

REMEMBER TO NOT FORGET

Construction of the Serbian collective memory through media
reportage of the commemorations of the Kosovo War

Author: Anđela Draganić

Abstract In 2019, Serbia marked the 20th anniversary of the end of the Kosovo War through numerous commemorations that received significant media coverage. Through qualitative, ideographical research, this article explores how the Serbian media constructs the collective memory of the 1999 NATO intervention. By using thematic analysis and coding, the article analyses a total of ten newspaper articles from two newspaper outlets. Three themes emerged from the analysis: 1. “Unjustified and premeditated bombing campaign”; 2. “Do not forget Milica!”; and 3. “No justice?”. The thread that unites all three themes is the element of victimhood that the media frames and positions at the centre of collective memory. The article concludes that this view of victimhood is not an anomaly in history, but is aligned with the existing collective memory through the continuous emphasis on the suffering of Serbs.

I Introduction

In 2019, Serbia marked the 20th anniversary of the end of the Kosovo War through remembrance of the victims and reflections on peace. By contrast,

Kosovo, whose independence has been recognised by some (but not all) states, celebrated victory and glorified NATO for its actions, claiming that the war consolidated Albanian Kosovars' identity (Begisholli, 2019). Thus, remembrance of the Kosovo War remains a site of contested memories, with Kosovo's independence still a central issue in Serbian politics. Consequently, the media's attention to this issue is extensive and includes narratives of independence, Serbian identity, history, and memory. The range of historical topics covered by the media is considered by the evolving field of media memory. Media memory is relevant as media organises collective memory, experience, and remembering, simultaneously shaping the public sphere (Barash, 2016).

Previous research regarding the role of the media in the Balkans conducted by Volčič (2016), Ljubojević (2012), and Kuzmanović (2008) showed that media reporting in Serbia is able to serve the needs of the political regime through biased reporting aimed at consolidating collective memory. However, the available literature focused on the media coverage of the break-up of Yugoslavia, while failing to account for the media coverage of the Kosovo War. This gap in the research marks the potential for the occurrence of misinformation regarding the Kosovo War. Consequently, the following research question arises: How do Serbian media reports on the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the Kosovo War construct the Serbian collective memory regarding the NATO intervention? The relevance of this article is two-fold: firstly, hostilities and ethnic violence in the region persist, and biased media could further increase them; and secondly, the younger generation did not experience the war and mainly learns about it through media, as a result of which media has a significant influence on shaping the youth's views (Obradović, 2016).

This essay argues that Serbia's media emphasises that the NATO intervention was unjustified and premeditated, resulting in numerous victims and the destruction of the country for which no justice has been served. The media thereby constructs and places Serbian victimhood at the centre of collective memory. To substantiate these claims, this essay firstly outlines the conceptual framework of collective memory, media memory, and victimhood. Secondly, the background to the Kosovo War is presented, followed by a third section on the methodology of this research. Fourthly, thematical analysis of the articles is discussed and the main claims regarding the victimhood are presented. Finally, the connection between Serbian collective memory and victimhood is examined.

2 Conceptual framework

The following section outlines the concepts of collective memory, media memory, and victimhood that are relevant to the analysis. The first concept is *collective memory*, which refers to the understanding of the past created by a community, simultaneously informing individuals' interests in the past, present, and future. Collective memory is shaped by the social group and encompasses the body of reusable images, texts, and traditions that are specific to a certain society and aim to consolidate its social image (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995; Edy, 1999). Collective memory maintains its constant presence within the society in various ways, one of which is through media. Indeed, aspects of collective memory, such as historical memories and national identity, are found to be a daily component in reports from media outlets (Ljubojević, 2012).

