copies.

Because of inadequate financing, the Gagauz-language *Ana Sözü, Gagauz Halki, Sabaa Yildizi, Gagauz Yeri, Gagauz Sesi,* and *Halk Birlii* appear less regularly, and so does the Russian-Gagauz newspaper *Açik Göz.*[20]

Financial aid to the Gagauz media from the central Moldovan authorities is lacking. On the other hand, several publications have received support from Turkey. *Ana Sözü*, a four-page fortnightly newspaper, and the magazine *Sabaa Yildizi* have been sponsored by the Turkish International

Co-operation Agency (TIKA), while the fortnightly *Gagauz Sesi* newspaper has received donations from private individuals.

TIKA has also provided a technical grant for the development of broadcasting in the region. The funding has covered the costs of a relaying facility aimed to increase the quality of radio transmission by *Radio Gagauzia*, the state-owned channel in the towns of Comrat, Ceadir-Lunga and Vulcanesti.

Currently, there is just one radio channel in the region – the private *Radiostantsia Jug*, which has a mixed music/news format and broadcasts largely in Russian. There are five licensed TV stations in the region, but only four are currently on the air. The original programming of these channels ranges between one and six hours per week, most of which are in Russian. The rest are retransmissions of Russian channels. For example, *Ayin Açik* channel from Ceadar-Lunga uses 90 per cent of its broadcast time to retransmit programmes from the Russian channels *ORT* and *RTR*, while *Bizim Aydinik* from Comrat rebroadcasts programmes of the Moscow-based *MUZ-TV* and *Channel 3*. The coverage range of these channels is between 10 and 40 kilometres, the smallest being that of *TV Sud* from Vulcanesti and the largest that of *Yeni Ay* in Comrat.

The media groups from the region have repeatedly urged the central authorities to facilitate the development of broadcasting to autonomy, and grant more radio frequencies to local private broadcasters. The Independent Centre of Journalism in Gagauzia, a local media NGO, sent open letters to the Moldovan president, parliament speaker and prime minister urging them to intervene.[21]

---

20 Ivan Topal, "The Press in the Gagauz-yeri Autonomous Region", *Mass Media in Moldova*, June 2002.

21 Interview with Stepan Piron, director of the Independent Centre of Journalism in Gagauzia, November 2002.

Local authorities frequently interfere in the activities of the media, especially of the state-owned outlets. Political infighting often results in censorship and sacking of journalists. Thus, according to the League for the Defence of Human Rights in Moldova (LADOM), during the autumn 2002 campaign for the election of the local governor the authorities sacked the editor-in-chief of *Znamea*, and threatened staff members with layoffs in a move to ensure pre-election coverage biased towards one of the candidates.[22]

In November 2002, the local authorities closed down the state-owned *TeleRadio Gagauzia*. This was the only company with a region-wide coverage and original broadcasts in Bulgarian, Gagauz, Moldovan and Russian.[23]

4. *Media in Transdniestria.* The self-proclaimed Moldovan Trans-Dniestrian Republic (Transdniestria) has been in existence since September 1990. Unlike the rest of the country, this region in eastern Moldova is populated by 39.9 per cent Moldovans, 28.3 per cent Ukrainians, 25.5 per cent Russians and 6.4 per cent are representatives of other ethnic groups.[24] The drive for the revival of Moldovan culture and language in the late 1980s, especially the adoption of the language law, was perceived as a threat by many of the local residents. Their strongest fear was that Moldova would eventually reunite with neighbouring Romania. Hardly any of the Ukrainians and Russians from Transdniestria speak Moldovan, and they were afraid to wake up one day as foreigners in their own homes. The 1991 referendum to preserve the Soviet Union, boycotted in most of Moldova, was widely hailed in the region.

Since then, the breakaway republic has created all the accoutrements of a state. In 1992, the parliament of the self-proclaimed republic abolished the 1989 language law, and

reintroduced the use of Cyrillic alphabet for Moldovan. Its Constitution declares Moldovan, Russian and Ukrainian as the region's official languages.[25]

The 1993 *Law on the Press and Other News Media* guarantees the right of its citizens to have access to information in their native languages.[26] However, the overwhelming majority of media outlets in the region publish or broadcast information in Russian. Additionally, news media from Russia are widely available through rebroadcasts and kiosk sales.

As of November 2002, there were 63 registered media outlets in the region. Only two newspapers were published in languages other than Russian, and non-Russian programmes were available only through the Transdniestrian state broadcaster.[27]

The only Moldovan-language publication is *Adevarul Nistrean*. This newspaper with a print run of 1,000 copies is sponsored by the region's authorities and is issued twice a week. The weekly *Gomin* in the Ukrainian language is also financed from the state coffers. It has a circulation of some 2,300 copies.[28]

Transdniestrian state radio has daily newscasts in Moldovan and Ukrainian, along with analytical programmes and feature magazines on weekends. The state television carries Moldovan and Ukrainian-language news programmes three times a week, as well as children's and entertainment programmes in these languages.

22　"Human Rights Activists Deplore Media Pressure in Gagauzia", *Moldova Media News,* 17, October 2002.

23　Interview with Stepan Piron, director of the Independent Journalism Center in Comrat, November 2002.

24　"Pridnestrovie v Yazykovom Zerkale Mezhetnicheskoy Integratsii", *Moldova Academic Review*, 2002 <www.iatp.md/academicreview>

25　Article 12 from the Constitution of the Moldovan Trans-Dniestrian Republic.

26　Article 3 of the *Law on the Press and Other News Media*.

27　Interview with Andrei Safonov, editor-in-chief of *Novaya Gazeta*, Nov. 2002.

28　"Media Guide 2001-2002", Independent Journalism Center, Moldova.

The predominance of the Russian language in the region's media is frequently explained by its authorities by the "linguistic preferences" of its residents. According to an opinion poll they cite, 20 per cent of Transdniestrians regularly watch TV programmes in Moldovan, 37 per cent in Ukrainian and 95 per cent in Russian. The idea, which is widely disseminated among the local population, is that Russia is much closer to it in spirit and cultural heritage than Moldova.[29]

Tense relations between central Moldovan authorities and Transdniestrian leaders, especially after armed skirmishes in late 1991 and early 1992, have resulted in a serious media hiatus between the breakaway region and the rest of the country. In the early 1990s both sides regularly jammed each other's broadcasts. Until recently Moldovan newspapers were practically unavailable in Transdniestria and vice versa.

In May 2001, Moldovan President Vladimir Voronin and Transdniestrian leader Igor Smirnov signed an agreement providing for a free circulation of the media. Under the agreement, the population were given the possibility to subscribe to periodicals published on both banks of the Dniester River. Still, few Transdniestrian residents have access to broadcasts of Moldovan national radio and TV because it is not available through the regular over-the-air network.

Establishing a rapport between the media in the breakaway region and the rest of the country still remains a problem. Reports about developments in Moldova are regularly censored by the Transdniestrian authorities, and their authors are accused of "acting as a fifth column for Moldova" and frequently threatened with layoffs.

In a similar move, in 2001 the Moldovan authorities closed down the *Kommersant Moldovy* newspaper for publishing reports allegedly biased towards Transdniestrian authorities.

Despite the 2001 agreements, access to information in the region is limited, and the authorities on the two banks of the Dniester River occasionally resort to "tit-for-tat" revoking of journalists' accreditation.

III. The "other" in the media

Dire economic straits, lack of qualified journalists and attempts by the authorities to interfere in the activities of news outlets – these are the problems that hamper the development of the media in Moldova, irrespective of their language.

These problems are augmented by a lack of professional solidarity among journalists from different ethnic backgrounds. The media are largely divided along ethnic lines, and the coverage of major political, social and economic events in the Russian-language media differs significantly from coverage in the Moldovan-speaking media. Moreover, through their work many journalists have heightened inter-ethnic tensions and have contributed to the creation of the image of the hostile "other".

The most vivid example was the coverage of events in Transdniestria in 1991-1992. When fighting between government forces and Transdniestrian insurgents broke out, the news media readily adopted the style of coverage that bred the stereotypes of the "enemy" and provided a simplified "black-and-white" perspective of the events.

Labelling of Transdniestria, its authorities and residents by Moldovan national media at that time was quite common. Similarly, the media in the breakaway republic used disparaging epithets and metaphors when describing Moldovan central authorities and its residents, who were calling for more linguistic and cultural rights.

---

29 "Pridnestrovie v Yazykovom Zerkale Mezhetnicheskoy Integratsii", *Moldova Academic Review*, 2002 <www.iatp.md/academicreview>

Thus, the official Moldovan daily *Nezavisimaya Moldova* often referred to the region's authorities as "conservative forces", "champions of colonial policies" and sometimes even as "criminals" or "gangsters". The policies of Transdniestrian leaders were frequently described as "devilish", while the residents of the breakaway republic were labelled "strangers" and "tramps" implying that the non-Moldovan population had no real roots there.[30] In its turn, *Dnestrovskaya Pravda* frequently referred to Moldovans claiming their language and cultural rights as well as the country's authorities as "fascists". They were also labelled the "dark forces of Moldova", and disparaging comments were often made about their alleged lack of culture and education.

The coverage of "the other" across the frontline consistently lacked historical background, and opinions of just one side were presented. By and large, Transdniestrians remained a faceless, homogeneous and hostile mass for Moldovans, and vice versa.[31]

Since the early 1990s the language of news coverage has been significantly toned down. Still, numerous problems remain, and reporting about relations between different language groups continues to lack balance, consistency and depth. Professional discussions of these issues were formally launched in 1999. Then the Moldovan Journalists' Union adopted a code of professional ethics, which, among other things, urged media professionals to "oppose violence, hate speech and confrontation, or any discrimination based on culture, sex or creed."[32] Following the adoption of the Code, the journalists set up the National Ethics Commission. However, the commission has not managed to wield enough influence on the work patterns of local media professionals, and to unite journalists in the quest for diverse and ethical reporting.

Recriminations of ethnic insensitivity, especially between representatives of Russian and Moldovan-language media, have continued, and in 2001 a journalist from the Russian-lan-

guage *Vremya* weekly was sued for allegedly promoting hate speech through the media. Criminal charges were filed against Yulia Korolkova after members of CAIRO accused her of insulting the national honour of Moldovans and instigating inter-ethnic strife. According to CAIRO, her article entitled "Suitcase. Train Station. Russia", was denigrating to the titular nation. The article claimed that access to positions in state power bodies for Russian-speakers was hindered, and that some officials, who were ethnic Moldovans, took bribes.

The charges against Korolkova were later dropped, but tensions persisted. Moreover, leaders of the Russian community who stood up in Korolkova's defence claimed that she had been unfairly singled out for punishment. In their opinion, articles openly inciting inter-ethnic hatred in the Moldovan-language press, "went legally unobserved".[33]

Ethnic division has found its way into journalists' professional organizations, and some of these have been formed to promote the interests of certain ethnic groups. For example, the Chisinau-based Association of Mass Media unites mainly editors-in-chief of Russian-language media, and there are also Unions of Gagauz and Transdniestrian journalists.

Lack of journalists' solidarity has made attaining their professional goals more difficult. In early 2002, the strike of the employees of *TeleRadio Moldova* state company for more editorial freedom failed to garner enough support because it was perceived by many Russian-speaking journalists as an attempt of their Moldovan colleagues to obtain more rights for themselves.

30 Natalia Angheli, "A Faceless Other: Image of Trans-Dniester in Moldovan News Media", *Media Online*, 30 March 2001

31 "Articles", *Transnistrian Conflict in the News Media* <www.iatp.md/transnistria>

32 "The Ethics Code of the Journalists in Moldova", *Mass Media in Moldova*, June 1999.

33 Mikhail Sidorov at the workshop on hate speech organized by the Moldovan Youth Helsinki Committee in Chisinau, April 2001.

Still, there is growing understanding that effective mechanisms are necessary in order to promote responsible, sensitive and tolerant reporting. In 2001, a directorate on monitoring inter-ethnic relations was set up under the auspices of the Department for Inter-ethnic Relations. The directorate is charged with monitoring the social and cultural needs of ethnic groups, and the state of relations among them. Through regular surveys and analysis of media coverage of ethnic issues it is supposed to track down changes in people's perceptions of their national and ethnic identity, their linguistic preferences and the overall level of tolerance in Moldovan society. Results of this work are regularly presented to the department board, which comprises the leaders of ethnic communities and representatives of the government bodies dealing with various aspects of inter-ethnic relations.

The country's legal framework is also undergoing changes. In November 2002, President Vladimir Voronin submitted to parliament a draft law on combating extremism. Under the draft law, "extremist materials" are defined as those inciting actions related to war crimes or elimination of ethnic, religious, racial, etc. groups. Organizations or officials engaged in such activities face a ban on their activities for up to five years.[34] The law has been adopted in the first reading and submitted for public discussion.

Attempts to bring journalists of different ethnic backgrounds together to promote diversity and multiculturalism have been made on the grass-root level. In 2002, four mixed teams of journalists from Transdniestria and other regions carried out long-term joint production projects under the auspices of the Independent Journalism Center, Moldova. In July, the staff of *Timpul* weekly from Chisinau launched informal meetings with their peers from the Tiraspol-based *Adevarul Nistrean*. The task of improving the flow of information between Transdniestria and

the rest of Moldova is set as a priority in the action plan adopted by the Moldovan national group of the Stability Pact Media Task Force in September 2002.[35] The group unites leading journalists from all media types, along with representatives of the Government and media regulating bodies.

Participants in these projects have highlighted the need for regular monitoring of the media to ensure that the rights of all citizens from all ethnic backgrounds are respected. They suggested that different manuals on issues of diversity and multiculturalism be published, and that "codes of best practices" be elaborated by media organizations. They also stressed the value of joint projects by journalists of different ethnic backgrounds to promote balanced and in-depth reporting on diversity issues.

In their opinion, joint work on these projects will fill the information gap about each other, will build up the tolerance level in Moldova, and, in the long run, contribute to peace and stability in the country. There is a growing understanding that media can become an important tool in resolving the Transdniestrian dispute.

IV. In lieu of conclusion

Moldova's emancipation from Soviet rule has brought about the development of politically diverse media. Scores of new publications and broadcast outlets have appeared in the last eleven years and have reflected a wide spectrum of opinions on major political and economic developments in the country. However, ensuring linguistic and cultural diversity remains a challenge to Moldovan news media.

---

34 "President Sends Draft Law on Combating Extremism to Parliament", *RFE/RL Newsline*, 18 November 2002.

35 "Working Group Sets Priorities to Develop Media in Moldova", *IJNet*, 9 October 2002 <www.ijnet.org>

The country's legal framework provides for the right of ethnic groups to have access to the media in their native languages, and a special government department is charged with monitoring the respect of minority rights. Nevertheless, the implementation of many legal provisions in this respect is hampered by financial difficulties, conflicting political interests and low professional standards.

Representatives of more than ten ethnic groups live in Moldova, but Moldovan and Russian remain the predominant languages of the country's media. Publications in most other languages depend on private donations and appear irregularly.

