Journalism under pressure

The case of Kosovo

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Abstract

Using Kosovo as its case, this dissertation discusses links between journalism's historical development, daily practice and potential in a post-war society. In theory on media in post-communist Eastern Europe, journalists and editors are criticized for being unprofessional and for not contributing to development of society. Scholars argue that it is both due to an unwillingness to professionalize as well as historical close ties with politicians. The dissertation applies a three-legged approach; *a historical-political analysis* discusses how media in Kosovo early developed as arenas of forming national identity, later as tools in ethnic conflicts and wars, but also with brief moments of journalistic professionalism. The news production study in four major newsrooms (*Express, Koha Ditore, RTK, and Radio Kontakt Plus*) in post-war Kosovo (2005-2006) reveals how journalists and editors continue to battle with the historical aspects of political interference and ethnic conflicts. This study shows that the challenges of the past continue in the post - 1999 war environment, also in times when journalists and editors have attended numerous training courses in Kosovo. The international media support, with a goal of professionalizing the journalists, has had limited effect, the study reveals. Instructors and media support organizations did not utilize the journalists' experience in their eagerness to implement western journalistic standards. Neither did they understand the massive political pressure in Kosovo. The dissertation concludes that in order to assist media development in Kosovo, media support must to a larger degree be aware of the links between the historical-political lack of journalistic autonomy, today's post-war practice in the newsrooms, and the journalists' previous experience. In this, there is a potential capital that can be utilized.

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Abbreviations

EBU	European Broadcasting Union
ECREA	European Communication Research and Education Association
EULEX	European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo
IAMCR	International Association of Media and Communication Research
ICG	International Crisis Group
IREX	International Research and Exchange Board
KFOR	Kosovo Force
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
KPC	Kosovo Protection Force
LMS	Local Media Support
LDK	Lidhja Demokratike e Kosovës (Democratic League of Kosovo)
MTA	Military Technical Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PDK	Partie Demokratie e Kosovës (Democratic Party of Kosovo)
PING	Provisional Institutions for Self-Government
RKP	Radio Kontakt Plus
RTK	Radio Television Kosovo
RTP	Radio Television Pristina
SRSG	Special Representative for the Secretary General (UN)
TMC	Temporary Media Commisioner (in Kosovo)
TMK	Former Kosovo Civilian Corps
UCK	In Albanian: 'Ushtria Clirimtare e Kosovës', also known as KLA
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo

A note on names of places in Kosovo

In Kosovo, names of places are sensitive and the issue of names is debated frequently. Many books and studies on Kosovo have to address this. For example, *Kosova* is the Albanian name, while the Serbian name is *Kosovo and Metohija (Kosmet)*. Most English language literature has adapted *Kosovo* which has become the international name of the country.

Thus, most towns and cities also have two names. Some examples: *Prishtina* (Albanian) – *Pristina* (Serbian); *Gjakova* (Albanian) – *Djakovica* (Serbian); *Ferizaj* (Albanian) – *Urosevac* (Serbian); *Peja* (Albanian) – *Pec* (Serbian); *Mitrovica* (Albanian) – *Kosovska Mitrovica* (Serbian); *Rahovec* (Albainan) – *Orahovac* (Serbian), and so on.

In this dissertation, I have aimed at being pragmatic in the use of names, *by using the names most frequently used by most of the people living there*. In towns with a dominant Albanian population, I have used the Albanian names, while Serbian names are used in towns where most of the population is Serbian.

The practice of names is constantly up for discussion, and my practice will also be up for debate and criticism, due to the sensitivity of the issue. I find it important, however, to state my practice on this issue in this dissertation.

The use of "Albanian" , "Serbian" , and "Roma" in terms of ethnicity is related to Kosovo Albanians , Kosovo Serbs and Kosovo Romas unless otherwise is stated.

Acknowledgments

This Ph.D. dissertation is a result of a journey that began several years before I started thinking about writing a doctoral dissertation. My first meeting with Kosovo was as a press- and information officer with KFOR in late July, 1999, a few weeks after the NATO war ended. This first encounter left a footprint in my heart that I will keep with me for the rest of my life. I came to a place that on one side was devastated after years of war and conflict, but also with people with dreams and hopes for the future. Especially the many young journalists impressed me with their eagerness. Being a journalism instructor for several years prior to going to Kosovo, I grew curious about how journalism develops in a society marked by conflicts and wars, yet with energy of many young people.

Today, 16 years after my first travel to Kosovo, this dissertation is the result, and so many have helped me.

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Chapter 1: Introduction: Journalism in Kosovo

1.1. The development of journalism in Kosovo

During the dissolution of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe and transition towards democracy and the establishment of capitalist economies throughout the 1990's, international media researchers followed the breaking political events, trying to understand the degree to which the news media and the practice of journalism was concurrently changing (Aumente, Gross, Hiebert, Johnson & Mills, 1999; Paletz and Jakubowicz, 2003). In particular, research during this period focused on how journalistic practices and platforms developed. Research findings showed in some places an evolution from political to professional media institutions, whilst in other places journalists and editors remained loyal 'tools' for politicians (Gross, 2004).

With the break-up of Yugoslavia and the establishment of new states in the Western Balkans, these issues came to the forefront again, with new impetus (Rhodes, 2007). In the aftermath of the violent and tragic wars in the region, a new political landscape emerged in the Balkans, with new states, borders and institutions. With a past of ethnic conflicts, wars and international interventions, the conditions for media change and professionalization of journalistic practice could be expected to differ from the more linear and stable transitions in Eastern and Central Europe. Kosovo, with its dramatic history comprising elements of ethnic conflict, war, and international intervention is a particularly interesting place to study the development of journalism organization and practice. Today, Kosovo is a newly independent state[1], but has been in constant transition throughout its history and has always been in a '*post*-state of mind (Malcolm, 2002, 2008; Ker-Lindsay, 2010). Kosovo can be considered a post-Ottoman, post-Yugoslav, post-war, and post-intervention society, due to the numerous transitions through its history. Thus, the case of Kosovo has an interest beyond the European continent, and study of the journalistic development in Kosovo will be of relevance also for similar cases of conflict, war and problematic political change, as for instance Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Egypt, and Syria. The conditions for local news media journalism are, and will be for many years, extremely difficult in these areas. The situation calls for media researchers to analyze how such difficult conditions influence the work practices of local media and journalists.

The complex topic of how journalism develops in a conflict area is the research *topic* for this dissertation, and Kosovo is the case. From the topic of journalism development, the following research agenda is developed: This dissertation will present an analysis of the

[1] [1] Kosovo declared itself as an independent state on February 17, 2008 and is recognized by 110 UN member states (as of December 2014; see http://kosovothanksyou.com), including 22 of 27 EU member states, Canada and USA. Serbia refuses to recognize Kosovo's independence and is backed by Russia and China.

development of journalism in Kosovo from the late 1800s until today. A key issue is to what degree current journalistic practice is a continuance of the past, or if there is a break with history, especially after the 1999 NATO war. I begin, therefore, with an historical-political analysis of the development of media and journalism in Kosovo from the dawn of the Albanian national movement at the end of the 1800s until the end of the 1999 NATO war in Serbia and Kosovo. I then analyze journalism practice in today's Kosovo through a production study undertaken in four newsrooms. This is followed up with analysis of the possible impact of the recent international media support on Kosovo's journalism. In sum, these three aspects will provide insight into how journalism develops through history, production, and intervention.

Based on the research agenda, I have developed a three-part research question: *How has journalism in Kosovo developed through a) a complex history; b) demanding conditions for journalism production in today's unstable post-war Kosovo, and c) by international media support?* This addresses the issue that Kosovo is considered an extremely difficult arena for the development of journalism as a democratic institution, being a place of a complex historical-political influence on media, and today, a post-war society with political instability. By working around this three-part question, I will discuss how journalism develops in a society that goes through multiple transitions. This dissertation will thus focus on three empirical areas to answer this research question. First; how journalism has developed through a complex political history in Kosovo. Second; how journalism is practiced in a demanding post-war setting in today's Kosovo, and third; how international media support has impacted journalism in Kosovo. These three parts will conjointly assess journalism development in a place with a short history of democracy[2]. It is an intricate study of a complex research subject.

This dissertation is the result of a long time involvement with Kosovo, the Balkan region and journalism, and part of a complex research process. It is with a mixed sense of humility, pride and eagerness that I have undertaken a study on the historical development journalism in Kosovo. Kosovo is, a small country that finds itself in a demanding transitional period between a troubled past, democratization, independence, Balkan nationalism, and European integration. Kosovo and the Balkan region have not only moved from communism to democracy, but have also become areas of several wars and foreign military interventions throughout their history (cf. Chapter 4). Thus, this dissertation also deals with journalism and professionalization in an extreme, post-war transitional setting, where reconstruction and capacity building of the media sector has been on the agenda of the international community since the end of the 1999 NATO war (Camaj, 2010; Miftari, 2013; Johnson, 2012). Kosovo still finds itself today in a period of rapid transition where ethnic conflict, memory of war, and political dispute are present. It still is an area of heavy international military presence and humanitarian intervention, and is also an

[2] The history of the media in Kosovo is analyzed in Chapter 4.

object of polarized international political dispute between supporters of Kosovo as a sovereign state (USA and most of EU) on one side, and supporters of Kosovo as a part of Serbia (Russia and China) on the other (Judah, 2008). Considering Kosovo being a place of local, regional, and international instability and intervention makes it an interesting, but also extremely difficult and complex research area for journalism development.

My study of the development of journalism in Kosovo can be placed within the framework of media development studies in post - Communist Eastern Europe. Here, the concept of *journalistic professionalism* has been central. Researchers who have followed the development of media in Eastern Europe have needed explanation models to answer why media in Eastern Europe usually are considered 'unprofessional' in Western terms. Peter Gross (2002) who evaluated Eastern European journalists on basis of western professional journalism and found that the media sector in the region has *not been willing* to be transformed along with the political transitions, and that media therefore is under heavy influence from politicians. Silvio Waisbord's media patrimonialism theory (2013) explains political influence through a model of *reciprocity*; of mutual favors between the media sector and politicians so that the two groups in society do not creates problems for each other. These mutual agreements, according to Waisbord, create a sense of stability and keep thus the journalists in a state of unprofessionalism. Both these perspectives describe a journalism tradition in Eastern Europe that is in contrast with the liberal western journalism practice, which has been a major goal for international media support for example in the Balkans. The question as to what degree these theoretical perspectives can be helpful in the analysis of the links between media practice in the past and the post-war journalism practice in Kosovo will be investigated in the theoretical framework in Chapter 2.

1.2. A heavily criticized profession

The research object of this dissertation is development of journalism in Kosovo, a profession that has received criticism for being unprofessional, even after many years of training courses that were a part of the international media support to Kosovo. One event in particular reignited this criticism; *the riots in Kosovo in 2004*. During March 16th and 17th that year, there was major unrest in several towns in Kosovo after three Albanian children drowned in the Ibar River, west of the divided town of Mitrovica. There were rumors that some Serbs had chased the children. Shortly after these rumors started to spread, thousands of Albanian took to the streets in several towns in Kosovo and started burning Serbian homes and churches. The rampage left 19 dead, 900 injured, 700 Serb and Roma homes burned, 30 Serb churches destroyed, 2 monasteries damaged and about 4,500 people displaced. This was the largest level of violence in the province

since the NATO war in 1999. During these days, the major Kosovar Albanian media, especially the TV stations *Radio Television Kosovo* (*RTK*), *Koha Vision TV* (KTV) and *TV 21* reported extensively from the riots. They were later criticized for ethnic bias in their reporting. A more detailed account of these events can be found in several reports written after the events (International Crisis Group, 2004; OSCE, 2004, Temporary Media Commissioner; 2004; Human Rights Watch, 2004; Amnesty International, 2004). Prior to 2004, Kosovar journalists had received over several years international media support with a multitude of short-term training courses made available. After the riots, international analysts and researchers heavily criticized the local Kosovar journalists and news organizations. Most reports heavily criticized the Kosovar Albanian media organizations, claiming they totally failed to do a proper job during the dramatic days (Andresen, 2009; Hoxha, 2007). The OSCE[3] Representative on Freedom of the Media said in its report:

> Without the reckless and sensationalist reporting on 16 and 17 march, events could have taken a different turn. They might not have reached the intensity and level of brutality that was witnessed or might not have taken place at all…[…]…the media, specifically the broadcasting sector, displayed unacceptable levels of emotion, bias, carelessness, and falsely applied 'patriotic' zeal (OSCE, 2004, p. 3).

Other reports followed. The OSCE-appointed Temporary Media Commissioner (TMC) said the international community "has held the media at least partly responsible for this disaster" (Temporary Media Commissioner, 2004, p.2). TMC characterized the news judgement of the Radio Television Kosovo (*RTK*) [4] management as being "marked by reckless disregard for the risk of inciting and exacerbating civil disorder" (p. 7). Amnesty International (2004) accused the local media of "whipping up tension" (p.6) and Human Rights Watch (2004) highlighted that the local media, along with Kosovo's political leaders, and the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government (PING)[5] "were partly to blame for the violence in March 2004 by initially making inflammatory statements" (p.6). The International Crisis Group (ICG) joined Human Rights Watch in blaming the media for the escalation of the violence (International Crisis Group, 2004). In its most read report ever, *Collapse in Kosovo*, ICG blamed the international community (UNMIK, the Contact Group[6] countries, NATO/KFOR) along with PING and the local media for the

[3] Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe.
[4] *Radio Television Kosovo* was funded for many years in by international donations and set up by the OSCE to be Kosovo's public service broadcaster.
[5] Kosovo's local government until Kosovo's Declaration of Independence on February 17, 2008. There have been elections in Kosovo since 2001, organized by OSCE. However, PING was under the auspices of the UN Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) who is leads the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).
[6] USA, UK, France, Spain, Germany and Italy

failure. This applied to their activities that March, but additionally for failing to contribute to a healthy development of Kosovo. ICG characterized the local media coverage in Kosovo during the events as "indefensibly one-sided and inflammatory" (p.ii).

In sum, the Kosovar media, especially the Kosovar Albanian media, was at the center of criticism after the March 2004 events and the international community expressed their displeasure with the standards in the local newsrooms. However, it must be mentioned that the international community also received its fair share of criticism for failing to rebuild Kosovo, including its media landscape, after the war. The International Crisis Group (2004) blamed the UN, OSCE, and NATO together with the local Kosovar government and media. The ICG reports also criticized the reports from OSCE and TMC, claiming that these two documents singled out the media as the main problem, although ICG said that the problem was far more complex. This was echoed in reports from Human Rights Watch (2004) and Amnesty International (2004). Mertus and Thompson (2002) examined the international media development in Kosovo from 2002 onwards and especially criticized the media policies implemented by UNMIK. The many reports after the March 2004 events described a media profession in Kosovo that had acted unprofessionally when faced with a national crisis. They also claimed there was a wide gap between the efforts invested by the international community in media support and the level of professionalism in the journalistic community in Kosovo. The events outlined above along with the criticism against the media in post-war Kosovo motivated me for my study of how journalism develops in a society marked by conflicts and to question why it is practiced in the way it is today, also bearing in mind the first paragraphs of this dissertation, where I outlined the academic interests in studying how journalism has developed in *the specific case of Kosovo.* My hope is that this will add new insight to studies of media development in Eastern Europe. I will analyze the factors that have shaped journalism in this post-Ottoman, post-Yugoslav, post-war, and post-intervention society. This is not a comparative study, Kosovo is not compared to other Eastern European countries, but my study can serve to increase understanding of journalism development in societies in constant political transition.

The research agenda of studying the development of journalism in Kosovo will be discussed in three parts. First, I present an examination of *the historical and political history of journalism in Kosovo*, with a specific emphasis on the links between politics and media, and how this can be considered to affect the journalists in Kosovo today. Relations between national identities, ethnic conflicts, wars and foreign interventions on the professionalization of journalists are examined. Second, in the investigation of journalism practice in Kosovo today, the same key issues as in the historical analysis are studied, this time through *a study of journalism production* in post-war Kosovo. The data are drawn from a qualitative study of daily news production in four major newsrooms in Kosovo through daily observations over time and qualitative

interviews with informants. I will investigate how journalists and editors develop journalistic strategies of story selection, dealing with sources, and through editing the news on a daily basis. Third, due to the heavy involvement of international media support in Kosovo after the 1999 NATO war, *the possible impact of international media support* is scrutinized. Since the late 1990's, the international community has attempted to influence journalistic practice in Kosovo through new legislation, regulation, donations and the provision of journalism training. A relevant factor in the development of journalism in post-war Kosovo is to understand to what degree this kind of training influences journalists and editors in newsrooms in Kosovo. This part focuses primarily on the initial part of the media support in Kosovo; the early journalism courses offered during the first years after the 1999 NATO war, where hundreds of journalists in Kosovo attended various short-term training programs. Combined, these three research aspects will help outline the development of journalism in Kosovo. These three perspectives in my research agenda will be my main frame of analysis.

1.3. Studying journalism in Kosovo

The purpose of analysing the historical development of journalism in Kosovo is to gain insight into how the profession has been affected by conflict, war and extreme political transformation. Concurrently, the aim is examine the relationship between this historical-political development and journalistic practice in Kosovo today. To see the ties between the past and present is a conceptual and methodological challenge in a society with a complex history. When designing this research it became clear that the historical development of journalism had to be a major part of this dissertation. In today's post-war media, references to Kosovo's history are present everywhere in the public arena in Kosovo (Judah, 2008). There are frequent references to historical-political developments, and my informants said to me that one cannot understand Kosovo's present if one does not understand its past. This was exemplified in one of my interviews, with a one of the editors from Kosovo whom had attended a Major Balkan conference, There, many western academics were discussing Balkan's future. He said he got up and told them satirically: "Why are you all so concerned about the future? The only thing important here is the past!" (personal interview).

The media in the Balkans have historically been active in the fight for national borders, ethnic identities and nation building (Aumente et.al., 1999). Media played an important role in keeping the Yugoslav federation together (Robinson, 1977) and played a crucial role in the break-up of Yugoslavia in the 1990's, when it shifted its allegiances from 'unity and brotherhood' to ethnic nationalism (Kolstø, 2009; Kurspahic, 2003). During the violent wars in the Western Balkans in the 1990's, media were used to fume ethnic hatred as well as being tools for

resistance movements (Thompson, 1999). Many of today's journalists in the Balkans, including Kosovo, lived through these conflicts and were active as journalists through the violent wars in the 1990's. How might this influence journalistic practice today? This and several other questions emerge when researching the historical past and the possible links to current journalism practice in Kosovo.

I want this dissertation to contribute to a growing body of research on journalism in an Eastern European tradition. Journalism in Eastern Europe has often been evaluated through western eyes (Curran and Park, 2000), and has been evaluated on the basis of how *professional* it is considered to be. Kosovo is a post-war country in transition. It has a long history of political turmoil; it is on the border between the East and the West, and it is an area where the international community has been involved in military and humanitarian interventions. It is therefore distinctly different from stable Western democracies where media development has been studied thoroughly for decades (Andresen, 2015).

1.4. Criticism against Eastern European journalism

Recently, a growing body of journalism research has focused beyond the western parts of the world (Hallin and Mancini, 2012; Weaver & Löffelholz, 2008; Wasserman & de Beer, 2009; Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009; Josephi, 2005, 2008, 2009), where 'fact-based reporting' and 'objectivity' have been mantras of the profession. However, the large industry of international media support to conflict societies and post-war areas still keep a western approach to journalism as the core of their training courses, promoting *journalistic professionalism* (Andresen, 2015; Kumar, 2006; LaMay, 2009). An emphasis on professionalism in transitional societies undergoing media reforms can indeed be found in research on international media support, a significant part of humanitarian intervention in Eastern Europe since the fall of communism. For decades international media support organizations have leaned on research and theories of the interconnection between democratization and professionalization of journalists. LaMay (2009) argues that

> …the continuing emphasis on training programs is the persistent belief, common to both media assistance providers and, as well, to many aid recipients, that a lack of professionalism among journalists is the most persistent obstacle to press freedom in democratizing countries" (p.88)

Peter Gross (2002), in his assessment of the development of journalism in Eastern Europe after the fall of Communism says: "In short, the Eastern European media do not need to be 'democratized' […] they need to professionalize" (p.174). Krishna Kumar, in his assessment of

international media development activities worldwide, highlights efforts to professionalize local media:

> The most common programming approach has been to help improve the professional skills of both print and broadcast media journalists. Given that developing and transitional countries lacked and still lack adequate training facilities for journalists, the importance of this strategy cannot be overemphasized." (2006, p.16),

In their study of 'Local Media Support' (LMS), the Norwegian researchers Åge Eknes and Lena C. Endresen (2000) also highlight professionalizing of journalists as a vital part of media support activities: "Almost without exception, LMS [Local Media Support] programmed with an external or expatriate component also include training." (p. 38).

However, lately, there has been a rise in research critical to the dominant western media research. A growing conceptual debate about what constitutes journalistic professionalism is changing the picture. For a long time, adaption of traditional western ideals of journalistic professionalism as 'fact-based' and 'objective' has been dominant in journalist training programs. An objective press is considered a characteristic of an independent press. However, this notion of 'professionalism' is increasingly challenged by journalism researchers. Mark Deuze (2005) affirms "a consensual occupation ideology among journalists in different parts of the world (p. 244) and ideology "characterized by the notions of public service, autonomy, ethics, objectivity, and immediacy" (in Waisbord, 2013, p. 152). Deuze argues that journalists' professional operational ideology and status need to be reconsidered, especially when we see how their values are changed or challenged by cultural and technological developments. Beate Josephi (2005) calls for a reconsideration of the 'professional model of journalism' in light of globalization. She says, "Research outside the Anglo-American orbit, which has so far shaped the dominant journalistic concepts, is now challenging these paradigms" (p. 576). She supports James Curran and Myong-Jin Park's efforts in *De-Westernizing Media Studies* (2000) to acknowledge the severe conditions journalists in transitional societies live and work under. However, she also criticizes the contributors in the book for not being able to present other models spanning across many countries. Josephi calls for more qualitative studies in non-western areas, reminding us that quantitative studies outnumber qualitative studies by 2 to 1 (Kamhawi and Weaver, 2003). Daniel C. Hallin and Paulo Mancini (2012) plead for more studies based on field observation and interviews, especially on media organizations' interaction with social actors and institutions. By applying these methodologies in the study of professionalization of journalists in a post-war country, this dissertation takes this challenge from Hallin and Manchini and others, to Kosovo.

1.5. Journalism and Balkan transitions

There are researchers of Eastern European journalism who have investigated the link between history and journalistic practice. Besides Gross' at times bleak description and analysis of Eastern European journalism (Gross, 2002), others have described and analyzed journalism in this area. The thorough analysis of Eastern European journalism over the last 100 years in Aumente et. al's *Eastern European Journalism* (1999) traces the roots of the region's journalism before, under and after communism. The authors argue that journalism in Former Yugoslavia was less controlled by the state, but nevertheless marked by the same characteristics as state-controlled communist media in this area. Paletz and Jakubowicz (2003) focus on the relationships between media and change in Central and Eastern Europe, and Bosnian author Kemal Kurspahic (2003) analyses how media was used by politicians on several sides of the war during the Bosnian and Croatian wars of the 1990s. These studies of journalism in Eastern Europe link the profession to the wider social and political development of the region. A general consensus among these authors is that media in Eastern Europe did not become 'free and independent' even though communism was abandoned. It remained controlled by governments and politicians in the new democracies. Realizing that Kosovo is a part of Eastern Europe and former Yugoslavian media (Robinson, 1977), the local media there falls in the same group of media that has been criticized. There are strong ties to the past. However, Former Yugoslavia went through wars and ethnic conflicts to a far more violent degree than the rest of Eastern Europe during the 1990's. In addition and was also the subject of international, military and humanitarian intervention – Bosnia in 1995 and Kosovo in 1999.

It is important to describe the *post-war stage* that Kosovo is in today, in order to have a meaningful discussion on post-war journalism practice. I will argue that the situation for journalists and news production practice in Kosovo is in some ways unique, with reference to the events there over the last decades. At the same time, there are similarities to other post-war societies. The Kosovar society after the 1999 NATO war can be described in various ways. The labels of 'post-war society, 'post-conflict society' and 'conflict society', and 'transitional society' all have true connotations. Izabella Karlowicz describes characteristics of a post-conflict country undergoing (an imposed) democratic transition:

- a volatile security situation;
- the parties involved in the conflict still reside within the territory of the country,
- economic development is limited due to war or the previous regime;
- the area's tradition of democracy is short-lived or non-existent;
- respect for human rights and the rule of law is weak;

- no tradition exists of purely private, truly free media due to hostilities and conflict;
- the broadcasting and printing infrastructure may have been severely damaged.

(Karlowicz, 2003, p. 117)

These characteristics can be applied to the situation in Kosovo. However, in this introduction chapter there is an important clarification to be made. I will argue that it is more precise to define Kosovo not only as a post-war, post-intervention society, but also as a society where *its long and complex history* plays a significant role. Therefore, attention is given to discussing the historical-political perspective. This is necessary, because most of the current analyses of Kosovo focus on the society after the recent armed conflict between NATO and Yugoslavia in 1999, for example, Karlowicz's description outlined above focuses on the current state of the society. In Kosovo, events from the last hundred years (the two world wars, Yugoslavia, and the period under Milosevic) are frequently referred to in the media. Therefore, it can be argued that an investigation of the media development in Kosovo over a longer period is vital to this dissertation. Furthermore, being a post-war society means that Kosovo today is recovering from the 1997-1999 military conflicts. In addition, being a post-intervention society indicates it has been through a massive international humanitarian intervention, including media intervention since 1999 (Judah, 2008; Ker-Lindsay, 2010).

There are numerous ongoing struggles that hamper a positive development in the continuing transitions in Kosovo; the conflicts between Serbs and Albanians, the internal conflicts between Albanian political parties, the problems of corruption, high unemployment, the insecurity of minorities, the dispute with Serbia on Kosovo's independence, to mention a few. These are all described in various reports on Kosovo (International Crisis Group, 2005, 2006; UNDP, 2002). It must be noted that the war in Kosovo did not start on March 24, 1999[7] with the NATO bombing, but rather during the escalating clashes between the Serbian police, paramilitary and military forces and the UCK[8] during 1997 and 1998 (Judah, 2000a; Bieber & Daskalovski, 2003; Clark, 2000; Di Lellio, 2006; Maliqi, 1998; Perritt, 2008). The 1999 NATO war ended the Serbian military aggression, and at the same time NATO became a new ally to the Kosovo Albanians, establishing a peacekeeping force, KFOR. The situation rapidly improved in several areas, due to the international intervention by KFOR, UNMIK, EU, OSCE, and numerous international and local organizations. Having said that, although this was true for the larger majority of the population, the Albanians, the Serb and Roma minorities experienced a progressively worsening situation (Judah 2000a, Judah 2008).

[7] March 24 was the first day of the NATO bombing campaign of Yugoslavia.
[8] Also known as the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA).

From June 1999 and onwards, Kosovo was in a unique political state[9], meaning that, for the first time, an area of a part of another country's territory, Serbia, was placed under UN administration. This was established in the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244[10]. Consequently, this small territory became working place for 50,000 KFOR troops (by the end of 1999) as well as thousands of international employees, most of them in the capital, Prishtina. Immediately, all sectors of society in Kosovo were to be rebuilt. Initially, international diplomats and bureaucrats headed all sectors of society, subsequent to handing leadership over to local experts. In addition, hundreds of NGOs started various aid projects, and the international willingness to fund such initiatives was high (Kyrke-Smith, 2007).

1.6. An exploratory study of the past and today

This dissertation takes an *exploratory* approach, where the development of journalism in Kosovo is studied from an historic point of view as well as scrutinizing the current state of journalism, with a specific focus at the relations between media and political development. As previously stated, Kosovo is undergoing an extreme transitory period between war and democracy, where politics have been dominating every aspect of people's lives. This is not unique for Kosovo; a history of proximity between politics and the press dominates many new democracies, and media researchers studying professionalism need to understand this closeness. Silvio Waisbord (2013), who has studied media, transitions globally, states: "Little could be understood about the state of professionalism without examining the relations between the press and the political field" (p. 154). Kosovo, as a post-war society, has a history of political and ethnic conflicts. The first part of this study examines the history of Kosovo's media sector, with a focus on how politics and media have been closely linked together. As a post-war society, an important dimension of war is also vital for this research. All of the journalists participating in this current research project have lived through war and conflict in Kosovo or Former Yugoslavia during the 1990's. This experience is central to the whole 'post-war' concept. Various personal experiences of trauma during the conflicts in Kosovo are well documented by international scholars, as well as Albanian and Serbian writers who experienced it personally (Judah, 2000a; Littlewood, 2002; McAllester, 2002; Pettifer, 2005; Quarta, 2006; Spahiu, 1999; Bieber & Daskalovski, 2003; Bylykbashi, 1996; Campbell, 2000; Elsie, 2001; Finney, 2002; Randjelovic, 1999; Bajgora, 2000; Stefanovic, 1999; Martinsen, 2010). Kosovo has undergone numerous conflicts that have lasted

[9] In saying that Kosovo is unique, one must consider that since the 1990's there have been similar examples of military and humanitarian interventions that can be placed under the 'New Wars' umbrella. The most important in this regard are Bosnia, East Timor, Afghanistan, and Iraq (Holohan, 2005; Simonsen, 2005; Ignatieff, 2003; Mednicoff, 2006).
[10] Adapted June 10, 1999

for centuries. Journalists have been living in a highly ethnically divided society, where people have been denied basic rights like education and work. Many of my informants have experienced that family members, friends and colleagues were killed or are missing. Many also worked as journalists while they were refugees during the NATO war. One example is the newspaper Koha Ditore, published in Tetovo, Macedonia by refugee Kosovan journalists (Arifaj 1999). Others worked as fixers[11] and stringers for international news teams, both inside Kosovo and across the region, being separated from family and risking their lives (Andresen 2008, 2015; Paterson, Andresen & Hoxha, 2012).

A vital argument for examining both the historical development of journalism and the current state of journalism practice in Kosovo is to determine if there are links between the two. In the historical-political chapter (Chapter 4) key issues are identified (media and national identity, media and ethnic conflicts, and media and war) that will also be analyzed in the *news production study* chapters (5-8), in order to analyze how news production strategies are developed, and how journalists and editors deal with obstacles to news production. Stages of this news production include selecting news stories, gathering information (through dealing with sources), editing, and presenting the stories. These stages are widely accepted and applied in newsrooms and are considered as a universal 'production lines' of news (Gans, 1979). I follow the journalists closely through observations in the newsrooms, in meetings, in the field, and in the editing rooms, where the aim is to analyze if issues from the historical-political analysis can be found in today's news production.

A key element of the development of journalism in today's Kosovo is the matter of international media support. International journalism training after the war in Kosovo can be seen in a broader context as a part of a broader normative professionalism project; to build, support and provide training for 'free and independent media' in post-war societies. In my study, I have focused on the impact of the international training of journalists and editors in Kosovo during the first crucial years after the NATO war (1999-2004). As mentioned, western traditional values of journalism dominate the strategies of international support to media development worldwide and are used actively in order to raise support from donors. As such, this is a language that western governments and foundations understand and can naturally agree on. This can be exemplified by value statements on training organization's web sites. Two of the most active in Kosovo has been The International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX) and The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE):

[11] Fixers are local 'helpers' for international reporters. They provide background information, sources to be interviewed, transportation, and protection (Paterson et.al. 2012; Murrell, 2015). The Kosovar journalists' experience as fixers is discussed in several chapters in this dissertation, especially in Chapter 4 and 9.

> Independent media informs and engages citizens through the free flow of information that advances democratic and economic development. A professional media sector builds more transparent and effective governance, promotes fair and open economies, and generates responsible discussion about social and political issues. (IREX)[12]
>
> A free and responsible media is an integral component of any democratic society. It ensures that the public is provided with unbiased and balanced information and is able to make informed decisions[…] A functioning democracy is characterized not only by free exchange of opinion and information between individuals, but also by free, independent and pluralistic mass media. In short, information received through professional and independent media fosters and encourages public engagement in political and economic life. The stress is on professional and independent media, neither of which really existed in Kosovo when the Mission took up its mandate in 1999. (OSCE)[13]

1.7. Summary

Media transformations and professionalization of journalists and editors have been considered vital and valuable parts for the political changes in Eastern Europe over the last decades (Aumente et.al., 1999; Gross, 2002). However, the media sector in the region is criticized for not contributing to democracy. There is therefore a need for research on the relations between media and development of society in this part of Europe. A vital question for this dissertation is; how has journalism in Kosovo developed through history until the post-war journalism we see today, through massive conflicts, wars, and political transitions over the last 100 years, and how has it related to the political developments in Kosovo – until today's post-war situation? Kosovo has been through the Ottoman age, Communist Yugoslavia, Serbian rule, NATO intervention and internationally governing, and is now an independent nation. This dissertation therefore offers an analysis of the development of journalism in Kosovo from the late 1800's until the current period. Studies of media transformations in other parts of former communist Eastern European countries claim that there is what western media researchers call a 'lack of professionalism' in today's news media in the region. Through an exploratory, multi-methodological approach, I analyze the development of Kosovar journalism, and a major part of the dissertation is a production study of daily news production in post-war Kosovo. The possible impact of the massive international media support in Kosovo, especially journalism training courses, is analyzed. These three perspectives will jointly analyze the interplay between the historical-political development and journalism practice in Kosovo.

[12] http://www.irex.org/media/index.asp (available June 29, 2009)
[13] http://www.osce.org/kosovo/13419.html (available June 29, 2009)

1.8. Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation is built up by 10 chapters and has the form of a monograph.

Chapter 1 presents the *research agenda* of this study; the development of journalism in Kosovo, my case of studying journalism in a complex post-war society, where three research perspectives are developed; the development of journalism through the historical-political context, in the post-war news production, and under influence from international media support. My personal and professional motivation for the study is also introduced.

Chapter 2 provides the *theoretical framework* for the dissertation. It discussed the theoretical and analytical tools of the three perspectives of the study; the historical-political context, post-war journalism, and international media support in Kosovo. Two paradigms of analyzing the concept of professionalism in post-war journalism in Kosovo are also discussed.

Chapter 3 discusses the *methodology*, starting with the researcher's background, and the process of arriving at a methodology. The methodological approach and development of a methodological strategy for the historical-political context, the post-war news production and international media support are discussed, as well as the limitations, reliability and validity of the findings.

Chapter 4 scrutinized the *historical-political context* of today's journalism in Kosovo. Three main historical-political roles of media are discussed; media as builder of national identity (1880s-1981), media as political tools in ethnic conflicts (1981-1997), and media as tools in wars (1997-1999).

Chapter 5, the first chapter of the *post-war news production study* in this dissertation, presents the four Kosovar newsrooms where the main part of the qualitative fieldwork has taken place. A special focus is set on the newsrooms' physical premises and technological structures.

Chapter 6 analyses the crucial *role of politics* in Kosovar journalism, based on the qualitative newsroom study carried out in 2005 and 2006. Aspects of protocol journalism, relation to political sources, and political pressure in post-war Kosovo are analyzed. In the midst of the pressure, journalists also find professional strategies in their work.

Chapter 7 analyses the *aspect of ethnicity* that influences journalism practice in post-war Kosovo, based on the newsroom study. Ethnicity is a dividing factor in Kosovar media. Yet, journalists and newsrooms utilize structural and journalistic strategies to bridge the ethnic divide. The working situation of a minority newsroom is given special attention.

Chapter 8 gives an insight into how *journalistic routines* are formed and carried out in news production in post-war Kosovo. It introduces the journalists' and editors' personal and professional background, including their experience from war and trauma. The role of news

selection and editing routines is scrutinized. Attention is given to professional ambitions in traditional structures in the newsrooms.

Chapter 9 provides an analysis of the impact of *international media support* in Kosovo after the 1999 NATO war; its philosophy and activities in Kosovo. Special attention is given to an evaluation of its possible impact on professionalizing of news production in Kosovar newsrooms.

Chapter 10 revisits the three perspectives of analysis presented in Chapter 1 in light of the research findings. It draws conclusions from each of them and summarizes how we can understand the development of journalism in Kosovo based on the perspectives.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

2.1. Introduction: Journalism development in Kosovo

Addressing a research project covering the development of journalism in Kosovo over a long period of time requires a theoretical framework that includes aspects that suit both the complex historical-political heritage and the current situation of post-war Kosovo. The theoretical framework consists of five concepts that combined lay the groundwork for analysis of the empirical material. The theoretical framework is broad and comprehensive, since the research agenda of this dissertation is also rather broad; an analysis of journalism development in Kosovo from a historical-political point of view, from a post-war production perspective, and analysis of international media support.

The first concept is *historical-political journalism development.* It is important to analyze journalism development in a society like Kosovo from a historical-political point of view. This is outlined in more detail in Chapter 4 of this dissertation. Second, the concept of *post-war journalism* is discussed. The conditions journalism is practiced in Kosovo today can be described as a post-war society, which includes rapid transitions. This refers to the analysis of post-war journalism in Chapters 6, 7, and 8. The third concept is *international media support*. This is a key part of the special conditions for post-war news production in Kosovo, and is analyzed in Chapter 9. These three above concepts form the main frame of analysis in this dissertation. Fourth, this chapter discusses the concept that is linked to all parts of journalism development in Kosovo; *journalistic professionalism*. This term is widely used in literature on journalism development in the west (Eide, 2007), and is used when evaluating journalism in post-war countries. There is a need for a conceptual discussion of what it might mean when analyzing journalism development in a society like Kosovo. Fifth, I introduce and discuss two theoretical paradigms of professionalism in transitional countries that are helpful when analyzing journalism development in Kosovo; a *professional journalism* paradigm and a *media patrimonialism* paradigm. These will serve as additional points of reference and tools for analysis later in the dissertation in relation to how journalism has developed historically and is practiced today in Kosovo.

This theoretical framework is intended to help prepare the ground for the analysis of journalism development and practice in Kosovo; also to help determine if Kosovo should be considered a special case in terms of media development; and to understand how the specific historical developments, including violent conflicts, wars and interventions in, have shaped journalism on Kosovo.

2.2. Historical-political journalism development

What are the possible links between today's journalism practice in Kosovar newsrooms and the development of media in Kosovo since the late 1800's, through Communist Yugoslavia, via Serbian rule, and after the NATO war? The importance of historical context in understanding current journalistic practice is considered vital (Hansen, Cottle, Negride & Newbold, 1998). First, it *documents* the development of media and the interaction between media and society throughout various historical periods, including the role of politics (Dahl, 2004). Second, it seeks to find *links* between the current media situation and the historical development; locally or globally. This dissertation engages in both of these approaches, but has a special focus on the second; to uncover *historical lines from Kosovo's history until today's news production*. Furthermore, according to Barnhurst and Nerone (2009), journalism history emerges from two sources. First, it searches for the evolution of communication; how the press and technology have developed through history. The second approach is occupational: "As newswork developed and professionalized, it constructed a history for itself by projecting its identity backward into the past" (Barnhurst and Nerone, 2009, p. 17). In the complex Kosovo situation, an isolated focus on journalism history will be meaningless without an integrated discussion of the historical-political development. This dissertation applies the second approach; how current practice is connected to the historical-political development in Kosovo.

Historical studies of journalism have been developed mostly in western societies, where the classic *Four theories of the press* (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm, 1963) was a dominating point of reference for decades. In this model, Eastern European media was historically placed under a Soviet model. This model is considered obsolete today, and researchers such as Hallin and Mancini (2004) have made new models or three media systems for Europe and a comprehensive study of media system beyond the western world (2012). However, studies of media history in the complex part of Balkan, where Kosovo is situated, is still in its infancy. There is a growing body of historical studies of media development in Eastern Europe documenting that media in this region has a different political story, with strong ties between communism and media in the region (Robinson, 1977; Gross, 2002; Paletz & Jakubowicz, 2003). But the media history of Kosovo, with its unique history of Ottoman rule, two world wars, Yugoslavia, Milosevic and a NATO war, is rather unknown in the international media research community. The media history in itself has interest, but the significance for this dissertation in terms of media history is to see if connections can be made and if lines can be drawn from the development of journalism in Kosovo through history to how journalism is practiced in Kosovo today. Another way of saying this is that it investigates the historical context that can be found in the current media situation and journalism in Kosovo in order to determine how current

journalism practice in post-war Kosovo can be traced historically. In order to study how journalism develops in transitional times; if it continues in the old path or breaks free from the past, one needs to know its roots and its connections to other sectors in society. The development of journalism in a society happens over time, and it is an important challenge for journalism researchers to determine the continuity from and/or breaches with the past in order to understand today's journalism practice. The evolution of the post-communist media is tied to national, political, and economical developments through the many transitions in Central and Eastern Europe (Aumente et.al, 1999). Therefore, this dissertation will outline the historical interaction between the political developments and constant changes in the Kosovar society and the growth of media in Kosovo. We will see that this development is closely tied to the historical developments from the National Albanian Awakening in the late 1800s, with a special emphasis on the political events in former Yugoslavia and the constant struggles between political change, ethnic struggle and competing national identities in Kosovo.

The history of the Balkans is contested, with several versions across the different countries (Malcolm, 2002; Glenny, 1999; Vickers, 1998). British writer Saki HH Munro wrote at the end of the 19th century: "Those Balkan people [...] unfortunately produce more history than they can consume locally"[14] (Goldsworthy, 1988, p.77). The quote illustrates the impression in the West that the Balkans has more versions of history than there is time for. The amount of dramatic events and exclusive ethnic and nationalistic accounts of events are confusing. However, it is also a sign of history in Kosovo being important, alive and a topic of debate; but it also depends on what ethnic group historians belong to (Judah, 2000a). The significance of history in Kosovo today cannot be overrated. Studies in post-war societies in the Balkans confirm that people are very aware of their history and that collective identities and memories are linked to historical events, such as the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 (Di Lellio, 2009) or the various national quests in the region (Djokić, 2003; Glenny, 1996; Glenny, 1999; Malcolm, 2002; Mazower, 2001; Vickers, 1998; Vickers, 1999; Judah, 2000a; Judah 2000b). For people in today's Kosovo, the reconfirmations of national and ethnic identities are constantly stimulated through frequent accounts in literature, media and arts of local historical accounts from the most recent war – the NATO war (Spahiu, 1999; Emërllahu, 2000). This amplifies the significance of researching the historical development of journalism in Kosovo where also journalists and editors have lived through multiple periods of conflicts, wars and post-war periods. The history is tied to both ethnic separatism but also the story of the developments in the Federation of Yugoslavia (Mønnesland, 2006).

What is then the significance of the historical-political context in this study? Most of the countries in Eastern Europe are in the midst of implementing, or have implemented, multiple

[14] Winston Churchill is supposed to have used this phrase during WWII, but he did not create it.

reforms since the end of the Cold War. However, in Kosovo, the development of media has taken many additional twists during history, including the escalation of ethnic conflicts in the 1980s and 1990s, the recent NATO military and humanitarian intervention and presence there. This amplifies an expectation that Kosovo might be a special case in the history of journalism development. *The tormented history of Kosovar journalism and its possible ties to today's practice can teach the international research community and donor community about how journalism might, or might not, be substantially professionalized through media support. Thus, a historical-political inquiry is of academic relevance*.

2.3. Post-war journalism

This second part of the theoretical framework discusses the concept of *post-war journalism*. The 1998-1999 war in Kosovo, including the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999, represented a watershed for Kosovo and its media. Suddenly, Kosovo was situated in a post-war, post-intervention setting. The Kosovar society found itself in a rapid transitional stage, shortly after decades of ethnic violent conflicts, (1997-1999), an international military intervention (the NATO war in 1999), an international humanitarian and political intervention (UNMIK-rule and of political institution building from 1999-2008). This was followed by international negotiations with Serbia, a declaration of independence in 2008, and continuous political conflicts with Serbia since then (Judah, 2008).

In post-war societies, various forms of *social identities* are important (Hewer and Vitija, 2013; Doja, 2000; Finney, 2002; Jafa, 2002; Schwandner-Sievers & Fischer, 2002; Volčič 2007). Journalists in the region are part of a society where the concept of *ethnic identities* has been one of the major reasons for conflicts and wars throughout history. Social identity theorists argue that the identity of belonging, of collectiveness and that ethnic identity is one of the strongest (Barth, 1969; Jenkins, 1997). As we will see in the historical-political chapter on Kosovo media (chapter 4), in all media transitions, ethnic identity has historically been a major mechanism of identity in Kosovo (Schwandner-Sievers, 2002). In Kosovo, the concept of identity is a hot topic in the public sphere. A few years ago, the ethnic label 'Kosovar' surfaced, indicating a person residing in Kosovo. However, this is a term that people in Kosovo have struggled to identify with after the most recent war. Throughout history, people in Kosovo have seen themselves as being a part of a national or ethnicity, 'Albanians', 'Serbs', 'Romas' and other ethnic groups. The Gheg[15] – dialect magazine *Java* published a long debate between 2001 and 2005 under the title "Who is

[15] Gheg is one of two major dialects in the Albanian language. It is the spoken dialect in Northern Albania, Kosovo, and the Albanian-speaking parts of Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia. The other Albanian dialect, Tosk, is the official written language, which also the vast majority of newspapers are written in. The *Java* magazine is the only newspaper/magazine published in Gheg.

Kosovar?" (Kelmendi & Desku, 2005), where the editors wrote in the introduction: "Kosovar is a new word included in the great dictionaries of the great languages after the NATO forces' intervention and the international community's involvement in the peace and stability proves in the area [...]" (ibid, p.12). In this debate, writers, journalists and editors discussed the new concept of the 'Kosovar' national identity, which seems to take second place after national identities[16]. Subsequently, the identity of being Serbian in Kosovo has been strengthened after the 1999 war and since the February 2008 Declaration of independence (Judah, 2008). The vast majority of Serbs don't consider themselves as 'Kosovars', because they claim that they are still Kosovo Serbs living in the Southern province of Serbia called Kosovo (Judah 2000a; Judah 2008). The few Serbian journalists in Kosovo are under strong pressure from Belgrade to promote Serbian identities and to refuse the concept of 'Kosovars' in Kosovo. Consequently, the both Albanian and Serbian journalists today are working in an official environment of politicians and international organizations asking them to feel as 'Kosovars', while their strongest identity is ethnic; Albanian or Serbian. It is interesting to note also that while the Kosovo Serbs look to Belgrade, the Kosovar Albanians do not look to the Albanian capital Tirana, but to Prishtina. So the Albanian orientation is geared towards Kosovo, while the Serbian orientation is beyond Kosovo's borders (Gorani, 2005, p. 189).[17]

As mentioned above, the emphasis on ethnic identities seems to dominate media coverage and theoretical discussions on Kosovo in light of the many conflicts. Ethnicity alone is frequently blamed for being the main reason for the Balkan conflicts. However, the question of identities in Kosovo is more complex than this. Cultural anthropologist Ger Duijzings, who has done extensive ethnographic studies on minorities in Kosovo, challenges the idea that ethnic and religious identities in Kosovo are clear-cut and fixed:

> I would only like to argue that local, regional, and religious identities, to name a few types of identity that are based on non-ethnic criteria, have remained very important, in spite of the fact that now more inclusive (ethnic and national) identities are being superimposed. The stress on ethnicity tends to make us blind to other processes of identification and social affiliation[...]We need to go beyond the 'ethnic' discourse, the dominant discourse produced by nationalists in most

[16] This became visible in the debate over the new flag for Kosovo, which was unveiled in the Kosovar parliament on the day of the Declaration of Independence (February 17, 2008). People in the streets were very reluctant to use the new Kosovo flag that was blue with a yellow map of Kosovo and six stars. They said they preferred the Albanian national flag which was the symbol of their nationality spread out in six countries and the flag that was used by the Kosovar Albanians during the years of struggle during the 1980's and 1990's. Even today (2015), the Kosovo flag and Albanian flag is flown side by side in official buildings, and many Kosovo Albanians refuse to use anything but the red and black Albanian flag.

[17] Although 'Kosovar' it is a disputed term, as this discussion has shown, I have opted to use Kosovar as a descriptions of a person living permanently in Kosovo, either from Albanian, Serbian, Roma, or other ethnic groups. International workers, who live temporarily in Kosovo, are not labelled as Kosovars.

> parts of the former Yugoslavia, which has been too easily adopted by journalists and scholars from abroad (Duijzings, 2000, p. 19-20).

The significance of *religious identities* in Kosovo depends on the ethnic group under analysis. The Serbian Orthodox church is strongly connected to the Serbian state and Serbian myths, many of them in Kosovo (Malcolm, 2002). Islam was a minority religion in former Yugoslavia (Mønnesland, 2009; Bringa, 1995; Malcolm, 1996). Albanians have always had a pragmatic relationship to religion and have switched from Catholicism to Islam during the Ottoman Empire. In Kosovo, the majority are nominal Muslims, while the Catholic Church is the dominant religion in Albania. Former Albanian dictator Enver Hoxha allegedly stated that "The religion of Albanians is Albanianism" (Judah, 2000a, p.12). Duijzings' argument that ethnicity it is wrongly claimed as the main source of conflicts in the Balkans and thus is seen as the main collective identity, can give an important corrective to the West's understanding of Kosovo as being a place where all conflicts revolve around ethnicity. However, when all is added up, there is little doubt that ethnicity is and has been a very important identity factor in Kosovo, also after the end of the NATO war in 1999.

Journalists in post-war societies are being torn between several identities. We have already discussed the possibly strongest identity; ethnicity. However, as journalists and members of a profession, their identity is also in the wider *community of journalism*. In many post-war areas and conflict zones, local journalists experience membership in communities that oppose each other. In a study of Israeli journalists covering the second intifada in Gaza and the West Bank, it became clear that the journalists shifted back and forth between sympathy and grief for the nation, and the endeavour for 'objective' reporting as journalists, satisfying the "norms of the trade" (Zandberg & Neiger, 2005, p. 138). Being drawn to their Israeli identity made them break the value of journalistic balance for a while. Zandberg and Neider's study shows how the Israeli journalists shifted the frame of coverage from nation to profession after a few days, and remained in this constant tension:

> The coverage of violent conflict when the journalist is a member of one of the conflicting parties invokes a professional dilemma: the journalist's traditional paradigm – of objectivity and neutrality – is challenged and confronted by the journalist's patriotic sentiment and their ethnic and cultural belonging. In fact, journalists are members of two communities simultaneously: the professional community and the national one (Zandberg & Neider, 2005, p. 131).

Studies of journalists in other areas of transition (from authoritative governments to democratization) show that it is common to experience a flux of identities during periods of rapid political change. In Hong Kong, after the Chinese takeover in 1997, journalists identified

themselves mainly with values of journalism, but were at the same time apprehensive to criticize the Chinese authorities (Chan, Lee & Lee, 1992). A study of professional roles of Russian journalists in St. Petersburg shows that there was a gap between older and younger journalists' view on journalism:

> Whereas the old generation continues to hold a cultivated view of journalism as an important societal task in natural collaboration with those in authority, the new generation is orientated towards the contemporary role of providing entertainment and perceives journalism rather as a PR role for the benefit of influential groups and people in politics and business. Despite their polarities, both generations of journalism accept the political function of journalism as a propaganda machine for the power elite during elections and other important events. (Pasti, 2005, p. 89)

In his study of Ethiopian state media newsrooms, Skjerdal (2012) found that journalists and editors struggled with competing loyalties; between the profession and the nation. Unlike the situation in Israel (Zandberg & Neider, 2005), journalists in Ethiopia were seen to experience several identities simultaneously. In Tanzania, during the transition from a one-party, socialist, controlled press system to a multi-party, capitalist, relatively free press system, journalists have been seen to rate Western journalistic values, including accuracy, analysis, investigation, - highly. At the same time, "their Tanzanian conceptions of the role of the press - portraying the country positively, using traditional media, ensuring rural coverage and thinking of news as a social good, all for national development - are also important to them" (Ramaprasad, 2001, p.539). The *Worlds of Journalism* project, where journalists' views on their own trade in over 80 countries have shown that loyalty to the nation is a key value for many journalists (Hanitzsch, 2013).

Additionally, several studies of journalism and identity in western countries find that journalists have become more identified to their own nation and less critical to actions by their governments (Zelizer & Allan, 2002). This is especially seen to be the case in the age of the US 'War on terror' and New Wars[18] in the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq (Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2014, Nohrstedt, 2009). *The Journalism and the new World Order* project shows how media coverage of several overseas military interventions following the first Gulf War in 2000 through national 'glasses' rather with a critical view (Kempf, 2002; Nohrstedt, Kaitatzi-Whitlock, Ottosen & Riegert, 2000). Concepts like 'national security' and 'war on terror' were used, to a large extent, uncritically.

[18] The concept of 'New Wars', where one or a coalition of countries choose to invade another country for the sake of preventing terrorism or human suffering is discussed more in depth in chapter 9.

On the *individual* level of journalism practice, it must be remembered that journalists in post-war societies have *personally* lived through war. This experience is central to the whole 'post-war' concept. Various personal experiences of trauma during the 1998-1999 war in Kosovo influence the Kosovar population in all aspects of life (Gorani & Tubina, 1999; Spahiu, 1999; Bylykbashi, 1996; Randjelovic, 1999; Bajgora, 2000; Stefanovic, 2005). The psychological long-term effects of the violence and war during the 1980s and 1990s as well as the difficult post-war situation have naturally influenced people throughout Kosovo.

Several important studies relating to the traumatic working conditions for journalists within the former Yugoslavia emphasize some of the difficult working conditions for journalists in the region during the 1990s. Kemal Kurspahic, former editor of the Sarajevo daily newspaper *Oslobodjenje* (1988-1994), shows in his book *Prime Time Crime* how Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic seized control of the media, national and local, and how local media outlets worked to turn communities against each other (Kurspahic, 2003). Mark Thompson also draws a grim picture about a large part of the media in the same idea in *Forging War* (Thompson, 1999). Both books document the dangerous situation for journalists and editors who stood up against hatred and pressure to conform, several of whom suffered severe consequences for their actions. Eyewitness accounts from journalists living through conflicts in the Balkans show the psychological effects of trauma and loss that follow the journalists who have experienced and witnessed such events (Cicic, 1999; Bylykbashi, 1996; Arifaj 1999). The aspect of war trauma can help the understanding of a possible post-war journalism culture that has developed in Kosovo. It might be one of the micro-levels of influence on journalists, as well as a shared experience, that influences selection and production of news. These conditions of journalism in post-war Balkans are significant reference points for this study.