The second concept that requires defining is *media memory*. Neiger et al. (2011) define media memory as “the systematic exploration of collective pasts that are narrated by the media, through the use of media, and about the media” (p.1). Media contributes to the reconstruction of historical narratives and national identity, and aids the contemporary ideological discourse, because of journalists' power to emphasise particular memories (Ljubojević, 2012). To capture these technological developments, Van Dijck (2004) developed the concept of *mediated memory*. She argues that media, television, and the Internet mediate and exploit particular historical memories, leading to two effects: firstly, collective memory is selectively consolidated based on certain events in the past; and secondly, many personal memories are projected onto and incorporated into collective memory. These mediated memories can negatively influence the narration of history as young generations have a distorted knowledge and imprecise image of the past due to their exposure to technology (Obradović, 2016).

Besides collective memory and media memory, the third concept that necessitates a definition is victimhood, as previous research has indicated that historical revisionism and deliberate manipulation of collective memory in Serbia has led to the construction of the victimised nation narrative (Ramet, 2007; MacDonald, 2018, pp. 1–14). Victimisation is different from victimhood, as the former relates to an act of harm perpetrated against a person or a group, while the latter refers to the formation of a collective identity based on the inflicted harm (Jacoby, 2015). Groups retain a sense of victimhood as a result of previous traumatic experiences, such as wars inflicted upon them. If these traumatic experiences are continuously emphasised by a certain group, it becomes a form of a “chosen trauma” central to the group's collective memory (Bar-Tal et al., 2009). Consequently, groups

form a sense of self-perceived collective victimhood that Bar-Tal et al. (2009, p. 229) define as “a mindset shared by group members that results from perceived intentional harm with severe consequences, inflicted on the collective by another group”. Victimhood, therefore, becomes a central lens for understanding Serbian collective memory that may be mediated through the media.

3 Background information on the Kosovo War

The following section presents the background of the Kosovo War. The Kosovo War officially began in 1999, but the violence in Kosovo had started to escalate in 1989 when Milosević removed Kosovo’s autonomous status and began magnifying Serbian nationalism aimed at the unification of all Serbs (Webber, 2009; Rogel, 2003). Milosević began purges of Albanian Kosovars, and the ethnic violence escalated in 1998 with the deployment of the Yugoslav Army to fight Kosovo’s Liberation Army and Milosević’s opponents (Freedman, 2000). In 1998, the resolution authorising UN intervention in Kosovo was blocked by the Security Council (Rogel, 2003). As the status quo remained, NATO formed an alliance of 13 countries and launched an air campaign on 24th of March 1999 aimed at stopping the violence and forcing Milosević to sign an agreement (Webber, 2009). The 79-day intervention was named “Operation Allied Forces”; however, in Serbia, it is known as “Operation Merciful Angel”. The air campaign was carried out across the whole of Serbia’s territory, rather than just Kosovo, and resulted in approximately 1,500 civilian casualties (Papasotiriou, 2002). During the Kosovo War, approximately 800,000 Kosovar Albanians were either expelled by Milosević’s forces or fled the war to neighbouring countries (Rohan, 2018). The war ended with Milosević and NATO signing the Treaty of Kumanovo, and Kosovo was placed under NATO’s mandate while the Yugoslav Army withdrew. In 2008, Kosovo declared independence, and Serbia initially boycotted any form of communication with Kosovo (Rohan, 2018). Relations resumed in 2013 and negotiations between Serbia and Kosovo to peacefully resolve the disputes are currently ongoing and monitored by the European Union.

4 Methodology

The following section outlines the methodology employed during the research. As no hypothesis is disproved or confirmed, the article adopts an exploratory approach to answer the research question. The ten newspaper articles regard-

ing commemorations are analysed qualitatively through a thematical analysis and a codebook. An idiographic approach is adopted as the focus is placed only on commemorations and specific media outlets.