Despite the requirement of the country's *Law on Broadcasting* that 65 per cent of programmes should be in the official language, the Moldovan broadcasting space is dominated by retransmissions from Russia. The activity of the Broadcasting Council in this respect remains largely ineffective.

The unresolved Transdniestrian dispute has led to a lasting information hiatus between the two regions. Mutual suspicions hamper the creation of a rapport between the media in the breakaway region and the rest of the country.

The establishment of a truly diverse media in Moldova is also hindered by lack of professional solidarity among journalists belonging to different ethnicities.

Still, recent grass-roots initiatives have contributed to a growing awareness about these problems among media professionals. Journalists are becoming more vocal in their calls for action aimed at raising professional standards, improving self-regulatory mechanisms and the implementation of relevant legislation – all of which should ensure cultural and language diversity in Moldovan media. Most importantly, they are attributing a greater role to the media as a conflict-resolving and confidence-building tool.

Recommendations

The news media play an important role in safeguarding the interests of various ethnic groups living in Moldova. However, comprehensive and long-term results can be achieved only through concerted actions of various actors: the Government, ethnic associations and interest groups, professional journalists' organizations, training institutions and news outlets (both mainstream and special-interest).

Thus, it is recommended that:

The Government

• Elaborate a comprehensive programme for the development of the media in the languages of the various ethnic groups living in Moldova, and bring the legal framework into line with its provisions;

• Take heed of the requests from representatives of ethnic groups and increase the amount of broadcasting in languages other than Moldovan and Russian on the National Public Broadcaster (*TeleRadio Moldova*), as well as grant more air frequencies to non-Moldovan/Russian TV and radio stations;

• Provide financial assistance in the form of grants or tax breaks to the print and broadcast outlets featuring programmes on the life of ethnic groups – in this way ensuring the minimum conditions necessary for their existence;

• Encourage officials from the Department of Inter-ethnic Relations to design their activities jointly with other actors (ethnic associations, professional journalists' groups, media outlets).

Ethnic associations and interest groups

- Engage in joint actions with other actors aimed at ensuring adequate access of all cultural/linguistic/ethnic groups to the media;

- Inform all relevant bodies (both national and international) about the progress/problems of access to the media or any instances of intolerance towards them in the media.

Professional journalists' organizations

- Encourage initiatives that would improve self-regulatory mechanisms in Moldovan media, and promote ethical, diverse and tolerant reporting;

- Facilitate public debate with a view to creating a Press Council/ the Office of Press Ombudsman in Moldova which would ensure that complaints against the media are looked into.

Training institutions (academic and mid-career)

- Introduce courses on diversity reporting and multiculturalism in their permanent curriculum;

- Provide opportunities for journalists belonging to different ethnic/cultural/linguistic groups to engage in confidence-building projects (i.e. joint production of materials, boot camps on diversity reporting, etc.).

News outlets

- Carry out regular monitoring of articles/programmes to ensure that the principles of diversity and tolerance are respected by their organizations;

- Encourage multiculturalism and diversity in the newsroom (through equal opportunity hiring practices).

Nena Skopljanac
Serbia (Serbia and Montenegro)

Serbia (Serbia and Montenegro) is one of Europe's most ethnically, culturally and linguistically diversified areas. Around 30 various national/ethnic groups have been living there for centuries, almost all of them with their own language. In spite of the developments during the last 15 years, the country has a long and rich tradition of peaceful multi-ethnic and multicultural coexistence, including media in different languages and access to media for all citizens. Although the wars in the 1990s did not take place on its ground, they in many ways negatively affected multi-ethnic and multicultural practices that had existed in the previous period. As a consequence, there are many latent and manifest ethnically-based conflicts that threaten to escalate if not appropriately addressed. The first step for countries that plan to solve ethnic conflicts in a peaceful way is to draft legislation on individual and collective rights for all. The second step is to implement these rules and manage the public sector in accordance with the accepted principles. Among many issues to be addressed are rights with regard to language use, freedom of expression and access to information in the mother tongue.

Having media in their native languages provides the different ethnic groups with their own professional communication channels to address issues of politics and society. This is an inherent part of comprehensive community-building, developing democratic institutions and long-term conflict prevention. Mutual understanding has to be built on understanding of

identities, culture, challenges and issues in relation to other communities and the titular nation to facilitate participation and integration.

This report refers only to Serbia and not Serbia and Montenegro as a whole. The respective provisions in the Federal Constitution and the laws that regulate the issues that are the subject of this analysis are concretized differently for Serbia and for Montenegro. Since June 1999, the international authorities have instigated and started implementing legal regulations in Kosovo, which are to a certain extent different from those both in Serbia and Montenegro. This variety of legal frameworks makes it impossible to include Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo in a report with a limited scope. Therefore this report is focused on Serbia, basing this decision also on the much higher level of ethnic and lingual diversity there compared to Montenegro and Kosovo (in Serbia there are over 25 ethnic communities and over a dozen different languages represented in the media).

The only reliable data on the ethnic/national structure of Serbian society that are currently available are from the census carried out in 1991.[1] Out of over 25 different ethnic groups only those that represent numerically more significant communities and practise their language in public communication, some of them in the media as well, are listed below:

Roma. Roma are generally believed to be much more numerous than the 1991 census figure of 143,000 indicates, with estimates varying between 600,000 and 800,000. Most Roma – estimated 300,000 to 400,000 or 50 per cent – are concentrated in the regions of South Morava and Nis, where they account for up to one third of the population in some municipalities (Surdulica, Bujanovac, Bojnik, Vladicin Han).

Hungarians. This is the largest ethnic group in Vojvodina, comprising 339,491 or 16.9 per cent of its population (344,147 in Serbia). They are concentrated in northern Vojvodina, where they have an absolute majority in seven municipalities. Out of the total number of Vojvodina's Hungarians 58.2 per cent live in these municipalities.

Bosniacs. The census of 1991 registered 246,411 Muslims. They are concentrated in the region where the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia and Montenegro converge, known as Sandzak. They have an absolute majority in the municipalities Novi Pazar (75.4 per cent), Sjenica (76.1 per cent) and Tutin (94.3 per cent). There are large concentrations in the municipalities of Priboj (30.4 per cent) and Prijepolje (43.4 per cent) as well.

Albanians. The estimated number of Albanians is around 100,000. They are concentrated in three municipalities in southern Serbia, in Presevo valley that borders with Kosovo and constitute an ethnic majority in two municipalities: Bujanovac (60.1 per cent) and Presevo (89.9 per cent).

Croats. The census of 1991 registered 111,650 Croats or 74,808 (67 per cent) in Vojvodina alone, accounting for 3.7 per cent of its population. The political and social situation surrounding the 1991 census was one of the key reasons for the large fall in the number of Croats. Many Croats are known to have left Vojvodina, especially Srem, since 1991, but the figures are unreliable.

Slovaks. The census of 1991 put the number of Slovaks in Serbia at 66,863. As a population group Slovaks are fairly stable. The Slovaks are concentrated in Vojvodina (95 per cent), and in 1991 made up 3.2 per cent of Vojvodina's population. Slovaks are characteristically dispersed and mixed in with other communities, especially Serbs.

---

1 The data of the 2002 census are not yet completely processed and published.

Romanians. The number of Romanians was 42,364, the majority living in Vojvodina (38,809 or 1.9 per cent of the province's population). There has been a large reduction in the numbers of this group (34.5 per cent) since the first census after World War II. They are mostly concentrated in south-eastern Banat, in the municipalities of Vrsac (13.8 per cent) and Alibunar (31.7 per cent), on the border with Romania.

Bulgarians. The census established the number of Bulgarians at 26,922, concentrated mostly in the municipalities of Dimit-rovgrad and Bosilegrad, towards the border with Bulgaria.

Vlachs. There were 17,810 Vlachs, concentrated in the Homolje and Timocka Krajina regions of eastern Serbia.

Other small ethnic groups. There are dozens of other small ethnic groups, located in the province of Vojvodina, each accounting for less than 2 per cent of its population. Ruthenes, Ukrainians, Bunjevci, Sokci, Czechs and Germans are the most significant in number. There are other small ethnic groups living throughout Serbia, like Montenegrins, Macedo-nians, Slovenes and Jews.

One important aspect of the 1991 census was that the number of people who declared themselves to be **Yugoslavs** rose significantly, totalling 323,625 or 3.3 per cent of Serbia's citizens. The percentage of Yugoslavs has traditionally been highest in Vojvodina. In 1991, they made up 8.7 per cent or 174,225 of its population.[2]

It is very important to emphasize that national/ethnic differences that exist in Serbia do not always mean essential differences in language. Languages that represented different dialects of Serbo-Croatian in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) are currently officially distinguished in the

newly created states as Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian. However, although these are officially three different languages, people speaking, reading or writing one of them have no difficulty in understanding and reading the other two.

Therefore, in this report media in Bosnian or Croatian will be treated neither as media of an ethnic community nor as multilingual media. This does not mean that these media do not have a very specific audience (Croats and Bosniacs in Serbia) and thus predominantly deal with topics and issues that are of particular interest for these audiences.

I. Legal framework for the media

The 1990 Constitution of the Republic of Serbia guarantees free expression of national identity, culture, religion, and free use of language. Being able to receive information in one's mother tongue is one of the explicitly listed rights (Articles 8 and 49). The right to establish media in languages of national and ethnic communities is not specifically regulated in the Constitution. The first regulation that is in full compliance with the European standards was introduced by the *Federal Law on Protection of Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities* and by the *Broadcasting Law of the Republic of Serbia*, both adopted in 2002.

The Federal Parliament has ratified the key international documents that regulate the rights of ethnic groups to freedom of expression and information, the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (1998) and the *Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (1998).

---

2 It should be noted, however, that by the time the 1991 census was taken nationalistic passions had come to a climax and war was in sight, so some members of national minorities declared themselves Yugoslavs to conceal their ethnic affiliation and thus protect themselves. The 1991 census registered a twofold or threefold increase in the number of Yugoslavs in some settlements compared with 1981.

In February 2002, the Federal Parliament passed the *Law on Protection of Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities.* This was achieved with the assistance of experts provided by the Council of Europe and the OSCE.

In Article 17, the law guarantees information through the media in languages of national minorities:

> "The persons belonging to national minorities shall be entitled to complete impartial information in their own language, including the right of expression, receipt, sending and exchange of information and ideas via the press and other mass media.
>
> The State shall provide information, cultural and educational content in the language of national minorities in programmes of public service TV and radio, and may also establish radio and TV stations to broadcast programmes in the language of national minorities.
>
> The persons belonging to national minorities shall have the right to establish and maintain media in their own language."

The law provides for establishing the Federal Fund for National Minorities (Article 20). Programmes in languages of ethnic communities as well as projects of their media have already been granted support based on this legal provision.

The Serbian parliament passed in July 2002 the *Broadcasting Law*, which also regulates information through the broadcast media in languages of national minorities (Article 72), while Article 78 obliges the Public Service Broadcaster to:

> "Produce and broadcast programmes intended for all segments of society, without discrimination, particularly taking into consideration specific societal groups such as children and young people, minority and ethnic groups, disabled, socially and medically vulnerable groups and the deaf-mute (with the obligation to simultaneously broadcast written text describing the audio segments of the action and dialogue) et al;
>
> Adhere to linguistic and speech standards not only of the majority population but also, proportionately, of national minorities and ethnic groups in the area where the programme is being broadcast;
>
> Ensure the satisfaction of the needs of citizens for programme content expressing cultural identity not only of the nation, but also of national minorities and ethnic groups, by enabling them to follow certain

programmes or blocks of programmes in the areas where they live and work, in their native languages, both spoken and written."

Suppression of hate speech is also regulated (Article 21):

"The Agency shall ensure that the broadcasters' programmes do not contain information inciting discrimination, hatred or violence against an individual or a group of individuals on grounds of their different political affiliation or of their race, religion, nationality, ethnicity, sex or sexual affiliation.

Conduct in contravention of the prohibition in para 1 of this Article shall be deemed grounds for pronouncing the envisaged sanctions by the Agency, independently of the other legal remedies at the disposal of the aggrieved."

The law provides for the civil sector to establish broadcasters (Article 95) which do not need to pay a broadcasting fee. Bearing in mind that most of the existing media in the languages of the different ethnic groups have been founded by various NGOs or citizens' associations of national minorities, this provision will foster their further operation. However, according to the same article, such stations can broadcast only locally, which is unfavourable for large ethnic groups that are dispersed over a wide area, as is the case with the Roma and the Hungarian population.

II. Media landscape

1. The situation in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and during Milosevic's rule. The right of national/ethnic groups to obtain information in their own language through the media was largely practised in the SFRY, both in the print and broadcasting field. However, due to the fact that only state media and media founded by para-state organizations were allowed, the freedom of media was quite limited. Editorial policy had to be in full compliance with the ruling ideology. Nevertheless, a number of media outlets and extensive publishing activity in different languages did exist.

The most developed media in languages other than Serbian existed in Vojvodina. Each of the major national and ethnic communities had its own publishing house, funded from the state budget: *Forum* (Hungarian, established in 1953), *Kultura* (Slovakian), *Libertatea* and *Tibiskus* (Romanian), *Ruske slovo* (Ruthenian). Each of these houses published at least one weekly political magazine (in Hungarian there was also the daily *Magyar So*) and several specialized periodicals (mostly for children, young people and culture). *Radio and TV Novi Sad (RTV NS)* broadcast in several languages: Hungarian, Slovak, Ruthenian, Romanian and Romanes. There was a whole-day programme in Hungarian and four hours of programmes in other languages on *Radio Novi Sad* as well as a few hours of TV programmes on a daily basis.

There were no media in Albanian in southern Serbia. The Albanian community in the Presevo valley was structurally linked to Kosovo in many ways,[3] and as a result the media in Kosovo served as their primary source of information. *Radio & TV Prishtina* had a whole-day programme in Albanian, while the publishing house *Rilindija* issued the daily with the same name as well as the youth magazine *Zeri* and a couple of specialized periodicals.

In other parts of Serbia, the Bulgarian community had the paper *Bratstvo*, while for the Vlach community no media outlets were available in their mother tongue.

It is particularly important to note that Serbia (Serbia and Montenegro)[4] was one of the rare countries which at that time provided information in state media in the Roma language. Both *RTV Novi Sad* and *RTV Prishtina*, as well as a few municipal stations, had Romani broadcasts. Although one of the first Romani newspapers in the Balkans – *Romano Lil* – was established in Belgrade in 1935, there were comparatively few

Romani publications from the 1950s until the end of the 1980s. The main reason for this was that Roma were not recognized as a national minority and the State was not legally bound to pay attention to Roma access to information in their mother tongue in equal terms as it did for the other ethnic groups listed above.

According to the Constitution, Croats, Muslims (Bosniacs) and Montenegrins were not considered to be minorities, but three out of six nations comprising the former federation and thus had no media in their languages. Bearing in mind that until 1991 Croats, Muslims (Bosniacs) and Serbs spoke one language – Serbo-Croatian – all mainstream media were actually in languages of these nations, which are nowadays ethnic communities in Serbia. The same applied to Slovenians and Macedonians.

