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Neutral or National Point of View? A Comparison of Srebrenica articles across Wikipedia's language versions

Richard Rogers and Emina Sendijarevic

Abstract

Wikipedia puts forward that each article gains more quality over time as the process of consensus building results in a neutral point of view. In this study we analyze the same article across different Wikipedia language versions, comparing the article titles, templates, tables of contents, particular content details, talk pages, editors' names and locations, references and images. For the contentious articles in existence for at least five years, we found that they could be said to express rather national than neutral points of view. In the case in question, the Srebrenica massacre, the Bosnian, Dutch and Serbian article's respective viewpoints can be attributed to specific sets of editors contributing in their own language version, and the references they employ. Editors of the various language versions participate in the English version, which results in a continually contested article often referred to (in the Serbian) as western. The Serbo-Croatian strives to be anti-nationalist and apolitical, employing a variety of means to unify the Bosnian and Serbian points of view. In general, the analysis provides footing for studying Wikipedia's language versions as cultural references.

Introduction: Wikipedia's core principles

In *The Long Tail*, the account of popularity on the Web, Chris Anderson argues that "Wikipedia is arguably the best encyclopedia in the world: bigger, more up-to-date, and in many cases deeper than even Britannica" (2008: 70). With about 20 million articles,

Wikipedia is sizable and also highly visible on the web. Of crucial importance for its significance is the appearance of its articles at the top of Google's search engine results, which prompted the head of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* to call Google and Wikipedia's relationship "symbiotic" (Carr, 2009; Vaidhyanathan, 2011). The overall popularity of the project is also often discussed in terms of how it empowers its users as "editors" and to the collaborative, rewarding culture that fosters continued engagement (Baker, 2008; Reagle, 2010).

Established in 2001 Wikipedia's English language version was joined that same year by its first non-English ones, including Dutch (Wikipedia:About, 2011). To date there are approximately 270 language editions (or subdomains of Wikipedia such as nl.wikipedia.org for Dutch), each sharing Wikipedia's three core principles: neutral point of view (NPOV), verifiability and no original research. NPOV means that articles are to be written to "[represent] fairly, proportionately, and as far as possible without bias, all significant views that have been published by reliable sources" (Wikipedia:Neutral point of view, 2011). The verifiability principle requires all articles to be anchored by reliable sources outside of Wikipedia, often with outlinks to those sources. Independently of what editors write, readers, it is said, should be able to check the material, and if finding errors themselves become editors and correct them (Wikipedia:Verifiability, 2012). The third principle is no original research; Wikipedia is to be a source of existing, "recognized knowledge" (Wikipedia:No original research, 2012). The principles are meant to have a cumulative effect over time. Wikipedia points out that as more users contribute, the content should become more reliable and neutral. The goal is for the contributors to reach consensus, "a decision that takes account of all the legitimate concerns raised" (Wikipedia:Consensus, 2012). Wikipedia's core

principles are also guidelines for achieving that consensus (Wikipedia:Policies and guidelines, 2011).

In this study we explore Wikipedia articles in late 2010 that concern the Srebrenica massacre of of July 1995.[1] The articles are in languages spoken by significant parties to the events in Srebrenica in 1995, when thousands of Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) were killed by Bosnian-Serb forces: Dutch, Bosnian and Serbian. The Dutchbat (Dutch battalion) contingent under the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) was protecting the U.N. safe area of Srebrenica in Bosnia and Herzegovina; over 8,000 Bosniaks were killed; and the Bosnian-Serb army of Republika Srpska (VRS) were the perpetrators. We also analyze the English, Croatian and Serbo-Croatian articles on the events, which complicates the opposition in the title of this piece between national and neutral points of view. The English-language article has multiple points of view, with voices continually contesting accounts of events. The Croatian article is similar to the Bosnian (both of which were translated originally from the English), while the Serbo-Croatian, once the unifying language in former Yugoslavia, appears to assume that role again by representing as well as softening both the Bosnian and the Serbian points. When it was reopened for editing in 2005 (having been locked earlier that year because of disuse), the Serbo-Croatian Wikipedia generally was meant to be liberal and anti-nationalist in outlook. There is no Montenegrin article. Montenegrins have requested

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[1] The term Srebrenica massacre is employed in the English-language Wikipedia. The term is preferred by the Wikipedians there, because it is considered the most recognizable in English, given that it returns, as per Wikipedia practice in term selection, more Google results than other ones, such as Srebrenica genocide. The Serbian article has the same title, as does the Serbo-Croatian, which has undergone two title changes from genocide (the original) and the events of July 1995 in Srebrenica, which was found too neutral. Other terms find favor in the other Wikipedia language versions. The fall of Srebrenica is the Dutch title, and the Srebrenica genocide the Bosnian and the Croatian. In this piece, we do not choose one term to use, but rather employ the terms used by the Wikipedia language version when discussing it.

their own language edition, but it has been rejected four times by Wikipedia's language committee (Requests_for_new_languages/Wikipedia_Montenegrin_4, 2012). In conclusion we discuss the rationale and approach to studying Wikipedia as cultural reference, including the compatibility (rather than the opposition) between neutral and national points of view.

The approach taken in the comparative study is relatively straightforward. The comparisons across language versions of Wikipedia are based on a form of web content analysis that focuses on basic elements that comprise an article: its title, authors (or editors), table of contents, certain content details, images and references (McMillan, 2000; Herring, 2010). We also add three further elements that make the analysis more medium-specific (or webby): the location of the anonymous editors (based on IP address), readings of the talkpages that are behind the articles, and the flagging of templates, or banners alerting users to specific problems with an article such as the alleged violation of neutral point of view. We largely leave out other similarly specific elements that are also of interest in the study of Wikipedia articles, such as the activity of software robots ("bots"), which also in our case are highly active editors both across an entire language version of Wikipedia as well as of a single article (Geiger, 2011). We also consulted one power editor who has worked across language versions and contributed in the very beginning to the translated Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian articles, taking part in the special changes to the article title and content details for each. Damir Pozderac, whose alias is Dado, eventually ceased taking part in the discussions, and editing the articles, he said, because of the bickering in the talk pages between

Bosnians and Serbs.[2] In the analysis Dado acts less as an informant than one making claims that can be checked in the discussion pages. Indeed, the discussion behind the language versions themselves shows dissensus among article editors and throws into stark relief the call for separate Serbian, Bosnian and Croatian Wikipedias, as opposed to a single Serbo-Croatian one, as we detail below.