Another important aspect of studying the development of journalism in Kosovo is the aspect of living in a *high-risk society*. During recent decades, Balkan journalists have lived through conflicts which involve a high level of personal risk. German sociologist Ulrich Beck first coined the terms 'risk society' and 'reflexive modernization' (Beck, 1992), emphasizing how modern societies react and organize in response to different risks. These might be external risks, such as natural disasters and wars, but even more human made risks, such as pollution, poverty and the like. These have come as a result of modernization. This affects people's individual lives as well. Beck argues that modernity focuses on individualization, and this trend makes people consider themselves as the "centre of the conduct of life, taking on multiple and mutable subjectivities, and crises are seen as individual problems rather than socially based (Tulloch & Lupton, 2003). He calls this 'reflexive biography' (Beck, 1992, p. 135). John Tulloch and Deborah Lupton, in their book *Risk and Everyday Life* (2003) draw the research closer to people's everyday lives and examine how people respond to, experience and think about risk as part of

their everyday lives. Like Beck, they argue that people produce their own 'risk biographies' and invent new ways to adjust life in a risk society. Tulloch and Lipton concentrate more on risks that people meet on an individual level, such as sickness, family and marital breakdowns, unemployment etc. People seek means in order to meet and overcome these risks. The authors also argue that one must take into consideration social and cultural dimensions of risk-taking, such as gender, social class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, occupation, geographical location and nationality. Tulloch and Lipton criticize Beck for putting too much emphasis on individuals. In addition, they raise an issue discussed by other sociologists; that people react to risks in cultural subgroups rather than merely as individuals (Lash, 2000). In such subgroups, unarticulated assumptions and moral values are shared and developed over time and are often "non-reflexive in that they are taken-for-granted" (Tulloch & Lupton, 2003, p. 6). Lash argues, therefore, for 'risk cultures' rather than 'risk societies'. The above studies of risk are relevant for life in Kosovo. Living in a post-war society encountering rapid transitions brings special individual risks that are more specific than covered in the traditional literature on risk societies. The Kosovar journalists, like the rest of the population, adjust their lives constantly in response to multiple risks such as risk of unemployment, risk of financial problems, risk of political intimidation, risk of threats from organized crime (Andresen, 2009). Studies on news production in the Balkan areas confirm this, for example concerning the demanding working conditions for investigative journalists in Slovenia (Merljak & Kovacic, 2007), in Serbia (Pitts, 2004), and the high amount of political pressure on newsrooms in Albania and Bosnia[19] (Easterman, 2000).

Recent studies of the media in the post-war Balkans focus on the characteristics of a *conflict area*. Thompson (1999) points to political manipulation of the media in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia during the 1990s, claiming that media in the Former Yugoslavia were "…more abundant, varied and unconstrained than in any other Communist state" (p.7). At the same time, his book examines the tight political control of media during the wars in Bosnia and Croatia. He briefly describes the conditions for Kosovar Albanian journalists during the 1990s, noting (at the time of writing his book – in 1999) that during this time, "…Albanian-language media have been closed down, Kosovar Albanian journalists have been harassed, beaten or – like Afim Maliqi and Enver Maloku[20] - murdered" (p.116). Gecaj and Latifi (1999) also address the persecution of Kosovar Albanian journalists in the International Press Institute's report *The Kosovo News and Propaganda War*. Taylor & Napoli (2003) analyze the effects of media support on media development in Bosnia after the Bosnian war, looking especially at the audience's perception of

[19] The short research trip made by Max Easterman in Albania and Bosnia paints a very one-sided, negative image of journalism in the two countries. However, it rightly pinpoints the difficult conditions that editors and journalists live under there, facing constant pressure from politicians. There is a need for more systematic ethnographic studies of journalism in these countries.

[20] Kosovar Albanian journalists who were shot and killed in Pristhina in 1998.

the media during this time. The thorough analysis of Eastern European journalism over the last 100 years in Aumente et.al (1999) traces the roots of the region's journalism before, during and after communism. The authors also hold that journalism in Former Yugoslavia was less controlled by the state, but marked by the same characteristics due to the many conflicts in this area. Another relevant study is Paletz and Jakubowicz (2003) who conclude that relationships between media and change in Central and Eastern Europe have been extremely complicated and as a result, transitions halted. Bosnian author Kemal Kurspahic (2003) approaches the study of media in the Balkans from his experience as a newspaper editor. He experienced first-hand how media in Former Yugoslavia came under political pressure and control in the 1990s and was used as a political tool during the Bosnian and Croatian wars of the 1990s. These studies of western Balkan media in times of conflict all point to *tight connections between politicians and the media*. This will be addressed at length later in this chapter, and in Chapter 6.

2.4. International media support

The third theoretical concept, *international media support* is important in the analysis of journalism development in Kosovo, due to the specific historical and current context. The concept can be seen in a broader context, as a part of a wider ideological project; to build, support and provide training for 'free and independent media' in post-war societies (International Media Support 2006; Kumar, 2006; Rhodes, 2007).

In critical literature on international intervention, it can be traced back to the term *new wars* which has been a label of the new generation of wars and interventions that have taken over from 'traditional' military interventions (Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2014). In new wars, a fellowship of states can decide to invade a country on various grounds; one often cited reason altruism; is the necessity to prevent excessive humanitarian suffering. Examples of such invasions are the Gulf War, the Kosovo War, and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The concept of 'new wars' has been extensively commented upon by scholars (Jung, 2005; Mednicoff, 2006; Nohrstedt, 2009), mostly with a critical view on this transformation of conventional war. The global media coverage of these wars has also been scrutinized, for its lack of understanding of this vital shift into what President George Bush Sr. called a 'New World Order' (Nohrstedt, Kaitatzi-Whitlock, Ottosen & Riegert, 2000; Höijer, Nohrstedt & Ottosen 2002). This literature on interventions meets resistance from scholars defending humanitarian intervention (Wheeler, 2002), referring to an ongoing ethical, legal and political debate on the dilemmas of such intervention from World War II to the present day (Weiss, 2007; Holzgrefe & Keohane, 2003). In particular, the debate has circled around which characteristics must be present in order for an intervention to be characterized as 'humanitarian'. In his book *Saving strangers*, Nicholas J.

Wheeler proposes a 'solidarist theory' of humanitarian intervention, that challenges "pluralist and realist objections to legitimating a practice of unilateral humanitarian intervention in the society of states" (2002, p. 52). Wheeler argues for four basic criteria for such justifiable intervention; supreme humanitarian emergency, necessity of last resort, proportionality, and a positive humanitarian outcome. His 'solidarist theory' puts humanitarian well-being over the rights of a superior nation state.

The term *international media intervention* is also used in literature; linked closely to humanitarian intervention and new wars. This means that the international community actively, and often in the middle of the conflict, assists local media to prevent hate speech and escalation of the conflict. The American diplomat Jamie Metzl introduced the term *information intervention* in 1997, as a measure against misuse of information before, during, and after an armed conflict (Metzl, 1997). Monroe Price and Mark Thompson, in their anthology *Forging Peace* (2002), trace the roots of this philosophy back to early international cooperation after World War II, analyzing especially the legal frameworks of such intervention in various recent conflicts, including Kosovo. They call for a more thorough analysis and a definition of an 'enabling environment' for such media intervention. If the social and legal frameworks in a certain society make it impossible for 'free and independent media' to operate, this kind of intervention might not only be a waste of time and money, but also counter-productive (Price & Thompson, 2002). Western values of journalism (cf. the discussion under 1.6.) dominate the arguments for this media support, argue Price and Thompson. These values are rooted in 200 years of democracy in the west and are promoted in democracy building efforts in post-war areas worldwide, including Kosovo. Such philosophies and their practice are scrutinized in Chapter 9, as a part of analysis of international media training in Kosovo.

2.5. Journalistic professionalism

In order to discuss properly how journalism in Kosovo has developed, there is a need for a *conceptual debate on journalistic professionalism* and its relation to Kosovo. This is especially significant due to the repeated criticism of Kosovar journalism being 'unprofessional' as discussed in Chapter 1 (cf. 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4). In his recent book *Reinventing Professionalism* (2013), Silvio Waisbord revisits the notion of professionalism in journalism, where he argues for a comprehensive discussion of the concept of professionalism. He claims that 'professional journalism' with a background in the West needs to be widened and re-understood. He argues that instead of defining professionalism with a minimalist approach, the journalism community should strive to agree on certain *boundaries* of journalism "through cultivating a unique

epistemology and sharing common practices and norms" (p. 222). Professionalism, he argues, can then rest on the assumption that journalists worldwide agree on these basic boundaries.

In debates on journalism, the concepts of profession and professionalism are tied together, and a discussion of *journalism as a profession* is therefore a helpful point of departure. Tumber and Prentoulis (2005), in their contribution to Hugo deBurgh's anthology *Making journalists*, point out that since the dawn of professionalization of journalists in the nineteenth century, " a debate has raged as to whether journalism is a craft, a trade or a profession" (p. 58). In the 'classical' professions, such as medicine and law, people working in these occupations undergo a lengthy education and receive formal certification to serve the community and share benefits in a select group of people qualified for these professions (Henningham, 1979; Tunstall, 1973). This represents a long-running scientific debate about professions. Tumber and Prentoulis refer to the founding fathers of sociology, Marx, Weber and Durkheim, and claim that they were relatively vague about the role of professions. Marx' theme of class struggles did not include a detailed account of descriptions of professions, except that professions were connected to the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. Marxist accounts focused on the role of professions and the capitalist market and their monopoly in providing services (Dooley, 1997). According to Tumber and Prentoulis, Weber did not pay much attention to the professions as a sociological category; his work centered on "the accumulation and manipulation of specialized skills and knowledge that occupational groups began to master" (2005, p.58). They also argue that Durkheim did not illuminate the debate, since his shortcoming was that he failed to provide a link between history and the development of the professions in France. Patricia Dooley (1997), in her scholarly work on the development of American journalism, pays special attention to how journalism *developed as a profession*, and in particular how the journalists during the 19th century gradually distinguished themselves from politicians in the US. She agrees that the definition of journalism as a profession is possible:

> Scholarly attention to occupations and professions can be differentiated between those that examine how certain occupations accumulate professional traits that distinguish them from non-professional groups, and those who try to marry history and sociology by arguing that the development of the professions is related to broader environmental and structural changes (Dooley, 1997, p. 5).

According to Dooley, sociologists, economists, and political scientists have viewed the concept of professionalism from various angles. *Sociologists* emphasize how professionals serve the broader public with accumulated expertize, skills, and knowledge. *Economists* pay more attention to the monopoly privileges that professionals traditionally have had, and *political*

scientists point to their character as 'privileged private governments' (ibid., p. 59). When relating professionalism theory to the development of journalism, Everett C. Hughes, part of the 'Chicago School'[21] of sociology in the 1950s, states that professional groups were formed by specific circumstances like mandate and professional licenses. The acceptance from peers was crucial, and the shared identity was the glue that kept professional groups together (Hughes, 1958; Dooley, 1997). Professionalism was therefore the result of a shift from an *occupation* to a *profession*, with shared license, responsibility, and admiration. Another theoretical trend in sociology, according to Tumber and Prentoulis (2005) focused on the power to *define professionalism by the professionals themselves*, also called *relative autonomy* (Josephi, 2008). The creation of professional associations with colleagues led to a power shift in defining professionalism, and that the professionals, meaning those 'inside' would distinguish a profession from an occupation. This shift in the Anglo-American sphere set the stage for what has later been the benchmark of defining a profession in the western world (Caplow, 1954; Wilensky, 1964) based on the following criteria:

- The emergence of a full-time occupation
- The establishment of a training school
- The founding of a professional association
- Political agitation directed towards the protection of the association by law
- The adoption of a formal code

(Based on Dooley, 1997; Freidson 1983; Johnson, 1972)

It can therefore be argued that the historical stages of defining professions have established *characteristics* of professionalism. This is especially true of the classic professions with their established institutions, such as medicine and law. As will be seen in the following discussion, the concept of professional journalism has not been unproblematic. Unlike the classic professions, it has lacked the anchoring in professional *tradition*. It has also moved along several problematic and complex lines, historically, politically, and professionally. Previous studies of professions have also emphasized how professionals serve the broader public with expertize, skills and knowledge. The classic professions, such as medicine and law, but also sciences such as sociology, are grounded in theoretical and scientific frameworks of knowledge and 'truths' that guard these professions from deviation (cf. Abbott, 1988). Journalism, on the other hand, has developed differently than the classic professions. It lacks the theoretical and scientific

[21] The 'Chicago School' of sociology came out from urban research at the University of Chicago that focused on symbolic interactionism between individuals. It emphasized that human behavior was a result of environmental influence and social structures, rather than genetics and heritage.

foundation that supports 'truth' claims and guards it from deviation. In addition, the craft of writing and editing makes this profession more vulnerable to changes and discussions than the classic professions (Tumber and Prentoulis, 2005). Still, Schudson (2003) argues for a cultural historic link between journalism as profession and objectivity demands from science. So, there is an ongoing conceptual debate about journalism as a profession with a short history and lack of global consensus.

Relating this discussion to this dissertation's topic of journalism development in Kosovo, as a complex post-war Eastern European area of research, a valid question emerges; what does 'professional journalism' mean in a setting far removed from traditional western society? To answer this question requires discussion of the concept of *professional journalism*. There is an ongoing debate in the scholarly community about professional journalism, and this makes a study of journalism in Kosovo a complicated endeavor. Journalism is a rather young academic discipline in Europe, and it is crucial to uncover both the consensus and discrepancies that exist between the practiced field and the academic field when journalism's ideology, professionalism and ideology are discussed. Therefore, a discussion about the concept of professional journalism is of essence.

In his article *What is journalism*, Deuze (2005) reconsiders well-established professional identities and ideologies of journalism. He argues that "journalism as a discipline and an object of study is based on a consensual body of knowledge, a widely shared understanding of key theories and methods, and an international practice of teaching, learning and researching journalism" (p. 442). However, this consensus is not as strong as one might think. Paradoxically, Deuze notes a growing *lack of international consensus* in the academic field of journalism, which he attributes to a high level of critical debate within the academic field (Fedler, Carey & Counts, 1998), and the constant debates between the media industry and scholars regarding the discipline. What then is the 'body of knowledge' that Deuze refers to, and does it open for historical-political relativity? Deuze does not define it fully, but calls for an open debate of what professionalism means. He approaches it from another angle, the issue of *values* of journalism. The issue of professional values appears frequently in the conceptualizing debates on journalism. Comprehensive research on journalism in predominately western newsrooms indicates that journalists adhere strongly to their profession and its values. Deuze (2005) cites Russo (1998) who suggests that "journalists identify themselves more easily with the *profession of journalism* than for example with the medium or media company that employs them" (p. 446). According to Russo's research on journalists, there are certain ideological values that journalists subscribe to and that identify their profession. Key characteristics of the self-definition can be summarized as "discursively constructed ideal-typical values" (ibid.) of journalism. Deuze, who refers to research by scholars like Golding and Elliott (1979), Merritt (1995), and Kovach and

Rosenstiel (2001), argues that values and elements said to be part of journalisms' ideology can be categorized into five ideal-typical traits or values:

- Public service: journalists provide a public service (as watchdogs or 'newshounds', active collectors and disseminators of information);
- Objectivity: journalists are impartial, neutral, objective, fair and (thus) credible;
- Autonomy: journalists must be autonomous, free and independent in their work;
- Immediacy: journalists have a sense of immediacy, actuality and speed (inherent in the concept of news);
- Ethics; journalists have a sense of ethics, validity and legitimacy

(Deuze, 2005, p. 447)

Arguably, the span of how these ideals are practiced varies from country to country and between media outlets in all places. Deuze points out that critical literature on journalism, e.g. especially Schudson (2001), questions the values of *objectivity* and *detachment* as absolutes. In fact, Deuze dismisses these perceived ideal-typical values as obsolete in a modern global world, and claims that it is hard to keep to them in a global and more fluid news age. According to Deuze, these traditional, mostly Western values, gain different meaning in different circumstances and are more a matter of journalists' self-representation than anything else.

Where does this discussion lead in terms of professionalization of journalists in Kosovo? I concur with Deuze who claim that we need to *study how journalism is practiced* in order to investigate this matter. This is a valid argument for comprehensive historical-political study of journalism and as well as a study of news production in today's Kosovo as a way to analyze how if journalism develops in extremely difficult circumstances. Therefore, in the complex post-war setting of Kosovo, there is value in Deuze's arguments that the best way to uncover the journalists' values is studying them in their *daily work*:

> The analyses of the ideal-typical values of journalism, and how these vary and get meaning in different circumstances, have shown that any definition of journalism as a profession working truthfully, operating as a watchdog for the good of society as a whole and enabling citizens to be self-governing is not only naïve, but also one-dimensional and sometimes nostalgic for perhaps the wrong reasons. It is by studying how journalists from all walks of their professional life negotiate the core values that one can see the occupational ideology of journalism at work (p. 458).

Thus, this current study in Kosovo is also a contribution to a deeper understanding of professionalism. The study uncovers a practice and history of journalism that departs from an

ideal western view of journalism. Norwegian journalism scholar Martin Eide describes a classic Nordic – or western - view of journalistic professionalism where the journalist operates as an independent, critical watchdog that keeps an eye on people with power in society:

> Journalists are crucial intermediators and interpreters between the mighty and the people, according to the professional ideology of journalism. Viewing the journalist not as an independent critic of power, but as a part of power, would be regarded by the community of professional journalists as an unfair allegation (Eide, 2007, p. 22).

This classical concept of journalistic professionalism is linked together with values such as 'freedom', 'objectivity' and 'independence' (cf. Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009; Kumar, 2006; Price, 2002; Easterman, 2000). Journalists worldwide, including Kosovo, have been evaluated and measured on basis of the presence or void it of or lack of these qualities. As I discussed in Chapter 1, this has arguably led to a one-sided criticism of journalists in Eastern Europe, including Kosovo. However, as already stated, in recent times, a growing body of journalism research has challenged the classical Western domination of defining professional journalism. Where does this discussion stand? Beate Josephi (2007) discusses imperatives and impediments of a possible professional model that can be internationalized. She argues that "the impediments are that no models exist to date which could be implemented around the world" (p. 300). Although she refers to Splichal and Sparks (1994) research that shows that journalism students worldwide have a desire for independence and autonomy, this is a long way from a single journalism model. Curran and Park (2000), who emphasize that values in journalism vary from autonomy and independence to journalists as tool for politics (Josephi, 2007), also show this. Additionally, Barbie Zelizer points out:

> Research outside the Anglo-American orbit, which has so far shaped the dominant journalistic concepts, is now challenging these paradigms[…]What has long been hailed as the 'professional model' centering on the ideal of the objective reporter, is now seen as just that: a model upheld but rarely attained. The question therefore is, why should a model stay a model of it so far removed from what is actually practiced in newsrooms around the world?" (Zelizer, 2007, p. 576).

Josephi maps the current questioning of the 'American model'. The value of *objectivity* as a central part of a model has been criticized (Schudson, 2001, 2003), as well as *value neutrality* (Deuze, 2005). The European discussion on journalism raises journalists' preferred values and ideas over objectivity norms (Donsbach & Klett, 1993). De Burgh emphasizes "that the old fallacy that all journalisms were at different stages on the route to an ideal model, probably

Anglophone, is passé" (De Burgh 2005, p.2). Furthermore, Stephen Reese (2001) problematizes attempts to create an international standard of journalistic professionalism. He argues that the growing urge to do so stems from the fact that journalism is a growing academic field and an increasing number of scholars have received formal training in journalism. There is, therefore, a growing field of transnational, comparative studies that attempt to find a global view on journalism. "This transnational view of the profession has found the social survey a natural methodological approach, allowing scholars to make general descriptive statements about the nature of these journalists and their adherence to certain professional tenets" (p. 174). Reese, as others, assesses professionalism of journalism "based on its contribution to a democratic society" (p. 175). Journalism, according to Reese, does not resemble the traditional learned professions with required certificates and licenses, but it has professional *features*. According to Reese, comparative studies of journalism can be problematic, since they operate in various press systems with a variety of freedom of the media:

> This discussion suggests that when conducting comparative research it is tempting to rely on the nation system as the natural organizing principle. We need to consider, however, how we are viewing journalists and their professional systems as relating to these national contexts (p. 178).

Reese suggests that journalistic professionalism can vary strongly even within one nation, and that there is a need to not only compare nations to nations, but consider other categories of journalists, such as elite media vs. local media across nations:

> The meaning of 'professionalism', for example, needs to be understood in relation to its specific cultural context[…] Indeed, the interesting question is may be not how professional one country's journalists are compared with another's but how professionalism comes to mean something different in different countries, or how different journalistic practices are employed to accomplish the same normative goals? (p. 178)

Is there then, a common foundation, or basis, for journalistic professionalism relevant for the case of Kosovo? A fruitful way forward might be to look at a normative side of the concept; the idea of *freedom*. McQuail (1992) says that we evaluate journalists against the major social values of freedom, equality and order, and that we assume that journalists must have a high degree of professional freedom and autonomy to carry out their work. In other words, we trust that journalists observe standards that do not violate expectations of social order. Reese (2001) looks for conditions that either encourage or threaten the professional conduct and quality that is desired. He emphasizes that freedom seems to be journalism's most vigorous international professional value (p. 176). This is, according to him, also reflected in international

press freedom measurements and international rankings of the press all emphasize this value (see press freedom rankings from Freedom House, RSF[22], and IREX[23]). Thus, we find agreements among journalism scholars that a link exists between the concept of *press freedom* and professional journalism, and that press freedom is considered a value, and a prerequisite, for journalism to be professional. This seems to transcend geographical borders. However, there is a growing debate among media scholars as to the quality of the many press freedom rankings that are used as crucial tools for academics and donors in their attempts to see the relationships between media development and media support. There is a need to evaluate the evaluators, especially the question of how the rankings are fair, and to what degree are the rankings based primarily on western standards of press freedom (Price, Abbott, & Morgan, 2011).

The above mentioned widely recognized views on professionalism show some variation. However, they are all somewhat cautious, and what seems to be missing is a scholarly discussion on the concept of professionalism in high-risk, post-war societies like Kosovo, where press freedom in the western sense has been absent and where oppression and ethnic conflicts have dominated much of the history. There is a danger that the concept of journalistic professionalism falls in one of two camps; either a minimalist, western definition, or a total relative, cultural definition. Neither of them, I will argue, is helpful in my research setting in Kosovo. The setting of complex history and a demanding post-war setting with very specific challenges sets it apart from other settings of journalism. These characteristics will be discussed in the production study in this dissertation (chapters 5-8), which analyzes daily news production inside newsrooms in Kosovo. Therefore, this calls for another approach. Consequently, I outline and compare two paradigms that I consider helpful as a contribution to analyzing the development of news production in 'new democracies' in Eastern Europe and that that is applicable to the Kosovo situation. These are a *professional journalism paradigm* and a *media patrimonialism* paradigm.

2.6. Two paradigms of professionalism in new transitional countries

2.6.1. Professional journalism paradigm

Much journalism research operates within a view of journalism that I will label as the *professional journalism paradigm*. This is also a view that dominates the rationale behind media support in Kosovo, as we will see in Chapter 9. This western view has at its core the classical ideological functions of journalism as journalists and their peers have defined them in democratic societies (Eide, 2007). As a theoretical foundation for a discussion of this view, I have

[22] Reporters Sans Frontieres (Reporters Without Borders), cf. www.en.rsf.org
[23] International Research and Exchange Board (IREX), cf. www.irex.org

focused on the work of Peter Gross. As an American journalism scholar with long research experience from Eastern Europe, especially Romania, he has written extensively on media and democratization in Eastern Europe. His book *Entangled Evolutions* (Gross, 2002), is a significant study of media in transitions from Eastern European communism to open societies where he argues that media in the region have failed to lead the development from authoritarian rule to open democracies. Gross examines particularly the Eastern European media's situation and role in the 'liberated societies' that shortly after communism embraced democracy.

A normative foundation for this view is that media should have a *leading role in the democratization* of societies in transition. Its philosophical foundation can arguably be found in a liberal media ideology, as first described by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1963). Although described over 50 years ago and later criticized and updated (cf. Sparks & Tulloch, 2000; Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Shaw, 2009), one can find strong ties to a western professional model in this view. After reviewing Peter Gross' work on media transitions in Eastern Europe, I will not categorically place him within this view, but he represents an interpretation of observing journalism as a transforming force in societies undergoing transition. Gross also exemplifies an optimistic view of professionalization as answer to unfulfilled tasks of media in Eastern Europe which is still tangled up in political interference of the press (Gross, 2004). Nevertheless, Gross promotes a critical approach to the view, based on his many years in Romania and after observing how the media, in his view, has failed to take a leading the role in the transition from communism to democracy. A point of departure for Gross is an evaluation of journalists in former communist Eastern Europe; they have failed to fulfill the classic western standards of journalism, such as public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy, and ethics, and that there is a need for professionalization of journalists in the region. Gross (2002) draws parallels from today's challenges for the media in Eastern Europe to the choices the media in other transitional areas have had to undertake; how media is supposed to operate in the new democracies forming in Eastern Europe. In his description of the new democracies in this region, he labels the political transitions as partly successful and also claims that there are growing civil societies as well:

> The countries of Eastern Europe have successfully moved from Marxist-Leninist authoritarian and Stalinist totalitarianism to liberalization and political democracy. They remain unconsolidated democracies, however, struggling to establish themselves while initiating and being affected by profound economic changes. Indeed, even though their citizens have begun to organize and mobilize themselves in nongovernmental organizations, groups, and associations, the region's countries are far closer to being REPRESENTATIVE than PARTICIPATORY democracies." (p. 158-159)

A basis for Gross' claims can be placed in the theory on media's roles in democratization and transitions. Gross draws partly on analyses of the media development in Eastern Europe from a Walter Lippmann/John Dewey[24] paradigm:

> Post-Communist Eastern Europe in transformation thus serves as a compelling subject for a Lippmann versus Dewey role of the media in democratic societies […] For Lippmann, fact-based journalism was to provide citizens with snapshots of daily events and issues as a prelude to their forming opinions and debating the issues […] a debate based on "logic and the rules of evidence", that is, one based on reliable facts and not just on personal opinions and the journalistic relativity associated with accommodating the demands or desires of journalists, editors, news directors and media owners […] (p.160).

Gross refers to the Lippmann/Dewey debate on democracy to explain the development of media during democratization in Eastern Europe. For Dewey, who spoke up for participatory democracy, the media embodied the *town meeting* (Dewey, 2012). They were to facilitate conversation, discussion, and an exchange of opinions – and nothing more. The media is supposed to provide opportunity for different views, but not be a voice in itself. Christopher Lasch criticizes this view of media as primarily facilitator and warns against possible negative consequences: "Unless information is generated by sustained public debate, most of it will be irrelevant at best, misleading and manipulative at worst" (Lasch, 1996, p. 174). According to Gross then, one can derive from Dewey, and Lasch, that media in Eastern Europe dismiss the value of verifiable facts as the basis of journalism, even while boasting of press freedom.

Gross draws from this that, on the surface at least, Eastern European media have adopted a practice that can be traced back to Dewey's view. Nevertheless, they have not aided in democratization processes, which to him is no surprise. Gross is forthright when he explains the reason why and the consequences of it. First, he says, the ideal, rational democracy simply does not exist in the region, and the region's journalism the "… is based entirely on opinion, analysis, and the interpretation of selective facts, preluding a public discourse whose logic and legitimacy are derived from verifiable and complete information" (2002, p. 161). Gross continues with his harsh judgment of what he claims are 'Dewey-inspired' journalists in Eastern Europe:

> In their free and spirited exchange of opinion, the region's journalists have helped shaping an ill-informed, misinformed, and often confused citizenry, who seem indifferent and reluctant to participate in sociopolitical life. They rely more on the journalists opinions and analysis than facts[…]Based as it has been, with few exceptions, on rumor, innuendo, opinion, partisanship,

[24] American philosopher/journalist Walter Lippmann and philosopher/psychologist John Dewey debated democracy in the 1920's, where Lippmann argued for representative democracy, while Dewey were more in favor of participatory democracies.

> political and personal combat, the region's journalism has given rise to widespread distrust among its audiences. Its all-too-often incomplete presentation of selected, unverified, and unsourced facts, its opinionated and slanted reporting, and its often vituperative and intolerant exchange of views are hardly a prescription for promoting the new "public virtues needed for democracy: civility, mutual trust and understanding (Gross, 2002, p.161).

From this, it can be concluded that journalists in Eastern Europe have been evaluated on basis of a normative western view, which claims that journalists and the news media indeed should actively participate, and even lead, in democratization processes. Furthermore, it argues that media in the region have failed to be liberated in the same way that the political systems have been, and that they have not fulfilled their role in pushing for transition and democratization. Thus, the media need to be professionalized in order to fulfil their obligations.

In the following section, I discuss another paradigm that goes beyond describing a lack of professionalism in media in post-conflict areas by analyzing the dynamics between media and politics in these areas. This paradigm has a more critical approach and is called the *media patrimonialism paradigm* (Waisbord, 2013). It offers an explanatory view on why journalism in Eastern Europe has not developed according to a professional journalism paradigm.

2.6.2. Media patrimonialism paradigm

In his recent book on journalistic professionalism, the Argentinean-American media scholar Simon Waisbord (2013) introduces the media patrimonialism paradigm in relation to professionalizing journalism in 'new democracies'; countries that have recently transitioned from authoritarian regimes to democracies. This is based on studies he has conducted in former communist countries as well as studies reviewed on countries in Latin-America and Asia in transition from authoritarian regimes to democracies. Throughout his book, Waisbord ascertains that professionalism in journalism deals with the relationships between journalism and influence from other fields, or sectors, in society: "Professionalism refers to the ability of a field of practice to set boundaries and avoid intrusion from external factors" (p. 11). Here he refers to the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's field theory (Bourdieu,1993, 1998). Bourdieu's professional habitus (1984); "…the expression of the desire to gain social legitimation and distinction…" (Waisbord 2013, p.27), "…was reflected in the appeal of a culture of professionalism and the concept of the career which were central to the transformation of occupations into professions" (Bledstein, 1976, in Waisbord, 2013). Waisbord calls Bourdieu's field theory

> …a useful framework to analyze journalism in terms of its relation to other social sectors. His notion of field is embedded in the sociological tradition concerned with understanding social differentiation and specialization as core developments of modern societies. (Waisbord 2013, p. 11)

These fields, according to Waisbord, have surrounded journalism from the dawn of the profession. He refers particularly to the field of *politics* when dealing with new democracies. When discussing the history of professionalism in journalism, the political field has always been linked to journalism, primarily in the West, where we tend to think of journalism as separated from politics:

> In the tradition of the press in western democracy, the press was conceived as inevitably linked to organized politics – the state and political parties […] There were no theories or positions that believed that news reporting should be cut off from organized politics. In fact, journalism was conceived only in the context of politics[…]the struggle for press freedom did not put forth the notion that the press and journalism should secede from politics" (p. 19).

This historical link between the press and politics is well-known in western press history (Schudson, 2003; Zelizer, 2004) as well as in the Eastern European media (Aumente, Gross et al. 1999),where many newspapers were connected to political parties for the major part of the 19th and 20th century (Bastiansen & Dahl, 2008).

There exists *several fundamental differences between media patrimonialism and journalistic professionalism*, according to Waisbord (2013); differences that difficult to reconcile. Based on Waisbord's definitions and descriptions on media patrimonialism and professionalism, Based on Waisbord, I have developed the following table (2.1.) that illustrates these differences. Here we see how media patrimonialism is based on mutual agreements, mostly unofficial and hidden, while professional journalism is based on routines, shared values and transparency:

Areas	Media Patrimonialism	Journalistic professionalism
Visibility	Hidden	Transparent
Actions	Arbitrary actions	Routines
Expectations	Unpredictable	Predictable
Focus	Subjective	Objective
Rules	Rules not applied	Rule-bound
Decisions	Personal decisions	Formalized procedures
Values	Personal values	Embedded and agreed values
Agreements	Personal agreements	Agreed standards
Goals	Personal obligations	Common goals
Authorities	Personal authorities	Professional authorities (editors)
Ethics	Personal ethical standards	Codes of ethics
Time span	Ad hoc	Planned

Table 2.1. Differences between media patrimonialism and journalistic professionalism (based on Waisbord, 2013).

This table (2.1.) illustrates the fundamental distance between media patrimonialism and professional journalism. The main difference is that media patrimonialism can be considered as personal, mutual, personal, and unpredictable, while journalistic professionalism, according to Waisbord, is structured, predictable, and built on values that a professional community has agreed on. A possible interpretation of this could be that according to Waisbord, the task of professionalizing journalism into a society with media patrimonialism is a formidable task. In the next section we will therefore assess how this dissertation's area of study, Eastern Europe, has been assessed as an area where media patrimonialism is alive and thriving.
The paradigm casts another light on the concept of professionalism in Kosovar journalism; *the dynamics of the proximity between politics and media throughout Kososvo's history, from the late 1800s until today*. The notion of media patrimonialism in new democracies can be drawn from sociologist Max Weber's (1978) classic political legitimacy typology; *reciprocity*:

> It is characterized by relationships based on the principle of *reciprocity*. Rulers deliver goods in exchange for political support. Interactions between patrons and clients are based on reciprocity and voluntary compliance. Relations last as long as each party fulfills expected actions in a system of exchanges of goods and services (Waisbord, 2013, p. 155).

The consequence of this, according to Waisbord, is that clandestine agreements between politicians and the press develop, where personal favors, rewards and promises becomes dynamics that create a kind of stability in the media sector, a 'you scratch my back; I scratch yours' – agreement. In social anthropology, the literature also discusses "gift economy", a trade-off form of reciprocity. Renowned French anthropologist Marcel Mauss (2005), who wrote about traditional societies, discussed *gift economy* in traditional societies where mutual favours/gift and dependency is a vital force in society. By keeping a balance of mutual debts, a form of stability develops in communities and societies. Favorable permits to media houses might then be rewarded with "supportive coverage and silence on sensitive matters affecting governments" (ibid. p. 156). These informal contracts influence all sectors in the media space; advertising, broadcasting licenses, media ownership. Favors such as tax breaks, subsidies, commercial permits and contracts are also common. Officials and reporters then develop mutual relations where they regularly exchange information, news, economic benefits and other matters based on common trust and loyalty. Such relationships are confirmed by several regional studies on media in, e.g. Southern Europe (cf. Hallin, 2002). These cultural mechanisms can indeed be recognized in Kosovo's history, where strong family ties and agreements secure a sense of stability in the society. The traditional use of mutual favors, in addition to informal conflict resolutions, are described in history works on Kosovo and Albania (Vickers, 1998; 1999; Malcolm, 2002; Schwandner-Sievers & Fischer, 2002; Judah, 2008; Ker-Lindsay 2010; Elsie 2005) and a key question will be how this has played out in the development of Kosovo's journalism.

Relating the issue to media and new democracies, Waisbord notices, alongside Gross (2002), that the removal of communism and other authoritarian forms of government has not removed political pressure on newsrooms from the authorities. "Contrary to what many scholars and observers predicted, the coming of liberal democracy and the market economy are insufficient for journalism to control a unique jurisdiction without interference from external factors. " (Waisbord, 2013, p. 17). On the journalists' personal level, media patrimonialism and clientism remain "obstacles for journalism's professional ambitions" (p. 18). Waisbord elaborates: "Further, clientelistic relations also exist between officials and reporters who regularly engage in exchange of information, economic benefits, and other goods based on personal trust and loyalty." (p. 156). He argues, alongside Gross (2002), that journalists *weigh personal benefits higher than professional journalistic standards*. Gross describes how the new media outlets in Eastern Europe popped up and attracted a new generation of young people. They lacked, according to him, a professional frame of reference as to what media was supposed to do:

> Hundreds of individuals flocked to the rapidly multiplying media outlets […] the great majority of the journalists were men and women in their twenties and thirties. They were drawn together by powerful magnets, even if these did not serve to unify them or make them professional. Indeed, few if any of those entering journalism in the early 1990s had any journalism training or education, a situation only partly rectified by the end of the decade with the proliferation of questionably effective journalism program at universities, trade schools, and professional associations. They came from all walks of life and with a wide range of academic and nonacademic preparation. The absence of a shared sense of purpose, role, ethics, ethos, and practices made the Eastern European journalist corps far more heterogeneous than its Western counterparts. In its widely varying journalistic conceptions, sociopolitical and economic backgrounds, and educational, personal and other experiences, the new corps of journalists well represented the diversity of societies, and its very absence of a professional culture served to "democratize" it (p.102).

Waisbord and Gross, with their combined emphasis on media patrimonialism and lack of professionalism in Eastern European journalism, create a framework of understanding the demanding position of journalism in new democracies. The continuous ties between media and politics are discussed in studies of media in Eastern Europe, over 20 years after the fall of communism.

Colin Sparks has described the situation in terms of the consolidation of a paradoxical media order, characterized by powerful market and strong political control (in Waisbord 2013, p. 156). Karol Jakubowicz, a Polish media scholar and broadcaster, has written extensively on media transitions in Eastern Europe (cf. Aumente et. al., 2002; Paletz and Jakubowicz 2003). Jakubowicz, like Gross and Waisbord, discusses the problem of connections between journalism and politics. He shares Gross' worries about the lack of independence and political ties between journalists and politicians (cf. Gross, 2002; Jakubowicz, 2004). Jakubowicz does not use the sharp words that Gross applies when describing lack of professionalism, and he does not compare it so directly with western professional values. As a matter of fact, he uses an example from Poland where journalistic independence is defined somewhat differently among journalists than is the case in the West; that is to say the freedom to be able to connect your work to a *cause, or a mission.* In Poland, according to Paletz & Jakubowicz (2004), the journalists say that independence is the "…professional self-determination of media practitioners who subordinate their professional activities to promoting a cause of interest of certain political groups or organizations" (p. 259). Monroe E. Price, in his co-edited anthology *Media Reform* (2002) also highlights the concept of independence as an obstacle to professionalism among journalists in transitional societies:

> Media independence therefore depends on external independence of media organizations, internal independence of editorial staff, personal/professional independence of media practitioners, and both managers and journalists […] The personal/professional independence of media practitioners signifies both their impartiality and detachment from social, political, and economic interests in their performance of journalistic duties and a sense of professionalism and dedication to journalistic ethics" (Price & Thompson, 2002, p 204).

According to Price and Thompson, personal/professional independence may be non-existent at the individual, group, or media institutional level for several reasons. First, the journalists themselves subordinate their work to promoting a certain cause or interest, due to their political views or understanding of journalism's roles. Second, the editors and managers direct their journalists to take sides on political matters, and third, outside interests (ibid., p. 205) control the newsrooms, or whole media organizations. These levels of obstacles of independence then hamper professionalization of the journalists. This means that *independence might be understood as a journalistic subordination to a certain cause, e.g., a political project*. The realization of this aspect is an eye-opening factor for understanding how journalists might connect themselves to a cause, that their loyalty is not only to the profession of journalism, but can also be to a political group or party – a professional right to fight for a *cause*. The aspect of journalists connected to a certain political cause can be connected to the aspect of *transition*, a state of development that dominates Eastern Europe even today, over two decades after the fall of the Iron Curtain. The continuance of politics' strong position continues in post-Communist Eastern Europe, and therefore also Kosovo. This is also highlighted by Gross.

In summary, Waisbord's media patrimonialism paradigm opens up for more input from political and cultural interference than Gross' professionalism paradigm. In my dissertation much effort is placed in analyzing the specific historical-political development of journalism in Kosovo over a period of in excess of a hundred years. However, the combined analysis of history and today's journalism practice in four Kosovar newsroom (Chapter 5-8) might uncover elements of professionalism that might place Kosovo in a situation that challenges both the discussed paradigms.

2.7. Summary

A study of journalism development in Kosovo calls for a broad theoretical framework that can capture several complex and relevant concepts. As an arena for the study of journalism development, Kosovo is in a special setting. Geographically it is placed in an area where national and ethnic conflicts have been present for many centuries, and where borders have been moved by the great political powers. Historically and culturally, social identities have been and are

important in the region. People in general, including journalists, live in a place where national and ethnic identities are strong and dominates public discourse. Politically, Kosovar journalists are situated in a post-war setting, where journalism practice meets many challenges. Journalism in the region has been frequently criticized for being 'unprofessional', and for not contributing to building stable democracies following armed conflicts. The concept of journalistic professionalism is central, since professionalization of journalism in Kosovo was a key task for the international community after the war. But a questions remains; what does professionalism mean in a complex post-war setting in Kosovo where the historical-political context plays an important role? Two views of journalism practice in new democracies in Eastern Europe - a professional journalism paradigm, and a media patrimonialism paradigm - can help lay the ground for the empirical chapters of this dissertation; a threefold study of journalism development in Kosovo; the historical-political context, the current post-war news production, and the possible impact of international media support in Kosovo.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Introduction: researcher's background

The research agenda for this dissertation calls for a comprehensive set of methodologies. As outlined in Chapter 1, this study analyses the development of journalism in Kosovo through a historical-political analysis, a news production study of current post-war journalism, and an assessment of international media support. This list indicates that several approaches must be applied. In addition, the research situation is one in which I consider myself, a Norwegian, as an outsider. Therefore, this chapter will address many issues related to the research process as well as addressing concerns and limitations. First, I explain my role as researcher related to this project, including my background as a media researcher in Kosovo, including my former roles as media officer and journalism trainer in Kosovo. This is done both for the sake of transparency as researcher, but also to give a contextual account of my choice of methodology as well as my competency on Kosovo. The second part of the chapter is a discussion of the methodology I have applied in my study of the development of journalism, through history and in news production today. The third part is a discussion of the methodological processes, problems, and remedies in my research. The fourth and final part deals with questions of validity and reliability of the data collection for this dissertation.

In this chapter, I have chosen a somewhat more personal writing style than the rest of the dissertation. This is considered a sensible strategy for cross-cultural media research (cf. Skjerdal, 2012) where the combination of historical research, qualitative fieldwork built upon personal choices and experiences, and analysis of media support adds to a complex, personal research situation. The use of the personal pronoun 'I' indicates strong uniquely personal experiences prior to and throughout the research process. I have chosen to offer an account of my personal journey from media officer and journalism trainer to media researcher in Kosovo. This serves several purposes. It gives an account of a complex research situation, involving a foreign researcher entering Kosovo, a postwar society part of an international, regional and domestic political context. Kosovo is highly ethnically divided, and it suffers from post-war economic stagnation combined with high unemployment. At the same time, new media outlets have been established at an unprecedented speed. The establishment has been aided by the international community, which also has attempted to create their version, including a legal framework, of what Monroe Price and Peter Krug call an 'enabling environment' for free and independent media (Price and Krug, 2000). Entering this complex situation as a Norwegian academic, I have attempted to cross multiple boundaries in my media research. In Chapter 1, I briefly outlined my background as media officer and journalism trainer in Kosovo, which has

been a vital source of motivation for this study. A more detailed account in the methodology chapter serves as a reflection for the methodological challenges and possible problems regarding the research, as well as the methodological solutions.

My journey towards this dissertation started in the spring of 1999, when I was asked by the Royal Norwegian Army to accept a six-month contract as a press- and information officer with the NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR). I arrived in Prishtina on July 29, 1999, three weeks after the end of the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia and the signing of the Military Technical Agreement (MTA) between KFOR, Yugoslavia, and Serbia[25]. After two months of establishing KFOR's own English-language newspaper *Kosovo Chronicle*[26] and serving as its first editor, I was appointed Chief Media Analyst at KFOR's Press-and Information Center (KFOR PIC) in downtown Prishtina. My main task was to monitor the local newspapers with special attention to their coverage of KFOR and the rest of the international community's activities in Kosovo. This was done with the help of Albanian and Serbian translators who worked together with media officers from several countries. As head of the department, I was responsible for overseeing the work and for writing a short analysis each day and reporting this directly to KFOR's Commander. The encounter with Albanian and Serbian media, which at that time was perceived as being characterized by strong political rhetoric, with stories of victims and suffering, one-source reports and unconfirmed information, sparked my interest in working with media in this region beyond my 6 months with KFOR. After returning to Norway and Gimlekollen School of Journalism and Communication in January 2000, I became involved in designing and executing training courses for local journalists in Kosovo and Southern Serbia, in cooperation with OSCE in Kosovo and Serbia, as well as Norwegian People's Aid. The training sessions ran for two to three weeks annually from 2000 to 2003. The topics covered ranged from election coverage, basic journalism and radio broadcasting, to documentary production and media management. Participants came from Albanian, Serbian and Roma media outlets from all over Kosovo. Towards the end of the course period, I became involved in designing a possible master's program in journalism, in cooperation with Cardiff University, OSCE, and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At that time, no one offered such an education, and the long-term effect of short-term training courses was being questioned. However, realizing how little I knew about Kosovar journalism, my interest turned towards research. I was at that time aware of no academic studies of Kosovar media and I became interested in the more general development of

[25] The MTA (also called the *Kumanovo Agreement)* was signed on June 9, 1999 in Kumanovo, Macedonia by representatives of KFOR and the Serbian Army (VJ). The agreement stated that NATO would stop the bombing and the Yugoslav troops would withdraw from Kosovo within a few days. The full text of the agreement can be found at http://www.nato.int/Kosovo/docu/a990609a.htm (accessed March 22, 2013)

[26] *KFOR Chronicle* was initially a printed information newspaper distributed to KFOR's troops throughout Kosovo. It was later transformed into a website and a monthly magazine. KFOR Chronicle is still been published. See http://www.nato.int/kfor/chronicle/index.html (accessed March 22, 2013)

journalism in post-war Kosovo and in the Western Balkan region. When I was offered a PhD research grant from Sørlandets kompetansefond (Competence Development Fund of Southern Norway) in the fall of 2004, I saw this as an opportunity to start working towards a doctorate degree in media studies and journalism at the Department of Media and Communication (IMK) at University of Oslo.

This brief account of my personal journey from press officer, to media analyst in KFOR, to international media trainer, to becoming an academic serves as a backdrop for methodological reflections outlined later in this chapter. I recognize that my background contributes both to unique insight in Kosovar media, but that it also represents possible attachments to people and issues, and the risk of mixing and confusing the researcher role with former roles. However, the following discussion attempts to provide a critical reflection on these risks, providing a basis for a reflexive and what Simonsen (2009) calls a 'critical subjectivity' in my research.

3.2. Arriving at a methodology

In chapter two, I discussed the theoretical framework that encapsulates the notion of the development of journalism in Kosovo through its complex history and into a difficult post-war situation. The historical-political development, the post-war setting, and the focus on lack of professionalism all contribute to a complicated research setting. Two theoretical paradigms: the professional journalism view, represented by Peter Gross (2002), and Silvio Waisbord's (2013) media patrimonialism view, both seek explain the state of journalism in Eastern Europe. However, neither of these fully addresses my research focus; the specific situation of Kosovo. The combination of researching Kosovar media history and its links to the current post-war situation for journalists in Kosovo, led me to developing a set of methodology that are discussed in this chapter.

The dissertation's research question:

> *How has journalism in Kosovo developed through a) a complex history; b) demanding conditions for journalism production in today's unstable post-war Kosovo, and c) by international media support,*

opens up for a potentially wide range of research methods. It has historical-political aspects, news production aspects, and current media intervention aspects. This implies an historical-political analysis of how the media has developed in Kosovo, with specific focus on the impact of many conflicts in Kosovo, which have created difficult conditions for journalism. The post-war

journalism aspect calls for a qualitative study of media organizations, news production and its links to politics within and outside Kosovo, including media intervention. *Thus, the methodology includes historical literature research combined with interviews for the historical research, newsroom observations and interviews for the news production analysis, and document analysis and interviews for the media support aspects.*

The following table gives an overview of the methodology:

Research	Methodology	Aim
The historical-political context of the Kosovo media and the aspects connected to journalism today	*- Study of literature on media history in Kosovo and the region* *- Interviews with media experts in Kosovo* *- Interviews with editors and journalists in Kosovo*	*Identify and analyze aspects from Kosovo's media history context from late 1800s to the NATO war in 1999, also serving as relevant analysis tools for the research of post-war news production in Kosovo today.*
Post-war news production in Kosovo	*-Daily observations in four Kosovar newsrooms* *-Interviews with editors and journalists*	*See how specific issues identified in the media history are expressed in daily news production routines in four Kosovar newsrooms, from qualitative research in four newsrooms from September 2005 to May 2006.*
International media support	*-Daily observations in four Kosovar newsrooms* *-Interviews with editors and journalists* *-Interviews with stakeholders in international media support in Kosovo*	*To evaluate the possible impact of international media training 1999-2004 on journalism in Kosovo.*

Table 3.1. Overview of research design in the study

3.3. Studying the historical-political context of Kosovar journalism

The importance of historical context in understanding today's journalistic practice is vital (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2009; Hansen, et.al., 1998). Media history is a renowned field within communication and journalism studies (Zelizer, 2004) with major research groups in international communication organizations such as IAMCR[27] and ECREA[28]. Historical studies of journalism have mostly been developed for western societies, and journalism history studies have developed along various frames, such as regional areas (Bastiansen & Dahl, 2008), time periods (Nerone, 1987) around significant political events (Schudson, 1992), around the development of certain media (Clark, 1994), or political inquiries into journalism history (Zelizer, 2004). Journalism history has become its own field and the methodology is mostly document analysis, content analysis and interviews (Zelizer 2004).

However, this current study of the historical development within a specific setting like Kosovo brings forth some specific frames. First, the historical inquiry is not merely a study into Kosovo's media history, but rather of the specific historical-political context of Kosovo's media and how findings from it can later be found in the successive study of post-war journalism. The historical-political context of Kosovo's media is linked to the political development in Kosovo, as Chapter 2 discusses (2.2.). As Chapter 4 will show, the development of media in Kosovo has been always connected to the political development. Historically, one of the key motivations for historical studies of journalism has been its relevance to the nation-state. This has resulted in a large body of literature linking the development of journalism to the development of nations (Zelizer, 2004, p. 103). In Kosovo's case, this can also be seen to be the case, but a key difference being that the nation-state of Kosovo was not established before 2008, and thus, literature on media development has to be found in books covering historical development of the Balkans region, as well as about Kosovo as a separate area (Malcolm, 2002; Judah, 2000a). A growing body of historical studies of media development in Eastern Europe documents strong ties between communism and media in the region (Robinson, 1977; Gross, 2002, Paletz and Jakubowicz, 2003). These have been carefully consulted in the study of the historical-political context. Furthermore, it is crucial to recognize that the history of Kosovo is contested, especially between Albanian and Serbian historians (Malcolm, 2002). This makes consulting the local historical accounts challenging. Nevertheless, for an historical enquiry, it is still important. To ensure quality, my historical findings have been cross-checked with internationally peer-reviewed works when this has been available.

[27] International Association of Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) , see http://www.iamcr.org/s-wg/section/his (accessed February 16, 2014)
[28] European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA), see http://www.ecrea.eu/divisions/section/id/18 (accessed February 16, 2014)

An important methodology for the historical inquiry of the recent historical-political context of Kosovo's media is also qualitative *interviews with journalists and editors* in Kosovo. These were undertaken during my fieldwork in the Kosovar newsrooms, primarily in 2005-2006, but also in 2008. Some of the more senior and experienced journalists that I interviewed worked as journalists in Kosovo and Serbia in the late 1970s and 80s and had valuable knowledge which enhanced this part of the study. This is a contribution to the *recent* history. The possible problems of subjectivity and double-checking of information in this regard is done according to the discussions on reliability later in the chapter. Finally, interviews with local media experts and stakeholders in media development in Kosovo have also been vital for the construction of the specific historical-political context of Kosovo's media.

There were challenges in doing the historical research of this dissertation, and this might limit the level of details in the historical study. The limitations are both in terms of limited language as well as the political sensitiveness of history in Kosovo, as previously mentioned. As the references in the historical chapter (Chapter 4) shows; the major part of the construction of the written Kosovar media history are based on international and regional literature - translated into English - on Kosovar and Balkan history, as well as books on the development of media. Since my knowledge of Albanian and Serbian is very limited, I opted to research the history in peer-reviewed and internationally recognized works on Balkan history in English. However, a growing number of Balkan authors on Kosovar and Balkan history are translated into English, and these were obviously consulted as well. A crucial corrective and source of information were my interviews with the journalists and editors in the newsrooms about the Kosovar media history. Several of the more senior staff had both personal and professional knowledge of Kosovo's media history back to the 1970s and until today. They gave unique insight into the history. However, as always, personal accounts of history are in danger of being tainted by personal and subjective experiences, as well as ethnic background and political views. The possible errors that might have been included in the history part are still my responsibility. In addition, I interviewed regional media experts on the development of Kosovo's media history, especially Willem Houwen and Dukagin Gorani. Their information was also double-checked in literature wherever it was available.

3.4. The qualitative fieldwork in Kosovo

I have stated earlier that qualitative fieldwork, including newsroom observations and qualitative interviews in four Kosovar newsrooms is a crucial and the most extensively used methodology for this dissertation. *It is the basis for the empirical data for the post-war news production study in Chapters 5-8, as well as parts of the historical-political aspects in chapter 4 and*

the media training aspect in Chapter 9. It has therefore not only been a methodology for the production perspective, but most certainly also for the two other aspects as well. Being such a comprehensive methodology, it is therefore important to dedicate a major portion of this chapter to it. It has carried with it many opportunities, but also challenges.

Newsroom studies have roots *in sociologically motivated inquiries*. Barbie Zelizer (2004) puts this kind of research in a sociological tradition, where the researcher aims at investigating social processes, "…problems of people living together as social groups" (Webster, 1983, p.1723) and thus the many aspects of a newsroom where journalists and editors interact. Simon Cottle (2000) argues that production studies of journalism are influenced by ideas of sociologist Émile Durkheim regarding professional socialization and establishment of group norms as well as Max Weber's understanding of the nature of modern bureaucracies and views of social action. These aspects have marked the tradition of news production studies, Cottle argues.

A possibly confusing aspect might be that the methodology chosen for this study has various names and labels in the methodology literature. Anders Hansen et. al. (1998) uses the term 'participant observation', Knut Helland (2013) frames it 'qualitative interviews and field observation', while Barbie Zelizer (2004) calls it 'newsroom ethnographies'. Each of these terminologies signifies what the purpose of this kind of study is *a physical presence over time by the researcher in the newsrooms* in order to observe processes of news production and the different aspects related to it. It is vital to stress that the newsroom study in this dissertation is not an ethnographic study where the researcher has no previous knowledge of the situation, but rather a newsroom study with planned categories of research, based on the research agenda (Chapter 1), where the production study is a central part of the dissertation. Furthermore, I draw on my own experience from being a journalist and journalism instructor. In newsroom studies, the methods of *observation and qualitative interviews* form a triangulation that together provide an in-depth look into the news production process (Helland, 2013; Hansen et.al., 1998; Tuchman, 2002). Fetterman (1998) sums up the vital aspects of this kind of study like this: "the most important element of fieldwork is *being there* – to observe, to ask seemingly stupid but insightful questions and to write down what is seen and heard" (p.9).