Although the Constitution adopted in 1990 and several specific laws provided for all basic minority rights – including the official use of language in public, in dealing with state institutions, schooling and in the media – during Milosevic's rule (1990-2000)[5] the authorities usurped the right to freely assess whether the respective provisions were being implemented or

---

3   Most students received their secondary education in Kosovo. Prishtina University's only high school institution with schooling provided in Albanian, which meant that not only Kosovo Albanians attended it, but also those from southern Serbia and Macedonia. All in all, Kosovo, and particularly Prishtina, functioned as the cultural, educational and intellectual centre for Albanians in the former SFRY.

4   This was not the case only in Serbia, but in other parts of the former SFRY where there was a significant Roma population. The first radio programme in Romani started on *Radio Tetovo* (the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) in 1963.

5   1990 and not 1987 has been used because in that year the new Constitution of Serbia was passed in parliament and Milosevic was elected president at the first presidential multi-party elections. The period from 1987, when he gained absolute control over the Communist League of Serbia, till March 1990, when the new Constitution was passed, represented the comprehensive preparation process for establishing the new state ideology and his unlimited control over all of Serbia's state institutions and all sectors of Serbia's society.

not (and if yes, how and to what extent). In a number of issues the authorities even openly violated both the Constitution and laws.

Already in 1990 Albanians working at *Radio & TV Prishtina* were forced to leave the broadcaster. The closure of the publishing house *Rilindija* followed. Together with the Kosovo Albanians, Albanians in southern Serbia were also left in a media blackout. Their primary source of information became the satellite programme of the *Radio & TV of Albania*. Due to the fact that the print media field was perceived by the regime as a minor challenge to its power, a group of intellectuals in Bujanovac managed to establish the Albanian-language local magazine *Jehona* in 1994. Its distribution was banned several times and a court procedure against the editor-in-chief was carried out. In spite of that, *Jehona* managed to continue publishing, with interruptions, but for financial reasons was forced to cease operations in the summer of 2002.[6]

In Vojvodina, quite a different policy was pursued. The programmes on *RTV NS* in the languages of different ethnic groups or local municipality stations were not abolished, nor were their publishing houses closed down. However, state funding was far too insufficient to maintain the rich media production that had existed in the previous period. Added to this economic exhauster, all media professionals, irrespective of ethnic background, who refused to fulfil requests for propagandistic and warmongering reporting were dismissed. As a consequence, the staff that remained were not able to meet the basic requirements of professional coverage, let alone fulfil high criteria in providing quality programmes. On the contrary, by spreading intolerance towards the "other", xenophobia and hate speech, these media contributed to kindling ethnic hatred and violence. By doing so they endan-

gered basic principles of the good tradition of multi-ethnic tolerant cohabitation. Journalists expelled from state and municipal media launched initiatives for establishing private independent media and formed their core staff. A number of media operating in different languages, comprising both the press and local broadcasters, were established as well. However, being permanently exposed to various kinds of pressures from the regime, their reach was very limited. Among the print outlets, the Hungarian-language weekly magazine *Csaladi Kor* is the exception. It had a circulation of 23,000 while all other Hungarian-language papers did not exceed 2,000 copies. Local broadcasters operated without a licence, covering very small areas, and risked being closed down at any moment. This situation lasted until Milosevic was overthrown.

However, it was not just the regime that kept a tight grip on media content provided for citizens in their own language, in order to strengthen its power by manipulating and controlling inter-ethnic issues. Political parties representing some communities also pursued the same media policy, in particular when they were sharing power or ruling on a local level. This was especially the case with the parties of the Hungarian group, which controlled almost all local broadcasters in municipalities of northern Vojvodina, where Hungarians represent the absolute majority of the population.

The first Roma print media were established by *Rominterpress*. The same house launched in co-operation with *Radio B92* biweekly Roma-language radio broadcasts (also rebroadcast by

---

6 In 2000 and 2001, *Jehona* received substantial donors' support (IREX, USAID, OSI, Press Now and Medienhilfe). The support diminished due to the fact that the paper's editorial policy was no longer perceived as politically correct and balanced. The editor-in-chief was a holder of the list of independent candidates for the local elections held in July 2002 and was elected the local MP.

ANEM stations). Finally, on the eve of the 2000 presidential elections, the first Roma broadcaster in Serbia ever, *Radio Nisava* in Nis, went on the air.[7]

Sandzak was considered by the regime as an area where there was a high risk of conflict and it kept full control over information provided by the broadcast media there. All private local broadcasters that existed at the time had a commercial and entertaining character. They had no information programmes produced in-house; some of them rebroadcasted the information provided by the *RTS*. Only one independent magazine existed – *Has* – but was forced to cease operation in 2000, due to insufficient financial resources.

2. The situation after the fall of Milosevic. While the print media scene remained almost unchanged, the broadcast media field has been passing through an intensive and chaotic development process since the fall of Milosevic. Due to the fact that there was a vacuum in the legal regulation of the broadcast media field for almost two years,[8] and in spite of the introduced moratorium on frequencies,[9] the number of local private broadcasters, both radio and TV, have mushroomed with incredible speed.

Among the broadcasters that have been illegally established since the end of 2000 in languages other than Serbian, the most numerous are local Roma radio stations, which number around 25. Similarly in Vojvodina, a dozen private radio and TV stations broadcasting in Hungarian, and a few broadcasting in Slovak and Romanian, have been established. The biggest boom in the broadcasting field happened in Sandzak, where currently two private TV stations and seven private local radio stations that broadcast informative and commercial programmes exist.[10] The first TV station to broadcast

programmes daily for a couple of hours in Bulgarian was established called *TV Caribrod*.[11] Similarly, radio broadcasts on a couple of local municipality stations comprise around six hours of daily programming in Bulgarian. In Bujanovac in southern Serbia, several local private broadcasters went on air: *Radio Toni* (Albanian language) and *Radio Ema* (Serbian language with attempts to establish an Albanian news desk), and a couple of Roma stations.

With regard to media in Sandzak, the level of professionalism is generally rather low and the scope of information on offer is quite limited. Only a few media outlets provide coverage that aims to promote tolerance. The news agency *Sanapress* and *TV Jedinstvo* play a leading role in this respect. It is indicative that both co-operate steadily with the media in the rest of Serbia and most of the content aimed to promote interethnic understanding and tolerance is provided through this co-operation. For example, being the *ANEM* affiliate, most of the content that *TV Jedinstvo* broadcasts is produced by *TV B92* and the *ANEM* production hub. The project of the news agency *BETA* to establish a private independent radio station

---

7   The main independent minority or bi-/multilingual media outlets in Serbia that were established during Milosevic's rule are still operational and will be referred to in the chapters that follow.

8   Eager to gain and keep political control over the media for as long as possible, the new authorities expressed astonishing unwillingness to adopt media regulation that is in compliance with European standards. Finally, the reworked ninth draft of the *Broadcasting Law*, prepared by media professionals and local experts in co-operation with experts provided by the CoE and the OSCE, was passed in the Serbian parliament on 18 July 2002.

9   This was introduced in November 2000 and defined to last six months, while meanwhile the plan was to adopt a new broadcasting law and establish an independent regulatory body that would be in charge of issuing licences. Instead of lasting half a year, the moratorium is still in effect, hindering the development of private broadcasters, especially those who proved unwilling to be biased in favour of the new authorities.

10 A few stations that have a purely commercial concept are not included.

11 The first TV programme in Bulgarian was launched by *ANEM* member *TV Pirot* in 2000, but had a more limited scope (1 hour daily).

has been in the pipeline for two years due to the moratorium on licences and will certainly bring a significant improvement in this respect.

The quantity of broadcasters does not mean that there are high quality and diverse programmes. Very few of these newly established stations have programmes that meet professional standards. The scope of news broadcasts is minimum (usually lasting only a few minutes on the hour a couple of times a day); current affairs programmes are rare and when included almost exclusively comprise studio interviews; magazine-type radio shows are a rarity, and finally very few of the newly established stations have educational and cultural programmes. All this seriously questions their ability to meet requirements to address vital social, economic and political problems of their respective audiences, as well as to function as a tool for preserving and promoting their culture and tradition. Besides, taking into account that the broadcast media market is overloaded, and on average the advertising potential of these media is quite limited compared to media targeting the majority of the nation, it is to be expected that many of these media will not survive long after the *Broadcasting Law* is implemented.[12] One should also not overlook the fact that many of them will not be granted frequencies and licences at all, as they will not fulfil the requirements defined by the law.[13]

Even if problematic journalistic quality predominates, there are papers, radio and TV broadcasters that perform journalism in compliance with professional standards. Some stations that currently have low quality coverage are committed to develop into good local broadcasters. These two groups of media play a very important role for their respective communities and will continue to do so in the future.

Today ethnic issues are in general more evident in mainstream media coverage than they were during Milosevic's rule. However, there are important differences in the manner of reporting. State-owned media as well as private media that served as pillars of Milosevic's rule, spreading nationalist ideology and hate of the "other", report on ethnic issues almost exclusively through events and measures performed by the authorities. An analytical approach is almost non-existent and stories about the life and problems of various ethnic groups appear only in the context of accidental situations (e.g. racist treatment or violent attacks on citizens that belong to ethnic groups). On the other hand, the independent media that played the leading role in fighting the former regime are currently setting the standards for professional and socially responsible reporting on ethnic issues. They bring to light problems that ethnic communities are faced with, give citizens belonging to ethnic groups and civil society groups of various ethnic communities the opportunity to address the public at large, make the authorities accountable at a local and national level for conducting appropriate policies with regard to ethnic issues, carry out many campaigns aimed to raise public awareness on ethnic issues and conduct campaigns to promote tolerance.

The level of hate speech has reduced significantly in the media compared to Milosevic's time. Journalists rarely use rhetoric that would incite hate against an ethnic group. However,

---

12 According to the *Broadcasting Law*, the Independent Regulatory Agency must be established within six months after the law went into force, i.e. by the end of January 2003 at the latest. However, the law has been violated, as by March 2003 the parliament of Serbia had not elected its representatives for the Agency. Accordingly, the Agency has yet to be established and undertake preparatory work for the public tender.

13 Each station has to meet technical and programme requirements. But the priority is given to the latter. Stations that do not meet programme requirements will not be allocated frequency and a licence, while those who meet the programme but not the technical requirements will be granted temporary licences and a period of two years to comply with technical standards as well.

a number of media convey statements of politicians and right-wing groups that contain chauvinist and xenophobic stances. Here again this concerns the media that served as mouthpieces of the Milosevic regime. Independent media which have struggled against the regime and its warmongering and nationalist policy refer to such statements with due criticism.

Mainstream country-wide media that represent the best examples of proactive and diversity reporting on ethnic issues as well as combating hate speech are *RTV B92*, the daily *Danas*, the weekly *Vreme*, the biweekly *Republika*, and the news agency *BETA.* In addition all local broadcasters that are *ANEM* members as well as local print media gathered in the *Local Press Association* have a code of conduct that specifically refers to diversity reporting and combating hate speech. The most agile include *Radio 021*, *Radio Boom 93*, *OK Radio*, and the weeklies *Nezavisna svetlost* and *Vranjske novine*.

3. Typology. The media outlets vary not only with regard to the languages they appear in, but also as to how these languages are employed. The press, radio and TV programmes are available in nine different languages: Hungarian, Slovak, Roma, Albanian, Bulgarian, Vlach, German, Ruthenian, Romanian and Ukrainian. Including Croatian and Bosnian, and the majority Serbian language, altogether twelve languages are represented in Serbia's media. The way in which these languages are used also varies, in particular in the broadcast media. Different options and combinations are represented below, divided into two sections for the press and for broadcast media.

3.1. Print media. There are no comprehensive data on the total number of print outlets in all languages. However, data relating to Vojvodina, where the vast majority of print media

are published, indicate that there are almost 150 registered outlets operating in languages other than Serbian. The scheme for their classification is as follows:[14]

Type of paper	Coverage	Type of language use
I. daily II. weekly III. biweekly IV. monthly	1. national 2. regional 3. local	A. only in one language B. bilingual (Serbian and one other language) a. each article in both languages b. only main articles in both - languages, other articles differ c. one article only in one of the two languages

Note: Coverage is defined according to the following criteria: (a) content reference; (b) distribution area and sales, and (c) geographic location of target audience. Papers are classified as: 1. national: throughout Serbia; 2. regional: throughout Vojvodina/ Sandzak / southern Serbia / eastern Serbia / central Serbia / western Serbia; 3. local: one municipality (also including neighbouring ones).

As to the type of papers, the press in different languages comprises the whole range presented in the table. However, all papers that appear more frequently are issued in Vojvodina, and in the languages of the largest groups. This certainly has to do with the fact that these languages have been in official use in Vojvodina till 1990,[15] and that the State subsidized publishing houses and the press. There is only one daily – *Magyar*

---

14 Specialized papers for children, young people, women, experts and scientists, agriculture and the like are not included. They almost all appear in one language. The classification primarily refers to the media with general content that target audiences of ethnic communities as such.

15 In Serbia's Constitution adopted in March 1990, Vojvodina's autonomy was drastically reduced and consisted of minor formal competencies. Among other things, the Serbian language was defined as the only official one on the whole territory of Vojvodina (other languages were partly recognized as official, but only in municipalities where ethnic groups form the majority population).

Szo (Hungarian). The Hungarian group has two weeklies as well – *Csaladi Kor* and *7 Nap*. Slovaks, Ruthenes and Romanians have one weekly each: *Hlas L'udy*, *Ruske lovo* and *Libertatea* respectively. Apart from *Csaladi Kor*, the rest is still supported by the state budget today. All other papers, both in Vojvodina and the rest of Serbia, are issued on a biweekly or monthly basis. Quite a few of them are published irregularly due to limited financial resources.

There is no print outlet in any language other than Serbian that has national coverage. This is mainly due to the fact that there is no real need for this, as all other ethnic groups, except the Roma, are concentrated in particular areas.

Almost all print outlets issue in only one language – the language of the group in question. However, there are several exceptions, which represent interesting examples and deserve to be mentioned.

The first exception is print outlets in Romani – e.g. *Romano Lil* and other publications issued by *Rominterpress* – that are bilingual, with each article in both Romani and Serbian. The main reasons for this are that Romanes is not a standardized language yet and Roma speak different dialects; some Roma cannot read Romanes, but can understand Serbian, and the publisher aims to gain as readership not only Roma but all others interested in Roma issues.

A few small local newspapers in Vojvodina are the second exception, for example the biweeklies *Kikindske Novine* and *Novi Becejac*, which are both issued in Hungarian and Serbian.

3.2. Broadcast media. As in the case of the press, the number of electronic media broadcasting in different languages is quite high – over 150. Most of them (90 per cent) are radio broadcasts or radio stations. The classification scheme, based on the same criteria as the press, is as follows:

Type of broadcaster	Coverage	Type of programming according to language use

I. State broadcaster[16]
II. Private broadcaster
III. Civil sector broadcaster[17]
	1. national
	2. regional
	3. local
		A. weekly broadcasts
		   a. in one language
		   b. in several languages
		B. daily broadcasts
		   a. in one language
		   b. in several languages
		C. full programme in the language of one ethnic group
		D. full bilingual programme (Serbian and the language of one ethnic group)
		   a. with separate time slots for broadcasts in each language
		   b. mixture of languages within the same broadcast
		E. full multilingual programme
		   a. with separate time slots for broadcasts in each language
		   b. mixture of languages within the same broadcaster

NOTE: National coverage refers to at least 2/3 of Serbia's territory; regional to coverage of Vojvodina / Sandzak / southern Serbia / eastern Serbia / central Serbia/ western Serbia; and local to one municipality (also including neighbouring ones).

