Unintended media effects in a conflict environment: Serbian radio and Croatian nationalism

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July 2011

Online Appendix
Online Appendix A. Additional Evidence

We present in this Section additional evidence.

In Online Appendix Figures A1-A4 we present graphical evidence on the difference in distributions between towns with and without measure reception of Serbian radio with respect to additional political outcomes. The comparisons are along the lines of Figure 3b in the text.

In Online Appendix Table A1, we present for the regressions in Table 5 in the text the coefficients on all the control variables. In Online Appendix Table A2 we present the result of interaction effects for the main specification in the text.
Online Appendix Figure A1. Vote share for moderate nationalistic party in villages with, and without, reception of Serbian radio (controls).

Online Appendix Figure A2. Vote share for Social-Democrats in villages with, and without, reception of Serbian radio (controls).
Online Appendix Figure A3. Turnout in villages with, and without, reception of Serbian radio (controls).

Online Appendix Figure A4. Offensive graffiti in villages with, and without, reception of Serbian radio (controls).
### Online Appendix Table A1. Impact of Serbian radio, regressions with controls. Baseline sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>At least 1 Serbian (RTS) radio available</th>
<th>Vote Share of Extreme Nationalists</th>
<th>Vote Share of Moderate Nationalists</th>
<th>Vote Share of Social-Democrats</th>
<th>Turnout</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
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<tr>
<td>0.023**</td>
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<td>[0.020]</td>
<td>[0.023]</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicted availability of at least 1 Serbian (RTS) radio</td>
<td>0.183***</td>
<td>-0.200***</td>
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<td>Distance to Serbia, logged</td>
<td>-0.012</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>-0.045***</td>
<td>-0.059***</td>
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<td>Population (logged)</td>
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<td>-0.009</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
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<td>[0.011]</td>
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<td>% of Croats</td>
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<td>0.084**</td>
<td>0.081</td>
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<td><strong>Significant at 5%</strong></td>
<td><strong>Significant at 10%</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>% of male population</td>
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<td>-0.269</td>
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<td>-1.190*</td>
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<td>% economically active, %</td>
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<td>0.654**</td>
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<td>[0.323]</td>
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<td>% of aged 21-40</td>
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<td>0.257</td>
<td>-1.533**</td>
<td>-1.199*</td>
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<td>[0.298]</td>
<td>[0.685]</td>
<td>[0.611]</td>
<td>[0.578]</td>
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<td>[0.516]</td>
<td>[0.718]</td>
<td>[0.685]</td>
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<tr>
<td>% of aged 41-60</td>
<td>-0.044</td>
<td>-0.028</td>
<td>-1.905***</td>
<td>-1.881***</td>
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<td>[0.266]</td>
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<td>[0.433]</td>
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<td>[0.539]</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>% of aged 61+</td>
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<td>-0.005</td>
<td>-1.169***</td>
<td>-0.996**</td>
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<td>[0.255]</td>
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<td>[0.337]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disabled after the war of independence, %</td>
<td>1.650**</td>
<td>1.476**</td>
<td>1.650*</td>
<td>1.885**</td>
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<td>-0.048</td>
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<td>[0.033]</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monument in the honor of died defendants of the town</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.040**</td>
<td>0.040**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[0.012]</td>
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<tr>
<td>[0.036]</td>
<td>[0.036]</td>
<td>[0.034]</td>
<td>[0.036]</td>
<td>[0.052]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[0.053]</td>
<td><strong>Significant at 10%</strong></td>
<td><strong>Significant at 5%</strong></td>
<td><strong>Significant at 10%</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names of the streets in Cyrillic script</td>
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<td>0.02</td>
<td>-0.013</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Names of the streets in Hungarian</td>
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<td>-0.072*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Serbian beer in bars</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.024</td>
<td>0.022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[0.008]</td>
<td>[0.008]</td>
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<td>[0.017]</td>
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<td>[0.018]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Large forest nearby</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
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<td>[0.04]</td>
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<td>[0.017]</td>
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<td>[0.017]</td>
<td>[0.018]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Region fixed effects</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mean of Dependent Variable</td>
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<td>0.070</td>
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<td>0.362</td>
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<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
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<td>0.57</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.78</td>
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<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
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<td>138</td>
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<td>Implied Persuasion rates</td>
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<td>0.04</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effect of 1 st. dev. change</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: The specification report the results of OLS specifications, with the observations weighed by village population. This baseline sample includes villages directly visited by the authors in 2009 and 2010 to measure the radio availability in the main street. The variable “Predicted availability” (Column 7) is estimated from a probit regression of measured availability on the computed maximum signal strength of Serbian RTS radios. The standard errors in brackets are clustered by municipality, allowing for correlation between villages in the same municipality. * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%.
### Online Appendix Table A2, Panel A. Interactions: Measured radio availability, Baseline sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interaction of At least 1 Serbian (RTS) radio available with:</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>(6)</th>
<th>(7)</th>
<th>(8)</th>
<th>(9)</th>
<th>(10)</th>
<th>(11)</th>
<th>(12)</th>
<th>(13)</th>
<th>(14)</th>
<th>(15)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Distance to Serbia, logged</td>
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<td>0.005</td>
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<tr>
<td>Population (logged)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Croats</td>
<td>-0.046*</td>
<td>0.005</td>
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<tr>
<td>% of people with higher education</td>
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<tr>
<td>% of male population</td>
<td>-0.557</td>
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<tr>
<td>Economically active population (%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>% of aged 21-40</td>
<td>-0.157</td>
<td>0.561*</td>
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<td>% of aged 41-60</td>
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<tr>
<td>% of aged 61+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disabled after the war of independence (%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Was important during the war</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Monument in the honor of died defendants of the town</td>
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<tr>
<td>Names of the streets in Cyrillic script</td>
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<tr>
<td>Names of the streets in Hungarian</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian beer in bars</td>
<td>0.042**</td>
<td>-0.013</td>
<td>0.057***</td>
<td>0.045</td>
<td>0.290</td>
<td>-0.203</td>
<td>0.064</td>
<td>-0.116</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>0.085***</td>
<td>0.011</td>
<td>0.033*</td>
<td>0.020**</td>
<td>0.022**</td>
<td>0.021**</td>
</tr>
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<td>At least 1 Serbian (RTS) radio available</td>
<td>[0.017]</td>
<td>[0.090]</td>
<td>[0.019]</td>
<td>[0.028]</td>
<td>[0.483]</td>
<td>[0.148]</td>
<td>[0.122]</td>
<td>[0.070]</td>
<td>[0.041]</td>
<td>[0.026]</td>
<td>[0.012]</td>
<td>[0.018]</td>
<td>[0.009]</td>
<td>[0.009]</td>
<td>[0.009]</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>R-squared</td>
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<td>0.53</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>0.54</td>
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<td>0.54</td>
<td>0.53</td>
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<td>0.54</td>
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<td>0.53</td>
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### Online Appendix Table A2, Panel B. Interactions: Predicted radio availability, Baseline sample.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Interaction of Predicted availability of at least 1 Serbian (RTS) radio with:</th>
<th>Vote share for extremely nationalistic parties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Distance to Serbia, logged</td>
<td>0.017 [0.062]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population (logged)</td>
<td>-0.080 [0.068]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Croats</td>
<td>0.097 [0.192]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of people with higher education</td>
<td>0.527 [4.270]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of male population</td>
<td>-1.673 [3.380]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically active population (%)</td>
<td>1.114 [2.609]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of aged 21-40</td>
<td>-3.622 [3.786]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of aged 41-60</td>
<td>-3.349 [2.809]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of aged 61+</td>
<td>2.314 [1.663]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled after the war of independence (%)</td>
<td>-5.475 [8.257]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was important during the war</td>
<td>-0.247* [0.143]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monument in the honor of died defendants of the town</td>
<td>-0.005 [0.094]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names of the streets in Cyrillic script</td>
<td>-0.124 [0.081]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names of the streets in Hungarian</td>
<td>-0.680 [0.739]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian beer in bars</td>
<td>0.161 [0.241]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicted availability of at least 1 RTS radio</td>
<td>0.171*** [0.036]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
<td>0.573 0.573 0.573 0.573 0.573 0.573 0.573 0.573 0.573 0.573 0.573 0.573 0.573 0.576 0.580 0.574</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Online Appendix B. Survey Transcript

