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# CROATIA

During the two most recent MSI panel discussions, landmark events have unfolded to interrupt the proceedings. Two years ago, the panel was interrupted by news of the arrest of the former Croatian prime minister, who had escaped a warrant in Zagreb only to be caught by the Austrian police. Last year, it was a combination of the signing the Croatia's EU accession treaty (confirmed in an EU referendum in January 2012), and a sweeping victory of the opposition social democrat-led coalition.

Shortly before the 2013 MSI panel convened, a ten-year sentence was handed down for the former prime minister, Ivo Sanader, for corruption, with other cases still pending. Days before this came the verdict on Radimir Čačić, the omnipotent first deputy prime minister in the Croatian government, who was sentenced to 11 months in prison by a Hungarian court for causing a fatal car accident near Budapest. Čačić resigned the same day.

But still, the most dramatic event in 2012 was the "not guilty" verdict handed down by appeals court judges for the Hague Tribunal for generals Gotovina and Markač on Nov 16, 2012. Taking into consideration that the two generals had been found guilty of heading a "joint criminal enterprise" and sentenced to 24 and 18 years respectively by the Hague tribunals for Yugoslavia in 2011, expectations of an acquittal were in short supply, and the emotional response to the "not guilty" sentence was almost unparalleled. "The war belongs to the past. Let us turn to the future," said Gotovina to tens of thousands gathered on the main square in Zagreb. The verdict fostered hope in society that a calm message would help in closing the book on the politics of the war, leaving it to historians, and, where necessary, criminal prosecutors.

As for the media, 2012 brought a fatal decline of brand names such as the daily *Vjesnik* and the weekly *Nacional*. Sales and circulations are half of what they used to be only five years ago. Advertising revenue follows the same path. Broadcast media share the trend. Content quality, social relevance and professional standards have been compromised by the surge of trivial, tabloid, low-quality journalism. Hundreds of journalists have been laid off.

Journalists are facing hard times again, but it is no longer about setting the basic pillars of independent media, as in the 1990s. Now, it is about preserving professional standards, and even the dignity of journalism, against a tide of market decline and industry leaders that have come to see journalism as a means of gaining power, rather than holding it accountable. As such, Croatia in 2013 achieved the ignominious feat of repeating its overall MSI score from 2001, suggesting no lasting progress has been achieved on media sustainability in the intervening years.

# CROATIA at a glance

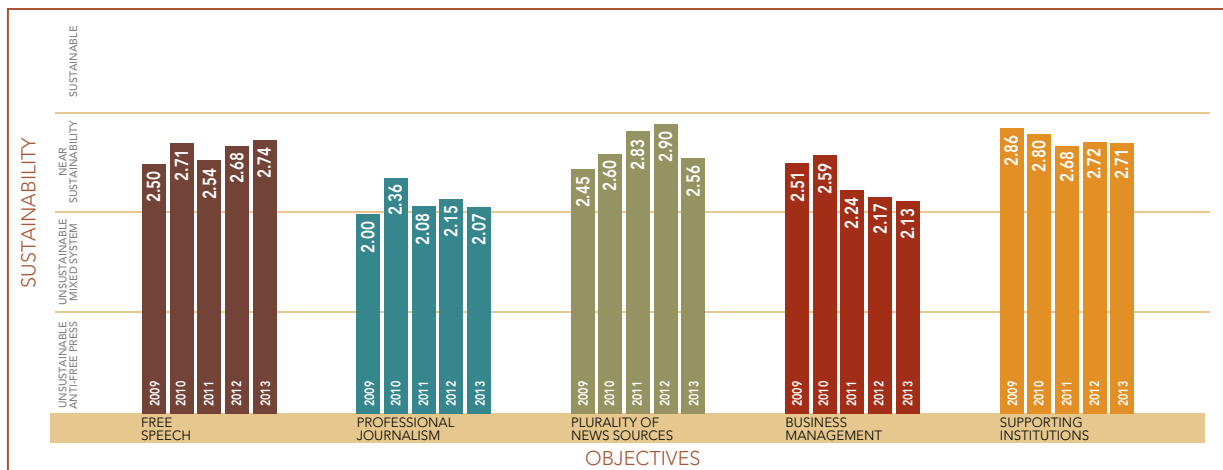
## GENERAL

- > Population: 4,475,611 (2013 est., *CIA World Factbook*)
- > Capital city: Zagreb
- > Ethnic groups (% of population): Croat 90.42%, Serb 4.36%, other 5.41% (including Bosniak, Hungarian, Slovene, Italian, Czech, Roma, etc) (2011 census, Croatian Bureau of Statistics)
- > Religion (% of population): Roman Catholic 86.28%, Orthodox 4.44%, other Christian 0.3%, Muslim 1.47%, other 0.78%, none 4.57% (2011 census, Croatian Bureau of Statistics)
- > Languages: Croatian 95.6%, Serbian 1.23%, other and undesignated 3.17% (including Italian, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, Roma, German, etc) (2011 census, Croatian Bureau of Statistics)
- > GDP: \$62.49 billion (World Bank Development Indicators)
- > GDP per capita: \$14,180.4 (World Bank Development Indicators)
- > GDP per capita (PPP): \$18,100 (*CIA World Factbook*, 2012 estimate)
- > Literacy rate: 98.8% (male 99.5%, female 98.2%) (*CIA World Factbook*, 2010)
- > President or top authority: President Ivo Josipović (since February 18, 2010)

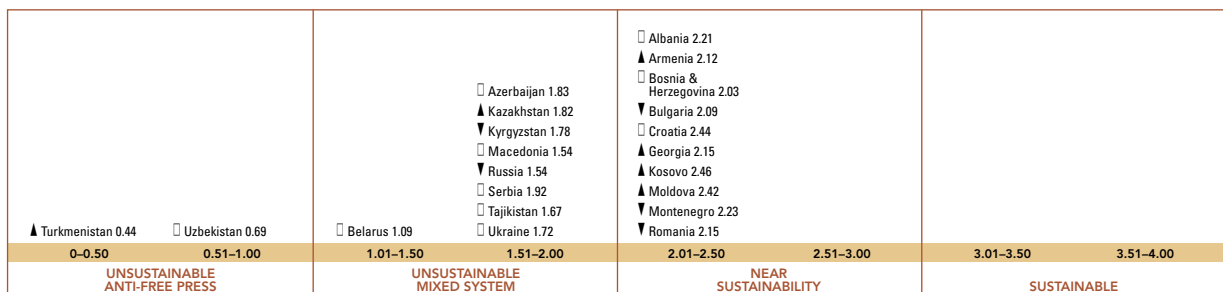
## MEDIA-SPECIFIC

- > Number of print outlets, radio stations, television stations: Newspapers—11 nationwide dailies, six major political weeklies (plus the Catholic weekly *Glas Koncila*); Radio—167 stations, 6 of which are national; Television—31 channels, 9 are national.
- > Newspaper circulation statistics (total circulation and largest paper): The total circulation of daily papers is estimated at 360,000 copies a day, the top 3 being tabloid *24 Sata* (circulation 120,000), *Vecernji List* (circulation 60,000), and *Jutarnji List* (circulation 50–55,000); the highest circulated political weekly is *Globus* (18,000 copies)
- > Broadcast ratings: Top 3 television stations: Nova TV (private/commercial), RTL Croatia (private/commercial), HRT 1 (public TV)
- > Annual advertising revenue in media sector: Approximately \$350 million
- > News agencies: HINA (public), IKA/Croatian Catholic News Service
- > Internet usage: 66% of households, 61% of broadband users (2011, EUROSTAT)

## MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX: CROATIA



## MEDIA SUSTAINABILITY INDEX 2013: OVERALL AVERAGE SCORES



## CHANGE SINCE 2012

▲ (increase greater than .10) □ (little or no change) ▼ (decrease greater than .10)

**Unsustainable, Anti-Free Press (0–1):** Country does not meet or only minimally meets objectives. Government and laws actively hinder free media development, professionalism is low, and media-industry activity is minimal.

**Unsustainable Mixed System (1–2):** Country minimally meets objectives, with segments of the legal system and government opposed to a free media system. Evident progress in free-press advocacy, increased professionalism, and new media businesses may be too recent to judge sustainability.

**Near Sustainability (2–3):** Country has progressed in meeting multiple objectives, with legal norms, professionalism, and the business environment supportive of independent media. Advances have survived changes in government and have been codified in law and practice. However, more time may be needed to ensure that change is enduring and that increased professionalism and the media business environment are sustainable.

**Sustainable (3–4):** Country has media that are considered generally professional, free, and sustainable, or to be approaching these objectives. Systems supporting independent media have survived multiple governments, economic fluctuations, and changes in public opinion or social conventions.

Scores for all years may be found online at [http://www.irex.org/system/files/EE\\_msiscorers.xls](http://www.irex.org/system/files/EE_msiscorers.xls)

## OBJECTIVE 1: FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Croatia Objective Score: 2.74

Croatia is set to join the EU family of nations on July 1, 2013, if the accession treaty is ratified on time. In abstract terms, this would imply that Croatia has harmonized its media legislation both with the EU's Audio-Visual Media Services Directive, its broadcast regulations package, and with higher international standards, primarily in the print media industry. That requirement was one of the most scrutinized in Croatia's long and bumpy path to accession.

"The level of media freedoms and legal protection of free speech is such that I can hardly imagine any substantial setbacks, talking in legal terms," said Emil Havkić, a lawyer specializing in media legislation, and an MSI panelist since the very beginning of the project. However, the social norms protecting and supporting the freedom of speech is a different question, the panelists noted.

Some panelists expressed their concern over what they see as "lack of social support" for media freedom. Is it a consequence of the fact that the public is simply exhausted by economic crises, which has been tipping between recession and depression now for the fifth consecutive year,

### LEGAL AND SOCIAL NORMS PROTECT AND PROMOTE FREE SPEECH AND ACCESS TO PUBLIC INFORMATION.

#### FREE-SPEECH INDICATORS:

- > Legal and social protections of free speech exist and are enforced.
- > Licensing or registration of media protects a public interest and is fair, competitive, and apolitical.
- > Market entry and tax structure for media are fair and comparable to other industries.
- > Crimes against media professionals, citizen reporters, and media outlets are prosecuted vigorously, but occurrences of such crimes are rare.
- > The law protects the editorial independence of state of public media.
- > Libel is a civil law issue; public officials are held to higher standards, and offended parties must prove falsity and malice.
- > Public information is easily available; right of access to information is equally enforced for all media, journalists, and citizens.
- > Media outlets' access to and use of local and international news and news sources is not restricted by law.
- > Entry into the journalism profession is free and government imposes no licensing, restrictions, or special rights for journalists.

"My impression is that the media legislation supports free speech, but there is an obvious lack of public support and interest in it," said Vesna Roller.

or simply as the result of a certain loss of reflexes, or does it stem from the fact that there have not been any dramatic or obvious cases of violations of free speech? "My impression is that the media legislation supports free speech, but there is an obvious lack of public support and interest in it," said Vesna Roller.

The same panelist, as a member of the Council for Electronic Media, the independent regulator of the broadcast media, gave a brief intro to indicator 2. "It would be too demanding to say whether the licensing procedure is fair and competitive. Namely, in 2012, the Council issued only one license. It was for a radio station on a remote island, and we were happy to get even one single application for it," said Roller. Unlike in previous years, the frequency allocation procedure is not politicized, at least not openly. Objections to this indicator mainly concern perceptions that the procedure lacks transparency (for example, is there any reasonable explanation for the secret voting of the Council members on granting licenses?), and on the lack of transparency in presenting the general public licensing contracts and the selection criteria.

However, according to Toni Gabrić, editor of the H-alter web portal, this has improved significantly compared to previous years. "Concession contracts are now available on the Council's web page. Still, we would need to get complete contracts on license allocations. Only with this document could media consumers judge whether the license holder adheres to the licensing contract in terms of type and quality of production," Gabrić said.

In general terms, licensing is needed only when using a finite public good, such as frequencies. Registration of the web portals is a mere formality (it requires only a formal notification, not any kind of license or permit to operate), as well as print media, where requirements are down to registration of the name with the Chamber of Commerce. Lack of registration has never been used as a means to shut down a media outlet. "Although, I would like the Council to be more vigorous in these terms. Not in order to shut down media for not being licensed, but to use the right to revoke a license in cases of obvious breach of contracts in terms of

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quality of production and output in general,” said Jelena Berković, spokeswoman for the NGO GONG.

Aside from licensing and registration, there are no other requirements or restrictions to market entry for media outlets. “Quite the contrary, we can easily say that the print media receive more favorable tax treatment in comparison to other businesses, including broadcast media and the Internet,” said Gabrijela Galić, a journalist for *Novi List*. Namely, print media enjoy tax breaks (paying VAT on a 10 percent scale, while most other businesses pay the standard 25 percent VAT rate). “The tax break is even for all print media. The idea should have been to stimulate the quality content, not to offer a general tax break,” Galić said.

“Why should a tabloid be awarded a tax break, while a good quality web portal has to pay higher VAT?” asked Milan Živković rhetorically. However, the MSI panelists feel they know the answer. The tax break to the print media was introduced in 2007, just months before the parliamentary elections. Some panelists suspect that the government at that time, concerned over their low ratings, used the tax rate to buy direct support, or at least the tacit neutrality, of the mainstream media in the election campaign. Whether that is true or not, the fact is that the tax break has not had any impact on the quality of journalism, or led to higher salaries for media professionals. Any profits just lined the pockets of owners, some panelists believe.

When it comes to broadcast media, panelists (including representatives of the sector) agree that the annual license fees are fair, whether they are local, regional, or national. “I would say that they are way below the market standards, considering the fact that broadcast frequencies are a finite public resource,” said Dražen Klarić, of *Večernji List*, a daily.