---

16 Although the new *Broadcasting Law* provides for the transformation of the current state broadcasters (*RTS* and *RTV NS*) into *PBS*, this process has not yet been started, let alone completed. Therefore, in this report both are referred to as state broadcasters.

17 A significant number of minority language broadcasters are founded by NGOs, in particular among Roma broadcasters. Bearing in mind positive discrimination of such broadcasters provided in the new *Broadcasting Law*, it is to be expected that more media outlets will opt for this solution when applying for frequencies and licences.

Programmes in languages of different ethnic communities are represented in all types of broadcasters. However, the state broadcaster with national coverage – *RTS* – provides only a half-hour daily radio programme in the Roma language. It consists of two parts: a news show on the main events in the country and abroad, and a section that treats the main developments within the Roma community. There is no TV broadcast on *RTS* in any other language than Serbian.

The situation is slightly different with regard to broadcasters with regional coverage. The state *RTV Novi Sad* has, in addition to its programmes in Serbian, daily TV broadcasts in Hungarian, Romanian, Ruthenian and Slovak, as well as weekly broadcasts in Roma, Croatian and Ukrainian. The radio offers broadcasts daily in the languages of the same four ethnic groups as the TV. Broadcasts are produced and edited by separate news desks and, apart from news shows, treat issues that are specifically related to the respective ethnic groups, with rare links to other groups.

There are around 150 local radio and TV stations that broadcast in languages other than Serbian. About a quarter are municipal stations, while the rest are private media and to a lesser extent media founded by the civil sector (mostly Roma broadcasters as well as some small groups in Vojvodina, like Slovaks or Ruthenes). About half of them are in Vojvodina.

The most highly represented language in non-Serbian-language programmes on Vojvodina's local broadcasters is Hungarian (around 50), followed by Roma (about 10), while other languages feature in programmes of up to a maximum of five stations. The main programme on more than half of these stations is in Serbian (most of them are municipality broadcasters), while the other ethnic groups have daily or weekly time slots in their mother tongue. On the other hand, private

stations that broadcast in languages of some ethnic groups almost exclusively use the language of their respective group. Only two stations – *Radio 021/Multiradio* and *Radio Kovacica* – have a multilingual programme, the former in five languages (Hungarian, Slovak, Romanian, Ruthenian and Roma) as well as Serbian and the latter in three languages (Hungarian, Slovak and Romanian). *Radio Kovacica* applies the same mode of language use as *RTV NS*, while *Multiradio* is the only broadcaster in Serbia that has some radio shows where all the languages it broadcasts in are mixed. Moreover, in one-language shows it often provides information that is not related to that particular language group, but to one or more other groups. Information on relevant developments in any of the communities is broadcast in a programme that targets the Serb audience. This very unique approach is met with significant approval by the audience and the station's rating is on the constant rise.

With regard to the local broadcasters in the rest of Serbia, the language represented by far the most after Serbian is Romanes. There are around 15 stations where the main programme is in Serbian and around 20 Roma stations. There are two stations that have programmes in Bulgarian – *TV Pirot* and *TV Caribrod* (the latter with a couple of hours on a daily basis). Only Roma stations really have a bilingual programme, treating Serbian and Romanes equally and using them as required. All broadcasts with guests who only speak Serbian are always broadcast in Serbian.

In April 2001 the OSCE Mission launched a pilot project in southern Serbia. The basic concept envisaged the transformation of the local municipal media in the cities Bujanovac, Presevo and Medvedja. *Radio Bujanovac* is being supported to open its desk to new Albanian staff with the aim of creating an Albanian news desk along with the existing desk in Serbian. A

daily five-minute news show was launched in September 2002 and is expected to expand into a more comprehensive Albanian-language information programme in 2003. A one-hour weekly broadcast in Romanes was introduced as well. *Radio Presevo* and *Radio Medvedja* are expected to produce news in the language of the other ethnic group (Albanian in Medvedja and Serbian in Presevo), which implies inclusion of journalists from the "other communities". The aim of the project is to provide programmes for each community by their own journalists, in their own language.

The main conclusions regarding non-Serbian-language broadcast media are as follows:

1. Apart from Roma broadcasters, whose broadcasts are mostly bilingual (Romanes and Serbian), all other media broadcast almost exclusively in languages of their respective ethnic groups.

2. Programmes in one or more additional languages in the media where the primary broadcast language is Serbian have a limited scope. They are prepared by one or more separate news desks and do not interlink content.

3. There are only very few broadcasters that have programmes in more than two languages. Of them, only *Multiradio* broadcasts with a full multilingual approach.

4. Although there are a huge number of broadcasters with programmes in one or more different languages, one has to bear in mind that the vast majority of these feature commercial, music and other entertainment programming with very little information (in the best case only short news on the full hour).

5. One can expect that the number of these stations will be reduced in the future, as many of them will not meet the programme requirements needed for obtaining a licence.

3.3. Other media projects. Although the press and broadcast media largely dominate, it is important to note a few representations of different languages in other important media fields, like news agency services, independent TV productions and the Internet.

Serbia's first private independent news agency to be established, *BETA*, has had a news service in Hungarian for two years and recently launched a service in Romanes. Both are daily services and there are plans to develop the Hungarian-language service as a regional project, involving Hungary and the countries in the region with Hungarian communities (Romania, Croatia and Slovenia).

There is only one independent TV production that produces programmes in a language other than Serbian: *UrbaNS* in Novi Sad (Vojvodina). Its broadcast, entitled Multi-Town, relates to cultural issues, provides bilingual subtitles (in Serbian and Hungarian), and all persons featured, including those belonging to any other ethnic group, speak in their mother tongue. The programme is broadcast at a dozen local TV stations in Vojvodina. Considering that there are only a few TV stations that provide programmes in different languages, this project represents an important contribution to enriching TV programmes with an inter-ethnic and multicultural approach.

Information in different languages is under-represented on the Internet as well. Only *Csaladi Kor, Rominterpress* and *RTV Nisava* have their own sites. However, they do not score a significant number of visitors. One site of a mainstream media outlet does, however, merit special attention. The site of *RTV B92*, the Belgrade-based broadcaster that is known worldwide, provides daily information not only in Serbian but also in Hungarian and Albanian. Moreover, the site contains a huge forum section, arranged in a few dozen different topics,

where visitors of various ethnic backgrounds actively participate in virtual communication. The site has on average around 90,000 visitors daily.

3.4. Special case – Roma-language media and programmes in Romanes. Roma represent the largest minority group in Serbia (Serbia and Montenegro) and make up around 10 per cent of the total population. Therefore it is especially important to look more closely at media that provide information in Romanes. There are only four publications in Romanes (one children's paper, one expert magazine and two papers relating to general Roma issues), all being issued on an irregular basis (when donations are provided) and in very limited circulation. The situation with TV programmes is not much better – so far there is only one Roma station and programmes in Romanes on two stations. We can therefore conclude that radio represents the primary source of information for the Roma community. There are around a dozen Roma radio stations. There are no results from audience surveys that have focused on investigating the Roma audience. However, based on the examples of the radio *Voice of Roma* and *RTV Nisava*, it is evident that Roma who have access to both Roma stations and non-Roma stations with programmes in Romanes are more eager to listen to the former. This certainly has to do with a long-lasting and intensive marginalization and discrimination of Roma, which caused a huge need for self-emancipation. Roma consider Roma stations as "their" media and can identify with them. The fact that they have "their" media makes them feel proud and more self-confident. Another advantage is that they can listen to programmes relating to issues of their concern at any time during the day.

All in all, non-Roma media have limited capacities to meet the needs for information in the mother tongue of the Roma population and do not intend to improve them in the foreseeable future. On the other hand, there are very few Roma broadcast media that offer a satisfactory programme from a content point of view and, bearing in mind that they were established by the civil sector, they can only broadcast on a local level. As a possible way of raising the reach of programmes in Romanes, Roma stations that do not have in-house programming as well as local municipal or private stations can rebroadcast the most important programmes produced by Roma broadcasters like *RTV Nisava* and *Voice of Roma* as well as *Multiradio*'s programme in Romanes. So far this has already been practised by some stations and has delivered positive results.[18]

III. Conclusion

Serbia (Serbia and Montenegro) has a long tradition of multi-lingualism that is expressed in media practice, as well as in other areas. However, there are some important issues one has to bear in mind.

The only truly multi-ethnic and multicultural society with a tradition of tolerant multilingualism existed in Vojvodina. In Serbia's other multi-ethnic areas the citizens whose origin is different from the titular nation have experienced difficulties with regard to the public use of their language, also in the media. The media infrastructure for contents in different languages is quite developed in Vojvodina, while in the rest of Serbia it is very weak (e.g. for Bulgarian) and in the process of emerging (e.g. for Romani, Albanian and Vlach).

---

18   Several Roma radio stations in southern Serbia rebroadcast *Radio Nisava*. In addition, some *ANEM* stations rebroadcast some programmes of the radio *Voice of Roma*.

Although strong in number – with over 150 local broadcasters and the same number of print outlets in Vojvodina alone – media in various languages are on average quite underdeveloped, poorly equipped, understaffed and the standard of coverage is quite low. If they are to play the role they potentially could play, a great deal of work lies before them. Roma media in particular are not sufficiently strong to meet the huge needs of Roma citizens for information and education programmes in their mother tongue.

Multi-ethnic relations developed with strong negative trends during the 1990s. The enormous mistrust, fear and even hate that were produced at the end of the 1980s and early 1990s currently only feature in exceptional cases in media discourse. However, there should be no illusions that these problems have been overcome completely. Some politicians and right-wing radical groups are very much present in public discourse with discriminatory, chauvinistic and xenophobic statements, which some media transmit without adopting a critical position towards them. A lot of work in this respect lies ahead and media have an important role to play through professional and socially responsible reporting. Still, there are some mainstream media outlets which represent excellent examples of diversity reporting, promoting tolerance, mutual understanding and respect for human rights. The leading roles in this respect are played by *RTV B92*, the daily *Danas*, the weekly *Vreme* and the *BETA* news agency.

Most media in different languages are mono- or bilingual. There are very few multilingual outlets, and these are mostly broadcast media. However, most of them have separate editorial boards for different languages and separated time slots for each language programme. This could lead to parallel media realities emerging based on language and, subsequently, ethnic

differences. In this respect, *Multiradio*, Roma radio stations and *UrbaNS* productions represent the best practices. Of the many projects in languages of ethnic communities produced by the mainstream media, the most successful are *BETA*'s news services and *B92* Internet news in languages other than Serbian.

New laws in the media sphere and the *Federal Law on Protection of Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities*, a tradition of media in languages of ethnic communities, and one of the most developed independent media sectors in South-Eastern Europe represent quite a solid basis to build upon. Yet the authorities, the media and the NGO sector need to invest further efforts in order to achieve a plural and independent media sector, which provides a variety of media in languages of ethnic communities and meets the needs of Serbia's multi-ethnic society.

Bibliography

Basic, Goran, *Zastita prava nacionalnih manjina u SR Jugoslaviji prema standardima Okvirne konvencije za zastitu nacionalnih manjina Saveta Evrope* [Protection of Minority Rights in FR Yugoslavia Based on the Standards of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities of the Council of Europe] (Belgrade: Center for Antiwar Action, 2002).

Breznik, Dusan, *Stanovnistvo Jugoslavije* [The Population of Yugoslavia] (Belgrade: Chronos, 1991).

Broadcasting Law, passed 18 July 2002 by the Serbian Parliament.

Brunner, Roland, and **Skopljanac, Nena**, *Strategy Paper for EU Support to Minority Media for the Period 2001-2005* (Medienhilfe, 2001, internal paper).

Center for Antiwar Action, *National Structure of the Population in Vojvodina* <www.caa.org.yu>

Darbishire, Helen, "Minorities and Media Freedom under International Law", *Roma Rights*, 4 (1999) <http://errc.org/rr_nr4_1999/advo1.shtml>

Galjus, Orhan, "Stateless: Roma and the Media Today", *Roma Rights*, 4 (1999) <http://errc.org/rr_nr4_1999/advo2.shtml>

Humanitarian Law Center, *Albanians in Serbia – Preshevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja*, 2002 <http://www.hlc.org.yu>

Law on Protection of Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities, Official Gazette of FRY, no. 11, 27 February 2002.

Lenkova, Mariana, *Black & White v/s Diversity (The Image of the Roma in the Balkan Media)* <www.greekhelsinki.gr/english/articles/montpellier-marianna.html>

Project on Ethnic Relations, *The Media and the Roma in Contemporary Europe: Facts and Fictions* (Prague, 1996).

Popis stanovnistva, domacinstava, stanova I poljoprivrednih gazdinstava u 1991 [Census of Population, Households, Apartments and Farms in 1991], vol. 3 (Belgrade: Federal Statistical Office, 1993).

Popis izbeglica i drugih ratom ugrozenih lica u Saveznoj republici Jugoslaviji; Visoki komesarijat Ujedinjenih nacija za izbeglice, Komesarijat za izbeglice Republike Srbije, Komesarijat za raseljena Lica Republike Crne Gore [Census of Refugees and Other Persons Displaced by War in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Commissioner for Refugees of the Republic of Serbia, the Commissioner for Displaced Persons of the Republic of Montenegro] (Belgrade, 1996).

Valic-Nedeljkovic, **Dubravka**, *Media in the Multicultural and Multilingual Province of Vojvodina*, 1999.

Recommendations

I. Structural issues and tasks of the state bodies

General:

1. Direct state funding – be it on a national, provincial (Vojvodina) or municipal level – leaves room for state control over the media and should therefore be abandoned. Public funds should be established, for example foundations that involve ethnic communities and media, journalist associations, media NGOs, private charities, etc. State institutions can be represented in bodies that implement public funds, but should not have a majority representation.

2. State bodies on all levels should abandon the practice of allocating funds almost exclusively to state-owned media outlets in languages of ethnic communities. Until a public funding mechanism is in place, support must be allocated based on objective and transparent criteria and without discrimination of private media.

3. State bodies should not establish new media in languages of ethnic communities. The role of the State is not to establish media, but to create a legal framework and public funding mechanisms conducive to the founding of media, which can be run independently from state structures.

Print Media:

4. Democratic societies do not recognize state-owned press. Accordingly, the state publishing houses or single print media outlets in languages of ethnic communities should be transformed and operate independently from any state and political structures.

5. Current taxes and postage costs are a significant burden for the print media, in particular small outlets in languages of ethnic communities. The Government and parliament should decide in favour of the recent proposal from the Ministry of Finance and Economy to abolish the taxes for the press. Appropriate measures regarding postage, which also represents an important mechanism of indirect support to the independent press in many European democracies, should be adopted as well.