“Thank you for agreeing to participate in a survey of "attitudes towards music and towards radio programming". Completion of the survey will take approximately 15 minutes. The survey asks for no names and the results will be reported in aggregate form. The results will be used to understand what people in your region of Croatia think about different types of music and what their media habits are. If you have any questions, please contact the principal investigator, Katja Zhuravskaya, Professor at the Paris School of Economics, at ezhuravskaya@gmail.com.

1. Do you live in this village?
   a. Yes.
   b. No.
   c. (do not prompt) Don’t know.
   d. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

2. Have you ever heard about Ribja Corba? (Interviewer: substitute Ribja Corba for Lepa Brena if a respondent looks like being at least 40 years old)
   a. Yes. (go to 4)
   b. No.
   c. (do not prompt) Don’t know.
   d. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

3. What current popular Serbian band or singer do you know?
   Open-ended question. (If respondent does not know/refuses to answer, go to 8)

4. What is your attitude toward a possible concert of Ribja Corba here in Slavonia? (Interviewer: substitute Ribja Corba for Lepa Brena if it was mentioned in question 2. Substitute for the answer to question 3 if 2a is not yes)
   a. I am in favor of it
   b. Do not care
   c. The concert should be prohibited
   d. Other
   e. (do not prompt) Don’t know.
   f. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

5. Have you heard any of songs of Ribja Corba written since 2000? (Interviewer: substitute Ribja Corba for Lepa Brena if it was mentioned in question 2. Substitute for the answer to question 3 if 2a is not yes)
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. (do not prompt) Don’t know.
   d. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

6. Where did you hear these songs?
   a. On radio
b. In a car
  c. In café or bar
  d. On TV
  e. On Internet
  f. Other
  g. (do not prompt) Don’t know.
  h. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

7. We turn now to more general questions about exposure to different media. How often do you listen to radio?
   a. Every day
   b. Several times per week
   c. Several times per month
   d. Rarely
   e. Never
   f. (do not prompt) Don’t know.
   g. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

8. I noticed that here you have a great coverage of a lot of radio stations (we do not have it in my Vukovar), do you have reception of some Croatian radios?
   a. Yes
   b. No (go to 10)
   c. (do not prompt) Don’t know (go to 10)
   d. (do not prompt) Refused to answer. (go to 10)

9. How often do you listen to Croatian radio?
   a. Every day
   b. Several times per week
   c. Several times per month
   d. Rarely
   e. Never
   f. (do not prompt) Don’t know.
   g. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

10. Do you have reception of some Serbian radios?
    a. Yes
    b. No (go to 12)
    c. (do not prompt) Don’t know (go to 12)
    d. (do not prompt) Refused to answer. (go to 12)

11. How often do you listen to Serbian radio?
    a. Every day
    b. Several times per week
    c. Several times per month
    d. Rarely
    e. Never
10. Do you have reception of some Bosnian radios?
   a. Yes
   b. No (go to 14)
   c. Don’t know (go to 14)
   d. Refused to answer. (go to 14)

13. How often do you listen to Bosnian radio?
   a. Every day
   b. Several times per week
   c. Several times per month
   d. Rarely
   e. Never
   f. Don’t know.
   (go to 14)

14. Do some people in your village listen to Serbian radio? For example some music, news?
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. Don’t know.
   d. Refused to answer.

15. What is your age?
   a. 18-25 years
   b. 26-34 years
   c. 35-44 years
   d. 45-54 years
   e. Over 55.
   f. Don’t know.
   g. Refused to answer.

16. What is your level of education?
   a. Primary school
   b. Secondary school
   c. High school
   d. More than high school
   e. Don’t know.
   f. Refused to answer.