“Crimes against journalists are in decline; there were no high profile attacks on journalists in 2012,” said Havkić. Some panelists, such as Berković, are still concerned, though, because the old cases have not been resolved. “I am aware of it, but I do not see any kind of deliberate obstruction of the investigations,” Havkić added. “Attacks on journalists are usually complicated to investigate. It is not a problem to

make a list of suspects, but finding hard evidence against perpetrators is much more demanding.” However, Djurdjica Klancir, deputy editor-in-chief of T-Portal website, said that while it may be true that there were no high profile attacks in 2012, she asked, “What about journalists working in local media? They are exposed to intimidation, harassment, and threats on a daily basis. It is easier to criticize the [central] government than to write critically about local bosses,” said Klancir. Gordan Malić added another perspective: “Journalists in general are well protected against criminal attacks, but they are exposed to subtle violence from their publishers, who do not respect their legal and labor rights.”

Regarding legal protection for the editorial independence of the public media, the panelists agree that politics has had a direct impact on appointment of the Public TV (HRT) managers and board members. At the same time, the panelists wondered whether a model exists that would be completely free from political influence or pressure. “Try to imagine a BBC-type model, in which the state secretary appoints the Trust members, as a solution. That would be absolutely unacceptable in Croatia. It is not the model itself that defines political influence or editorial independence of a public broadcaster, but the level of democratization and the democratic capacity of a society,” argued Viktorija Car, a panelist and political scientist.

Berković agreed, but said it would have been better if parliament had adopted suggestions to appoint the HRT general manager with a consensual two-thirds supermajority, rather than by a simple majority of votes. Božo Skoko, of the Millenium Agency, has no doubts: “With the new amendments to the public television act adopted in 2012, politics deeply interfered in editorial independence, leaving it vulnerable to any other parliamentary majority in the future.” When it comes to financing, public television enjoys a high collection rate of the subscription fee/tax (more than 80 percent), which allows (or, at least, should allow) stable operations, even taking into account a considerable drop in advertising revenue.

Libel is a civil issue, but as of January 1, 2013, the new criminal offense of “vilification” will be introduced, defined as a “systematic and deliberate” defamation case. “In general terms, I am against any experiments in the criminal code, which should be based on established and unambiguous standards. But, it seems that each new minister of justice wants to leave a trace. It is too early to discuss “vilification,” but I am afraid it will bring more confusion than benefit,” said Havkić, leaving the issue open for the MSI 2014 debate.

The panelists also feel that obstacles to access to information underscore the deterioration of the overall media climate in the country. "We have a PR government. Most information flows through this channel," said Živković. "The prime minister and government have obviously decided not to have press conferences at all. They are communicating via PR consultants, friendly media, Facebook, Twitter, etc., but they no longer take questions directly from the press. Even if the questions were not always answered, at least the public was aware of the issues," said Berković.

Havkić added, "I am not a media professional, but as a passionate media consumer my feeling is that the public is only informed about decisions made, without opportunities to participate in the decision-making process. There are no public debates anymore. This is worrisome, indeed. It goes against the basic stipulations of democracy."

Other panelists agree that the most pressing points are no longer about preferential status of one media against others, or about the right to access to information in general. Now, it is about a government that has become increasingly hesitant to share information with the public. Whether that stems bureaucrats and political officials' fears being exposed as incompetent, or their reluctance to present the reality of their shortcomings in the delivering on their promises, is not that important. It is, however, a failure to apply democratic standards.

There are no restrictions on using any local or international news sources. Copyright standards are observed more than before, but compliance still falls short of international norms.

There are no licensing or any other restrictions imposed on entry into the journalism profession. The accreditation process is sometimes slow or overly bureaucratic, but it lacks any deliberate intent to prevent any media professional from reporting.

## OBJECTIVE 2: PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM

Croatia Objective Score: 2.07

The panelists gave Objective 2 their lowest scores, agreeing that professional standards are sinking. Middling scores were submitted for the quality of content. Scores dropped for most indicators in the objective, particularly niche reporting and the balance of news and entertainment, largely due to financial troubles at the media firms.

Anja Picelj-Kosak, a media specialist with the US Embassy in Croatia, said that the most frequently quoted source of

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information is "an anonymous senior source." An ad hoc survey by a group of journalism students (not scientifically grounded, but indicative enough) found that in March-April 2012, more than 85 percent of the key stories in three mainstream daily papers were based on an anonymous source. Thus, one of the primary lessons on professional standards has not been respected in practice.

In addition, the dividing line between journalism and PR has thinned. "Politicians deliberately use PR and friendly media channels first to test public reaction on some decisions, before they commit. In such an environment, it has become ever harder to realize what is news and what is spin. How can you question or criticize a decision when you do not know if it is a fact, or just a 'testing the waters' exercise? No wonder the public has less confidence in media than five or ten years ago," said Klancir.

This situation is reflected in the overall quality of reporting. In interviews with key government officials, one should not expect an open and intriguing dialogue, but rather just answers on the previously agreed questions. "These

## JOURNALISM MEETS PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS OF QUALITY.

### PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM INDICATORS:

- > Reporting is fair, objective, and well-sourced.
- > Journalists follow recognized and accepted ethical standards.
- > Journalists and editors do not practice self-censorship.
- > Journalists cover key events and issues.
- > Pay levels for journalists and other media professionals are sufficiently high to discourage corruption and retain qualified personnel within the media profession.
- > Entertainment programming does not eclipse news and information programming.
- > Technical facilities and equipment for gathering, producing, and distributing news are modern and efficient.
- > Quality niche reporting and programming exist (investigative, economics/business, local, political).

**“Politicians deliberately use PR and friendly media channels first to test public reaction on some decisions, before they commit. In such an environment, it has become ever harder to realize what is news and what is spin,” Klancir commented. “How can you question or criticize a decision when you do not know if it is a fact, or just a ‘testing the waters’ exercise?”**

are not interviews. These are more open platforms for the interviewed to expose his or her agenda,” said one panelist.

Background research now sounds very “old fashioned,” and reporters justify the lack of it most often by citing deadlines and the need to compete with online news sources. There is more or less the same list of ready-made experts for each problem, additionally eroding public trust in such “expertise.” “If a journalist is writing about, say, pension or health reform, he or she is not expected any more to read books and reports on the matter, as it should have, but simply to use dial-an-expert approach. Very often, journalism is just a mere reflection of the outsourced expertise,” said Živković.

Tena Perišin, of Croatian Public Television, said she feels the situation is getting worse. “Experienced journalists are losing their jobs, or going to other, more stable and less stressful professions. They are being replaced by young, inexperienced journalists, mostly working on part-time contracts, and by definition more subjugated to editors and publishers. They do not have enough experience to tell the difference between information and spin, they are not questioning or investigating. They are simply publishing information as they get it,” she said.