Broadcast media:

6. State broadcasters – *Radio-Television of Serbia (RTS)*, *Radio-Television Novi Sad (RTV NS)* as well as a number of local municipal broadcasters – should not hold a monopoly or a privileged position to broadcast programmes in languages of ethnic communities. Conditions for a plural media system regarding programmes in languages of ethnic communities should be guaranteed. Public, private and civil sector broadcasters should all receive equal opportunities and conditions for sustainable operation.

7. Possibilities for defining legal provisions that would introduce positive discrimination regarding licensing of civil society broadcasters should be explored. This is particularly important for broadcasters in languages of ethnic communities that are dispersed throughout the country. The Roma community deserves special attention in this context.

8. Despite the fact that they are limited in scope and the issues they address, the programmes in languages of ethnic communities on *RTS* and *RTV NS* are very expensive. They absorb substantial financial resources that could be allocated to private or community projects. Possibilities to purchase programming produced by private independent TV productions should be explored.

II. Media in languages of ethnic communities

9. Although strong in number, media in languages of ethnic communities are underdeveloped from an infrastructural point of view. Often the staff barely meets professional standards, and programming is quite limited and in general is unsatisfactory in quality. Outlets that produce information programmes in-house should be given comprehensive support, covering infrastructure, staff training and funds for programme development.

10. Special attention should be paid to the Roma, who represent Serbia's largest minority group. It is particularly important to support the development of community-based broadcast media in areas with a higher concentration of the Roma population, as well as projects for their programme exchange and networking, both within the country and elsewhere.

11. Programme exchange, co-productions and networking among media in languages of ethnic communities can enhance quality. Cross-border co-operation should be encouraged too. In this way, the media can facilitate mutual understanding and tolerance between titular nations and people in the regions.

12. Most of the media outlets in languages of ethnic communities operate on a local level. However, only a few of them are truly community media. More intensive co-operation between such media on the one hand and local/regional civil society on the other is recommended. NGOs can play a particularly important role – those established by representatives of the ethnic community as well as others – through partnership projects and active participation in creating programmes.

III. Bilingual and multilingual media

13. Most of the media in languages of ethnic communities are monolingual. Some are bilingual (mostly Roma media). There are very few multilingual media, even in Vojvodina, where over 25 ethnic groups live and a dozen languages are spoken. Add to this the prevailing practice that programmes are prepared separately for each language, and there is a danger that parallel media realities emerge based on ethnic differences. Mixed ethnic editorial boards or collaboration between boards for programming in various languages is needed. In this respect, *Multiradio*, Roma radio stations, *UrbaNS* productions, as well as *BETA*'s news services and *B92*'s web news in languages other than Serbian, represent the best practices for future development.

14. Bilingual or multilingual media will only be able to deliver positive results if society accepts multilingualism as part of the normal everyday situation. Optional and free courses in the languages of ethnic communities could be provided at primary schools in areas where ethnic communities form a majority or a significant part of the population.

Roger Blum and Andrea Ochsner
Switzerland

I. Introduction

Multicultural societies evolve if peoples of different ethnicities, languages and religions live together on the same territory. In that respect, Switzerland is confronted with two experiences: one old and one new. The old experience stems from the fact that for more than five centuries, Switzerland has been a multicultural state in which several languages and cultures coexisted. The new experience results from the immigration of people from Western, Southern and Eastern Europe as well as from Asia, Africa and Latin America. This process began in the seventeenth century, continued throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but became even more important in the twentieth century. The old multicultural experience has furthered a strong protection of ethnic groups, which also includes the allocation of media. The new multicultural experience, being the result of the immigration of foreign workers and refugees, is marked by integration on the one hand and by segregation on the other hand. To provide immigrants with media, therefore, is not an easy matter.

II. Short history of Swiss multilingualism

In the territory of contemporary Switzerland, several languages have always coexisted.[1] This has to do with the geographical situation. The Alpine mountain range, which stretches across

---

1   Walter Haas, "Sprachgeschichtliche Grundlagen", in Robert Schläpfer (ed.), *Die viersprachige Schweiz* (Zurich: Ex Libris, 1984), 21-70.

Switzerland, divides Europe into south and north, and rivers such as the Aare, Rhine and Rhone have, more often than not, demarcated zones of influence. The original languages in Switzerland were those of the Celts (in the north and west), the Rhaetians (in the east) and of the Lepontines (in the south). Between 121 and 15 BC, this territory became part of the Roman Empire. For more than 400 years Latin languages and culture dominated. In this process, the western part of Switzerland was romanized earlier and more radically than the rest of the country.[2]

Germanic tribes gradually intruded on Swiss territory. First came the Burgunds around 450 AD, in the region of Geneva. Despite their political dominion, the Burgunds very soon adopted the Roman language instead of their own. After 500 AD, the Alemanni penetrated into Switzerland. Here the process was reversed. The Germanic language of the Alemanni stayed dominant whereas the romanized Celts gave up theirs. The language boundary between the Alemannic and the Burgundy-oriented parts of Switzerland first ran along the river Aare, but later shifted more to the west. The southern part of Switzerland (northern Italy) was first inhabited by the Germanic tribe of the Langobards who after some time lost their language and adopted the late Latin language (Italian). In Rhaetia, Rhaeto-Romanic, which belongs to the Latin languages, was maintained. Thus, the four languages of Switzerland had already been differentiated more than 1,500 years ago: Alemannic in the north and east, Burgundy-Romanic in the west, Rhaeto-Romanic in the south-east and Italian in the south.

The Treaty of the Old Swiss Confederation that began to emerge in the thirteenth century, was at first a purely German-speaking alliance. In all of the towns and counties the political leaders spoke German (with the partial exception of Fribourg).

But quite early on affiliated cantôns and vassal territories added other languages to the confederation of governing cantons. In 1388, the first French-speaking part (in the Jura) joined the treaty. In 1439, the first Italian-speaking territory followed (in the Ticino). In 1496, the first Rhaeto-Romanic-speaking people joined the treaty (within the Three Treaties of Rhaetia). Therefore, the Swiss Confederation has had four languages for 500 years. Yet until 1798 none of the non-German-speaking parts acquired the status of a governing canton. They still remained subjects or affiliated cantons (with lesser rights), just like many German-speaking territories. It was only with the Helvetic Republic (1798-1803) that French-, Italian- and Rhaeto-Romanic-speaking confederates acquired equal rights. And it was not until the nineteenth century that the confederate model of linguistic minority rights actually became differentiated and was written down.

Therefore, in contemporary Switzerland, four language groups exist with eight different types of written languages.[3]

- 64 per cent of the population in central Switzerland and in the northern and eastern parts of the country which border with Germany and Austria speak German. In the German-speaking part of Switzerland, about 25 different dialects are spoken in everyday situations, on the radio but also on television. However, these dialects are only rarely written as well. High German is used as the written language by the authorities, the press and also by the literary establishment.

---

2   Andres Furger, "Der unterschiedliche Romanisierungsgrad zwischen Ost und West in römischer Zeit", in Forum Helveticum (ed.), *Zwischen Rhein und Rhone – verbunden und doch getrennt? Entre Rhin et Rhône – liens et ruptures* (Lenzburg, 2002), 34-40.
3   Roger Blum, "Sprachenvielfalt und Föderalismus", *Zoom Kommunikation & Medien,* no. 12/13 "Der Fernsehboom" (May 1999), 50-55.

- 19 per cent of the population in the western part of the country, which borders with France and is called "Suisse Romande", speak French. Dialects are marginal there, are not written down at all, and are neither spoken on the radio nor on television. The language of the media is French.

- 8 per cent of the population in the south which borders with Italy, predominantly in the Ticino (canton of Tessin), but also in some valleys of the Grisons (canton of Graubünden), speak Italian. Spoken dialects also exist there which are sometimes used in the media as well.

- 0.6 per cent of the population in the mountain valley of the Grisons in the south-east of Switzerland speak Rhaeto-Romanic. There are five different dialects: Putér, Vallader, Sursilvan, Sutsilvan and Surmiran which are used in written form as well as having their own body of literature.[4]

III. Legal framework for the media

1. Establishment of linguistic variety in the New Federal Constitution. In terms of the constitutional law concerning linguistic variety, there are four relevant articles in the New Federal Constitution:

Article 4 – *National languages* ("Landessprachen")

The national languages are German, French, Italian and Rhaeto-Romanic.

Article 18 – *Linguistic freedom*

Linguistic freedom is granted.

Article 70 – *Languages*

1. The official languages of the Federal Government are German, French and Italian. When communicating with Rhaeto-Romanic speakers, Rhaeto-Romanic is also an official language of the Federal Government.

2. The cantons determine which official languages they use. In order to grant agreement between the language communities, they respect the native linguistic composition of the territories as well as the native language minorities.

3. The Federal Government and the cantons promote communication and exchange between the language communities.

4. The Federal Government supports the multilinguistic cantons in accomplishing their special tasks.

5. The Federal Government supports means of the Grisons and the Ticino to maintain and promote the Rhaeto-Romanic and Italian languages.

In 1999, the people and the cantons accepted the revision of the Swiss Federal Constitution. The establishment of linguistic variety was the central issue at stake, and compared to the old Federal Constitution, the new version contains a far-reaching and differentiated regulation of the Swiss language law. The reference to the equality of all national languages ("Landessprachen") (Article 4) under the section "general regulations" is an innovation; in the old Federal Constitution it only appeared under the heading "special regulations" (Article 116). What is also novel is the term "Landessprache" as such. Formerly, one talked about "Nationalsprachen".[5]

What is not completely clear, however, is whether new areas of competence for the Federal Government can be deduced from the new article as well.[6] Furthermore, the establishment of

---

4   Martin Arnold, "Rumantschs vulains restar! Die romanische Kultur", *Basler Magazin*, 40 (5 October 2002), 3-5.
5   In English, the distinction between "Landessprache" and "Nationalsprache" cannot be made; both terms must be translated as "national language".
6   Luzius Mader, "Der verfassungsrechtliche Rahmen des Sprachenrechts des Bundes", *Babylonia*, 4 (2001), 15-22.

linguistic freedom as a fundamental right is also new. The Federal Court already accepted this fundamental right, according to which everybody has the right to communicate in a language of his or her choice, as an unwritten constitutional law in 1965.[7] However, there are two more articles in the New Federal Constitution, which contain linguistic rights. According to Article 8 (legal equality), nobody must be discriminated against, "on grounds of origin, race, gender, age, language, social position, lifestyle, religious orientation, ideological or political conviction, or on grounds of physical, mental or psychic disability". According to Article 31, subsection 2 (imprisonment), everybody who is being imprisoned has the right "to be informed immediately, in a language intelligible to them about the reasons for their imprisonment as well as about their rights".

2. Language legislation. In order to implement the provisions made by the New Federal Constitution with regard to the linguistic multitude of the country, a working group was appointed to prepare the new language law. In the summer of 2001, a draft of the law was submitted to the cantons, parties and interest groups to give them the opportunity to comment on it. This process has not yet come to an end.

The law contains measures to promote linguistic competence in the national languages, to promote exchanges between teachers and students on all educational levels, to create a centre of competence ("Kompetenzzentrum") for the linguistic multitude, and to support means of comprehension for third parties. The already existing assistance in favour of the Rhaeto-Romanic and Italian languages in the Grisons and Ticino as well as the support for the multilingual cantons by the Federal Government are being incorporated into the new

language law. Support for the publishing sector in Rhaeto-Romanic- and Italian-speaking Switzerland has also been planned, as well as a Rhaetian press through the Rhaetian news agency.[8]

However, it is important to note that most of the articles in the planned language law, either explicitly refer to the four national languages ("Landessprachen"), or are formulated in such a general manner that it does not become clear whether the multicultural linguistic diversity, which goes beyond the four national languages, is also taken into account. There is only one exception, namely Article 17 subsections b and c of the language law, which explicitly refer to people who are not competent in any of the national languages:

Article 17 – *National languages ("Landessprachen") and mobility*

The Federal Government may grant subsidies for

a. The promotion of knowledge of the native national language of persons who live outside the language area;

b. The promotion of knowledge of a national language of persons who do not speak any of the national languages ("Landessprachen");

c. Courses in the native language and culture of persons whose native language is not one of the national languages ("Landessprachen").

Possible implementation of this, however, only refers to the Federal Government's financial support of the cantons, especially with regard to the education sector. The rest of the articles do not specify whether any other languages apart from

---

7   Luzius Mader, "Der verfassungsrechtliche Rahmen des Sprachenrechts des Bundes", *Babylonia*, 4 (2001), 16.

8   <www.kultur-schweiz-admin.ch/kultges/h_sprapoli.htm>

the national ones are taken into consideration. Article 21 serves as an example:

Article 21 – *Institution to promote multilingualism*

1. The Federal Government and the cantons jointly run a scientific institution to promote multilingualism.

2. The institution has the following duties:
   a. To promote applied research in the field of multilingualism.
   b. To develop and support new forms of multilingual education and the evaluation thereof.
   c. To run a centre for information and documentation.
   d. To contribute to the co-ordination of research in Swiss multilingualism.
   e. To promote understanding of multilingualism in the Swiss population.

3. The Federal Government appoints an advisory council, which advises the institution.

A federal law for subsidies to maintain and promote the Rhaeto-Romanic and Italian languages has existed at least since 1983.[9] In 1996, a new version was issued.[10] In this law, the Federal Government makes subsidies for the Grisons and the Ticino conditional on their own contribution. The federal contribution does not exceed 75 per cent of total costs, and the cantons have to contribute at least 25 per cent. Article 2, subsection 2, reads: "The Federal Government may contribute to the maintenance and promotion of the Rhaeto-Romanic language as well as of the Rhaetian press." In "the regulation of subsidies for the maintenance and promotion of the Rhaeto-Romanic and Italian language and culture"[11], this is formulated even more explicitly. Moreover, the Federal Government supports regularly published newspapers and magazines in Rhaeto-Romanic as well as a Rhaetian news agency

(Article 4). The Grisons contribute on an annual basis to the "Ligia Romontscha/Lia Rumantscha" and to the "Vereinigung (association) Pro Grigioni Italiano", thus to the organization which supports Rhaeto-Romanic and Italian language and culture in the cantons. In 1983, the amount was last raised to 400,000 Swiss francs per annum for the Rhaetians and to 350,000 Swiss francs for the Italian-speaking Swiss.[12] In 1996, an annual sum of a maximum of 350,000 Swiss francs was added for the Rhaetian news agency (*Agentura da Novitads Rumantscha ANR*).[13] For the year 2003, the Grisons (canton of Graubünden) will grant a sum of 2.6 million Swiss francs; the Federal Government is supposed to grant 4.75 million Swiss francs. Therefore, the Rhaeto-Romanic and Italian language groups are supposed to be helped by a total of 7.4 million Swiss francs. Since 1981, the Ticino has had the "Regolamento sull'aiuto finanziario federale per la difesa della cultura e della lingua", issued by the State Council.[14]

3. Aliens' rights. The legal conditions for foreigners living in Switzerland are recorded in the Federal Constitution, Article 121 ("The legislation concerning entering and leaving the country, the sojourn and residence of foreigners, as well as the granting of political asylum is a matter of the Federal Government")[15] and in the "federal legislation concerning the sojourn and residence for foreigners".[16] Article 25a records that the Federal Government grants financial support for the social integration

---

9   24 June 1983 AS 1983 1444, revised 1991 AS 1991 2108.
10   6 October 1995, SR 441.1, AS 1996 2280.
11   26 September 1996, SR 441.31, AS 1996 2283.
12   Resolution of the cantonal parliament of 27 September 1983, *Bündner Rechtsbuch* (statute book of the Grisons) no. 494.500.
13   Resolution of 23 May 1996, *Bündner Rechtsbuch* no. 494.600.
14   10 November 1981, Raccolta leggi Ticino 5.5.1.1 (165 c).
15   18 April 1999, SR 101, AS 1999 2556.
16   26 March 1931, SR 142.20, BS 1 121.

of foreigners, on the condition that the cantons, local authorities and third parties contribute as well. Based on this article, the Federal Council enacted a decree concerning the integration of foreigners which maintains that subsidies may be granted:

  d. To maintain the foreigners' connections with their languages and cultures,
  e. To carry out coherent information policies for and about the foreign population in Switzerland,
  f. To promote intercultural dialogue and active participation of the foreign population, (...)
  h. To train and provide further education for those people who work in the domain of intercultural exchange."