4.1 Data and data collection

The two newspapers selected for the analysis are *Blic* and *Politika*, both based in Serbia. *Blic* was chosen because it has the highest distribution in Serbia and is the country's most frequently visited media website (Surčulija et al., 2011). *Politika* was chosen as it is known to be the newspaper of record and credibility (Cropper, 2011). Ten newspaper articles were selected, dated from the 23rd of March to the 12th of June 2019, as this was the commemoration period. The choice of articles was narrowed down through the four key words on the newspapers websites' search engines: "NATO Intervention/Aggression", "bombarding (of Serbia)", "Operation Merciful Angel (Operation Allied Forces)", and "Kosovo". The sample was further narrowed down by focusing on the most shared, liked, disliked, and commented articles. After completing the search, five articles were selected from each newspaper; the articles can be found in Section 1 of the Appendix.

4.2 Data analysis

The analysis of the articles was conducted using thematical analysis and a codebook. Thematical analysis was chosen as it is used for identifying and analysing patterns or themes within the data relevant to the research question (Grey, 2014, p. 609). The research adopts inductive thematical analysis as the themes are data driven. Thematical analysis is also employed for analysing the comments below the articles. To aid the thematical analysis, a codebook was created. The codebook includes formal categories, such as title, author, and publication date, and core categories, such as accountability, defining the collective, emphasis on personal or collective memory, etc. The full codebook can be found in Section 2 of the Appendix.

5 Findings

This section discusses the findings by presenting three themes that emerged from the thematical analysis and coding: "Premeditated and unjustified bombing campaign", "Do not forget Milica!", and "No justice?" respectively. These themes are complementary and mutually reinforce each other. The unifying thread of the themes is their contribution to the construction of Serbian collective memory as a victimised group that has suffered in the hands of the powerful others.

5.1 Premeditated and unjustified bombing campaign

The first theme is centred around the legitimacy and validity of NATO's justification for the intervention and whether the intervention was premeditated. While NATO claimed that its intervention was necessary due to a humanitarian catastrophe in Kosovo, Serbian media claims that the intervention was not legally justified as it was not approved by the UN Security Council. The term "intervention" is not used by the Serbian newspapers, which instead use "bombing campaign", a term that assigns victimhood to Serbs. To establish the credibility of this claim, the articles quote different Serbian governors and various diplomats. For instance, one article in *Blic* quotes the current president of Serbia Aleksandar Vučić claiming that the intervention violated the sovereignty of an independent state and was legally unjustifiable.

In addition, articles justify the invasion by claiming that NATO had to prove itself on the global stage, rather than by referring to the previous violence that had occurred in Kosovo. To support this claim, *Politika* quotes Russia's Foreign Policy Secretary Andrei Klimov, who claimed that NATO could not justify its existence after the fall of the Soviet Union, and that violence in Kosovo therefore represented a chance for NATO to establish its new agenda. In the same article, *Politika* quotes a member of the European Parliament who claims that NATO needed credibility; with the Kosovo War, it therefore shifted from a defensive to an offensive alliance in the international arena. A significant number of comments support this view, showing that this view does indeed resonate with the Serbian public. For instance, one individual under the username Decak wrote: "... in 1989, NATO practically lost its function and faced the possibility of dissolution. NATO had to find a new role and strength in some new conflict..." [own translation] (*Politika*, 2019a). This justification of the invasion allows for assigning all the blame to NATO, while simultaneously reinforcing that Serbs are not to blame.

To balance this narration, both *Blic* and *Politika* summarise the interviews with NATO's Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg in which he claims that the intervention was justified due to the humanitarian catastrophe in Kosovo. The newspaper articles further quote Stoltenberg claiming that despite the numerous violations of human rights raised in the UN, no action was taken; hence, NATO had to act. Comments that followed these articles were generally negative. Certain individuals claimed that under no circumstances was the NATO intervention justified as NATO involved itself in a civil war. Many comments stressed the lack of justification for the invasion by emphasising that infrastructure, industry, and innocent civilians were targeted.