The Croatian journalistic community has been known for more than a decade for its well-elaborated ethical standards, promoted primarily by the Croatian Journalists’ Association (CJA). This is still the case. CJA’s ethics committee is recognized as a group of respected media professionals, and their decisions matter. Some of the biggest publishers have their own, more tailored ethical codes as well, but the influx of younger, less experienced journalists and ever more relentless market competition have negatively affected ethical standards as well.

“I was shocked when I saw the cover pages of all major daily papers in Croatia featuring a large, almost a page-size photo of the brother of a student brutally murdered this summer,” said one panelist. “He was escorted to the police station, as a suspect. The headlines screamed, “Brutal Murderer of his Own Brother,” and “A Monster Captured.” After the forensic analysis was complete, he was released and cleared of all suspicion. But, by then it was no longer “news.”

Just days before the MSI panel, the most circulated daily paper in Croatia published a photo of a child who was fatally injured in a car accident on its cover page. “What is and what could be the added value to readers of such photo? There is absolutely no justification for that,” said another panelist. These examples show clearly that ethical standards should be reinforced, or revisited anew.

“We have publishers who are not interested in accurate and unbiased reporting, then editors hand-picked by these publishers, and then journalists who are under the strict control of these editors. This is what I call a pyramid of incompetence,” said Klancir.

Self-censorship follows as a logical consequence. “You should not expect a young journalist, working on a part-time contract, basically at the will of his employer, to open relevant issues. Most publishers have their own side-businesses; they are almost by definition involved in different, multifaceted, and not always transparent business operations. They depend on advertisers, who depend on politics, which depends on the media. This is a vicious circle in which it is very hard to avoid some sort of censorship, especially in investigative reporting,” said Gordan Malić, an investigative reporter who decided to join a small, independent web portal rather than work for a major publisher exactly to avoid censorship. “I could not publish my stories in ‘my’ paper. I did not want to bury these stories, so I gave them to other publishers. But I would rather work for a smaller publisher, than be paid for not publishing my own stories,” said Malić.

“We are a highly indebted country, with highly indebted citizens, with a highly indebted media. If you are taking bank loans to pay salaries to your employees, as many media outlets are doing, then it is not likely that you would criticize this bank,” said Havkić, using very practical terms to support his view.

As for the coverage of the most newsworthy events, Boris Rašeta commented, “With so many bloggers and social media users, it is impossible to sweep relevant issues under the carpet. I wouldn’t say that media are not covering all

key events. They do. But, the prevalence of trivial content is overshadowing it.”

It is hard to question that. A media consumer can find reports on all key events, but they are often trivialized, as Rašeta said. It is strange, indeed, that in a country that is about to join EU, that has been balancing between recession and depression for the record-breaking five years, and with record-high unemployment, the single most covered issue in 2012 was the transfer of a Croatian soccer player from Tottenham London to Real Madrid. The second most covered issue was—with an unbelievable frequency of articles—a serial of wild parties in one summer resort. Politics and the economy come in as a distant third on the list.”

“It is about incompetent editors. They do not know what to do and how to react, so their approach is to wait and see how the others are going to cover it. So, instead of in-depth analysis and different approaches, too often we are getting only cloned stories,” said Klancir.

“Media are covering all key issues. But, the focus of this indicator should be what are the key issues now,” said Klarić. Indeed, as Martin Mayer added, some problems are obviously not interesting for editors. For example, he said, “I haven’t seen analytical reports of the Eurozone crisis, aside from some agency reports on mass protests in Greece, for example,” said Mayer. “By mid-January 2012, Croatia has to make a plan to use €14 billion from the EU budgets from 2014 to 2020. As far as we know, the government started to work on it yesterday (December 10). It is about €14 billion, but no one is covering that,” said Berković.

Previously, MSI panelists have not viewed pay levels for Croatian journalists as any kind of discouraging factor when it comes to corruption. But, salaries in journalism have dropped by additional 10 to 15 percent in 2012. They are now at least 40 percent lower than in 2008.

“The dignity of the profession is in question. I know journalists who cannot cover even their basic needs with their income. This is humiliating, indeed,” said Car.

Klancir added, “There are ever more journalists with a second, even a third job. Of course, this has a direct impact on the quality of content. Besides, this situation exposes journalists much more, if not to corruption, than at least to conflicts of interest.”

The problem with Indicator 6 is more with a definition than with prevalence of one or another type of programming. “In the beginning, we had informative and entertainment programming. Then, we invented the neologism ‘infotainment.’ Now, the problem is that we do not

“If a journalist is writing about, say, pension or health reform, he or she is not expected any more to read books and reports on the matter, as it should have, but simply to use dial-an-expert approach. Very often, journalism is just a mere reflection of the outsourced expertise,” said Živković.

know anymore where ‘info’ ends and ‘-tainment’ starts. We obviously have new hybrid forms on the market that have so far escaped analyses,” said veteran panelist Ante Gavranović. Using the old definitions of “informative” and “entertaining” programming, one can say that the balance between the two is still within the area of acceptable.

Facilities and equipment for gathering, producing and distributing news are, in general terms, modern and adequate to the requirements. To a certain degree, this is a reflection of the fact that equipment (especially software) is ever more affordable.

“I remember when I started my career, in the 1980s, a journalist who covered the economy had a PhD in public finance,” said one panelist. This is not the case anymore, of course. This type of knowledge has been replaced by what Živković named ‘outsourcing of expertise’ and the ‘dial-an-expert’ approach. Let’s be frank and say that this is a global trend. The German paper *Der Spiegel*, for example, recently published a (premature) obituary for the former US president George Bush Sr. The moderator of this report recalled visiting the *Der Spiegel* newsroom in late 1980s, where the host proudly presented a group of 15 specialists, most of them with PhDs, whose only job was to provide expertise to journalists and check information before the presses start running. This is not the case anymore, anywhere.

“The lack of specialized and niche journalism is one of the key factors that have caused the crisis of our profession and the deterioration of its public image,” said Klarić. Constraints to investigative journalism, related to self-censorship and the interests of publishers, for example, have already been elaborated. But, there are some other aspects of the problem, as well. “It seems that most media have forgotten their own *raison d’être*. They are trying to survive on the market by offering ever more trivial content. Their main



**“The intentions of the third channel are definitely not commercial, but to serve interests of an audience with higher standards,” said Perišin. “This is a good indication of at least one positive change on public television.”**

motive is commercial, to earn money. Some of them have managed to do it, some of them have become wealthy, but they will have to pay the price for it, if they are not already. They do not care about the damage this approach has caused to the media environment and society. To the young readers, they are offering triviality, false role models, and shallow experiences. This is not what a responsible publisher should do,” said veteran publisher, Uroš Šošković.