17. What is your occupation?
   a. Student
   b. Full-time job
   c. Part-time job
d. Pensioner 
e. War veteran  
f. Other  
g. (do not prompt) Don’t know.  
h. (do not prompt) Refused to answer. 

18. What is your mother tongue?  
a. Croatian  
b. Serbian  
c. Other  
d. (do not prompt) Don’t know.  
e. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.  

19. (Do not prompt. To be filled by interviewer) Gender of respondent:  
a. Female  
b. Male”
Online Appendix C. Laboratory Experiment Transcript

Questionnaire Transcript

“Welcome to the experiment on perception of political information. You will stay in the assigned room for 20 minutes listening to a radio broadcast. Your goal is to listen carefully to the broadcast and then fill out the questionnaire, which will be distributed after the end of the broadcast. In the end, you will receive a 20 Kunas as a gift for the participation in the experiment.

Demographic questions:
1. Gender
   a. Female
   b. Male

2. What is your age?
   a. 17-25
   b. 26-35
   c. 36-45
   d. 46-55
   e. 55 and over
   f. Don’t know
   g. Refused to answer

3. Which town or village are you from? _____________________

4. Did some members of your family participate in the War of Independence?
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. Don’t know
   d. Refused to answer

5. Do you have close relatives killed during the war?
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. Don’t know
   d. Refuse to answer

Please listen to a radio broadcast. After the end of the broadcast, please answer the following questions:

6. Do you recognize all the artists whose songs you heard in the radio program?
   e. Yes
   f. No
   g. Don’t know
7. Please indicate on a scale from 5 (“Strongly agree”) to 1 (“Strongly disagree”) whether you agree with the following statements
   • Nonpayment of wages to workers of TRIMOT (state-owned companies) in the last 6 months is justified _____

8. Please indicate on a scale from 5 (“Very important”) to 1 (“Not at all important”) how important is extradition of former Prime Minister Sanader from Austria for the Croatian accession to the European Union _____

9. Please indicate whether the radio news program you have listened to reported on the following subject:
   Report from Dick Marty including information about the involvement of the Kosovo Prime Minister Hashima Thaci in the weapon and human organs trafficking.
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. Don’t know
   d. Refused to answer
   Awards for radio program Pula and exhibitions of mammals from the last ice age.
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. Don’t know
   d. Refused to answer

10. Please rank the following political parties from the party that you like most to the party which you dislike most. Please write a ranking number for each party. Give the party which you like the most number 1 and give the party that you dislike most number 11.

   a) HDZ (Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica)     _____
   b) HDSSB (Hrvatski Demokratski Šavez Slavonije i Baranje)  _____
   c) HNS (Hrvatska Narodna Stranka)               _____
   d) HLSLS (Hrvatska Socijalno Liberalna Stranka)  _____
   e) HSP (Hrvatska Stranka Prava)                 _____
   f) HSS (Hrvatska Stranka Seljaka)               _____
   g) HSU (Hrvatska Stranka Umirovljenika)         _____
   h) IDS (Istarski Demokratski Sabor)             _____
   i) SDSS (Samostalna Demokratska Srpska stranka) _____
   j) SDP (Socijaldemokratska Partija Hrvatske)    _____
   k) SDAH (Stranka Demokratske Akcije Hrvatske)   _____

11. Would you agree to work with:
   a. Bosnians Yes__/No___
   b. Serbs  Yes__/No____
   c. Hungarians Yes__/No____
   d. Russini Yes__/No____
12. Would you agree that your children study in the same school with children of 
a. Bosnians Yes___/No____
b. Serbs Yes__/No____
c. Hungarians Yes___/No___
d. Russini Yes__/No____

13. Would you agree that your child would have a best friend
a. Bosnians Yes___/No____
b. Serbs Yes__/No____
c. Hungarians Yes___/No___
d. Russini Yes__/No____

14. Would you agree that your child will marry
a. Bosnians Yes___/No____
b. Serbs Yes__/No____
c. Hungarians Yes___/No___
d. Russini Yes__/No____

15. Please indicate on a scale from 5 (“Strongly agree”) to 1 (“Strongly disagree”) whether you agree with the following statements:
a. More good jobs for Serbs means fewer good jobs for Croats ____
b. Many Serbs have been trying to get ahead economically at the expense of other groups____
c. The more influence Serbs have in local politics, the less influence Croats will have in local politics____

16. We would like to get your feelings about some ethnic groups. When you see the name of a person or group, please rate it with what we call a feeling thermometer by typing a number from 0 to 100. On this feeling thermometer, ratings between 0 and 49 degrees mean that you don't feel favorably toward the person or group and that you don't care too much for that person or group. Ratings between 51 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorably and warm toward the person or group. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward a person or group you would rate them at 50 degrees.
Using the feeling thermometer below, how do you feel toward:
Bosnians? ___
Serbs? ___
Hungarians? ___

Transcript of radio exposure

Control remix: Croatian Radio

Time: 0:00
Uncertainty concerning the gas supply for Croatia for the next three years has been solved. The “Natural Gas” company reported that the new gas supplier for Croatia will be INA’s longtime partner in research and exploitation in North Adriatic – an Italian oil company ENI. The company claims that it made the best possible offer among currently available on the market. Prepared by Silva Celebrini.

What was crucial in decision to choose ENI as a supplier of natural gas for Croatia for the next three years? – we are asking Davorka Tancer, the director of “Natural Gas,” INA’s subsidiary. “I stress that we have managed to negotiate a higher flexibility in quantities and more affordable prices, as well as an opportunity to use two supply routes: an existing one through Slovenia and a new one through Croatian-Hungarian inter-connector, which is about to be put into operation.”

What are those most favorable conditions in terms of the price of gas, we couldn’t find out. “We cannot reveal the price; it is a part of a contract and is subject to trade secret protection.”

Contracted quantity is 750 millions cubic meters and it will be flexible. Yet, it is considerably smaller than the size of previous imports from Russia that reached up to one billion and one million cubic meters. INA claims that contracted quantities will be sufficient as gas consumption was reduced. In addition, the new gas field “Ana Maria,” recently put in operation, has increased domestic production of natural gas by 10%. Italian ENI, which sells Russian gas through Austria and Hungary and also is a longtime INA’s partner in North Adriatic, must have a very competitive prices because it uses all three supplying sources: it sells gas from Libya, Algeria and Norway.