Besides claiming that the intervention was unjustified, both *Blic* and *Politika* state that the operation was premeditated. The newspaper articles emphasise that

Serbia was offered an ultimatum that no sovereign country would sign, simultaneously portraying Serbs as the victims of global powers. *Blic* states that the US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright claimed that the ladder for Milošević in the ultimatum should be placed so high that it would be impossible for him to climb it. Similarly, *Politika* suggests that the ultimatum was just a provocation, as it was well-known that Serbia would not accept it. Both newspapers hypothesised whether the signing of the ultimatum would have prevented the bombing, indicating that it would not have. To further support its claims, *Politika* (2019a, paragraph 10) once again quotes Klimov, who stated that “the amount of technology utilised during the bombing suggests that the intervention was planned well before it happened” [own translation]. Comments below these articles support the claim that no country would allow foreign troops to enter its territory, as was demanded by the ultimatum, thereby arguing that Serbia was viciously brought down to its knees. Ultimately, the newspaper articles create a narration that considers all Serbs the victims of the unjustified and premeditated bombing campaign, thereby conveying a sense of collective victimhood.

5.2 “Do not forget Milica!”

The second and most extensive theme is related to Serbian victimisation, which is framed as the backbone of Serbian collective memory. The articles establish victimisation by referring to Milica Rakić, a three-year-old girl who was killed when her house was accidentally hit by a NATO bomb. Over the years, Milica became a symbol of suffering and of the 79 children who died during the intervention. In the article that *Politika* dedicated to her, the author used emotive language, such as “the war ended her childhood, forever separated her from her parents, brother, children from the kindergarten ...” [own translation] (D., 2019, paragraph 2). The symbolism of Milica’s death is also exemplified in the monuments raised in her honour and in the Serbian Orthodox church’s request to canonise her. *Politika*’s article refers to all these initiatives, thereby placing Milica at the centre of the Serbian collective memory and suffering. Similar emotive language is found in comments that follow these articles. Many express their detestation of NATO and condolences to the family. For instance, one individual under the username Davidovič wrote: “... the villains of NATO did not care for the life of children. Those murderers sent death from their safe heights. For villains that was a game, but for our children a terrible death” [own translation] (D., 2019). The importance of her death is also exemplified in Vučić’s statement, “Do not forget Milica!”, and is mentioned by most articles.

Vučić’s concept of not forgetting extends to the general suffering during the war. “Forgive but never forget” [own translation] (Tanjug, 2019) is a dominant

discourse present in Serbian media. The need to forgive is ascribed to Serbia's aspirations to progress democratically and create alliances, while the need to never forget is central to the consciousness of victimhood and the current construction of collective memory. Eight articles analysed state that, due to the war, 2,500 people have died, half of whom were civilians and 79 of whom were children. Articles repeatedly mention and cite Vučić's claims that Serbia will always have the pride and strength to remember its victims who sacrificed their lives for their homeland. Articles do not present the idea of not forgetting as demonstrating the need to learn from the past, but as the shared feeling of suffering that should unite all Serbs. The comments below the articles offer a similar viewpoint, as best summarised in the following comment written anonymously: "we [Serbs] will forgive if we can, we will only have forgotten if there are no more us" [own translation] (Tanjug, 2019).

The element of victimhood is strengthened by referring to Serbs as a collective. For instance, articles tend to refer to the bombing of Serbs, rather than the bombing of Serbia. Newspapers evoke and discuss one unified historical suffering of all Serbs across the borders by referring to the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 against the Ottoman Empire and the placement of Serbs in concentration camps during the Second World War. The first commemoration event was attended by Milorad Dodik, the president of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who stated that "we should never forget the suffering and difficult history of our people" [own translation] (*Politika*, 2019b, paragraph 36). He further claimed that all Serbs across the Balkans must be united by their past suffering and victimisation. The articles and the quotes they refer to, therefore, frame victimisation as a motivation for the unification of all Serbs across the borders through their shared historical hardships, simultaneously magnifying the collective suffering.