As mentioned in the opening, Wikipedia has as its core principles neutral point of view, verifiability and no original research, which, when applied in a collaborative, consensus-building process, are meant to result in a quality article. They also may result in a dispute, with a locked article and voluminous discussion, or perhaps a fork, when one article is split into two (Vuong et al., 2007). Even those disputes and divisions are supposed to achieve some sense of closure with time, even if that closure means a permanently locked article or the suspension of anonymous edits, as is the case with the Bosnian article, which has achieved featured article status. During times of article conflict, as well as relative calm after lock-down, editors may turn to coordination and other non-editing activities such as procedure writing, user coordination and maintenance (Kittur et al., 2007). Scholars have described Wikipedia as a well functioning bureaucracy (Butler et al., 2008).

Either through writing articles or creating rules and procedures, it is the work of editors that in time is meant to lead to the accretion of quality. As Jimmy Wales, the founder of Wikipedia put it, during his appeals for financial support of the project in 2009 and 2010, "one person writes something, somebody improves it a little, and it keeps getting

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[2]Personal communication, 27 September 2011. Damir Pozderac is also a power editor of the entry on Hamdija Pozderac, the late Bosnian, communist politician, who was President of Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1971 to 1974, according to the Wikipedia entry.

better, over time. If you find it useful today, imagine how much we can achieve together in 5, 10, 20 years" (Wikimedia, 2010). In our work we explore articles that are more than 5 years old (at the time of analysis), with the Dutch article being the oldest, or most mature, at over 6 years old (creation date, 9 July 2004), and the Serbo-Croatian the youngest at over 5 years old (creation date, 30 August 2005) (see Table one). We have found that the articles are edited with the times, as new evidence becomes available and claims made; they are also edited around anniversaries of the events of July, 1995. The articles diverge either dramatically (as in the article titles) or in crucial detail (victim counts), to take two of the most immediate examples of distinctiveness. Ultimately we wish to make a case for the normalcy of cultural difference in certain cases across the 'same' Wikipedia article, which other authors and projects have found. Manypedia, the online interactive tool, is based on the premise that the same articles across Wikipedia language versions are ripe for comparison. It loads the same article from two Wikipedia language versions side by side so as to check the compatibility, and spot the differences, giving by default such article comparisons as Jerusalem in the Hebrew and Arabic Wikipedias. They are examples of what the project dubs LPOVs, or linguistic points of view (Massa and Scrinzi, 2011). Our approach differs in the sense that it is more web content analysis than automated concept compatibility analysis.

Table one: Select Wikipedia language versions, with creation dates, and Srebrenica articles with creation dates.

Wikipedia	Wikipedia creation date	Srebrenica article name per 20 December 2010	Srebrenica article creation date

English	15 January 2001	Srebrenica Massacre	13 July 2004
Dutch	19 June 2001	Fall of Srebrenica	4 April 2002
Serbo-Croatian	circa February 2002	Srebrenica Massacre	30 September 2005
Bosnian	12 December 2002	Srebrencia Genocide	22 July 2005
Serbian	16 February 2003	Srebrenica Massacre	16 August 2005
Croatian	16 February 2003	Srebrencia Genocide	16 August 2005

Researching the quality and accuracy of Wikipedia

Debates concerning the quality of Wikipedia generally and certain types of articles in particular have drawn the attention of scholars, often seeking to test it. If anyone can edit, as is said, then anyone can insert errors, and vandalize the content, even if the robots that help to maintain Wikipedia are vigilant, a point often neglected in much of the early Wikipedia research (Niederer and van Dijck, 2010). Scholars have probed the quality control mechanisms, born of collaboration, bureaucracy as well as of software and bot maintenance in Wikipedia, through largely the frame of accuracy and bias. In the now famous side-by-side test, with a blind review of articles by experts, Wikipedia fared well against the venerable *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, however much the results of the study were vigorously contested by *Britannica* itself (Giles, 2005; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2006). It is worthwhile to note that the selection of the articles in the comparison test of the English-language Wikipedia with *Encyclopaedia Britannica* was

made on the basis of the *Nature* editors' general familiarity with the subject matters, as opposed to topicality, recentness, editing activity or other characteristics that are likely to be the source of a quality article, as we discuss below. Other scholars, in library and information science, expanded and repeated side-by-side tests by choosing articles to be reviewed at random, or in special subject matters. A comparison between a number of biographies in the English-language Wikipedia with those in the *American National Biography Online* and *Encarta* found Wikipedia to be less accurate but larger in scope (Rosenzweig, 2006). On historical subject matters Wikipedia's accuracy was put to the test anew against that of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as well as the *Dictionary of American History* and *American National Biography Online*, where it was again found to be less accurate, and also the source of glaring errors (Rector, 2008). Other scholars pointed out that accuracy is likely to vary given the comprehensiveness of Wikipedia's subject matters on the one hand, and the articles' versioning (or varying states of completeness) on the other (Halavais and Lackaff, 2008). Indeed, another randomly selected set of articles from a broad sweep of subject matters was found to be reasonably accurate, and its "reasonable accuracy is sufficient to support initial forays into 'serious research'" (West and Williamson, 2009: 270)*.* As the authors point out, Wikipedia's articles are unfinished, but certain collections of them (featured articles) at given times have been considered worthy of print publication (Bertelsmann Lexikon Institut, 2008). In all the scholarship employing side-by-side tests has found that Wikipedia is not as accurate overall compared to standard reference books, yet has an unmatched scope; featured (and other good) articles are an acceptable source for beginning one's enquiries.

Another approach to studying Wikipedia's accuracy has been through the insertion of errors, and monitoring what transpires, a research practice coming on the heels of celebrated cases of gross inaccuracy, including John Seigenthaler's, whose piece in the *USA Today* newspaper in November 2005 recounted his attempts to track down the Wikipedia "biographer" who wrote falsely of his role in John F. Kennedy's assassination (2005). One scholar, Alex Halavais, inserted errors so as to learn more of the vigilance and correction culture of Wikipedians, later disavowing the practice as destructive (2004; Read, 2006). The speed at which errors are corrected is of interest, as Halavais as well as Jon Udell found, with Udell reporting the findings in a well-known screencast documentary of the revision history of the heavy metal umlaut article in the English-language Wikipedia (Udell, 2006). As mentioned, in the early work that tested accuracy through error insertion, scant attention was paid to the bots, which would monitor changes, and triggering software that informs editors of changes, or identifies suspicious edits through association and pattern recognition. In some sense these accuracy tests are also tests of the bot vigilance, so to speak, and the capacity of Wikipedia as a technical system to spot and react to untoward behavior. Another researcher, in a similar test of accuracy through error insertion, attempted to outwit such automated monitoring practices by entering mistakes into articles only three at a time (as opposed to Halavais's thirteen), with each group of insertions originating from another IP address (Magnus, 2008). The researcher also removed the fibs, as he called them, after 48 hours to mitigate the destructive effects. It was found that approximately half of the inaccuracies was corrected. Such work has prompted other approaches to understanding accuracy as well as quality, where in one case expert reviews of a series of articles were compared to non-experts' of the same articles; it was found that the

experts had more favorable views of the articles (Chesney, 2006). As in previous studies discussed above, the researcher also reported a number of errors in the articles.