It is the responsibility of The Federal Foreigners' Commission to grant subsidies.

4. Freedom of the media. The fact that the Federal Constitution grants the freedom of the media is part of the legal conditions. Article 17 reads: "The freedom of the press, radio and television, as well as of other forms of public telecommunication services, is granted. Censorship is prohibited. Press confidentiality is guaranteed." [17]

IV. The linguistic areas and their media provision

1. Small markets with a large number of media. In Switzerland every linguistic area is provided with its own media. The Swiss Corporation for Radio and Television (*Schweizerische Radio- und Fernsehgesellschaft SRG*) runs two television channels and between three and five radio stations each for the German, French and Italian parts of Switzerland. For Rhaeto-Romanic Switzerland, they have an almost complete radio programme and part of a television programme. It is important to note that in the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland

only 300,000 people are provided with a full programme. In addition, each region is equipped with news agencies, regional private radio and television channels, daily newspapers, weekly and Sunday papers as well as with other papers. The only exception is Rhaeto-Romanic Switzerland which does not have any weekly media.[18] Yet it becomes evident that the other linguistic groups only receive their rightful provision through cross-subsidies from the German part of Switzerland. The proportion of commission and publicity revenues used by *SRG* is significantly higher than what is independently produced by the Italian- and Rhaeto-Romanic-speaking regions of Switzerland. The Swiss News Agency (*Schweizerische Depeschenagentur SDA*) offers not only a German, but also a French and an Italian service. The Confederation and the canton of Graubünden (Grisons) finance the Rhaeto-Romanic news agency *ANR*.[19]

Table 1: Media provision in linguistic areas

Media	*German part*	*French part*	*Italian part*	*Rhaeto-Romanic part*	*Total*
News agencies	2	2	1	1	6
SRG TV channels	2	2	2	0.1	6.1
Private TV channels	18 (+46)	3 (+26)	1 (+2)	–	22 (+74)
SRG radio stations	5	4	3	1	13
Private radio stations	34	15	2	1	52
Daily newspapers	47	12	3	1	63
Non-daily newspapers	79	40	9	4	132
Weekly newspapers	2	–	–	–	2
Sunday newspapers	2	2	2	–	6
News magazines	1	1	–	–	2

17   13 September 2000, SR 142.205, AS 2000 2281.
18   Mirko Marr, Vinzenz Wyss, Roger Blum, and Heinz Bonfadelli, *Journalisten in der Schweiz. Eigenschaften, Einstellungen, Einflüsse* (Constance: UVK, 2001), 277.
19   For the legal condition see chapter 3.

The media markets which are relevant to Swiss media production are clearly demarcated by the language areas which means that they are relatively small. The largest example is the German-speaking part of Switzerland where the language area consists of 5 million inhabitants. The smallest is Rhaeto-Romanic Switzerland, where the core area is reduced to only 30,000 inhabitants. The result of this is that the biggest newspaper of German-speaking Switzerland has still got a circulation of 300,000 copies whereas the largest newspaper in Rhaeto-Romanic Switzerland only has a circulation of 6,000 copies.

Table 2: Largest newspapers according to language areas

Language areas	Largest daily newspaper	Other large newspaper	Largest Sunday or weekly newspaper
German part	Blick *(314,179)*	Bremgartner Anzeiger *(15,439)*	SonntagsBlick *(334,693)*
French part	24 heures *(89,619)*	La Gruyère *(15,034)*	Le Matin-Dimanche *(220,451)*
Italian part	Corriere del Ticino *(39,142) ?*	Il Lavoro *(40,007)**	Il Mattino della Domenica *(47,302)*
Rhaeto-Romanic part	La Quotidiana *(5,822)*	Novitats *(4,341)*	–

* In the Ticino, Il Lavoro – *a weekly union paper – has an enormous circulation. Other Italian-speaking papers, which are not published daily, have a circulation between 1,000 and 6,000 copies. Source: "Katalog der Schweizer Presse" [catalogue of the Swiss press], 2001.*

2. Density and use of the press. Switzerland is one of the countries with the highest press density. This is mainly a result of its federalism. In the nineteenth century, each valley and each district wanted to have their own newspapers. In the big towns, various newspapers were published; for each party one paper. Even today, Switzerland is characterized by a multitude of very small papers, i.e. papers with a very small circulation. More than 100 newspapers have a circulation of less

than 15,000 copies. This applies to all language regions. Each of the three most important language regions has a so-called "elite" newspaper (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung* in the German-speaking part, *Le Temps* in the French-speaking part, and *Corriere del Ticino* in the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland). But only the German- and French-speaking parts of Switzerland have tabloids as well. Moreover, German-speaking Switzerland is the only part which has been able to produce a large, quality paper with an independent-leftish political affiliation (*Tages-Anzeiger*). There is no such paper in the Ticino, and in the French-speaking part *Le Temps* is both an elite paper and an independent-leftish quality paper. The German-speaking part of Switzerland has more "Kopfblattsysteme" (papers with a number of regional editions) and free newspapers than the other language regions.

Table 3: Number of papers and journalistic units

Language areas	Daily newspapers		Non-daily newspapers		Total	
	Number	Journalistic units	Number	Journalistic units	Number	Journalistic units
German part	47	25	79	77	126	102
French part	12	10	40	40	52	50
Italian part	3	3	9	9	12	12
Rhaeto-Romanic part	1	1	4	4	5	5
Total	63	39	132	130	195	169

CHART: Roger Blum; source: "Katalog der Schweizer Presse" [Catalogue of the Swiss Press], 2001.

The press is highly used in all of the language regions. The circulation of newspapers and magazines is higher than in the neighbouring countries and covers two thirds of the population over the age of 15 (with the exception of the French-speaking part of Switzerland where little more than half of the population read a paper on a daily basis). The reading duration, however, is under half an hour.

Table 4: Reach and time spent reading the press

	Newspapers		Magazines		Press (total)	
	Daily reach	Time spent daily	Daily reach	Time spent daily	Daily reach	Time spent daily
German part	62.7 %	24 min.	7.6 %	3 min.	70.3 %	27 min.
French part	57.4 %	21 min	5.7 %	2 min.	63.1 %	23 min.
Italian part	70.2 %	24 min.	4.8 %	2 min.	75.0 %	27 min.
Annual report 2000 of the "SRG-Forschungsdienst" (Research Service), Bern, 2001.						

3. Radio use. The radio is used in a similar way in all of the different language regions – during the day (with a peak period in the early morning and at noon). The same applies to the reach. However, Swiss-Germans listen to the radio on average for three hours per day whereas Swiss-French and Swiss-Italians only listen for slightly over two hours.

Table 5: Reach and time spent listening to the radio

	Daily reach	Time spent daily
German part	74.7 %	193 min.
French part	70.0 %	142 min.
Italian part	71.2 %	148 min.
Annual report 2000 of the "SRG-Forschungsdienst", Bern, 2001.		

4. Television use. With regard to television use, Swiss-Germans are the most restrained: they have their TV sets switched on for little over two hours per day. Swiss-Italians, however, watch TV for almost three hours on average per day. In this respect, their viewing habits are comparable to those of Italians.

Table 6: Reach and time spent viewing television

	Daily reach	Time spent daily
German part	73.4 %	137 min.
French part	73.2 %	159 min.
Italian part	80.5 %	171 min.
Annual report 2000 of the "SRG-Forschungsdienst", Bern, 2001.		

Data on the viewing habits in Switzerland, based on the population aged three and over, reveal that Swiss programmes are only used by a minority in all of the language regions (35 – 40 per cent). In the German-speaking part of Switzerland, this minority reaches the highest percentage. On the other hand, Swiss-Germans only use the public-service channels on a small scale (51 per cent versus 58 per cent in the French- and Italian-speaking parts). This can be explained by the fact that there is a big supply of private channels from Germany. Secondly, the German part of Switzerland has considerably more private programmes than, for example, the French-speaking part. It is also remarkable that the Italian Swiss watch *RAI* programmes for almost twice as long as Swiss-Germans watch programmes provided by *ARD*, *ZDF* and *ORF* altogether.

Table 7: Time spent watching national and foreign television channels

Programmes	*German part*	*French part*	*Italian part*
SRG	46 min. *(33.6 %)*	55 min. *(34.6 %)*	58 min. *(33.9 %)*
Swiss private channels	8 min. *(5.8 %)*	1 min. *(0.6 %)*	2 min. *(1.2 %)*
Swiss channels (total)	54 min. *(39.4 %)*	56 min. *(35.2 %)*	60 min. *(35.1 %)*
Foreign public service channels	24 min. *(17.5 %)*	37 min. *(23.3 %)*	41 min. *(24.0 %)*
Foreign private channels	59 min. *(43.1 %)*	66 min. *(41.5 %)*	69 min. *(40.3 %)*
Foreign channels (total)	83 min. *(60.5 %)*	103 min. *(64.8 %)*	110 min. *(64.3 %)*

Basis = population from the age of three. Source:"SRG-Forschungsdienst", annual report 2000.

5. *Journalism and language areas.* Not only does Switzerland have a high density of media, but it also has a high density of journalists, namely 129 per 100,000 inhabitants. Thus, it comes after Finland (154) and before Hungary (90), but significantly

before the neighbouring countries Germany (66) and France (46). The United States of America has a density of 47, and in Great Britain the figure is 26.[20] The principle of high density applies equally to all the main language regions in Switzerland. There are, however, differences concerning the proportion of women. On average, it totals 32 per cent; in the French-speaking part, however, it amounts to 36 per cent. As for women under 35, the average is 39 per cent, but in the French-speaking part it comes to 48 per cent whereas the Italian-speaking part can only show a percentage of 22. In the French- and Italian-speaking parts, 58 per cent of journalists have a university degree, whereas the percentage of journalists with university education in the German-speaking part only amounts to 39 per cent. The Swiss-Italian journalists are older, and 49 per cent work for the *SRG* (34 per cent work for daily papers), whereas 47 per cent of the Swiss-French journalists work for daily newspapers (and only 23 per cent for the *SRG*). In the German-speaking part, the number of journalists who work for magazines, weekly or Sunday papers is considerably higher compared to the other language regions.[21]

V. Problems of the "old multiculturalism"

1. No national media, but links to foreign countries with the same language. In Switzerland, there are no national media which are received in the whole country. There are no significant multilingual media, at best bilingual local radios and local newspapers in the language boundary regions (like in the city of Bienne: German and French, or in the canton of Graubünden [Grisons]: German and Rhaeto-Romanic) in addition to bilingual NGO papers or scientific journals.[22] The media, including television programmes, are separated according to language areas. Furthermore, each language area is confronted with the

same language media of the neighbouring country. Switzerland's three main languages correspond to the national languages of large European countries which border with Switzerland: Germany/Austria, France and Italy. Switzerland cannot and does not want to cut itself off.

Therefore, thousands of foreign journals and magazines have been sold in Switzerland for decades. People listen to radio stations of the neighbouring countries, and since the 1960s especially to French private radio stations. As the Swiss cable network is very well developed, it is possible in almost every household to receive dozens of German, French, Italian and Austrian television programmes. Consequently, each language area is linked up with the foreign country where the same language is spoken. This means that people almost exclusively use media in their own language (if they exceptionally use foreign language media this would be mostly in English, for example *CNN*, *MTV* or the Internet). Only about three per cent of German-speaking Swiss watch television programmes from other Swiss language areas, and vice versa. On the other hand, most Swiss intensively use the media of neighbouring countries where the same language is spoken. In other words, Swiss Germans do not watch television programmes of *Suisse romande* or read *Le Temps* or *Corriere del Ticino*, but watch the German and Austrian channels such as *ARD*, *ZDF*, *RTL*, *Sat.1*, *Pro7* or *ORF*, or read *Spiegel*, *Bunte*, *Bravo* or *Die Zeit*. French-speaking Swiss stick to French television programmes, newspapers and magazines, and the inhabitants of the Ticino orient themselves towards Italy.

---

20   Marr et al., *Journalisten*, 59.
21   Marr et al., *Journalisten*, 105.
22   Peter Cichon, "Sprachkontakt und Sprachbewusstsein an der französisch-deutschen Sprachgrenze in der Schweiz", in Forum Helveticum (ed.), *Zwischen Rhein und Rhone – verbunden und doch getrennt? Entre Rhin et Rhône – liens et ruptures* (Lenzburg, 2002), 142-45.

Consequently, Switzerland is overlapped by three big media regions, and the Swiss, on a large scale, look towards the neighbouring country of the same language.[23] The audience of the German-speaking part of Switzerland therefore knows Günter Grass, Marcel Reich-Ranicky, Thomas Gottschalk, Harald Schmidt, Boris Becker, Verona Feldbusch, or Claudia Schiffer much better than Swiss French or Swiss Italian public figures from the cultural or media establishment, show business and high society. The media system does not do a lot to enhance the integration of the different parts of Switzerland. On the contrary, there is a segregative and centrifugal effect, and as a result, it is not surprising that media enforce rather than dissolve the controversies and animosities between the language groups.

VI. Media for immigrants

1. Use of television programmes. Unfortunately, not much is known about media use by immigrants. In this particular area there is a large gap in research. With regard to radio and television use, this on the one hand has to do with the research tools of the *SRG* research service ("SRG-Forschungs-dienst") (radio and TV controlling). In order to identify the usage of those channels which are used not only by the Swiss, but also by immigrants, the latter have to be language-assimilated. On the other hand, one can assume that immigrants predominantly receive channels from their native countries via satellite. No recent statistics about satellite recipients exist. However, according to an estimate of the Federal Office for Communication ("Bundesamt für Kommunikation BAKOM") about 6 to 8 per cent of households may be equipped with a direct satellite receiver. That would mean that there could be between 180,000 and 240,000 households in Switzerland which have this technical device.[24]

There is no further information about how these figures may be distributed between Swiss and immigrant households. The fact that apart from registered foreigners and asylum-seekers there might be a considerable number of so-called "illegal" immigrants ("sans papiers"), who, of course, are also media recipients, should also be taken into consideration.