### OBJECTIVE 3: PLURALITY OF NEWS

Croatia Objective Score: 2.56

Plurality of public and private news sources has never been lacking in Croatia. With almost one radio or television station per 25,000 inhabitants, dozens of print media outlets and a myriad of local and nationwide online news sites, 60 percent of households with Internet access (plus 97 percent of enterprises), an ever-growing percentage of social media users, and more than 1.3 mobile phones per capita (many

#### MULTIPLE NEWS SOURCES PROVIDE CITIZENS WITH RELIABLE, OBJECTIVE NEWS.

##### PLURALITY OF NEWS SOURCES INDICATORS:

- > Plurality of public and private news sources (e.g., print, broadcast, Internet, mobile) exist and offer multiple viewpoints.
- > Citizens’ access to domestic or international media is not restricted by law, economics, or other means.
- > State or public media reflect the views of the political spectrum, are nonpartisan, and serve the public interest.
- > Independent news agencies gather and distribute news for media outlets.
- > Private media produce their own news.
- > Transparency of media ownership allows consumers to judge the objectivity of news; media ownership is not concentrated in a few conglomerates.
- > A broad spectrum of social interests are reflected and represented in the media, including minority-language information sources
- > The media provide news coverage and information about local, national, and international issues.

of them smart phones), the plurality of news sources is well-grounded and guaranteed.

Media consumers can say that all points of view are covered: from liberal to conservative, from the left of the political spectrum, to centrist and right-wing orientations. Unfortunately, this abundance of news sources does not reflect a wealth of quality as well, since many of the diverse sources suffer from the limited financial and practical capacities of journalists and editors to discover, produce, and disseminate quality news. Thus, while Croatia’s average score on this point remains decent, steep declines in private media output, ownership transparency, and program diversity keep its score below the sustainable level.

Ever since the mid 1950s, when the authorities allowed free and uninterrupted broadcasting of the BBC news service for the former Yugoslavia, there have not been any formal restrictions on access to international media. From the mid 1960s onwards, millions of foreign tourists brought not only a kind of breeze from the West, demonstrated by the popularity of television stations from Austria or Italy in Slovenia and Croatia at the time, but regular access to foreign print media, as well. Currently, the government imposes no restrictions on any source of information or communication, be it domestic or international, including Internet, satellite dishes, VOIP, or social networks. Thanks to satellite distribution, IPTV is now available in remote and rural areas of the country, as well.

In 2012, public television invested heavily in upgrading its programming, including specific, non-commercial programs. The MSI panelists expressed their satisfaction with the launch of the third national public television channel, which is based predominantly on culture, documentaries and quality movie programming (commercial advertising is not allowed). “The intentions of the third channel are definitely not commercial, but to serve interests of an audience with higher standards,” said Perišin. “This is a good indication of at least one positive change on public television,” she said. In this sense, public television has started to use public money to serve the public interest by offering content that is not available on commercial television channels. “Where else would we find a package of, say, contemporary French, Argentinean or Peruvian, or German art films?” asked one panelist. “And yet, it is too early to make any general conclusions after only few months of broadcasting of this channel. I still miss more content on alternative news and events,” said Car.

"It would not be fair or accurate to say that public television is politically biased or that it spends more time reporting on government than the opposition. The issue is not the balance of reporting. Frankly, I don't see one single, consistent editorial policy in public television programming. It depends much more on the capacity of each news editor than on any type of established editorial policy. Call it pluralism, or lack of consistency, but it contributes to presenting different views to the public," Klarić said.

There is only one nationwide news agency in Croatia, operating as a public agency (Hina). In addition, there's also a Catholic news agency, IKA, but it offers a limited news perspective. Still, the predominant opinion of panelists is that the public agency serves its purpose well. The basic agency service is very affordable, even for the smallest newsrooms, and provides a reliable source of information. Many web portals depend upon this source of information, as well. For as little as \$40, an individual journalist can obtain a basic monthly service subscription, while monthly rates for media outlets start at a very reasonable \$100 per month. Local broadcasters rely heavily on news provided by the five radio networks, which are usually negotiated as part of packages with the content providers: news in exchange for advertising time.

The electronic media act stipulates that all local commercial broadcasters must produce and air news programming, which must consist of at least 10 percent of the overall programming. "This is a heavy burden on us," said Miljenko Vinković, owner of a local television station and representative of the National Association of Local TV Stations. "News programming is one of the most expensive productions, and no one is asking us whether we can afford it in a recession," he said. Most panelists still believe that in this case; it is simply about the rules of the game. "The law is very precise in this respect. You are aware that one of preconditions for using a finite public good is producing content of the public interest, including local news. This is the core issue in your license contract, and I do not think we should change it, regardless of the recession that affects all media sectors," said Klarić.

Local commercial electronic media are obliged to produce local news, which they are doing on a daily basis. As mentioned, they are often using national (and international) news from the radio networks. This news does not differ significantly from the public media, aside from the length of segments.

Again this year, the question of transparency of ownership provoked a lively debate and exposed different opinions. "I think that the public considers this issue more important

"My impression is that, say, 50 percent of the legitimate public interest is condensed into ten percent of the media space. So, we cannot really say that the media are not reporting on these issues, but the proportion is definitely not a representative one," Živković said.

than it really is," said Havkić. "You can find the ownership structure of each media outlet on the web or in the commercial court registry." All print and commercial broadcast media are obliged to disclose exact data on their owners by end of April of each calendar year. But, are the true owners reported? "There is no way to find out," Havkić replied. "For example, a formal owner might lodge a contract on transferring ownership to any other legal or physical person, and there are no legal means to determine this, if the actors do not want to disclose it. Ownership can be impermeable, without being in breach of the legal procedure," he added.

But does the identity of media owners really matter? Živković has a fresh approach to this issue. "Of course, it is important who the owner is, but it is even more important who controls the media. Banks and advertisers, for example, are not media owners, but they efficiently control the media." Indeed, one single bank controls, through credit lines and mortgages, four out of six key daily papers in the country. "It is about a simple equation. It serves the interest of the bank more to keep leverage with the media owner in the form of a loan, than to sell the outlet in the currently non-competitive market," said Živković.

It has been more than a decade since the arrival of the first serious foreign investors in the media industry. Have they brought what we the panelists expected in the 1990s? Probably not, when it comes to content quality (after all, their main goal is to make a profit), panelists agreed, but they have substantially contributed to establishing certain market standards and stability, and to preventing direct political interference and control of media. Without idealizing the foreign investors, these should be considered fair contributions to the development of the local media industry.

**“About 90 percent of media in Croatia are in the red. This should be enough to describe the current position of media,” said Rašeta.**

“As for coverage of minority issues, we are often focused only on national minorities. But, my impression is that media do not report enough on social minorities. When did you read an in-depth analysis of, say, the problem of the ‘third age’ population?” asked Mayer. Indeed, the panelists agreed that the problems of social minorities are not well represented in the mainstream media, although independent web portals do report on these issues on a regular basis. “My impression is that, say, 50 percent of the legitimate public interest is condensed into ten percent of the media space. So, we cannot really say that the media are not reporting on these issues, but the proportion is definitely not a representative one,” Živković said.