The president of Croatian Gas Association Dr. Miljenko Shunich says: “ENI has been cooperating with INA for several years already. The cooperation is of high quality. It is very trustworthy and very transparent. I deem that that was one of the reasons for choosing that supplier.”

INA points out that despite some open questions regarding the gas deal, this contract has enabled a secure supply for households and industries. How much will this security cost us, we will probably find out soon. We have learned that the Croatian Agency for Supervision of Financial Services has ordered ban on announcements of unverified information about INA’s share trading. Intensive trade with INA’s shares on the Zagreb Stock Exchange still continues. It is still unknown who has already invested around half a billion kunas in INA’s shares. Pension funds keep silent on that issue and try to avoid journalists.

PR of the Zagreb Stock Exchange Sanda Kuhtic-Nalis: INA’s shares are traded today as intensively as before. The price is still 2830 kunas. During this day, the volume of

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1 This is a subsidiary of INA.
transaction in INA’s shares was around 110 millions kunas and for the last three days it was around 500 millions kunas.

The workers of Trimot from Imotski\(^2\) will receive the six-months-worth of salary arrears by the end of this year. In addition to that, they are going to get a Christmas bonus of 2000 kunas fundraised from a humanitarian concert tickets to which have been sold out already. However, the future of the predominantly state-owned company is still uncertain. Workers and residents of Imotsko wonder why the state as the owner does not find a strategic partner to provide finance in the amount of 3 millions kunas needed for continuation of production. Until two months ago industrial plants were operating but now they do not work any more as there is no money for raw materials, production, or salaries.

A man and a woman that have been searched for during the last two days on Sljemen, have shown up in Zagreb alive and healthy. Yet they will have to explain to the police where they were while the Mountain Rescue Guard was searching for them. 32-year-old Tin Zhugay and 25-year-old Iva Marich are being questioned, but details about this case are still unknown. This ex-special-forces policeman and a waitress disappeared on Monday night. Where they were, what they were doing, and why did they leave their car working on the Sljemen road, with documents and mobile phones inside, is still being investigated.

\(\text{Time: 3:42}\)

\textbf{Song 1, Control:}
\textbf{Artist: Hladno Pivo, Song: “Teško je ful biti kul”; Style: Hard Rock}
\[\text{see transcript below}\]

\(\text{Time: 5:39}\)

[Part 2 (between the first and the second song) is identical for all 3 remixes: it is Croatian Radio news report on Ivo Sanader’s possible extradition to Croatia]

Despite expectations, today it hasn’t been confirmed in Austria whether Ivo Sanader will dispute his extradition to Croatia. It is only certain that he will stay in the Salzburg prison till December 27. Prosecution authorities are to inform the public on the extradition after Christmas.

From Salzburg (responded) Barbara Peranić:

“Even after the long-awaited the Public Prosecution’s press conference in Salzburg it is still not certain whether Ivo Sanader is going to confront a request for his extradition to Croatia. Namely, a PR of the Public Prosecution Barbara Feihtinger said that Croatian ex-prime minister would stay in prison till the 27th of this month, if before that he does not accept a simplified extradition procedure.

\(\text{2 Imotski is a town in Croatia near the border with Hercegovina. Allegedly, as usually believed among the EX-YU population, Imotski has always been a home to hard-core Croatian nationalists (Ustashas).}\)
Theoretically, he can agree with his Croatian and Austrian lawyers and at any point opt for a simplified procedure. A judge would then order an early hearing date. She added that in that case the extradition will proceed very fast. She didn’t want to comment on the existing information that a warrant related to secret accounts and money laundering had been delivered to the Public Prosecution office in Innsbruck, where Sanader studied and has a residency permit. She explained, however, what happens with the former chief of Banski Dvori in case the Austrians decide to start official investigation. “If this happens, a criminal case would be initiated before the Austrian court, and no extradition could be possible unless that case is completed,” said Feihtinger. As is already known, the investigation commission of Korushka’s Parliament, interested in the information on the Hippo bank affair, also wants to interrogate Sanader before his extradition. Feihtinger has confirmed that Sanader was arrested on the charges of abuse and 6-million-euro fraud, and that the former prime minister said that a politically motivated legal case is underway against him in Croatia. He cannot be released on bail as the detention was ordered not only because of the escape but also based on other legal grounds for which bails are not allowed.

In Austria, the former prime minister is accused of money laundering, allegedly made through a Tyrolean Bank. HTV reported that Interpol had found his two secret bank accounts. A colleague Sandra Poshe-Djurin was following what Austrian media wrote about Sanader case, and her conclusion is that if a criminal case is initiated against him in that country, the extradition will take significantly longer time.

Today almost all Austrian media have reported on their internet pages that due to the suspicion of money laundering in Austria the extradition of former Croatian prime minister might be prolonged. They add that one bank in Tyrol has accused him of money laundering, which need to be checked out by the public prosecution in Innsbruck. In the event of investigation or possible additional charges, the extradition process, on which Sanader has not pleaded yet, might be prolonged. Austrian daily journal Die Presse, referencing HTV, writes that Interpol has allegedly found Sanader’s two secret bank accounts of 1.2 million euros. Sanader’s role in the affair of Hippo Alpe Adria Bank remains open, which is subject to curiosity over here and the Austrian media constantly write about this extensively. They speculate that he might be interrogated regarding the Hippo bank by the parliamentary investigation committee in Klagenfurt, and the 22nd of this month is mentioned as a possible date. Austrian Radio Television has reported that if any kind of a criminal procedure starts against Sanader in Austria, his extradition to Croatia might become more difficult, i.e. prolonged. Croatian Radio, daily news.