In 1995, the *SRG* research service ("SRG-Forschungs-dienst") examined the media usage of foreigners living in Switzerland. They focused on the media reception (radio, television, newspapers, and magazines) of the five largest foreign populations: from Italy, Spain, Turkey, Portugal and the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. According to the study, the viewing frequency of the foreign population does not vary from the Swiss population by a large degree.[25] However, more immigrants possess a satellite receiver, and video recorders are more frequently present in foreign households compared to Swiss households.[26] Both phenomena can probably be explained by the fact that foreign households have a greater need for imported information and entertainment.

The study also tackles the question of how far the foreign populations use the programmes for foreigners provided by the Swiss Association for Radio and Television (*Schweizerische Radio- und Fernsehgesellschaft SRG*). In 1995, it was possible for Italians living in Switzerland to receive *Telesettimanale* and *Giro d'horizonte*, both incorporated in the programme of the *Televisione Svizzera di lingua italiana (TSI)*; Spanish people were like-

---

23 Roger Blum, "Mediensysteme. Skript zur Vorlesung" (Bern: Institut für Medienwissenschaft, 2001), 41.

24 Estimate of the Federal Office for Communication, Department for Radio and Television, National and International Media, December 2002.

25 Heinrich Anker, Manolya Ermutlu, and Mathias Steinmann, *Die Mediennutzung der AusländerInnen in der Schweiz* (Bern: SRG Forschungsdienst, 1995), 6 f.

26 Eighteen per cent of foreign households have a satellite receiver which clearly exceeds the Swiss average of five per cent. See Anker et al., *Mediennutzung*, 13 f.

wise able to receive *Telerevista* and *Swissworld*. The viewing sequence of these programmes was between 21 and 34 per cent.[27] As for the channels imported from Germany and Austria, the viewing sequence was between 11 and 33 per cent.[28]

2. Use of radio programmes. According to the study by Anker et al., there is a discrepancy of about 10 per cent between native and foreign radio listeners in terms of listening frequency. Among the 16 per cent who declared they would not listen to the radio, 30 per cent claimed they could not receive those channels to which they would prefer to listen.[29] Another indicator which points in the same direction, i.e. that there is a huge need for programmes in the native languages, is that most of the foreign radio listeners tune in to short-wave radio programmes (12 per cent). But the fact that the study confines itself to the five largest groups of immigrants must also be considered. Therefore, the proportion of Italian- and Spanish-speaking recipients, whose linguistic competence and higher degree of integration enable them to consume Swiss programmes as well, is relatively high.

3. Integration through local radio stations. Since 1983 a number of private radio stations have also existed in Switzerland in addition to the *SRG* radio programmes. A few of these radio stations explicitly try to produce programmes for immigrants. According to statistics from the "Swiss Foreigners' Commission" ("Eidgenössische Ausländerkommission"), there were 20 local radio stations in Switzerland which included specific "programmes for foreigners". However, only four of these stations (*Radio LoRa*, *Radio RaBe*, *Radio X* and *Kanal K*) broadcast in the languages of the so-called "new immigrants" (namely Turkish, Kurdish, Serbian, Croatian, Albanian etc.),

whereas most of the stations confine themselves to broadcasts in Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. In addition, they also offer programmes in English. However, in view of the wide acceptance and popularity of the English language, one has to assume that such English broadcasts are not invariably listened to by English native speakers only.

As far as the local radio movement is concerned, *Radio LoRa* in Zurich has most certainly played a pioneering role. Apart from Swiss-German and German, *Radio LoRa* also broadcasts in the following languages: Spanish, Portuguese/ Brazilian, Italian, French, Albanian, Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian, Greek, Turkish, Kurdish, Persian, Afghan, Somali, Sudanese, Arabic, Tamil and Romanes. In some cases there are several programmes in one of the languages mentioned. With the exception of the French-speaking programme, which is broadcast twice a week, all programmes are broadcast once a week.[30] *Radio LoRa* has been broadcasting since November 1983, and views itself as a so-called "alternative radio station" which refuses advertising, supports musical programmes, locates itself beyond the commercial scene, and which strongly focuses on the integration of foreign-language and multicultural programmes.

Apart from German and Swiss-German the Bernese local radio station, *Radio RaBe*, also broadcasts in Serbian, Croatian, Persian, Italian, English, Portuguese, Spanish, Albanian, Turkish, Kurdish, Somali and Bulgarian. Most of the programmes are broadcast on a weekly basis, some of them every other week.[31]

---

27 These numbers refer to those recipients who can be assigned to the categories "often" and "seldom".
28 Anker et al., *Mediennutzung*, 16-25.
29 Anker et al., *Mediennutzung*, 26.
30 Statement by the editorial staff.
31 According to the programme announcement *Radio RaBe*, December 2002.

Kanal K (canton of Aargau) is a further local radio station, which offers a multilingual and multicultural programme. The foreign languages include Turkish, Albanian, Serbian, Croatian, Armaic, Assyrian, Indonesian, Bosnian, Kurdish and Arabic.[32]

And last but not least, *Radio X* (canton of Basel City) broadcasts not only in Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, but also in Turkish, Kurdish and Albanian.[33]

4. Use of the press. According to a study by the *SRG*, approximately 92 per cent of immigrants read daily newspapers (55 per cent often, 37 per cent rarely), thus somewhat less than the Swiss (96 per cent). Seventy-five per cent of the foreign newspaper readers prefer papers from their respective native countries, most of all those from Turkey and from Kosovo. The findings are quite similar with regard to the reading of magazines, where again those from the home countries are preferred. As with newspapers, the consumption rate of Swiss magazines rises with advancing age and with more frequent listening to radio programmes.[34]

VII. Problems of the "new multiculturalism"

According to a publication by the Federal Foreigners' Commission from November 1999, Switzerland is actually an immigration country even though this fact is often vigorously dismissed by the authorities.[35] This view has been responsible for the somewhat reluctant change of attitude. In the 1960s, due to economic reasons, Switzerland modified its foreign policies regarding the admission and residence of foreign nationals, which resulted in increasing immigration from Italy and Spain. In 1960, the proportion of Italian immigrants was 59.2 per cent of the whole foreign population in Switzerland. In 1990 the proportion decreased to only 30.8 per cent, and in

the year 2000, the immigrants of Italian origin were overtaken by those from the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (19.7 versus 23.9 per cent).[36]

Italian and Spanish immigrants have been assimilated and integrated to a high degree and many of the Italians and Spanish, who belong to the so-called "second generation", already possess a Swiss passport. Their process of integration was facilitated by the fact that these particular groups of immigrants speak either one of the national languages, or at least a language from the same language group. Another fact, which probably contributed to the rather quick process of integration, is their religious affiliation: most of the Italian and Spanish immigrants are Roman Catholics, and thus belong to the same church as almost half of the Swiss.[37]

Between 1970 and 2000, the distribution of immigrants in terms of religion and language changed considerably. This has had an effect on the assimilation efforts of all concerned, i.e. the new immigrants, the "old" immigrants, as well as the Swiss. The process of integration, on the one hand, can be understood in terms of a specific language-based education – a means that has been promoted in many places since the integration article in the law for foreigners came into effect in 1999.[38] On the other hand, specific integration policies also entail the promotion of the native languages and cultures. Migrants can only assimilate

---

32 <http://www.kanalk.ch/html/programm/aktuell.asp>
33 Report of the Federal Foreigners' Commission, appendix 10.
34 Anker et al., *Mediennutzung*, 59.
35 Report by the Federal Foreigners' Commission (Eidgenössische Ausländerkommission EKA), November 1999, 12.
36 Federal Office for Statistics, Spatial and Structural Dynamics of the Population in Switzerland 1990-2000 ("Räumliche und strukturelle Bevölkerungsdynamik der Schweiz 1990-2000"), February 2002.
37 Cf. the population according to religion in 2000: Protestant: 36.6 per cent, Roman Catholic: 44.1 per cent, Christian-Orthodox: 1.2 per cent, Muslim: 4.5 per cent, other denominations: 1.9 per cent, non-denominational: 11.7 per cent. (Federal Office for Statistics, February 1999).
38 Cf. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 2 November 2002, 15.

if they are being integrated at the same time. In other words, the two terms "assimilation" and "integration", despite their relatedness and often analogous usage, actually designate two different processes and thus also two different norm addressees. Even though both terms can be used reflexively, as well as non-reflexively and transitively, it nevertheless seems probable that in the case of "assimilation" the normative implication is addressed to the immigrants themselves, whereas in the case of "integration", the norm is addressed to the local authorities. "Integration", in terms of culture, language, and the media, has a wide and important implication. It does not suffice to offer immigrants courses in German, French or Italian in order to give them the possibility to integrate through the respective national language. Efforts need to be made to provide them with news from their home countries in their native language as well as in a Swiss national language. This means that the press, but also radio and television programmes, must try to integrate such immigrants. The media, for example, can contribute to the process of assimilation in the new country, as well as to the maintenance of the cultural identity of immigrants. The triad of the different dimensions of the language and culture problem could be represented as follows:

Assimilation	National language/Switzerland	
Integration	Native tongue/home country	National language/Switzerland

On the level of integration this entails the maintenance of the culturally specific patterns of the home country as well as the integration through Switzerland by means of the national language as well as in the native tongue. In terms of media politics this means immigrants must also be granted access to the media from their respective native countries in Switzerland. At the same time, the local media must integrate multicultural issues into their agenda.

VIII. Conclusion

Switzerland has had a long history of experience with various language cultures. For 1,500 years, different language groups have been coexisting in the territory of contemporary Switzerland, and for 500 years, the Swiss State has been multilingual. The four original languages – German, French, Italian and Rhaeto-Romanic – have developed their own media thanks to the compactness of the language regions. The language groups live in geographically distinct areas. This territorial principle determines which language is dominant, and therefore, the same language is the media language of the respective region.[39] This also applies to Rhaeto-Romanic-speaking Switzerland: the Rhaetian villages of the Grisons are clearly marked off, and consequently the Rhaeto-Romanic-speaking media circulate in the same areas.

The territory principle does not apply to the new language groups, which mainly settled in Switzerland in the twentieth century. There may be particular neighbourhoods or streets in big towns in which the spoken language is predominantly Turkish or Italian, but on the whole the new immigrants are scattered all over the country, and it would not be possible to create a Turkish, Kurdish, Tamil, Serbian, Croatian, Armenian or Iranian district or canton. This has consequences in terms of the media network: A Kurdish programme of the local radio station *LoRa* can only be listened to by Kurds in Zurich. Kurdish people in Geneva, Lucerne, Basel or somewhere in the countryside are excluded.

The old language groups find their own identity within their own media. Priorities in topics of the *SRG* radio stations in the German-speaking part of Switzerland vary from those

---

39   Stephane Tendon, "La frontière des langues à Marly : L'influence de CIBA", in Forum Helveticum (ed.), *Zwischen Rhein und Rhone – verbunden und doch getrennt? Entre Rhin et Rhône – liens et ruptures* (Lenzburg, 2002), 170-73.

of the French-speaking part. The tabloid *Blick* resembles more the German popular press title *Bild*; the tabloid *Le Matin* in the French-speaking part of Switzerland draws rather on the French tradition. In the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland, as in Italy, there is no tabloid at all. The local radio stations in the German-speaking part of Switzerland create a sense of identity and proximity via the use of dialects. But this identity, based on language-regional specialities, has at the same time a segregating effect. Such language groups live back to back, and in many respects orient themselves towards the neighbouring country of the same language. But despite everything, Switzerland, as a nation, is sufficiently integrated. A common political culture, including the principles of a federalist state structure, minority rights, direct democracy, and the principles of concordance and militia contribute to this integration. Furthermore, national institutions such as parties and associations, but also celebrations ("Feste") and sports events help to contribute. Moreover, the Swiss agenda is determined by the same topics over and over again because plebiscites usually take place four times a year. Further common topics are promoted by the principal media that then influence the rest of the media – through correspondents at the Federal Palace on the one hand, and through those representing the different language-regions on the other. Even though people do not know enough about the other language regions, they nevertheless feel an obligation towards each other.

The integration of immigrants, however, is much more difficult. They select from their own "exile media" and "home media": the former does not exist for all groups, and not everybody has access to the latter. There is little support for the media for immigrants, but the Federal Foreigners' Commission ("Eidgenössische Ausländerkommission") wants to change this in

the coming years. If it is at all possible to increase the linguistic competence of immigrants in the national languages German, French or Italian, they will have access to many such media – even though, with the exception of Italian immigrants, not to media which help to maintain their cultural identity.

Bibliography

Altermatt, Urs, "Belgisierung der Schweiz: Schlagwort oder Wirklichkeit?", in Forum Helveticum (ed.), *Zwischen Rhein und Rhone – verbunden und doch getrennt? Entre Rhin et Rhône – liens et ruptures* (Lenzburg, 2002), 132-36.

Anker, Heinrich, and **Ermutlu, Manolya**, and **Steinmann, Mathias**, *Die Mediennutzung der AusländerInnen in der Schweiz* (Bern: SRG Forschungsdienst, 1995).

Arnold, Martin, "Rumantschs vulains restar! Die romanische Kultur", *Basler Magazin*, 40 (5 October 2002), 3-5.

Blum, Roger, "Sprachenvielfalt und Föderalismus", *Zoom Kommunikation & Medien,* no. 12/13 "Der Fernsehboom" (May 1999), 50-55.

Blum, Roger, "Mediensysteme. Skript zur Vorlesung" (Bern: Institut für Medienwissenschaft, 2001).

Bollinger, Ernst, *La presse suisse. Les faits et les opinions* (Lausanne, 1986).

Bundesamt für Statistik, *Räumliche und strukturelle Bevölkerungsdynamik der Schweiz 1990-2000* (Neuchâtel, 2002).

Cichon, Peter, "Sprachkontakt und Sprachbewusstsein an der französisch-deutschen Sprachgrenze in der Schweiz", in Forum Helveticum (ed.), *Zwischen Rhein und Rhone – verbunden und doch getrennt? Entre Rhin et Rhône – liens et ruptures* (Lenzburg, 2002), 142-45.

Corboud Fumagalli, Adrienne, "Une Suisse ou trois régions? Les journaus télévisés", *Medienwissenschaft Schweiz,* 1 (1996), 11-17.

Forum Helveticum (ed.), *Zwischen Rhein und Rhone – verbunden und doch getrennt? Entre Rhin et Rhône – liens et ruptures* (Lenzburg, 2002).

Furger, Andres, "Der unterschiedliche Romanisierungsgrad zwischen Ost und West in römischer Zeit", in Forum Helveticum (ed.), *Zwischen Rhein und Rhone – verbunden und doch getrennt? Entre Rhin et Rhône – liens et ruptures* (Lenzburg, 2002), 34-40.

Haas, Walter, "Sprachgeschichtliche Grundlagen", in Robert Schläpfer (ed.), *Die viersprachige Schweiz* (Zurich: Ex Libris, 1984), 21-70.