But, given the overall situation in the country, the term ‘minority’ is usually seen in the form of national minorities. Minority language media have a long tradition in Croatia, both in print and broadcast media. One of the most relevant weekly papers in Croatia is *Novosti*, published by the Serbian National Council in Croatia.

This paper became the focus of an unusual outburst of criticism by the Croatian President earlier in 2012. This was a real surprise, indeed, especially taking into consideration the fact that the president was elected on the social democrat’s list and, even more, that he is a politician proud of his left-wing background. “*Novosti* published a series of articles on the president’s close friend who, allegedly, was supported by the president himself (although in his earlier professional incarnation) and amassed millions of Euros in not-exactly transparent business relations with the Croatian Music Rights Collection Agency, where the current president previously held an important position. The president reacted with an open call to review the (government’s) budget line that financed *Novosti*, and questioned the mandate of *Novosti*’s publisher to “represent the Serbian minority.”

However, according to Klarić, “It was not about minority problems, not at all. *Novosti* opened an issue with the president; he reacted nervously. But, I would not see it as an attack on media freedoms. It is rather a clash of egos.” Still, the case left a feeling that some important questions have not been answered, but rather suppressed by the authority of the office of the president. Unfortunately, aside from

some independent web portals, no mainstream media have found this problem relevant enough to venture into an open conflict with the president.

In general terms, minority media are well established, using multiple sources of financing (see Objective 4). Živković has already commented on representation of the minority-issues in the mainstream media, but there is another aspect of the problem, as well. “Many minority-language productions simply don’t want to go off their own, self-imposed ghettos,” said Perišin. “Just too often they feel safer under the umbrella and protection of “ethnic business.” They have no incentives to participate in an open market of ideas,” she said.

Given the number and structure of the media, citizens are provided with a variety of information on local and national issues, taking into consideration restrictions and problems discussed under Objectives 1 and 2. There is an obvious deficit of a higher-quality and in-depth analysis of international events, which are most often reduced to “copy-paste” reporting based on agency feeds. “A few weeks ago, I flew from London to Zagreb. I read international newspapers at the airport, and then Croatian papers on the plane. It was like two different worlds. The top issues elaborated on the front pages of international papers have not been mentioned at all in domestic print media,” said one panelist.

This is even more concerning knowing that Croatia, as a soon-to-be EU member state, will, by definition, become much more involved in international commerce than it has been so far.

#### OBJECTIVE 4: BUSINESS MANAGEMENT

Croatia Objective Score: 2.13

Once one of the country’s stronger sectors, Croatia’s media businesses have been hampered by the general economic malaise in Europe, precluding the possibility of meaningful reforms that would solve profitability issues and identify new revenue streams.

“About 90 percent of media in Croatia are in the red. This should be enough to describe the current position of media,” said Rašeta. “In my paper, November 2012 was, in terms of circulation, the most successful month in the past three years,” said Klarić. “Still, this was not enough to make a profit. We are keeping the paper above the water only thanks to our side products. Without that, I am afraid that some 200 journalists would be laid off,” he added.

Indeed, circulation sales have been cut in half in the past five or six years. That is true for overall publishing income, as well. In 2012, the biggest publisher in Croatia is expected to make a mere 52 percent of its 2008 revenue. "This is not rhetoric. This is the fact," said Gavranović, who remembers the times when the circulation of one daily paper in Croatia equaled the combined circulation of all domestic daily papers today. "The dramatic drop in income stems from the market and financial crisis, combined with poor management. Which one prevails, it is hard to say," concluded Gavranović. "I would say that the drop in circulation reflects more distrust in media, than fallout from the financial crisis," said Klancir, suggesting that more responsibility should be assigned to publishers and editors, or content quality in general, than to the crisis. Malić goes further. "Most media serve primarily as a tool to win elections. In addition, media are platforms for different deals with advertising and business conglomerates, banks, or a publisher's own side businesses. This is what media are for now, rather than serving the public interest. But, you cannot hide it from the audience. Their reaction is simple: they do not buy and consume media as they did before," said Malić.

There is another aspect of the crisis, as well. "Five, six years ago, journalists did not benefit from the 'fat' profits with a fair share. True, salaries were decent, but they did not reflect profits made. Today, journalists' salaries and professional standards in general have fallen more than the real impact of the financial crisis can explain. In both cases, journalists paid the higher price," said Galić, for years involved in union's issues.

In such a context, it is of secondary importance whether media follow business plans or accounting practices in line

#### MEDIA ARE WELL-MANAGED ENTERPRISES, ALLOWING EDITORIAL INDEPENDENCE.

##### BUSINESS MANAGEMENT INDICATORS:

- > Media outlets operate as efficient and self-sustaining enterprises.
- > Media receive revenue from a multitude of sources.
- > Advertising agencies and related industries support an advertising market.
- > Advertising revenue as a percentage of total revenue is in line with accepted standards.
- > Government subsidies and advertising are distributed fairly, governed by law, and neither subvert editorial independence nor distort the market.
- > Market research is used to formulate strategic plans, enhance advertising revenue, and tailor the product to the needs and interests of the audience.
- > Broadcast ratings, circulation figures, and Internet statistics are reliably and independently produced.

"I would say that the drop in circulation reflects more distrust in media, than fallout from the financial crisis," said Klancir, suggesting that more responsibility should be assigned to publishers and editors, or content quality in general, than to the crisis.

with international standards. "They do. After all, foreign investors own most of the mainstream media. But how can one make, say, a viable mid-term business plan in such a volatile market?" asked Klarić.

In fact, the issue of media financing erupted just days before the MSI panel was held. Živković, in his capacity as adviser to the Minister of Culture, raised the idea of using additional public funds to promote and financially support content of public interest in the media. The intention was to draw these additional funds from the public television subscription fee, but the main commercial media misinterpreted this announcement (perhaps not accidentally, many panelists would say) as a new tax. For sure, the concept opens many unanswered questions, such as the criteria for financial support, type of media eligible to apply, and more. But in essence, the issue raises another problem that needs to be addressed: can public interest content exist depending only on free market rules? Are there ways to enhance the content of public interest in media, avoiding the trap of combining support and control in one single package?

"We cannot go so far as to say that media should function independently of the market. After all, media content is also a commodity that must find clients and buyers on an open and fair market. But, at the same time, it is obvious that some outside forces have a great deal of influence on media content. For that reason, there should be some protective mechanisms at place to support quality content in the media. Eliminating VAT is one possible solution to preserve journalism as a public good, but not necessarily the only one," said Zdenko Duka, president of the Croatian Journalists' Association. Certainly, the panelists agree, this debate will be one of the core issues for discussion on the 2014 MSI panel.