In order to put my research methodology into a tradition of inquiries about the development of journalism, I have opted to include a short historical discussion of the development of news production studies. The development of newsroom studies dates back to the 1950s. Hansen et. al. (1998) gives a brief overview of this early history. During the formative years, academics investigated various aspects of professional journalism. The attention was on gatekeeping functions of news editors (White, 1950), journalist's conformity to news policy (Breed, 1955), comparison of newspaper and TV newsrooms (Warner, 1971), journalists' reporting behavior (Lang & Lang, 1953) the use of 'objectivity' as answer to criticism (Tuchman,

1972), routinizing news (Tuchman, 1973, 1978), and organizational policies regarding conflicts between reporters and editors (Sigelman, 1973). These studies all looked at journalists working environment. The second wave of news production studies occurred in the 1970s and 1980s, there was a renewed interest into newsroom ethnography as a methodology in the study of newsroom organizations. According to Hansen et.al (1998), "these studies developed further this interest in the organizational, bureaucratic and professional nature of news production and news processing" (p. 39). Studies include those by Epstein (1973), Altheide (1974), Tuchman (1978), Schlesinger (1978), Golding and Elliot (1979), Gans (1979), Fishman (1980), Gitlin (1980) Ericson, Baranek & Chan (1987) and Soloski (1989). These newsroom studies showed several aspects of elements not only influencing the production of news, but also shaping it. Epstein (1973) concluded that organizational matters shape the news, thus they are 'constructed' and not a mirror of what happens in the world. Schlesinger studies of the BBC (1978) noted how news was made to fit the needs of a bureaucratic production system. Tuchman (1978) explored further the construction of news, looking at how journalists constructed news to fit their world, including the organizational constraints from the news organization. She focused on how journalistic practice was shaped by the organization they worked for. Herbert Gans (1980) investigated American journalists in four major news organizations over a 10-year period, and found that news was constructed through a complex grid of influences of internal and external factors. Journalists then adapted to this and constructed 'news values'. The third wave of newsroom studies focused on production. In recent times, studies have continued the investigation into the complex picture of news production (Meyers, 1994; Eliasoph, 1988; Schlesinger & Tumber, 1995; Machin & Niblock, 2006). Due to the rapid change of production techniques and technology, ethnographers considering current news production highlight that 'yesterday's' studies in news organizations need renewal. Simon Cottle (2000) argues that journalists today are pressured by corporations, satellite TV, cable-TV and modern technology. According to Cottle, when looking at the recent developments, including mobile phones and the Internet, one can see that the need for news production studies is greater than ever.

Newsrooms are efficient research foci for analyzing the development of journalism in the difficult setting of post-war Kosovo. According to Cottle (2007), newsroom studies offer several strengths in the search for understanding how news is produced. First, such studies record and help *make the invisible visible,* this being the primary focus where the normally impregnable world of media production can be recorded and investigated further. The newsroom researcher observes the process with her or his own eyes, instead of relying on second hand accounts (interviews). Second, newsroom studies counter the *'problem of inference* 'by going behind the scenes of media output to help reveal the complex processes that are behind a news text. Third,

as mentioned earlier, they improve upon other methods through *triangulation.* Finally, newsroom studies *qualify or correct speculative theoretical claims.* Newsroom studies thus provide a "rich source of evidence which can be put to a wide range of theoretical approaches, including instrumental conspiracy theories, social compositional approaches, political economy and cultural studies perspective" (Cottle, 2007, p.45). These methodological strengths can reveal the complexity of news production in Kosovo.

Newsroom studies also have their weaknesses, and this is also the case for Kosovo. The danger of believing in that bit might be superior is addressed by critics. Cottle (2000, 2007) notes that newsroom scholars across time have seen their work through narrow lenses, failing to differentiate ethnicity, gender, different types of news work and organization, while unable to keep up with changing technologies. Zelizer (2004) warns researchers against overused frames when thinking about journalistic practice. She asks if the newsroom is the current setting for today's news production studies, when news exchange and selections take place at numerous locations today (online, telephone, social gatherings, home offices etc.) Hansen et.al (1998) says that newsroom researchers have been criticized for placing so much of their attention on the immediate influence of the news organization so that external influences like commercialism, marketplace and cultural values might become neglected. This is why it is crucial for this current research in Kosovo to include the historical-political and the media supports perspectives. However, Hansen et.al., claim that the recognized studies have escaped this charge and that most have given these external factors considerable attention. Another criticism that has come forth is that newsroom studies tend to neglect the pressure on journalists from managers (Curran, 1990) since researchers rarely gets access to senior media management level. Hansen et.al. (1998) reject this criticism as well, saying that there are many studies that have included the corporate line of command (cf. Burns, 1977; Schlesinger,1978; Cottle, 1993). With this conceptual discussion on newsroom studies as a foundation, I will now move to a discussion on the application of this methodology in post-war Kosovo, in the four selected newsrooms.

3.5. The newsroom research process

3.5.1. Selecting the newsrooms

A significant selection principle in the selection of the newsrooms[29] in Kosovo for this research project was that they in combination represented a *variety of historical backgrounds, organization forms, types of media, and ethnicity*. However, choosing four different newsrooms for the research presented many substantial challenges, as the following discussion will uncover.

[29] The four newsrooms, including their history and organizations, are more thoroughly presented in Chapter 5.

Anthropologist Ulf Hannerz's article on multi-site ethnography supports this strategy, outlining the strengths, limitations and also necessity of "being there…and there…and there!" (2003, p. 201). Hannerz emphasizes that it is an advisable strategy to spread out research sites on *several locations and on occasions* over periods. This strengthens the possibility of gathering data that can confirm and compare findings.

This section outlines the four chosen newsrooms. The first newsroom is *Radio Televizioni i Kosovës* (*Radio Television Kosovo – RTK),* the largest television newsroom in Kosovo, and Kosovo's only public service station. It is also one of very few newsrooms in Kosovo which includes small minority newsgroups in the organization. The second newsroom researched is *Koha Ditore,* which has a special history as the main domestic information source for the Kosovar Albanians during the violent conflicts and war in the 1990s. It is the most widely read newspaper in Kosovo[30]. Third, *Express* is a new established (founded in 2005) and innovative newspaper where at the time of my fieldwork (2005), editors and journalists owned the majority of the shares and built up a brand new news organization from the bottom up. They claimed to break with old political and business control of the newsroom[31]. Finally, *Radio Kontakt Plus* in Mitrovica (in Serbian: Kosovo Mitrovica) is the largest Serbian radio station in Kosovo and operates the largest minority newsroom in the country. Its funding has mostly come from international financial donors.

The fieldwork in these newsrooms took place between August 30 – September 17, 2005 in *Express* (Prishtina), November 1 – 17, 2005 in *Koha Ditore* (Prishtina), February 1 – 16, 2006 in *RTK* (Prishtina), and April 30 – May 13, 2006 in *Radio Kontakt Plus* (Mitrovica). The fieldwork is a few years old at the time of submitting this dissertation (2015). I have therefore an updated description of the media situation in Kosovo at the beginning the media support chapter (Chapter 9). However, much of the media environment in Kosovo today is the same as during the time of the fieldwork, which is confirmed in recent studies on the Kosovo media situation (Miftari, 2013; IREX, 2014).

My aim was to be present for two to three weeks in each of the four newsrooms during fieldwork. This would give me adequate time to know the working routines, observe the journalists inside the newsrooms, meetings, and in the field, to do the qualitative interviews, and also to follow a number of news stories throughout the production process from the editorial meetings to publication. My research strategy for the newsroom study was divided in two parts. First, I aimed at *being present throughout the working day*, between 8 and 12 hours a day,

[30] In 2010, *Koha Ditore* had 38% of the readership in Kosovo, cf. http://www.kipred.org/advCms/documents/51846_Circulation_and_Politicization_of_the_Print.pdf (accessed April 25, 2013)

[31] However, over the last years, the newspaper has been associated more strongly with the ruling political party, PDK (Camaj 2013).

sometimes more, to observe the events taking place within the newsrooms, including being present where the journalists worked, in the editorial meetings, and occasionally following journalists on assignments in the field. Here, the daily routines of selecting, gathering, editing and presenting the news are negotiated and decided. Second, I intended to conduct *qualitative interviews* with journalists and editors a few days into the fieldwork. I conducted the interviews only after about a week has passed because I wanted to follow up observations by asking the journalists about issues I had observed in the newsrooms, in meetings, or in the field. This gave an opportunity of getting the journalists' reflections on for example, editorial discussions, arguments, and choices taken in the newsrooms. As I researcher I was also then able to pinpoint new research questions, or even clear up issues that I might have misunderstood. Thus, I could use the observations as a control mechanism, whereby if journalists hesitated in answering difficult questions I could refer to episodes or issues from my observations, or register any discrepancy in the interview responses from my observations of their working practice.

3.5.2. Access

In news production fieldwork, the process of obtaining *access* to necessary data is normally a major challenge throughout the research process (Hammersley, 2007). The issue of access to the necessary spaces of gathering information, in my case the newsrooms in Kosovo, was one of my major concerns. In news production research, access issues focus on three levels that researchers need to negotiate and juggle. First; access to the premises, including free movement in the newsrooms, editorial meetings and fieldwork with journalists. Second; access to interviewing intended respondents, and third; access to written information, such as editorial policies, codes of ethics and strategies were. Kosovo is a traditionally tightly knit society where values of personal contacts and friendship, including recommendations from trusted people carry weight (Schwandner-Sievers, 2002; Duijzings, 2000). As a foreign researcher, I needed access to gatekeepers who could initially recommend me as a researcher for the newsroom in question and then editors to introduce me to the staff in the newsrooms and explain that I was a researcher who was going to spend some weeks among them. There was and is skepticism towards internationals in Kosovo coming to 'check' on local news production, especially after the tragic events in March 2004, so I expected people to be suspicious when I and my assistants were going to spend several weeks in the newsrooms. In gaining access to the four newsrooms, my background as a former journalism trainer proved very helpful. I knew some of the editors from previous courses in Kosovo. They in turn recommended me to their colleagues and friends in other newsrooms. I did not meet major problems in accessing the newsrooms. The possible

problems for research resulting from already knowing some of the editors and journalists at the time of research are discussed later in this chapter (cf. 3.4.3).

In seeking access to the newsrooms, it is a valid issue to discuss what *kind* of observer and researcher I aimed at being in the newsrooms. Hansen et.al. (1998) surveys newsroom studies where researchers have operated as *participant-observers*; doing research alongside with their work as reporters in the newsrooms (Breed, 1955; Fishman, 1980; Soloski, 1989). "Soloski, for example, worked as a copy-editor on a news desk with the specific purpose of studying its news organization" (Hansen et.al. 1998, p. 51). This approach carries benefits, but also possible dilemmas. The positive side is that access to the newsroom is already negotiated. However, to combine work as a news worker combined with research provides limitations in two areas. First, time wise it is hard to combine two such demanding tasks. Both might suffer. Second, the greater question of proximity and attempted objectivity will be a challenge, being so close to the research objects, whether it is people, routines, or texts. The other strategy that Hansen et. al. discusses is the *observer-participant,* who remains an outsider to the group and thus loses some of the insider knowledge. However, such researchers are likely to have more autonomy in their movements and actions and in following up new leads or avenues of interests. as a foreign researcher, it was more natural to access the newsrooms as an observer-participant (in Hansen et. al.'s terms) where I came as an outsider, but with prior knowledge of Kosovo's media scene and also knowledge about the four newsrooms through being involved in media monitoring and journalism training since 1999.

3.5.3. Observation

Observation plays a key role in any news production research (Helland, 2013). Much effort and attention were put into this part of my research design when planning the fieldwork in Kosovo. During the observations in newsrooms, *the relationship to the journalists and editors* was crucial. "An important key to successful participant observation is the forming of useful field relationships; it can also, on occasion, be one of the most difficult things to do (Hansen et.al. 1998, p. 53). I have identified four issues that influenced relations to the newsroom staff, being a researcher with a Norwegian background; *insider/outsider, power distance, language*, and *note-taking*. The following is also a discussion of applied *remedies* to aid in making the fieldwork as valid and reliable as possible.

Insider/outsider: The question of validity and reliability of qualitative research into how professionalism is shaped in Kosovar newsrooms can be related to the researcher's ability to relate to the information he or she is collecting. "In anthropological methodology, the distinction between emic (the insider's) and etic (the outsider's) perspectives emerges as a fruitful way to

explore the study's cultural conundrum" (Skjerdal 2012, p. 84). In the same way as in Skjerdal's research in Ethiopian newsrooms, this current research also deals with an unending debate between emic and etic preferences (Headland, Pike & Harris, 1990). As a Norwegian researcher in Kosovar newsrooms, I can identify with the two aspects. The emic perspective can also be seen as researching something familiar – news production, yet the etic perspective can be described as doing news production study in an unfamiliar setting – the Kosovar newsrooms. This negotiation between the two aspects would create, through my very presence inside the newsrooms, a challenging situation for me and for the journalists and editors. Per Ståhlberg, who has undertaken ethnographic research among journalists in India, adds understanding to this possible tension, by stating that the anthropologist and the journalist act "as two professionals that are equally engaged in producing representations and interpretations of culture and society" (2006, p. 47). He challenges the journalism anthropologist to be aware of their relationships with the journalists and their sources when undertaking fieldwork, especially when the researcher is an ethnic and cultural *stranger*. He describes his own experiences of how journalists introduced him as a researcher to their sources, "Sometimes I was a journalist, sometimes a scholar, sometimes a friend" (p. 48). A qualitative study of the development of journalism in Kosovo is, as described earlier, a project that crosses multiple boundaries; geographically, culturally, language-wise and in terms of ethnicity. This infers an anthropological approach to the study of news production. As discussed in chapter one, a western researcher must try to understand patterns, symbols and routines that are shared in the setting and to see the significance of these (Geertz, 1973). Therefore, an anthropological approach to newsroom studies will include creating an overview of the main roles in the newsrooms; the staff; especially the journalists and the editors. As previously stated, Kosovar journalism is a virgin area of media research, and there is need to learn about the journalists' background and experience in order to understand current practices. Researching post-war news production in Kosovo as an anthropologist attempting to describe and analyze news production, implies being aware of some key aspects that set the researcher apart from the people and community that is being researched.

Power distance: In his research on Ethiopian state media journalists, Terje Skjerdal (2008, 2012), encounter the issue of power distance, being a Norwegian researcher in one of the poorest countries in the world. Skjerdal refers to Geert Hofstede's (1980) renowned and debated cultural dimensions applied to cultural differences when doing research in a cross-cultural setting. Applying Hofstede's categories of power distance, individualism vs. collectivism, masculinity vs. femininity, and uncertainty avoidance, there are major differences between Norway and Kosovo, although less than between Norway and Ethiopia. Kosovo is a European country, on the boundary between traditional Albanian or Serbian views on collectivism and

relationships between men and women, and modernization, being a part of Europe with influence from western culture and the presence of the international community. This leads me to reflect on the limitations of my fieldwork and the subsequent analysis for this dissertation. Recognizing the relevance of Hofstede's cultural dimensions for my research, the dimension of *power distance* is relevant. Without elaborating more on Hofstede's definition of it, I want to discuss three aspects of how power distance ethically and professionally affects the research, and what remedies I applied to deal with these problems. These aspects relate to my past and present professional experience, in Norway and Kosovo, which I elaborated on at the beginning of this chapter. The first area of power distance affecting this current research is *the teacher/student* aspect. As a former journalism trainer in short-term training courses in Kosovo and South Serbia (2000-2003), I was aware that I might encounter former students as journalists when conducting my fieldwork in 2005 and 2006. At the time of securing access to the newsrooms, I was to a very limited degree aware of who worked in what newsroom. To my somewhat surprise there were hardly any former students working in the four newsrooms. I observed a total of four former students; two in *RTK*, one in *Koha Ditore*, and one in Radio *Kontakt Plus*. An explanation for this might be that I taught mostly journalists from local radio stations outside Prishtina during my time as trainer. This included basic broadcasting training and election coverage in the towns of Gjakova[32] and Ferizaj[33] in 2000, basic journalism classes in South Serbia in 2002 and organizing (not teaching) training in media management and investigative journalism in Prishtina in 2002. However, since Kosovo is a small and tightly connected society, I was prepared about that word about my experience as a journalism trainer in Norway and in Kosovo would spread to the newsrooms. Being aware of this, I decided to answer questions about my background, but I did not actively tell much about myself when introducing myself as a researcher, other than informing that I had previous experience from Kosovo and that I was researching news production as a part of a PhD project at the University of Oslo. This strategy of 'limited' self-identification was chosen in order to avoid establishing myself first and foremost with an expert role, but rather as a curious researcher. I wanted to show genuine curiosity about the work in the newsrooms, and not to come in as a foreign expert. I did, of course inform about my former experience in informal settings over coffee with journalists during the research period, when conversations naturally dealt with more personal matters. Second, Kosovo is situated in one of the *poorest areas of Europe* where the median income for journalists is about 200-400 Euros per month. An international media scholar like me comes from a different world, financially. This is something the journalists and editors are fully aware of, after being exposed to international staff in Kosovo over the last fifteen years. Most

[32] In Serbian: Djakovica
[33] In Serbian: Urosevac

internationals in Kosovo earn at least ten times as much as local employees, also when working in the same organizations (UN, OSCE, EU and NGOs). This is a point of awareness that a researcher needs to recognise when interacting with local journalists. It is a vast economic gap and that sets the researcher apart from the milieu he/she is researching. An additional aspect is that internationals, including media scholars, often (willingly or non-willingly) represent *donor countries* in Kosovo, which have supported newspapers and broadcasters. This can hinder the local journalists from being 100% honest, in fear of saying something negative that they feel can be reported back. Besides being a researcher, I was also, consciously or not, a representative from one of the largest donor countries to Kosovo. The journalists were well informed about Norway's support in the reconstruction of Kosovo, including media assistance. There is an element of the journalists 'showing the good side' when meeting a representative from the wealthy West.

Language: A shared language is essential in communication, and a valid question for a westerner researcher in a Kosovar newsroom is to what degree can he or she attain an emic perspective when communicating in a foreign language? (Skjerdal, 2012). In some language circles, the significance of language in communication of culture is valued to a degree that "language and culture cannot exist without each other" (Jiang 2000, p. 328). The communication between journalists in Kosovar newsrooms and a Norwegian researcher was a challenging task, given the fact that communication had to occur in several languages – English, Albanian, and Serbian. Distance and alienation are threats in such a cross-cultural communication setting when mother tongue is not shared. In order to encounter the challenge of language in the Kosovar newsrooms, I chose to hire *research assistants/translators* who worked with me during the entire time of the research. I had an Albanian-speaking assistant in the three Prishtina newsrooms (*Koha Ditore, RTK* and *Express*) where Albanian is the working language, and a Serbian assistant in the Serbian-language *Radio Kontakt Plus* in Mitrovica. The Albanian assistant was at the time a 24-year old man who had recently graduated from Prishtina University. At the time of hiring him as my assistant, he had no prior experience from media. Our cooperation sparked in him an interest for journalism, and he later joined the graduate programme in journalism at Kosovo Institute of Journalism and Communication (KIJAC)[34]. My Serbian research assistant was a 25 year old man with prior translation experience from international organizations in Mitrovica. He was also an active musician in the city.

[34] KIJAC was established in the fall of 2005 by Gimlekollen School of Journalism, Cardiff University and University of Nebraska-Lincoln. I later taught some classes at KIJAC (from 2006) but this was done after my main field work at the four newsrooms was completed. I knew that teaching at KIJAC at the time of my fieldwork could create possible conflicts of interest, especially if some of the students were also working as journalists. I therefore completed my main fieldwork, including observations and interviews in May 2006, several months before I taught my first class at KIJAC.

The reason for working with research assistants was to *minimize the demands for adaptions from the journalists' side*. I saw the necessary adaptations as the researcher's responsibility and by doing this, I could observe editorial meetings, discussions and the journalists' work without having them explain things to me in English. During the interviews, I asked the journalists if they preferred to be interviewed in their mother tongue (Albanian or Serbian) or English. Thus, the persons and environments being researched had to make the least adaptations; the responsibility for adaptations was then on me, the researcher.

During observations in the newsrooms, the assistant stood or sat next to me and whispered the English translations in my ear while conversations or meetings went on. At the beginning, this felt strange and unnatural, for both the journalists and us, but we grew accustomed to it during the first couple of days. This contributed to the smoothest field relations we could attain in a demanding cross-cultural setting, which made a meaningful observation situation possible (cf. Hansen et.al., 1998, p. 53-55). However, as a foreign researcher, I am conscious of the major limitations such a methodology carries; it was not possible to grasp fully the informal small-talk and whispers among journalists. To counteract this, I frequently asked my translator if he could pick up the content, and by noting down excerpts from such casual conversations, which added to understanding relations and communication between the news staff.

Notes were taken constantly during observations. The method of note taking evolved quickly during the research in the first newsroom. During the first few days, I carried the notebook with me at all times and took notes as I was talking with people and during meetings. I noticed that this technique created uncertainty among those who saw me talking notes, naturally wondering what I was writing about them. I decided then to leave the notebook at my desk and return to it on a regular basis, noting down the observations immediately after a meeting, a discussion or after observing the journalists. This created a lighter and more communicative atmosphere, and I will claim that the notes were substantial even if they were written shortly after observations took place. Hansen et. al. (1998) suggest that notes in newsroom observations should develop gradually from descriptions of the physical premises and routines into examination of certain phenomena, or interesting people or events. I experienced that I needed to note different routines and premises from the four different newsrooms, all of it being rather unfamiliar in the beginning. After grasping the basic working procedures in the newsrooms, I decided to attend the morning editorial meetings, then to stay in the newsrooms throughout the day, where I frequently had informal discussions with journalists and editors about their work. As there are various methods of note taking (cf. Hansen et.al., 1998), I divided my notes into two categories. First, I took systematic notes on observations throughout the day. Second, in the evenings, I wrote a short reflection with my personal analysis

of the events of the previous 24 hours. Thus, I kept a constant pendulum between observations and reflections, a methodology that aided in the final analysis leading to the text in this dissertation. Occasionally, I followed journalists out on assignments in the field. Here I chose to follow journalists who could speak English, so that he or she were not followed by two persons, something that I assumed could seem overwhelming for persons being interviewed, and also for the journalists themselves. Also here, notes were written down immediately after returning to the newsroom. The extensive notes have then led to the many detailed thick descriptions in the news production study in Chapters 5 - 8.

3.5.4. Qualitative interviews

The role of the semi-structured, qualitative interviews is twofold in the current research project. First, as a separate methodology, the interviews provide crucial and valuable insight into journalists' life stories, and second, it gives the researcher access to the interviewees' reflections on the work in the newsrooms. This is reflected in the interview guide (see Appendix 2) and in the coding of the interviews for the analysis. Thus, the interviews might confirm or disprove events I have perceived in the observations, as well as adding much needed background information about the journalists and their own self-reflections.
A total of 50 journalists from the four newsrooms were interviewed, 16 from *Express*; 14 from *RTK*; 10 from *Koha Ditore*; and 10 from *Radio Kontakt Plus*. 56% (n=28) were *male*, and 44% (n=22) were *female* journalists/editors. A short overview of the composition of age and sex shows the following:

Newsroom / Age	**Journalists/ Editors (n)**	**20-25**	**25-30**	**30-35**	**35-40**	**40-45**	**45-50**	**50+**
Express	16	6	7	1	1	1	0	0
RTK	14	3	5	2	0	1	1	2
Koha Ditore	10	1	6	2	1	0	0	0
Radio Kontakt Plus	10	0	7	2	1	0	0	0
Total	**50**	**10 (20%)**	**25 (50%)**	**7 14%)**	**3 (6%)**	**2 (4%)**	**1 (2%)**	**2 (4%)**

Table 3.2 (above). Qualitative interviews - breakdown by *age*

Newsroom / Sex	Journalists/ Editors (n)	Male	Female
Express	16	13	3
RTK	14	6	8
Koha Ditore	10	6	5
Radio Kontakt Plus	10	3	7
Total	**50**	**28 (56%)**	**22 (44%)**

Table 3.3 (above). Journalists in the newsrooms - breakdown by *gender*

These tables show that regarding age, the journalists in the newsrooms at the time of the fieldwork were young; 70% of the informants were 30 years or younger. This correlates to the fact that the many young people entered journalism in Kosovo after the end of the 1999 NATO war (cf. Chapter 4). Regarding gender, the breakdown of men and women shows a variation from a male dominance in *Express* to a female dominance in *Radio Kontakt Plus*. Over all, the distribution of men and women in the newsrooms was rather even (28/22). As stated earlier, I interviewed close to the entire news staff who worked as active journalists and editors during the fieldwork period. There were other journalists also employed in these newsrooms, but they were not on duty at the time of my research. However, the above number covers the bulk of the editorial employees. Considering that the majority of the journalists were young, one would expect knew English to a certain degree. Nevertheless, many of those mastering English preferred to be interviewed in their native language, and this made my assistants translate their responses word by word. The reason for this hesitance to speak English for many of the young journalists was the level of English capability. All of the Albanian-speaking journalists had experience from the private and parallel school system during the Serbian regime, and access to English teachers was limited (Judah, 2008). Out of the 50 interviews, 26 were conducted in English, 18 in Albanian (translated), and 6 in Serbian (translated).

This raises questions of possible errors and mistranslations, since a third person translated the interviews. Was it advisable to use a translator? This is a question of being able to interview the important informants. In a Kosovo newsroom, many of the key players did not master English well in 2005-2006, when the main portion of the interviews were conducted. The alternative to a translator would have been to exclude some of the most important persons, something that would have substantially devalued my research. If I had used another selection method, say interviewing only those who mastered English well, I would not have had access to key people and key information. I opted therefore to use translators, an Albanian assistant in

Prishtina, and a Serbian in Mitrovica. In order to minimize possible errors, and in line with recommended practice for research interviews (Bertrand and Hughes 2005), all the 50 interviews were recorded on Dictaphone and transcribed in writing, word by word. The interviews in Albanian and Serbian were translated entirely. As a check of translation level, I also informally checked some samples of translations with Albanian- and Serbian speaking friends in Kosovo. They found no substantial errors. I therefore conclude this discussion on language maintaining that I attempted to use the best tools available in a demanding field research situation.

The interviews lasted between 45 minutes and two hours; those being translated took naturally longer time. They were semi-structured, and all included eight areas upon which the interview transcripts were later coded. The *coding* system for the transcripts includes eight categories which were framed according to this dissertation's three perspectives of journalism development; *history, news production, and media support*. They were developed according to a somewhat pragmatic philosophy, relating the categories to the focus of the research. As Hansen et.al (1992) states: "the categories which are used for classifying the contents of interview transcripts will of course vary entirely depending on the foci, purposes and objectives of the research (p. 280). I have two levels of categories; main themes and sub-themes, in line with what Gamson (1992) recommends. The three main perspectives were *history, news production, and media support.* Under the news production theme, the journalists were asked to reflect on seven sub-themes that corresponded with the aspects in news production routines. The topics were: *a) News selection routines; b) Journalistic sources; c) Formatting/suitability/framing; d) Pressure and censorship; e) Own reflections of news production; f) Cultural aspects in news production, and g) Journalism training / International media support*. In addition, I had a column for 'Other comments' (*see Appendix 2*). A criticism against such an 'open' coding can be that the answers become 'too suitable' for the research in that they are so strictly related to the three perspectives of professionalization of journalism that this dissertation is developing. However, qualitative media research opens for such flexibility if the analysis is focused along the line of the research questions (Hansen et.al., 1998).

Informants' opportunity to talk freely has been of utmost importance in my research. The journalists interviewed were all active members in a media community great high political and economic pressure (Paterson et.al., 2012; Judah, 2008; Andresen, 2009, 2013). Furthermore, the post-war Kosovar society is undergoing rapid changes regarding areas like traditional boss/employee roles, relations between men and women, and obvious tensions between ethnic groups (Judah, 2008). Finally, all the persons interviewed have a personal experience of the conflicts in the 1990s in Kosovo, whether they were in Kosovo, were refugees or lived in other countries with strong family ties with Kosovo. Therefore, I wanted to provide a

physical and mental environment where they could talk as freely as possible. The qualitative interviews were conducted away from the newsroom, providing an opportunity for the journalists to speak freely where nobody could hear them. The journalists, when offered this possibility, expressed a desire to do so. The newsrooms were small and conversations were easy to pick up, and since the interviews also dealt with sensitive topics, such as relationships between staff members, editorial line and personal history, a discrete location was the natural choice. The interviews were conducted partly in empty offices, but also in nearby coffee shops. In *Koha Ditore*, we had access to an empty meeting room. My research assistants were present at nearly all of the interviews, whether translating or not. There were five interviews where the assistants were not able to be present.

Upon question if I could use the interviewees' name and position in my material for the dissertation, none of them hesitated to let me do so. The consents were recorded in the beginning of the interviews. This is related to similar reasoning a with Skjerdal's (2012) interview's with journalists in Ethiopia. In former authoritarian societies there might be a reluctance to sign documents that the person signing might think can imply other obligations. This was never mentioned by any of the journalists, but I opted for oral consent in order to avoid uncomfortable situations. The journalists were informed that I would not use their full names and positions directly connected to quotes in the text. However, I informed that a list of names and positions would be included as one of the appendixes in the dissertation (*Appendix 1*). The reasoning for this is that in this project, which includes pioneer newsroom research, it is of crucial importance for me to show the reader who I actually have interviewed, as well as their positions.

As the interviews were conducted after 7-10 days of observations in the newsrooms, I experienced that the journalists and editors already had confidence in me as a researcher. They were used to seeing me in the newsrooms as well as having had informal chats over many cups of coffee. Again, the combined methodology of systematic newsroom observation over time combined with interviews showed itself to be beneficial. Sensitive issues were covered all of the interviews, since all of the interviews covered the topics in the interview guide (*cf. Appendix 2*). In addition, the presence of my local research assistants aided in my assessment of whether the journalists and editors spoke freely or if they were hiding their honest opinions and rather giving me, a western researcher from a rich donor country, only what they might think I wanted to or should hear. I frequently asked my assistants about how they perceived the interviewee, if they sensed that they were concealing their honest opinions. In hardly any of the interviews was this felt to be the case by my research assistants. However, I, as the researcher, was responsible of interpreting whether this was the case, and this is a part of the analysis a researcher must ensure.

There were several sensitive issues in the interviews due to questions about the war, politics, and relations in the newsroom. There is a risk that the journalists will attempt to avoid such questions, either by keeping a nice profile, to protect their colleagues or to hide uncomfortable situations for a foreign researcher. The risk of these tactics will increase when the researcher and the interviewee do not know each other. However, I had already observed several uncomfortable situations which I brought up in the interviews. One example was decision making in the newsrooms. For example, in *Koha Ditore*, there was a rather traditional and conservative division of labour, where there was less contact between editors and journalists, and where the editors made the major decisions without discussing it with the journalists. During the first week of observations I saw that several of the journalists were frustrated when stories were changed or cut without having been consulted. When I brought this up in the interviews, I could refer to episodes, and the journalists were asked to elaborate on this. Although only a speculation, I assume that without me having observed the incidents, the journalists could have described the decision process differently. Again, this shows the strengths of newsroom studies with a combination of newsroom observation and qualitative interviews.

A sensitive issue in post-war Kosovo is obviously the question about *ethnicity*, which has penetrated the conflicts in the Balkans over centuries, including the major ethnic struggles in Kosovo in the late 1990s that all the journalists encountered closely (cf. Chapter 7). In *Express* and *Koha Ditore* in Prishtina, there were only Albanian journalists and editors. In *RTK*, the main television newsroom the vast majority of the journalists were Albanian. However, the journalists producing news for the minority-language newscasts were small newsgroups of four Serbian, two Bosnian, and two Turkish journalists, who worked separately. I also included the Serbian and Bosnian editors in my interviews. This was done to bring in views from the minority journalists as well as for understanding the relations between the minority and majority journalists in *RTK*. At the Serbian radio station *Radio Kontakt Plus* (*RKP*) in Mitrovica, I interviewed all the journalists in the newsroom; eight Serbian and two Roma journalists working on the Roma programs at *RKP* (cf. chapter 7).

Questions about ethnic relations came up in the interviews. For example, for the two Albanian-language newspapers, *Express* and *Koha Ditore*, I asked the editors why there were no minority journalists in the newsrooms. They did not seem offended at all by the questions, and explained that they would like to hire Serbian journalists, but it was not possible at that time, with very few Serbs living in Prishtina. They also admitted that it would seem unnatural to have minority journalists writing in Serbian for an Albanian newspaper, since Serbs in Kosovo read Serbian newspapers. This can be seen as a logical answer to a complicated question. However, I interpreted that it would be rather problematic for the newspapers to hire Serbian journalists.

Both newspapers covered numerous stories about minority issues and most of the Albanian journalists of 30 years and older spoke Serbian and travelled to Serbian enclaves.

An interesting aspect that came up in brief conversations in the *Koha Ditore* newsroom was a certain frustration about the justification of covering many news stories on minority issues. One journalist said that this was done due to the expectations from the international community in Kosovo who monitor the newspapers and who want to see stories on Serbs in the newspapers. Additionally, the amount of stories about Serbs was large compared to how many Serbs live in Kosovo (around 5 per cent of the population). I was surprised by the openness about this. However, the journalist also said that I had observed at times the frustration in the newsrooms, and indeed, this was confirmed by occasional discussions between journalists and editors on coverage of stories about Serbs in *Koha Ditore*. In *RTK*, I found the collegial relations between the Albanian and minority journalists to be unproblematic and rather friendly. They exchanged material and cooperated somewhat in terms of translations of raw footage. In the interviews, there was no mutual criticism of each other.

3.5.5. News texts

The third part of my research design in the newsrooms was to undertake a *content analysis* of the stories I observed being produced during the time of the newsroom study. This had three purposes; First, I would create categories of news stories to determine what kind of news stories were published in the post-war environment. Second, I aimed at uncovering the relations between the journalistic working process throughout the day and the published texts. Third, it would give me samples of news texts to be used in the analysis in this dissertation. All in all, my intent for including content analysis would was to provide an analysis of the journalistic and organizational process behind the published texts and the relations between these elements in the study of how professionalization is shaped in the newsrooms in post-war Kosovo.

Later in the writing process this ambition changed, and the use of news texts was reduced and was changed into integrating samples of news texts in the post-war news production analysis in Chapters 5-8. This was done after careful consideration of the large amount of data collected for this dissertation and a realization of my limited ability to adequately analyze these data systematically. I did this, even though I already had gathered and translated all of the first page stories for the research periods from Albanian or Serbian into English. Here, I had to make a choice based on my capacity as a researcher to handle an already complex amount of data.

3.6. Researching international media support

As stated earlier, the inquiry into the role of international media support in the development of journalism in Kosovo was done in part via the newsroom study. As the overview of methodology (cf. Table 3.1) shows, the possible impact of the international media training courses was a part of all the qualitative interviews. In chapter 9 (International media support, especially 9.5.), the results from these interviews are analysed. This brought forth the local evaluation of the training courses. Besides the interviews, numerous international evaluation reports were consulted (Miftari, 2013; Kumar, 2006; Rhodes, 2007; LaMay, 2009; Price, 2004; Karlowicz, 2003), as well as reports by the international media support organizations themselves (for example, van Zweeden, 2007; IREX, 2014, Wnendt, 2006), and several others. Representatives from media training organizations, such as IREX and OSCE were interviewed, as well as local representatives from regional media training organizations (IWPR and BIRN) and Kosovo's media authority (Independent Media Commission and Kosovo's Press Council). Although there were many sources consulted for this part, it was difficult to obtain a complete picture of the media support.

The methodological challenge in this part of the research was that the journalists and editors were very critical in their evaluation of the media training, while many of the organizations' reports were positive. This posted a major difference of opinion in how the trainings were perceived. Here I saw a clear gap between the trainers and the trainees. I appreciated the fact that the journalists and editors were very frank and upfront about their criticism, thus seeming to be honest and not giving me as a researcher from a donor country just nice words and 'thank you's'. The international academic literature supported to a large degree the criticism from the local journalists and editors. This is further discussed in Chapter 9.

3.7. Reliability and validity

The final part of this chapter on methodology will discuss issues related to reliability and validity in the gathering of data for this research project. Although these relate to issues previously discussed in this chapter, there are some aspects that I address towards the end of the discussion around methodology. A special focus is put on the complex process of research in the Kosovar newsrooms which constitutes the major methodological discussion in this chapter. Regarding questions of epistemology and ontology, qualitative study in newsrooms "becomes fraught with epistemological questions about how we come to 'know' something and what exactly constitutes knowledge as well as ontological questions about the nature of reality" (Cottle, 2007, p.8). In newsroom studies over recent decades, authors have adopted various points of views. Some have applied the first-person or third-person voices, which are, according to Cottle (2007), either "…introspective and inter-subjectively involved with the research objects

(interpretivist) or prefers to write in the third person voice […] self-effacing and proclaims a stance of scientific detachment (positivist), or indeed adopts a position somewhere in between (critical realist)" (p.8). According to Cottle, this leads to debates about the validity or stance of newsroom studies (or news ethnography as he labels it) as a recognized research practice. Nevertheless, I concur with Cottle who proclaims that "the undoubted insights and explanatory gains delivered by news ethnography more than demonstrate the method's continuing capacity to reveal important structures, dynamics and cultural meanings at work in the production of news." (p.8). Cottle also show the undoubted strengths of this methodology in understanding news production from the "inside":

> Studies of news production and related professional practices provide in-depth understanding of the nature of journalism in contemporary societies. They have productively shone a spotlight, *inter alia*, on the daily routines, bureaucratic nature, competitive ethos, professional ideologies, source dependencies and cultural practices of the news media. Thanks to these 'behind the scenes' studies, then, we are now all better equipped to understand the normally invisible workings of the news media as well as the part they play in the circuits of social and cultural power. (Cottle, 2007, p.1.)

Are these positive outlooks on newsroom studies that Cottle provides, then applicable when dealing with validity and reliability in this current research project that depends greatly on the research in the newsrooms? And to what degree is it sufficient in a study of the development of journalism, where the *historical context is* as important as I have previously stated? Realizing that the qualitative research in the Kosovar newsrooms has been the most discussed methodology in this chapter, I am aware of a possible criticism of an imbalance, whereby the newsroom research is given too much space. However, the fieldwork in the newsrooms, including the observation of the importance of history and interviews with journalists and editors, *opened up* for understanding the importance of researching historical aspects and triggered the historical literature on media development. This then became a major basis for Chapter 4 of this dissertation. The qualitative field work and the historical research are thus tied together. This serves as a remedy against what Cottle (2007) calls a possible blind spot in journalism, which is to give too much explanatory weight to the *visible* practices of news production, and a negligence of influence of external forces, such as the immediate surroundings of the news media, including the historical, political and economic situation. The study of the historical-political context, news production in today's transitional society, and the impact of international media support combined seeks to provide answers to understanding how journalism develops in societies like Kosovo that are undergoing conflicts and wars.

A second possible blind spot, according to Cottle, where he refers to James Curran, is that "the ethnographic approach has a methodological blind spot that tends to obscure the way in which managerial pressures are brought to bear on the journalists" (Curran, 1989, p. 134). This is a valid point, and in many larger news organizations, and for many western studies of news production, access to managers and directors has been difficult. In my research, the newsrooms in Kosovo are small and can seem somewhat transparent. I gained access to all the top executives in the editorial staff, which were for the most time present in the newsrooms. However, I am aware that there are owners and managers that I did not speak to, whom have influencing power in the Kosovar newsrooms. I have here sought to include issues of external pressure in the interviews as well as observed situations of pressures which are described in the post-war chapters. This is as far as I could come in dealing with those challenges.

In qualitative fieldwork, personal relations develop, and researcher and informants can become close when 'living together' over several weeks. This has also been the case in my fieldwork. This proximity to the informants develops over time, and is a 'risk' that researchers doing primarily interviews experience to a lesser degree. Sympathy with harsh working conditions, economic instability, and political pressure might lead to sympathy from the researcher's side. Thus, there is a risk that the researcher might appear as a mouthpiece for his or her informants. Birte Simonsen (2009) in the Norwegian edited book, *Å forske blant sine egne* (English translation: *Researching among your own),* discusses the concept of subjectivity as interference, where she says,

> A well-known challenge in research is researchers acting as mouthpieces for informants. Several qualitative oriented authors underline the necessity for reflexivity criteria or a critical subjectivity in the research processes. This means a clear consciousness from the researcher's side about his or her own role and what it implies, and it means that all the considerations around this should be exposed clearly in the research text. It is not sufficient that the author himself is aware of this; the reader must also know (p. 210, my *translation*).

This indicates then, that the researcher must be aware of his or her active role as a qualitative researcher, and the facts that this influences the research processes. However, over the last decades, as Simonsen (2009) emphasizes, literature on qualitative research has accepted the researcher role as present in a legitimate way, but only when reflections over reflexivity are present, too. Simonsen also refers to Jo Bech-Karlsen (2003), who highlights that

> […] experiences are impossible to objectivize, and that the alternative to the unattainable objectivity must be an *open subjectivity* (my emphasis) […] the author must make clear his or her position to the knowledge that the text builds. Thus, the subjectivity becomes open and accessible, not camouflaged

and irreproachable (Simonsen, 2009, p. 210, *my translation*)

In this chapter, I have aimed at providing an open, reflexive and transparent discussion on the links between the research agenda and the methodology chosen, my role as a researcher, the relations between researcher and informants, and the complex research situation, the problems, and the remedies applied.

3.8. Summary

Based on the research agenda of studying the specific development of journalism through Kosovo's history and its links to post-war journalism practice and international media support Kosovo, this chapter has addressed the methodological aspects for this dissertation. A combination of literature search and personal interviews from the qualitative fieldwork has been utilized for the study of the historical-political context of journalism in Kosovo. I spent between two and three weeks each in four selected newsrooms in Kosovo for the qualitative fieldwork; the daily newspapers *Express, Koha Ditore*, the TV station *Radio TV Kosovo (RTK)*, and the radio station *Radio Kontakt Plus*. 50 journalists and editors were interviewed. Representatives from the international media training community have been interviewed for the journalism training perspective and literature. The chapter has discussed the challenges in the relations between me as a foreign researcher with background as media officer and journalism trainer in Kosovo, as well as the remedies applied to make the research situation as optimal as possible in a complex research setting with many possible blind spots, but first and foremost many great opportunities for research.

Chapter 4: The historical-political context of media in Kosovo

"Those Balkan people [...] unfortunately produce more history than they can consume locally"
Hector Hugh Munro

4.1. Introduction

How have political events through history shaped the development of journalism in Kosovo, and what is the historical context of the Kosovar media? The theoretical paradigm of media patrimonialism (Waisbord, 2013) introduced in Chapter 2 shows how media and politics are closely interwoven in new democracies, and how politicians and media work together in a mode of reciprocity to gain mutual benefits from one another. According to this paradigm, the media does not develop into an independent field, but operates in close connection to current political segment of society.

This chapter covers the historical-political development of the media in Kosovo. It will show how media in Kosovo historically has always been entangled with political developments and the consequences thereof in the history of media leading up the war in 1999. This interdependency has created an intimacy between the political sector and the media sector. Thus, this serves as an investigation into how political developments' interactions with media in Kosovo and the Balkans region have shaped the historical context of the current journalism practice in today's post-war Kosovo today.

Development of mass media is tied to national, political, and economical developments in Central and Eastern Europe over the last 100 years (Aumente et.al., 1999) and the significance of history is stronger in people's collective memories in the Balkans than is normally the case in western Europe (Finney, 2002). With this as a backdrop, I have identified *three political processes* that I will argue relate to the issue of the development of journalism in Kosovo. These political issues have roots in, and are related to, three periods of Kosovar history. This chapter therefore describes the historical context of today's journalism in Kosovo.

The first issue is *media as builder of national identity in Kosovo.* I place this issue within a longer time period (from late the 1800's to 1981) with shifting media agendas after the dawn of the Albanian national awakening at the end of the 19th century, through the establishment of Yugoslavia in 1929 and, subsequently, most of the Communist era (from 1946 to the 1980s) in the region. Media has been a force of nationalism in the various nations of the Balkans as well as a promoter of socialist and multinational ideas during the Yugoslav communist period. The second issue is *media as political tool in ethnic conflicts.* Historically, I have linked this to the period from 1981-1997 in Kosovo, the years when ethnic conflicts flared up in Yugoslavia in

general, and in Kosovo in particular. Media became a tool of oppression as well as and resistance in Kosovo. The third historical-political issue relates to *media as tools in war*[35] and covers the 1997-1999 war in Kosovo. During this period media was used as tools of information and national unity by the Albanians in Kosovo through a high degree of self-organizing activities in a time of personal loss and trauma due to war. Subsequently, I will argue that these three issues/processes that have developed throughout Kosovo's history have influenced the development of journalism in Kosovo.

Structure of the chapter: I offer a comprehensive account of the historical-political events relevant for this discussion with the realization that one might be lost in details. I do this for two main reasons: First, in order to communicate the *complexity of history* in the Balkans, it is important to provide several examples of historical events and media development relevant for the development of journalism in Kosovo. Second, the media history in Kosovo is a rather *unknown* one for the international academic community; this chapter also serves as an account of how media in Kosovo has developed within the framework of the historical events that dominates today's Kosovo (Judah, 2008).

When tracing events in history's impact on the development of journalism in Kosovo today, a relevant question is: How far back in time should one go? This can obviously be debated. Studies on post-war societies in the Balkans emphasize that people are very aware of history and that collective identities and memories are linked to historical events, such as the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 (Di Lellio, 2009) or the various national quests in the region (Biserko, 2012, Djokić & Ker-Lindsay, 2011; Djokić , 2003, Glenny, 1999; Glenny, 1996; Malcolm, 2002, Mazower, 2001; Judah, 2000a; Judah, 2000b; Vickers, 1999; Vickers 1998). For people in today's Kosovo, the reconfirmation of national and ethnic identities are constantly stimulated and renegotiated through frequent accounts in literature, media and arts (Spahiu, 1999; Emërllahu, 2000; Di Lellio, 2009). As a consequence, a natural point of departure is where today's journalists and scholars in the Balkans start their references to history when relating to media development in Kosovo today; *the end of the Ottoman Empire.* This is the time when media was used in the national struggles in the Balkans in a time of national awakening for several ethnic groups in the Balkans; the late 1800's (Malcolm, 2002), and this is the time when media became a vehicle for developing national identity.

[35] I have opted to include the time until June 1999 in this chapter. Thus, it covers the period until the end of the NATO war in Kosovo. The period from 1999 until today (2015), including Kosovo's independence (2008), is dealt with by the two other processes in the development of journalism in Kosovo; production and media support. I have chosen to include the development of this period after June 1999 in the first part of the media support chapter (Chapter 9).

4.2. Media as builder of national identity (1880s – 1981)

In today's post-war Kosovo, the topic of *identities* is hot in the public domain. This has been discussed in the theoretical framework chapter (cf. 2.3.). Chapter 2 analysed how social identity theorists argue that the concepts of belonging, collectiveness, and ethnicity are the strongest identity markers (Barth, 1969; Jenkins, 1997). An investigation of Kosovo's history reveals that the issue of identity is a complex one. It deals with ethnicity, but also with geographical borders – a fight for nation-states. As Chapter 2 established, a helpful term in this regard is the concept of *national identity*. It is connected to both nation states and ethnicity (Jenkins, 1996). Kosovo, a country sharply divided by ethnic fronts does not as of today have a strong nation-state identity; the term 'Kosovar' is fairly new, and for many, controversial (Andersen, 2005). National identity has therefore historically been linked to ethnic identities (Duijzings, 2000). Media has primarily been a tool of building ethnic identities throughout history, where the countries of Albania and Serbia have been connected to the Albanian and Serbian ethnic identities in Kosovo. Collective identities are strong in the Balkans (Volčič, 2007; Jović, 2004) , and Richard Jenkins' social identity theory acknowledges the identity of belonging, of collectiveness, and that ethnic identity is one of the strongest identities. Analysts also claim that media as builder of ethnic identity has overshadowed all other mechanisms of identity in Kosovo in large periods of history (Schwandner-Sievers, 2002). The emphasis on ethnic identity seems to dominate media coverage and theoretical discussions on Kosovo in light of the many conflicts. Ethnicity alone is frequently blamed as the main reason for the Balkan conflicts.

However, when discussing identities and the Balkans, ethnicity seems to dominate analysts' approaches. As discussed in Chapter 2, Duijzings (2000) challenges the idea that ethnic and religious identities in Kosovo are clear-cut and fixed. He criticizes scholars who forget other aspects of identities in the Balkans. In spite of Duijzings important point of including local, regional, and religious identities, we will in the following sections see how nationality and ethnicity has overshadowed other aspects throughout the media development history. The following is a discussion of historical-political developments in Kosovo during the first historical period, from the late 1800s to 1981.

The beginning of the link between nationalism and the media in the Balkans can be found in the latter period of the Ottoman Empire and the beginning of national revolts in several ethnic groups in the Balkans. The earliest publications in the Balkans "were not just significant from an international standpoint but also their mere existence gave evidence of a developing national consciousness and served to help further develop that consciousness" (Aumente et al., 1999

p.222).The final part of the Ottoman period was marked by several wars and revolts[36]. At the time of the growing Albanian national awakening, a new generation of Albanian intellectuals, writers, poets and priests argued for cultural autonomy and a codification of the Albanian language (Malcolm, 2002). This meant a growing need for education in the Albanian language. Already in the late 1800s, there was a flourishing international media intervention in the region. Already at this time the Albanian diaspora practised media support in the Balkans. Communities outside the Ottoman Empire sponsored the publishing of several Albanian-language publications[37]. A large portion of Albanians lived outside the Ottoman Empire, and they saw it as their duty to support the Albanian national awakening (commonly called *Rilindja* 'Rebirth') with publications promoting the Albanian language. At this time there were few Albanian textbooks in schools in areas where the majority of the population was Albanian. A lot of this new material was sponsored by The 'Besa Society'[38] in Istanbul. The Frashëri brothers[39] were active in the first wave of publications in the Albanian language. The publications were however sporadic. The first regular Albanian publication was launched in Brussels in 1897 by the 'father' of Albanian journalism, Faik Konica[40]. This was called *Albania* and was considered the "most important organ of the Albanian press at the turn of the century" (Destani, 2000, p. 185). Konica moved to London in 1902 and continued to publish the journal there until 1912. He also edited several Albanian newspapers in USA (*Dielli (*'The Sun'*), Vatra (*'The Heart'), and *Trumbeta e Krujës (*'The Trumpet of Croya'). The only other known Albanian language publication at that time was also published outside the Ottoman Empire; by the Albanian 'Arbëresh' Community in

[36] The Ottomans period in the Balkans was characterised by numerous wars and uprisings; the siege of Vienna in 1683; the Kaçanik battle in 1690; the Serbian revolt in 1804, and the Serbian-Turkish wars of 1876-1878, to mention some (detailed accounts of these uprisings are discussed in Glenny, 1999; Judah, 2000a; Malcolm,2002; Mazower, 2001; Vickers, 1998; Vickers, 1999). The most symbolic establishment in the "Albanian Awakening" in the Ottoman period was the establishment of the League of Prizren" in Prizren in 1878, an almost mythical events for the Albanian national movement. The meeting discussed tax systems and a possible army, among many issues. However, that meeting also revealed many disagreements about the question about whether an independent Albanian state should be established, which was the most radical view. Some delegates were afraid that a news state could be a threat to traditional Muslim traditions (Judah , 2008). Others toyed with the idea of a fully independent Catholic Albanian principality (Malcolm, 2002). Detailed accounts of the Prizren League can be found in various books on the history of Kosovo (Malcolm, 2002; Mazower, 2001; Vickers, 1998, Schwandner-Sievers & Fischer, 2002 ; Kola, 2003).

[37] Some of these called for Albanian full independence, and various periodicals in the 1880s were printed in Romania, Bulgaria, Egypt, and Turkey (Malcolm, 2002).

[38] 'Besa'(Alb.) = 'covenant' or 'oath' – Intellectual community in Istanbul established by Albanians from the Bektashi (Sufi) order (a Muslim community in the Ottoman Empire; dominant in Kosovo), who were supported by the Ottoman regime until 1904 (when the Young Turks – a liberal movement in opposition to the regime of Sultan Abdul Hamid - took over (see Vickers, 1998, pp. 62-85)

[39] Legendary leaders in the 'Rilindja' movement. Abdyl Bey Frashëri was the most prominent of the three brothers who were leaders in the Albanian national movement; his two brothers were Naim bey Frashëri, and Sami bey Frashëri.

[40] Faik Konica (1875-1942) is considered the pioneer in Albanian modern literature and journalism. He studied in France and USA and also lived in London and Brussels. He worked for modernizing the Albanian language, especially for unifying the two Albanian dialects; Tosk and Gheg. He contributed to develop today's written Albanian language. Read more about Faik Konitza in (Destani, 2000, p.185).

Calabria in Italy. It was called *Flamuri i Arbërit* ('The Flag of Albanians') and was published from 1883 to 1887. This was a periodical with a romantic nationalist editorial policy.

During and in the aftermath of the two Balkan Wars (1912-1913) when the Ottoman regime in the Balkans ended, there were numerous armed conflicts. During the first Balkan War, Serbia, Bulgaria and Macedonia formed an alliance to push the Ottomans out of the region. Most of Kosovo was taken over by Serbia, while a smaller part in the Western part of Kosovo came under the control of Montenegro. Serbs in Kosovo have later seen this as the 'liberation' of Kosovo[41], but Kosovar Albanians (who claimed the right to join the newly independent Albania in 1912) have always considered this as an illegal occupation of Kosovo (Mønnesland, 2006) finally made right by Kosovo's declaration of independence in 2008 (Judah, 2008). The international press covered the war in 1912-1913 in Kosovo, and news about brutal mistreatment of Albanians by Serbs during the Balkan Wars started to emerge. The Ukrainian newspaper *Kievskaia Mysl,* and British *Daily Telegraph* brought graphic details of several massacres in Ferizaj, Gjilan, and Prizren. Danish media also covered the events.[42]

These events pushed the development of nationalist media in the region. However, the Albanian written language, that later was introduced in schools, also had a boost during this period. The Albanian diaspora continued to publish Albanian newspapers, but none of them in Kosovo (Malcolm, 2002, p. 239). An interesting aspect in this matter is that even Bulgarians, who were allied with Serbia, also financed Albanian publications in the run up to the Balkan Wars. This can be seen as an attempt to position Bulgaria in the political field, and gain favour in the Albanian communities in times of extreme geopolitical turmoil (Willem Houwen, personal interview). A Pan-Albanian conference in 1912 also agreed on a modified Albanian alphabet[43] that strengthened the teaching of Albanian children and brought down illiteracy in a struggling school system. These first publications had a two-fold aim: First, to strengthen the education of the Albanian population in the latter period of the Ottoman Empire during the Albanian national movement, and second, to support the Albanian movement in Europe and in the United States. One must consider, however, that a very small portion of Albanians were able to access these publications. But these publications were important promoters of a stronger Albanian identity in

[41] The reaction in Serbia to the Ottoman defeat in Kosovo was "understandably euphoric" (Malcolm, 2002, p. 252). The Serbian press had been full of medieval history when justifying the war for its home audience, especially about the Battle of Kosovo in 1389. The Serbian press was full of myths and symbols about Kosovo at this time and in the time to come.