Time: 9:29

Song 2, Control:
Artist: Magazin; Song: “Sijamski blizanci”; Style: Folk Mild Rock
[see transcript below]

3 Banski Dvori is a governmental palace in Zagreb.
4 Croatian National TV – Hrvatska Televizija.
By reading news on a street loud speaker at Pula’s square Portarata, Branislav Mihajlovich, together with a few of his colleagues, created an experimental program on Radio Pula even before its official start in 1961. That way, he encouraged the founding of the first radio station in Croatian language in Istria, and on Radio Pula where he has spent all his work life. For this committed work, today he has been awarded an award for an exceptional contribution to the development of Radio Pula. The same award was given to a longtime journalist Agnesa Uroshevich, who, as the editor-in-chief, played an important role during the 80’s when Radio Pula was threatened with liquidation due to a proposed merger with Radio Rijeka.

“Work hard, every hard work pays off. I believe that you will successfully overcome this crisis and retain the quality of the program. Be as good as you are now, and (as you have been) so far, and you won’t make a mistake.”

The award was also given to Branimir Pajic, who spent 41 years on Radio Pula. The contribution of this sound master - often a wizard in times when recordings were done in poor conditions, especially in the field – is unmeasurable. Together with an ethnomusicologist Renato Pernic, he managed to preserve an ethnomusicological collection which rarely can be found elsewhere in Europe and which Radio Pula is justifiably proud of. Besides the recipients of the awards, nice speeches were given by the editor of Radio Pula Tatjana Kashtelan, the editor of the Italian language program Valmer Kuzma. And our birthday was greeted by a director of the program of Croatian Radio Dushko Radich, as well as temporary editor Zoran Mihajlovich. Radio Pula and every regional radio station attaches huge importance to the topics of local character, which listeners find most interesting, and Radio Pula does it fast and with credibility, which makes it the most popular media in Istria.

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5 Istria was predominantly populated by Italians as it was a Italian territory until the Second World War.
6 This last name sounds Serbian and first name sounds rather Croatian.
7 This is a Serbian last name and a Slavic name, which is more common among Serbs.
8 This is a typical Croatian last name. So is the first name, which is originally Italian. It is very hard to find a Serb with this kind of first name. Serbs use Russian names, such as Igor, Boris, Vladimir.
9 A typical Croatian last name from the sea-side region (Istria and Dalmatia).
10 Radic is a 90% Serbian last name, Dushko is a Serbian name 90%. That name is very rare among the ethinic Croats.
11 A typical Serbian last name; the first name is more Serbian than Croatian, although there are Zorans among the Croats for sure. Probably, there was a strong Serbian lobby inside the Radio Pula. No people with such names and last names could ever be successful and hold such positions in Zadar, Split, Zagreb, Osjek or other Croatian cities. Istria was always Serb-friendly and the people living there are very peaceful. Probably, it is because the region is considerably populated by Italian natives, having no concern about Serbian-Croatian relations. Dushko Radich and Zoran Mihajlovich are actually from Croatian Radio.
On Friday at 7pm, we are opening an exhibition entitled “The Ice Age Mammals”, which presents interesting examples of mammals who lived in Croatian and neighboring regions during the last Ice Age, which begun 100 to 110 thousand years ago and lasted till 11,500 – 11,700 years ago. Some animals became extinct when the Ice Age ended, and the emphasis at the exhibition is on such species that actually lived during the last Ice Age, but became extinct; those are woolly mammoth, woolly rhino, then steppe bison, prehistoric ox and giant deer. Animals that exist even today are also presented at the exhibition, such as domestic ox, wolf, horse, wild boar, north-european elk, and ordinary deer. Artifacts shown at the exhibition are exclusively from the collection of the Museum of Slavonia, from the sub-collection of special vertebrates from the natural history section of the Museum. They originate primarily from the alluviums of rivers Sava, Plava and Dunav and their feeders. They are important as the evidence of evolution, i.e. the evidence of changes in the varieties of animals that existed in the geological past; also they enable us to inquire about the changes of the composition of species in animal communities caused by natural processes and human actions. The exhibition is accompanied by a catalog. The entire project is supported by the Ministry of Culture, and according to the plan the exhibition will be accompanied by audio guides, lectures and workshops for interested visitors.

Time: 15:27

Treatment 1 remix: B92 Serbian Radio

Time: 0:00

[Part 1 (before the first song) is identical for all 3 remixes: it is various pieces of news from Croatian Radio, see transcript of the Control remix]

Time: 3:42

Song 1, Treatment 1, B92:
Artist: Jelena Karleuša; Song: “Insomnia”; style: Turbo-folk
[see transcript below]

Time: 5:37

[Part 2 (between the first and the second song) is identical for all 3 remixes: it is Croatian Radio news report on Ivo Sanader’s possible extradition to Croatia, see transcript of the Control remix]

Time: 9:37

Song 2, Treatment 1, B92:
Artist: Željko Samardžić; Song: “Devet hiljada”; Style: Serbian Chanson (Narodna muzika)
You are listening to the news of Radio B92. The Committee of Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe for Human Rights in Paris has considered Dick Marti’s report and discussed a draft of the resolution in which Kosovo Prime minister Hashim Tachi is linked with the trade of human organs of kidnapped civilians in Kosovo in 1999. Tachi announced that he was going to sue the reporter Dick Marti for writing the report, as well as various mass media, including the British “Guardian,” for published it. In Prishtina, at this very moment, Tachi’s press conference is expected to begin and by the end of this news program, we will try to get in contact with our reporter who is on the spot. In the mean while, Serbian prosecution for war crimes points out that there is no reason that any Kosovo leader to be exempted from prosecution if committed a war crime. The question now raised in Belgrade is what the next steps which should be taken by the state are. Professional community warns the authorities that they have to use all diplomatic means to make sure that the international institutions would not turn a blind eye to the Marti’s report.

At the session of the committee, Marti presented his report together with the resolution and read the following text, in which Hashim Tachi, then one of the leaders of the OVK, is directly linked with the trade of human organs of kidnapped Serbs and other non-Albanians in 1999.