We would like to discuss briefly the sources, not of errors, but of quality articles. Quality, a subject difficult to define, has been studied in relation to the bureaucracy's control mechanisms, editor coordination, actual editing, and types of subject matters (Stvilia et al., 2008). One scholar evaluated the quality of articles on the basis of the number of edits and the number of contributors (Lih, 2004). He suggests that the quality of the articles increases with the subject's appearance in the press, and writes that Wikipedia represents a decent "working draft of history" (Lih, 2004: 9). A study of German Wikipedia articles drew similar conclusions; the higher the interest and relevance of a subject, the greater the quality of the article (Breandle, 2005). There is a relationship between topicality, on the one hand, and editing activity, on the other. Having examined (in 2007) all 50 million edits to the 1.5 million articles in the English-language Wikipedia, the authors concluded that the number of "edits correspond on average to an increase in article quality," where a featured article is taken to be a quality article (Wilkinson and Huberman, 2007: 160). Editing cultures also matter, especially articles with work by power editors, responsible for the largest part of the content. Quality is more likely to be achieved when a small group of editors coordinate their substantive activity, as opposed to similar numbers without coordination, or larger numbers of editors (Kittur and Kraut, 2008). There is further evidence suggesting salutary effects of power editor activity on the quality of the articles. Edits by "Wikipedians," as the power editors responsible for the majority of the content are also called, endure, compared to those by non-Wikipedians (Panciera et al., 2009). The power editors are also more normative, justifying their long-lasting edits in discussions

according to the Wikipedia principles. Indeed, power editors tend to adhere strictly to Wikipedia standards, and also appear to be responsible for the promotion and enforcement of them (Stvilia et al., 2008). There are other approaches to the study of editing. In a media ecology framework, the term stigmergy has been applied to Wikipedia work, comparing its flow to the indirect coordination of ants (Gueret, 2010). As with ant coordination, a minimal amount of information (cues in the form of templates and other notices) pass from Wikipedian to Wikipedian, enabling the work (Den Besten et al., 2010).

Cross-cultural comparison in Wikipedia research

While there is a body of literature on the culture and mechanisms behind Wikipedia article accuracy and quality generally, somewhat less attention has been paid to Wikipedia perspective. The bias of Wikipedia has been studied by ranking articles through techniques such as PageRank, and subsequently pointing out that the top articles are western subject matters, or related to American events (Bellomi and Bonato, 2005). Other work has drawn similar conclusions, albeit with finer-grained analyses, including a comparative analysis. The hypothesis put forward that Wikipedia language versions "distort" by emphasizing the local over the universal was studied in greater detail through a comparison of entries of famous Poles and Americans in the Polish and English-language Wikipedias (Kolbitsch and Maurer, 2006; Callahan and Herring, 2011). There is bias in Wikipedia in the sense of the coverage in the articles, with the English-language ones containing more information (for example) about the personal lives of famous Poles, than the Polish articles about famous Americans. Indeed, the English-language Wikipedia, which the researchers call a kind of global version of the online encyclopedia, "appear[s] to reflect the cultural values and history of the United States"

(Callahan and Herring, 2011: 1912). One recommendation the study makes is not to translate the English-language articles as seminal entries in other language versions, but rather allow the articles to grow on their own. Indeed, research into the featured articles in Arabic, English and Korean found that 40% of the Korean and over 50% of the Arabic have no matching articles in the English-language version (Stvilia et al., 2009). It also was found that, contrary to earlier findings, the number of editors and number of edits by registered users did not correlate with featured article status, suggesting distinctive cultural quality mechanisms.

Wikipedia itself has projects on "systematic bias," which reports on the frequency of appearance of a country name in Wikipedia, the various lengths of language versions, the characteristics of the average Wikipedian, the tendency of recentism in the articles written, etc. (Livingstone, 2010; Wikipedia:Systemic bias, 2012, Wikipedia:WikiProject Countering systemic bias/Geography, 2011). In this area of inquiry, scholars have come to the conclusion that the articles should not be understood as "value-free information source[s]" (Royal and Kapila, 2008).

Our work may be situated in the emerging literature on cross-cultural comparison, or cross-language version comparison of the 'same' articles, however much in our specific case the titles of the articles are slightly different, and thereby are markers for views on the controversy or dispute (Pfeil et al., 2006; Hara et al., 2010). Our main contribution lies in the approach to comparative article analysis, providing a means to operationalize generally the question of Wikipedia as cultural reference. It should be said, however, that our case study belongs to a subset of articles one could call controversial or sensitive. Before discussing the Srebrenica articles in some detail, it may be worthwhile

to mention here the expectations one may have of the article type, when considering what researchers refer to as self-selection of topics by editors, or people choosing which articles to create and to edit. For subject matters that are not highly charged, self-selection is often considered beneficial, not only for the affinities editors may have with their subject matters and with each other, but because of time savings (Benkler, 2002). For topics that are matters of dispute, self-selection may have other effects, such as edit wars and article locks (Stvilia et al., 2008). In our case, many of the most active editors of the English-language article on the Srebrenica massacre have been subsequently blocked for not adhering to Wikipedia rules, raising the question of the wilfulness generally of editors of controversial subject matters. With respect to templates on the articles, the Bosnian is a featured article that does not allow anonymous edits (as mentioned), and the Serbian has both its accuracy and its neutral point of view (NPOV) disputed. The Dutch, Serbo-Croatian, English and Croatian articles contain no article templates, which suggests that there are currently no major issues with them. They also are not featured.

Mindful of the potential effects of controversial subject matter on collaborative authorship, our work takes up the similarity or difference of accounts of an event across a series of language versions. Do the five-year-old articles on the same subject settle into narratives that are similar or rather distinctive across language versions? What kinds of versions of events emerge when the articles have grown on their own (so to speak), or have been translated from the English or another language? If the articles have distinctively different contents, are Wikipedians authoring points of view? How may Wikipedia articles entries be considered cultural references?