[42] A Danish journalist in Skopje reported that 5,000 Albanians had been killed in Prishtina after the city was captured and wrote that the Serbian campaign "had taken on the character of a horrific massacring of the Albanian population" (Malcolm 2002, p. 253-254). Parallels can be drawn to the 1999 NATO war in Kosovo, when most international media first started covering Kosovo when the international community became involved in a war there.

[43] The conference took place in Manastir (in today's Macedonia) in November 1912 (Skendi, 1967). The establishment of this was, however, controversial. Conservative Albanian Moslems, along with the Young Turk movement, wanted to keep Arabic scripts in Kosovar schools. They argued that it was a "unifying factor for the whole Ottoman Empire (Malcolm, 2002 ; Bartl, 1968).

Kosovo at the end of the 19th century. The high publication activities in Albanian communities outside the Ottoman Empire can be considered the start of a long tradition of media support from abroad.

Concerning the history of *Serbian* local media in Kosovo at this time period, there are hardly any written records of activities of media activities or journalism specially targeting Kosovo. The Serbian population in Kosovo did, as Albanians, not consume much media at the time, due to illiteracy and that mere survival was more important than reading newspapers. However, a few media in the Serbian language were launched as this time, dealing with the many ethnic and religious issues facing the region during the declining/final years of the Ottoman Empire. For instance, the 'Organization of the Ottoman Serbs' published the newspaper *Vardar,* and the Balkans' oldest newspaper, which still exists today, *Politika*, was founded in 1904 in Belgrade.

When entering the interwar period of Yugoslavia, media in Kosovo and the rest of Yugoslavia develop two sets of identity makers; Yugoslavism[44] and nationalism. Nowhere else in the former Federation was there a stronger clash between the two (Malcolm, 2002; Glenny, 1999). The population in the area was 70% illiterate and 85% agricultural. However, amidst ethnic tensions, several alphabets, and very limited means of transportation and distribution, the major newspapers grew significantly. At this time, Belgrade – based *Politika* reached a circulation of 80,000, and *Vreme* printed 40,000 copies. In comparison, the largest Croatian newspaper at that time, *Novosti* sold 20,000 copies. In Kosovo, where the majority of the population was Albanian, the larger Yugoslav newspapers had limited circulation, given the fact that Kosovo was included in the Federation against the majority of the population's will, which was to join Albania. Thus, they looked for information from Tirana, the capital of Albania. There had been some attempts in 1910, shortly before Albania's independence, to establish a domestic newspaper (Johnson, 1999).

The first permanent Albanian newspaper produced in Tirana was *Kombi* (*The Nation*), launched by the well-known intellectual Fan Noli, who served as foreign minister for a few months, until the royalist coup of Leg Zoku[45], and then went into exile in USA, where he later served as bishop of the Orthodox Church in Boston. *Kombi* was published well into the 1970s, decades after the Second World War as the organ of the anti-communist exiles in the US Diaspora (the so-called 'legaliteti' movement). In Kosovo, the situation for the Albanian language, including schools and publications worsened dramatically for Albanians in Kosovo

[44] Yugoslavism is the idea of the unification of the people on the Balkan Peninsula. It was, according to Dejan Djokic (2003) a fluid idea that was understood in different ways in different places and thus not strong enough to hold the Federation together during the 1990's and thus a failed idea, according to Djokic.

[45] Ahmet Zogu, or Lek Zogu, was later crowned as The King of Albanians King Zog I: For more on this, read Bernd Fischer, who is considered the most trusted biographer of King Zog (Fischer, 1984).

after Serbia took control in 1912 and it continued through the interwar period[46]. All the Albanian schools that were open during the Austrian occupation in World War I were closed by 1930.

> …nor was there a single Albanian-language publication on sale there, though almost every other minority in Yugoslavia (including Germans, Hungarians, Czechs, Turks and even Russians) had newspapers of its own. Among the official reasons given for this state of affairs were the claims that most Albanians were illiterate […] (Malcolm, 2002, p. 267).

During World War II, most of Kosovo was occupied by the Nazis from 1941 (*fig.3.1*). However, Kosovo was split into three parts; the eastern part was given to Bulgaria, Germany controlled the northern part[47], and the rest, which was the major parts of Kosovo, was 'united' with Italy–controlled Albania. It is worth noting that the only period that Kosovo has been joined with Albania is three years of World War II (1941-1944).

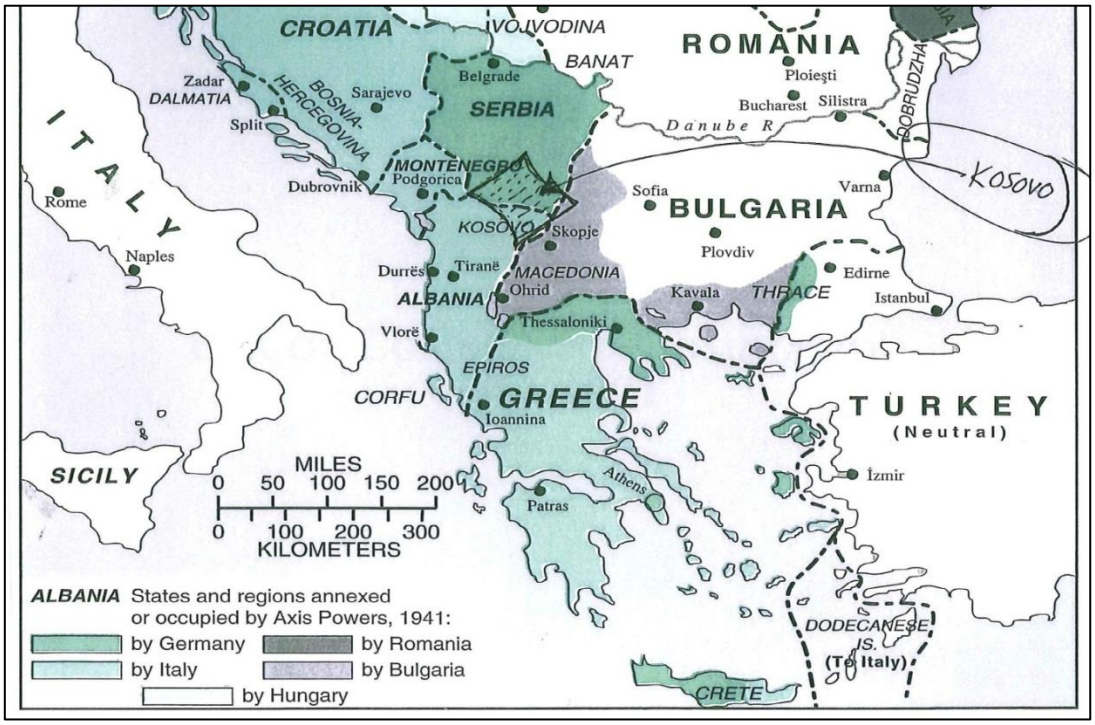

Figure. 3.1 The Balkans in 1941 (Kosovo marked by the author) Map from Hupchick, Dennis P. and Harold E. Cox (2001). The Palgrave Concise Historical Atlas of the Balkans. New York: Palgrave [48]

[46] The inter-war period in Kosovo was dominated by the "policy of the Serbian colonisation" (Vickers, 1999). there are various accounts as to how many Serbs moved to Kosovo (Glenny, 1999; Kola, 2003; Mazower, 2001; Vickers, 1999; Djokić , 2003; Elsie , 2001; Malcolm, 2002; Judah , 2000a), but one estimate is that during the two waves of settlement, in 1922-1929 and 1933-1938, 10,877 families were settled in Kosovo at that time.
[47] This included the part down to Vucitirn/Vushtrri, including Mitrovica and the important Trepca Mines, from which Hitler took raw material for his warfare equipment production.
[48] This map shows how Kosovo was split during World War 2 and it also shows the complexity of identities and majority/minority issues in the Balkans at this time.

The federal media continued to grow in Yugoslavia, along with the attempts to develop a stronger public and federal identity with it. The first news agency in the region, the Serbian national news agency *Agencija Avala*, was founded in the newly established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Belgrade in 1919. In 1943, it was reorganized, and the name was changed to *Tanjug*[49]. Tanjug's reputation in the West at this time was more positive than that of other Eastern European news agencies, and it carried correspondents all over the world. In the 1940s, governments and media in Western Europe and North America considered the Yugoslav media to be more liberal and less government-controlled than counterparts in the rest of the Communist Europe. It was considered "among the freest in the communist bloc," (Johnson, 1999). Johnson also argues that "Yugoslav media had the same degree of autonomy as did U.S. journalists," (1999, pp. 30-31). Mark Thompson (1999) claims they enjoyed freedom and were more abundant, varied and unconstrained than other communist states.[50]

As previously seen, the news media in Tito's early Yugoslavia received international praise and some criticism by international media scholars. These positive western descriptions of the Yugoslav media, however, do not provide a correct account of the media in Kosovo. Things were different there than other parts of Yugoslavia. A factor that is not described earlier in accounts on Yugoslav media history is how Kosovar Albanians were among the most critical voices against the Yugoslav Federation. Unlike other parts of Yugoslavia, there was almost no support for the new regime (Malcolm, 2008). Here, nationalism never faded.

The period 1945 to 1966 was grim for the Albanian population in Kosovo. It can be argued that the situation for the media in Kosovo was worse than in any other part of Yugoslavia. Few of the majority Albanians, who made up 68 percent of the population,[51] had supported Tito's partisans and they did not, unlike Serbs, want to be a part of Yugoslavia in the first place. Therefore, most of the official positions, especially within the security services, were filled by Serbs and Montenegrins. It was a total repression of Albanian culture, the almost Stalinist repression under Tito's minister of Interior affairs, Aleksandar Rankovic, who is still a hate-figure of mythological proportions among Albanians. The torture and mass deportations of Albanian 'nationalists' under Rankovic were an important feature of the 1950s, There was a constant harassment of Albanian villages, and in 1956, there was a famous case in Prizren,

[49] *Tanjug* is an acronym for *Telegrafska Agencija Nove Jugoslavije* (Telegraph Agency of New Yugoslavia)

[50] However, in the most comprehensive study about the Yugoslav media during Tito's rule, Gertrude Joch Robinson's, *Tito's Maverick Media* (1977) the authors reveal how the media recognized the relative positive freedom (hereby the "Maverick" – title) that media had enjoyed during Tito's rule, but that there, at the end of the 1970's were signs that after Tito, there was a real danger for regional interests laying the ground for destruction (Johnson, 1999). And an even more bleak picture of *Tanjug* is portrayed in Mark Thompson's *Forging War* (1999) where he describes how *Tanjug* later was taken more and more over by the Serbian government and became an instrument for nationalistic voices in the 1980's and 1990's, often against the will of the staff. This later became evident in Kosovo. The regional desk of Tanjug "took a Serbian nationalist stance in the 1980s" (Thompson, 1999, p.23).

[51] According to the 1948 Yugoslav Census.

where several Albanians were tried for espionage. One of the nine accused men, who received long prison sentences, was Njazi Maloku, the Communist editor of *Rilindja,* Kosovo's first newspaper.

Kosovo did not gain the status as a republic in the new Communist Yugoslav Federation, like the other states (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia). There were several meetings in the [Communist] central Committee about the status of Kosovo after the war. Several voices defended the idea of Kosovo joining Albania (something the Kosovo Albanians wanted after World War I), but after meetings in the 'Anti-Fascist National Liberation Assembly of Serbia' in April 1945 and the controversial 'Regional People's Council' in Kosovo in July 1945, it was decided that Kosovo should be annexed to Serbia. It is worth noting that the unelected 142-member council represented only the 2,250 members of the Communist Party in Kosovo, and that only 33 of them were Albanians. "The resolution was passed by acclamation, without a vote and without a single speech on the subject." (Malcolm, 2002, p. 315). On September 3, 1945, the presidency of the 'People's Assembly' of Serbia therefore decided to establish the 'Autonomous region of Kosovo-Metohija' and declared that it was a 'constituent part' of Serbia. Today in Kosovo, this move is still considered by Kosovar Albanians as a treachery, and this is still evident in public discourse today (Vickers, 1999; Malcolm 2002).

In 1945, Kosovo was included in Tito's Yugoslavia, as a part of Serbia. Kosovo's first daily newspaper, *Rilindja* (Rebirth) was launched in Prishtina that year, under control of the Communist party, renamed later 'The Socialist League of Yugoslav Workers', after Tito had left the Stalin-led Komintern. *Rilindja* (which had no direct associations with the Albanian renaissance movement at the end of the 19th century) was the only daily newspaper in Kosovo until the 1990's. Like in all republics in Tito's Yugoslavia, it was initially totally controlled by the party. In addition to *Rilindja,* several party-controlled magazines, like *Zeri i Rinisë*, (a Weekly for the youth), were published. *Zeri i Rinsë* which later became the weekly *Zëri*. Also worth mentioning from the late 40s is *Jeta e Re* , a literary criticism monthly, but also totally ideologically correct and under party control. During the late 1950s, both *Rilindja* staff and readers were under surveillance[52]. *Radio Prishtina* was also established in 1945, as an integral part of the Yugoslav broadcasting system[53]. It broadcasted initially one hour per day in Albanian and 2-3 hours in Serbian. The station was considered among the Albanians as a mouthpiece for the Yugoslav government during the first 20 years, and few listened to it. It was looked upon as one of many vehicles of the repression of the Albanian culture in Kosovo. The Serbian government used the radio station actively to build support for their discriminatory policy against the Albanians. *TV Prishtina* started broadcasting in Kosovo in 1960, as one of the

[52] See Malcolm, 2002, p. 327
[53] http://www.osaarchivum.org/files/holdings/300/8/3/text/76-2-284.shtml , accessed Oct. 3, 2008.

regional branches *of Jugoslovenska Radio-Televizija (JRT),* a federal body that "coordinated the television scheduling, including exchange of programmes" (Thompson, 1999). It was one of two regional stations in Yugoslavia that broadcasted in two languages, including programs in a minority language in Yugoslavia; Albanian[54]. In 1966, Tito's Minister of Interior Affair, Alaksandar Rankovic, was fired, after a major conflict with former partisan comrade Tito. A period of change in Kosovo started. Kosovo's status in Yugoslavia had already been upgraded from 'region' to 'autonomous province' in 1963. A time of 'Albanization' of Kosovo began, with less repression and more freedom. Cultural autonomy was allowed, and in the new Yugoslav Constitution of 1974, Kosovo remained as a part of Serbia but was now almost a full federal entity (Judah 2008). It had its own government, police, and in 1970 Kosovo's first and only university was established; The University of Pristina. The university also had a program in journalism studies, under the Faculty of Law[55].

An active media scene in Kosovo was established, although strictly controlled by the Yugoslav government. Examples of this was the Kosovo - Serbian newspaper *Jedinstvo*, the Turkish daily *TAN*, and also municipal radio branches in major towns, like Peja, Gjakova, and Prizren. A double standard developed on the media scene in Kosovo as well as other parts of Yugoslavia during this period. On one side, the media was given autonomy, but the press at the same time was required defend the idea of a united Yugoslavia. The 1974 Yugoslav Constitution guaranteed freedom of the press, but "the concept of media freedom […] was that the media were free to support the existing political system in the prescribed ways"[56] (Thompson, 1999, p. 9). In addition, the Official Code of Journalists of Yugoslavia defined a journalist as a "socio-political worker who, conscientiously, adhering to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, […] participates in the establishment and development of socialist self-management society". A Journalist was thus a part of a system that opposed media independence, also in Kosovo. The journalists in Yugoslavia considered themselves "the rightful custodians of public knowledge, rather than facilitators of public debate"[57] (Robinson, 1977, p. 230). There was also a strong

[54] The other regional stations were: TV Belgrade, TV Zagreb, TV Sarajevo, TV Titograd, TV Slovenia, TV Skopje, and TV Novi Sad, the other two-language service (Serbian and Hungarian).
[55] A former Albanian student at the Journalism program recalls: "It was entirely theoretical, with areas like Theory of Information systems, Introduction to Journalism, Practice and Style of Journalism, Building Public Opinion, Television, Radio, and other media […] there was a lot of focus on media systems, and the professors told us how the Yugoslav system was its own; not the Russian system, and not the one of the West. It was a good program because it gave us a lot of general knowledge." (*RTK* journalist, personal interview).
[56] The Yugoslav Constitution had several articles limiting press freedom, especially articles 166 and 203, which stated that "No one may use the freedoms and rights established by the present Constitution in order to disrupt the foundations of the socialist self-management democratic order". Legislation followed the constitution and the Law on the Prevention of the Abuse of Freedom of the Press and Other Media" restricted what could be published. Article 133 of this law described in details these limitations (see Thompson, 1999).
[57] This self-image of journalists in Yugoslavia lasted long; as late as 1989, when of the League of Communists membership among Yugoslavs had fallen below 10 per cent, more than 80 per cent of journalists were still members (Ramet, 2005).

sense of self-censorship among Yugoslav journalists, which can be explained by a need to uphold what Ramet calls the 'national mythology' of Tito's Yugoslavia (Thompson, 1999).

However, along with the renewed focus on supporting the Federation in the 1974 Constitution came a *decentralization of politics and media*. As the political climate in Yugoslavia evolved towards increasing regional autonomy, "TV centers slowly abandoned the traditional multi-ethnic style of programming [...] the media became a springboard for Milosevic and Tudjman's [Croatia] nationalistic agendas, as media turned into pulpits for the advocacy of local powers" (Milosevic, 2000, p.110). The content of the new Code of Journalists lost its value in the wake of political reality. Therefore, although the Kosovar media scene was expanded to a great extent, the journalists in the state media came out of the above tradition, and were first and foremost heralds of the Yugoslav state – at least for a while. During a time of more and more freedom, these media organizations met the mixed feelings among the Kosovar Albanians; the appreciation, on the one side, of Tito giving them more freedom, but at the same time the urge to strengthen Albanian and Kosovar identity through the possibilities of establishing independent mass media.

The development of the Kosovar Albanian media scene during the 1970s showed how the Yugoslav and Albanian mind set operated side-by-side, and also clashed at times. *Radio Television Pristina (RTP)* hired more and more Albanian journalists and technical staff, and the amount of Albanian programs increased. The Serbian branch of *RTP* was still a very popular place to work. A Serbian journalist I interviewed for this dissertation, who started working in *RTP* in 1974, explains:

> When I applied to work for the Serbian program there were 300 applicants. I was one of three people they hired [...] After they begged, I became a presenter, since I spoke Serbian very well (*RTK* journalist, personal interview).

However, the Party stayed in control of its broadcaster in Kosovo and put Albanian party-loyal directors Riza Alaj and later Agim Zatriqi[58] at the helm. Zatriqi was the General Director of *RTK* during the time of the fieldwork for this dissertation (February 2006). His heritage of leading a large institution with extended bureaucracy was visible in that he had a secluded office where he received guests and had meetings with his closest directors. He seldom socialized with the journalists in the newsrooms. Finally, New Albanian language magazines started in the 1970's, like *Bota e Re* (New World) a student paper that later bred many of today's major profiles in Kosovar Albanian journalism.

[58] Agim Zatriqi was in 2001 appointed the first local head of the later *Radio Television Kosovo* (RTK) which was established after the 1999 NATO war.

4.2.1. Summary

The first issue of historical-political developments in Kosovo and its relation to development of journalism in Kosovo today can be summarized in two points, referring to different time slots within a long time period (late 1800s to 1981). First; as we have seen, media was in fact developed and used to promote *national identity*, including language education, in Kosovo from the Albanian awakening to Serbian resistance towards the Ottomans to the Balkan Wars in 1912-1913. Second, in the Yugoslav times, the media's tasks changed to officially promote *communist identities and federal values*, transcending the various national identities in Yugoslavia. However, the Albanians in Kosovo continued to use media as a tool of their own nationality. We have seen how the journalists and newsrooms shifted their allegiance from national identity to federal identity with a strong communist dictate. Nevertheless, in Kosovo this must be considered as a half-hearted transformation. The Kosovar Albanian national identity was primarily Albanian, not Yugoslav. This led to increasing tension and conflicts and shows the long tradition of media in Kosovo being the subject of shifting politics of identity. This takes us to the second period (1981-1997) in this chapter and the second relationship between historical-political developments of journalism in Kosovo: *Media as political tools in ethnic conflicts.*

4.3. Media as political tool in ethnic conflicts (1981-1997)

I have linked the second historical-political issue to the period 1981-1997 in Kosovo, the years when the ethnic conflicts flared up throughout former Yugoslavia in general, and specifically in Kosovo. Media became a tool of oppression as well as resistance. In the early 1980s, nationalism became an increasing political reality in Kosovo and Serbia. Sonja Biserko (2012) describes the move from Yugoslavism to nationalism, a break-up of the federation into ethnic conflict, where a nationalists is described as "someone who places the interest of his or her own nation over the interest of other nations […], the interest of members of his own nation over the interest of members of other nations, and the interests of his own nation as a collectivity over the interests of individual members of his own nation" (p, 12). This definition summarizes the political moves all over the region in which also the media became a vital player. Media became a central part of promoting nationalism above collectiveness and media outlets became political tools in the increasing ethnic conflicts in the region. This is supported by Tarik Jusic (2009) who analysed the role of media in inter-ethnic relations during the time leading up to the break-up of Yugoslavia: "The media discourse was both an indicator to the crisis, highlighting deep divisions that began to open up, while at the same time helping redraw boundaries between ethnic groups…" (p. 21). Bosnian newspaper editor Kamal Kurspahic (2003) gives a detailed account of

how media was increasingly controlled by nationalist powers throughout the Balkans and how journalists changed their allegiances from federalism to nationalism. Kurspahic argues that this amplified the ethnic conflicts in the region. In the following section, we will see how this developed in Kosovo.

During the first part of the 1980's, several events led to increased tension and a tougher political climate in Kosovo. Josip Broz Tito died on May 4, 1980. Without him as a father-figure at the helm, 'Project Yugoslavia' started to unravel. In Kosovo, Tito was highly respected and even admired by many Kosovar Albanians after the liberalization of Albanian rights and culture in the 1970s. However, Kosovo remained the poorest area of the Federation, and the living conditions remained hard. The Kosovar Serbs were also dissatisfied, and complained about what they called Albanian dominance and persecution. In Prishtina, students complained about poor conditions, and tanks were sent to the streets, along with special police. Probably hundreds died in the clashes, and many were imprisoned. According to Tim Judah (2008, p. 58) and other analysts, the events in Kosovo in 1981 "changed the course of history and not just of Kosovo, but also of the whole of Yugoslavia", They argue that the disintegration and fall of Yugoslavia did not start in Slovenia or Croatia in 1991, but in Kosovo in 1981[59]. The growing unrest among both Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo led to protest marches in both Belgrade and Pristina. Serbs migrated to Serbia, and complained about lost rights. At the same time, the number of Albanians in Kosovo grew rapidly.

On the media scene, the press in Belgrade stepped up their reporting about events in Kosovo. The stronghold of Serbian nationalism, *Politika*, widely covered the Albanian protests, with big "Kosovo – republic!" headlines. *Tanjug* took a nationalist stand on Kosovo (Thompson, 1999), and there was a growing anti-Albanian attitude in Serbian media which increased in the early 1980s. An important change of characteristics in the Serbian media's coverage of Kosovo (and other parts of Yugoslavia) was the transition from promoting socialism and the Federation into nationalist demagogy; *from unity to ethnicity*. The Belgrade journalists that formerly had to abide to a Yugoslav mind-set changed their reporting to polarization of ethnic groups, myths and territory in Kosovo. This is significant, since the changing atmosphere in Belgrade widened the gap between Belgrade and Prishtina in terms of media rhetoric and a growing conflict.

For the Albanian-language media in Kosovo, the time after Tito's death became highly problematic. They had to prove their loyalty to the Belgrade-based Communist party, and

[59] Tim Judah lines up three major reasons for this. First, a radicalization against Yugoslavia and Serbia of the imprisoned later leaders of Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA); second, although Albanians were still in charge of Kosovo after liberalization in the 1970s, there was a sense that Serbia remained in power, and when the Serbs were exposed to harassment by Albanians, they complained to Belgrade and emigrated to Serbia. This paved the way for Milosevic's platform nationalistic policies, not only in Kosovo. Thirdly, the 1981 unrest in Kosovo alarmed other Yugoslavs that more unrest was imminent, which proved to be true (2008, p. 58).

unequivocally defend the 'anti-fascist socialist federation', and combat all 'irredentist, separatist and nationalist' tendencies, which was the official media line, although the tone of the Belgrade media indeed shifted into nationalism when reporting on Albanian and Serbian protests in Kosovo. *RTP* and *Rilindja* were loyal in this process of 'political differentiation'. But it was hard for many of the Albanian journalists, and there were strict punishments for breaking the rules. One journalist I interviewed recalls:

> We did not agree with the things that were served by the system at that time. We started to apply, let's call it, a more moderate kind of journalism. We also started a second live program. A lot of things not allowed to mention was said in that program. [...] There were many kinds of punishments […] I was fired for six months when I played an Albanian popular hit song *My duck* in my radio program Radio Rinore (Former *RTP* journalist, now *RTK* journalist, personal interview).

Many Albanians were sacked from the state media. They were squeezed between defending the 'official' Kosovo media line when reporting dramatic events where Albanians were killed and wounded. They did not have the same freedom as Serbian colleagues who could ventilate their frustrations to Belgrade.

The 1980s became the public starting points for many of today's leading profiles in Kosovar Albanian media. The already mentioned student paper, *Bota e Re* was a breeding ground for most of the current generation of journalists, people like Halil Matoshi (later *Zëri, now Koha Ditore*), Baton Haxhiu (later *Koha Ditore* and *Express, now TV Klan Kosova*), Blerim Shala (later *Zëri, now Deputy President of the political party Alliance for the Future of Kosovo*), and others were all politically correct and completely following the party line. When Veton Surroi, son of a prominent Yugoslav diplomat, came back from Mexico[60] and started to write in *Rilindja* and *Bota e Re*, he challenged the mind-set of this generation of young socialists by entering into written polemics with some of them on popular culture, identities, counterculture etc. This was something unheard of in Kosovo until then and caused months of debate in the Kosovar Albanian media. During this debate, a new generation of liberal youth, also interested in popular culture started the bi-monthly magazine *Fjala*. Among these were Isuf Berisha, Shelzen Maliqi and Gani Bobi, all of them influential capacities with areas of media and human rights in Kosovo today.

There were three 'sets' of media in Kosovo in the 1970's with different profiles. First, there was the Belgrade-based Serbian media (*Politika*, *Tanjug*, *Vreme* and others) that reported

[60] Veton Surroi is son of Rexhai Surroi (1929-1988), a famous writer, journalist and diplomat. He was one of very few Albanians who became ambassadors for Yugoslavia. He was ambassador in Mexico, Honduras, and Costa Rica. He was also manager for Rilindja from 1985 to 1988.

on events in Kosovo for the Yugoslav audience. Second, the 'official' Yugoslav media in Kosovo, mostly represented by *Radio Television Pristina* and *Rilindja*, that stuck to the 'party line' of Yugoslav media, as described in the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution and Code of Journalists. Third, the emerging Kosovar Albanian 'alternative' press that carried hefty debates on Kosovar vs. Yugoslav relations. These three sets existed side by side in a climate of increasing media tensions in the province.

In 1987, major political turns in Serbia changed the situation and the media in Kosovo, when Slobodan Milosevic became the head of the League of Communist of Serbia (LCS). It can be argued that this happened thanks to the dramatic events that happened in Kosovo that year. Before 1987, he rose quickly in the ranks of the Serbian Communist Party after being linked to Ivan Stambolic, who became president of Serbia in 1986. In April 1987, Stambolic sent Milosevic to Kosovo Polje/Fushë Kosova to listen to complaints of Kosovo Serbs. When Milosevic came to Kosovo, he saw how the Serbs clashed with police. After that, he said the words that later would immortalize him among Serbs: "No one should dare to beat you" (Judah, 2008). This event, was staged[61], and broadcasted in the Serbian media. Milosevic rose quickly to power after this, playing the nationalist card to its fullest in a time when strong emotions about Kosovo were stirred among Serbs and communism rule was withering all over Eastern Europe.

Serbian media reporting about Kosovo played a vital role in the radicalization of Serb nationalism from 1986 to 1990. There were several reports about alleged Albanian crimes[62] against Serbs. Especially *TV Belgrade* became Milosevic's mouthpiece on Kosovo (Thompson 1999). The newspaper *Vecerne Novosti (Evening News*) published in 1986 a draft Memorandum of the influential Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts claiming that there was an imminent danger of genocide against the Serbs in Kosovo, and that the authorities in Serbia neglected the Serbs there. This memorandum which challenged the very foundations of the Yugoslav federation, calling for sharper dividing lines between religious and ethnic groups in Yugoslavia (Kurspahic, 2003, pp. 31-33), was debated in the Serbian media, but the tendency was that the Serbs felt that their existence (once again) was threatened. The Serbian media, with probably one exception[63], produced anti- Albanian reports, along with Milosevic's rhetoric.

[61] Four days before, Milosevic had already been in Kosovo to set up the whole event, carefully planning also the media coverage of the events.

[62] On September 3, 1987, a Kosovar Albanian conscript in the Yugoslav Army killed four of his comrades, a Serb, two Bosnians and a Slovene, in Paracin (Serbia), where they were based. He killed himself shortly after this. Instead of reporting that this was an act of madness, the Serbian press reported that that the Albanian soldier was a part of a nationalist plot (Judah, 2008, p. 66). Ten thousand showed up at funeral of the young Serb. Milosevic used this event when he, a few weeks later, turned on his former mentor Ivan Stambolic at the Eight Session of the Central Committee of the Serbian communists. Stambolic resigned as president three months later, and Milosevic took over.

[63] In 1989, at the peak of anti-Albanian reporting in the Serb media, Goran Milic, a well-respected TV Belgrade reporter went to Kosovo to find some positive stories. An Albanian friend of his said: "Listen, all they report on us in Serbia is that we are murderers and rapists. But I'll tell you my story. My Serb neighbor killed my cow, and

However, the impression that one reads in the west of a Serbian media that just followed Milosevic's rhetoric and policies in Kosovo from 1987 to 1990, is not entirely true. There were indeed protests from independent Serbian journalists and media which were met with strong measures (Blagojevic, 2003). "Any media that queried the official line on Kosovo – that Yugoslavia was fighting "Albanian terrorist separatism" and that Kosovo was an internal affair of Serbia – became liable of suppression" (Thompson, 1999 p. 116). This increasing polarization between obedient state media and media not following Belgrade paved the way for independent media in Serbia that were established. As we will see, this also encouraged Albanians in Kosovo to start small independent media outlets, although being under strong surveillance.

In 1989, several dramatic events evolved in Kosovo. Milosevic stepped up his fight to abolish Kosovo's autonomy. On March 23rd, police and tanks surrounded the premises of Kosovo's assembly building in Pristina, as deputies voted in favor of constitutional amendments that would give back Serbia its power over the province[64]. Violent protests by Albanians were crushed, as thousands of police poured into Kosovo from Serbia. Hundreds of new laws were quickly passed in order to integrate Kosovo back into Serbia. Milosevic's famous June 28th speech in front of one million Serbs from all of Yugoslavia, at the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo at Kosovo Polje, was broadcasted widely by Serbian TV[65].

Then came 1990 –a year that was devastating for Kosovar Albanian media. The regime in Serbia continued its program of stripping Kosovar Albanians of power and influence[66], and many measures were taken, including a 'Law on the Activities of Organs of the Republic in Exceptional Circumstances'. This included closing down almost all Albanian–language media in Kosovo. This meant shutting down the Albanian service of *Radio Television Pristina* and Kosovo's only daily newspaper, *Rilindja*. Around 1500 Albanian journalists lost their jobs (Malcolm, 2002; Thompson, 1999; Judah, 2000a, 2008; Kurspahic, 2003; Milosevic, 2000). The Serbian broadcasts of *RTP* continued until 1999, which only the Serb minority in Kosovo cared about. Literature on Kosovar media talks about a total Albanian media blackout in Kosovo from 1990. This is not entirely true. A few small media were allowed to publish, probably as an 'island of

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you should know what that means in a Kosovo context. That calls for revenge. But I forgave him the cow, and we had a drink together, and that's how neighbors should live with each other". Milic liked the story, but his editors in TV Belgrade did not, and told him to come home. Another time, Milic asked a young Albanian TV journalist, Linda Abrashi, to do a non-political report in her native language to the Belgrade evening TV journal. Milic edited the story – and it was broadcasted. Later he said "That was a rare, if not the only, occasion that TV Belgrade ran a prime time report in Albanian" (Kurspahic, 2003, pp. 48-49).

[64] This happened after Milosevic had installed his own "loyal Albanians" and after Serbian Communist Party officials mingled with the delegates (Malcolm, 1999; Judah 2000a, 2008).

[65] *TV Belgrade* broadcasted his speech numerous times, highlighting the nationalistic parts, including references to previous Serbian mythological battles.

[66] Under the 'Programme for the Realization of Peace and Prosperity in Kosovo' and 'Yugoslav Programme of Measures to be Taken in Kosovo' (Malcolm, 2002) new municipalities for Serbs were established, including housing for them, Albanians were encouraged to seek employment outside Kosovo, and restrictions in property sales to Albanians, was applied.

alibi' and with a small opportunity of 'letting off steam' function. The weekly *Zëri* is one example. And the first attempts to create Albanian-language independent media outlets were made in 1990-91 by Veton Surroi, Shelzen Maliqi and others. They registered *Koha Weekly* in Croatia. However, these were all very marginal, compared to what had been. *Radio Croatia* also had an Albanian service that continued after the Albanian media in Kosovo was closed. One *RTK* journalist recalls how they practised journalism there:

> After they kicked us out, at the end of 1990, I went to Zagreb, to *Radio Croatia*, where we made news shows between five and 15 minutes per day. Everybody listened to us; all Albanians in Kosovo, in ex-Yugoslavia and elsewhere in Europe. We had only news, a few commentaries and occasionally some interviews. We considered it to be dangerous to have Kosovar citizens on the air. We had a big responsibility, since the circumstances were like being under occupation (*RTK* journalist, personal interview).

Contrary to most reports on the radicalization of Serbian media, it is important to emphasize the voices that also criticized the Albanian media's nationalism tone during this period. Did the Serbian media always play the role of the offender, and was the Albanian media during the 1990s only victims and in survival mode? Most literature on Kosovar media will claim this to be the case, as will the many journalists and publishers. However, the Serbian scholar Marina Blagojevic (2003) claims that also Kosovar Albanian media contributed to the radicalization of the conflict:

> ...during the period of the Albanian administration (1974-1989) the Kosovo media played a key role in justifying discrimination against the Serbs. During the communist regime there was nothing unusual in the manipulation of information according to the needs of the power holders and the Kosovo Albanian media was no exception to this rule. For example, large demonstrations for secession in 1981 were largely ignored by the media. Discrimination against Serbs also went unnoticed.[...]The Albanian Kosovo media, together with the Albanian educational system, through inventing Albanian history were responsible for the creation of 'ethnic truths' and 'ethnic argumentation'. A paradox of media war can be illustrated in the phenomena of 'mirroring'. Serbian and Albanian media were frequently offering identical argumentation for their opposite causes [...] Even the terms 'Albanization' and 'Serbification ' of Kosovo, which were supposedly neutral concepts of ethnic composition changes, were imbued with negative content by both sides. (pp.172-173).

Media organizations were used as tools in the ethnic conflicts *on both sides* as the situation for the Kosovar Albanians became worse. In this situation, the self-organizing of parallel institutions was developed in Kosovo, after Belgrade had shut down schools, the

university, public employment and health care previously used by the Albanians[67]. Parallel institutions were organized, including education from preschool through university, and a parallel health care system also functioned throughout the decade[68]. On the political scene, Kosovar politicians, in their own parliament, declared Kosovo a Yugoslav republic in 1990 and on September 21, 1991, declared Kosovo independent a move that the Serbian parliament declared illegal the next month. On March 24th in 1992, the Kosovar Albanians voted Ibrahim Rugova as their president and elected also their own parliament. An exile government was also established in Switzerland, with the main purpose to collect monetary support for the Kosovar Albanians in general and especially the parallel institutions.

The *international media support* community stepped up its activities in the Balkans in the late 1980s. Activities to support independent media in other parts of a tumbling Yugoslavia were already high, especially in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina (Taylor & Napoli, 2003). In 1993, their eyes started focusing also on Kosovo. In 1993, the Soros Foundation and Press Now donated 300,000 DM to *Koha* weekly, and the magazine *Koha Javore* was established, although never managed to get a large readership. In 1997, *Koha* changed into a daily newspaper. Hereby, the period of donor supported 'independent journalism', born out of an emergency, started in Kosovo. Also in 1993 the newspaper *Bujku*, a former magazine for communist farmers in Kosovo, received permission from Belgrade to become the daily newspaper for LDK[69]. It was considered as being very in line with the LDK party line, mixed with communist rhetoric and never gained the status that *Rilindja* had. With domestic Albanian television off the air, LDK, with money from the Albanian Diaspora, financed the Albania state broadcaster *TVSh*'s new satellite transmissions, starting from 1996. This is another example of the continuing media support from abroad in Kosovo, which started during the Rilindja movement at the end of the 19th Century. *TVSh* daily broadcasted 1½ hours of news from Kosovo and many households in Kosovo started to buy satellite receivers and dishes. These broadcasts provided the Kosovar audience access to the world through satellite TV. The real influence of this has never been properly researched.

[67] In March 1991, 21,000 teachers and 1,855 doctors and other medical staff was sacked (Kostovicova, 1997, p. 33-35).
[68] In 1998, there were 266,413 students in the parallel school system. In secondary schools, there were 58,700 and 16,000 studied in the parallel university (Judah, 2008; Kostovicova ,1997).
[69] Lidhja Demokratike e Kosovës – Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK); Former President Ibrahim Rugova's political party, founded December 23, 1989 by Albanian intellectuals, as a response to the abolishment of Kosovo's autonomous province status. It was a broad-based political movement (thereby the "league" in the name – referring to the League of Prizren in 1878) that quickly absorbed former Kosovar Albanian Communist Party members and continued its non-violent opposition to the Serbian rule until 1998.

4.3.1. Summary

There are elements of heritage in today's journalism in Kosovo from the 1981-1997 periods, when media developed from a tool to build national and Yugoslavian identities to *a tool of ethnic conflicts*. In the interviews for this dissertation, several of the journalists who worked in media in Kosovo during this period, experienced themselves how they had to *choose to rearrange their visible allegiances from being Yugoslav journalists to promoting ethnic interest*s in the time of increasing nationalism during Milosevic's tightening grip on media. The Serbian and Albanian journalists in *RTK* went from working together to being separated due to *RTK*'s change of policy. The Albanian journalists were fired from *RTK* in 1990, while the Serbian journalists continued their work. Meanwhile, the Albanian media community in Kosovo changed from being communist-run, like *Bujku*, to the establishing of news-oriented papers like *Koha Ditore*, which covered the events in the Albanian community. The media became more visibly *divided among ethnic lines*. Thus, this institutionalized a media scene that in fact had been divided but was artificially held together under the communist umbrella.

Media became a government tool for Belgrade, as well as the Albanian opposition- and underground press. Neither side neither read nor trusted the other. This division is visible today among journalists and editors in the Kosovar newsrooms, as chapters 6 will show. We have seen how the media was a political tool that first and foremost served political purposes. Media *was inseparable from politics*, which can be recognized in the media patrimonialism paradigm of how journalists in new democracies sees journalism always connected to politics (Waisbord, 2013). This is also confirmed by studies of media elsewhere in the region, especially in Kemal Kurspahic's study of the how media malfeasance stirred up the ethnic hatred in the Balkan wars of the 1990, especially in Bosnia-Hercegovina (Kurspahic, 2003) and throughout the break-up of Yugoslavia in general (Thompson, 1999). These studies show how media played an important role in stirring up ethnic hatred in the region.

4.4. Media as tool in war (1997-June 1999)

The last period in Kosovo covered by this chapter, from 1997 to June 1999, must be considered as one with the most dramatic events and rapid changes in recent Kosovar history. The NATO war in 1999 was extensively covered in international media (Herman & Hammond, 2000; Nohrstedt et. al., 2000) and the images of refugees filled the TV-screens around the globe. There were very few international journalists inside Kosovo during this time. However, those who covered Kosovo during this period worked under difficult circumstances and tight surveillance from Serbian forces. The international reporters depended on local Kosovar journalists who provided transport, translation, and other practical help. During this time period, local

journalism changed in the wake of the armed conflicts, and *eyewitness reporting* developed in Kosovar media as a result of the cooperation between the international correspondents and local journalists. During their experience of being fixers, many local reporters imitated the foreign journalists and reported on the dramatic events in Kosovo[70].

On the political scene, there was a growing dissatisfaction in the Kosovo Albanian political community of LDK and Rugova's non-violent resistance towards the Serbian regime in Kosovo during the early 1990's. Various groups criticized Rugova for being too passive when Kosovo was left outside the Dayton Peace Agreement of 1995 that ended the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Albanians in diaspora also got impatient. Some former student leaders, among them Kosovo's former prime ministers Hashim Thaçi and Ramush Haradinaj, both wartime leaders of the Kosovar Liberation Army (KLA)[71] were among those planning the insurgency that later has been characterized as 'the most successful uprising in history' (Judah, 2008; Perritt, 2008), due to the later intervention by NATO. KLA appeared for the first time publicly in a funeral in 1996, and was well received, especially in the central Drenica region of Kosovo where it recruited many of its soldiers. LDK and Rugova opposed an armed uprising, but their popularity decreased. The collapse of the financial pyramids in Albania in 1997 and the chaos that followed brought a lot of weapons over the border to Kosovo – to KLA. Serbian state media referred increasingly to 'Albanian terrorism' in their coverage of Kosovo (Malcolm, 2002; Thompson, 1999) but there was also a growing resistance to the Milosevic editorial line in Serbian independent media that had been established after news laws opened for this in 1989. These media, among them *Vreme* and *B92* were prosecuted after, at some instances, calling Albanians 'victims' and for criticizing Milosevic's language on Kosovo (Kurspahic, 2003).

On the media scene, things got more and more active in Kosovo and abroad. On April 1, 1997, the newspaper *Koha Ditore*[72] was launched, which since then has been Kosovo's largest and most influential newspaper. Veton Surroi, together with several young journalists, among them Dukagjin Gorani, Baton Haxhiu and Agron Bajrami, set up the newspaper to an extent as a result of an increasing amount of war-like incidents. All of these are still active within the public arena in Kosovo today; in politics and in the media. *Koha Ditore* started writing about KLA and there was an enormous interest for the newspaper. They quickly became much more popular than *Bujku*, which since they stuck to LDK's non-protest line did not report on the big burials happening in the Drenica area. *Koha Ditore* sold over 50,000 copies per day at the beginning of 1998, the highest in Kosovar history.

[70] The significance of the role of the fixers (helpers for international reporters) in Kosovo is introduced in 1.6., discussed further below in this chapter, as well as in chapter 9.
[71] KLA was a Kosovar Albanian guerrilla movement that fought against the Serbian military and paramilitary forces in Kosovo from 1996 until it was disarmed by the NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR) after the end of the NATO war in 1999. In Albanian it is called "Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës" (UCK).
[72] *Koha Ditore* is one of the newsrooms researched in the production perspective in this dissertation.

In interviews for this dissertation, several of the editors tell about many young Albanians whom were drawn to a possible *career in journalism* during the armed conflict in the period from 1997 to 1998. Every time *Koha Ditore* announced openings, hundreds of young students applied. Another career start was to join international journalists as *fixers*. Many of today's journalists in Kosovar media learned to report by observing foreign correspondents in their work. This short pre-war period in the second half of the 1990s can be characterised as *emergency journalism*: journalists were recruited as youngsters lacking any professional education. It was 'learning by doing'. After the events of early 1998[73] even *Koha Ditore* became more and more a porte-parole for KLA, after internal debates in the newsroom and the armed struggle against the Serbian oppression became the main story. On the other hand it also used Veton Surroi's international network of diplomats and intellectuals to its fullest extent, so that it sometimes reported the dramatic events before the Belgrade media. It should be mentioned that many Kosovar Albanian intellectuals and journalists read the independent Belgrade media like *Borba* and *Vreme* until the war began in 1999.

Through the practice of international reporters using local fixers, a new way of learning journalism developed in Kosovo. During 1998 and until the NATO war started in March 1999, the media scene in Kosovo consisted mainly of *Koha Ditore*, the Serbian service of *RTP*, and a few smaller publications, among them *Bujku*. In addition, the international journalists covered Kosovo more and more, in cooperation with local fixers. Some regional Albanian services also provided news from Kosovo, including Albanian and Croatian radio and television. Albanian journalists, taking major risks, reported from the field during the escalation of the conflict in 1998-1999. At this time, the Albanian population had virtually no access to their own media. *Koha Ditore* published daily news although it was very dangerous for journalists to move around. At the same time, most foreign journalists that were at that time covering the Kosovo developments used *Koha Ditore* (as the only daily medium at its time) as a base for information. During 1997, 1998 and the beginning of 1999, *Koha Ditore* journalists and foreign correspondents travelled together in Kosovo, through Serb checkpoints. The Albanian journalists identified themselves as translators for the international journalists, and at the same time, the internationals got valuable local information and guiding around the area. Thus there developed a win-win situation, where the Albanian and international journalists were able to provide information both for the local and international audience. Several of the journalists tell stories about these events. One editor recollects:

They [the foreign journalists] slept in our offices and we used them as cover since it was difficult to go to

[73] 1998 started with two massacres of Albanians; in Likhosan and Prekaz, where over 50 people were killed during a three-day siege of the Jashari family compound. The head of the family, Adem Jashari, later become an icon of Albanian resistance and has now mythological legendary status all over Kosovo.

some of the areas. Therefore, we attached ourselves to them; we gave them one of our journalists as interpreter. Our journalist would then come back with a story as well. In this way, our own journalist learned the craft in an important way; that being a journalist in a conflict society, you risk being on one side of the conflict. Therefore, being together with an international journalist was a great learning experience; we could learn from them (Koha Ditore editor, personal interview).

During 1998 and 1999, while working as fixers and learning about journalism, the Kosovar Albanians journalists witnessed war and suffering of their own people. Several of the journalists interviewed for this dissertation tell about horrific experiences when they worked alongside western correspondents covering massacres and armed fights. The activities of Kosovar Albanian journalists during the spring of 1999, during the NATO war and the Serbian military and paramilitary brutality in Kosovo can best be described as courageous and risky. Many of the journalists I interviewed told me dramatic stories of how they were chased out of their homes by Serbs and became refugees overnight. Several of them lived in tents in refugee camps in Macedonia and Albania or in the forests and hills of Kosovo. In the midst of the devastation, they continued working as journalists even though their media outlets had been shut down. A group of *Koha Ditore* journalists decided to continue publishing the paper from the town of Tetovo in Western Macedonia[74]. Due to the massive international attention in the media to Bosnia during the first part of the 1990s the international media coverage of Kosovo was limited. However, when the clashes between the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and the Serbian forces increased after 1997, and with the subsequent Serbian attacks on Albanian civilians, more international media outlets sent their reporters to Kosovo where they connected with local Albanian journalists whom had previously been fired under the Serbian regime. So the situation, in which the local Albanian fixers operated in, was one of oppression, yet with a clear determination to report from the war, to learn from the international reporters, and to earn some money.

4.5. Summary and conclusion: Historical context, and change

The historical-political survey in this chapter shows how Kosovar Albanian media *shifted* from being minority media in the early 1900s until World War II, with an aim of preserving Albanian language and culture. With the advent of Tito, these media became on one side part of the Yugoslav state media's regional channels in Kosovo. In the 1980s, with Serbian oppression on the rise, Kosovar Albanian media once again took the role as *opposition* media. Albanian nationalism and a demand for Kosovar independence was a driving force. In the 1990s under

[74] Details about this can be found in the Niemand Report, published by Hardvard University: http://www.nieman.harvard.edu/reportsitem.aspx?id=102207 (accessed September 9, 2010).

Milosevic, the Kosovar Albanian media took on the role of exile media, information channel and a channel to the outside world about what took place in Kosovo.

Journalism practice in times of strong nationalism supported a greater cause than what we associate with news today, the building of *national identity* and national states. During the Albanian awakening at the late 1800s, the Serbian occupation in 1912, the Albanian publications, supported mainly from Diaspora, had as primary cause to support Albanian language and culture in times of occupation, either by the Ottomans or the Serbs. The Serbian media also supported the national agenda of making Kosovo the 'heart of Serbia' and thus neglected to cover news of atrocities in Kosovo throughout history. The Kosovar Albanian media during the late Titoist period promoted a national agenda within Yugoslavia, and supported the Kosovar Albanian resistance by KLA during the late 1990s. The media on all sides took part in a more important cause than simply covering the news; the building or support of the nation. This was the case in the dominant state, Serbia, as a vehicle of national identity and defence of status quo, or and by the Albanian media, as response of oppression and tools of resistance. Atrocities and wrongdoings by 'their own' were mostly neglected if this disturbed 'the greater cause'. This was seen in all countries established during the break-up of Yugoslavia (Kurspahic, 2003, Thompson, 1999), also in Kosovo.

During Yugoslavia (1919-1941, 1945-1991), the media was expected to participate in a cause larger than the national state, the support of a multi-ethnic state with a (after 1945) communist ideology. In Serbia, the centre of Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav identity was stronger than in Kosovo, where the resistance to the Tito regime was larger than anywhere else in the federation (Malcolm, 2008). While the West recognized Yugoslav media as 'more free' than anywhere else in Communist Europe (Augmente et.al., 1999), there was a growing national feeling among Albanians in Kosovo since they feared that Kosovo would be absorbed into Yugoslavia and their Albanian culture would disappear. Communist-controlled media dominated in Kosovo, with Serbian and Albanian journalists being loyal to the Party. However, the national feelings grew stronger among students and common Albanians, even during the 1970s, when they enjoyed greater freedom. The journalists were supposed to be 'social political workers' loyal to communism (Robinson, 1977), but there was an even stronger underground movement of young Albanian intellectuals establishing their own media outlets. Several of them are still dominating Kosovar media today. There was, in other words, a deep local bottom-up reaction to top-down intervention.

A recurring feature throughout Kosovar (media) history *is self-organization.* As a reaction to oppression and intervention, different ethnic groups, especially Kosovo Albanians have organized alternative societies as a bottom-up response. The parallel institutions during the 1990s were the most visible example of this (Bieber, 2003; Clark, 2000; Di Lellio, 2006;

Judah, 2000; Maliqi, 1998; Malcolm, 2002). The self-organizing of media and journalism is also a strong tradition in Kosovo before the 1999 war, from the Albanian 'Rilindja' (Awakening) to the organising of Koha Ditore in the late 1990s. In absence of a system they trusted, Kosovo Albanians established their own media and practiced journalism 'on their own' and with the primary cause to strengthen Albanian identity, to support an independent Kosovo, and to resist intervention[75]. However, during the 1990s, an additional aspect became stronger within Kosovo Albanian media, the function of being eyewitness, to tell the world about the Serbian atrocities in Kosovo. This again served as one of the factors preparing the ground for an international intervention that the Albanians for the first time welcomed, the NATO war in 1999.

The historical-political context of journalism in Kosovo is therefore three-fold: First, one must take into consideration the importance of media as a *promoter of national identity* in Kosovo. We have seen how media was used throughout the last 100 years to promote strong ethnic identities, and Albanian and Serbian nationalism have been the dominating identities. Second, media has been a *tool used frequently in ethnic conflicts* in Kosovo. After the death of Tito, the official line of promoting Yugoslav identities was replaced by national and ethnic identities. Third, during the radicalization of politics in the 1980s and 1990s, with the climax of armed conflicts between KLA and Serb forces from 1997 and the NATO war in 1999, the Albanian and Serbian media communities went into an emergency mode, where *reports on the war* became dominant. In the absence of local media outlets and the increasing presence of international reporters, Kosovar Albanian journalists turned to a self-organizing approach where the newspaper *Koha Ditore* worked as a hub of local and international journalists reporting about the war. Here, local journalists were hired as fixers and also wrote news stories from the field. They imitated what international journalists were doing and thus developed an eyewitness journalism not practiced in Kosovo earlier. This historical-political context of journalism in Kosovo challenges traditional approaches of professionalization of media in post-war societies. The notion of professional journalism as 'fact-based', independent, and a force of democratization, often promoted by media support agencies in post-conflict areas, such as IREX[76] and OSCE[77] is in *stark contrast with the historical context from which the local media in Kosovo emerges*. This chapter has shown that media in Kosovo has always been connected to politics, and that tie was not broken, even during the 1997-1999 NATO war. Thus, Waisbord's theory of media patrimonialism (Waisbord, 2013) contributes to explaining Kosovo media history. However, where my historical survey of Kosovar journalism goes beyond Waisbord and

[75] Much of the motivations for Albanian media during times of oppression can today be found in underground media and alternative media in societies all over the world today. The social representation of alternative voices is important in these media (Atton, 2007).
[76] See http://www.irex.org/focus_area/media-development (accessed November 9, 2013)
[77] See http://www.osce.org/kosovo/100513 (accessed November 9, 2013)

other journalism researchers on media development in Eastern Europe is the journalists' own ability to change and to professionalize, both voluntarily and under pressure. I will argue that the history shows that Kosovo's local media have shown an extraordinary ability to *change and adapt* to historical-political changes. Thus, this chapter has shown how Kosovar media repeatedly attempted to detach itself from political ties, something that can be considered a counter-reaction. This happened in the nationalism movement, throughout the Yugoslav times and during the ethnic conflicts in the 1990s. Can this be labelled *counter-patrimonialism* movements? Maybe so, but these attempts did not last long as the media were overtaken by new close media-politics constellations. Media and politics in Kosovo have for the most time stayed close through history, where the journalists worked for various political and ethnic causes. The Kosovo media always have always had an agenda.

What happened after the 1999 war; how has the media in Kosovo developed? Do the historical lines continue in post-war Kosovo? The following chapters will address the next perspective of this study; *Kosovar post-war journalism* through a production study of four major newsrooms in Kosovo. Here we will see to what degree today's journalism practice is a continuance or a break with the pre-war analysis in this chapter.

Chapter 5: A presentation of four newsrooms in Kosovo: Physical and economic framework (1999-2006)

5.1. Introducing the four newsrooms

The vast majority of the newsrooms in Kosovo are *young*. They were established after the end of the 1999 NATO war (Andresen, 2009, 2013). This is the case also for the four newsrooms in this study. The oldest newsroom in this study is *Koha Ditore*, which published its first daily newspaper on April 1, 1997. *Radio Television Kosovo* (*RTK*) was established as a public service broadcaster after the war in 1999, although, as we will see, it brought with it many elements from the previous Yugoslav state-controlled *Radio Television Pristina* (RTP)[78]. *Radio Kontakt Plus* was established in April 2000 as a minority radio station and depends on foreign support. Finally, *Express* published its first issue in February 2005. As we will see, these four newsrooms started in various stages of local media transition in Kosovo in the 1990s and the 2000s[79] . The following is a short presentation of each[80].