- Perhaps it may seem that I did not tell anything new, that I did not write anything new, but what is new is that it is ME who said and wrote this. I must admit that I have started my work on the report and declaration on the basis of the Carla Del Pontes’s book published in 2008, in which she writes that the OVK traded organs in the period from 1999 to 2000. She wrote about the notorious “Yellow House” too. My report simply wants to show that very some worrying things have happened, that proofs exist, which uncover crimes that were committed by the OVK members. There has not yet been a serious investigation as Hague tribunal currently has had no jurisdiction over Albanians. It is about one entirely chaotic period right after the bombings, during which the OVK had power. People were kidnapped and deported to Albania.

Serbia had its representative at the session of the Committee as well. A parliamentarian of Democratic Party, Natasha Vuchkovich, tells B92 that she congratulates Marti on this brave report:

I have pointed out that our public in Serbia is very interested in reaching the truth about events Mr. Marti is talking about, primarily because of the victims, because of

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12 Radio Belgrade, as opposed to B92, is not covering Tachi’s press conference.
the families of the victims, because of all missing people whose destiny must be revealed. Our interest is that the full truth be revealed. We think that only in this way we can start moving further along the processes of both reconciliation and dialogue about the future of our region.13

- In the Public Prosecution Office for War Crimes they say that the Marti’s report brings them satisfaction. Prosecutor Vladimir Vukchevic does not see any reason for criminal prosecution to be avoided by anyone who traded human organs; he, however, did not want to talk about the names.

- In the Hague, there are 44 people, some of which were sentenced and some were released, but I emphasize that the members of political, military and police leadership of the Republic of Serbia were tried in the Hague. I will remind you, that there were presidents Slobodan Miloshevic and Milan Milutinovich, there were minister of defense Ojdanich and general Pavkovich, and police generals Lukich and Djordjevich who were there. So I do not see any reason that anyone from Kosovo, regardless of their position, should be exempted from possible responsibility for such crimes.

Political representatives of Kosovo Serbs, among whom we find Rada Trajkovic, now are expected to speak up from Belgrade and not to remain silent on Marti’s report. According to the opinion of Radoslav Stojanovich, an expert on international law, in this moment we face a number of opportunities, but some of them are very limited. The amendment submission deadlines are approaching and will come once the resolution has been sent to the Council of Europe. It is expected that a descision may take place on the 25th of January. If it the resolution is adopted without significant modifications, this will be, as it is expected now, the first international legal document stating that OVK is a terrorist organization which was dealing with crimes and trade in human organs. All that, according to some opinions, should be more than sufficient for the mission of EU on Kosovo (Eulex) to start a comprehensive criminal investigation.

*Time: 15:43*

**Treatment 2 remix: RTS Serbian Radio (Radio-Belgrade)**

*Time: 0:00*

[Part 1 (before the first song) is identical for all 3 remixes: it is various pieces of news from Croatian Radio, see transcript of the Control remix]

*Time: 3:42*

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13 This sentence carries a very peaceful and democratic tone. She mentions the possibility of reconciliation and dialogue with such tone that it may imply that Serbia is ready for big concessions toward Albanians. Radio B92 pushes for such statements.
Song 1, Treatment 2, RTS radio:
Artist: Ceca; Song: “Grome moj”; Style: Serbian Chanson (Narodna muzika)\(^{14}\)
[see transcript below]

Time: 6:01

[Part 2 (between the first and the second song) is identical for all 3 remixes: it is Croatian Radio news report on Ivo Sanader’s possible extradition to Croatia, see transcript of the Control remix]

Time: 9:51

Song 2, Treatment 2, RTS radio:
Artist: Riblja Ćorba; Song: “Letovanje”; Style: Pop
[see transcript below]

Time: 11:43

[Part 3 (after the third song) is the Radio Belgrad report on Dick Marti’s report on trade of human organs in Kosovo]

The Committee of the Parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe has adopted a draft of the report by Dick Marti, in which Kosovo prime minister Hashim Tachi is accused as being a chief of an Albanian criminal group, responsible for smuggling of weapons, drugs and human organs throughout Eastern Europe. This afternoon Dick Marti spoke to journalists, among which was Dushan Gajich:

Human rights committee has adopted Marti’s report without dissenting votes, thus, it practically became the report of the Committee and as such it will be presented to the plenary session of the Parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe. At an exceptionally well attended press conference, Marti talked about his report saying that it was not an investigation, but an encouragement for judicial authorities, competent judicial authorities, to do their job. He said that he wanted to break silence on crimes, upon which not much has been done so far, although, they have been known and spoken about for a long time. The same is true about so-called “Yellow House,” which had been mentioned in the Carla Del Ponte’s book as well. Let’s hear what Dick Marti has said:

“Our task was to establish certain facts, drawing on the report of madame Del Ponte. That was not a simple but a delicate job as many individuals were not willing to talk about this in the beginning. In the eyes of many people, I saw a terrible fear from the possibility of talking about these events. However, soon we discovered that all those things were known to a large part of intelligence agencies of different countries, police services, as well as numerous individuals who would say to you in private ‘oh yes, we knew about that, but for political reasons we chose to or we had to remain silent.’\(^{15}\) The

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\(^{14}\) This song is dedicated to a Serbian paramilitary commander accused of war crimes committed in Croatia.

\(^{15}\) Radio B92 never mentioned in its news report that Marti had said that a lot of foreign intelligence
report was intended to establish the exceptionally disturbing facts, in particular, that numerous mutually consistent pieces of evidence exist pointing to crimes committed by OVK members and that those crimes have remained unpunished so far and have not been subject to any serious investigation.”

Today, Marti pointed out that potential future investigators would face numerous problems. The first problem is about which institution has jurisdiction, as the Hague court has no jurisdiction over the territory of Albania where some of the these crimes were committed. Other problems have to do with the Eulex’s capacity and the intimidation and elimination of witnesses. But, he stressed that the truth on crimes he was talking about in the report must be established sooner or later despite all of these difficulties.

“That’s our goal: simply to encourage, so that the truth would finally be examined. But, what particularly shocked me in all this story was that most of the facts presented in this report were a common knowledge in numerous institutions and organizations which have been silent on these facts so far. I think that no future of any country can ever be secured without working on the truth and memories. There will never be any co-existence of different communities if we continue pretending to know nothing.”