Besides defining the collective suffering, the articles also discuss personal memories and stories in two distinct ways. Firstly, articles offer stories that are easily relatable to an ordinary Serb who lived through the bombings. For instance, an article in *Blic* provides the story of a woman who lived with her family in Belgrade, filmed the bombing, and tried to explain to her children that everything was alright. These stories allow for the reader to empathise with the pain of their fellow citizens. Secondly, four articles offer personal memories from people who lost someone in the war. These articles are not as easily relatable, as the majority of Serbs did not lose anyone during the air campaign, but are written in emotive language and have captivating titles. For instance, one article in *Politika* is titled "Remembrance of the day when "the Merciful Angel" was killing angels" [own translation] (Bakračević, 2019) and it tells the story of the bombing of a residential building. The article carefully describes eleven people who

died but had wanted to live long and happy lives, for example by highlighting the desire of one man to marry that year. Ultimately, by providing stories of individual and collective suffering, the newspapers provide a space for many individual memories to become a part of the larger Serbian collective memory. Both individual and collective memory reinforce each other in a manner that only further emphasises the victimisation of Serbs.

5.3 No justice?

The third theme relates to the lack of justice that Serbia and the victims have been served regarding the invasion. For *Blic* and *Politika*, justice as a term is not only confined to criminal accountability but extends to providing an explanation for why the bombing occurred. To establish that the intervention was a crime, the articles refer to it as a “bombing campaign” and an “act of aggression”. Furthermore, the articles analysed maintain that NATO committed crimes against humanity, and the apology to the victims offered by Stoltenberg is acknowledged but not accepted. The articles repeatedly claim the apology was personal, rather than on behalf of the alliance. To support these claims, four articles offer stories from victims and individuals who constantly wonder “why their loved ones died and why no one was held accountable” [own translation] (Tašković, 2019, paragraphs 1 and 8). The article that *Blic* dedicated to the bombing of main television broadcaster RTS includes the question of why in its title, and concludes by claiming that no one had to die as journalists are protected by international law – yet it happened without any explanations. The comments below these articles support this view, claiming that NATO is to be blamed for not providing any explanation and for failing to recognise its crimes. The framing of the narration and intervention as a crime provides an opportunity for the Serbian general public to feel entitled to reparations and justice, thereby only further emphasising the victimhood.

However, to claim that justice has not been served necessitates an “other” that is expected to serve that justice. NATO is constructed as “the other” in the Serbian media narrative, the powerful enemy that “lonely and abandoned” [own translation] (*Politika*, 2019b, paragraphs 5 and 7) Serbia at the time could not fight. To support this view, *Politika* (2019b, paragraph 7) quotes Vučić, claiming that:

We [Serbs] were alone, faced with the biggest military force in the world, with a coalition of rich and powerful, with 22.000 tons of bombs and rockets, and with their clear goal: to defeat us, to humiliate us and to give one part of our territory to someone else. [own translation]

This view is further supported by the Serbian army generals who attended commemorations and stated that “pain and wounds remain because victims cannot be compensated for their suffering” [own translation] (Radišić, 2019, paragraph 1). Furthermore, five articles analysed claim that “the aggression” was directed against people. This statement is reinforced by referencing the statements of politicians and by providing evidence that NATO targeted civilian neighbourhoods. NATO is, therefore, framed as not only the enemy of the country but also of the people. The dominant narrative is that Serbs will persist on their course towards democracy and safeguard their homeland despite the lack of justice. Vučić is quoted by *Politika* (2019b, paragraph 13) stating that “throughout its historical existence, Serbia has many times arisen and healed like a Phoenix” [own translation]. The article further offers numerous historical examples to support the claim, thereby evoking previous historical memories of victimhood to assure that the intervention was just another episode in history that will not affect the future.