Radiotelevisioni i Kosovës – Radio Television Kosovo (RTK) is the largest news organization in Kosovo with the most complex organization. It was established in 1999 by a Memorandum of Understanding between EBU (European Broadcasting Union) and OSCE. In 2005, *RTK* transmitted television nationwide in Kosovo and via satellite to Europe, and also ran two radio channels, *Radio Kosova* and *Radio Blue Sky* (RTK, 2005). *RTK* broadcasted in five languages: Albanian (majority language and the vast majority of the programs), Serbian, Turkish, Bosnian and Roma. In 2005, around 80% of the news was aired in the Albanian language and the rest in the minority languages. During the same year, *RTK* had 425 employees; 307 male and 118 female. Their budget for this year was € 6, 5 million, making it the smallest public broadcaster in the Balkans. . However, *RTK* had to rely more on licence fees (around 60% of the budget in 2005) and commercial revenue. According to *RTK*s own donor information pamphlet (RTK, 2005) *RTK* had 425 staff members in 2005 (297 in 2002). It was by far the largest media organization in Kosovo in 2006. It also received major donations from international contributors. This support has declined in recent years. *RTK* relied on licence fees from the public in Kosovo; 3,50 Euros per household per year in 2006. One can argue that *RTK* was regenerated by EBU and OSCE in 1999, in a new form. However, it brought with it much from the

[78] See *RTP*'s history in Chapter 4.
[79] The Kosovar media transitions are described in Chapter 4.
[80] Facts and figures about the newsrooms are from the time of my fieldwork there (between September 2005 and May 2006). This is to correspond with the analysis in chapters 6-9. However, the alignment of facts and analysis carries the most weight here. An updated overview of the media scene is included in Chapter 9.

former *Radio Television Prishtina* (*RTP*)[81], which was closed by the Serb authorities in 1991 (cf. Chapter 4). Many of the older staff members, especially on the technical side, were employees in RTP and several of them were hired into a brand new organization.

During the time of my fieldwork in 2006, *RTK* had one central television newsroom, where around 20 journalists worked during the day. They produced news for three daily Albanian language broadcasts: two short bulletins at 15:00 and 17:00, and the main *Lajme Qendrore (Central News)* broadcast at 19:30. The minority news bulletins were aired continually between 18:30 and 19:30. Most of the journalists in the TV newsroom produced stories for this news show. In management*, RTK* was headed by a Board of Directors and a General Director (GD). Under the GD there was a TV Program Director and a Radio Director. A Financial Director, a Technical Director and a Director for Administrative and Legal Affairs completed the top management team (RTK, 2005). The news production was headed by a news editor who oversaw the daily news production and was responsible for contact with the News Editor[82]. Each of the minority broadcast editors coordinated their own broadcast, and they stayed in touch with the News Editor, although in a very limited way. The minority journalists had substantial news production routine, and they worked independently. The News Editor concentrated on the main Albanian – language *Central News* at 19:30, where the majority of the 20 journalists worked.

In the area of professional working routines in 2006, *RTK* continued to operate with a traditional division of labour, and had not implemented multi-platform news production like many other public service TV organizations had done at that time (Erdal, 2008). There were still designated reporters, cameramen and picture editors. When TV crews left for an assignment, they were always three people; reporter, cameraman and driver. During my fieldwork in 2006, several reporters expressed frustration that they had not yet implemented cross-media news in *RTK*, even though several reporters had received training in such reporting[83]. They said in the interviews for this dissertation that they would love to control the journalistic product from idea to finished product, and not having three to four people involved (reporter, cameraman, and picture editor). *RTK* is the largest news organization in Kosovo, and developed out of two traditions. First, the large Yugoslav *Radio Television Pristina* organization, and secondly, a public service broadcaster establishment jointly by EBU and OSCE in 1999 in order to provide Kosovo with a public service radio and television station (Andresen, 2009). The *RTK* management, as well as representatives from OSCE, emphasized in the qualitative interviews that *RTK* was a

[81] The history of *RTP* is described in Chapter 4.
[82] News Editor is the 'Editor of the Day. The assignment circulated among editors. The News Editor is responsible for assigning stories, keeping track of tips and the daily coordination of the news production in the newsroom.
[83] Several *RTK* reporters have attended training courses in cross-media television production offered by international organizations in Kosovo as part of international media support to *RTK*.

rather new organization in 2006. At the same time, they acknowledged that many of the older staff had previously worked for the former *Radio Television Pristina (RTP).* Already here we see signs of both continuity of and rupture with history in *RTK*. OSCE attempted to create a new organization built on both the old *RTP* (partly in staffing and in the old *RTP* premises in Prishtina), but with an entirely new organization structure and management. Most of the journalists were young and recently recruited, but several of the technical staff (photographers, picture editors and sound editors) previously worked for *RTP* and continued to voice their opinion on how to make stories. This created tension between the younger journalists and them during daily news production. This is outlined further in chapter 8[84].

Koha Ditore, the largest Albanian language newspaper in Kosovo, started publishing as a daily newspaper in 1997 during a period when the tension between the majority Albanian population and the Serb authorities was rapidly increasing ,which finally lead to war breaking out in 1998 (Judah, 2008). At this time, the Albanian population had little access to their own media. The paper started publishing daily news although it was very dangerous for journalists to move around. Being the major domestic news source during the hard years (until it was shut down by the Serbs in March 1999) has given *Koha Ditore* an edge of trustworthiness and respect among its audience, which is still there. The paper looks like a more 'traditional' Kosovar paper with many stories, small pictures and traditional layout. At the time of the fieldwork in 2005, *Koha Ditore* had about 40 journalistic staff members (editors, journalists, photographers and layout) and was organised more traditionally than *Express* with separate editorial offices and one central newsroom. *Koha Ditore* is owned by Veton Surroi[85], who was also the editor-in-chief until he embarked on a political career during the 2004 Kosovo General Election campaign. When *Koha Ditore* was established as a daily newspaper in 1997, the organization was formed with a radical form for its time. The journalists involved in the establishing of the paper (who today have central positions in Kosovar media) tell about an organization formed very much under the principles of 'self-organization' that characterized the Albanian community in the 1990s. A skeleton organization started in the Drenica region in Kosovo in 1997 when the sole purpose was to get the paper out in order to inform the Kosovo Albanian community about the ongoing war. The staff was basically a managing editor, news editor, journalists and photographers. The layout was done by those who had the competency and technical skills. The *Koha Ditore* news organization grew rapidly due to enormous popularity. Many young journalists were recruited through friendship and personal networks, but also through the grapevine. Editors tell about an enormous enthusiasm that today characterizes many alternative media organizations (Atton, 2007), long hours and many practical production problems. *Koha*

[84] Chapter 8 analyses post-war news production routines.
[85] Koha Ditore is still (2015) owned by Veton Surroi.

Ditore needed to establish a proper organizational structure in order to be able to continue publishing the paper. At the time of the fieldwork in 2005, *Koha Ditore* had an editorial structure that resembled a traditional news organization. Although the newspaper was created with enthusiasm and has survived several close-downs in 1999, it managed to establish itself as the most widely read newspaper in Kosovo. In 2005, the newsroom had an Editor-in-chief, Deputy Editor-in-chief, two news editors, Culture News Editor, Municipality News Editor, and Editor's Assistants. There were 25 reporters and two photographers. It had grown to a large organization from the vigorous start in 1997.

The daily newspaper *Express* started publishing in March 2005, after a group of journalists left other newspapers in order to create a newspaper that they aimed to be independent of political and economic pressure from politicians and owners. Many of the journalists and editors had formerly worked for the daily *Koha Ditore* and *Lajm*. They left *Koha Ditore* for *Lajm* a few months earlier. *Lajm* was a broadsheet daily built on the layout of the *German Bild am Sonntag* and with an ambitious owner who, after a while, exercised what many journalists considered as major editorial pressure. As the then current editor-in-chief of *Express* stated: "we were 16 journalists handing in our resignations (at *Lajm*) at the same time; we went to a coffee shop and starting laughing because we had no jobs…but almost immediately some of us started talking about a new newspaper" (personal interview). The journalists decided that they should control the majority of the shares (51 percent) and the rest was to be owned by IPKO, a local investment company. This was, at the time of the fieldwork in 2005, the only nationwide media outlet where the journalists controlled the majority of the shares. Around 25 journalists and editors wrote for the newspaper. During my interviews with the journalists and editors, they stressed that they wanted to be a part of a new media project where there was editorial freedom and where the journalists and editors could openly and freely discuss the selection, priority, editing and presentation of news. In 2005, *Express* was characterized by a tabloid-style presentation with large photos and headlines. A renowned British photographer worked as chief photographer for several months after the start-up of the paper and has supported the development of the presentation of *Express*. Journalistically, the paper had a more investigative style than other papers. The editors and journalists were seeking to uncover stories that other media in the region did not. In the interviews for this dissertation, they informed that they were tired of the protocol journalism that they said was a curse for all journalism in Kosovo. *Express* was established with a new structure; *autonomous sub-newsrooms*. These eight groups *('Politics', 'National', 'Security', 'Economy', 'Culture', 'World Affairs', and 'Sports'* were staffed with editors, journalists, and graphic designers. Each sub-newsroom was responsible for their own pages in each issue of the newspapers, from text and photos to headlines and layout. The Editor-in-Chief discussed stories throughout the day with

the sub-editors, but he did not interfere with the different sections' pages. The editor-in-chief decided what the main issue was, and that became the main front-page story.

Radio Kontakt Plus (RKP) is the largest and most influential Serbian radio station in Kosovo. It is located in the mostly Serbian inhabited north side of the divided city of Mitrovica, or Kosovska Mitrovica in Serbian. It is a local radio station covering the northern part of the province. The station broadcasts 17 hours of programming daily, with news bulletins every hour from 10 a.m. until midnight. At the time of the fieldwork in 2006, the main news broadcast shows ran at 4 p.m. and 9 p.m. (20 minutes in duration). The station also broadcasted a daily Roma language news show (at 4.30 p.m.). The station employs 15 people, among them 10 journalists; 8 Serbian and 2 Roma. *Radio Kontakt Plus* is leading the Serbian radio network Kosovo Media Association (KOSMA) – a network of Serbian radio and TV-stations which exchanges news (Miftari, 2013). The radio station has been and is heavily dependent on foreign donor support, and has received such since it was established in April 2000 (Radio Kontakt Plus, 2006). The radio's daily business is headed by a director, who is doing all the administrative work, together with a part-time accountant. The editor-in-chief leads the daily news production, and 5-6 journalists produce news on a daily basis. In 2006, the major newscast was the 16 o'clock news bulletin. The radio station had a work system based on rotation where 3-4 reporters alternated throughout the day producing news stories and reading news bulletins. Being such a small 24-hour station, all the journalists were responsible for other shows as well, such as morning shows, call-ins and music programmes. They could not afford to have exclusive news journalists.

5.2. Physical space and newsroom design: pre-war and post-war organizations

News production studies globally shows that *physical space* is one of many key factors in news production. Hemmingway's studies of the constant struggle between 'newsgathering zones' and 'output zones' in BBC Nottingham (2007) shows how newsroom design may influence and amplify already comparative groups in a newsroom. Erdal (2008) argues that the space in cross-media work "is not so much perceived as a place of struggle, as a structural constraint limiting the ease of cooperation" (p. 55). Orgeret (2006), in her study of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), finds that the large building of SABC with its large offices communicated a complicated hierarchy in the large news organization. What role does the physical space play in the post-war Kosovar newsrooms?

Kosovar news organizations are *small* in size, even the largest ones. *RTK,* Kosovo's public broadcaster, is by far the largest in Kosovo, but small compared with its sister organizations in

the region. The two newspapers (*Koha Ditore* and *Express*) in this study are also small and compact in organization, compared with other nationwide newspapers in the Balkans, and in the largest Serbian radio station in Kosovo, all the journalists work inside one single room. In the following, I will investigate the relationships between the physical premises and the news production in the newsrooms. The four newsrooms in this study have premises reflecting both old and new types of news production routines. Again, here we see that there is a sense of historical continuity in post-war newsrooms in Kosovo.

5.2.1. Traditional physical premises: *RTK* and *Koha Ditore*

Buildings and newsroom layout show traditions as well as innovations (Avilés, Meier, Kaltenbrunner, Carvajal & Kraus, 2009). *RTK* and *Koha Ditore* are located in buildings representing a *traditional Yugoslav news organization*. The buildings were built during the communist times, featuring large corridors and rows of rooms that represents a division and specialization of labour between leaders and workers. In the old Yugoslav news organizations, the staff was divided in major sections: leadership (directors, managers, news editors), journalists, technical staff (photographers, sound, layout, editors), and support (drivers, cleaners) (Robinson, 1977). This newsroom design could be seen in *RTK* and *Koha Ditore. RTK's* building in Prishtina is the partly renovated building of former *Radio Television Pristina (RTP)*. To enter the three-story building one needs to pass a security guard hut by the gate that will let you in when you identify yourself and the one you are visiting. *RTK* staff, and people the guards know, pass in and out without problem. In the garden, in front of the building, there are several large satellite dishes. Inside the reception, visitor cards are handed out upon submission of an ID. Visitors wait here until staff come down and meet them. This is a busy place where people come and go all the time. The old *PTK* building, which houses *RTK,* is designed for the old Yugoslav structure: The director and editor-in-chief have separate offices the first floor, in a section of the building where also a secretary works. Across the hall, the news editor sits, along with an assistant. The main newsroom is located in a large room further down the hall. The technical staff works on the ground floor, where the TV studios are located, and the drivers have their own area as well. In interviews for this dissertation, several of the journalists in *RTK* expressed regret that they are located in the old *RTP* building that was designed for a totally different organization. They feel that the layout of the building is wrong for two reasons: one, it creates unnecessary distance between journalists and editors (although the editors are in the newsroom frequently), and two, there is no room for expansion if needed. The main television newsroom is on the 1st floor, at the end of a long, narrow, and worn-out hallway. The newsroom is about 50 m2, with the 24 desks with computer monitors filling up most of the space. Three

whiteboards are mounted on one of the concrete walls. Here, the newsroom organizer[86] and editor keep track of stories, journalists, cameramen, and drivers. On the opposite wall, there are several television monitors showing different channels; *RTK*, Albanian news channels, *Eurosport*, and others. Right beneath the screen, two journalists work at the *RTK/EBU* News Exchange desk. In sum, the various parts of the news production chain are *physically separated* in *RTK*.

The daily newspaper *Koha Ditore* is located in an older building along the main shopping street, (*Mother Theresa Street*), in Prishtina. The entrance is anonymous, with a small sign over the door. A narrow stairway leads up to reception, which is a small room with a glass window. Guests wait here while reception calls the staff member. On one of the walls there is a picture of the *Koha Ditore* staff together with former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright from a visit a few years ago (*Photo 4.1*), signalizing *Koha Ditore's* acknowledgement of the close ties between Kosovo Albanians and the former Clinton administration in USA.

Figure 5.1. Photo in the *Koha Ditore* hallway of staff posing with former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. Photo: *Koha Ditore*.

At the time of the fieldwork (2005), the daily news production in *Koha Ditore* took place in one big newsroom, called *Arberia* [87], a room with a size of around 30 m2, where 12-15 journalists had their working spaces. Old computers were lined along the walls, and there was only one landline phone that needed to be shared by all. Journalists used their private mobile phones in their work and told me that most of them cover their own phone expenses. On the other side of a glass wall, 2-3 senior journalists and the daily news editor worked. Further in

[86] The newsroom organizer is an assistant to the news editor. He/she assigns cameramen and drivers to journalists, calls the journalists during the day and tries to be the 'glue' between the reporters and editors in a hectic day.

[87] 'Arberia' is an ancient name for 'The Albanian Nation', which includes all areas of Albanian-speaking people; Albania, Kosovo, Northern Macedonia, parts of Northern Greece, Southern Montenegro, and South Serbia. This name communicates that the newspaper is for the greater Albanian community in the Balkans.

from this room, the editor-in-chief has his office. The graphics department and layout section are in two smaller rooms connected to the Arberia newsroom.

RTK and *Koha Ditore* were both established before the 1999 NATO war, yet under different circumstances. The *RTK* building most clearly represents the old Yugoslav director – workers distinction, and *Koha Ditore* also carries a traditional working division, although it was founded as late as 1997. The paper was founded under very difficult circumstances during the escalation of the ethnic conflicts in Kosovo in 1997, and the organization was formed 'on the fly' where the staff started in very a small location. However, the buildings both are situated in represent a time of bureaucracy and labor division where the journalists, editors and technical personnel worked in separate rooms.

5.2.2. Modern physical premises: *Express* and *Radio Kontakt Plus*

Many new media outlets were established in Kosovo after the NATO war when reconstruction of media in Kosovo started. New types of newsrooms were built, some with and some without international support. *Express* and *Radio Kontakt Plus* represent a more modern physical layout of the newsroom than *RTK* and *Koha Ditore*. They signify a greater sense of break with the past, a rupture with history by being new organizations starting from scratch after the war. During the time of my newsroom fieldwork, *Express* was a large organization, being an Albanian newspaper in Prishtina, while the Serbian *Radio Kontakt Plus* was a small Serbian radio station in Mitrovica[88]. A common feature for the two is that they were both established after June 1999 as new organizations without the physical features of a Yugoslav news organization that can be found in the physical premises of *RTK* and *Koha Ditore*.

At the time of the fieldwork, *Express*' offices were located in a worn-out office complex next to communist style high-rise buildings in Prishtina. The building is a two-story, long building of concrete and glass (which *Express* has renovated). Stores and coffee shops line the arcade around it. Being close to coffee shops is a strategic location for *Express* and its journalists. Lots of editorial activities happened over coffee and cigarettes in these cafeterias. The security level was low at *Express* compared with most traditional media and other offices in Prishtina where visitors have to identify themselves and are asked who they will visit. One could pass the entrance freely; all you met was a friendly receptionist at a desk at the entrance. The newsroom was located over two floors in the building. All the offices, except one, were behind glass walls; this gave a feeling of transparency and openness. On the ground floor, the following sub-newsrooms were located behind transparent glass doors: *Nacionale (Nation), Siguria (Security),*

[88] Today (2015) *Express* is a smaller organization than it was in 2005-2006 that only publishes online, while *Radio Kontakt Plus* still operates as the largest Serbian radio station in northern Kosovo.

Bota Sot (The World Today), Kulturë (Culture), Sport, and Fotografia (Photo section). The editor-in-chief and deputy editor-in-chief shared an office on the first floor, right next to the wide staircase leading up from the ground floor. Here, the doors were open most of the day, and there was a lot of talking and smoking going on in this room that served like an editorial nerve center in *Express*. There was heavy traffic in and out of these doors all day. This floor also housed the *Politikë (Politics), Ekonomi (Economy), Jeta (Life)* sections, in addition to the Marketing Department (one room), and the Finance Office. By building up the *Express* news organization with an 'open door' policy and with large glass walls making it possible for everyone to see what goes on, the newspaper broke with the traditional Eastern European version of newsrooms, often characterized by guards at the entrance, closed editors' offices with secretaries on guard, and some distance between editors and journalists on the floor (Aumente et. al., 1999; Gross, 2002).

Radio Kontakt Plus is Kosovo's largest Serbian radio station and is located on the first floor of the OSCE building in the northern part of the mainly Serbian populated Mitrovica's north side. After passing the security guards at the entrance, one entered the refurbished office building hosting several international organizations and NGOs. Although being the largest Serbian radio station in Kosovo, *Radio Kontakt Plus'* newsroom was only one room of 30 m2, in addition to a tiny, unventilated studio (4 m2). The newsroom has the shape of the letter 'C', with a large meeting table and two computers were located in one wing. Here, the director and the editor-in-chief worked on any available computer. In the other wing, three more computers were lined up along the wall. Here, the reporters edited their stories and wrote their news scripts.

These two latter newsrooms (*Express* and *Radio Kontakt Plus*) are, as shown above, new organizations established in buildings where they could develop newsrooms that are more functional based on their own choice. The editors say they wanted short distances between editors and journalists, both physically and in making editorial decisions. *Express* seemed to struggle more with this than *Radio Kontakt Plus*, since *Express* was a rather complex organization where most of the editorial decisions were delegated to sub-newsroom editors. Nevertheless, the glass walls and doors signalled an open atmosphere.

5.3. Technological limitations and solutions

During my fieldwork, Kosovar newsrooms were in an interesting setting regarding technology in their daily work. They were in an intersection between modern technology, limited financial resources and a strong tradition of personal networking, found in both the Albanian and Serbian cultures. These three factors interplayed in the daily lives of journalists and editors. Kosovo's

public service station *RTK*, as the largest and most technology-demanding organization, had received a major donation for television equipment. In 2000, The Government of Japan donated 10 million Euros for new editing and studio equipment (RTK ,2005). However, during the time of my fieldwork in 2006, the *RTK* newsroom was still characterized by quite old computers and few telephone lines in the main newsroom where the TV journalists worked. Nevertheless, the *Koha Ditore* newsroom was the one among the four where the journalists expressed most dissatisfaction with the standard of technology. They told me on several occasions during my fieldwork that they had complained many times to management, but received the answer that the newspaper could not afford new equipment. Some of the journalists said bluntly that it was a matter of priority and that Koha Group, that owns *Koha Ditore*, had a lot of money. Every morning the journalists had to grab any free computer, leading to quite some frustration, especially when deadlines approached in the afternoon.

In 2005, *Koha Ditore* used old and well-proven technology; the journalists typed and saved their draft stories in a database, using WordPerfect software for DOS (a system from the early 1990s). After their story was saved, a proof-reader (who was a part of the graphics department) read the story for correct spelling and grammar before the editor of the day read the story. This editor then edited the story and decided where in the newspaper the story should appear. Finally, the story was sent over to the layout group who set the pages. *Koha Ditore* also used a traditional work division. The graphic department broke the pages very quickly and utilized the limited technology to its utmost. However, several journalists complained about the low number and quality of the computers in the Arberia newsroom. Additionally, there was only one telephone line there. The journalists had to use their private phones in their daily work and covered their own telephone expenses.

In 2005, *Express,* as a new organization with recent investments by Ipko[89], had quite new technology and a strong computer network system. The newspaper had invested a lot of money in the computer system and photo equipment. The newspaper organization was built up from scratch in February 2005. The staff and Ipko wanted to set up a modern technological infrastructure. *Express* had been gracious in the provision computers for staff, with one for each journalist. However, telephone landlines were also scarce in *Express*, and most of the telephone communication happened via the journalists' private mobile phones.

Radio Kontakt Plus, the smallest of the four news organizations in this study, had very basic computer equipment. However, they had had a digital radio editing software system at the time. In 2005, they received recently a donation from the Dutch media support organization PressNow for a new control room mixer, of which they were proud. There were very few

[89] Ipko is Kosovo's largest private provider of mobile communication, internet and cable-TV.

complaints at the radio station about equipment; it seemed like a positive team spirit overcame frustrations with this.

What significance do the above descriptions of the technical equipment at the time of the fieldwork have? The Kosovar journalists, working under tough circumstances in a tough economic area in Europe all face limitations in terms of access to technology. At the same time, the Kosovar society is a tight-network community where face-to-face interaction is vital (Cocozzelli, 2013; Limani, 2004). During my fieldwork, the journalists' need for frequent contact in a community was met by using MSN[90], emails, and SMS when cost reduction was important. Throughout the day, journalists and editors, when logged onto a computer, used MSN as an important link to each other and to sources. Tips about possible stories came in via MSN, as well as being used to transfer documents. The journalists chatted with other journalists via MSN, which they explained was "because it is free". Also, friends and sources in local government and within the international community were linked with journalists through MSN. In sum, the Kosovar journalists made use of internet chat before the social media (Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram) became popular. This was a low-cost solution that enhanced communication in a place where telephone communication was very expensive.

5.4. Summary and conclusions

This introductory chapter to the study of post-war news production has presented the physical premises and the organizations of the four newsrooms in Kosovo. What relevance do these physical premises have on news production in post-war Kosovo? Based on the findings of both strong links to the past and, at the same time, new organizations, it can be argued that *the premises and organizations represent both continuity and rupture in the Kosovar newsrooms.* They are young and small, but in spite of their short history, their premises and organizations reflect distinct historical and political differences. RTK and *Koha Ditore* are located in Yugoslav – style buildings where offices and hallways reflects a sharp division of work between management, editors, and journalists and a physical distance between these groups. The *Express* and *Radio Kontakt Plus* newsrooms reflect a closer cooperation between editors and journalists with their open work spaces. Furthermore, all the newsrooms reflect limited space and economy, where journalists often need to wait for a computer or telephone line. Looking at newsroom design, it seems that in the larger traditional newsrooms (*RTK* and *Koha Ditore*), the buildings and organization can limit the journalists' zeal for creative journalism. This is partly due to greater

[90] Since 2005-2006, Microsoft's MSN Messenger chat service has been replaced by Skype and Facebook as the main network tool in Kosovar newsrooms. But during the time of the fieldwork, MSN was the most frequently used chat program in the four newsrooms.

distance (physical and organizational) between journalists and editors in the former, whereas the self-organized newsrooms (*Express* and partly *Koha Ditore*) open up for greater teambuilding, joint group work and stronger identity bonds between the journalists and the organization. This chapter serves as a backdrop to the three next analytical chapters of the production study that will analyse three key aspects of post-war journalism in Kosovo; The *role of politics* (Chapter 6), T*he ethnicity aspect* (Chapter 7), and *Journalism after war and interventions* (Chapter 8).

Chapter 6: The role of politics (1999-2006)

6.1. Introduction: The omnipresence of politics

The analysis in the next three chapters has a *topical* framework of key aspects in post-war journalism established in the theoretical chapter (Chapter 2) and further developed through the historical-political analysis (Chapter 4) of the development of journalism in Kosovo from the late 1800s until the 1998-1999 war, including the NATO bombing in 1999; a major turning point in Kosovo when the political powers in Kosovo changed instantly (Ker-Lindsay, 2009). The following topics, the *role of politics (Chapter 6), the aspect of ethnicity (Chapter 7), and journalistic routines (Chapter 8)* follow up on the historical-political analysis of journalism in Kosovo in Chapter 4. From the theoretical framework established in Chapter 2, these can be considered as key topics for analysis of journalism practice in a transitional post-war setting in Kosovo (Djokić & Ker-Lindsay, 2011). They will therefore be explored in this part of the dissertation. Needless to say, an analysis of journalism practice can contain many more topics than those outlined above. However, for this dissertation, these three can be considered as the most significant aspects in the analysis of post-war journalism in Kosovo and they are tied to the historical development in Chapter 4. There is a constant presence of political discussions in the public arena in post-war Kosovo (Miftari, 2013; Andresen, 2009). The nature of being a post-war nation and living through a war creates a national climate for politics. Since 1999, the main public discourse has been politics in Kosovo, and the process from being a UN –administrated province to a self-declared nation has been filled by various political battles (Ker-Lindsay, 2010; MacShane, 2011; Judah, 2008).

This chapter deals with the *role of politics in post-war journalism practice in Kosovo*. The *theoretical* framework of this dissertation (Chapter 2) established the paradigms of media patrimonialism (Waisbord, 2013) and professionalization of journalism (Gross, 2002) and the analysis of the *historical-political development* of media in Kosovo in Chapter 4 showed evidence of heavy political influence on Kosovar media throughout the conflict-dominated time period covered in Chapter 4 (Vickers, 1999; Judah 2000a, Malcolm, 2002; Ker-Lindsay, 2010; Djokić and Ker-Lindsay, 2011). At the same, Chapter 4 shows that there were some signs of professionalization of journalism during the 1990s in Kosovo, when journalists started reporting from the armed conflict and worked as fixers. So how has journalism in Kosovo developed after the end of the war and into the post-war transitional Kosovo – what are the relations between politics and news production? In this chapter, I aim to explore the current *interplay between politics and journalism* in post-war Kosovo.

Studies of post-war societies in the Balkans show that politics still dominate the public discourse. The dominant role of politics in media in post-war Yugoslavia is thoroughly documented in literature (Kurspahic, 2003; Stefanovic, 1999; Morus, 2007; Volčič 2007; Djokić and Ker-Lindsay, 2011; Biserko, 2012). However, the transitions from war to post-war journalism in Kosovo have changed the content of politics from focusing on the violent conflicts during the war to political rivalry after the wars (Hoxha, 2007; Andresen, 2015, Paterson et. al., 2012; Di Lellio, 2007). As I argued in the methodology chapter, a news production analysis can reveal multiple aspects of how political pressure is manifested in day-to-day news production inside the newsrooms; something a mere textual analysis of media content alone is limited from doing. As established earlier in this dissertation, this current analysis in the next three chapters is then undertaken through a qualitative study of daily news production in four central newsrooms in Kosovo, journalists and editors were followed over a period of several weeks in each newsroom through observations and qualitative interviews. The classic news production process: selection, gathering, and editing, and selecting the news (Gans, 1979; Hansen et.al., 1998; Domingo, Quandt, Heinonen, Paulussen, Singer, & Vujnovic, 2008), has been the object of the observations and forms the basis for the analysis of the above aspects in this part of the dissertation.

6.2. Selecting and gathering the news: Protocol journalism

A key finding of the research is that political *pressure and political debates on Kosovo dominated life and reporting in the four newsrooms (Koha Ditore, RTK, Express, and Radio Kontakt Plus) in an intensive and personal manner*. At the time of the main qualitative fieldwork in the four newsrooms for this dissertation (2005-2006), Kosovo had been under UN administration for seven years, and the preparations for negotiations with Serbia about its future status were underway. At the same time, several international evaluations about the political and economic progress were expected, among them a UN report by the Norwegian diplomat Kai Eide (Judah, 2008). Kosovo found itself in a transition period between war, international presence, the establishment of Kosovo's government and preparations for negotiation status with Serbia (Ker-Lindsay, 2010). Several internal conflicts in the Kosovar Albanian political community were brewing. The four newsrooms struggled to follow all these events simultaneously. The amount of political meetings, international guests, and various political processes seemed overwhelming.

Most of the stories about Kosovar and international politics at the time of the fieldwork (2005-2006) were linked to the major question of *Kosovo's future status*; would it be an independent nation, an international protectorate, or an autonomous province in Serbia? This

question was overwhelming to many of the editors and journalists, and it overshadowed other stories, such as crime, accidents, power failure and other social issues. Journalists acknowledged that this was frustrating, but admitted that the status question had to be covered in the top stories, since most of what was happening in the Kosovar public sphere centred on this. However, they knew that many important stories were dropped, something they regretted. Through the interviews for this dissertation, and the daily news production work, they expressed this frustration; knowing what they wanted to do, but still produced according to the fit the overarching national question of Kosovo's political status.

In a simple *count of topics* for the top stories during my fieldwork in the newsrooms, I found that Kosovar politics was the issue in 17 of 17 top stories in *Koha Ditore*, 14 of 15 in *RTK*, 8 of 14 in *Express*, and 13 of 22 in *Radio Kontakt Plus*. A total of 52 of the 68 top stories, or 76 percent were about Kosovar politics.[91] The stories centered on various aspects around the status of Kosovo, such as the upcoming international negotiations with Serbia, various political rivalries in Kosovar politics, and numerous high level political meetings, workshops, press conferences, and seminars. These many meetings and conferences, or staged news events had increased in numbers as the post-war political institutions were established in Kosovo (Paterson et. al., 2012).

When selecting the news stories on a daily basis, political issues dominated in the newsrooms. This was manifested in different ways. For example, in selecting the top front page story ("A1-story"), *Koha Ditore* made an executive decision defining what kind of story this had to be; the A1 (top) story every day had to deal with a topic relating to *Kosovar politics*. This was explained by an internal desire for *Koha Ditore* to be the best on political issues, which they considered the most important in Kosovo. According to the Deputy Editor-in-Chief: "We have a political subject in A1 because we want to keep a profile of a paper that primarily deals with the political aspect and then with other issues […] 99% of the A1 stories will be of this category. The A1 story will be a story that is the hottest story of the day, but which still is political […] All of our buyers know that the main story will be a heavy political issue" (*Koha Ditore* Deputy Editor, personal interview). One example of how this was practiced was during an evening shift, the news editor reserved the 'A1 space' next morning for an interview that *KTV*[92] made with the head of PDK, Hashim Thaci, even before he even knew the content of the interview. All he knew was that it was about the upcoming Kosovo status negotiations. The editor said that since Thaci

[91] I have not conducted a full content analysis of the news stories produced during the fieldwork, as explained in the Methodology Chapter. However, I have counted the main topics of the news stories. This was a simple count of the top stories on page one of the *Koha Ditore* and *Express* newspapers, and the top stories in the *RTK* and *Radio Kontakt Plus* newscasts.

[92] *Koha TV* (KTV) is owned by Koha Group which also owns *Koha Ditore*.

is part of the Kosovar negotiating team[93], his voice was important. The interview would be transcribed in full and printed over two full pages. This was also done with interviews with other members of the negotiation team, as a service to the many who cannot watch *KTV* due to power cuts, he explained.

Several of the editors and journalists were very self-critical of Kosovar journalists' practice of what can be called *protocol* journalism. The term was first used by Nigerian media professor Ralph Akinfeleye in his analysis of Nigerian development journalism (Akinfeleye, 1987, 1988), where he described how the journalist attends 'protocol' events such as speeches and news conferences and simply repeat what the politician has said with no additional thought or analysis (Taylor, 2009). It is used to describe how journalists attend press conferences, seminars, meetings and speeches and produce news stories from these. Many of these stories have a reference style where the main points from the events are reported, often with no addition comments or critical questions. This is what Taylor and Kent (2007), Jibo and Okoossi-Simbine (2003), based on studies in Eastern Europe and Western Africa, also label as protocol journalism. Blood, Tulloch, Gorani and Houwen (2005) describe this news practice as 'widespread' based on previous research on Kosovar media. Later, the term has been widely used in the description of similar journalism in Africa and in the Balkans. Protocol journalism is a negatively loaded term, indicating that the journalist and news organization reports simply what is said at a news event. The practice of protocol journalism leads to the situation that the *RTK* staff acknowledged; that they were not happy with neither the methods of reporting, nor the content. A news editor said he had been working hard to change *RTK*'s news coverage, but that it was an uphill battle to change this long-lasting tradition. He acknowledged that *RTK* had to cover the political events, but admitted that he was frustrated:

> There is a hanging political issue over Kosovo, which is the status issue. Historically, *RTK* has not explained the *contexts* of the stories; we have just told what statements were made [...] it wasn't anything about *why* they did meet, what did they say in meeting, did they have any argument, did they argue, did they have any disagreements, what does this mean for the average Kosovar, what should the average Kosovar know about this. [...] My concept of the whole thing is that it should be completely different. I try to encourage journalists to keep this in mind and to make stories which can be understood by all citizens (*RTK* news editor, personal interview).

Kosovar journalists in post-war Kosovo are facing a widespread notion that *all political events are vital to the development of the Kosovar society*. At the largest broadcaster, my informants said during the interviews that they felt obliged to cover these events. They claimed

[93] The Kosovar Albanian group negotiating with the Serbian counterparts in Vienna.

to be in a squeeze between different expectations – on one side the expectation to follow the *big story* – the question of Kosovo's final status – and on the other side stories about ordinary Kosovar citizens' problems. One journalist said that citizens expected the station to follow the developments of politics and status negotiations, and that most people were interested in this. The editor-in-chief bluntly stated that, "we are all held hostage to the [status] situation" (personal interview). Another senior journalist expressed, "...till this problem [Kosovo's status] is fixed, we will have too much politics. I am sure that when this status question is finished, we will have less and less politics in our news bulletins" (personal interview). A young female journalist admitted, "I follow protocol events against my will" (personal interview). The journalists' feelings about the kind of news that they covered were visible throughout the workday. They said they saw the need for following the political events. However, they were frustrated, since they wanted to set the agenda in the news with investigative stories and reports about ordinary people. Instead, they felt that the agenda was set for them:

> There has been a long tradition of making stories about real people [in Kosovo], but all the status talk and politics make us follow SRSG[94] and others everywhere. It is a 'state of emergency' for the media. Journalists know and want to do other stories and stories done in another way. They also know how to do it. My hope is that when the status question ends, the media can get back to normal and make other stories. We have followed ordinary people and made stories about them, but the political situation changes this and we are doing so much protocol news. (*RTK* journalist/editor, personal interview).

However, the journalists' frustration was somewhat contrary to what several of the editors expressed. Some editors claimed the amount of politics and protocol news was also a result *of lack of initiative* among the journalists. During my weeks in *RTK*, there were truly a majority of stories about politics, but the reason was not always a dictate from 'above' in the news organization. During the morning meetings, there was little response when journalists were asked for their own ideas. As a matter of fact, the editors were very frustrated over the lack of new ideas in the news production, especially stories about ordinary people's lives:

> I try to encourage the journalists basically to just go through whatever they find deserving of being news. It only take you about 10 minutes to go from where you are and drive to *RTK*, you can definitely see what is wrong with the society, what needs to be fixed (*RTK* editor-in-chief, personal interview).

[94] Special representative of the Secretary General (Head of UNMIK)

Two parallel truths thus emerge about the selection of stories in the post-war newsrooms in Kosovo. First, in principle, the journalists w free to suggest their own stories, and the editors encouraged the journalists to do so, as the editor-in-chief stated. Almost all the journalists expressed this also. They said their own personal networks with politicians, government officials, business people and ordinary citizens were the main source of ideas. They received messages on their mobile phones and by email, notes on MSN, and also phone calls. Some of the most senior journalists had developed a quite extensive network of contacts. Second, in spite of this freedom, most of the ideas they received from them were 'event stories' which again invited for protocol journalism. On a daily basis, some of the newsrooms lacked daily *routines* in their news selection procedures. Traditionally, there has been little tradition of routine in news production planning at *RTK*. Uros Lipusczek, OSCE's International Advisor to *RTK*, and whose office was located next to the news editors there, said:

> What is missing here is real planning [...] you have to have a good plan, good sources; then you know what to do and how to do it. What happens most days is that the editors list up many events (press conferences and meetings etc.) happening the same day, and the journalists rush out to cover them (OSCE's Uros Lipusczek, personal interview).

One of the *RTK* news editors expressed his frustration of the lack of setting agenda this way:

> In the evenings, at 8 o'clock, when our evening news is over, we see that it's very clear that we lack planning. We can see that there are events happening during the day, and we have followed after them. We don't lead the news….We also lack an analysis of the previous day when we start in the morning. We stay bewildered, not sure what to do (*RTK* news editor, personal interview).

Several of the journalists also said that there was too much running around from event to event, and that *RTK* did not have a strategy of news production. However, in the midst of this criticism, the editor-in-chief said he has worked hard to change this, and he felt the situation was improving:

> There used to be a very, very little planning, I mean, my editors in the beginning worked after "whatever is happening we will cover; this and this meeting happens today," but there was no structure to it. We got planning now, we just look two weeks ahead basically, what is coming on, and plan accordingly (*RTK* editor-in-chief, personal interview).

With regard to the issue of protocol news, *friendships and acquaintances in institutions* are important in the post-war Kosovar newsrooms. For example, at *Express*, journalists stayed

constantly in touch with friends via SMS, email and MSN, and their modern newspaper seemed to be popular also inside government corridors, businesses and other places where friends worked. The journalists told about positive reactions to the *Express* style of reporting, and that they therefore got tips from many who saw *Express* as a breath of fresh air in a media environment of what they referred to as boring protocol journalism. The editor of the *Nacionale* (Nation) section said that not only the journalists themselves, but also their friends and families were tired of protocol journalism and that they wanted something new; a paper that could enlighten people more than reporting about the endless political meetings. As one *Express* journalist stated, "What do I mean about protocol journalism? For example; Kai Eide[95] met Rugova, then he met Thaci, then he said this and that, something which is practically bullshit" (personal interview). Instead, the journalists at *Express* said they used their many tight networks in government, international organizations, and diplomats to find news.

In sum, there is a mixed picture in terms of the role of politics and protocol journalism in the post-war Kosovar newsrooms. There are institutional policies of having politics as the main news item (*Koha Ditore*). However, based on the months of the fieldwork, and the interviews, a key finding is that there is *little editorial pressure* inside the newsrooms on the journalists. However, they accept that the dominant role of politics in society, as well as the easy access to events like press conferences makes the journalists and editors choose news on politics out of an expectation that it is the most important topic to cover. We see here a collective socialization to cover politics.

The following section explores the nature of reporting politics in Kosovo, including the troublesome relation to sources and a constant state of pressure on the journalists that comes from outside the newsrooms.

6.3. Reporting political news: The troublesome relation to sources

The *difficult access* to news sources in the political life, both in the Kosovar government and in the international organizations frustrated the journalists, who felt that Kosovo is a hard place to do proper journalism. They felt government officials and international sources hindered them from doing their work. They then fell back on protocol journalism, where the sources at least were present. This meant little variation in news stories. From the journalists' point of view, this difficult journalism practice lead to stories on politics and protocol journalism. The journalists tend to rely on a few political sources, and thus the protocol journalism continued. To illustrate

[95] Norwegian diplomat working on the Kosovo issue for many years.

this I have included an observation[96] I undertook at a symptomatic encounter between journalists and politicians during my fieldwork at *RTK,* where journalists were kept at arm length from the politicians:

One morning I go with an RTK journalist and cameraman to a press event at the Kosovo Assembly Building in Prishtina. US special representative to the Kosovo negotiations in Vienna, Frank Wisner, is about to meet representatives from Kosovo's Negotiating Team[97] and other politicians as a stop on his Balkan tour of involved parts in the status talks. Journalists, photographers and cameramen are gathering behind some barriers outside the meeting room, at the end of a stairway. These barriers have been set up in order to keep the press in a restricted area. Around 20 journalists greet each other with hugs and kisses; they are competitors, but also many are close friends from various media in Kosovo. There are lots of conversations and laughter. Then, Prime Minister Bajram Kosumi comes up the stairway. Cameras are clicking, but no one is allowed to ask questions. After the Prime Minister, the other members of the Kosovo Negotiation Team arrive; same procedure. No one talks; only the sound of cameras can be heard. Finally, Frank Wisner and his delegation pass by the gathering of the press. Wisner greets them, but rushes into the meeting room behind the large doors. After a couple of minutes, the doors open for a short photo opportunity of the two delegations sitting at separate sides of the table. The doors close after this, and the press goes downstairs for a cup of coffee in the cafeteria. No complaints. There will be a short news conference after the meeting, they are being told. The mood among the journalists is good, lots of smiles, handshakes and lively conversation. Then, after about 30 minutes, the whole pack of journalists and photographers goes up and waits for the doors to open again. One after the other, the politicians come out and answer interviews from the journalists. First, Assembly Speaker Nexhat Daci (LDK) (Figure 6.1), then Hashim Thaci (PDK), and finally, Frank Wisner. The whole press crew gathers around, and they help each other

Figure 6.1. House speaker Nexhat Daci gives a statement after meeting US Special representative Frank Wisner, November 2006. Photo: Kenneth Andresen

[96] The observation is written in *present tense* in an attempt to order to recreate the atmosphere during the observation.
[97] Representing Kosovo in the Vienna negotiations about Kosovo's future status (2005-2007)

holding microphones. After the short press briefing, Wisner will meet with political leaders from minority groups in Kosovo (except Serbs, who have separate meetings with him). A short photo event at the beginning of the meeting also takes place here, but none of the journalists wants to hang around for the comments after this meeting. The press, including the RTK team, disperses and leave the building. Outside the Assembly building, RTK makes a stand-up report, summarizing the day's events.

This observation from the news conference at the Kosovar Government building represents the problem of the *combination of political news and difficult access to sources.* Kosovar journalists are invited to numerous press events and are treated like one flock. They get very limited access to politicians, which they consider as key people regarding information. During my observations in the newsrooms and by following the journalists in the field, I witnessed on a daily basis the journalists' frustrations in this area. The criticism from journalists and editors at *RTK* is not only directed to Kosovar institutions, but also very much towards the international organizations present in Kosovo, the very organizations that are there to promote openness and democracy. In the case of UNMIK, many are frustrated, also in *RTK:*

> In most of the cases you have the same response that "we do not have information, this is responsibility of Security Council", etc. Usually they only respond on any issue that is already in press releases. They never add anything which is not their press releases (*RTK* journalist, personal interview).

In post-war Kosovo, the *political activity sets the agenda for news production*. During my fieldwork, Kosovo was in a rapid transition from war to independence and the national agenda of political meetings, politicians' activities and international relations dominated the working lists of editors and journalists. Daily 'event schedules'[98] of protocol-style meetings were presented to journalists and the dominant opinion in the newsrooms was that they had to follow these stories. There was an unwritten internal expectation that the journalists follow the political events. This was explained by the view that the rapid political developments, especially the question of Kosovo's future status would determine all aspects of people's lives, and that once the status was settled, the newsrooms would cover more aspects of ordinary Kosovars' lives. In the midst of the frustration, the journalists and editors defended the practice by referring to the collective feeling of *importance for Kosovo*.

However, the dominant role of politics in news selection in Kosovo led *to 'bottom-up' reactions*; an urge to practice more investigative journalism not based on the agenda of Kosovar

[98] Lists of political events were displayed in the newsrooms, often being working lists for the journalists.

political life. In all the four newsrooms, journalists and editors attempted to change the old practice and added more investigative stories. These were news reports based on breaking news, social issues, stories from various ethnic groups, and portraits of ordinary people's daily lives and struggles. This showed evidence of a professionalism in journalism, and it can be traced back to the days of the 1998-1999 war, when newsrooms like *Koha Ditore* presented breaking news to its readers daily, being the main source of information. The post-war agenda of politics started dominating news selection shortly after the war, and many journalists in the newsrooms who either worked for *Koha Ditore* or as fixers and stringers during the war, expressed a desire for more dynamic news selection. The newspaper *Express* is a direct result of this 'revolt' where journalists and editors ran a newspaper where news selection was delegated to various young editors. The bottom-up professional reaction to protocol reporting will be discussed at greater length in the last section of this chapter (6.5), which deals with an attempt to even institutionalize independent reporting in an environment characterized by politics in post-war Kosovo. In the next section I analyze the high level of *political pressure* on the newsrooms.

6.4. Political pressure

A key part of the role of politics in post-war journalism in Kosovo is the matter of a *two-fold political pressure on the newsrooms*. First, the *national issue* is a collective, constant factor, as we have seen throughout the historical analysis in Chapter 4 and in the first part of this chapter. Second, journalists and editors experience *personal pressure* on a daily basis. Studies on media development in former Yugoslavia show increasing political pressure on the media after the wars in the Balkans in the 1990s[99]

As argued in Chapter 4, the importance of politics in the Kosovar society throughout history cannot be underestimated. Kosovo has been and still is an area where politics have determined people's lives to a high degree, and there have been rapid changes and transitions. During my observations in the *RTK* newsroom and the interviews with the journalists there, it became clear that the journalists received numerous calls and emails from local politicians who promoted 'their' events that they demanded that *RTK* should cover. The journalists and editors had a clear sense that local politicians could influence *RTK*, since *RTK* is a public service institution:

[99] The theory chapter (Chapter 2) reviewed several studies on politics of Balkan media. Other studies also confirm this; in Serbia (Stefanovic, 2005; Erjavec & Volčič, 2006, 2007; Biserko, 2012), Bosnia (Taylor & Kent, 2000; Taylor & Napoli, 2003; Kurspahic, 2003; van Willigen, 2012), and Albania (Easterman, 2000). Although Easterman's analysis is built on very short visits to Albania and Bosnia, and the study suffers from a lack of historical context, it too confirms the fragility of the Balkan news media.

> We have been badly trained by following the politicians and government people. They think we should follow all their meetings; they know the phone numbers of editors and journalists; they call during the day and during the night. This is one of the many pressures that Kosovar journalism lives under (*RTK* news editor, personal interview).

Many of the journalists also experienced fatigue about politics and protocol journalism. They said they felt trapped under the yoke of covering politics. However, *RTK* journalists did not shy away from making critical reports on political conflicts in the Kosovar society. Several stories dealt with rivalry between the government parties and the opposition, personal conflicts between journalists and disagreements within the political parties. They expressed that the pressure on the newsroom came from *all* political parties, especially the two largest; LDK[100] and PDK[101]. They said they were overwhelmed by the situation of politics penetrating all aspects of public discourse. A journalist in *RTK* put it into perspective:

> People have double standards regarding politics and news. They say they are fed up and tired of politics, but they watch and read about politics all the time. In Europe and USA people don't have to know who the prime minister is or what he/she is doing. But here in Kosovo – and in all the Balkans – everybody knows who the politicians are. They have always known this. And in a mysterious way, people here have hopes that somehow the politicians will help solving their problems […] now Albanians have 'their own' politicians and the hope is in them. It's a kind of love-hate relationship. And we as media are feeding the public with this (*RTK* journalist, personal interview).

There was also a strategy in newsrooms to *fight* political pressure. *Express* wanted to be different from other Kosovar newsrooms and practiced its 'revolt' throughout the whole news production process. This also included the formatting and presentation of the news. "We have broken all the rules about newspaper design in Kosovo; we have big pictures, big headlines, and separate sections," proclaimed one of the editors (personal interview). He claimed that the *Express* journalists felt a special team spirit due to the fact that they were different from the rest, due to their history and philosophy. Continuing their intended break towards protocol journalism, the *Express* journalists said they wanted to focus on *reactions to* and *consequences of* Kosovar politics. As was seen earlier in this chapter, *Express* also struggled to fight protocol journalism. However, they had a strategy to take political journalism further. "We start with facts, then we gather the reactions" (personal interview), said a young reporter in the *Politics*

[100] Lidhja Demokratike e Kosovës (Democratic League of Kosovo) is the political movement co-founded in the late 1980's by late President Ibrahim Rugova.
[101] Partie Demokratie e Kosovës (Democratic Party of Kosovo) is Kosovo's largest political party. Their leader, Hashim Thaci was the Prime Minister of Kosovo from 2007 to 2014.

Section, "We seek reactions from the opposition", agreed another young journalist (personal interview). This was also a way for *Express* to prove that they were not in the pocket of any political party. One of the editors said that *Express* confused many readers. When they criticized the opposition, readers accused them of being in the pocket of the government. But when they criticized the Prime Minister the next day, readers say they did not know what to believe. The journalists said that trust in Kosovar newspapers is low, since most believe that every newspaper is controlled by someone in politics or business. So when *Express* criticized both sides, readers became bewildered. It was also a risk, agreed the editors, to introduce another kind of journalism in Kosovo, because readers would not believe that you were not controlled, no matter what you tried to tell them.

In spite of *Express'* intention to fight political pressure and protocol journalism, the following example symbolizes what happens when *newsrooms give in to pressure*. I have shown how *Express* was a newspaper that wanted to break with the traditional ways of Kosovar protocol journalism and had also introduced new ways of news production, involving more of the staff in news decisions through autonomous newsrooms. However, the question is whether *Express* was able to stand firm on their principles in an environment of news heritage from communism and the recent conflicts. The following is an example of how also *Express* changed its practice due to circumstances around them, especially the pressure on media to support of the process towards the final status of Kosovo; independence.

The following is an observational account[102] from my newsroom research where I followed a major story as it broke and developed, involving Kosovo's prime minister, corruption charges, and multiple political pressures:

On September 6, at 2005 at 19:00 hours, a Prishtina Airport official calls Express and says that Prime Minister Bajram Kosumi[103] has landed at the airport with a private plane. This private plane is not scheduled in the Prime Minister's official program. This tip came only to Express, and showed the network the newspaper has established. After a few phone calls, Express learns that the Prime Minister has rented a plane home from a vacation trip to Turkey, after missing the regular flight. It is not 100 percent confirmed that the Prime Minister was on board, but this is being checked throughout the evening. The Express editors scramble and want to find out who paid for the trip; was it him personally, did someone else, maybe the Kosovar government? During the next day, the editors cooperate in getting information around the details of the flight, and they have frequent meetings about how to proceed. In the evening they play with some ideas for a front page

[102] The account is written in *present tense* in an attempt to recreate the tense atmosphere during the development of the Kosumi story.
[103] Bajram Kosumi (AAK, *Aleanca për Ardhmërinë e Kosovës - the Alliance for the Future of Kosovo*) was prime minister in Kosovo from March 23, 2005 to March 1, 2006.

headline, a play with words: 'Gjateta Konsumi' ('Consumer Government'). On September 8, the story does not make the front page, since the editors feel they don't have enough confirmed information yet. It is printed on page 3, with an indication to continue the investigation. However, three editors are now researching the story: the editor-in-chief, the deputy editor-in-chef, and the editor of the Politics section. They discuss the Kosumi story throughout the day, and say they want to be 100 percent sure before they release more information. On September 9, at 17:00 hours, the editorial staff discusses what to next when it is now clear that another minister in Kosumi's government paid for the Prime Minister's trip. This is a violation of the anti-corruption laws in Kosovo, which states that a government official cannot receive any gift over 50 €. Many people are involved in the discussion in the smoky office, and the conversations get intense and loud. They agree that a scandal is growing. No other media has so far covered this story, but Express is being cited in some international media. Kosumi himself has not commented. The editor-in-chief says that UNMIK does not want to do anything with this story, although they oversee the Kosovar government's actions. He feels they don't want a government scandal now shortly before the UN report of Kai Eide is due[104].

Then, at 19:00 hours, there are rumors that Kosumi will resign because the flight story. The Prime Minister's Office has now released a statement denying that Kosumi has done anything wrong, since someone else paid for the trip. "Therefore, this is not corruption", it says. The editors agree to continue investigating, since they see it as clearly illegal. During the next half hour, the story about Kosumi spreads quickly now. Around 10-12 of the editorial staff gathers in the editor's office where they watch the main newscast from one of the largest Albanian TV stations, TV Klan[105], runs an interview with Kosovar commentator Baton Haxhiu, where he says that Express broke the story. This creates a spontaneous applause in the office. Kosovo's public broadcaster RTK only read the statement from the Prime Minister's Office about the flight, nothing else. Express is still the only Kosovar media outlet pushing the story. The Express editor-in-chief sits down to write a commentary about the Kosumi story, saying that the Prime Minister has broken Kosovo's Anti-Corruption Law by accepting a free flight from a fellow minister. The story is now big, and will most certainly hit the Express front page tomorrow. Then, in a surprising move, after midnight, and after lengthy discussions, the Kosumi story is down, to many's surprise. It does not make the first page, but had a more anonymous place in the middle of the paper. What happened?

[104] Norwegian diplomat Kai Eide's report to the United Nations' Security Council (UNSC) in November 2005 made an assessment of the political, economic and social developments in Kosovo since 1999, and recommended that status talks between Prishtina and Belgrade should start, even though the standards set forth by UNMIK after March 2004 were not in place. Eide meant that it was important to settle Kosovo's status to ensure further development in the region (Eide 2005).

[105] *TV Klan* is one of the most popular TV stations in Albania, and also has a branch in Kosovo.