The political and judicial consequences of this report are going to surface no earlier than in weeks and months ahead of us. As for the Council of Europe, the next step is the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe on the 25th of January during which the report made by Dick Marti is to be discussed and voted on.

Meanwhile, the investigation of Serbian authorities on human organs trade in Kosovo and Metohija and north Albania went further than the report of Dick Marti and its further advancement will depend on the cooperation with Eulex and the Council of Europe, said Serbian Prosecutor for War Crimes Vladimir Vukchevich. He did not want to mention the names of those suspected, claiming that there were enough serious evidences for those responsible for crimes to be prosecuted, regardless of the positions they have. More on this from Branislav Konstadinovich:

“The adoption of the Dick Marti’s report by the committee of the Council of Europe is an exceptionally significant moment for Serbia and its Public Prosecution for War Crimes. This is the recognition of our three-year-long work on the investigation of human

agencies and police services had already known about this crimes but were silent on it. Either B92 did not want to mention (it as it is not in accordance with their pro-western orientation), or Radio Belgrade made a manipulation.

16 Kosovo and Metohija was the official name for Kosovo when it was a Serbian autonomic region. Now, it seems, that the term Metohija has been removed from the official name of Kosovo, probably because Metohija traditionally was considered a Serbian part of Kosovo. Metohija is originally a Greek word - metohion, with some religious connotation. A huge part of Metohija belonged to a Montenegrin (mini-) kingdom until 1918, and lots of Montenegrins lived there before 1999.

17 B92 never mentioned that Vukchevich had said that Serbian war crimes prosecution “went further than the Marti’s report” in investigation on human organs trade.

18 Here it is interesting to notice how two reports of two different radios differ on what Serbian Public prosecutor Vladimir Vukchevich said about Marti’s report. These are completely two different statements. Either Radio Belgrade exaggerated the statement or Radio B92 lightened it and made it less aggressive.
trafficking and trade of human organs and on shedding light on the destiny of the missing people, said Serbian War Crimes Prosecutor, Vladimir Vukchevich. He noted that Serbian authorities had obtained some information which is not present in the report of Dick Marti.\textsuperscript{19}

\textit{Time: 15:43}

\textbf{Songs’ transcripts:}

[The songs of Ceca (Song 1, Treatment 2) and Zheljko Samardzich (Song 2, Treatment 1) represent a higher-end form of Narodna Muzika (Serbian Chanson). Jelena Karleusha (Song 1, Treatment 1) belongs to a branch of Narodna Muzika known as Turbo-Folk, which was very popular during the 90’s. Serbian Narodna Muzika, including Turbo-Folk, is primarily associated with Serbia and Serbian nationalistic feelings. Most importantly, the signer of Song 1 in Treatment 2 (Svetlana Ceca Razhnatovich) is a widow of Zheljko Razhnatovich – Arkan, a commander of Serbian paramilitary unit which operated in Croatia and Bosnia during the war in the early 90’s. He was accused of war crimes by the Hague tribunal, but was assassinated in Belgrade in 2000. This song is dedicated to him. The songs in the Control Croatian Radio remix have no relationship to Serbia. The song of Magazin (Sijamski b\'lizanci) (Song 1, Control) has some elements of folk music, but the listener would not associate it with Serbian folklore, in contrast to songs played in Treatments 1 and 2. Folk music became very popular among young Croats in the last few years.]

\textbf{Song 1, Control:}
\textit{Hladno Pivo – Tesko je ful biti kul (It is hard to be cool and full)}

It is not easy, when you are mummy’s spoiled boy
To look that dangerous.
It’s not easy but exactly just because of that
You got tangled when muscling blacks’ rap.

The words are mowing you, short automatic fire
You feel yourself so small.
Cause, how to find tough rhymes
Besides, in such a small homeland.

You got a sample, you got a beat
Just your words are bad
You think that you would have a hit
If you had have another color of the skin.

\textsuperscript{19} One of the main reasons why Croats find this Radio Belgrade news sample irritating is that it insists on portraying Serbs as winners, as opposed to B92 approach.
It’s hard to be both full and cool when you are here.  
It’s hard to be both full and cool when you are here.  
It is hard to find good rhymes.  
Besides, in such a small homeland.

(2x)

It is not easy, when you are mummy’s spoiled boy  
To look that dangerous.  
It’s not easy but exactly just because of that  
You got tangled when muscling blacks’ rap.

Automatic fire, the inflation of words.  
And you would like to say something  
About your darkness, about your neighborhood  
And gangs on Pantovchak20.

It’s hard to be both full and cool when you are here.  
It’s hard to be both full and cool when you are here.  
It is hard to find good rhymes.  
Besides, in such a small homeland.  
(2x)

Why you visit cafe bars, to hear stories.  
Stories about neighborhoods fighting, street wars.  
Expensive who*es and expensive watches  
And everything that rhymes with “atches”.

It’s ok (it’s enough), stop speaking bulsh**.  
People don’t want to accept new things sometimes.  
To such people the best player is Pele, and musician – Zele.  
People have haircuts, wash their hair, change their habits  
But you are still the inventor of Jabuka21 (Apple).

People like you don’t understand that verses lasts longer.  
The entire album has the same amount of text as just one my song.  
And if you know how to write a song, you don’t lose strings  
I am sampling it. I make a hit.  
But all you can make, is a re-make an old hit.  
It is not easy, one has to know how to produce a plagiarism.  
Once your cashbox gets empty, you’ll become four aces.  
And for all rural uncool people22, you will be making ethno-music.23

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20 A fancy and rich neighborhood of Zagreb.  
21 Probably they hint at ex-Yugoslavian music band Crvena Jabuka – A Red Apple.  
22 “Rural uncool people (Seljak)” – villager; in slang it refers to the people without style and with a poor
It’s hard to be both full and cool when you are here.  
It’s hard to be both full and cool when you are here.  
It is hard to find good rhymes.  
Besides, in such a small homeland.  