5 The framing of victimhood within the Serbian collective memory

The thread that unifies the themes and articles discussed in this research is the victimhood of Serbs, which represents the pillar of Serbian collective memory regarding the Kosovo War. Victimhood is not only direct and related to the people who were killed during and due to the intervention, but is also related to the lack of justice and justification for the intervention. Media outlets powerfully and strategically include the concept of victimisation in all articles and offer a one-sided historical perspective. For instance, no article mentions the violence that occurred prior to the intervention or crimes committed by Serbs, as that could challenge the dominant view of victimhood. The analysis of the comments demonstrates that the view of victimhood resonates with the Serbian public.

Analysis of the constant emphasis on victimhood shows that collective memory in Serbia is mediated by media, as the two effects outlined by Van Dijk are indeed present. Firstly, Serbian media outlets consolidate collective memory by emphasising particular events related to the Kosovo War. For instance, although certain commemorations of Kosovar Albanians are mentioned, they are only briefly discussed and immediately contrasted with the suffering of Serbs. The media discourse in Serbia, therefore, lacks the perspectives of Kosovar Albanians, as these could threaten the victim-based narrative. Secondly, Serbian media allows for the incorporation of many individual stories into the collective memory. By providing numerous personal memories from victims, politicians, and

ordinary Serbs who were not direct victims of the invasion, newspapers allow for a wide range of readers to identify with at least one personal story, thereby evoking feelings of victimhood and empathy.

Furthermore, victimhood related to the NATO intervention is not constructed as an anomaly in history; rather, it is strategically intertwined with the existing collective memory, which in turn reinforces the self-perceived collective victimhood. Many articles evoke the previous suffering of Serbs dating back to the 9th century. These historical comparisons, and the constant selectivity regarding historical memories that journalists utilise, represent the victimhood and hardships of the Serbs as something that has always been present and caused by powerful others, such as the Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary, Hitler's Third Reich, and NATO. The collective memory of Serbs teaches that although these sufferings occurred, Serbs were brave and fought for their homeland. The memory of the Kosovo War is placed within this site of collective memory, thereby indicating that Serbs will persist once again through knowing their collective history, respecting their religion, and loving their homeland.

6 Conclusion

As shown by the analysis, Serbian media consolidates personal and collective memories of the Kosovo War with the already-existing historical collective memory by emphasising the element of victimhood. Victimhood is portrayed in three dimensions by the media: firstly, Serbs were victims of an unjustified and premeditated bombing campaign; secondly, Serbs were victims of the bombing and had numerous casualties; and thirdly, Serbs are victims because no justice has been granted for the crimes that were inflicted on them. This victimhood is tied back to the powerful enemy, NATO, that constitutes "the other". The existence of "the other" is present within the historical Serbian collective memory and is necessary to achieve the social cohesion of Serbs across the borders. Additionally, this article has shown that analysis of collective memory in the 21st century cannot be solely considered from the field of memory studies, but requires an interdisciplinary approach to effectively capture the interplay between media, memory, identity, and historical narratives. This is important as memory is not simply derived from history, but is mediated and renegotiated to suit particular groups' identity, culture, and future needs.

The analysis has, due to the scope of this research, focused solely on two media outlets and ten carefully selected newspaper articles. Although this is a limitation of the article, it also constitutes a basis for further research that could

analyse a variety of Serbian media outlets. Further research may also explore the museums and monuments dedicated to the Kosovo War, as that would allow for a comprehensive exploration of the Serbian collective memory.