The explanation of suddenly backing down on the story can be found in the concept of *self-censorship*. *Express* had received mostly negative reactions for its coverage of the Prime Minister's flight from Turkey. And the paper had learned that UN's SRSG [106] did not want Kosumi to leave office, because this would disturb the process of reaching higher standards of government in Kosovo, a prerequisite for negotiations about Kosovo's status. SRSG wanted Kai Eide's report (Eide, 2005) to be fulfilled on time. Therefore, when *Express* began to investigate stories about Kosumi, there was a risk that the outcome might be Kosumi's resignation. However, a 'functional government' was one of the agreed standards to be reached. If Kosumi resigned, then that would be proof that the government really worked. So this was a dilemma. *Express* said they wanted to see a functional government. At the same time, *Express'* stories could disrupt the whole status process. They then had two options: 1) To continue getting the facts and truth about Kosumi's flight, without calculating the consequences that might be the Prime Minister's resignation, and 2) to back down to pressure and wait for Kai Eide's long awaited report to the UNSC[107]. The editor-in-chief had to make a decision. In my research interview with him, he said that he reluctantly decided to tone down the story. The editor explained that the decision was very difficult. The dilemma for *Express* was the following: They could continue to push the Kosumi story and it would get worse and worse. It was the right thing to do, because the truth had to get out, he said. This is in the backbone of *Express*, according to the editor. At the same time, what would be in the Kai Eide report? Would a Prime Minister scandal now mess everything up? Therefore, he decided to hold back a bit during the final days of the Kai Eide report. This was, according to the editor-in-chief, in order to avoid greater disruption of the national issues at stake in Kosovo. He said further that *Express* would wait for the Eide report and then continue to publish details about the Kosumi story.

This example of *political pressure in form of self-censorship* in the *Express* newsroom shows the kind of dilemma that a newsroom trying to be independent faces in a transitional post-war society like Kosovo. The decision to back down from the Kosumi story due to what harm it might cost the status negotiation, shows that additional pressure from national matters as well as international organizations hinders attempts to report freely, since it disturbs the plan that is put forth for solving Kosovo's status. The sum of the pressure and criticism from the outside regarding their coverage was not, according to the editor, the main reason. It was rather the prospect of the reactions from both the international community if there was a scandal that made Eide's report more critical, which actually pressured the proclaimed independent newspaper to back down in this case. It was not in the interest of anybody in Kosovo to have a

[106] Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) is UN's top representative in Kosovo and the head of UNMIK (United Nations Mission in Kosovo).
[107] United Nations Security Council.

watchdog newspaper that might put the planned nice picture of Kosovo in Eide's report in danger.

The Kosumi story is a case of how *attention to the nation's development takes over principles of independent journalism in post-war journalism in Kosovo when pressure increases. Express*, a newspaper that itself has had proclaimed independence from pressure, changed its principles when they saw how much was at stake, politically. This shows the pressure that is directed to independent newsrooms in a post-conflict society like Kosovo, where nation building and political correctness overshadow attempts of independent reporting.

6.5. A professional reaction

In the theoretical framework established in Chapter 2, the question of *professionalism* is central when discussing post-war journalism in Kosovo and the Balkans. The criticism of unprofessionalism and the call for professionalization of journalists after the end of the war have frequently been repeated in the literature (Gross, 2002; Aumente et al., 1999, Paletz & Jakubowicz, 2003; Gross, 2004; Jakubowicz, 2004; Rhodes, 2007; LaMay 2009, Miftari, 2013). The question of a *possible professional response* must be raised in order to analyze how journalists in post-war Kosovo deal with the daily realities of protocol journalism and political pressure. An observation I made over several weeks in the Express newsroom illustrates in detail how a newsroom attempted to dig for independent information and practice independent journalism.

The following example from my observation in the newsroom is a 'behind the scene' (Cottle, 2007) example of the dilemmas and pressures of attempting an independent strategy in reporting a dramatic development of an extremely sensitive political story involving Kosovo's then President Ibrahim Rugova. One of the most dramatic stories developing in Kosovo late in 2005 concerned the development of Kosovo's iconic president Rugova's serious illness. *Express* was the first Kosovar newsroom that wrote about this, which was a very sensitive issue, and this happened during my fieldwork in the newsroom. The editors of *Express* decided not to wait for official information from the Prime Minister's Office, but rather investigate information that they got through various sources. The following is a detailed account of how the story broke and developed in the newsroom. Since I as a researcher was there during the dramatic days, I have opted to provide a description[108] of what happened inside the newsroom, as an example for analysing an attempt of professional reporting in a heavily politicized environment:

[108] The account is written in *present tense* in an attempt to recreate the tense atmosphere during the development of the Rugova story.

On Thursday, August 31, 2005 at 16:00 hours, the atmosphere is hectic in the smoky and congested Politics newsroom in Express. The afternoon rush has started, and four journalists are typing stories for tomorrow's edition. The news editor talks on the phone, while puffing a cigarette, hangs up and tells me that there is a big story unfolding: Express have learned that President Ibrahim Rugova is sick. Other Kosovar Albanian media on the web says that he suffers from flu. They quote the spokesman of LDK, the President's political party. However, the news editor says Express is sceptic to these reports. Through several telephone calls to international sources she has learned that the President is currently in a US Army hospital in Germany where he is undergoing several tests. This sounds suspicious, she says, since LDK does not want to confirm the president's stay in Germany. She suspects that LDK is not telling the truth. The international news agency Reuters is also now reporting the story on their website, saying that Rugova is "seriously ill". The news editor says they will in tomorrow's edition print a story telling that the President is very sick. She also says that the LDK Spokesperson is irritated at Express, claiming that the newspaper is speculating.

Figure 6.2. *Express* front page, September 1, 2005 (obtained with permission from *Express*).

At 18:15 hours, a heated discussion goes on in the office of the editor-in-chief. The cigarette smoke hangs thick, the discussions are load and direct, but also with lots of laughter. How far can Express go regarding the Rugova story? The news editor briefs the editor-in-chief, and he suggests that they don't go "too far yet", but that they make a "package" for tomorrow. The news editor goes back to her newsroom and continues working. One of her journalists will put together a "package story" quoting the sources they have been talking to today.

The next morning, on Friday, September 1 at 09:00 hours the headline of Express' main front page story reads: "Diplomatic diagnosis", and features a large close-up photo of President Rugova:

The following is a transcript of complete text of the story (translated from Albanian):

Lead:

"The health situation of the president of Kosovo, Ibrahim Rugova, is getting worse. Meanwhile, he is staying in the US military base in Landstuhl, Germany, according to reports by international news agencies.

Quoting an anonymous international diplomat, Reuters says that 'the pro-independence leader is seriously ill'."

Main text body:

"Reuters was the first international news agency to report on the health situation of President Rugova since there is no official information from the office of the President which does not want to give details. Also Associated Press (AP) informs about the worsening situation of president Rugova's health. AP is quoting an official in UN who wants to stay anonymous while talking about "sensitive issues". "It is worse than a flue", he says.

Euronews also has quoted a high official who reported that his situation is getting worst and it is very serious: "Last weekend, Rugova developed symptoms of lung cancer and he is transported to the US military hospital in Landstuhl. Doctors have examined the 61 years old for lung cancer. A spokesperson confirmed on Monday that the health situation of Rugova has worsened dramatically. But, it isn't clear from which disease he is suffering", says the information disseminated from Euronews on Wednesday.

Nothing else has been said by the President's Office in Kosovo. They continue to say the things that have been said until now without mentioning the flue at all. Spokesperson Muhamet Hamiti does not want to comment on reports of the international news agencies. "They have quoted an anonymous Western diplomat, but without the results of the medical treatments we cannot say anything more", Hamiti tells Express.

However, a Western diplomat in Prishtina contacted by Express is not sure that all this can be true. "I am afraid that all the pessimistic scenarios about Rugova can be true", he says briefly.

With all the speculations about the changing medical situation of Rugova, it has been said that he is expected back at the end of the week. Express sources confirm that this has been mentioned by [The UN Special Representative to Kosovo] Soren Jessen-Petersen during the meeting he had on Wednesday with [Kosovo Parliament Speaker] Nexhat Daci. "We are waiting for President Rugova to come back at the end of the week. If he is healthy, we expect that he himself will say if there is any need for replacement", said an official from the Parliament of Kosova.

Rugova's party LDK held a meeting on Wednesday where they also discussed the health conditions of its leader. Nobody knew what to say about the health situation. It has been said that it [the meeting] was totally uninformed and disordered.

It has been learned now that President Rugova's close family is in Landstuhl in Germany as, and his personal doctor, Afrim Gashi who is the brother of Alush Gashi – a close colleague of Rugova.

Alush Gashi, on Wednesday visited in his office. The president of the Kosovo Parliament, Nexhat Daci revealed this in a meeting which was closed for the media. Almost all international news agencies have reported on the health situation of the President, which news was followed by his profile. "Rugova has in the last 15 years been in the center of attempts of Albanians to win the Independence of Kosova from Serbia" writes Reuters According to Reuters. The illness of Rugova has raised doubts about his possible successor a few weeks before talks, for which President believes that will bring independence."

This account of the development of one of the most dramatic news stories in Kosovo in 2005 illustrates *Express*' investigative reporting philosophy: to attempt independent journalism, as a reaction to political pressure. Searching for the facts around iconic President Rugova's health was for *Express* an exercise in going against what they called the flow in Kosovar press, which is the protocol approach; to follow the politicians and quoting them. *Express* used a lot of time and effort to dig into possible rumors that centred on politicians in Kosovo. The rumors about Rugova's failing health (due to his chain-smoking) had started to reach the international press. Apparently, no other newsroom started to investigate these rumours at that time.

Throughout the days when the newsroom worked on the Rugova story, there were constant short meetings and consultations regarding the development of the story. The editors were especially critical to official statements coming from the Presidents' Office, which were basically "no comment". Very little reminded of traditional protocol journalism at *Express* during these days. In its working method, at this point *Express* officially dismissed protocol journalism. During the day, there were several news strategy meetings in the editor-in-chief's office. In an atmosphere of heavy cigarette smoke, high voices and people coming and going, the major developments in Kosovar politics were discussed. Several of the sub-editors joined this team-style discussion. The style was informal and lively. The Politics – section editor often came in and asked "how far can we go", and "do we have reliable sources for this" as the sensitive news story was developing. The editors constantly debated how they could keep the Kosovar government accountable and how they could break with the traditional protocol news tradition in Kosovo, which the *Express* editor defined as a journalism that basically follows the political development in Kosovo without questioning it:

> [...] this point of emergency post-war journalism that was made in Kosovo and that is still being somehow exercised in most of the Kosovar media is a manner of understanding journalism as a tool for reporting and reconfirming your position with respect to what you define as national course. So, one thing that might add enormously to this editorial similarity is the very political positioning of journalists and producers with respects to political developments of Kosovo. That means it is still a patriotic journalism, which makes the whole potential diversity invisible

(*Express* Editor-in-chief, personal interview).

This position was also rooted in *Express*' 'Mission and Vision' document that all employees needed to read[109]. The whole news organization showed at the time of the fieldwork (2005) an enthusiasm in their struggle to be more independent than other Kosovar newsrooms. However, *Express* also practiced protocol-style journalism at times, but less than other Kosovar news media at that point. One of the permanent reporters in the Politics section covered the Assembly and the Government and followed daily political meetings. But in addition to reporting political statements, they were eager to collect comments from other politicians who disagreed. Thus, *Express* expanded political reporting in Kosovo beyond traditional protocol journalism. The day after *Express* broke the news about President Rugova's illness, the newspaper started to receive criticism. The newspaper *Bota Sot*, which is linked to Rugova's party LDK, accused *Express* of digging into the presidents' private matters and thus stepping over the line. Other papers were quiet. This is what the *Express* editor called a "the lack of a journalism community", (personal interview) in Kosovo.

The above goal of breaking with traditional Kosovar protocol journalism demanded a more investigative way of reporting than what was usual in Kosovo. The *Express* journalists had a wide *network of sources* that tipped them about possible stories. These became at times exclusive reports. The newspaper received its share of criticism from the political establishment in Kosovo for being too sensational in their investigative reports. The journalists and editors defended *Express*' position by claiming that they were doing the job that other Kosovar media were avoiding. One editor got irritated by the criticism against *Express*: "Our stories looks like scandals taking in account what the other newspapers do...I asked [the Newspaper *Zeri*] when they last criticized the government....they collect all their advertising from the government, and in their eyes our stories look like scandals"(*Express* editor, personal interview).

The Rugova story reveals also *editorial debates* within *Express*, where sub-editors and journalists openly discussed priority and choices in news selection. In particular, the Politics editor and the Editor-in chief at times openly disagreed regarding when to release details in the ongoing investigation. Again, this discursive way of news selection seemed to be anchored in the news organization, but it also slowed down the decision making, which was often made late at night. *Express* is an organization with a rather flat structure, with strong personalities of experienced journalists. There were open disagreements at times as to what stories to cover and

[109] Under the document's 'Content Selection' section it says: "*Express* daily will attempt to publish fresh and original items. Both the manner of writing, methodology of research and the issues that are covered ought to be outside of the conventional journalism, called by some participants "a protocol-based journalism". Investigative journalism and extended reportages will be cornerstones of providing unique perspective on the acute problems that the Kosovan society in transition is facing." (Express, 2005).

how to do it. Loud voices were heard inside the editor's office, and sometimes people left there angry, slamming the door. "I like to challenge [the editor-in-chief]" one of the sub-editors said. Although the discussions were tough, the mood was good, and laughter was never far away. There was also lots of humor and laughter in the newsroom; lots of ironic comments and satirical comments about the political situation in Kosovo at the time.

During my fieldwork, *Express* was a newsroom with a high level of journalist – initiated news stories and thus broke the tradition of single-editor control. Due to the news organization's decentralization of news into seven sub-newsrooms, the approach in this paper was at this time, more 'bottom-up' than in *Koha Ditore* and *RTK*, where the news selection was more editor-initiated. One of the *Express* editors expressed the urge to come up with ideas to stories the following way:

> When I leave the office, [the] first thing that I think when I get out the door is what I would do tomorrow, and also I go through all my notebooks and all the paper that I have. I think about what I will do tomorrow, what my journalists will do tomorrow, that they think also during the night, what kind of ideas they have about stories. The stories just come to you; I have different stories from the police, from the court, intelligent services. I don't know how to explain it, you know, stories just comes to you (*Express* editor, personal interview).

The editor-in-chief of *Express* also stressed that he encouraged the journalists to find ideas from their daily lives:

> …they [the journalists] have full freedom to come up with ideas and develop those. I think probably they should give that more time. We have planning in meetings every Wednesday, in which we set the agenda for the entire newsroom. We set the agenda for that day and then we go into a debate about whatever kind of news items I want them to come up with. I encourage everybody to come in my office [with ideas]. Most often they don't, but I would like to have the guard at the door as well as the editor or cameraman in those meetings, because I mean, news items are not limited to journalists (*Express* Editor-in-chief, personal interview).

The newspaper *Express* has been the key example of attempts to produce professional journalism in post-war Kosovo at the time of my fieldwork in 2005-2006[110]. There are examples also from the other newsrooms. *Koha Ditore*, being by far the most important source of news and information for the Kosovar Albanians during the 1997-1999 war in Kosovo, enjoys a great

[110] As mentioned earlier, the newspaper *Express* later changed its profile and became less independent and became more influenced by politics, especially the political party PDK. Lindita Camaj (2013) undertook an in-depth study of the connections between Kosovar media and politics in terms of agenda-setting and the news in 2010, and she concludes that "the daily newspaper *Express* is aligned with The Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK) […]" (p.92).

amount of respect among its readers. There is a clear willingness and eagerness to break loose from traditional Kosovar protocol reporting also in this newspaper, thus to break with protocol journalism. During my fieldwork in 2005, the senior journalists developed both investigative stories that had exposed wrongdoings and crimes committed by Kosovar politicians, officials, and business, as well as cross-ethnic reporting. However, the journalists expressed apprehension and felt it was hard to change the priorities of the paper. The *Koha Ditore* journalists practiced a combination of protocol journalism and investigative journalism. This mixed reporting showed the straining realities for many Kosovar journalists – the expectations of *Koha Ditore* to the political scene due to Kosovo's national project of independence and at the same time the journalists' aspirations of independent investigative journalism.

Occasionally, *RTK* also broke the main routine of protocol news and covered breaking news stories from Kosovo. A tragic ferry disaster outside Egypt was the top story on February 15, 2005, and the newsroom brought updates on this over several days. The *RTK*'s EBU Exchange Desk[111] provided footage for the evening news. On one occasion, I followed one of their reporters to the airport to cover a story about a politician returning from an international meeting when the news came in that an airplane had skidded off the tarmac because of too much snow. The journalist immediately saw this as an important story and managed to negotiate his passage through the tight security at the airport, interviewed the airport spokesman and did a stand-up report on the air strip with the plane in the background (*Figure 6.3*). He edited the story quickly for the 17:00 news bulletin where it was the top story. However, by the 19:30 news the story was moved down to the middle of the running order, and there was no follow up story the day after, nor any further discussion on airport security later.

Figure 6.3. RTK's journalist interviews an airport official after an airplane skid off the air strip at Prishtina Airport, February 2006. Photo: Kenneth Andresen

[111] *RTK* is a member of the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) and has a 'EBU Desk' in one of the corners in the newsroom where two designated journalists download international news wire footage and upload *RTK* footage that other EBU member stations might use from Kosovo.

This shows the willingness and capacity of Kosovar journalists to fight the tradition of protocol news. The main initiative of independent journalism could primarily be found on an *individual* level, where reporters and editors broke with the traditional reporting on politics. This became harder on an institutional level. *Express* is an example of how an institution attempted to become more independent, and the many struggles that followed.

6.6. Summary

This chapter has shown that in the case of Kosovar journalism, the practice of *protocol journalism* can find its explanation in the interplay between the high political activities connected to the national issues in Kosovo and newsrooms with easy access to political stories when politicians and major political players are calling the shots. This is also confirmed by research done in Kosovo by Maureen Taylor, who, in her study of public relations and media relationships in Kosovo, has found that protocol journalism is vibrant in the relations between these two sectors in the public sphere in Kosovo. In her interview with the then spokesperson for OSCE, Sven Lindholm, he said, "For OSCE, it is a good thing, we have a lot of information to get out to the people of Kosovo and it [protocol journalism] works for us. We always have reporters attending our news conferences and writing about our announcements" (Taylor, 2009, p. 27). In her interviews with journalists in Kosovo, her data correlate to the findings in this chapter. Ideas for news stories are often given by the editors, and the ideas are often staged events, such as political meetings and press conferences. Reporters rely on the information in the statements and rarely change it. Mimoza Kusari, who served as spokeswoman for former Prime Minister Bajram Rexhepi, bluntly says that:

> Most of our own public officials have no respect for journalists; they use them only for their promotion when it comes to the political campaigns. But when it comes to accountability to the people for what they do, they say it's their own business and they treat public money as their own (IREX, 2005, p.57)

There is a strong sense of political identity that seems to divide the Kosovar society more than national identity. For the Kosovar Albanians, political rivalry is strong, and much of it has its roots in how political parties and politicians acted during the 1980s and 1990s. In the midst of the hardship during persecution and war, Kosovar Albanian politicians and business people fought over positions of power and strategy towards the Serbian regime (Judah, 2008; Malcolm,

2002). The disagreements over, for example, armed resistance via UCK[112], political negotiations and control of money led to the political fragmentation within the Kosovar Albanian community that is visible in the media today. Much of the media outlets in Kosovo today are controlled by politicians and business people[113] who put pressure on the newsroom journalists and editors, often in subtle ways, through emails, phone calls and chats.

Journalists in Kosovo are members of conflicting communities with different sets of political and professional expectations and values. They are pulled by many different expectations and pressures; journalistic professionalism, nation, religion, politics and mutual dependency. There is a constant shift between the profession the nation in the news production. This is similar to Zandberg and Neider's study of Israeli journalists covering the Israel-Lebanon war in October 2000, where the Israeli journalists shifted the frame of coverage from nation to profession after several days, but remained under this constant pressure:

> The coverage of violent conflict when the journalist is a member of one of the conflicting parties invokes a professional dilemma: the journalist's traditional paradigm – of objectivity and neutrality – is challenged and confronted by the journalist's patriotic sentiment and their ethnic and cultural belonging. In fact, journalists are members of two communities simultaneously: the professional community and the national one (Zandberg & Neider, 2005, p. 131).

The findings in this chapter suggest that a post-war environment, without a common enemy, has created new domestic political issues and thus a journalism that focuses more on many smaller issues than is the case in war. The multiple political problems, ethnic divisions, power struggle and economic hardships have replaced the some of the dramatic coverage in the late 1990s with a mixture of protocol-style reporting, political analysis, and coverage of day-to day events. Finally, findings from this chapter have also documented serious attempts by individual journalists and newsrooms to *break* with the practice of protocol journalism. Especially the newspaper *Express* practiced this kind of journalism by undertaking investigative journalism on politics, in spite of pressure from politicians.

[112] UCK, In English: KLA (Kosovo Liberation Army)
[113] See the overview of Kosovo media in Chapter 9.

Chapter 7: Ethnicity and post-war journalism in Kosovo (1999-2006)

7.1. Introduction: The ethnic divide in post-war Kosovo

The second issue to be included in the analysis of post-war journalism practice in Kosovo is the role of *ethnicity.* This aspect finds its roots in the theoretical framework established in Chapter 2, where I discussed the importance of ethnic identities in Kosovo (cf. 2.3) as one of the key social identities. Social identity theorists have argued that identities of *belonging, collectiveness and ethnicity* are among the strongest (Barth, 1969; Jenkins, 1996). Chapter 4 in this dissertation have argued, though historical research, how ethnic division has been a key factor in the development and polarization of media in Kosovo throughout history. This chapter offers an analysis into how ethnicity has continued and is continuing to play a central role in news production in post-war Kosovo. It will show, through analysis of data collected from the qualitative study of the four Kosovar newsrooms, how ethnic division presents specific challenges for journalists and newsrooms in Kosovo. Primarily, the empirical data from the fieldwork in the Kosovar newsrooms provides an inside view as to how this is experienced in the journalists' everyday work.

The chapter has two parts. First, the topic of *attempting to bridge the ethnic divide* in the Kosovar media is addressed. Second, the chapter assesses the specific challenges of reporting in a post-war ethnic *minority newsroom* in Kosovo. Chapter 4 investigated how media was an active player in the escalation of the ethnic conflicts in Former Yugoslavia in general, and in Kosovo specifically (Doli and Korenica, 2013; Biserko, 2012). This is also confirmed by studies undertaken elsewhere in the region, where media is found to be a vital part of fuelling and maintaining ethnic conflicts, for example, in Serbia (Judah, 2000a; Stefanovic, 2005; Mønnesland, 2006; Morus, 2007), and in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Thompson, 1999; Taylor and Kent, 2000; Kurspahic, 2003). Several studies also confirm the role of the media in Yugoslavia's downfall (Glenny, 1996; Snyder and Ballentine, 1996; Ramet, 2005). As Jusic (2009) points out, most of these studies focus on the historic and/or structural conditions that led to specific coverage in the media that emphasized the ethnic conflicts and divisions. This chapter offers a rare inside, behind-the-scene analysis of the ethnicity issue in post-war Kosovar newsrooms that will uncover roles of the issue of ethnicity after the 1999 NATO war.

It is commonly recognized that Kosovo is a society where ethnic tensions still run high. Most media reports from Kosovo focus on ethnic struggles, especially between Albanians and Serbs (IREX, 2014), and recent reports on various aspects of the post-war society confirm that

Kosovo is still an *ethnically divided society* (UNDP, 2014)[114]. International negotiations between Serbia and Kosovo led to an agreement on April 13, 2013 to 'normalize' the relations between the two countries. Although processes of normalization are happening, the divisions remain fundamental. The roots of this divide are addressed in the historical-political chapter (Chapter 4). In addition, on the media scene, the situation is also one of division, where the media are also mostly ethnically separated. In a society where 92 percent are Albanians, 4 percent are Serbs, and the final 4 percent are other minorities such as Bosnians, Gorani, Turks, Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptians (UNDP, 2014), it comes as no surprise that the media scene is dominated by Albanian media outlets. The overview of media outlets in the beginning of Chapter 9 also shows the domination of Kosovo Albanian media. There is an ongoing *ethnic division in the media sector* in Kosovo, as it has been throughout history. The next section of the chapter will analyze how journalists in post-war Kosovar newsrooms experience on a day-to-day basis the ethnic aspects. At the same time, the section will also attempt to bridge the ethnic divide in another way of what was possible before the 1999 NATO war.

7.2. Bridging the ethnic divide, structurally and journalistically

There are two sets of strategies to bridge the ethnic divide in the post-war newsrooms in Kosovo. The first is *structurally*, where the news institution tries in its organization and structure to be multi-ethnic by employing journalists from several ethnic groups. The second one is *journalistically,* where reporters report across ethnic boundaries. In this section, I have chosen to show how both of these strategies are practiced, the first in the organizing of *RTK*, and the second one through journalistic practice in *Koha Ditore*[115].

Structurally: The public service station *RTK* (as Chapter 5 shows) has since 1999 attempted to join journalists from various ethnic groups. At the time of my fieldwork at *RTK* in 2006, multi-ethnicity in *RTK* was visible in a newsroom with journalists from various ethnic groups[116]. As a Public Broadcaster, *RTK* is obliged to carry newscasts in the four minority languages in Kosovo; Serbian, Bosnian, Turkish, and Roma. From 18:30 every day, the minority news broadcasts were aired; each around 8-10 minutes. Their content was very similar to the main Albanian-language 'Central News' at 19:30 hours. They made their own version of the main news stories produced by the Albanian reporters, where they used parts of the same footage, as

[114] See http://www.ks.undp.org/content/kosovo/en/home/countryinfo/ (accessed July 1, 2014)
[115] The examples from the newsrooms are, as earlier described, taken from my main fieldwork period in 2005-2006. This means that they are a few years old. However, as is addressed in the conclusion chapter (Chapter 10), many of the same struggles remain today (in 2015).
[116] However, as Chapter 5 in this dissertation describes, in April 2013, *RTK* established *RTK2*, a minority language channel that broadcasts minority programs.

well as translating the Albanian script into minority languages. This way of making different versions from a majority language into minority version is what I would like to label a *minoritization* of the news – where the main content is the same, but the language package is different. They also produced stories that were especially relevant for their target groups, especially during weekends; news reports from their respective ethnic enclaves. In addition, they included, for example, news from Serbia in the Serbian broadcasts. All the editors said they had freedom to choose their own news, and that the Albanian editors didn't interfere. "We meet and find news; we can choose what we want, we are independent", said the editor for the Bosnian news (personal interview).

RTK attempted to focus, for example, on Serbian interests in the Serbian language stories, but in my research interviews editors admitted that it was difficult due to shortage of time and staff. In addition, they produced news stories of special interest for their minority group. *RTK* had between two and four reporters working for each minority broadcast, depending on working schedules. The minority reporters explained that it was easier to produce exclusive stories for their broadcasts at weekends, when it was less busy. Another limitation of production I observed was transport and security. Reporters often went to minority enclaves, and they needed to plan transport there ahead of time. The *minoritizing* of news was made mainly because of lack of capacity. The minority journalist groups had a great deal fewer resources than the main Albanian news. They had very few camera persons and drivers, and secondly, they felt they had *limited freedom of movement* in Kosovo. This feeling of insecurity was less in *RTK* than in the minority media elsewhere in Kosovo, but it was a real fear that limited their work. The minority news groups existed as small islands in the big Albanian sea of news at *RTK*. No minorities were represented in the editorial or managerial leadership of *RTK* (in 2006)[117]

A second strategy for breaking with the ethnic division was *journalistically*, when journalists reported on issues concerning other ethnic groups. The following example is taken from *Koha Ditore*'s '*Arberia'* newsroom. 'Arberia' indicates not only Albanians in Kosovo, but includes all Albanian-speaking areas (Kosovo, Albania, Northern Macedonia, Northern Greece, Montenegro, and Southern Serbia). The paper also reaches Albanian-speaking readers in other parts of Europe and USA. The journalists and editors did not claim the paper to be a multiethnic paper, but it did cover issues about minorities in Kosovo. During my fieldwork in the newsroom in 2005, the journalists went to several Serbian enclaves to write stories from there. The following is one example where I observed a news journalist in the field:

A senior reporter is working on an investigative feature story about minorities and the discussion about Kosovo's future status. This is a report she has worked on for several days. Today

[117] This has also changed in 2015. Now there are minority representatives in the executive leadership at *RTK*.

she goes to Gracanica, a Serbian enclave outside Prishtina, known for its famous 14th century Orthodox monastery. She wants to find out what ordinary Kosovo Serbs think about the situation in Kosovo in light of the coming negotiations between Prishtina and Belgrade. The reporter is Albanian, but she speaks Serbian fluently. First, she goes to a popular football betting place. Nobody wants to speak, so she enters the cafeteria Dolce Vita (same name as the café by the bridge in North Mitrovica[118]). The atmosphere is quiet and with sceptical looks from the tables, but she finds one person who agrees to answer some questions. Then she walks over to a shop across the street where she interviews the shop owner (Figure 7.1).

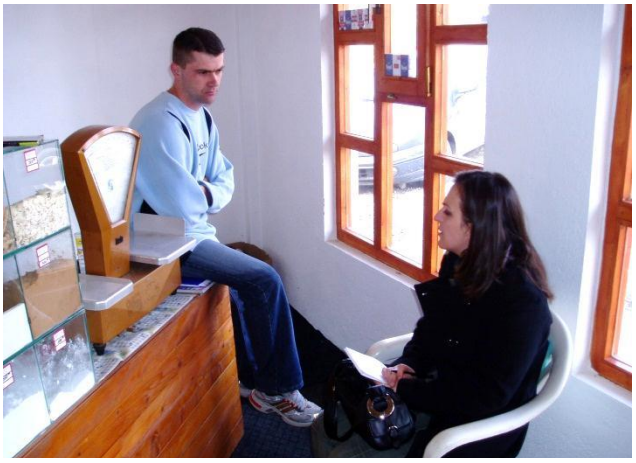

Figure 7.1. Koha Ditore's reporter interviews a Serbian shop owner in Gracanica, November 2005. Photo: Kenneth Andresen

The shop owner says he has a problem seeing a future here if Kosovo becomes independent and explains in detail about his fears. The Koha Ditore journalist is active and asks many follow-up questions. She also interviews a bank director who is more optimistic about the future. She has a good job in an international corporation. Finally, the reporter goes over to a large school (which is run under the Serbian school system[119]) in order to get some views from Serbian students. She is welcomed by a school official, waits in a room, while the official checked with the school principal if she could talk to students. After 30 minutes, her request for interviews is turned down following contact with the Belgrade school authorities. The journalist decides she had tried enough sources and returns to the newsroom to finish writing the article.

This was one of several stories about minority issues in Koha Ditore in November 2005. During my fieldwork in their newsroom (3 weeks), *Koha Ditore* published 8-10 investigative stories about living conditions for Serbs in Kosovo and matters concerning Serbian rights, such as a story about 14,000 property cases pending in the UNMIK legal system. The example above shows the challenges Albanian journalists face when reporting across ethnic lines. For an

[118] The 'Dolce Vita Cafe' on the north side of the Mitrovica Bridge is famous for being the hangout for the 'Bridgewatchers', who note whom crossed the bridge to and from the south side.

[119] In most of the Serbian enclaves, schools and health care institutions are part of the Serbian state system, and also run with financial assistance from Serbia. UNMIK has also supported the institutions financially. Many teachers, doctors and other officials in the Serbian enclaves have thus received two salaries; one from Serbia and one from UNMIK, something that Kosovar Albanians have protested against. This practice is according to UNSC 1244, and continues also after Kosovo's independence was declared in 2008. The Kosovar government wants to dismiss this practice which is now been looked into by the EULEX mission.

Albanian it is still a very sensitive issue to enter Serbian enclaves. They have to research and interview in Serbian. Very few Serbs in Kosovo speak Albanian, and even if they can, they will not use it inside the Serbian enclaves. During newsroom discussions in *Koha Ditore* during my fieldwork, a frustration came up at times about *forced coverage of minorities* covering the Serbian views came up at times. The journalists and editors expressed that covering the Serbian side of things is something they wanted to do, but they felt the international community expected them to do more of this. From time to time, stories about Serbs living in enclaves were even put on the front page. "We would probably not have done that if they were Albanians" (Editor-in-chief, personal interview). There was a sense of 'political correctness' in parts of the *Koha Ditore* reporting. They reluctantly gave Serbs coverage, because they are Serbs, not because the story was considered newsworthy.

7.3. Ethnic minority journalism in Kosovo

I have dedicated a large portion of this chapter on ethnicity to address the issue of *ethnic minority journalism*. I will argue, as a qualitative researcher, that it is of great value to investigate how issues in an ethnic divided society are experienced within the newsroom and from the minority journalists' point of view. The following example will show how ethnic minority journalists must make some specific considerations in a Serbian language newsroom in Kosovo.

As already stated in Chapter 5, *Radio Kontakt Plus* (*RKP*) is the largest Serbian radio station in Kosovo. It started broadcasting in the northern part of Mitrovica[120] in April 2000, as "a subsidiary of the Pristina based *Contact Radio*[121]" (Radio Kontakt Plus, 2006), a former multiethnic radio station in the Kosovar capital. Serbian journalists felt insecure in Prishtina after the war, and as a result, the new *Radio Kontakt Plus* was established in the northern part of Mitrovica. The former multiethnic profile of *Radio Kontakt* in Prishtina was hard to maintain in the Albanian-dominated capital, although two Albanian radio stations, Koha Radio and Radio 21, cooperated with the station. After the move to Mitrovica, the multiethnic profile was impossible

[120] The Serbian name for Mitrovica is Kosovska Mitrovica, and this has been the name for over 100 years. There have been two 'Mitrovica's' in Serbia; Sremska Mitrovica in Vojvodina, and Kosovska Mitrovica in Kosovo. Serbs traditionally use Kosovska Mitrovica but also to say that Serbia still has two 'Mitrovica's', meaning that Kosovska Mitrovica still is a part of Serbia, even if Kosovo declared its independence in 2008.

[121] *Contact Radio* was described in this way by the Swiss media development organization 'Mediehilfe': "The Pristina-based "Contact" Radio was founded in June 1998, as an open, communicative and informative radio station that links people regardless of their ethnicity, religious or political affiliation. The *Contact Radio* was the first multi-ethnic radio station in Kosovo broadcasting in Albanian, Serbian and Turkish languages and special radio shows intended for the Roma ethnic communities in the province". More of the history can be found at http://archiv.medienhilfe.ch/Projekte/KOS/RadioKontakt/2001CONT.htm (Accessed March 2, 2009) The radio station started up again after the war, but faced threats and attacks several times in Prishtina. A sister station, *Radio Contact Plus*, was therefore established in Mitrovica in April 2000.

to keep up, even there. The station hired Serbian and Roma journalists and their aim became to reach the Serbian and Roma population.

RKP was, according to its own description "poorly managed by its founders" (Radio Kontakt Plus 2006, p.5), who abandoned the station and took equipment and funds with them to Belgrade. The remaining staff and international donors, however, refused to let the station die and in 2004 the radio was registered as an NGO. *Radio Kontakt Plus'* aim is to be the major Serbian radio station for the northern part of Kosovo, covering the municipalities of Mitrovica, Zvecan, Leposavic and Zubin Potok, where the population is almost all Serbian. The station carries news, information programs, morning shows, feature programs, call-ins, and music shows. During my fieldwork in 2006, the radio station had 15 editorial staff members, who needed to do many different tasks. In addition to news work, most of them also hosted other shows at the station during the week[122]. This was in order to fill *RKP*'s 24-hour schedule. Since its beginning, *RKP* has been heavily financed by international donors. Most donors involved in media support are supporting minority media in post-conflict areas[123], and several donors chose to support *RKP*, which has profiled itself as a station that will, according to their Mission Statement, "contribute to the building of a democratic and multi-ethnic Kosovo"[124].

7.3.1. A case of minority journalism: Roma Mahalla

With the purpose of showing the *special challenges of a minority newsroom in post-war Kosovo*, I have included an extensive account[125] of how *RKP,* over several days, covered a major news story from idea to broadcast. Here I followed the journalists closely in the newsrooms, out in the field, and back at the newsroom, through systematic observations, informal conversations and interviews. This case shows the complexity and many special considerations that the Kosovar Serbian journalists face in their daily work:

Thursday, April 20, 2006, at 10:30 hours (Thursday before Orthodox Easter):
In the small newsroom of RKP in Northern Mitrovica (in Serbian: Kosovska Mitrovica) there is a discussion about a possible news story. The radio station has learned through journalist colleagues

[122] See further descriptions of *Radio Kontakt Plus* in chapter 5.
[123] International media support strategies are discussed more in depth in chapter 9.
[124] *RKP* aims: "To provide our audience with accurate, impartial and in-depth information […] To promote the values of a civil society and its democratic principles […] To contribute to the building of mutual trust, understanding and tolerance among Kosovo's various ethnic and religious communities […] To promote the concept of human rights and to investigate human rights violation and all types of political, ethnic and religious discrimination […] To develop contacts with media in Albanian and other languages in Kosovo and, in that way enable free flow of information across ethnic boundaries" (Radio Kontakt Plus, 2006, p.4)
[125] The account is written in *present tense* in an attempt to order to recreate the atmosphere during the observation.

that the United Nation Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) plans to have a ground-breaking ceremony of the new Roma Mahalla[126] soon. UNMIK has not confirmed when it is, but it is very soon, maybe tomorrow, rumors say. But it may also be postponed, since it is now clear that the SRSG[127] has decided that he will attend. This is a major event in Mitrovica, and the editor is frustrated, since RKP hasn't heard anything from UNMIK yet. One of the two Roma news journalists in the radio station confirms this. "I haven't heard anything about this. It just shows how accidental information from UNMIK is. I feel they [UNMIK] do not want us there". The editor says he will follow up and try to find out more.

Friday, April 21, at 16:30 hours (Good Friday):

UNMIK calls RKP and wants to talk with the director. They tell her that the Roma Mahalla ground-breaking ceremony is postponed until Tuesday, April 25. Furthermore, they want to know the names of the journalists from the radio station that will come. The director promises to call them back with the names.

Tuesday April 25, 10:00 hours:

RKP will send one journalist, a female Serb reporter, to the ground-breaking ceremony. The station's Roma news reporters are not going there[128]. The reporter walks from the radio station down to the Dolce Vita Café close to the Mitrovica Bridge. There she meets some other journalists from Serbian media in Northern Kosovo. They all enter a van which takes them across the bridge (where they must change licence plates from Serbian to UNMIK plates[129]) before they continue in South Mitrovica to Roma Mahalla.

11.30 hours:

At the construction site, about 20-25 journalists have already arrived from all over Kosovo. Here are both Albanian and Serbian media. They walk around, greet each other and chat. Journalists know each other across ethnic lines. Many representatives from NGOs are also present, both international and local officials. A media officer tries to organize the group of journalists and tells them to step into a secluded area, behind ropes. She seems frustrated, since the journalists keep

[126] Roma Mahalla – a Roma neighborhood in South Mitrovica, where around 8,000 Roma inhabitants lived before 1999. Shortly after the NATO war ended, the population in Roma Mahalla was chased out and the area was burnt down. Since then, the Roma population of Mitrovica has been replaced in various refugee camps in Northern Kosovo, in addition to having moved to various European countries. (UNHCR Website http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/news/opendoc.htm?tbl=NEWS&id=45f5743a4 , accessed May 29, 2010)

[127] Special Representative of the [UN] Secretary General, the Danish diplomat Søren Jessen-Petersen. He had this position from June 2004 to June 2006.

[128] The reconstruction of Roma Mahalla is a controversial project for two reasons: 1) The Roma population is afraid of moving back to South Mitrovica after their homes were destroyed there. Secondly, the houses that UNMIK and NGOs are building there are mostly apartment buildings. The Roma community have argued against this kind of housing, which they say break with their traditional single-home buildings. So, the Roma community has been critical to the way the reconstruction process has been done.

[129] In North Mitrovica, only Serbian licence plates are recognized, while south of the Ibar River, UNMIK plates are used. It is common for the few cars crossing the river to have two sets of licence plates, for security reasons.

walking around (they are tired of being ordered into a cage-like area). There are very few other people around. Only one Roma family is present, they are invited since they have said that they will consider moving back to the new Roma Mahalla. Most Romas stay away today.

<u>12:00 hours:</u>

The Guests of Honor arrive. They are SRSG Søren Jessen Petersen, Kosovo's Prime Minister Agim Ceku, and Chief of KFOR, General Guiseppe Valotto. The journalists reluctantly find their space in the secluded journalist area. Then there are speeches from the VIPs. The radio reporters record sound from the loudspeakers, since they are not allowed to go to the platform. After this, the ground-breaking ceremony starts, where SRSG and the Prime Minister shovels cement down in a hole. This is a photo opportunity, and the reporters gather around. The event wraps up with a short joint press conference (Figure 7.2), where the two give comments to reporters.

Figure 7.2. Prime Minister Agim Ceku and SRSG Søren Jessen Petersen's press conference at the Roma Mahalla April 25, 2006. Photo: Kenneth Andresen

This multi-ethnic press conference brings forth an interesting issue that illustrates some of the complexity of minority journalism in Kosovo; language. The Albanian journalists ask in Albanian (when talking to both PM Ceku and SRSG), while the Serbian journalists ask in English. The Serbian language is not voiced a lot here on the South side of the river. However, this changes shortly when the reporter from RKP gets a chance to interview PM Ceku – in Serbian. Ceku knows Serbian well, and he spends more time talking to Serbian journalists than to reporters from the Albanian media (Figure 7.3). The RKP reporter tells me the Serbian media in Kosovo likes Ceku better than former Prime ministers Bajram Kosumi and Ramush Haradinaj, since he speaks Serbian fluently. This is an interesting comment, since Serbian authorities consider Ceku a war criminal after he was a high ranking officer in the Croatian Army during the war between Croatia and Serbia in 1992.

Figure 7.3. The *RKP* reporter (right) interviews Kosovo's Prime Minister Agim Ceku at the Roma Mahalla groundbreaking ceremony April 25, 2006. Photo: Kenneth Andresen

The RTK reporter asks why Romas are not present at the ceremony, and what if Romas refuse to return to the new Roma Mahalla. She also asks some questions about the issue about a possible split of Mitrovica into two municipalities (one Albanian - dominated in the south and one Serbian – dominated in the north). She wants to use the opportunity to interview him about several matters, since she will edit two stories: Today, she will finish a news story about the ground breaking ceremony from today's news, including the fact point that Romas were not there and will not return to Roma Mahalla. Tomorrow she will complete a more comprehensive 'package' story about the future of Mitrovica – should it be one municipality or divided into two; one predominantly Serbian north of the Ibar river and an Albanian municipality south of the bridge. This is a burning issue.

14:00 hours:

The van with the reporters heads back to North Mitrovica and puts back the Serbian licence plates before it crosses the bridge to the North side. The reporters return to their newsrooms in Mitrovica and Zvecan[130].

15:00 hours:

Back in the RKP newsroom, the reporter is busy editing her story for the afternoon broadcast. She is also correspondent for Radio Free Europe (RFE)[131], and she now edits two versions of the Roma Mahalla story, one for RKP and one for RFE. "I have to make two versions, using different names; one local Serbian version and one international one, since I have to change some names", she explains (personal interview). Names of places are delicate, and they become different in the two reports:

Radio Kontakt Plus version:	*Radio Free Europe version:*
Kosovska Mitrovica	*Mitrovica*
Serb Autonomy Province of Kosovo	*UNMIK Area*
Kosovo and Metohija	*Kosovo*

The use of these different names shows the sensitive situation about names of places in Kosovo. The Serbian media, including Radio Kontakt Plus, uses the Serbian names, while international media uses international recognized names. The Albanian media uses Albanian versions of names of places[132]. "These are very sensitive issues", the reporter says, "and I must do no mistakes here whatsoever" (personal interview). The journalist edits the story and it is broadcasted in the main news bulletin at 16:00 hours.

The following is a transcript from Serbian of the full content of the story as it was transmitted:

> Reporter's voice (over background sound):
> *"The Chief of UNMIK Soren Jessen-Petersen, the Italian general Guiseppe Valotto and the Premier of Kosovo Agim Ceku placed the corner stone for two residential buildings in the Roma area in*

[130] A town a few kilometers north of Mitrovica.
[131] *Radio Free Europe (RFE)* is an international news and broadcast organization, broadcasting to Eastern and Southeastern Europe, Russia, the Caucasus, the Middle East, and Central and Southwest Asia. It broadcasts in 28 languages to 21 countries, including Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Russia, and the Central Asian republics. Headquartered in Prague, *RFE* maintains 19 local bureaus and more than 750 freelancers. (see http://www.rferl.org/) , accessed April 15, 2015.
[132] E.g., Kosova (Kosovo), Prishtina (Pristina), Ferizaj (Urosevac), etc.

Southern part of Kosovska Mitrovica today. With this, works on reconstruction of the Roma area has officially started. Before the conflict in 1999, 8000 of Romas used to live this area. Now, they are displaced and they live in camps on the north of Kosovo, in Serbia and Montenegro, and abroad. Chief of UNMIK, Soren Jessen-Petersen states that this event marks a start of the future of a new Kosovo in which all ethnic communicates would aspire to the basis of mutual trust and would exist in mutual life."

SRSG Jessen-Petersen's voice (in English, with voice-over in Serbian):

"- Not only re-building of houses means return: re-building of trust and mutual life among all communities in Kosovo are very important tasks. That's why I want to call all Romas to return to their homes. It seems that in moments like this one, every day builds an important event, denoting further steps forward in building of new Kosovo. We expect the end of destruction and beginning of a better future for people who had suffered a lot during last seven years".

PM Ceku's voice (in Serbian):

"-The responsibility of the Kosovo Government doesn't stop with building of two residential buildings in the Roma - camp. Not only that we will secure homes for many people, we will also secure co-existence of mutual life and that's the way whole Kosovo should go. When you go back you'll have neighbors and police, and you won't need special security, because you'll establish good relationships with other communities, and that's what you should long for".

While she is editing, another of the RKP journalists comes back after attending a press conference held by a Roma citizen organization. It was held as a protest at exactly the same time as the ground-breaking ceremony. The journalists were told that the Roma community does not want to move into the new Roma Mahalla, and that they were not invited to the ceremony today. She edits her story quickly. This is the content of the story:

Reporter's voice:

"Romas, for whom the house corner stone was placed today, weren't present at the ceremony, because it's against will of the displaced Romas. This was presented today by one of their representatives in Kosovska Mitrovica, Skender Busani at the press conference organized as reaction to the placing of the foundation stone."

Roma community leader Skender Busani's voice:

"We didn't want to be present, because it's against our will. I don't know to whom they are building that, because we can't live in tall buildings; we used to live in houses and we had our own ones. We only want to return, but to where we lived before."

Reporter's voice:

"Indeed, Romas from the refugee camps want their houses to be built at the places where they were before. In the Roma area in south of Kosovska Mitrovcia, 8000 Romas lived before the war in '99. Today they are displaced in camps on the north of Kosovo, Serbia and Montenegro and abroad. The Roma area in the southern part of Mitrovica was the biggest Roma area in the Balkans before 1999."

This extensive example of news reporting shows some of the *specific considerations a minority journalist* in Kosovo *must make*. RKP differs from the three other newsrooms in this dissertation by the fact that it has a Serbian target group[133]. Selecting news for a minority audience in Kosovo limits the production of news. First, the *potential audience for RKP is geographically limited*, and the population size is smaller than the capital Prishtina. The station has defined its audience to be the municipalities of Mitrovica, Zvecan, Leposavic, and Zubin Potok, where the population is 98 percent Serbian. Second, there are *limitations of movement for the reporters*. Third, the *language situation* is complicated, and names of places are considered very sensitive issues due to the history and the politics of identity in Kosovo.

7.4. Minority journalism in times of pressure

During the time of the fieldwork in 2006, *RKP* was an example where journalists were frequently under *pressure* from several of the parties that wanted media to be more pro-Serb and to promote a stronger resistance against any plans of secession of Kosovo from Serbia. However, the editor-in-chief especially tried to fight strongly against influence from Serbian politicians or citizens in Northern Mitrovica, who said that "You are not Serb enough!". The Serbian Radical Party, as well as The Serbian Socialist Party (formerly headed by Slobodan Milosevic) have had many supporters in Northern Mitrovica.

In order to reach *news sources* in this environment with strong pressure, the journalists and editors used their *personal networks* when obtaining information for sources. Family, friends and acquaintances were common. "If you know people personally, it is no problem. But if you don't know them personally, it can be very difficult [...] usually people you don't know, don't want to cooperate [...] they are afraid and nervous" (RKP journalist, personal interview). The lack of trust in journalists was very visible in Mitrovica, just as it was in Prishtina. Nevertheless, the journalists were out on the streets interviewing ordinary people a lot about current issues, and vox pops were frequently used in the news shows. The editor explained this by saying that they wanted the voice of common people on the air, so that politicians do not dominate the news, which, as we have seen, has been very common in Kosovar protocol journalism.

One of the largest frustrations for the minority journalists in Kosovo when it comes to daily news work has been the *lack of freedom of movement*. During my fieldwork at the radio station I observed that the feeling of being locked in North Mitrovica was wearing the journalists down. They met limitations of movement every day. They said it felt unsafe to move outside Serb

[133] The Roma population is also a target group through the station's Roma programs, but the main listener group of RKP is the Serb population in Northern Kosovo.

areas. But they still found solutions. "It's hard, but I always find a way around it. I have good cooperations with Albanian colleagues and with representatives of the Temporary Authorities[134]" (*RKP* journalist, personal interview). The journalists showed a great sense of creativity in solving this problem. At the same time, the frustration was immense. *RKP* journalists also needed to travel to meet sources in Prishtina and in Serbian enclaves throughout Kosovo. They needed to contact KFOR, KPS[135], or UNMIK that in turn provided transport. This required extra planning. These organizations could not always assist the journalists. In these situations, the journalists had to do their interviews via telephone.

RKP pursued *sources across ethnic lines* more than what the Albanian newsrooms in Prishtina did. Throughout the whole news production process during my observations in 2006, the editors and journalists chose their sources of information, no matter what ethnicity they came from. Being a minority radio station with few sources, one might argue that they did not have a choice. However, knowing that only to a small degree do most Albanian and Serbian media in Kosovo cross ethnic borders, *RKP* showed a quite active practice in this matter. Not only did they try to balance political reporting with Albanian sources, they also covered stories about daily life for Albanians, much like the Albanian media in Prishtina covered Serbian daily life. However, a major difference was that it is harder for Serbian journalists to reach Albanians than vice versa. This was due to their fear of limit of movement. It was generally harder for Serbs to travel to an Albanian village than for an Albanian to go to a Serbian village. It was not connected to one being more dangerous than the other, but rather to the general limitations of movement for Serbs in Kosovo. This was a frustrating situation for the young journalists wanting to cover "the other side" and it also limited the journalistic product:

> For me as a journalist, nationalities don't matter. I like to make life stories. For example, there are many Albanian villages in Kosovo surrounded by Serbs; this is interesting. And now when Serbs are returning [from Serbia to Kosovo], stories about this is actualized. But they return to places which are unreachable for us. They are far away, and because there is no freedom of movement, you can't go there and record [the voices] and make interesting stories (*RKP* journalist, personal interview).

The station's young staff often called Albanian sources and talked mostly in English to them, although some also speak Albanian. And from time to time, they walk over the bridge to the Albanian-populates southern side to meet sources there.

[134] The temporary authorities: PISG (Provisional Institutions of Self-Government) – the name of the Kosovar governmental institutions from 1999-2008.
[135] Kosovo Police Service

> I go by myself and do a story. Until now, nothing bad has happened, neither verbal nor physical. It's the same in Pristina. But there are places in Kosovo, especially Metohija[136] and Drenica[137] where after 1999, people simply don't like to hear Serbian words or to see Serbs (*RKP* journalist, personal interview).

While crossing the ethnic lines in reporting, one of the journalists had an interesting experience about Albanian and Serbian official sources talking to their 'own' and the other side's journalists, as well as UNMIK sources. He said that in his experience, Albanian sources are honest to Serbian media and Serbian sources are honest to Albanian media, but when they talked to media within their ethnic group, they were focused on keeping positions and to be politically correct:

> …if Albanian sources want to speak they tell you the truth, UNMIK, they never tell you the whole story and Serbian sources tell what their society expect from them to tell. The same is with Albanian media, when they ask Serbs for opinion, Serbs tell the truth (*RTK* journalist, personal interview).

As we have seen, the minority journalists in the Serb areas in Kosovo live in *intersections between ethnic nationalism, multiple identities, and social and economically difficulties*. The *RKP* journalists, being a part of the minority community, aimed to present a quite complex picture of news that they hoped would give their listeners a better understanding of what happened around them.

The *order of the news* in the newscasts were arranged from local to global, starting from Mitrovica, then Kosovo, Serbia, the Balkan region, and the world. There was a lot of information to be given, and the newsroom struggled to know what news they could select and omit. But the editors said they felt they had an obligation to keep the Mitrovica and the Kosovo news. The editor-in-chief complained about the lack of coverage of Kosovo in the national Serbian news, *RTS*[138], which most Serbs in Kosovo also tune into:

> ...I feel need to give them information's about Kosovo, they can hear 30 – 45 second, maybe one minute about Kosovo on national TV, that is tragic. What is also strange is that international newspapers write more about Kosovo than [media in] Belgrade. That shows us how much Belgrade is interested in Kosovo and for the people here (*RKP* editor-in-chief, personal interview).

[136] Methohija is the Serbian name of the western parts of Kosovo. In Serbian, Kosovo is called 'Kosovo and Metohija', or in short, 'Kosmet'.
[137] The Drenica Valley is the central part of Kosovo, where the UCK started and had its stronghold from 1997 to 1999.
[138] Radio Television Serbia, cf. www.rts.rs (accessed January 26, 2015).

The journalists expressed a clear eagerness to try to make the complexity of the political situation somewhat easier to understand for their audience. They faced a difficult balance between Mitrovica, Pristina and Belgrade, let alone the international community in Kosovo. We have seen the complexity of the news that *RKP* attempts to give to their listeners, from Mitrovica and beyond. When editing the stories, they tried, in order to make complex news more understandable, to make so-called 'news packages', including sound bites, interviews, vox pops, and also comments and discussions between experts.