Articles may be unique to particular language versions; articles may have grown on their own, while others were seeded (and transplanted) from the English or another language. Indeed, as reported above, Wikipedia language versions have provided opportunity for studying cultural specificity. Here we would like to build upon such work through a comparison of the articles on the Srebrenica massacre of July 1995 across six language versions, Dutch, English, Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian and Serbo-Croatian. The rationale for the existence of Wikipedia versions in Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian is illustrated by the incident around the locking and unlocking of their former Yugoslavian umbrella language version, Serbo-Croatian. In May 2005 Pokrajac, active in the English, Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian Wikipedias, persuaded the Wikipedia language committee to unlock the Serbo-Croatian version, which had been in existence since February 2002 and had been locked by Andre Engels owing to lack of editing in February 2005: "So, this Wikipedia (if you open it) will be absolutely NPOV, liberal and anti-nationalist. Many liberal and anti-nationalist people said that they are talking Serbo-Croatian despite Balkan war(s)" (Requests for new languages/Wikipedia Serbo-Croatian, 2011). In the accompanying discussion, Caesarion acknowledges that the Serbo-Croatian is mutually intelligible by the successor languages, and adds: "But the wounds of the nineties Balkan wars are all too fresh to (...) let Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks cooperate on one Wikipedia. We must use separate Wikipedias just to keep the whole project peaceful" (Requests for new languages/Wikipedia Serbo-Croatian, 2011). Thus our treatment here of points of view as national (in the title of the article) derives from the discussion about the closing and reopening of the Serbo-Croatian Wikipedia, and the related founding of the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian ones, which are considered solutions to overcoming the burden of collaboration after the Balkan wars. At least for the western Balkans (meaning the former Yugoslavia, not including

Slovenia, and Albania) there are national Wikipedias (and the unifying Serbo-Croatian version, which is larger than the Bosnian, half the size of the Croatian, and one-third of the Serbian). (See Table two.)

Table two: Comparison of characteristics of select Balkan Wikipedia language versions, September 2011, according to Wikipedia's statistics.

Rank by article count	Wikipedia	Articles	Edits	Users	Active Users
28	Serbian	143,855	4,644,728	85,181	633
38	Croatian	99,039	3,074,575	75,094	640
55	Serbo-Croatian	43,063	806,294	31,446	155
70	Bosnian	31,401	1,570,125	39,643	184

Source: List of Wikipedias, 2011.

Wikipedia articles compared: The Fall of Srebrenica, the Srebrenica Massacre and the Srebrenica Genocide

Of the language versions under study, the Dutch article about the events in Srebrenica was the first to be created, on 4 April 2002, before the publication in July 2005 of the comprehensive report by the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, an institution founded in 1945 to document and study the Second World War, and given the mandate by the Dutch government in 1996 to study the fall of the U.N. safe area,

Srebrenica (NIOD, 2002). The Wikipedia article was started by a former Dutchbat

soldier, M. van Koert, and was entitled simply, "Srebrenica." In the talkpage van Koert

writes that he created the article so as to clarify how Srebrenica fell. He describes how

the Dutchbat soldiers had been the object of scorn, until the Institute of War

Documentation exonerated them (Overleg:Val_van_Srebrenica, 2011). The finding, he

relates, helps Dutchbatters, as the soldiers in the contingent call themselves, move on

with their lives. Shortly thereafter the name of the article was changed to the "drama of

Srebrenica," which is also the title of classroom materials for middle school age students

produced by the WWII-era Camp Westerbork Memorial Center, where the story of a

Dutchbat soldier is interwoven with a number of Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica (van

der Veen, 2006).[3] In September 2004 it was changed to the "fall of Srebrenica," the

military term also used in the Institute of War Documentation's report of 2002. That

title eventually stuck. The change took place after a series of discussions about the

neutrality of the word drama and the fact that the English language Wikipedia calls its

article the Srebrenica massacre. The question of the title was reopened in 2007,

whereby at least four Dutch Wikipedians (Känsterle, André Engels, Oscar and Art

Unbound) thought that employing massacre would be the equivalent to a point of view,

and one Wikipedian felt that drama would be hurtful to the survivor families, also

known as the Mothers of Srebrenica. While the consensus remained squarely with the

"fall of Srebrenica," one user in July 2010, Reportages3, tried to change it to massacre,

arguing that fall is a "political euphemism, only used in NL, for obvious reasons"

(Overleg:Val_van_Srebrenica, 2011). The discussion went on about whether "massacre"

is a Dutch word, with Reportages3 pointing out that it is in the unabridged Van Dale

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[3] "Srebrenica," with the subtitle "the dilemmas of peacekeeping," is included in the fifty units of the so-called canon of Dutch history, taught in secondary schools in the Netherlands (van Oostrom, 2007).

dictionary ("dikke Van Dale"), whereas other editors found the word to be too obscure, and its ready alternative (slachting, or slaughter, butchering) to be value laden. Hettie, Dutch power editor, seemed to settle the debate by arguing that such a title would not cover the contents of the article. Most recently in August 2011, user Bacchus summed up the word choice in the title: "A good reason why 'fall' should be used in the NL Wikipedia is that the fall as such (and the role of UNPROFOR) are much more interesting from a Dutch perspective" (Overleg:Val_van_Srebrenica, 2011). Thus there have been a series of successful defenses of the term as it stands. The other tension to date in the discussion was prompted when a user (Amela Malkic) brought up the graffiti the Dutch soldiers left behind at the camp in Potočari, where they were stationed. In the scrawls Bosnian girls were said to be malodorous, toothless and mustached.

The creation of the English, Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian and Serbo-Croatian Wikipedia articles on Srebrenica followed two to three years after the Dutch. The English language article was begun in July 2004 as a near duplication of a detailed online piece, "Srebrenica massacre" (Frost, 2006). The title has persisted, however much discussions ensued about employing the term genocide instead, certainly on the basis of the 2004 ruling by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), which Dado, the power editor, calls "a landmark ruling that put to rest any doubts about the legal character of the massacre... [T]he Appeals Chamber of the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia unanimously ruled that it was an act of genocide" (Talk:Srebrenica massacre/Archive 4, 2006). After the 2007 ruling by the International Court of Justice (ICJ), which found in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro that Serbia did not do all it could to prevent the Srebrenica genocide (and also had not cooperated with the court in transferring indicted suspects), to certain

Wikipedia editors, the article title no longer was current. GriffinSB writes: "The point of calling it massacre is outdated and should be updated to genocide (Talk:Srebrenica_massacre/Archive_16, 2010). It was not changed. Upon attempting to retitle the English article to genocide in December of 2010, Bosonian entered into discussion with power editors (Opbeith, Jonathanmills), who prefer Srebrenica massacre over Srebrenica genocide because it is more recognizable (Talk:Srebrenica_massacre/Archive_18, 2011). Recognition was tested by comparing the Google result counts for each term. The editors have been confronted by the issue repeatedly. For example, Emir Arven would not accept the term massacre and on 10 July 2005 (one day before the Srebrenica memorial day) created another article in the English Wikipedia entitled, Srebrenica genocide; it has been redirected to Srebrenica massacre.[4]

The Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian and Serbo-Croatian articles have common origins. In 2005 a group of Bosnian Wikipedia editors translated the "Srebrenica massacre" article in the English-language Wikipedia into Bosnian, or B/C/S as the Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian language(s) are called, since Serbo-Croatian is now considered the language of former Yugoslavia, and also somewhat nostalgic (Greenberg, 2004; Volčič, 2007). The idea was suggested by Millosh, a Serbian editor who also participated in reaching consensus in the translation of the English article, and who is a

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[4] Emir Arven has been blocked indefinitely from contributing to the English-language Wikipedia, for he was revealed as a disruptive sockmaster of a series of sockpuppets (Category:Wikipedia_sockpuppets_of_Emir_Arven, 2011). Emir Arven reappeared in many guises, one of whom is the sockmaster, Historičar, with nearly a dozen sockpuppets to his name (Category:Wikipedia_sockpuppets_of_Historičar, 2009). Emir Arven also was active in the Bosnian article. Of the other power editors of the English-language Srebrenica massacre article, Bosniak, HanzoHattori and The Dragon of Bosnia have been blocked, and Osli73 has been suspected of socking.

power editor in the Serbian (with the the B/C/S spelling of Miloš). Three other power editors of the English-language version (Emir Kotromanić, HarunB and Dado) set to work on the Bosnian (or B/C/S) translation with the purpose of also pasting it into the Croatian and Serbian Wikipedias (see Table Three). In the event, the term massacre was changed in the titles to genocide ("Genocid u Srebrenici").

The Bosnian version added detail that was not in the English-language version, including the initial finding of mass graves, the 10th memorial day of the Srebrenica massacre (and its speakers at the event), the notorious Scorpions video, which refers to a Serbian paramilitary or police unit and contains footage of their executions of young Bosnian males in July 1995. It also changed the general framing of the events to a Serbian attack and ethnic cleansing of the Bosnians. The English-language piece mentions that the number of killings is disputed by some nations, whereas the Bosnian version states that the figure is disputed by the Serbs. Also the external link to the report by the Srebrenica Research Group, and their report critical of the ICTY and ICT findings, is dropped in the Bosnian translation (Honig and Both, 1996). The translation of the provenance of the forces that took Srebrenica and committed the killings is worthy of mention. While the English-language piece speaks consistently of Bosnian-Serb forces, the Bosnian (or initial B/C/S articles) intermingles Bosnian-Serb and Serb forces. The rest of the English article is translated rather literally. After pasting into the Croatian and Serbian Wikipedias, Dado remarks in August 2005, "Let's see how long it will last" (Razgovor:Genocid u Srebrenici/Arhiva 1 Genocid u Srebrenici, 2009).

In the Croatian Wikipedia the genocide title lasted. Upon publication by Dado, he remarks in the Croatian talk page that it is a Bosnian translation of the English. It is not

discussed until June 2007 when Flopy remarks: "Excellent and objective article. May it never be forgotten!" (Razgovor:Genocid u Srebrenici, 2011). As time passes, the Croatian Wikipedians modify the syntax, editing the article so it is more Croatian in a linguistic sense (which also was Dado's original request). Then in 2007 an anonymous user's off-color remarks lead to the locking of the article for anonymous edits, and Ygrain, the main contributor to the Croatian article, thereupon sets the template to "work in progress," re-editing the piece by himself and making the account more local, in a sense. He edits the larger storyline, putting the creation of the U.N. safe area in April 1993 into the context of the fighting between Bosnian-Serb and Bosnian forces, and in particular the territorial gains by Naser Orić, Bosnian army military commander (serving from 1992 to 1995), which included the swatch of land in the Republika Srpska, including Bosniak and Serbian villages as well as the town of Srebrenica. By early 1993 Bosnian-Serb forces under Ratko Mladić had reversed the gains, and surrounded Srebrenica, calling on Orić's Bosnian forces in April to admit defeat and evacuate, or face attack. Days later the safe area was created by U.N. mandate. The subsequent description of the killings is still detailed and left untouched. Here it is of interest to note that the Croatian, like the Bosnian article, employs the term plan and elaborates upon the mass executions in a detailed and matter-of-fact manner, in keeping with the definition of genocide as a planned mass murder.

In contrast to the Croatian article, the Serbian article did not last long for it was "immediately attacked as propaganda," according to Dado.[5] Within hours of its posting, power editor Obradović Goran changed the title to "Masakr u Srebrenici," or Srebrenica

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[5] Personal communication, 8 October 2011.

massacre. Miloš also put up the edit warring template, explaining in the discussion page that the article's point of view is western. The immediate change of the title in the Serbian Wikipedia is discussed in the Bosnian discussion page by Bosnian as well as Serbo-Croatian article editors. Emir Arven (aka Emir Kotromanić), a power editor in both the English-language and Bosnian articles, opens the discussion by saying that this title change is the best evidence yet of Serbian genocide denial, to which Pokrajac responds that the English-language Wikipedia also refers to the event as a massacre, pointing out, too, that the Bosnian and Croatian are in fact the only Wikipedia editions that refer to the events as genocide.[6] The English Wikipedia is the "real reference," as he puts it (Razgovor:Genocid u Srebrenici/Arhiva 1 Genocid u Srebrenici, 2009). A couple of months later, in September, Pokrajac edits the fledgling Serbo-Croatian article on the subject, removing the copy-pasted Bosnian article, calling it the Events in Srebrenica in July 1995, and providing three links, two to the Srebrencia genocide articles (Bosnian and Croatian) and one to the Srebenica massacre article in the Serbian.

Over at the Serbian Wikipedia, exchanges are taking place about the title change. Svetlana Miljkovic, who has been working on the identification of mass graves, argues that Srebrenica is a case of genocide, to which Obradović Goran responds:

> "[T]he arguments you apply do not make it a case of genocide. (...) The taking over of Srebrenica was a correct decision and moral imperative. The Orićs [Bosnian army under Naser Orić] went through [Serb] villages and didn't leave anything alive; they took everything. (...) Someone needed to stop their

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[6] The Korean Wikipedia article also is entitled Srebrenica genocide.

oppression. Now, the question of what happened after the taking over of

Srebrenica is a different one" (Razgovor:Masakr u Srebrenici/Arhiva01, 2011).

Miloš, echoing the sentiments of Pokrajac from the Bosnian talkpage, points out that of

the twenty-one Wikipedia language versions with Srebrenica articles, only the Bosnian

and the Croatian have the word genocide in the title, though he adds that he cannot

decipher the Arabic and Hebrew article titles. In the discussion page one encounters the

recognition that what happened after the Bosnian Serb military operation, Krivaja '95, is

perhaps genocide. In the article, however, the aim is to describe the military operation,

at least at this point in time. It may be worthwhile to point out that in March 2010 the

parliament of Serbia apologized for the "Srebrenica massacre," without reference to the

term genocide; it drew no immediate discussion in the Serbian talkpage.