In general terms, media outlets do receive revenue from multiple sources. Considering negative trends in the media industry and an almost dramatic fall of income, media tend to be more vulnerable to outside influence than before. In a restricted market, mainstream media depend ever more on banks, advertising agencies, and business conglomerates, as

**But in essence, the issue raises another problem that needs to be addressed: can public interest content exist depending only on free market rules?**

explained under Objectives 1 and 2. "There's a list of banks and bigger advertisers, who have a privileged position and exert heavy influence over the mainstream media. Only independent media, with a limited reach, dare to criticize them," said Rašeta.

Furthermore, local media have their own problems. Most local media receive direct financial support from local governments (usually in the form of contracts for "reporting on municipal issues," although this should be the core activity of the local media), or by in-kind support (favorable rental rates, for example). Of course, these liaisons have direct impact on the quality of reporting and/or editorial independence.

"On the positive side, we can say that the stable source of financing contributes to the editorial independence of the public television. Unfortunately, just too many changes of the respective public television legislation has created a certain climate of instability," said Perišin.

Commercial broadcast media make their income on the market, with one important exception. Namely, local commercial radio and television stations may apply for financial support to the so-called Fund for Pluralization of the Media, which is funded by the public broadcaster's subscription tax, in a ratio of 97 percent to the public broadcaster, 3 percent to the Fund. The Fund is financially supporting non-commercial productions of public interest on local radio and television stations, and productions on minority languages. The Fund disposes with some \$5.5 million, a substantial sum considering the total number of some 160 commercial broadcasters.

Some of the most prominent international advertising companies have been present for years on the Croatian market, setting standards for all involved in the industry. McCann Erickson, for example, opened its branch office in Croatia back in mid 1980s. The advertising market is, in professional terms, well developed, although it suffers from a serious contraction of the economy overall. But, it is exactly this contraction of the overall market volume that gives the advertising agencies additional means to influence media. "They (advertising agencies) are, of course, aware of the media's desperate appetite for advertisements. They are using this to get better package deals for their clients, at the

expense of media income. This is their legitimate right. But unwanted influences on media come with the package, as well. With increasing frequency, advertisers are asking for product placement or hidden advertising, for example. Some of them are even conditioning placement of their ads by introducing elements such as favorable and positive content environment for their products or services, which is a blatant way of influencing media," said one panelist. "Advertisers can buy not only advertising space for a bargain, but they can even buy public relations articles disguised in the form of standard journalistic articles and reporting," said Božo Skoko.

Advertising on public television is restricted (four minutes per hour in prime time), but there is still a general feeling that the public service undersells commercial media and lowers the market price of advertising.

"For print media, on average, advertising supplies some 55 percent of income, with circulation sales accounting for about 45 percent. This is, in general terms, in line with international standards. It is different when it comes to distribution of the total advertising volume. Globally, television takes between 38 and 41 percent of the advertising market, while in Croatia this percentage goes to more than 70 percent. Print holds about 29 percent of the advertising market globally, while in Croatia it is some 22–23 percent. Internet advertising takes 15 percent globally, but in Croatia it is only 2–3 percent," said Gavranović.

Advertising is limited on the commercial television stations to 11 minutes per hour. Non-profit media, supported primarily by the Fund for Pluralization of Media, the National Foundation for Civil Society Development, and local government funds, are allowed to up to three minutes of advertising per hour, but only rarely are they capable of filling this airtime with ads.

Government-generated advertising does not account for as much volume as in other countries in the region. For example, the Serbian government is thought to directly or indirectly control almost 60 percent of its overall advertising market. In Croatia, the figure is far lower. Still, some ministries (such as the Ministry of Tourism or the Ministry of Police) do have generous advertising/public awareness funds. There is a legal provision that obliges them, along with all government advertisers, to spend at least 15 percent of their respective budgets on local media. "There have been some improvements in this regard, but it is very hard to control whether the government really conforms to this stipulation," said Vinković. "When it comes to distribution of government-generated advertising, I have not noticed any situations in which media that criticize government are

excluded from their share. More often now, it is based on ratings and circulation figures, and not as much on arbitrary decisions as previously," said Klarić.

In one bright spot, surveys and market researchers follow high industry standards, using all recognizable tools and sophisticated methods. Although there are still occurrences of 'research' made on the basis of ad hoc phone calls or interviews (primarily in smaller local media), leading international players in the field of surveys, audience ratings and market researchers (such as AGB Nielsen) have set professional standards for all. Last year, the upcoming launch of ABC Croatia was announced, though it has not happened yet. Still, circulation figures are considered much more reliable than before. "I would say that publicly known figures are accurate within 5 percent," said Klarić.

## OBJECTIVE 5: SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS

Croatia Objective Score: 2.71

Supporting institutions remain strong in Croatia, and have improved over the long course of MSI studies in the country. Strengths include the journalists' associations and advocacy groups, the country's technology infrastructure, and the availability of distribution channels.

"When there is a problem, at the end of the day we are all going to the Croatian Journalists' Association (CJA)," said Klarić. And yet, CJA has taken a lot of criticism for being

### SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS FUNCTION IN THE PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS OF INDEPENDENT MEDIA.

#### SUPPORTING INSTITUTIONS INDICATORS:

- > Trade associations represent the interests of media owners and managers and provide member services.
- > Professional associations work to protect journalists' rights and promote quality journalism.
- > NGOs support free speech and independent media.
- > Quality journalism degree programs exist providing substantial practical experience.
- > Short-term training and in-service training institutions and programs allow journalists to upgrade skills or acquire new skills.
- > Sources of media equipment, newsprint, and printing facilities are apolitical, not monopolized, and not restricted.
- > Channels of media distribution (kiosks, transmitters, cable, Internet, mobile) are apolitical, not monopolized, and not restricted.
- > Information and communication technology infrastructure sufficiently meets the needs of media and citizens.

"CJA membership has been in decline for the third consecutive year, and this is not a reflection of the many lay-offs in the industry. This is more the result of dissatisfaction of members with the services and protection offered by the CJA," said Gavranović.

too passive in all these tectonic changes in journalism in the recent past.

In the 1990s, CJA was more than just an association representing an industry branch. In the authoritarian environment, CJA was the strongest voice in protecting not only media freedom, but human rights in general. This period of time earned CJA much of the reputation that it still enjoys. But, today, journalism as a profession has to deal with a whole different set of problems.

"CJA membership has been in decline for the third consecutive year, and this is not a reflection of the many lay-offs in the industry. This is more the result of dissatisfaction of members with the services and protection offered by the CJA," said Gavranović, himself president of CJA in the most turbulent early 1990s.

"CJA has lost its vigor. An association should be more proactive, instead of reactionary. CJA should have their team of legal experts ready at every moment, and they should more actively contribute in drafting media and media related legislation. They should more explicitly stand to protect journalist' rights," said Berković. "But, CJA can work only on a basis of consensus, which is not always easy to reach," replied Klarić. "This is why CJA cannot react instantly."

For his part, Skoko thinks that CJA has lost some credibility. "The other problem is that CJA simply does not have any leverage when it comes to violations of professional standards or the code of ethics. If you are a lawyer, and your association revokes your membership in their professional association, you have a serious problem. If you are a journalist, and CJA excludes you from membership, there are few consequences," Skoko said.