A final aspect of the minority radio station is the issue of the *'minority in the minority'*. At the time of my research in the newsroom in April 2006, *RKP* had two Roma journalists, who produced news and current affair programs for the Roma population in northern Kosovo. This was being made possible through funding to the station from international donations that target minority broadcasts. The Roma group speaks both Serbian and Albanian, besides the Roma language. This part of the population have been scattered from Mitrovica since June 1999 and live in several refugee camps north of Mitrovica[139] or they have moved to other places in Former Yugoslavia or elsewhere in Europe[140]. The radio offered news in the Roma language every afternoon, right after the main 16:00 newscast[141]. Here, the news was mostly translated and shortened stories from the Serbian news, similarly as how they produced in *RTK* (cf. 7.2). In addition, from time to time, the Roma journalists produce stories exclusively from the Roma community. However, this was rare. One of the journalists complained about lack of resources, but he claimed to provide the Roma population in Northern Kosovo with news to the best of his abilities. He said it was important for the Romas to receive "news they can trust" (personal interview). Although they speak and understand both Serbian and Albanian news, he said "they always feel sidelined" (personal interview). However, he stressed that the Roma identity was strong. Therefore, news in their language was important.

The situation of the Roma journalists exemplifies the struggles of this ethnic group in that they 'fall between two stools' both in the Albanian and Serbian communities, as they do throughout media outlets in Eastern Europe (Erjavec, 2001). Recent studies of the situation for the ROE[142] communities in Kosovo show that the overall situation for them has not improved in terms of leadership positions (Sigona, 2012). Besides the integration of minority language news in *RTK*, little seems to have happened in this area in Kosovo under many years of Albanian majority government.

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[139] The situation for the Roma refugees in Kosovo is still serious; cf. http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/belgrade-shuns-plight-of-kosovo-roma-refugees (accessed January 26, 2015).

[140] Since 2006, Romas have begun to move back to the new Roma Mahalla that is being rebuilt on the same location as the old. However, most Romas say they are scared of moving back; they say they don't feel safe living on the south side of Mitrovica after what happened after the war when they were chased away.

[141] It started around 16:20, depending on the length of the 16:00 news.

[142] ROE: Roma, Egyptian, and Ashkali minority communities in Kosovo.

7.5. Conclusion

The role of ethnicity in Kosovar journalism has changed from pre-war to post-war news production. It still plays a significant role, but it is has changed its primary role: it has moved from a focus on strengthening *ethnic conflicts* to strengthening *national and ethnic identities*. As discussed in Chapter 4, a key part of Kosovo's media history from 1980 until the war in 1999, was characterized by media being an active part of the ethnic conflicts between Albanian and Serbs. This is true also for Kosovo's neighboring countries with media contributing to the unrest (Hammond, 2005). This chapter's study of ethnicity's role in Kosovar media after the war has shown how ethnic division in Kosovo is a persistent factor to which the newsrooms must relate. At the same time, it shows how newsrooms in post-war Kosovo attempt to bridge the ethnic divide both structurally and journalistically, through organization of the news staff as well as individual journalists reporting across ethnic divisions.

In post-war Kosovo, ethnic identity is just one of many issues that the journalists are struggling to balance every day. The Kosovar-Albanian journalists' ethnic identity is tied to the Albanian nation; this means not only the Albanians in Kosovo, but also Albania and the Albanian-speaking areas of Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece. Therefore, one can find stories also from these areas. *Koha Ditore's* section 'Arberia' includes these areas. The ethnic identities of the Albanians transcend nation states. For the Serbian minority journalists, their national identity is primarily with Serbia.

A visible point of ethnic division in post-war journalism in Kosovo is the *separation of target groups*. This is visible in the high volume of stories on politics and the building of Kosovo as a transitional society and national issues relating to Kosovo's status and the Albanian majority population in the Albanian majority media. The minority media focuses on issues relating to the minority population, especially the Serbs. However the fieldwork in the newsrooms revealed that the Serbian radio station *RKP* covered stories on politics in Prishtina to a larger degree than the Albanian media covered minority issues. This shows a larger degree of crossing ethnic lines from the minority media than is the case in the Albanian media sector.

A second example of ethnic divisions in the post-war newsrooms in Kosovo is the *complex and difficult situation of the minority newsrooms*. The newsroom study of *Radio Kontakt Plus* (*RKP*), outlined in this chapter, revealed a daily life of political pressure, limitation of movement, and journalists' sensitivity to risks. In terms of political pressure, *RKP* claimed they aimed at not being controlled by political powers, neither in Belgrade nor in Prishtina. The editors and journalists proclaimed independence. However, during the interviews for this dissertation they revealed several incidents of indirect political pressure, as well as from fellow

Serbs in Northern Mitrovica. Limitations in movement, risks, and limited sources are parts of their daily life. Nevertheless, they still crossed ethnic borders in news reporting.

The coexistence of newsrooms is peaceful, but the daily practice is still divided between Albanian and Serbian newsrooms. For the Albanian media a major issue throughout news production is the issue of *nation building* on a national Kosovar scene, including attempts to cover the life of minorities. In the Serbian minority media, the focus is on *minority issues*, such as security, return of refugees, preservation of culture, and language. The Serbian media in Kosovo has a stronger ethnic agenda, not unlike the Albanian media had during Milosevic's rule. It is safe to say that the cause of survival and ethnic identity building has changed from the Albanian media in the 1980s and 1990s to the Serbian media after 1999. In spite of attempts to bridge the ethnic divide, the media in Kosovo still is and feels divided. There are clear attempts to bridge the divide, but my observations confirm that in spite of optimistic attempts, the division is still present.

Chapter 8: Journalistic routines (1999-2006)

8.1. Introduction: Post-war news production

This chapter will analyze the third topic of post-war journalism in Kosovo that is covered in chapters 5-8 of this dissertation; the routines in day-to-day news production in post-war Kosovo. This contemporary aspect is vital for the analysis of the development of journalism in Kosovo. It analyzes the working conditions for journalists and editors in post-war Kosovo. Its foundation can be found in the second part of the dissertation's research question in Chapter 1 […] "*demanding conditions for journalism production in today's unstable post-war Kosovo", (cf. 1.1.).* It will concentrate on the special conditions for the day-to-day news production in the four newsrooms. As described in the Methodology chapter (Chapter 3), the fieldwork was conducted from September 2005 to May 2006, a few years after the end of the 1999-1999 war. The special conditions for the news production I have identified are the following: First, the journalists' and editors' background; second, the challenges in the news production processes; and third, the straining relationships with news sources. These combine to form a picture of the *special conditions for news production in a post-war society, where Kosovo is my case.* The time of this fieldwork represents a time of complex historical-political transitions in Kosovo, shortly before the declaration of independence in 2008 (Ker-Lindsay, 2010).

8.2. The journalists' and editors' background

8.2.1. War and trauma

The first part of the chapter will discuss the journalists' *background* from the period of the war, to see if this is a special condition in post-war news production. One of the expected questions in a chapter on post-war news production in Kosovo is: How are the journalists psychologically affected by their *experience of war*? To that question, this dissertation gives limited answers. During the interviews with the journalists in the newsrooms, several heart-breaking stories were told about losing loved ones in the war, about fleeing from massacres, living in refugee camps, being an Internally Displaced Person (IDP) and being separated from families. While the Albanian journalists have strong memories of the oppression and war at the end of the 1990s, the Serbian journalists have been forced to move around in former Yugoslavia, and many of them have experienced a great deal of insecurity and fear since the Serbian forces left Kosovo in June 1999 when UNMIK and KFOR took control (Goff, 1999). Several of the journalists and editors have therefore memories of war they carried with them into the newsrooms in the first

years after the war. The personal traces of war and trauma were difficult to detect directly in the daily news production, but emerged in the interviews for this dissertation. The difficulty in bringing this subject up is confirmed by other studies of trauma in post-war Balkans. There are studies of post-war stress among Kosovar Albanian refugees (Littlewood, 2002), but little data on how this affects daily life of journalists. However, the area of traumatic stress among journalists in generally understood as a growing research area, where international reporters in particular have been the focus of interest[143] (Berrington and Jemphrey, 2003). This chapter's contribution to documentation of post-war stress is therefore mainly through my observations and interviews, where the stress of the post-war conditions for journalism is the main finding. The analysis is limited in the aspect of detecting the deeper psychological influences on the individual journalists.

8.2.2. Gender roles

In the four newsrooms researched, there was a *rather equal division between male and female news employees*; 22 of the 50 journalists, or 44 %, were women. However, men dominated the positions of editors; 18 of the 22 editors (82%) in the four newsrooms were male. When asked about how they were recruited, the journalists explained that there had been a tendency in Kosovar to employ many young female journalists in the newsrooms. However, the threshold to reach the status of editor seemed higher for women, which is also confirmed in regional studies (Kosovo Media Assistance Program, 2006). Kosovo is characterized by traditional gender roles, and anthropological studies have shown that men have been the providers and the women have had a more traditional role of taking care of the home (Backer, 2003). In houses and working places, men and women have traditionally been apart. However, in the modern workplaces in Kosovo, including newsrooms, this does not seem to be the case; men and women work closely side by side. The workplaces practice more gender equality than in private homes. Although the men were in majority among editors, I observed during the fieldwork in 2005 and 2006 that there was constant social and professional interaction across gender lines and between journalists and editors in the newsrooms. The women dominated at least as much of the social interaction in the newsrooms as men. But it is harder for women to stay away from home all day at work. The combination of traditional motherhood in Kosovo and a full-time job is demanding. Several of the female journalists explained this in the interviews: A young female *Express* journalist noted, "There have been many obstacles for female journalists in Kosovo, but step by step they are disappearing. But the long working days can be hard. I start

[143] The Dart Center for Journalism & Trauma is a project of The Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism that focuses specifically on traumatic aspects of reporting violence, war, conflicts and tragedies. See http://dartcenter.org (accessed October 3, 2014)

working at 10:00 and go home at around 18:00. But many work until 22:00 and even over midnight", says a young female journalist in *Express* (personal interview).

8.2.3. Previous experience: Learning by fixing[144]

As described in Chapter 4, several of the journalists in the four newsrooms gained news production practice during the war in Kosovo. What effect has this experience had on the journalists? In conflict areas, journalists frequently find themselves as members of multiple professional and social communities. Studies of journalists in Ethiopia (Skjerdal, 2012) and Israel (Zandberg & Neider, 2005) reveal how reporters are drawn between a *professional cause*, such as reporting facts, and one or more *political cause* , which might be reporting in line with a political or ethnical group. In Kosovo, journalists experienced these shifts strongly when fixers travelled with international reporters during the 1997-1999 armed conflicts. During this period, local journalism shifted from *political reporting* to *eyewitness reporting* (Cf. Chapter 4). Several journalists and editors confirm that the dramatic events changed the reporting in Kosovo. Formerly, the local journalists felt they were under political control, not only by the Serbian authorities but also under heavy political pressure from Albanian politicians. The escalation of violence in Kosovo from 1997 brought a new kind of journalism which the newsrooms had not practiced before. The Editor-in-Chief of *Koha Ditore* remembers:

> It was the first time that the journalism [here] was like that. The practice of journalism here until then was controlled then and all the journalists were influenced under the parties or under the higher authorities. This was the first time that we were doing something [on our own] and we were refusing to listen to anybody telling us how we do it (personal interview).

The emergency reporting during the war (1997-1999) made the journalists also conscious of a cause, or a purpose, of their reporting, but the main issue was to still bring news about the war to their audience. By travelling with international reporters they were able to fill a need for information as to where the fighting took place and where the roadblocks were located. As the editor of *Koha Ditore* recognized, the combination of a cause and the reporting of events and facts transformed local journalists into eyewitness reporters. However, they had to do this under cover of being translators and drivers for the international reporters. Their own functions of being reporters for local Kosovar media had to remain a secret at the Serbian checkpoints. A *RTK* journalist recollects the security challenges:

[144] The activities of fixers in Kosovo are also discussed in Chapter 4 (cf. 4.4).

> The situation was very hard and it was much easier to say that you were just a translator for security reasons. If you said that you were a journalist and you were with a foreign journalist, then it was dangerous for both to travel around Kosova. That's why we used foreign journalists to prevent something from happening to us. So we preferred to say [to the Serbian police officers] that we were just translators (*RTK* journalist, personal interview).

In the interviews for this study, the journalists and editors highlighted how observing the reporting methods from the international reporters helped them change their own kind of reporting. The close connection that developed between the foreign reporters and the local fixers made the Kosovar journalists look at the more *experienced correspondents as mentors*. They tell in the interviews how they tried to mirror the way they reporters worked, and how it led to *Koha Ditore* building up their own stories in the same way. The journalists copied the methods when returning to their local newsrooms. This was repeated day after day. The former fixers say they learned more about journalism from this practical experience during the war than from formal training courses after the war. These findings from Kosovo confirm studies from other areas where local fixers say they benefitted professionally from working along international reporters in conflict zones, especially the Middle East (Murrell, 2015).

The first months after the end of the 1999 NATO war can be characterized as a period of demand and opportunism with regard to fixers and journalism in Kosovo. The situation for the local journalists in Kosovo changed dramatically. A multitude of new media outlets were established, and some old (that had previously been closed by the Serbian authorities) were reopened. This led to a threefold development. First, it meant recruitment of hundreds of young people to the local media, hoping for a career in media. Second, it happened at the same time as international organizations established themselves in Kosovo. Third, there were still many Western journalists reporting from Kosovo, needing local fixers. There was a great demand for competent local journalists. International organizations offered local journalists much better wages than local media, and many journalists left the newsrooms and started working for organizations such as the UN, OSCE, EU, and numerous NGOs. The international willingness to fund of these organizations was also great in 1999, and Kosovo was 'flooded' by international staff in need of local experts around them. Working as translators and advisors for international organizations was a much more lucrative profession than journalism[145] . At the same time, the international community offered a multitude of training courses for local journalists, where the major aim was to professionalize the local media.

[145] The public schools in Kosovo experienced the same kind of 'brain drain', in that the international organizations attracted hundreds of English-speaking teachers to work for them as translators. They paid several times the wages they would get in schools. This led to a serious lack of teachers in Kosovo schools the first years after the war.

The journalists and editors interviewed for this research remember this time with highly mixed emotions. Although they are thankful for the international aid, the overall assessment is that this post-war environment was one of almost euphoria, where chaos superseded development of journalism in Kosovo. The harsh conditions during the war were tough, but it had taught the local journalists what 'real' journalism was, and the cooperation with international journalists was a vital part of this. Now, after the war, and with the newly won freedom, many new problems arrived. *Koha Ditore*'s editor-in-chief was frustrated when losing many journalists who left the newspaper to work as translators for international organizations or as fixers for international reporters after the war, being offered high salaries for their local expertise:

> The staff which was working for us was the staff which we knew. They knew the field, they knew the language, they knew Albanian, they knew Serbian, they knew English, and they knew the places. They knew the map of Kosovo, they knew most of the villages; and they had connections. When KFOR and UNMIK moved in, they needed the people who were just like that and there were not too many like that. They would approach the journalists and say: "OK I would give to you 2000 or 4000 Deutsche Marks[146]. Come work for me. Numbers of NGOs all needed all those sort of people who had the connections and other things so you can just use them. We [in *Koha Ditore]* did not have that kind of money to keep those people. And then of course there were international media like *Reuters*, *AP*, and newspapers who felt that now the war was over and they could bring back their correspondents and that they could find those who really have standards and could work with them. They paid 1000, 2000 Deutsche Marks easily. Again, that was not a big money for *Reuters*, but it was big money for us. We couldn't keep our people (*Koha Ditore* editor, personal interview).

In terms of *formal education*, the journalists' experience is characterized by a society with an *unstructured school system.* The Kosovar Albanian journalists attended the parallel school system (elementary school, high school and university) in the 1990s (Malcolm, 2002; Judah, 2008). They met secretly at times; they were questioned and harassed by Serbian police and had very few books, desks and other necessary material. Some of the older journalists recall how their ordinary education was suddenly cut off, and how they had to meet in large groups, to get an education. In the interviews for this dissertation, several journalists expressed frustration over this period of their lives. On the Serbian side, the situation was also difficult. The Serbian journalists in *Radio Kontakt Plus* had a different experience. They lived through unrest and wars all over Former Yugoslavia. Several of them moved from Kosovo to Croatia, via Bosnia, different places in Serbia, and back to Kosovo. Their education was thus very fragmented, and several of

[146] Deutsche Mark was the currency in Kosovo in 1999.

them felt trapped in Mitrovica, unable to attend Pristina University, which some of them had done during the 1990s.

The majority of the young journalists in this study attended university besides working full-time as journalists, trying either to make up for lost education, or to get a degree. They felt a journalism job is not a secure one in Kosovo, and they feel they need an education. This means that the majority worked in the newsroom during the day and studied at night. The result of the unfinished and unstructured education was that very few of the journalists in the newsrooms had a formal degree, something that many pursued in order to be more prepared for a difficult job market also outside the media. The combination of a full-time job in the newsrooms and being a full-time student is not uncommon, and this became clear through my interviews.

Eight of the 50 journalists interviewed in this study studied journalism at the 'Faik Konica' journalism school in Prishtina, a small private vocational school with many students, but little equipment. Also, several of the leading Kosovar editors and journalists had been instructors there. Journalists in the newsrooms having attended this school said they got a good theoretical foundation, but no practical experience. However, they claimed the school prepared them for the practical work in the newsrooms.

Most of the journalists started in the profession after the war in 1999. However, a significant number of the young Kosovar Albanian journalists started working in journalism during the 1990s, during the war, and have thus experience from both war reporting and post-war journalism. They learned reporting 'on the job', being recruited into for example, *Koha Ditore*, where they were socialized into an environment where the job was twofold. Job number one was to give the Kosovar Albanian population information about the escalating fighting between UCK[147] and the Serbian forces. The documentation of the establishment of the armed Albanian resistance was important, but the most significant reporting became the documentation of the crimes against Albanian civilians. The second task was to follow Albanian politics at that time. There was a deep split between LDK, with Ibrahim Rugova at the helm, who opposed armed resistance, and other political parties like LKCK, which UCK to a large part was associated with (Bieber & Daskalovski, 2003; Clark, 2000; Malcolm 2002). The young journalists had a steep learning curve in covering a conflict which they were a part of. Journalists tell of dramatic moments when they travelled into the fighting areas, fearing being stopped at Serbian checkpoints.

Living through war has also given the journalists in the four newsrooms an *unstructured and coincidental kind of training.* Many of the journalists strongly maintained that their best war-time journalism training happened via their 'on the job' experience. As discussed earlier in this chapter, during the second half of the 1990s, an increasing number of international

[147] Also known as KLA (Kosovo Liberation Army).

journalists came to Kosovo to cover the war. *Koha Ditore* started publishing daily news although it was very dangerous for journalists to move around. At the same time, most foreign journalists that were at that time covering the developments in Kosovo used *Koha Ditore* (as the only daily Albanian – language newspaper at its time) as a base for information. Others worked as fixers and stringers for foreign news agencies such as *RAI, CNN and BBC*, and said in the interviews for this dissertation that working alongside international journalists was been the best learning experience for them. They said that they learned what 'real journalism' was, and covering human suffering, along with political development, gave them insight into how to select news.

In summary, the journalists in the four newsrooms had an unstructured *background*, characterized by the uncertainties of living through wars and conflicts. Their emotional and traumatic experiences from living under threats were present, although not easy to detect. Their background from living through war became visible when mapping their education and training that happened in an unstructured way where *opportunism* was a key factor. The journalists took opportunities of education as well as journalism practice when it was given. In interviews they expressed that this was a combination of contribution to the Kosovar society, as well as an attempt to realize personal aspects of employment and income.

8.3. News selection routines

The second part of this chapter will discuss news selection routines in the four newsrooms in post-war Kosovo. What specific challenges did the journalists meet in a post-war setting in Kosovo? The news production routines are discussed on basis of the systematic observations and interviews in the four newsrooms during the fieldwork in 2005-2006, as discussed in the Methodology Chapter (Chapter 3).

First, news selection in the four Kosovar newsrooms can be characterized by *informality*. As discussed in Chapter 5, the newsrooms are small and young, and most of the journalists are young. I will use the Serbian radio station *Radio Kontakt Plus* (*RTK*) in Mitrovica as my first case. There were few formal meetings during the time of my fieldwork. There was one weekly editorial conference - every Friday. Here, the editor-in-chief or the director led the discussion about the main stories, or planned news events over the weekend and beginning of next week, and there was a short evaluation of the previous week. This meeting tended to be more about administrative matters than about news. The daily news planning happened mostly in personal communication between the editor-in-chief, the director and the journalists. The editor-in-chief had over 10 years' experience from news production in various radio stations in Former Yugoslavia; he was by far the most experienced journalist in *RKP*. He also produced news himself throughout the day. There was very little time for news planning since he had to produce stories

himself. He checked various websites for news ideas and wrote short news stories for the bulletins, as well as coaching the younger news reporters. The journalists worked quite independently, but asked the editor for advice from time to time. The news editor said would like them to be more creative in terms of finding news stories: "The only problem [I have], I think, is to stimulate them to find some topic and to do it by themselves […] you have to tell them all the time; do this, do that" (*RKP* editor, personal interview).

News selection in the newspaper *Koha Ditore* in Prishtina was different. The editors were involved in news selection, but the relationship to the journalists varied from close cooperation to virtually no contact during the day. Unlike the newsrooms in *RKP* and *Express*, *Koha Ditore* had daily editorial meetings with the whole news staff. At 10:00, the staff met the editor in the 'Arberi' newsroom. They sat or stood in a circle, and the editor asked everybody about the progress of their work. Most of the time he brought a few story ideas, which was mostly events like press conferences and meetings that *Koha Ditore* should cover. There was no whiteboard or chalkboard in the newsroom to put assigned stories on; the whole assignment process was very informal with a mixture of meeting and one-to-one discussions. The morning meeting normally lasted five to ten minutes. The *Koha Ditore* journalists' dependency on the editors varied. The younger journalists consulted other journalists and editors constantly. Journalism was a new field for many of them. However, the more senior journalists worked more independently with their stories and they seemed to appreciate if the editors didn't get involved too much in their stories. Some of them said they felt they knew more than the editors, and preferred not being 'interrupted' by the senior editors. There was a visible distance and even tendencies of lack of trust between the journalists and the editors. One journalist put it like this:

> My honest opinion is that I am independent [from the editors] because of two reasons: First, some of them did not work out in the field [as journalists] and secondly, they cannot identify a journalistic story themselves. When they ask me if I have story ideas it shows both that we are independent and that the editors often don't have ideas themselves (*Koha Ditore* journalist, personal interview).

This reaction among some of the senior journalists can be traced to the frustration that politics and protocol news dominated the news in *Koha Ditore*. Several of the most experienced journalists reported for the paper during the 1997-1999 war, both alone and with international correspondents and said that the 'real' journalism that *Koha Ditore* was famous for, now was gone. However, the criticism towards the editors must be considered as unfair, since several of them worked for the paper in the 1990s and helped develop it as a respected news source for the Albanian population. Thus, the frustration can be interpreted as a general frustration over the current politics-dominated reporting, meaning protocol news.

News selection often happened *outside* the physical newsroom. After the morning meeting, most of the staff in *Koha Ditore* went for a cup of coffee, at the coffee shop next to the newsroom before work continued, sometimes a large group gathered around a table, other times two or three sat and talked over a coffee and a cigarette. During this coffee break, the discussions varied from personal matters to current affairs and the day's stories for *Koha Ditore*. In Kosovo, as across the Balkans, *the coffee shop functions as arena and tool of news work*, and also for news selection. The journalists in *Koha Ditore* and other newsrooms found this as the natural arena of work and socializing. During these breaks, news story ideas were discussed, sources were contacted and work was planned, along with friendly chat. It is significant to note how much of the news work happened *outside* the walls of the newsrooms in Kosovo, and the coffee shops were the busiest news hubs. The daily informal meetings between business people, journalists, government workers and unemployed people formed a nerve centre for facts, news, speculations, debates, gossip, and rumor. The use of coffee shops and extensive socializing over coffee and cigarettes is an example of a Balkan-style close fellowship moved into the work-zone.

In news selection and reporting, *Koha Ditore* practiced 'beat journalism', meaning that some of the journalists had specialized areas they covered. One journalist followed business and economic issues, another followed education, especially the troubled Prishtina University, and others again the many political events. In terms of news selection, the journalists received ideas from their own personal networks in their respective areas. Often these ideas were not channeled through the *Koha Ditore* editors, but went directly to the respective journalist. The editors did not mind this; on the contrary they encouraged the journalists to develop such networks:

> We have some journalists that have their own fields, so we expect them to know their area [...] I do not engage myself too much in the specific topic, when working in their field they will come with the idea. So, most of journalists have their field of interests (*Koha Ditore* news editor, personal interview).

Although the editors in the newsroom wanted the journalist to develop their own network of news sources, the young journalists found this difficult. A young female journalist said, "They [the editors] always ask for new stories or topics from you, which was very difficult in the beginning because as a young journalist you don't have sources within the institutions" (*Koha Ditore* journalist, personal interview). This is a universal problem for young journalists, and even harder in Kosovo, where mutual personal trust or distrust decides if you get ideas for stories from sources within politics or business. The senior editors complained at times of lack of initiative among the journalists regarding ideas for news stories. This is confirmed by Jeta Xharra, a profiled host of the popular current affairs debate program *"Jeta në Kosovë"* ("Life in

Kosovo). She has also been heading the *IWPR*[148] and *BIRN*[149] offices in Kosovo and has been running media training programs in Kosovo since 2000. She says:

> There is very little initiative. My view is that is not the editorial policy that stops getting good news as much is the lack of initiative among the journalists[...]Usually, the journalists think "what are the most popular subjects to cover and how can I do it do in the simplest way and without wasting too much time" (Jeta Xharra, *BIRN*, personal interview).

In sum, the daily news selection routines in the newsrooms were seen to be quite *unstructured and mostly on a day-to-day basis*. The editors sought after greater initiative from the journalists. The journalists again often went with the stories that the editors suggested, which were often political stories and protocol news from press conferences, political events and meetings that dominated the public sphere, especially in Prishtina. An exemption at the time of the fieldwork was *Express*, which at the time was characterized by more initiative and entrepreneurism (cf. Chapter 6). The news stories end up being mostly news on political events. This echoes partly the analysis about the dominance of politics in Chapter 6.

8.4. Relations with official sources

A persistent problem for local journalists in post-war Kosovo is the strained relation to official sources. Today, there are three sets of official sources in Kosovo; 1) the local political institutions (government offices, political parties, municipalities and 2) the local security sector (police, KSF[150], etc.), and 3) the many international organizations in Kosovo (UN, OSCE, EULEX, KFOR). The *RTK* journalists confirmed the existence a mutual distrust between journalists and public officials, even though the editors said that there was no lack of emails and phone calls from official sources who wanted media to give them media attention. A visible frustration was the bureaucracy within the international organizations stationed in Kosovo when the local journalists tried to gain information:

> For the locals you can do it [get information] by phone, but with the internationals, especially UNMIK, you have to arrange interviews and send the questions through their public relations services. The

[148] Institute of War and Peace Reporting (IWPR), a media support organization working especially in the Balkans and the Caucasus area. See www.iwpr.net

[149] Balkans Investigate Reporting Network (BIRN), is "a close group of editors and trainers that enables journalists in the region to produce in-depth analytical and investigative journalism on complex political, economic and social themes" (www.birn.eu.com). BIRN publishes several websites with news and analysis from the Balkans, for example www.balkaninsight.com. The organization has offices throughout the region.

[150] Kosovo Security Force, see https://www.rks-gov.net/en-US/Qytetaret/Siguria/Pages/FSK.aspx , accessed January 27, 2015

answers usually take weeks (*RTK* editor, personal interview).

The response to this is the development of a strategy where journalists form *their own network sources* within public administration in order to get information through alternative ways. This is a common journalistic practice worldwide (Löffelholtz, Weaver & Schwarz, 2008) but in Kosovo this is many times the only additional way to get official information. Lots of effort is put into this personal network building. The informal networking has long traditions in Kosovo, which is a tight society where family, friendship and personal informal contacts have been more important than official connections (Malcolm, 2002). The journalists continue building these kinds of relationships in their work as journalists. When official channels do not work, there are better and pragmatic solutions; meeting officials in coffee shops and maintaining personal network is an important building block in daily news production. In my interviews with the journalists and editors they told several stories about Kosovo as a tight knit society where people have held together through wars and oppression. The friendship they have from war times proves to be beneficial in news production, when journalists' friends on the inside of government can help in obtaining information. This can be considered as a *public official variety of reciprocity in journalism*, as described in Silvio Waisbord's media patrimonialism theory (Waisbord, 2013), discussed in the theoretical framework in Chapter 3, where the mutual services are not between politicians and editors, but between public officials and journalists. This practice is more difficult in relation with international organizations, where the journalists don't have the same personal connections. As the next example from my observations in the *Koha Ditore* newsroom shows, the unavailability and slowness of the international organizations irritate Kosovar journalists:

For several days, a senior reporter in Koha Ditore has been working on a story about 14,000 Kosovo Serbs that are suing UNMIK for compensation for lost property after the 1999 war and the violent riots in March 2004[151]. The story reports that the reason for this huge number is a backlog of such cases due to bad management in UNMIK. Her story says that the reason for this high number is poor management within the newly re-established Kosovar justice system, which UN proceeds over. Today, she sits frustrated and waits for a response from the Spokesman of UNMIK, Neraaj Singh. The story is ready to be printed, but she waits for a comment from UNMIK.

[151] During March 16 and 17, 2004, there were major riots in several towns in Kosovo after three Albanian children drowned in the Ibar River, west of the divided town of Mitrovica. Rumors said that the children were chased by Serbs. Shortly after, thousands of Albanian took to the streets and started burning Serbian homes and churches. Shooting and beating also took place. The rampage left 19 dead, 900 injured, 700 Serb and Roma homes burned, 30 Serb churches destroyed, two monasteries damaged and about 4,500 people displaced. This was the largest level of violence in the province since the during the NATO war in 1999. The claim that Serbs were involved in the drowning was later never confirmed (International Crisis Group, 2004). These events are also described in Chapter 1 (cf. 1.2).

She has been calling for one week, with no response from UN. She calls again, and a secretary at UN says she must send an e-mail to Mr. Singh. After she has done this, she expresses her frustration. "This is typical for the UN. Their most common answer to local journalists is "No comment". It's frustrating" (personal interview). Two days later, she receives a 3-line email from the UNMIK saying basically that " [UNMIK] is considering how to approach the issue…", and also that the courts in Kosovo are overworked. "This is a common response," she says.

This example illustrates the local Kosovar journalists' frustration with the international community in Kosovo – their reluctance to answer and their lack of transparency. The journalists noted that it is a paradox that the institutions who came to Kosovo to promote openness and democracy themselves were the hardest sources to reach. This criticism is reflected in International Crisis Croup's report after the March 2004 violence (International crisis Group, 2004) where the local media was criticized for reckless coverage, but UNMIK were also criticised for lack of openness to local media. The newsrooms frequently tried to go official ways (through secretaries, spokespersons etc.) and many news items were obtained in this way. However, most of the time, this gave the journalists the protocol news that the spokespersons wanted to share with all the journalists. The newsrooms therefore developed alternate source networks within the international organizations, as well as with the diplomatic community in Kosovo. The journalists informed me that this was the only way to get information. One major problem with this working method was that they used many anonymous sources, also among the international sources in Kosovo. They revealed information, but not their names.

Although *Koha Ditore* enjoys high respect in the Kosovar institutions, it was not easier for them to receive information, according to the journalists and editors. The slowness of response from official sources was one of the biggest frustrations, which again could lead to incorrect information in the articles. This is one of the major criticisms against the Kosovar press. During my fieldwork in 2005-2006, the journalists admitted that, because of this difficult access to information, they wrote stories with limited source references, such as "a source within UNMIK confirms" or only the with sources' initials. This is a practice, however, that the journalists said they tried to avoid. But, as a remedy, the journalists in *Koha Ditore* highlighted once again the importance of *coffee shops* in the relation to sources:

> It is not easy to have access, especially to UNMIK. They are closed for the media. We have to work hard on building relationships with sources, such as inviting them for a coffee. [On the other hand] we are happy that Kosovo is a small place where everybody knows everybody. Most of the time if you stick to it you will find the information (*Koha Ditore* Journalist, personal interview).

As the journalist pointed out, Kosovo is a small society which is very well connected. Journalists often have many personal connections, established even before entering the journalism career. The *Koha Ditore* journalists admitted that too few 'ordinary citizens' were sources or referred to in the newspaper. In addition to the general problem of overrepresentation of politicians and other official sources, the journalists said that it was hard to get ordinary people to talk to the media. Journalists reported in my interviews that people in Kosovo – and the whole Balkans region – historically associate the press only to a political cause or party. They didn't expect journalists to be independent or objective. This is confirmed in the historical-political analysis in Chapter 4. Due to negative experience with propaganda media from communist times and also politically controlled Kosovar media, journalists said people hesitated when they saw a microphone, camera, or a notebook, even with well-respected *Koha Ditore*.

> …they are afraid to say the truth. You can build many stories, but unfortunately at the end you may have to destroy half of the story, because the main source of the story could say that "I will speak if you do not mention my name" (*Koha Ditore* journalist , personal interview).

The access to information is one problem, and *source identification* is another. These are clear signs of life in a high-risk society (Blood et.al., 2005), as discussed in Chapter 2. The journalists said they met a lot of fear of retaliation if people spoke to journalists. This fear is grounded partly in the belief that all media in Kosovo has an agenda, and partly in general fear of public identification. One journalist at *Koha Ditore* who worked especially on education stories confirmed that sources were afraid of being identified, especially at Prishtina University (PU). He admitted that he had often used anonymous sources, which for him was a dilemma:

> Students come to me because they know that I'm a journalist. They fear they will be threatened by professors by coming to me [...] the need for information is great in this situation because the PU system is corrupted. My dilemma as journalist is that I need real names and sources for my PU story. However, they are afraid of revenge **(***Koha Ditore* journalist, personal interview).

Express attempted back in 2005 to reverse the traditional pressure from politicians on media back to the politicians. They aimed to operate as watchdogs on politicians in a society where media traditionally has not had that function. So, *Express* contacted sources more than the sources contacted the journalists. The sources in politics could be divided into two categories. First, the central sources that *Express* monitored. These are sources that *Express* needed in order to confirm information, and who were not necessarily sympathetic to the newspaper's active monitoring; and second, sources that were within *Express*' personal network that supported *Express*' active stand. They contacted *Express* journalists about stories, like the one about

Rugova's illness (see chapter 5). Those sources want information to go to what they consider an independent paper.

Express' journalists also had an established network of sources in the international community in Kosovo. Moreover, they expressed a larger sense of trust in these sources than in the local sources, with an exception in UNMIK, which they found hard to penetrate. "UNMIK has some procedures that make it impossible to get in. I usually do not do stories on UNMIK because it is extremely hard to get information from them" (*Express* editor, personal interview).

During the development of the Rugova story (cf. Chapter 5), *Express* consulted both international media and sources in the international diplomacy before writing the story. In the story we see that international sources were frequently cited and given more trust and weight than local comments, for example, from the President's Office. This is explained as result of long mistrust in local politicians and government, something many of the journalists repeated loudly during the working days in the newsroom.

8.5. Source anonymity

A significant and paradoxical aspect in the relationship between journalists and public officials in Kosovo that can be rooted in the theory on post-war societies and risk societies (cf. Chapter 2) and that showed to be a cause of great frustration for the journalists during my fieldwork is the aspect of *fear and ignorance from sources.* During the workday, the journalists struggled with the aspect of identifying sources. In the interviews they told how they frequently had to anonymize official sources, such as government officials, UNMIK and OSCE staff, but also ordinary citizens. The journalists were often told that they got information from sources on the condition that they are not cited with full name. A news editor explained this by the widespread fear of reprimands from the sources' bosses and a fear of losing their jobs.

Another reason for the use of *anonymous* sources was caution of the dangers of being prosecuted. Journalists told about frequent phone calls from various officials, such as police, prosecutors, judges and others who called them and want to know the sources for various stories. Even officials from the international community in Kosovo called *Express* to know the sources. "They call me, but I never tell", an *Express* journalists said (personal interview).

In the Kosovar press, a strategy to balance identification and anonymity is the *use of initials*. Sources can be named as "J.I", "F.H." etc. This 'semi-anonymity' is mostly used in stories involving crime – and mostly with people from minorities, especially Serbs. When questioned about why initials are used, an editor said, "We use initials mostly on [people from] minorities involved in crimes; minority people who are alleged offenders, but haven't been proved guilty yet. We also use it on crime victims from minorities" (*Express* editor, personal interview). This

use of anonymous sources is not unique to Kosovo, and one finds nervousness among interviewees worldwide; people who are apparently afraid of the consequences of being exposed in the media. However, the *Express* journalists clearly uttered dissatisfaction that especially the international diplomats in Kosovo ignore the local press. They experienced that they were very nervous about being identified as sources in the local media, thus being hard to reach. At the same time the officials that pressured the newsrooms told journalist they are were afraid of the local press and often ignored the journalists. The journalists found this double standard very frustrating.

There exists also a constant *pressure* from local authorities to have the newsrooms disclose anonymous sources to them if media has had an investigative story. Journalists and editors received frequent phone calls from officials about this. "Police, court investigators, officers, prosecutors [call me and] want to know this, but I won't tell [...] when you disclose something from UNMIK and OSCE's related staff, they want to know". (*Express* editor, personal interview). However, the newsrooms, especially *Express,* had a vigorous policy of not revealing sources, even after threat of court. In many instances, the editor and deputy editor dealt with the people pressuring the journalists. During the day, there were frequent telephone calls in the *Express* editor's office on this matter.

8.6. Editing routines

This final part of the chapter deals with the continuance of a traditional form of presenting the news. Post-war Kosovo has a *text-over-image* tradition in its news media. The *written word* dominates the presentation of news stories in radio, television and the printed press. Historically, the news stories in newspapers have been long texts small illustrative (Andresen 2009). In television, the news stories are characterised by long narrations from the reporter, illustrated with pictures with no natural sound. The video functions as illustration of the written text. Many times the television story can be only voice-over with pictures. Alternatively, they might be supported with a few interviews. It can be argued that this way of reporting fits in with the tradition of television news formats in Eastern Europe, including former Yugoslavia (Robinson, 1977) where the message from the Party was the main point of the report. Thus, the post-war reporting during the time of my fieldwork in 2005 and 2006 had clear signs of continuity from the old communist-style reporting. The 'old' *RTK* (*RTP*) mind-set could be seen in the news production process. The journalists and editors regretted this. "It is very much oriented around the script, very much", noted the editor-in-chief (personal interview). Another news editor added: "Here in *RTK*, first you read the text and then the pictures are thrown in over the text" (personal interview). A young *RTK* television journalist explained her frustration

clearly:

> I know from the different training from representatives of foreign television that it is better to start the story with images, and to supply images with facts. Here we usually cannot do in that way because there are some technical conditions that we miss and we do not have too much time for that. For this reason we have problems in editing rooms, because might be that I say something that I do not have images and so we have to cover it somehow *RTK* journalist, personal interview).

Clearly, the younger journalists, backed up by the editor-in-chief, tried to change this practice in *RTK*.

> The practice in *RTK* is first to have text of the news story and then to cover it with pictures. Even though is better to edit picture and images and then to put text. But this definitely depends on time. In my stories I try to select images in that aspect. I know what I have to do before I go to the field. I care about images, too. (*RTK* journalist, personal interview)

During my field work in *RTK*, I also observed open confrontations between the younger journalists and older picture editors in the editing rooms. The young journalists tried to implement modern television news composing techniques; to focus on the images and then writing the script around the images. However, the older technicians, many of whom had been in the old Communist Party - controlled *Radio Television Prishtina*, often insisted on the old-fashioned way; start with the content, the script, and then add whatever images we have. The 'text over image' practice in *RTK* (that format-wise characterizes protocol journalism) can be explained by three conditions: 1) the heritage of Yugoslav-style news tradition, often projected by the older technicians doing the editing; 2) time economy – the rapidness of this kind of editing 3) lack of role models.

8.7. Conclusion: Professional ambitions in traditional structures

All the journalists in this study recalled memories from the war in Kosovo in the interviews. This dissertation does not measure the direct effect of the war trauma on the journalist's work in the newsrooms. However, the post-war situation that the journalists worked in does have specific conditions for journalism. First, many of the reporters have had news reporting experience from the war, when they worked as fixers for international reporters and for organizations. This also continued after the end of the war. This background gave several

reporters a taste of eyewitness journalism and reporting from the field. This dramatic experience is in stark contrast with the day-to-day reporting mostly on political events that they practiced. This frustrated many journalists who say they do not practice the kind of journalism they were exposed to. The journalists have an unstructured background with unfinished education. They entered journalism because of opportunism – a chance of having a job with an income in a difficult work market. Based on the interviews one can conclude that most of the journalists in the newsrooms entered the profession with very little formal education background. The editors explained that most of the journalists have *learned by doing* in the newsrooms. They considered this as effective training. However, based on my observations I can conclude that the level competency varied a great deal between the journalists.

A major challenge for journalists in post-war Kosovo was the relation to sources. The journalists experienced severe difficulties reaching official sources in government and international organizations, when the journalists themselves took the initiative. They met closed doors and had to obtain information through alternative methods; mostly through personal acquaintances. This led many times to unconfirmed information, although the journalists attempted to check the validity of the material. Ordinary citizens were also hesitant when talking to journalists, something which was due to a long tradition of media being connected to political causes, communism, certain political parties, politicians, or business people. The journalists in the interviews for this dissertation explained that people did not associate media with independent journalism.

Chapter 9: International media support (1999-2006)

9.1. Introduction: Journalism development and international media support

This chapter will analyze the third part of this research question; *the possible impact of international media support on the development of journalism in Kosovo*. This is the final part of this dissertation's main research question*; how has journalism in Kosovo developed through a) a complex history; b) demanding conditions for journalism production in today's unstable post-war Kosovo, and c) by international media support* (cf. 1.1.)

In chapters 1 and 2 in this dissertation, I discussed western approaches to professional journalism, among them Peter Gross (2002), who states that, "In short, the Eastern European media do not need to be 'democratized' […] they need to professionalize" (p.174). This is confirmed by analysts of media support recognizing the international community's strategies of attempting to professionalize journalists in post-war areas (Kumar, 2006; LaMay, 2009; Rhodes, 2007; Wnendt, 2006). With this backdrop, this chapter will analyze the media support part of the development of journalism in today's post-war countries in Western Balkans, with a focus on Kosovo after the end of the 1999 NATO war. Chapter 2 in this dissertation discussed my theoretical framework, where the theory of media patrimonialism (Waisbord, 2013) was seen to offer insight into some of the factors influencing journalism in new democracies. According to Waisbord, the notion that journalism and politics mutually draw benefits from each other in new democracies is the opposite of professionalism. In chapter 4, I showed how this has been practiced in Kosovo throughout historical-political events since the late 1800s. I also have discussed how there have been several movements of professional reactions, where journalists in Kosovo have briefly broken with the political establishment, and shown signs of journalistic professionalism. However, new forms of media patrimonialism have since been formed, with new allegiances between politicians and media recognizable throughout history in Kosovo (Andresen, 2009, 2015). When considering the era of post-war Kosovo in this chapter, I will analyze how international media support through journalism training has contributed to the development of journalism in post-war Kosovo.

In this chapter, the development of journalism in Kosovo is seen in the context of journalism training as a part of media support in post-war Kosovo. In the first part, I will outline the development of media in Kosovo since the end of the 1999 NATO war under a period of international rule and legislature. Another task of this chapter is to analyze how international media support's attempts at professionalizing media from a top-down perspective of training of journalists co-existed with local bottom-up strategies of professionalization. The empirical data for this chapter consist of several parts. I analyze how international media support to the

Kosovar media has been assessed by scholars and international organizations. The support has also been assessed by my informants; journalists and editors from the four newsrooms in my study who participated in international media training courses during the first years after the end of the NATO war. Finally, representatives from the media support organizations have also been interviewed (cf. Table 3.1.).

It is essential to emphasize from the outset that for the sake of operationalization and focus for this dissertation, this chapter deals with *journalism training activities, mostly short-term courses and seminars that were offered to journalists in Kosovo during the early years after the end of the 1999 NATO war, mostly from the period 1999-2004*. This was the initial part of post-war international media support in Kosovo. However, I do also discuss the broader range of media support, including licensing and legislature measures, but the focus of the analysis is the *journalism training seminars* that my informants attended.

9.2. The Kosovar media scene in times of post-war international media support

When considering population, area and time span, Kosovo must be said to have experienced one of the most rapid media developments anywhere in history. Within two years after the end of the NATO war, where there had been virtually no local media in Kosovo, 93 licensed local radio stations, 24 local TV stations and three nationwide TV stations had been established. Since then, this number has remained quite stable[152]. The high number of new media outlets is the result of sudden freedom of speech and opportunity that had previously been denied the Albanians in Kosovo for two decades, in addition to the rich Albanian tradition of self-organizing. Albanians are used to organizing the society around them when structures and traditional civil society collapses.

I have opted to give an updated status of the media scene in Kosovo for the purpose of describing the media sector after several years of media support in Kosovo. Today, the media market is overwhelmingly privately controlled in Kosovo[153]. As in many other Eastern European countries since the fall of communism, Kosovo never experienced a traditional media development in stages, from authoritative media via public service media to private market (Siebert et.al., 1963). As soon as the NATO war ended in 1999, many local business owners started media outlets, often in partnership with politicians. In many circumstances, business owners and politicians are the same people, and this is confirmed in the overview of nationwide

[152] In 2006, the number of radio stations in Kosovo was at its peak with 116 (Kyrke-Smith, 2007), while the number of local TV stations has remained quite stable.
[153] With the exception of *Radio Television Kosovo* (RTK), which is Kosovo's only public service media organization. *RTK* is described further in Chapter 5.

media outlined below. Thanks to international funding, especially from the United States, European governments and western donor organizations, the private sector has dominated the media market. However, today the financial situation for the media sector in Kosovo is different. The funding situation for local media has worsened. This is confirmed by an assessment report from 2012 by the South East Europe Media Organization (SEEMO), which stresses dwindling international funding. In the report, an editor explains the developments since 1999:

> After the war, it was a better time for media. There were a lot of tenders for the media. Now, the time has changed. People do not longer get financing from NGOs and they have never invested money. They did not try to make business out of their media. They were used to getting money from the international community. Now this money is gone (SEEMO 2012, p. 4-5).

Other recent assessment reports on media in Kosovo confirm the difficult financial situation for media in Kosovo after international donations have been heavily reduced (Public Pulse, 2012; IREX, 2014; RSF, 2010). In the wake of reduced funding, media owners seek to find other ways of financing the media outlets. There are frequent accusations of corruption and deals being struck between media owners and politicians, for example, in the area of government advertising. In its report on press freedom in Kosovo from 2010, Reporters Without Borders warns against the favoring of certain media outlets by the ruling party, PDK, whom they claim rewards 'positive' media organization with government advertising.

> Titles close to the majority parties (particularly the PDK) are clearly favored in the allocation of recruitment or tendering notices[…]This 'indirect subsidy' also allows profits to be made by a number of influential decision-makers or company bosses who have turned part of the press into their 'public relations officers' (RSF 2010, p.5).

Here, we see Waisbord's (2013) media patrimonialism (cf. Chapter 2) in play, when according to RSF, politicians and media owners provide mutual favors. Since 1999, there have been frequent international and local accusations of close connections between politics and media owners. The accused have varied according to who has been in power, but PDK[154], which has been the major government party in Kosovo since 2007, has been criticized for having tighter ties to media outlets, such as *Express*[155] and *Epoka e Re* (RSF, 2010; SEEMO, 2012; IREX, 2014; Camaj, 2013).

To measure the Kosovar media market in *numbers* is challenging, since various reports

[154] Partia Demokratike e Kosovës (The Democratic Party of Kosovo)
[155] These reports claim that *Express* have changed from being an independent newspaper (at the time of my fieldwork in 2005) into a paper now close to PDK.

use different numbers. Organizations like IREX, OSCE, SEEMO and UNDP have published reports where they attempt to measure a media market in flux. The exact number of newspaper circulation in Kosovo varies from 25,000 to 35,000, according to different reports (UNDP 2012; SEEMO, 2012), which is very low compared with population (2,1 million) and the high literacy rate (94,2%) (IREX, 2008). Television dominates the media consumption in Kosovo. Statistics from December 2008 show that 89% of the population has TV as their primary information source. The following is an overview of the media market in Kosovo:

The nationwide media:

- Nationwide TV stations:
  - *Radio Television Kosova*[156] (RTK) (Viewer rating: 52%)[157]
  - *Koha Vision Television*[158] (KTV) (28%)
  - *RTV 21*[159] (49%)
  - *Klan Kosova*[160]
- Nationwide radio stations:
  - *Radio Dukagjini*[161] (Listener rating: 8%)
  - *Radio Kosova*[162] (5%)
  - *Radio 21*[163] (3%)
  - Other radio stations: (21%)
- Daily newspapers (Albanian):
  - *Koha Ditore*[164]
  - *Express*[165]
  - *Kosova Sot*[166]
  - *Bota Sot*[167]
  - Zëri[168]
  - *Lajm*[169]

[156] *RTK*, Kosovo's public service channel is presented in chapter 5
[157] Source for all the ratings in this section: Index Kosova, December 2008. http://www.indexkosova.com/fly/?page=6&lang=2&item=7 (accessed March 25, 2012)
[158] *KTV* is owned by the *Koha Media Group*, which belongs to publicist, Member of Parliament, and founder of the political party *ORA*, Veton Surroi. *Koha Media Group* also owns the daily *Koha Ditore*, which is presented in chapter 5. *KTV* has received substantial foundation from USAID.
[159] *RTV 21* is owned by Aferdita Saracini Kelmendi and her husband Florin Kelmendi The station has received, like *KTV*, financial support from USAID, especially the first years after the war in 1999 (Gashi, 2007).
[160] There were no official ratings available for *Klan Kosova* at the time of the writing of this dissertation.
[161] *Radio Dukagjini* is named after the western part of Kosovo, the Dukagjini region. The owner is Ekrem Lluka, a businessman who also owns an insurance company, a car dealership and is a substantial importer of cigarettes. *Radio Dukagjini's* main income is from these companies (Gashi, 2007).
[162] *Radio Kosova* is a part of *Radio Television Kosovo (RTK)* and is one of Kosovo's two public radio stations. The other is *Radio Blue Sky*.
[163] *Radio 21* is part of RTV 21 (see above)
[164] *Koha Ditore* is owned by the *Koha* Media Group, which also owns *Koha Vision TV* (see above)
[165] *Express* was founded in 2005 by journalists and editors who had left other media in frustration of owners controlling the editorial work. The journalists owned 51% of the shares in the beginning and the internet provider IPKO. Today, IPKO owns all the shares. *Express* is presented more in detail in chapter 5.
[166] *Kosova Sot* is owned by businessman Ruzhdi Kadriu, who also owns the *Interpress* media company.
[167] *Bota Sot* is owned by the Mazrekaj family who lives in Switzerland, and is linked to the Democratic League of Kosova (LDK) (Gashi, 2007).
[168] *Zëri* is owned by publicist Blerim Shala who is also a politician and was also part of the Kosovar negotiating team during the status talks in Vienna 2006-2008. Zëri is also a weekly magazine.
[169] *Lajm* (founded in 2005) is published by the ATV Media Group, which is owned by the wealthy Kosovar businessman and politician Behxhet Pacolli. He is most commonly known as owner of the Mabetex Company,

- Epoka e Re[170]
- Tribuna Shqiptare[171]

As this overview shows, Kosovar businessmen and politicians dominate the ownership of the local media in Kosovo and the media scene in Kosovo is totally dominated by Albanian language media.

Considering that 92% of the population is Albanian-speaking, this is not surprising. There are active local radio stations in *minority languages*, most of them Serbian. All of them are small stations which struggle financially; they have a very limited advertizing market and the target groups are Serbian enclaves, where the living standards are among the lowest in Kosovo (UNDP, 2014). The Kosovo Media Association (KOSMA) organizes the 27 Serbian radio stations in Kosovo, but several of these are one-man operations that only play music. The five largest radio stations produce local news and information. The backbone of KOSMA is *Radio Contact Plus*, *Radio Kosovska Kamenica, Radio KiM, Radio Borzani, and Radio Gorazdevac*. *Jedinstvo* is the only Serbian newspaper published in Kosovo, in Mitrovica. It was founded in 1966, under control by the Communist party in Kosovo. It has a small circulation and turned more Serb nationalistic during the Milosevic years. "*Jedinstvo* has the old attitudes and fires up the population", says a Serb journalist at Radio Kontact Plus (personal interview). There is also a Serbian bi-weekly magazine in Kosovo; *Gradanski Glasnik*, which was recently founded with a modern layout. It tries to encourage dialogue between the Serbian and Albanian communities, according to one of its donors, PressNow:

> *Gradjanski Glasnik* has taken the role of the missing messenger between the Serb and Albanian communities, striving to contribute to the construction of a new identity in Kosovo, to reconcile the ethnic groups and to strengthen the civic culture.[172]

In addition to these Serbian media, *RTK* carries programming in the minority languages; Serbian, Roma, Bosniak, and Turkish. These have very low ratings, and it seems like the minority audience does not want to see 'their' programs embedded within today's Albanian language *RTK*. There has been reluctance in *RTK* to open a second television channel broadcasting in minority languages. When I undertook the main fieldwork at *RTK* in 2006, OSCE's advisor to *RTK*, Uros

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which, among other large projects, reconstructed the 'New Kremlin' building in Moscow. Pacolli formed the political party Alliance for New Kosova (Gashi, 2007).

[170] *Epoka e Re* was founded by former student leader Muhamet Mavraj, known for the student protests in Prishtina in 1997. The paper started publishing shortly after the war, in 1999. The paper is considered being close to the Democratic Party of Kosova (PDK).

[171] *Tribuna Shqiptare* is privately owned political and economic daily published by Intermedia Worldwide Ltd and Sejdi Demiri.

[172] www.pressnow.nl/asp/programmes_new_details.asp?NewsID=122&ProgramID=2&offset= (accessed July 12, 2009)

Lipusczek said he tried to change this from inside *RTK*. "They should have minority programs also in [*RTK*'s] satellite. All of the Albanian members of the *RTK* board were against. I asked them why? They said that this is a program which we set up for our nationals living abroad" (personal interview). In an attempt to improve minority broadcasting, OSCE suggested that *RTK* establish a second TV channel dedicated mainly to minority broadcasting. In 2006, the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media supported this idea:

> Such a setup would increase the quality of productions by competition, and would increase the economic sustainability of the small minority outlets[...] this idea [is] worthy of support even cognizant of the view of some interlocutors, who put forward the idea that a separate channel might lead to an 'isolation' of minority broadcasting in Kosovo. The present system – where minority audiences have to look up 'their' programs embedded within the Albanian language channel – is no less 'isolationist' while it offers less dignity, and offers less opportunity to reach out to minority audiences. (Haraszti, 2006)[173]

Indeed, in the time since my fieldwork, there has been an increase in Serbian media in Kosovo. *RTK* has established *RTK2*, a minority language channel that carries programs in Serbian, Roma, Bosniak, and Turkish. The channel was opened on June 3, 2013[174]. The channel was finally opened after many years of discussions and postponements. One month before, another Serbian media outlet was established; *TV Centar*, a TV station based in the village of Caglavica, came on air in Serbian throughout Kosovo via cable distributors[175].