The Serbo-Croatian article underwent a series of title changes from its creation in

September 2005, though the precise course of events is difficult to reconstruct from the

talk histories of the three articles: events in Srebrencia of July 2005 (which is a typo and

should read, July 1995), genocide and massacre (Razgovor:Dešavanja u Srebrenici jula

2005., 2006; Razgovor:Genocid u Srebrenici, 2006; Razgovor:Masakr_u_Srebrenici,

2010). Suffice it to say that the term event was thought to be too palpably neutral, given

what one discussant puts forward (as a proposed title) the crimes of Srebrenica. The

term, genocide, was thought to be too political, or a preferred term in Bosnia and

Herzogovina, especially by the Bosniaks, to paraphrase the edit made by OC Ripper on 4

January 2007. At the outset we referred to the Serbo-Croatian as a unifying version,

which derives initially from the argumentation used to unlock the Serbo-Croatian

Wikipedia (mentioned above), and the discussion of how to entitle the article here.

Defending the initial word choice, Pokrajac writes, "The word 'event' is used precisely to avoid politicization, because the different parties have not reached consensus on how to characterize this event. If you find a better synonym that does not lean to either side (which is very important, at least in Wikipedia), feel free to nominate it" (Razgovor:Genocid_u_Srebrenici, 2006). Another user, David, writes that entitling the article 'events' will prompt what the author seeks to avoid. Id, arguing against unoffensive language, writes that he or she "knows no value-free synonym for 'genocide' in Serbo-Croatian (or any other language)" (Razgovor:Dešavanja u Srebrenici jula 2005.). In July 2007 (around the time of the anniversary), the Bosnian article was pasted into the Serbo-Croatian, and OC Ripper, the article's power editor, changed the title to massacre, beginning an editing process that ultimately would soften the tone of the article. He removed most of the pictures, except for the few shared by the Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian articles, as we come to below. Perhaps OC Ripper's overall outlook on the function of the Serbo-Croatian Wikipedia is relevant here. He observes on his user page that certain of the same articles are better and worse across the entire Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian Wikipedias. "The Serbo-Croatian Wikipedia would be the perfect way to fill up those gaps, for it could serve as a universal matrix for the hr [Croatian], bs [Bosnian] and sr [Serbian] Wikipedias, which could later, with far less difficulty, be adapted to local conditions" (Korisnik:OC Ripper, 2011).

Editing the Srebrenica articles

Apart from the article title, the discussions about them and the templates the articles may carry, we also compared the table of contents of the articles, and their introductory paragraphs, including the information boxes. We found discrepancies in the content especially with regard to three basic points around which accounts of Srebrenica often

revolve: the number of victims, the responsibility or blame, and the controversy about the first two points. We also compared the editors, particularly the power editors or top contributors across the language versions, the locations of the anonymous editors (if anonymous editing is allowed), the references made in the articles and the images that appear in them. One of the purposes of comparison is to note any migration of editors across the language versions, or the editors' dedication to single ones, as we largely found, with the exception of the English-language article (see Table three). The lack of cross-editing is one means to account for the distinctiveness of the articles in the respective Wikipedia language versions, especially the Dutch article, which is alone in it lack of interlanguage editors.

Indeed, with the exception of Dado, who was mentioned at the outset, the power editors of each article do not contribute significantly to other Balkan language versions (see Table four). Power editors from the Serbian and Bosnian language versions, however, do participate in the English-language one. As Dado recounted, the road to consensus in the English article was not easily traveled. Fairview, English-language Wikipedian, summarized one part of the writing process in 2008 as an "intensive round of edits, arguing, edit warring, interventions, blocked editors, sockpuppets, etc." (Talk:Srebrenica_massacre/Archive_16, 2010). For the editors of the Bosnian, Serb, Croatian and Serbo-Croatian Wikipedia articles, the English-language version is both the seminal and often the baseline piece. Judging from the mix of editors from the English-language Wikipedia as well as Balkan ones, it serves as the common article on the subject over that of the Serbo-Croatian, which is edited by mainly one user.

Table three: Interlanguage Srebrenica article editors. Editors active on more than one Wikipedia edition of the Srebrenica article, where active is defined as three or more edits.

	English	Bosnian	Serbian	Croatian	Serbo-Croatian	Dutch
Dado	■	■	■	■		
Emir Arven*	■	■				
Asim Led**	■	■				
Mladifilozof	■	■				
Pyramid		■	■			
Nikola Smolenski	■		■			
Halbkreis	■		■			
Bormalagurski	■		■			
Pokrajac			■		■	

* Emir Arven contributes under the name Emir Kotromanić in the Bosnian Wikipedia.

** Asim Led contributes under the name HarunB in the Bosnian Wikipedia.

Table four: Top ten editors of Srebrenica articles per Wikipedia language version by number of edits

English	edits	Bosnian	edits	Croatian	edits
Bosniak*	384	Dado	41	Ygraine	13
Osli73*	377	Emir Kotromanić	33	SieBot	8
Jonathanmills	352	HarunB	18	Dado	7
Fairview	318	EmxBot	13	Roberta_f	5
HanzoHattori*	269	Jasmin A.	10	BodhisattvaBot	4
Dado	210	Pyramid	9	EmxBot	4
Opbeith	169	Mladifilozof	9	SashatoBot	4
Emir Arven*	138	Palapa	8	YurikBot	4
Jitse Niesen	110	SieBot	6	JAnDbot	4
The Dragon of Bosnia*	93	Demicx	6	217.24.19.163 (Belgrade)	4

Serbian	edits	Serbo-Croatian	edits	Dutch	edits
Miloš	38	OC Ripper	56	Hjvannes (aka Hettie)	24
Obradovic Goran	34	80.109.29.186 (Vienna)	8	node_c_2246_a2000_nl	13
AntiDiskriminator *	29	77.78.215.209 (Sarajevo)	6	77.162.77.117 (Utrecht)	10
Bas-Celik	24	SieBot	6	Compro	7
Pyramid	21	JAnDbot	5	Eiland	7

BokicaK	20	MelancholieBot	4	Tdevries	6
Halbkreis	18	Autobot	3	SieBot	6
Jovanvb	18	Xqbot	3	Besednjak	6
DzordM	17	Thijs!bot	3	Johan Lont	5
Sokolac	15	Pokrajac	2	Apdency	5

Anonymous editors are indicated by IP address, and the geolocation of that address is reported. Note that much of the editing activity in the Croatian and Serbo-Croatian articles is by bots. * indicates blocked user or user suspected of sockpuppetting through the use of multiple names or anonymous editing.