(2x)  

Song 2, Control: Magazin – Sijamski blizanci (Siamese twins)  

Get me out  
Get me out of this skin  
I’ll destroy the dream  
As he can do anything what he wants with me.  
Once we were Siamese twins.  
Now we are pupils on make-up exam  
Who will pass  
and who will fail.  

Refren (two times)  

Ayayayayayaya  
I hear you are calling me  
Let it ring, let it ring  
Ayayayayayaya  
Let my screaming, screaming respond  
No picture, no sound  
No more brother, decide me or her.  
Our baby will be beautiful.  
She’ll have my eyes  
And everything else from you  
So that from baby strollers  
Your lineaments could stick out.  

For those like you  
I am always an easy target.  
I got hang up on  
some handsome landloper.  

Once we were Siamese twins.  
Now we are pupils on make-up exam  

and cheap taste for music, arts, wardrobe.  

23 “Ethno-music” (Narodna muzika or narodnjaci) – is a type of music very popular in Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro, but also, to a little bit fewer extent, in Croatia. Although lots of people like this music, it is widely considered to be trash.  

24 Here the words “Pasti godinu” are used, they mean to fail to accomplish minimal requirements for advancing or proceeding to the next grade (in school) and then one should restart the current grade (class) again from the beginning.
Who will pass  
and who will fail.

Refren (two times)

**Song 1, Treatment 1, B92 radio:**
**Jelena Karlaeuša – Insomnia (Insomnia)**

I don’t want to sleep anymore ever  
Because when I sleep I always dream of some nonsense.  
Picture gets worse.  
And, thus, long life to insomnia.

I spend nights and days in the city.  
My moon has two dark sides.  
This country is a country of zombies.  
And, thus, long life to insomnia.

REFREN:

And face is fresh  
And growing older gets harder.  
When there are seven consecutive days  
Of hanging out without a pause.

Come on, call me tonight at three.  
Insomnia. Insomnia.  
I don’t sleep even as a hobby anymore.  
Call me tonight at five.  
Insomnia. Insomnia.  
Insomnia, and both you and me.

Mirza:  
Come on, come to daddy.  
Come on, come to daddy, daddy won’t get quiet.  
After daddy, there’ll be a lullaby song for you.  
When I make you tired, when I make you sweat.  
And thus, I’ll do everything to you.  
Will do what you like.  
Insomnia and then will be – good night, insomnia

JK:  
I don’t take anything to fall asleep  
Because, even when I fall asleep, I am all awake.  
And I feel even more tired.  
And thus, long life to insomnia.
And face is fresh
And growing older gets harder.
When there are seven consecutive days
Of hanging out without a pause.

REFREN
Come on, call me tonight at three.
Insomnia. Insomnia.
I don’t sleep even as a hobby anymore.
Call me tonight in five.
Insomnia. Insomnia.
Insomnia, and both you and me.

Mirza:
Is your head falling too?
Are you sleepy too?
Is your feeling super after that too
When hajduchica grass starts to smell in the field?

Buji-paji, buji-paji, o-oo (lullaby song)
buji-paji, buji-paji, o-oo
buji-paji, buji-paji, o-oo

REFREN
Come on, call me tonight at three.
Insomnia. Insomnia.
I don’t sleep even as a hobby anymore.
Call me tonight in five.
Insomnia. Insomnia.
Insomnia, and both you and me.

Call me…insomnia
Call me as a hobby
Call me tonight at five.
Insomnia, and both you and me.

Buji-paji, buji-paji, o-oo
buji-paji, buji-paji, o-oo
buji-paji, buji-paji, o-oo

Song 2, Treatment 1, B92 radio:
Željko Samardžić – Devet hiljada (Nine thousand)

Once in every second city
I had at least one love.
All those cities are now in you.
The light in your eyes is leading me towards them.
But unfortunately you are faithful to another man.
And you read just as it is written.
But there is something you should know.
He loves you longer.
I love you more.

I am nine thousands meters in the sky
When you give me a smile.
I am nine thousands miles beneath the sea on the bottom
When you don’t look at me.

Once everything was the same.
Women were just changing.
Now it is the opposite. I am clear about that.
The one night has changed everything.
But unfortunately you are faithful to another man.
And you read just as it is written.
But there is something you should know.
He loves you longer.
I love you more.

Song 1, Treatment 2, RTS radio:
Ceca – Grome moj

You were my innocence and sin, my fear.
On lips a bloody traces of tears
Whenever you are away.
Constant fear and my madness:
whether you are leaving or staying after all?
Now everything is, everything is between us,
Just – want, do not want

REFREN:
Do you remember my beautiful thunder?
Once the ground was cracking beneath us.
The heart was beating inside the heart.
Oh tell me where did it go wrong.

Do you remember my beautiful thunder?
I was drinking rain from your shoulder.
I am still your lightning, your fire.
Strike again, my thunder.

You were my support and my fall, that name
which I was calling when the whole world would forget me.
Constant fear and my madness:
whether you are leaving or staying after all?
Now everything is, everything is between us,
Just – want, do not want

(REFREN)

Now the sea has foamed up, everything has foamed up in me
And you and me are like two dandelions in the same foam
Which drags them to the bottom.

**Song 2, Treatment 2, RTS radio:**
**Riblja Čorba – Letovanje (Summer vacations)**

I will go down there toward Zadra when our people get there.
I am right from there from Knina, Shbenek is also near.
And that summer they come to Serbian sea.

Two ordinary tourists Lene and Bora.
And that summer they come to Serbian sea
Two ordinary tourists Lene and Bora.

If in summer I want to wander around,
I can go to Split.
I and my friends could go to Dubrovnik.

Two ordinary tourists Lene and Bora.
And that summer they come to Serbian sea
Two ordinary tourists Lene and Bora.

Sea is blue; water is transparent.
Istra attracts me so much.
There they are on our side.
Italians do not hate us.

Two ordinary tourists Lene and Bora.
And that summer they come to Serbian sea
Two ordinary tourists Lene and Bora.