On the positive side, both CJA and the Journalists' Trade Union have been actively working in cooperation with international professional associations. Both CJA and the trade union has been, for years, a sort of role model for similar professional associations in the region.

According to Gavranović, "Ethics, responsibility, professionalism and credibility are the main pillars of our profession. It takes a life-long process of learning and practicing to internalize these elements"

On a formal level, associations have represented all sectors and interests involved in the media industry. The Croatian Journalists' Association gathers more than 80 percent of journalists in the country, organized in different sub-associations (investigative journalists, freelancers, journalists covering the economy, health and medicine, ecology, IT sector, bloggers, automotive reporters, sport reporters, photo reporters, etc). The Journalists' Trade Union works closely with CJA. Local media (primarily radio stations, but print media as well) are organized in the Association of Local Radio and Print, while local commercial television stations have the National Association of Local TV Stations. National commercial television stations have their own association, as do print publishers. Representatives of the web sector have also organized.

Most of these associations are involved in active lobbying for their member's interests. The Association of Publishers, as mentioned, managed in 2007 to lobby the government for a reduction of VAT on daily papers, helping publishers net at least \$70 to 80 million. Other associations have actively supported member's interests, when it comes to media legislation, bylaws and regulations, legal advice, financial terms and tax issues, individual support to members, etc. All these associations are independent of the government. Associations are covering running expenses by themselves; on an ad hoc basis, or by an established annual membership fee. There are no legal restrictions imposed by the government when it comes to registration and functioning of these organizations.

Unlike in the 1990s, other NGOs besides CJA are not very vocal in supporting freedom of speech and media independence. That is mainly because most NGOs are involved in the field of election/legislative monitoring, human rights, gender issues, and reconciliation projects. With CJA as a central point of reference when it comes to media freedom, free speech issues tend to be a secondary concern for human rights' NGOs. Besides, current problems with free speech are subtler than problems with the same issue, say, fifteen years ago. The line between free speech and government pressure is not as visible as in 1990s. Now, free speech problems are more complex, reflected in

relations between publishers and financial lobbies, and are not the subject of base repression. Furthermore, champions of speech freedoms that have succeeded in the media business since the 1990s are now considered selfish or even ruthless media tycoons by some.

"Ethics, responsibility, professionalism and credibility are the main pillars of our profession. It takes a life-long process of learning and practicing to internalize these elements," said veteran panelist Gavranović, media expert with more than half-a-century professional experience, and still one of the most active authors in the field of media theory and contemporary media trends. But, not many professional journalists are willing to participate at short-term training opportunities.

"There are still many short-term training opportunities available, but interest for this type of education has dried up. Even when journalists are interested, their editors are not willing to allow them to participate," said Perišin.

In contrast to that, formal journalism studies are still popular. There are eight full-format graduate journalism programs in Croatia. Some of them (including private ones) in 2012 enrolled more students of journalism than ever before. At least some journalism degree programs are capable of reaching higher educational standards, the panelists feel. One example they highlighted is the Study of Journalism at the Faculty of Politic Science in Zagreb, which offers a quality television studio, and a radio station. Students are producing and broadcasting their own television programming on a 'regular' channel, as well. Faculty can offer undergraduates not only practical opportunities, but also a chance to get journalism degrees abroad.

However, Perišin pointed out, "It is not a problem in quality of journalism degree programs. It is about the absorption capacity of the Croatian media. With a record-high number of laid-off journalists and no chances to reverse the trend—quite the contrary—we have a record-high number of students of journalism. There's no logic in it."

Sources of media equipment, newsprint and printing facilities are apolitical; they are neither monopolized nor restricted in any way. There are no restrictions in importing any material needed for media or journalists, and clients do not face discrimination for their political interests or any other non-market criteria.

Printing resources have surpassed the market demand, allowing publishers to enjoy at least one expense-break option. Print presses in neighboring Slovenia, Bosnia, or Serbia, are within the range of Croatia's publishers, and can

always serve as a reserve or discount alternative in case of a sudden rise in prices by domestic printing presses.

There have not been any changes in regard to the country's technical infrastructure. Providers of Internet, mobile phones, cable TV, IPTV and similar services are privately owned, most of them local branches of large international IT and communication business conglomerates, offering professional, efficient and unrestricted access to all parties under standard market conditions. But, there is a problem with the distribution of print materials. Croatia's largest business conglomerate owns the nationwide newspaper distribution network, Tisak, and is also the biggest advertiser in the country. Recently, this distribution network began charging a type of entry fee for each new publication sold on the newsstands owned by the network. "This is a problem, or at least an indication of a potential problem," said Duka. "But even more worrisome is the fact that the biggest company in Croatia and the biggest advertiser in the country basically control print distribution. I'd call it a permanent conflict of interest," Duka said.

Considering the existing information and communication technology, Croatia can easily meet higher industry standards. Internet streaming of audio or video, podcasting, and content delivery via mobile phone networks (SMS and/or audiovisual MMS) are standard and affordable market services. The fastest growing sector is IPTV, which will improve information access in rural areas. The switch to digital broadcasting has been executed successfully, with 95 percent of households digitized so far.

Despite these advances, taking into consideration the grim economic and social perspectives anticipated for the rest of 2013, optimism is in short supply, once again.

## List of Panel Participants

**Emil Havkić**, media lawyer, Zagreb

**Dražen Klarić**, content director, Večernji List, Zagreb

**Martin Mayer**, adviser, Delegation of the European Union to Croatia

**Viktorija Car**, lecturer, Faculty of Political Science, Zagreb

**Božo Skoko**, adviser, Millenium Agency, Zagreb

**Djurdjica Klancir**, deputy chief editor, T-Portal web portal, Zagreb

**Toni Gabrić**, editor, H-Alter web portal, Zagreb

**Gordan Malić**, investigative reporter, Index web portal, Zagreb

**Gabrijela Galić**, journalist, *Novi List*, Rijeka

**Vesna Roller**, member, Agency for Electronic Media, Zagreb

**Ante Gavranović**, independent media analyst, Zagreb

**Jelena Berković**, spokeswoman, NGO GONG; media specialist, Zagreb

**Boris Rašeta**, journalist, *Novosti* weekly, Zagreb

**Anja Picelj-Kosak**, media specialist, US Embassy Croatia, Zagreb

**Tena Perišin**, news editor, Croatian Public TV, Zagreb

**Milan Živković**, media adviser to the Minister of Culture, Zagreb

**Miljenko Vinković**, co-chairman, National Association of Local TV stations, Čakovec

**Zdenko Duka**, president, Croatian Journalists' Association, Zagreb

## Moderator and Author

**Davor Glavaš**, independent media consultant, Zagreb

*The Croatia study was coordinated and conducted in partnership with Radio.net d.o.o. The panel discussion was convened on December 11, 2012.*