Dado has remarked that editors do not participate in other language versions other than their own, so to speak, because "it is too intellectually and emotionally draining to deal with so much conflict, especially when you do it voluntarily. It is a stressful hobby."[7] As we have noted above, power editors do contribute to each other's discussion pages (to some extent) and thus follow the goings-on of the equivalent article elsewhere, especially the Bosnian and the Serbian (as well as the English).

As also noted above, the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian Srebrenica articles were translated from the English, and adjusted slightly for the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian Wikipedias. The Serbo-Croatian ultimately also shares its origins with the English, too, though by the time the Bosnian piece was introduced into the Serbo-Croatian Wikipedia in July 2007 nearly two years' worth of adjustments to the original translation had been made. The migrations had effects on the content, with certain additions and excises. The

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[7] Personal communication, 8 October 2011.

publication of the Serbian article was met with a flurry of activity, and Dado described how the change of setting for the piece that was once agreed to in the English-language version had greater effects. Even to its original Serbian editors, the article was no longer acceptable when it appeared in the Serbian Wikipedia. It immediately received the template charging it to be a source of an edit war.

{insert figure one}

Figure one: Locations of anonymous editors of the Srebenica articles, per 20 December 2010. Analysis tool: Wikipedia Edits Scraper and IP Localizer, Digital Methods Initiative, Amsterdam.

Table five: A comparison across Wikipedia language versions of the numbers of dead in the Srebenica articles, 20 December 2010

Wikipedia Language version	Number of Bosniak victims
Dutch (Nederlands)	7000-8000
English	8372
Bosnian (Bosanski)	8000
Croatian (Hrvatski)	8000
Serbian (Srpski)	6000-8000
Serbo-Croatian (Srpsko-Hrvatski)	8000

Note: The number of Bosniak victims of the Srebrenica killings is taken from the information box found in the English, Bosnian, Serbian and Serbo-Croatian articles. For the Dutch and Croatian articles, the numbers are from the introduction.

Although power editors are contributing within their respective language versions of the article, this is apparently not the case for the anonymous edits. Anonymous edits are made from different countries of ex-Yugoslavia in each article, except the Dutch article, where both anonymous edits (and power edits) are from Dutch IP addresses. Thus contributing to each others' articles mainly occurs anonymously (see Figure one). It should be noted that the Bosnian version has been closed to anonymous edits, indicating them as a source of vandalism, or unacceptable contestation. The same holds for the Croatian and Serbian pieces, albeit for shorter periods of time.

Where the number of victims, the responsibility or blame as well as the controversy surrounding those fundamental points (and others) are concerned, there are differences between the language versions. First there is the question of the number of Bosniaks killed in Srebrenica, where the Dutch and Serbian versions have lower numbers in their estimates compared to the Bosnian, Croatian, English and Serbo-Croation (see Table five).

When one peruses the discussion pages, there are various standpoints on how to provide further context to the victim count, provided by the editors and the references they choose. The creator of the Dutch article points out that there were 40,000 people living in the Srebrenica enclave and 7,500 killed, leaving 32,500 safely evacuated by "our boys" (Overleg:Val_van_Srebrenica, 2011). Gradually the (military) language of the editors is phased out, including the replacement of "we" and "us" with Dutchbatters, and

acronyms into full words, e.g., OP becomes (military) observation post. From the revision history it is clear that for the victim count the article follows the Dutch official report by the NIOD in 2002 (7,000 killings), and later the earlier ICTY verdict of 2001 (7,000-8,000 killings). There have been discussions to round down the figure; Compro put the number between 5500-6000, citing a newspaper article that 500 victims were still alive (and Compro's previous recollection of 6,000 victims). The conclusion of the discussions is reflected in the introductory paragraph, emphasizing the uncertainty over the number.

The English-language article is meticulous in its count (8,372), and maintains and updates a listing of identified victim numbers on its discussion page. The 8,372 figure, according to the article derives from the count at the Potočari Memorial Center. The Center for the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery for the Victims of the 1995 Genocide (as the Memorial Center is officially called) maintains the list (and has 8,373 names on it). As one Wikipedian put it, in reference to the slight difference in victim counts, "For some reason the memorial stone refers to 8372" (Talk:Srebrenica_massacre/Archive_17, 2010). The number is higher than the figure given by Martin Frost (8,100) in the online piece that formed the basis for the original Wikipedia article. 8,106 is the number given by the International Commission on Missing Persons, which collects blood samples from relatives of missing persons, and performs DNA analysis on exhumed remains so as to identify victims (ICMP, 2011). The Federal (Bosnian) Commission on Missing Persons maintains the victim list, which changed the figure of 8,106 to 8,373 in 2005, according to the Mothers of Srebrenica and Zepa website, which we come to in the more detailed discussion of the differences in referencing practices between the articles. It is important to point out that 2005 was

the ten-year anniversary of the killings, a moment when Republika Srpska adjusted its numbers, too.

The Serbian Wikipedia article on the Srebrenica massacre lists 6,000-8,000 victims. In the discussion there emerges further context, and another list. Đorđe Stakić, in October 2006, refers to a list of 3,287 Serbians killed in Srebrenica and surroundings in 1992-1995, citing a list on the governmental website of the Republika Srpska. Bas-Celik returns to that list two years later, in August of 2010, when other contextualizations are discussed, including the deaths of 11 Serb civilians, though the argument (by Thom977, who according to his user page speaks Serbian and Dutch) is made that it would be in poor taste to relativize the deaths of 11 Serbs in a comparison with those of 8,372 Bosnian Muslims. An anonymous editor with IP address from Serbia (on 23 August) observes that it is also "in poor taste to compare the 8,372 lives in Srebrenica to the 6 million Jews, 1 million Rwandans and 73,316 children killed in Jasenovac," the WWII Croatian concentration camp (Razgovor:Masakr u Srebrenici/Arhiva03, 2011).

The actual victim count discussion is more detailed, for Miloš, a power editor, points out that Lewis MacKenzie (former commander of UNPROFOR in Sarajevo) put the figure at 2,000 that were killed in battle rather than mass murder, while the BBC, CNN and B92 put the victim count at over 8,000. (When MacKenzie is used as a source at the English-language Wikipedia article, it is not accepted, with the argument (by Opbeith) that MacKenzie's 2005 *Global and Mail* piece in the Canadian newspaper was "an act of genocide denial") (Talk:Srebrenica_massacre/Archive_16, 2010). The difference between the Serbian article victim count and that of the others in question does not appear to be MacKenzie's number, however. Rather, the introduction of the figure

"6,000-8,000" victims to the information box (and to the opening paragraph) by Jakša

on 20 July 2010 is made with reference to a documentary broadcasted on 9 July by

Radio Television of Serbia (RTS), "Srebrenica Killing Fields," which Jakša felt was

researched better than the Wikipedia article. He says that the article calls for hard facts,

specific to the massacre, not further contextualization like the bad blood built up

through centuries of Ottoman rule, or through events in WWII. In that vain, the 6,000-

8,000 range likely refers to the approximate number of bodies exhumed from the mass

graves and the estimated victim count in the other articles, with the exception of the

English-language one. On 10 August 2010 Thom977 attempts to modify it to 8,372, but

it was reverted ten minutes later, and to date has remained 6000-8000.