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Appendix

Section I: The list of selected articles

- 1 Gedošević, L. (2019, March 27). Triler uvod u bombardovanje. Šta se dešavalo u međunarodnoj areni uoči fatalne odluke. [Trailer of bombarding. What happened in the international arena prior to the fatal decision]. *Blic*. <https://www.blic.rs/vesti/politika/triler-uvod-u-bombardovanje-sta-se-desavalo-u-medunarodnoj-areni-uoci-fatalne-odluke/dfccw0y>

- 2 Radišić, N. (2019, March 24). “Učite decu da čuvaju sećanje” I u Kragujevcu obeležena 20. godišnjica NATO bombardovanja. [“Teach the children to keep memories”: In Kragujevac commemoration of the 20 years of NATO bombing]. *Blic*. <https://www.blic.rs/vesti/drustvo/ucite-decu-da-cuvaju-secanje-i-u-kragujevcu-obelezena-20-godisnjica-nato/t6gqlhw>
- 3 Tašković, M. (2019, March 23). “Sin je vestima video mrtvog oca” Potresne ispovesti porodice poginulih u RTS i dve decenije bez odgovora: “Zašto?” [Son saw a dead father in the news: Disturbing confessions of the families of those killed in the bombing of RTS and two decades without an answer: why?]. *Blic*. <https://www.blic.rs/vesti/drustvo/sin-je-u-vestima-video-mrtvog-oca-potresne-ispovesti-porodice-poginulih-u-rti-i-dve/589tnzq>
- 4 D. J. & M. A. (2019, March 25). “Za sirene sam sinu pričala – to su neki navijači” Ispovest Beograđanke koja je objavila nepoznati snimak bombardovanja Generalštaba 1999 [“For sirens I was telling my son – those are some football supporters” Confession of a Belgrade woman that published the unknown video of the bombing of the main Army building 1999]. *Blic*. <https://www.blic.rs/vesti/drustvo/za-sirene-sam-sinu-pricala-to-su-neki-navijaci-ispovest-beogradanke-koja-je-objavila/lq9jfsv>
- 5 Tanjug. (2019, March 26). “Ne smemo da zaboravimo 1999.” Vučić: Razumem zašto naš narod ima negativne emocije prema NATO. [We cannot forget 1999: Vučić: I understand why our people have negative emotions directed at NATO]. *Blic*. <https://www.blic.rs/vesti/politika/ne-smemo-da-zaboravimo-1999-Vučić-razumem-zasto-nas-narod-ima-negativne-emocije-prema/ssl78t>
- 6 Politika. (2019a, March 23). Završena konferencija „Dvadeset godina nakon bombardovanja”. [End of the Conference „Twenty years after the bombing”.] *Politika*. <http://www.politika.rs/scc/clanak/425272/Друштво/Завршена-конференција-Двдесет-година-након-бомбардовања>
7. Politika. (2019b, March 24). Нећемо памтити речи наших непријатеља – него тишину наших пријатеља. [We will not remember the words of our enemies but the silence of our friends]. *Politika*. <http://www.politika.rs/scc/clanak/425760/Друштво/Нећемо-памтити-речи-наших-непријатеља-него-тишину-наших-пријатеља>
- 8 D.R. (2019, April 19). Двдесет година од погибије Милице Ракић. [Twenty years since the death of Milica Rakić]. *Politika*. <http://www.politika.rs/scc/clanak/427653/Друштво/Двдесет-година-од-погибије-Милице-Ракић>
- 9 Bakračević, S. (2019, June 1). Сећање на дан када је „Милосрдни анђео” убио анђеле. [Remembrance of the day when “the Merciful Angel” was killing angels]. *Politika*. <http://www.politika.rs/scc/clanak/430893/Србија/Сећање-на-дан-када-је-Милосрдни-анђео-убио-анђеле>
- 10 Politika. (2019c, March 26). Столтенберг: Бомбардовање било оправдано али није било уперено против народа. [Stoltenberg: Bombing was justified but it was not directed against the people]. *Politika*. <http://www.politika.rs/scc/clanak/425911/Политика/Столтенберг-Бомбардовање-било-оправдано-али-није-било-уперено-против-народа>

Section 2: The codebook

Formal Categories	Core Categories
Title	Defining the collective
Date of publication	Accountability for the air campaign
Author	How articles establish credibility of their information – e.g. quoting a politician
Language: passive, active, emotive, factual, etc.	Direct or indirect references
	Personal versus collective memory