Jarren, Otfried, and **Sarcinelli, Ulrich**, and **Saxer, Ulrich** (ed.), *Politische Kommunikation in der demokratischen Gesellschaft. Ein Handbuch* (Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1998).

Mader, Luzius, "Der verfassungsrechtliche Rahmen des Sprachenrechts des Bundes", *Babylonia*, 4 (2001), 15-22.

Marr, Mirko, and **Wyss, Vinzenz**, and **Blum, Roger**, and **Bonfadelli, Heinz**, *Journalisten in der Schweiz. Eigenschaften, Einstellungen, Einflüsse* (Constance: UVK, 2001).

Meier, Werner, and **Bonfadelli, Heinz**, and **Schanne, Michael**, *Medienlandschaft Schweiz im Umbruch. Vom öffentlichen Kulturgut zur elektronischen Kioskware* (= Nationales Forschungsprogramm 21: Kulturelle Vielfalt und nationale Identität) (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1993).

Sanguin, André-Louis, *La Suisse. Essai de géographie politique* (Gap: Editions Ophrys, 1983).

Schläpfer, Robert (ed.), *Die viersprachige Schweiz* (Zurich: Ex Libris, 1984).

Steiner, Jürg (ed.), *Das politische System der Schweiz*, with the collaboration of Erwin Bucher, Daniel Frei and Leo Schürmann (Munich: Piper, 1971).

Tendon, Stephane, "La frontière des langues à Marly : L'influence de CIBA", in Forum Helveticum (ed.), *Zwischen Rhein und Rhone – verbunden und doch getrennt? Entre Rhin et Rhône – liens et ruptures* (Lenzburg, 2002), 170-73.

Widmer, Jean, "Langues et cultures des médias", *Medienwissenschaft Schweiz*, 2 (1994), 2-4.

Widmer, Jean, "Randbemerkungen zur sprachlich segmentierten Öffentlichkeit in der Schweiz", *Medienwissenschaft Schweiz*, 2 (1996) – 1 (1997), 2-6.

Wuerth, Andreas, *Die SRG und ihr Integrationsauftrag. Wandel – Gründe – Konsequenzen* (Bern: Haupt, 1999).

Recommendations

- Swiss parliament, Government, the Swiss Broadcasting Company (*SRG*) and the Swiss News Agency (*SDA*) should maintain the good media service for traditional linguistic groups, who are better provided with media that their size demands.

- Swiss electronic and print media should integrate the different language groups better, e.g. with more common programmes or exchanged articles.

- Radio and television in the German part should not segregate language groups by using German dialects, but integrate them by using High German in important political and cultural programmes.

- Swiss parliament, Government and media should integrate migrants better by creating specific programmes in national broadcast and print products and by promoting migrants' exile and home media.

- Journalists should work for a limited time in another linguistic area or with a migrants' newspaper or radio.

Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
The Representative on Freedom of the Media
Freimut Duve

Conference

FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY
MEDIA IN MULTI-LINGUAL SOCIETIES

28th to 29th March, 2003   at the "Kornhausforum"
Bern/Switzerland

In cooperation with the Department of Media Studies
of the University of Bern

UNIVERSITÄT BERN

IMW
UNIVERSITÄT BERN

PROGRAM

First day, Friday, 28 March 2003

19.30   **Welcoming remarks**
Professor Roger Blum, Head of the Department for Media Studies of the University of Bern

Opening statements
Mr. Freimut Duve, OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media
Mr. Milo Dor, writer and laureate of Andreas-Gryphius-Prize of the City of Jena

Concluding remarks
Roman Busch, Head of OSCE Section, Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs

20.00   **Reception**

Second day, Saturday, 29 March

Chair and Moderator: Mr. Freimut Duve, OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media

9.00-10.00   **former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**

Ms. Tanja Popović, presentation of the country report

Speakers:
- Ms. Ljubica Angelkova, Editor-in-Chief, *TV Tera*
- Mr. Ibrahim Mehmeti, Director of Media Programs, *Search for Common Ground*
- Ms. Katerina Spasovska, Local Media Coordinator, *IREX*
- Ms. Vesna Poposka, Head of Sector, *Agency of Information*

10.00-11.00   **Luxembourg**

Mr. Romain Kohn, presentation of the country report

Speakers:
- Mr. Roland Houtsch, Journalist, *"Luxemburger Wort"*
- Mr. Mario Hirsch, Journalist, *"Lëtzebuerger Land"*
- Ms. Anne Weiler, Attachée, *Information and Press Service of the Government of Luxembourg*

11.00-11.30   **Coffee break**

11.30-12.30   **Moldova**

Dr. Natalia Angheli, presentation of the country report

Speakers:
- Mr. Vitali Chiurcciu, Journalist, *Journalism Center Comrat*
- Mr. Victor Rosca, Program Director, *Center for promotion of Tolerance and Pluralism*
- Ms. Tatjana Levandovschi, Deputy Chief, *Department of Interethnic Relations of the Government of Republic of Moldova*

12.30–14.00 Lunch

14.00–15.00   Serbia and Montenegro

Ms. Nena Skopljanec, presentation of the country report

Speakers:
- Mr. Ilisa Musliu, Co-ordinator, *Media Department of the OSCE Mission in Serbia and Montenegro*
- Mr. Boban Nikolić, Development Consultant, *RTV Nišava*
- Ms. Marina Rakić, Journalist, *Beta News Agency*
- Ms. Erika Halas, Editor-in-Chief, *Radio 021/Multiradio Novi Sad*
- Ms. Jelena Marković, Adviser, *Federal Ministry for Ethnic and National Minorities*

15.00–15.30   Coffee break

15.30–16.30   Switzerland

Prof. Dr. Roger Blum and Andrea Ochsner, presentation of the country report

Speakers:
- Dr. Bernard Cathomas, Director, *Romansh Radio and Television RTR*
- Ms. Jelena Mitrović, Co-ordinator for migration and gender questions, *Radio RaBe*
- Mr. Enrico Morresi, Journalist and President of the *Foundation Council of the Swiss Press Council*
- Mr. Frederik Stucki, Director, *Radio Canal 3*

16.30–17.00   The Swedish language media in Finland and the German language media in Denmark

- Ms. Hanna Vuokko, Adviser, *Office of the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media*
- Ms. Andrea Kunsemueller, Spokeswoman, *Federation of German North-Schleswigers*

17.00–17.30   Diversity reporting – lessons learned

- Ms. Maria Yaneva, Strategic Development Director, *Media Development Center, Sofia*
- Ms. Lydia El-Khouri, Project Manager, *Media Diversity Institute, London*
- Ms. Žaneta Trajkoska, Executive Director, *Macedonian Institute for Media, Skopje*

17.30–18.00   Concluding session

Best practices and recommendations

20.00   Dinner

List of Participants

Angelkova, Ljubica
Editor-in-Chief
TV Tera, Bitola
ljubica@tera.com.mk

Angheli, Natalia Dr.
Senior Consultant
Independent Journalism
Center, Chisinau
nangheli@ijc.iatp.md

Blum, Roger Prof. Dr.
Head of the Institute of Mass
Communication Studies of
the University of Bern
roger.blum@imw.unibe.ch

Busch, Roman
Head of the OSCE Section
Swiss Federal Department
for Foreign Affairs
roman.busch@eda.admin.ch

Cathomas, Bernard Dr.
Director
Romansh Radio and
Television RTR, Chur
bernard.cathomas@rtr.ch

Chiurcciu, Vitali
Journalist
Journalism Center, Comrat
Kiurkchu@mail.md

Duve, Freimut
OSCE Representative on
Freedom of the Media
Vienna
joanna.jinks@osce.org

El-Khouri, Lydia
Project Manager
Media Diversity Institute, London
lydia@media-diversity.org

Halas, Enike
Editor-in-Chief
Radio 021/Multiradio, Novi Sad
enike@radio021.co.yu

Hirsch, Mario
Journalist
Lëtzebuerger Land
mhirsch@land.lu

Houtsch, Roland
Journalist
Luxemburger Wort
Roland.houtsch@wort.lu

Karlsreiter, Ana Dr.
Project Manager, Office of
the OSCE Representative on
Freedom of the Media, Vienna
ana.karlsreiter@osce.org

Kohn. Romain
Director of Media Desk
Luxembourg
romain.kohn@mediadesk.etat.lu

Kunsemueller, Andrea
Spokeswoman
Federation of North-Schleswigers
presse@bdn.dk

Levandovschi, Tatjana
Deputy Chief, Department of
Interethnic Relations of the Govern-
ment of the Republic of Moldova
language@moldtelecom.md

Markovic, Jelena
Adviser
Federal Ministry for Ethnic and
National Minorities
minority@eunet.yu

Mehmeti, Ibrahim
Director of Media Programmes
Search for Common Ground, Skopje
ibrahim@sfcg.org.mk

Mitrovic, Jelena
Co-ordinator for Migration
and Gender Questions
Radio RaBe, Bern
jelena@rabe.ch

Morresi, Enrico
Journalist and President of
the Foundation Council of
the Swiss Press Council
enrico.morresi@freesurf.ch

Musliu, Iliasa
Co-ordinator, Media
Department of the OSCE
Mission in Serbia and
Montenegro
imusliu@yahoo.com

Nikolic, Boban
Development Consultant
RTV Nisava, Nis
nisava@eunet.yu

Ochsner, Andrea
Assistant, Institute of Mass
Communication Studies of
the University of Bern
andrea.ochsner@imw.unibe.ch

Poposka, Vesna
Head of Sector
Agency of Information, Skopje
poposka@sinf.gov.mk

Popovic, Tanja
Co-ordinator, International
Media Fund
Project Manager, Medienhilfe
tpo@medienhilfe.ch

Rakic, Marina
Journalist
Beta News Agency, Belgrade
mar@beta-press.com

Ranft, Noëmi
Assistant, Institute of Mass
Communication Studies of
the University of Bern
noemi.ranft@imw.unibe.ch

Rosca, Victor
Programme Director
Center for Promotion of
Tolerance and Pluralism
tolerant@moldtelecom.md

Salvisberg, Roland
Programme Co-ordinator
South-East Europe
Swiss Federal Department
for Foreign Affairs
roland.salvisberg@eda.admin.ch

Skopljanac, Nena
Assistant, Institute of Mass
Communication Studies of
the University of Bern
Programme Director, Medienhilfe
nena.skopljanac@imw.unibe.ch

Spasovska, Katerina
Local Media Co-ordinator
IREX, Skopje
macpromedia_ks@yahoo.com

Stucki, Frederik
Director
Canal 3, Biel/Bienne
fstucki@canal3.ch

Trajkoska, Zaneta
Executive Director
Macedonian Institute
for Media, Skopje
zanat@mim.org.mk

Vuokko, Hanna
Adviser, Office of the OSCE
Representative on Freedom
of the Media, Vienna
hanna.vuokko@osce.org

Weiler, Anne
Attachée, Information
and Press Service of the
Government of Luxembourg
anne.weiler@sip.etat.lu

Yaneva, Maria
Strategic Development Director
Media Development, Sofia
myaneva@mediacenterbg.org

Zlatev, Ognian
President, South East European
Network for Professionalization
of the Media, Sofia
ozlatev@mediacenterbg.org

The Authors

Natalia Angheli, PhD – has a background in linguistics and journalism. She received her undergraduate degree in English Language and Literature from Moldova State University, a Masters of Arts in Journalism from the University of Missouri, Columbia, and a doctorate in Linguistics from the University of Bucharest, Romania. She has been a university teacher of English, a reporter for the Associated Press and has contributed to other Western news outlets. Currently she is working as senior consultant at the Independent Journalism Center - Moldova, a leading media development NGO in the country.

Prof. Roger Blum – is a professor of Communication Science and director of this department at the University of Bern, Switzerland. He holds a PhD in History and Public Law from the University of Basel and was a member of Basel Canton Parliament. As a journalist, he worked for the daily *Luzerner Neuste Nachrichten* and then for the *Tages-Anzeiger* in Zurich, where he was on the board of the editor-in-chief. From 1991-2001 he was chairman of the Swiss Press Council. Since 1999, he has been chairman of the Swiss Communication and Media Science Association.

Milo Dor – was born in Budapest in 1923, the son of a Serbian doctor. He spent his youth in Belgrade, where in 1942, after the occupation of Belgrade, he was arrested as a Resistance fighter, tortured and finally deported to Vienna. He stayed on in Vienna after the war and became active as a writer, publisher and journalist. His publications include numerous novels, novellas, anthologies (*Shots from Sarajevo*, *The Raikov Saga etc.)* and translations of Serbian poetry. Since the disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Dor has published the collection of essays*, Farewell, Yugoslavia* (1993) and released the anthology, *To Err is Human and Patriotic: Serbian Aphorisms from the War* (1994), in which he focuses on the cruelties of the civil war, and propounds a message of peace and humanity. Milo Dor has been the recipient of numerous literary prizes. In November 1998, he received the Andreas Gryphius Prize of the City of Jena.

Freimut Duve – a German politician, human rights activist, writer and journalist was elected the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media by the OSCE Ministerial Council in December 1997. He was born in 1936 in Würzburg and received his education in Modern History, Sociology, Political Science and English Literature at the University

of Hamburg. He worked as an editor at the Rowohlt publishing house and was a Social Democratic member of the Bundestag (German Parliament) from 1980 to 1998, representing his city, Hamburg.

Ana Karlsreiter, PhD – studied Political Sciences, History of South and Southeast Europe and Slavic Philology at Ludwig-Maximilians-University, Munich, Germany. She is currently assistant research officer at the Office of the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media.

Romain Kohn – is the director of MEDIA Desk Luxembourg, an information bureau of the European Union. He is a journalist by training and worked for several years for different Luxembourgish and foreign papers. His publications include a study on the media politics in the Grand Duchy and he is currently a radio columnist on international media developments for the public station *Radio 100,7*. He is a publisher of the monthly magazine *Forum*.

Andrea Ochsner – holds an MA in English Philology, Sociology and Media Studies. Since 2002 she has been working as assistant at the Institute of Mass Communication Studies, University of Bern, Switzerland, and since 2003 as assistant at the English Department, University of Basel, Switzerland.

Tanja Popovic – holds an MA in Modern History, European Ethnology, and Communication and Media Science. Since 2002 she has been working as project co-ordinator in Macedonia for Medienhilfe, a Swiss non-governmental organization. In this function she is also co-ordinator for the International Media Fund, an informal association of seven organizations working on media assistance and development.

Nena Skopljanac – is a political scientist. She completed her postgraduate studies in Political Theory and Social Science Methodology at the University of Belgrade, Serbia. From 1996-2003 she worked as a research assistant at the Institute of Mass Communication Studies at Bern University, Switzerland. Since 1996 she has been working as a programme director for Medienhilfe, a Swiss-based non-governmental organization, where she is responsible for media analysis. Many of her articles have been published in magazines and she is also co-editor of the book *Media & War*, which analyses the media situation in Croatia and Serbia in the early 1990s.

Natalia Angheli
Roger Blum
Milo Dor
Romain Kohn
Andrea Ochsner
Tanja Popovic
Nena Skopljanac

www.osce.org/fom