In the area of *media regulation* in Kosovo, two institutions have been established with international media support in Kosovo; *The Independent Media Commission* (IMC) and the *Press Council of Kosovo* (PCK). IMC was established in 2005 after the Temporary Media Commission's (TMC)[176] mandate expired. It regulates the broadcast media in Kosovo. Its authority comes from Article 131 of Kosovo's Constitution and is established by the Law no. 02/L-15 on Independent Media Commission and Broadcasting[177]. IMC has had a long and difficult birth, and the Kosovo Parliament has been accused of dragging their feet in establishing a viable board. Its independence is frequently debated in Kosovo. The Press Council of Kosovo (PCC) regulates the print media in Kosovo. It is a self-regulatory body that is comprised by the chief editors of

[173] On November 12, 2009, the Head of the International Civilian Office in Kosovo, Peter Feith and Kosovo's Prime Minister Hasim Thaci in a joint statement, saying: "plans for a television channel that is by Kosovo's Serbian speakers and for Kosovo's Serbian speakers should now be developed". (B92 Website - http://www.b92.net/eng/news/politics-article.php?yyyy=2009&mm=11&dd=12&nav_id=62998 , accessed November 14, 2009)
[174] http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/kosovo-public-broadcaster-launches-programme-in-serbian (accessed November 26, 2013)
[175] http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/kosovo-serbs-get-first-tv-station (accessed November 26, 2013)
[176] TMC was under the control of OSCE until 2005.
[177] IMC's website http://kpm-ks.org/?faqe=142&gjuha=3 (accessed November 26, 2013)

Kosovo's print media. The foundation for its work is the Journalism Code of Ethics[178] that was amended by the Press Councils members on March 18, 2005. The Press Council does not award fines, but media outlets can require newspapers to publish the texts of Press Council judgments.

There have been many difficulties regarding the organization of Kosovar journalists in *associations* in Kosovo. There are two such associations for journalists in Kosovo; the *Association of Professional Journalists in Kosovo* (APJK)[179] and the *Kosovo Journalists Union* (*UGK*). *APGK* was established in 2002 and has been the largest and most active organization over the years. *APJK* has been active in establishing a prize for journalistic excellence and has also lobbied for journalists' rights. In 2010 and 2011, *APJK* ceased its activities due to mismanagement, but has now been reestablished and is active (UNDP, 2012). In addition to the trade associations, print media are also represented by the *Print Media Council* and the broadcast media are organized in the *Association of Independent Electronic Media of Kosovo*. These two organizations deal primarily with IMC and laws on media in Kosovo (IREX, 2013).

9.3. Top-down practices of professionalization: Journalism training in Kosovo

In chapter 4, Kosovo was shown to be an area of repeated interventions throughout history, including in the media field. After the end of the 1999 NATO war, this took a radical turn, in that Kosovo came under international administration, where the United Nations via its UNMIK[180] mission, became the highest authority with the task of building and supporting new democratic institutions alongside local authorities.

Most of the statistics and reports on media support in Kosovo have been written by the training organizations themselves. However, The Stability Pact for South East Europe and Press Now made a comprehensive report in 2007; *Ten Years of Media Support to the* Balkans (Rhodes, 2007), where the latest figures are mentioned. They have assessed that the international community spent 269,2 million Euros on media support in the Balkans[181] from 1996 to 2006. According to OSCE, an estimated 36 million Euros were given to Kosovo in media assistance from 1999 to 2005 (OSCE, 2006a). 42,1 million Euros were spent on journalism training in the region, and 6.1 million Euros on this training in Kosovo.

International media support in post-war Kosovo was established through the humanitarian intervention and civilian administration in Kosovo. United Nations Security Council (UNSC) passed its resolution UNSCR 1244 on June 10, 1999, establishing United Nations

[178] See http://www.presscouncil-ks.org/repository/docs/Press_Code_for_Kosovo-eng.pdf (accesseed November 26, 2013).
[179] APJK's website: http://www.apjk.org/?cid=2,1 (accessed November 26, 2013)
[180] United Nations Mission in Kosovo
[181] Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Kosovo.

Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) as an interim civilian administration. Their responsibility was divided into four 'pillars', where Pillar III was the responsibility of democratization and institution building, under the responsibility of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). Media development came under the OSCE umbrella. The organization started immediately with two main projects: The establishment of a public broadcaster (*RTK*) and a media development program overseeing and supporting the media in Kosovo. OSCE, as the main coordinator actor of media support, had two main purposes immediately following the end of the war in June 1999. First, it was to establish a public broadcaster, and second, to support the local media in Kosovo with legislation, financial support, and training. The operation grew rapidly, and after one year (summer of 2000) the Media Development Department counted 62 full-time employees who worked on a wide variety of areas within media support (OSCE's Willem Houwen, personal interview). During the first months after the war, major international organizations established various media support programs in Kosovo, as a part of 'democracy building'. Besides OSCE, there were organizations like USAID, IREX, UNDP, Internews, Mediehilfe and a wide range of foreign NGOs offered media institutions support; both direct support in terms of money for equipment, but also various training seminars for local journalists. During the first years after the NATO war in 1999, a wide range of organizations were involved in journalism training in Kosovo[182].

As noted earlier, the journalism training part of the media intervention activities were focused on *raising the level of professionalism among journalists in Kosovo*, and the organizations reported back to their donors that they had contributed to this task. Thus, they also acted in accordance with western views of professionalization of media in the region as discussed in the theoretical framework in Chapter 2.

9.4. International evaluation of professionalization through journalism training

Since the revival of international media support in the late 1980s, an increasing amount of literature on media support to the Balkans has been published. However, it is mostly written from a structural or political point of view. The sources can be divided into three sub-categories; first, academic literature on media support; second, external evaluations by international

[182] Besides OSCE, the following organizations involved in media support in the Balkans (and most of them in Kosovo) can be mentioned: Private foundations (Open Society Institute, Knight Foundation, Westminster Foundation, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, National Endowment for Democracy) to government agencies (USAID, European Commission, Ministries of Foreign Affairs from the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Norway, Denmark, Germany, France, Finland, United Kingdom; as well as their embassies in the respective countries) to non-governmental agencies acting on behalf or with support of these ministries or agencies (for example, Swedish Helsinki Committee, IREX, ProMedia, MedienHilfe, Norwegian Peoples Aid, Press Now, Deutsche Welle, IWPR) (Rhodes, 2007, p. 15).

organizations; and third, strategies and reports from the media support organizations themselves. The field is large and complicated, and evaluation of the success of media support ranges from praise to condemnation. Several evaluations of the international media support activities in the Balkans have been written, covering the wide range of support activities, ranging from direct support (funding), legal and regulatory frameworks, training and education, to the establishment of media institutions (Thompson, 2006; Rhodes, 2007; LaMay, 2009; Malesic, 2000; Lange, 2003; Price, 2002; van Zweeden, 2007; Eknes & Endresen, 1999; Kumar, 2006; Kyrke-Smith, 2007). They are generally critical to the chaotic and uncoordinated nature of media support, although they recognize that the support to local media in post-war Balkans has been vital to the development of this sector of democracy.

The media training organizations' own reports on journalism training in Kosovo after the war were initially positive and optimistic. OSCE boasted in an article on their website on December 19, 2000: "In partnership with local media, the OSCE Mission in Kosovo has provided training to 730 Kosovo broadcast and print journalists over the past year"[183]. The magnitude and content of this training can indicate that the measures brought forth good results and change into western journalistic and management practices. In many reports from the early journalism training, the assessments were similar, that the Kosovar journalists now were trained in western standards, to ensure that 'free and independent media' played a vital role in building a sustainable democracy in Kosovo.

However, the voices of the recipients on the ground, the journalists, were given limited attention. Only a fraction of the literature deals with how the recipients experience the many training seminars and how this might have influenced the work in the newsrooms in Kosovo. There are some reports that include members of newsrooms and media organizations in focus groups their evaluations, such as IREX's annual *Media Sustainability Report* (IREX, 2014), the report *Ten Years of Media Support to the Balkans,* (Rhodes, 2007) and The Knight Foundation's report *An Imperative to Innovate. Sustainable Journalism training in central and Eastern Europe* (Presnall 2007). These reports are critical to the overall effectiveness of the massive amount of journalism training courses given to Balkan journalists since the dissolution of Yugoslavia. The most recent report states that "…the process has been inefficient and results ambivalent. There is a pervasive cynicism and negative assessment of the effectiveness of this process ("training fatigue") […] Too much funding, too little analysis and planning, and lack of attention to quality have resulted in waste." (Rhodes, 2007, p. 30).

One of the most comprehensive academic evaluations of media support to post-war societies is the already mentioned *Forging Peace* (Thompson, 2002), which highlights the

[183] 730 journalists exceed the number of journalists in Kosovo. OSCE counted each journalist as a new journalist every time he or she attended a course, so many were counted 3-5 times. http://www.osce.org/item/5649.html (accessed June 27, 2009)

troublesome task of the international community entering a deeply divided Kosovo society with numerous training programs, where they also criticize Kosovar journalists and editors for self-censorship and unwillingness to break with the past. The report outlines that, "…the pervasive atmosphere of intimidation in Kosovo was surely a far more significant obstacle to the exercise and development of professional journalism than the regulatory efforts of UNMIK…" (p.280). Another significant work is Krishna Kumar's *Promoting independent media* (2006). Kumar sees many positive aspects in the short-term training courses conducted by international organizations in post-war societies, although recognize the limitations of the effectiveness of foreign trainers in complex post-war societies. In *Exporting Press Freedom*, Craig L. LaMay (2009) gives a thorough assessment of the large and complex media support industry worldwide, where he highlights numerous legal and strategic difficulties of these activities, especially from an economic perspective. Numerous other reports by foundations and organizations can be mentioned, such as Mapping media assistance (Price, Noll & DeLuce, 2002), *The Media Missionaries* (Hume, 2004) and Ross Howard's *An Operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding* (2002). They all bring valuable aspects into the discussion of international media intervention and support from political, economic and structural perspectives. However, there is an argument that these reports are written from a western perspective where the recipients' voices, if not forgotten, are limited at best. In retrospect, today, there is a much more sober assessment of this training from many parties. The 10-year assessment of media support to the Balkans 1996-2006 says:

> There is a pervasive cynicism and negative assessment of the effectiveness of this chaotic process ('training fatigue'), and yet a rough consensus exists that the professional capacities of mainstream journalists have improved[…]Too much funding, too little analysis and planning, and lack of attention to quality have resulted in waste. This form of donor engagement reveals a general absence of strategic refinement[184], evaluation, and success in establishing value (Rhodes, 2007, p. 30).

The former head of OSCE's Media Development Department, Willem Houwen, recalls in my research interview with him: "The first year of media support in Kosovo can be considered as 'emergency training' and characterizes the first year as partly chaotic "there was OSCE doing media training, then there were groups of NGOs and a variety of media foundations. KFOR also started to do its own media development by broadcasting via local radio stations" (personal interview). Other representatives from the international media support community are also

[184] See Tarik Jusić, "Towards Modern Education of Journalists in South East Europe," p. 8, in *Education of Journalists in Southeast Europe: A Step Closer to Professionalism*, Tarik Jusić and Melisa Dedović (eds.), Media Online 2002.

today self-critical to the training of journalists in Kosovo after the war. Cees van Zweeden, who was Senior Media Advisor to the OSCE Mission in Kosovo from May 2005 to November 2006, says:

> …by 2005 it had become evident that these trainings had borne little fruit. Trainees were usually unmotivated, unless the courses took place in sought-after places. And many, if not most of the journalists who had been trained, had swapped their profession for more beneficial activities (van Zweeden, 2007, p.148).

9.5. Local evaluation of professionalization through journalism training

In line with the research purpose of this dissertation, this chapter assesses the possible impact of international media support on the development of journalism in Kosovo. During my research interviews, I asked the journalists in all four newsrooms about their assessment of the impact, seen from the local journalists' and editors' points of view. All my informants in the newsrooms (*Koha Ditore, RTK, Express,* and *Radio Kontakt Plus*) were asked about three issues on this matter; 1) *what have you learned from international trainers? , 2) how have you been able to apply the training back in your newsroom?, and 3) how will you assess the journalism training courses offered by international organizations in Kosovo*? In the findings below I have drawn the overall conclusions based on answers to these questions. From the four newsrooms where I undertook interviews, 42 of the 50 journalists and editors (84 %) attended one of more training courses provided by the international community in Kosovo[185]. Most of them participated in training seminars and workshops in Kosovo, but a few on various grants and stipends had also travelled to other countries, in many European countries and beyond, to receive training in workshops and newsrooms[186]. This means that most of them have been acquainted with western journalism values and practice, having been exposed to these during one or more seminars, ranging from one day up to a month.

First, regarding the informants' overall assessment of the training in Kosovo, they say they were subject to *an industry without a clear purpose*. When looking back, they are quite skeptical to how the journalism training was conducted. This is true for Albanian and Serbian journalists and editors alike. Here are some of the answers: "In the euphoria of starting up media support here [after the war], nobody looked at what others were doing" (*Koha Ditore* editor,

[185] 14 of 14 *RTK* journalists (100%), 10 of 10 *Koha Ditore* journalists (100%), 8 of 10 *Radio Kontakt Plus* journalists (80%), and 10 of 16 *Express* journalists (62,5%) interviewed for this dissertation has experience from the international journalism training courses.

[186] Outside Kosovo, the journalists in the three Prishtina newsrooms in this study have attended training in USA, Canada, Czech Republic, Finland, Croatia, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Slovakia, Macedonia, Brazil and Greece. Most of the Serbian journalists in *Radio Kontakt Plus* received training in the Balkans, mostly in Serbia, besides various trainings in Mitrovica.

personal interview); "Several of the journalism trainers seemed like coming from outer space" (*Koha Ditore* journalist, personal interview); "People who did the training did not understand nor were they interested to enter the public discourse in Kosovo" (*Express* editor, personal interview); "They bombed us with information on marketing, but did not spend any time in the field (*Radio Kontakt Plus* editor, personal interview).

Jeta Xharra, a renowned Kosovar TV journalist and producer, who has headed the Kosovo branch of BIRN, has also trained many journalists in the Balkans herself. She accuses the international media support organizations journalism training of both bad planning and bad execution:

> Nobody knew how long the international administration was going to stay here, and as a consequence of that nobody did plans for more than six months of training They [the international trainers] wanted it fast; in this industry we call it 'fast food training' so nobody will even dare to go beyond six months plan, because their contracts did not go beyond that […] I believe there were no effective training at all. There were equipment given, there was money given for these media TV or for the best transmit in the world for cameras and probably public TV is the best equipped in the region. It was not invested in the brains of these young journalists (personal interview).

In Chapter 6 of this dissertation, I showed how much politics dominates the news production in Kosovo, including the practice of 'protocol news'[187], where journalists report from press conferences and press statements without a journalistic angle to it. It is worth noting that in the two newsrooms with most reporting on politics (*RTK* and *Koha Ditore*), all of the editors and journalists had attended international journalism training courses in Kosovo after the war. In the two other newsrooms, where the amount of protocol news reporting was lower (*Express* and *Radio Kontakt Plus*), fewer of the editors and journalists had attended these seminars. It is not, of course, possible to draw strong conclusions based on this, but it is worth noting that there *seems to be little connection between the amount of international training and reduction of protocol news*.

Second, journalists say *the foreign instructors' failure to recognize the journalists' previous professional experience as reporters and fixers reduced the impact of the training.*
Chapter 2, 4 and 8 in this dissertation discussed Kosovar journalists' past experience as fixers during the 1990s as a part of their vocational background. Previous research on international reporters' dependence on local fixers has revealed how the fixers contribute to the stories produced by the international reporters. Studies from The Middle East (Murrell, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2015; Palmer and Fontan, 2007), Palestine (Bishara 2006) and Kosovo, (Paterson

[187] The term *protocol news* is further discussed in Chapter 6.

et.al., 2012, Andresen, 2008, 2009, 2015) reveal on an international scale, the highly unrecognized influence of the local fixers on the news stories from the field. Fixers can be connected to the concept of 'parachute journalism' which is a loaded term. It is used in the literature to describe journalism where international reporters are 'dropped' into areas of complicated conflicts; they work there a few days, and then pack up and leave for the next conflict Many stories may be filed over a few hours or days, but with little research to support them. In their efforts to gather information quickly, parachute journalists are in danger of missing facts, aspects of culture and nuances in their stories (Lundstrom, 2001; Hamilton, 2004). The parachute journalist necessarily depends on local assistance, normally in the form of a temporarily hired local person with some knowledge of journalism, an ability to translate, and good local contacts. Palmer and Fontan (2007) define fixers as an additional relay point in the process of mediated communication. Globally, fixers have impacted the content and form of international news correspondents' work more than the public has been aware of (Witchel, 2004; Murrell, 2013, 2015).

This previous experience of the journalists in Kosovo seems to have been ignored by many of the trainers in the seminars offered to the journalists and editors. The international trainers offered a wide range of topics related to all aspects of news production, from basic courses in news writing, introduction to journalism, interview techniques, objectivity, and editing. There were also numerous courses in election reporting, especially before the first elections administered by the OSCE. There were also advanced courses in investigative reporting and topics like exposing political corruption, human rights, organized crime. Many of the experienced journalists, although politely appreciating the offer of the courses, say the topics were delivered somewhat randomly , and many of my informants felt a sense of indignation that they were offered very basic courses in the international seminars. They claim the international organizations were not aware of their background, neither their education nor their working experience. One editor in *Express* said, "Why should I go to do writing and editing course again? I'm doing it here in *Express*. Internationals should not expect us to start doing the basic" (personal interview). This represents a view that many of the journalists had; a feeling of an international negligence and disregard of the local journalist's background. There is a clear impression among the journalists that the trainers either were not aware of, or they ignored, the journalistic experience the Kosovar journalists had gained through their previous practice as fixers.

Third, the journalists said *the distance between the theory and exercises in the training courses and the 'real world' in the Kosovar newsrooms reduced the impact of the training*. In view of this criticism, reports that highlight the lack of 'professionalism' in Kosovo's newsrooms. For example, OSCE (2004) says the media failed [during the March 2004 riots] in spite of the fact

that they "…have enjoyed substantial financial and technical support, including training, provided by the OSCE and other international donors and organizations" (p.16). Additionally, USAID (2004) in its report, *Kosovo Media Assessment* noted that, "Donors have funded a myriad of training courses for journalists, business managers, and technicians, but the results […] do not reflect the size of the investment" (p.IV). The journalists themselves express frustration about the long road from attending one or many journalism seminars to actually practicing the theory in their newsrooms.

Fourth, the journalists say *selection methods for training reduced the impact of the training.* They claim the selection processes were accidental, and that this hindered the possibility to practice what they had learned. The training organizations often contacted an editor and asked him or her to send names of journalists for the courses. It was then up to the editor to select. The trainees were also frequently offered money to attend seminars, for example, 10 euros per day, since they would often lose their salaries when attending training. The editors often selected young and inexperienced journalists for training, whom they felt needed it. However, the consequence then was that early training seminars were also characterized by many young and inexperienced journalists who felt it was hard for them to adapt what they had learned in the international training courses. "I have never been given the chance to practice it", said a young female *Express* journalist (personal interview). The biggest obstacle for changing the practice in the newsrooms, especially noted by the young journalists, is 'traditional' editors who do not want change. The newly-trained trainees said initially they could be enthusiastic after the training, but they often fell into old reporting habits when they returned to their posts. Shortly after the war, there were several multiethnic training courses for journalists, where one of the goals was for journalists from different ethnic groups to meet and work together. Although seeing the political correctness of such joint trainings, the journalists from all ethnic groups experienced a lot of *tension in the multi-ethnic trainings*, and a lot of energy was spent on easing the ethnic tension, translation and practical matters such as armed transport for Serbian journalists. The journalists questioned the effectiveness of this training.

Fifth, the journalists said *the instructors' lack of local knowledge reduced the impact of the training.* However, several said they also learned a lot, especially from those who stayed for a longer period of time and also visited the journalists in their newsrooms. But a general feeling was that too many of the instructors were not prepared for the situation in Kosovo. "Some told stories about trainers who hardly knew about the difference between Serbs and Albanians, and they had to ask the local journalists about basic facts constantly" (*Express* journalist, personal interview). However, the most serious criticism came in the area of the *content of the training seminars that the trainers had prepared*. Many of the journalists felt the foreign instructors had copied western lectures and exercises, with little cultural adaptation. Many trainers failed to

know the tradition of journalism in Kosovo, and many seemed to have the attitude that journalism in Kosovo could start from scratch after the war.

> I believe that some journalists who were trainers here think that journalism in Kosovo started after the war. In some cases they are just trying to paste their experience into Kosovo. But that is a wrong approach because this is Kosovo, and not Norway or another western country (*RTK* training coordinator, personal interview).

Sixth, the journalists say *the trainers were ignorant of the risks of reporting in Kosovo.* During the training courses, journalists were often challenged to do investigative stories around organized crime, corruption, public administration, and politics. These were topics that the various training organizations like OSCE, IREX, UNDP and others wanted to address, in order for the Kosovar journalists to develop media as a watchdog in a democracy. However, my informants felt ambivalent towards this exercise to practice investigative reporting in a risk society with a short tradition of journalism.

Seventh, the journalists said *they preferred in-house training and internships.* They claimed they learned most when they had not been gathered in a group, but rather when foreign journalists and trainers stayed for a longer period of time in the newsrooms and coached them, or, when journalists received scholarships and stayed in a major European newsroom. The journalists and editors agreed that 'on the job' training made more rapid changes than training seminars when journalists were more or less accidentally put together to learn. The journalists from all newsrooms said that in-house training should have been practiced much earlier and more often. "The best training for me was when I went to Bratislava and I was alone in a newsroom the whole day, working with a journalist. I observed how they did reports, how they prepared news statements", said a Serbian journalist in *Radio Kontakt Plus (personal interview)*. In-house training can indeed be considered a continuation of the training many Kosovar journalists received when they worked together with foreign correspondents, as fixers and translators, during the 1990s. This was the only training many journalists had at the end of the war. Several of them have leading positions in Kosovar newsrooms today, and a few are also stringers in Kosovo for major European newsrooms.

In sum, the assessments from the journalists and editors are *to a large extent critical* regarding the possible impact of the journalism training courses offered by the international community in Kosovo after the war. However, in the following section, I will draw *some overall conclusions* regarding the relationships between the training and professionalization of the journalists that can be drawn from the study of the strategies of the training as well as the international and local evaluations.

9.6. Summary: Impact from international media support and journalism development in Kosovo

In assessing the impact from the journalism training part of international media support on the development of journalism in Kosovo, I will partly draw on Silvio Waisbord's understanding of how professional journalism should be measured by the extent to which it develops as a profession that can resist influence from external powers. "Professionalism refers to the ability of a field of practice to set boundaries and avoid intrusion from external factors" (Waisbord, 2013, p. 11). Furthermore, "…professionalism represents the refusal to comply with rules dictated by political and economic actors, thereby abdicating control over a distinctive rationality." (p. 158). Thus, professionalism must also be seen as the ability to develop ideology and techniques of the profession. How has the training contributed to this? There are a number of conclusions to be drawn from the strategies, international and local evaluations of the international journalism training courses.

There are some good results from the trainings. A *positive* sign of influence that can be linked to the training seminars in Kosovar newsrooms is the *individual awareness of professional journalism*. In all the four newsrooms, journalists and editors expressed the kind of news they *wanted* to practice; they had a genuine desire to practice independent news production, to set the news agenda and not simply follow the politicians. However, as we saw in the newsroom studies in Chapters 5-8, the journalists often failed in daily life to practice their desires due to several factors like pressure and self-censorship. Furthermore, another important effect of especially the early training, according to the interviews with editors and journalists, was a reduction of *hate speech in the media*. There were serious examples of hate speech that even led to the closure of a newspaper, *Dita*, in 2000 (Hoxha, 2007). Training, combined with OSCE establishing regulations against it was an important step against attacks on identified people in some parts of the Kosovo Albanian press.

> If it hadn't been for the training, I think hate speech could have developed. We were just out of a war, the situation was hard, and many [journalists] had fresh memories. We were lucky that somebody worked with us on this (*RTK* editor, personal interview).

The training courses also *raised the level of professional reporting techniques* for many journalists. The informants said they learned various methods of reporting in early training seminars. The ability to produce a story from idea to published text improved after the trainings. However, the technical part of the training is at the same time part of the criticism against the international media support. The journalists' and editors' feeling was that the international community was very good at supporting the local media with technical equipment (especially

RTK) and also the technical side of reporting. However, as the *Express* editor-in-chief noted, the technical empowerment did not solve the deeper crisis in Kosovar media to change the public discourse after the war:

> In the first years it was basically technically enabling Kosovars to have media believing that in due time through the crash courses and a short term trainings there will be some knowledge of what journalism should stand for. But these courses were done in a manner which was overlooking entirely the social and political realty of the place and its mindset. The mindset was shaped by the discourse. People who did training did not understand or nor they were interested to enter this intricacies that create public discourse in Kosovo. What they offer to the Kosovars was the *tool to amplify their already existing mindsets and discourse*. Democratization was not about amplifying your already existing standpoints but it was about changing them. Whether the democratization through the media succeeds? No it didn't! It only made it worse because it failed to change the content (*Express* editor-in-chief, personal interview).

The international trainers failed to a large degree to address professionalization of journalism as a counterstrike to media patrimonialism (Waisbord, 2013). The historically close ties between media and politicians dominate the media history in Kosovo (see Chapter 4). The 'old' mindset of political discourse is present in the newsrooms, as I have shown, and according to editors, the international trainers could and should have addressed this in the training. However, they failed to address this question, partly because they had no strategy to systematically influence this discourse. This can be blamed on both lack of historical-political knowledge and apprehension to deal with the complicated political discourse, which is much more complex than a question of conflict between Albanians and Serbs (Di Lellio, 2006; Bieber & Daskalovski, 2003; Duijzings, 2000; Andresen, 2015).

The first stage of the international journalism training period in Kosovo (1999-2004) can be labeled as a stage of 'emergency training' (Willem Houwen, personal interview), referring to the allegory that the local media needed first aid after the war. The international community poured in with trainers and seminars to a sector that was, in their view, totally lacking, with no training. Many editors and journalists reacted negatively to this, and they felt the international community used a very 'top-down' strategy, without consulting the existing media in designing training for journalists. *Koha Ditore's* Editor-in-chief recalls: "The training had no strategy. It was, as you know, ad hoc training […] I wrote several articles [in *Koha Ditore*] about OSCE failing the media sector" (personal interview).

The failure to plan and coordinate the training of journalists in Kosovo is a serious matter considering the economic size of this part of humanitarian intervention in post-war Balkans. After the war in Kosovo in 1999, a large market of funding for training opened. In

Kosovo alone, 6,1 million Euros were spent on training (Rhodes, 2007), and the organizations started training with their separate plans and agendas. Editors and journalists recalled frequent invitations from OSCE, IREX and numerous NGOs to training courses; some of the journalists said they attended over a dozen such seminars.

The international organizations conducting journalism training in Kosovo agree that the coordination was missing. Willem Houwen, former Head of Media Development in OSCE Mission to Kosovo explains the situation back when they conducted what he calls 'emergency training': "There was OSCE, then we had a group of NGOs, media foundations, the UN, organizations and many, many more. We [OSCE] tried at least to get reports about what they were doing in order to get them in one line" (personal interview). This massive and partly uncoordinated training most likely harmed the quality of the training. This is not only a problem for Kosovo, but has been a tendency in media support all over Balkans, argues The Knight Foundation and Press Now:

> Some have embarked on training projects without adequate knowledge and analysis of the needs of target groups, and have often failed to work together with other donors to provide a rational and relevant set of opportunities. Implementing organizations, both foreign and domestic, have exploited the oversized donor market for media education, continuing to market training to donors on the basis of distorted evaluations of the needs of target groups, even as target groups have shown higher training levels and donors have planned exit strategies (Rhodes, 2007, p. 30).

Kosovar Albanian journalism from 1996-1999 was linked to covering conflict and uncovering atrocities, as well as promoting a 'free Kosovo', which means supporting the vision of a new independent nation. Many of the journalists attending the training programs came out of this tradition. In addition, there were many older editors who had practiced journalism in the 1980s who wanted the media to be like it was back then. And then we have the third large group of journalists attending the training sessions; the many young journalists with no experience in media who started working for the many newsrooms after the war. Most of them learned the trade on the job from colleagues. They informed that they had learned a lot from the training, but became frustrated when returning to the newsrooms. This was due to the discovery that implementing the western-style journalism in the newsrooms was hard when they faced old habits and conservative editors, or found out that the society around them, including politicians and officials, did not provide information needed to practice the journalism they learned at the seminars. They tried to 'imitate' what they had learned to be 'professional' journalism, but they said that they soon fell back to following old habits of, for example, protocol journalism.

9.7. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has analyzed the impact of media support, especially journalism training, and the development of journalists in Kosovo. Through a study of media support strategies, international evaluations and local evaluations by the recipients of the training, it can be concluded that professionalization of journalists has only to a limited degree been shaped by the journalism training offered by the international community in Kosovo. The positive outcome of the training linked to professionalization was that the journalists attending the training became conscious about the potential of professional journalism and learned various reporting techniques. Second, the focus on reducing hate speech in Kosovar media also bore results. Furthermore, the international community's support and donations contributed to upgrading technical equipment. Thus, professionalism has developed on some levels. However, on a more fundamental level of development of journalists, it seems evident that the international journalism training courses offered after the war failed for the following reasons: first, the training failed to address the significance of the historical-political context and its effect on journalism in Kosovo. Thus, the training did not adequately deal in depth with the historical links between politics and the media (Waisbord, 2013). Too much focus was put upon importing western journalism philosophies and reporting techniques without addressing the deeper challenges the media faced. Second, the training missed the opportunity to take advantage of the already professional aspirations and practice that several of the journalists and editors had attained through the 1990s, especially during the 1998-1999 war when working as fixers for international reporters. Third, the trainers did not seem to be sensitive to the risky environment of reporting in Kosovo after the war. The pressure from politicians, possible threats, self-censorship, low payments and risks of losing their jobs were issues that were not amply addressed in the training. These risk factors made it difficult to practice the lessons learned in the training when the trainees returned to their newsrooms. Furthermore, the chaotic disorganization of the training in the first years also reduced the potential of impacting the training on the professional level of journalism in Kosovo. There was little coordination between the trainers; the selection of trainees was to a large degree coincidental and very often young and inexperienced journalists attended the trainings. They had little chance or motivation to change the practice of their newsrooms to which they returned. The journalists and editors admitted that their motivation for the training was at times low, and that their input was lower than it could have been. They also took some of the blame for the failures of the training sessions. When they felt that the training courses were not what they had expected, or even irrelevant, their motivation sank and they attended the trainings often only out of duty. Finally, it is significant to note that the training sessions that the journalists said had worked best were either in-house training, where the trainers visited the newsrooms or the training programs

where the journalists were able to learn in a newsroom abroad. These are aspects that I will return to in the next chapter where I, in conclusion, make recommendations based on this study about how post-war journalism training can be improved.

Chapter 10 Conclusion:

Towards a model for understanding journalism development: The case of Kosovo

10.1. Introduction

Twenty-five years after the fall of the Iron curtain, and fifteen years after the NATO war, media in the Balkans region has frequently been criticized for not reaching professional standards and living up to its potential to be a vital part of democratization (1.2.)[188]. The international community has also invested large sums in efforts to 'professionalize' media in the region (9.3). There have been many unanswered questions as to why the media behaves the way it does and how it has developed. There is a need for more knowledge locally as well as in the international community. This dissertation is an in-depth study of how journalism has developed through history and multiple transitions in a society where ethnic conflicts and war have been present. It presents the case of *Kosovo.* Based on the findings and discussions in the previous chapters (1-9), this chapter will present conclusions of what I will call a model of *understanding journalism development in Kosovo.* This model is based on three aspects of analysis. It has offered *a historical-political analysis*, a *post-war production study* and an evaluation of *international media support*; aspects that the dissertation has shown have been significant in Kosovo.

As a case of journalism development in Kosovo it has offered a study that can be a helpful foundation for evaluating and aiding in journalism in Kosovo and other transitional societies, both in the Balkans and beyond. The research agenda for studying Kosovar journalism as a case of how journalism develops in a conflict society carries with it a sense of complexity. The study has been ambitious when embarking on the three aspects of journalism development; the historical-political context, post-war news production, and international media support. This again has meant a complex methodological approach in studying both the past and present, and in a culture different from my own.

10.2. Journalism development in a transitional society: the case of Kosovo

The dissertation has an *investigative* approach where the concept of journalism development in Kosovo has been explored. This investigation has been rooted in three points of departure. The first is the widespread criticism against journalism in post-war Kosovo, where reporters and

[188] The numbers in parenthesis refer to the content under sections, e.g., here: 1.2, in Chapter 1

newsrooms have been accused of being unprofessional and for fuming conflicts. This has been voiced by international reports as well as international scholars (1.2). Second, the dissertation has developed a *three-pillared approach* of applying 1) an historical-political analysis (Chapter 4), 2) a post-war production study (Chapters 5-8), and 3) an evaluation of international media support (Chapter 9). These combined have brought the complex aspects of the development of journalism in Kosovo together in one study. Third, the dissertation has applied an *open theoretical framework*, where different attempts of explaining the development of journalism in post-war Eastern Europe are analyzed. Here the focus is on journalism's role in the development of post-communist Eastern Europe, from a 'professional journalism' model (Gross, 2002) to Waisbord's 'Media patrimonialism' view (Waisbord, 2013). These models offer different, but also complementary, explanations as to why journalism in post-Communist Eastern Europe has not become an independent force for democratization and democracy. Based on this open approach, the Methodology chapter (4) presents and discusses the methodological approach of combining an historical-political study with a qualitative newsroom study. This is in order to be able to not only analyze the present post-war journalism practice, but also to put the concept of journalism in to a necessary complex frame that can serve as a *model for the case for Kosovo*. The purpose of this is to understand a) that the current practice of journalists and newsrooms are *rooted in history* through the historical context from media development through a rocky political history, b) that current practice must be *studied from the inside* of the newsrooms over time, and c) that the *massive international media support* in Kosovo has played a role in how post-war news production is practiced today. Through analyzing the development of journalism in Kosovo through these three aspects, this dissertation presents the following analysis of how journalism in Kosovo has developed.

10.3. Historical-political transitions: changing identities

Struggles between journalists' professional and national loyalties in conflict societies are previously documented (Zandberg & Neider, 2005; Skjerdal, 2012). In Kosovo, the notion of *national identity* among media workers has been historically strong in media in Kosovo. Media has since the Albanian awakening been tightly *connected to the concept of the nation* for most journalists in Kosovo (4.2.). Chapter 4 analyzes numerous examples of this throughout Kosovo's history. The media was a promoter of, for example, Albanian culture, language and politics and was never detached from it. This is also the case in the broader Balkan region, where media fought for a political *cause.* The cause shifted away from nationalism until the establishment of Yugoslavia, when the idea of 'unity and brotherhood' across ethnic lines was one of the Yugoslav media's roles in society, given and controlled by the Communist regime (Robinson, 1977).

However, the loyalty to *ethnic nationalism* was an additional parallel force that grew during the break-up of Yugoslavia, giving journalists a double sense of duty. In Kosovo, the Yugoslav identity was fragile and the different national identities came to life quickly as Yugoslavia dissolved during the 1980s. The national identity was always deeper than the Yugoslav identity, although journalists accepted the official socialist line. This has been confirmed in this dissertation by interviews with experienced journalists in Kosovo that worked in the Yugoslav media during the 1980s (4.3.)

The escalation of ethnic and national conflicts in the Balkans during the 1990s led to a shift from media as a promoter of unity and brotherhood into media as *active tool of ethnic hatred and war* (4.3). This was a significant shift and from the 1990s until today is what most journalists interviewed for this dissertation relate to when referring to media's negative role in Kosovo. Their personal experience with media was one of media as a promoter of ethnic conflicts (4.3). Media was used as tools both for the Serbian regime as well as a counter-reaction tool by the Kosovar Albanians. Media shifted from promoting unity to being tools of separation. This is thoroughly documented in studies of how media in the region was used as propaganda instruments in Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia (Thompson,1999; Kurspahic, 2003). In Kosovo in the late 1990s, media's role shifted to an even more active one; being a tool in war (4.4.).

A significant finding in this dissertation is that this dramatic change also started a *professionalization* of journalism in Kosovo. This might seem like a paradox, but the documentation in this dissertation also shows that the role of media in the 1997-1999 war led to a somewhat surprising event: the birth of eyewitness reporting in Kosovo*,* meaning *a contribution to professionalization* (4.4.). In several interviews, journalists explain how the small Kosovar Albanian press, especially the newspaper *Koha Ditore* started reporting from the escalating fighting between Serbian forces and the armed Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). This was in part possible through the fact that several young journalists worked as fixers for international reporters. According to the journalists themselves, this exposed many of today's journalists to western journalism, and it planted a frame of reference as to what eyewitness reporting could be, (4.4, 8.2., 9.4). This is repeated in several of the interviews with my informants. Through this experience, the journalists developed a sense of professional identity to journalism, and thus parallel identities; one to the Kosovar Albanian side of the ethnic conflict in Kosovo, and one to journalism as a profession, similar to what has been found in other conflict areas (Skjerdal 2012). Thus, there were multiple loyalties there, although the journalist themselves say that reporting about the armed conflict, including the massacres and fighting for the Kosovar Albanian cause, was the same. One can therefore argue that through the war, the strong ethnic loyalty was strengthened, due to a common enemy, while there was a growing sense of what professional journalism was. However, while many of today's journalists in

Kosovo worked as fixers, many of today's young journalists in Kosovo did not, and did not have the same experience of international journalism. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the media activities during the war in Kosovo sparked a sense of professional identity among Kosovar journalists.

10.4. Post-war news production and the development of journalism

The second aspect of researching the development of journalism in Kosovo has been the qualitative study of post-war journalism news production in practice (Chapters 5-8). This was conducted mainly by observing and interviewing journalists and editors in newsrooms over a period of eight months (September 2005 – May 2006). The following summarizes and concludes the analysis of post-war journalism that also identifies links between the historical-political aspects (in Chapter 4) with the key issues in post-war journalism practice.

There are individual and professional ambitions among journalists in the Kosovar newsrooms that collide with structural and societal barriers. Based on background and experience, many young and ambitious journalists entered the profession after the war with the hope of working as professional journalists. They aimed at covering politics and contributing to the development of the Kosovar society. However, the professional experience from the past was fragile, and the reality they faced early in the post-war society frustrated them. The news production chapters (5-8) document the daily obstacles they face and the strategies they choose. Contrary to many previous negative reports on journalism practice in the region (cf. Chapter 1), this study shows that journalists struggle inside organizations that are positioned in contexts that offer limited chances of developing western-style journalism. Three *strategies* are constantly negotiated: The first is *to resist pressure from outside and attempt to practice independent and investigative journalism.* Structurally, the newspaper *Express* was an example of this for several years. The newspaper was established by frustrated journalists that left other newsrooms because they felt political pressure. At the time of my fieldwork (2005-2006) a large group of ambitious journalists and editors ran the newspaper that ran a number of investigative stories, modern feature articles and additionally criticized the government. However, the pressure was substantial and, after a short time, the newspaper struggled financially. At that time, people were not used to buying a newspaper that had no political slant. Advertisements also disappeared and the newspaper changed into a more political-friendly profile. The second strategy is *the attempt to practice independent journalism inside traditional structures of newsrooms*. In the newsrooms of *Koha Ditore* and *RTK* we see how editors and journalists lived in constant pressure to produce stories with political content. However, they also published investigative stories that break with the political domination of news. The third strategy is the

development of *self-censorship* where journalists choose to adhere to the pressure and report protocol news which is easier to produce and requires less work effort and personal risks (6.2).

Newsrooms operate in a difficult environment when it comes to accessing information. This leads to the strategy of pragmatism when dealing with sources. Alternative sources from personal networks are utilized. Due to the hostile environment for journalists, and also to the journalists' pragmatism and adaptation, sources remain anonymous in sensitive stories.

The *omnipresence of politics and the use of media as tools of politics* have continued in post-war Kosovo, and this affects all aspects of journalism in Kosovo as well. Newsrooms are engulfed in politics, but it is not an automatic process whereby politicians control editors and journalists, something that many reports tend to focus on (IREX, 2013; RSF, 2013). This study shows that there exists a sense of professional autonomy inside the newsrooms, and the editors and journalists struggle to negotiate between professional ambitions from the inside and political pressure from the outside.

Journalism in post-war Kosovo cannot be separated from the big issues of the nation – the question of Kosovar independence. It dominates all aspects of production and is linked to the ethnic struggle. In post-war Kosovo, one should assume that the majority media and minority media have opposite positions on this question, rooted in their background. However, as this dissertation shows, there are perforations in this picture. Journalists in the newsrooms also break out from the stereotypical picture and produce critical stories on their own politicians, the international communities and the Kosovar society (7.3).

10.5. International media support and the development of journalism

The early capacity building of post-war journalism in Kosovo started immediately after the end of the NATO war in June 1999, as international organizations started offering numerous training courses as a part of the strategy of professionalizing the media, helping it develop as a part of democracy building in Kosovo (Miftari, 2013). Thus, numerous meeting points emerged between local journalists coming out of a war and international trainers. Critical local evaluations by journalists, editors and local analysis in this dissertation have later characterized these meetings almost as clash of civilizations or clash of cultures (cf. Chapter 9). The distance between theory and local realities, as well as failure of bridging the gap was a sited as a major reason for the limited effect of the training. The descriptions of journalism in Kosovo as starting from scratch after the war were widespread in many international reports. However, as this dissertation has shown, there were already many journalists with experience in western-style reporting from the war, either as fixers for international journalists, stringers, or as local reporters, for example at *Koha Ditore*. The international trainers to a large degree were unaware

of this or chose to ignore it and the frustration among the Kosovar journalists is highly visible in the interviews and throughout Chapter 9. However, there was indeed a fundamental need of helping the media institutions to start and restart, and to build capacity on all levels, including legal frameworks, funding, managerial training and finances (Miftari, 2013; Rhodes, 2007). This help was effective. As a result of this there was an institutional void, but there were journalists and editors present in Kosovo with experience that went unutilized by the international community to enhance the quality of journalism. However, one cannot conclude that the training was in vain, not that the lack of success is to blame on the international community alone. There was a clear unwillingness in many of the newsrooms to adapt to fresh knowledge from the training programs, especially at the editorial and managerial level. The close and rapid ties between newsrooms, politicians and business people are found in the list of media in Chapter 9 (9.2.). The findings in this chapter suggest that the resistance against change was established quickly in many newsrooms.

10.6. Conclusion: Understanding the development of journalism in Kosovo

The development of media in former Eastern Europe after the end of the Cold War has been followed closely by media scholars and international organizations for over 25 years. As many of the central European countries entered various forms of democratization, others went through violent conflicts. This was the case with the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Several media researchers and international media support organizations described the media as unprofessional and not contributing to democratization of the region. Journalism in today's post-war Kosovo has developed through various political transitions, where ethnic struggles and wars have been key elements. Based on the combined research for this dissertation, the research agenda of examining this development, the theoretical framework, methodology and findings, the development of journalism in Kosovo can be described with the following key characteristics in the next sub-sections:

10.6.1. Kosovar politics - a key force

Journalism and politics are close entities in Kosovo. Media has been a tool of advancing political goals throughout history, and ties have been close between media and politicians. This was documented in Chapter 4 concerning the Kosovo situation before the war in 1998-1999 as well as in Chapter 6, concerning post-war Kosovo. Therefore, there has been a continuation of the presence of politics before and after the war. According to scholars like Waisbord (2013) and Gross (2002) the ties between media and politics have kept journalists from journalistic

professionalism. This dissertation confirms the pressure from politics on journalism in Kosovo in the past and present, as well as the strategies of local news production and international media support to raise the level of journalistic professionalism.

On the topic of strong national and ethnic loyalties, this dissertation has shown that these have continued also after the NATO war. However, due to the experience of eyewitness reporting during the war as well as the exposure of modern journalism through fixers, the consciousness of independent journalism has been raised among many individual journalists and editors. But the practice of this kind of reporting has fundamental problems in today's journalism practice, due to pressure from inside and outside the newsrooms.

10.6.2. An absence of trust

This dissertation has also documented other factors that have restricted the practice of independent journalism. A major *lack of trust* runs from the newsrooms to both official and unofficial sources and back. There is a mutual lack of trust between journalists and official sources. The news production study in Chapters 5-8 discussed Kosovar journalists' daily struggle to obtain information from local and international official sources. The frustrations run deep, and this is expressed in the interview excerpts quoted in these chapters. There is also skepticism from the sources towards the local media. This is not confirmed in this study by interviews with news sources per se, but the informants expressed this in the research interviews. Local sources connect the local media institutions to political agendas. The journalists experience also that ordinary citizens are skeptical to talking to journalists. This is because people connect media to political agendas, rather than independent newsrooms conducting investigative journalism. This confirms the existence of media patrimonialism (Waisbord 2013) where the proximity between media and political institutions has created an understanding in the public that media always has a political agenda.

10.6.3. Multiple loyalties

In Kosovo, journalists practice multiple loyalties in their work. Other studies of journalists in conflict areas have confirmed practices of both conflicting loyalties among Israeli journalists (Zandberg & Neider, 2005) and competing loyalties in Ethiopia (Skjerdal, 2012). In Kosovo, the loyalties are multiple, and in flux. Many journalists profess a strong loyalty to the profession of journalism, also due to their previous experience of war reporting. This is visible in the newsrooms (cf. chapters 5-8), although they struggle to practice the kind of reporting they say they want, due to both external pressure as well as self-censorship and, at times, choosing the

simple way of protocol journalism, as seen in the news production study. The other strong loyalty is to the nation, which penetrates Kosovar newsroom practice. In the news production chapters (5-8) it was shown how ethnic Albanian history and politics dominate both newsroom structures and news reporting. The loyalty is rooted in the long-time ethnic struggle on both sides; Albanian and Serbian. For the Albanian journalists, the ethnic loyalty is combined with a loyalty to both the nationality of being Albanian and the nation of Kosovo. So there is a double loyalty that is described more closely in Chapter 6.

10.6.4. Two strategies: resistance and adaption

Throughout this dissertation, we have seen the complex interrelationship between media, politics, and conflicts in Kosovo. In spite of formal press freedom and a modern legislative framework for media in Kosovo (9.2) there have been attempts by the Kosovo Assembly to limit press freedom, by forcing the media to reveal sources in reporting criminal cases. However, these attempts have been limited. International and local press organizations have reacted against this, and thus the formal press freedom in the legislature have been maintained and is monitored (IREX, 2014). However, the Kosovar Assembly and the *RTK* have acted extremely slowly when setting up a public service broadcast channel for minority broadcasting, which was not established before 2013 (9.2.). It is also clear that the minority media, especially the Serbian local media, experience limits of movement and thus limited press freedom in their daily work, something that is documented in Chapter 7. Although the legislative is for all media in Kosovo, the minority media experience it as more problematic (cf. Chapter 8).

There have been – and still are – many transitions for journalists and newsrooms in Kosovo. This dissertation has documented these transitions in the past and present and how they lead to a constant state of risks for the journalists. I have also shown how journalists and newsrooms change their practice in these transitions. There are two main historical strategies that have been applied. The first strategy is to *resist external pressures* and practice journalism with an amount of risk. This happened during the Yugoslav times to a limited degree with the minority Albanian media, but more so during the Milosevic period (Chapter 4). In post-war Kosovo, this was the practice for a limited time period with *Express* (during the time of my fieldwork, see Chapter 8), to a degree in *Koha Ditore*, and as the study of *Radio Kontakt Plus* shows, in today's Serbian media in Kosovo*.* The second strategy is *adaption and opportunism.* Chapter 4 showed examples of how, during the 1980s, Yugoslav journalists changed their practice from the socialist unity line to nationalism. In post-war Kosovo, we see today also how journalists and newsrooms have changed their reporting due to financial difficulties, pressure from politicians and individual opportunities. In my interviews for this dissertation, journalists

told about how they had and would continue to grab opportunities of a job in a different profession with higher salaries. In a post-war society like Kosovo, opportunism becomes a strong force to obtain a better life.

10.6.5. Limited effect from international media support

In the framework of journalism development in Kosovo, international media support and its activities in Kosovo after the 1999 NATO war has attempted to *change* journalists, editors, and media institutions from a media practice formed by nationalism and ethnic conflicts into one being in line with 'western standards' of journalism. Within the issue of changing Kosovo newsrooms and their practices, this dissertation shows that both institutional (Giddens, 1984) and cultural (Schudson, 2002; Zelizer, 2004) factors are relevant. In Chapter 9, the journalists and editors' main evaluation is that they experienced the multiple training courses in Kosovo after the war to be only partly relevant to their needs and that many of the instructors were not culturally sensitive. A main interpretation of the findings is that there seems to have been a lack of sufficient contextualization of the training, both on an institutional and a cultural level. First, on the *institutional level*, the international society has not sufficiently recognized the historical and political role that media and journalism has played in a conflict area like Kosovo. Following Waisbord (2013) discussion of media patrimonialism, there has been not only a long-term close relationship, but also a long-term close cooperation between politicians and editors in Kosovo, as is also found in other conflict areas and new democracies. Had there been research of these realities before launching an array of basic hands-on courses, then the portfolio of training could have been different and made more relevant for Kosovo. Second, regarding the *cultural level,* it is evident that the international organizations had not studied local working routines, roles and traditions that already existed in the newsrooms when they started the training courses, neither did they use the possibilities to conduct in-house training.

Change in media institutions is a demanding process, and to facilitate changes in newsrooms in conflict areas is even more multifaceted. Chapter 9 in this dissertation shows the complexity that emerges when different theories and traditions meet in a training situation. What can be learned from this is that the international media training community needs to practice a higher institutional and cultural competence on media and journalism when entering a post-war society. This will enable providers to learn more about transformation processes, and to utilize local experience and capacity in form of using local journalists and editors in the training more actively. There must be no doubt that professionalization of media institutions with its journalists and editors is a crucial undertaking. However, there is no quick fix. It requires cultural and professional competency and sensitivity at the highest level.

Appendix 1

Informants interviewed

1. Journalists and editors

Express: *August 30 – September 17, 2005:*

Dukagjin Gorani, Berat Buzala, Arlinda Desku, Kosove Gjoci, Shpend Limoni, Artan Mustafa, Gjergj Filipaj, Lorik Pustina, Jeton Musliu, Astrit Gashi, Njomza Ibishi, Rejhan Morina, Arif Muharremi, Vlora Maxhuni, Burim Myftia, Valon Zyla

Koha Ditore: *November 1 – 17, 2005:*

Agron Bajrami, Naser Myftari, Bardh Rugova, Fatmire Terdevci, Syzana Bytyci, Gazmend Zyla, Lindita Camaj, Bekim Kupina, Fatmir Aliu, Laura Katona

Radio Television Kosovo (RTK): *February 1 – 16, 2006:*

Nebi Qena, Mentor Shala, Rabisha Muhaxhiri, Sylejman Shariqi, Xhymret Veliu, Fatos Bytyci, Blerta Foniqi, Rozafa Metaj, Snezana Qorraj, Sanela Bilatovic, Lindita Abazi, Veton Rugova, Zajnepe Topalli, Ilire Zajmi Rugova

Radio Kontakt Plus: *April 30 – May 2006:*

Mirjana Milutinovic, Zeljko Tvrdisic, Bojana Kostadinovic, Sladjana Trifunovic, Jasmina Scekic, Jelena Cvetanovic, Jelena Markovic, Aleksandar Jerotijevic, Artan Bajrami, Sebiha Bajrami

2. Representatives from media support / journalism training organizations

Andrew Clayton (February 2006)	Chief of Party, IREX Kosovo
Willem Houwen (February 2006)	Former head of OSCE Media Development in Kosovo
Isuf Berisha (February 2006)	Former President of Kosovo's Independent Media Commission (IMC)
Jeta Xharra (February 2006)	Head of BIRN Kosovo
Uros Lipusczek (February 2006)	OSCE Advisor for *Radio Television Kosovo*

Appendix 2

Interview guide for interviews with journalists and editors

1. **Name, age, and position in the news organization**
2. **The journalist / editor's background**
    - Where are you from?
    - Schools and education?
    - Journalism education?
    - How were you recruitment into journalism?
    - Why did you want to become a journalist?
3. **Experiences / memories from war in the 90s**
    - Memories from media practice before and/or during the 1999 NATO war
    - Experience as fixer for foreign journalists?
    - Can you tell me about what happened to you during the war?
4. **Role in the newsroom**
    - Describe your job / responsibilities in the newsroom
    - How are the relations between the different roles in the newsroom?
5. **News selection routines**
    - How do the news stories get selected? Who selects the news?
    - What is a news story? What makes it important?
    - How free are you to select your own news stories to work on?
    - What kind of pressure is there in the newsroom to select or discard possible news stories?
    - What kind of pressure is there from editors and/or media owners in news selection?
6. **Journalistic sources**
    - How easy or difficult is it to get information from news sources?
    - What about official news sources (politics, administration, local government, international organizations)?
    - What about 'ordinary' people – how much information do you get from them?
    - How critical are you to different kind of news sources? How do you check the validity of their information?
7. **Formatting / suitability / framing**
    - Who edits you stories / the newsroom's stories?
    - How much are the stories changed / formatted during the news process?
    - Is there a pressure to edit the stories in certain ways?
8. **Pressure and censorship**
    - Do you feel pressure from others in your daily work? If so, from whom? (From family? Friends? Colleagues? Editors/Bosses? Media owners? Politicians? Police? International organizations? People in the street?)
    - How do you feel this kind of pressure?
    - Have you changed stories because of pressure from others?
    - Do you ever censor yourself? (self-censorship)
    - Do you pressure colleagues?
    - Have you ever felt threatened because of your work as journalist/editor?
9. **Own reflections on news production**
    - What is journalism?
    - How do you define good journalism, or bad journalism?
    - What is professional journalism?
    - Do you and your colleagues have different views on journalism?

- What is the role of a journalist in society?

10. Cultural aspects of journalism in Kosovo

- What role should media have in Kosovo?
- Is there a kind of 'Kosovar' journalism?
- How is news and journalism viewed among the public in Kosovo?
- How will you consider the quality of journalism in Kosovo?
- Is there press freedom in Kosovo?

11. Journalism training / international media support

- Have you attended any of the journalism training courses offered by international organizations in Kosovo?
- What have you learned from the international trainers?
- How useful was the training you received?
- How was the training setting? (classroom, in-house, lectures etc.)
- How were the trainers? (preparation, methodology)
- How much did the trainers know about Kosovo or your situation?
- What were the best part / worst parts of the training?
- How have you been able to apply the training back in your newsroom?
- How will you assess the journalism training courses offered by international organizations?
- What kind of training would you prefer?
- Do you have an advice for those planning further trainings for journalists?

12. Other comments

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