In the discussion Miloš raises the issue of the accuracy of the figures also in relation to a

lack of knowledge of the population of Srebrenica at the time, arguing that a census had

not been taken prior to the war or since. On this point it is of note that the Bosnian

article once contained a long section (now moved to the discussion page archive),

where the population, its demographics and victim counts are discussed in some detail.

Here the article once read that from April to July 1995 some 8,991 were killed, and the

number could be over 10,000. This is an instance of an even higher figure, though it

does not last in the Bosnian article. The Bosnian talk page also discusses the number of

Serbian deaths, and asks whether anyone would translate the section in the English-

language article, entitled "Dispute regarding Serb casualties around Srebrenica," which

begins with a quotation from Human Rights Watch about how the nationalist Serbian

Radical Party started a media campaign in 2005 to raise awareness about Serb deaths

prior to the Srebrenica killings. In July 2005 the official victim count was raised from

1,400 to 3,500 by the government of the Republika Srpska, a figure that the ICTY, among

other sources, declares to be greatly overstated, as discussed in the English-language talkpage. In the Serbo-Croatian Wikipedia, the number of deaths does not appear to be in dispute, though the matter is framed as uncertain.[8]

Recall that we described the Serbo-Croatian article a softened version of the Bosnian, or less hard-hitting, and its power editor, OC Ripper, as having a unifying outlook. As a case in point, the sentence in the Bosnian article about the Scorpions video was shortened, removing the description of the Scorpions as part of the Serbian Interior Ministry. Also, the fine-grained, day-to-day descriptions of the mass executions were removed, and replaced with a summary. In terms of the victims, it reads that the chronology of events is still unclear, including the locations of the executions, the number of victims as well as the means by which they were killed. Another reason why the victim count is uncertain, it is said, has to do with the reburials of victims from August to November 1995 by the government of the Republika Srpska. I

{insert figure two}

Figure two: Comparison of the tables of contents of the Srebenica articles, 20 December 2010, also including the table of contents of the English-language article, translated into Bosnian (or B/C/S), 5 August 2005.

With respect to the question of who is to blame, a comparison of the discussion pages as well as the tables of contents shows certain commonalities between the Bosnian, Croatian and English-language articles as well as unique elements in the Dutch and

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[8] The Serbo-Croatian article has undergone three title changes, and only two of the talk pages associated with the original articles have been retained.

Serbian articles concerning the nature of the events (see Figure two). In the Dutch

article the report by the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (2002) is said to

not have drawn hard conclusions about who is to blame, though it made inculpable the

Dutchbat contingent which, it is said, was given a poor mandate and were ill-prepared

and ill-equipped. The Prime Minister Wim Kok and his cabinet members stepped down

on 22 July 2002, after the publication of the report, just after the 7-year anniversary of

the events. What the Bosnian and Croatian language versions have in common (and to

an extent the English-language one) is the explicit accusation of Serbs as executing a

methodical plan, invading the town, separating the men from the women and children,

evacuating the women and children, and killing the men. Like the Dutch to some extent,

the Serbian piece focuses on the military operation, especially with the headers,

"Operation Krivaja '95" and "Operation Stupcanica '95," the respective force plans for

the taking of Srebrenica and Zepa (another U.N. safe area) by the army of the Republika

Srpska. Unlike the Dutch article, however, heated discussion prompts a change in the

wholesale framing of the article. Initially the headers for the military operations are

links to separate articles of the same name, and subsequently to empty sub-sections

within the article itself. In May to July 2010 (in the run up to the 15-year anniversary of

the events) a somewhat administrative discussion about headers and information box

templates segues into the much larger issue of the overall thrust of the article, a military

operation (with a Bosnian Serb army victory) or a massacre. For Wikipedia articles

there are two distinct information box templates for military conflict and civilian attack,

respectively, and AntiDiskriminator would like to replace the current military info-box

with the massacre one. After a short round of reverts and heated discussion (initiated

by Bas-Celik who prefers the retention of the military framing, and reintroduced the

military conflict info-box for the last time at 3 in the morning on 20 July), the massacre

info-box with the cemetery and victim counts holds sway (see Figure three). One discussion point raised by CrniBombarder! is worth pointing out. Military conflict articles, with that template, deal with "strictly military" and not "ancillary events," thus prompting the question of making separate articles for Operation Krivaja '95 and the Srebrenica massacre, instead of merging them (Razgovor:Masakr u Srebrenici/Arhiva03, 2011).

The scope of the peoples to blame is also at issue. The Serbian article avoids using the terms Serb and Bosnian-Serb forces, preferring instead VRS, or the army of the Republika Srpska. In the Serbian talkpage a discussion on the framing of the introductionary parts of the article between Dordzm and Miloš reveals the sentiments towards who's to blame for Srebrenica. Dordezm as a respond to the questioning of the validity of the verdicts posed by the ICJ, states that that the ICJ's main objective was to find out who comitted this genocide: "1) Serbia did not commit the genocide. 2) Serbia did not participate, supplied or supported the genocide. 3)Serbia didn't do everything in its power to prevent the genocide. 4) Serbia is not suspected of genocide...the ICJ ordered this crime to be a genocide committed by someone in Bosnia against someone else in Bosnia, and not as a genocide that was committer by someone from Serbia against the Bosnians. OK?" (27 February 2007, Razgovor:Masakr u Srebrenici/Arhiva03, 2011).

In the Serbo-Croatian talk pages, it is asked why the term Bosnian Serbian forces is used. OC Ripper, power editor in the Serbo-Croatian edition, declares that the reason is precision. "'Serbian' would imply that Serbia and the people of Serbia as a whole, are to blame, and that would give this article a POV dimension and material for counter-

productive political discussions. The terms Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Serbian are therefore used as adjectives, because it is difficult to use Republika Srpska as an adjective" (Razgovor:Masakr u Srebrenici, 2010).

The English-language version covers a variety of controversies: "Possible widespread racism among Dutch peacekeepers," "Greek volunteers controversy" about Greek forces joining the Bosnian Serbs, "Role of Bosnian forces on the ground," and "Dispute regarding Serb causalities around Srebrenica." The "Opposition to the term genocide" also provides a list by name of those who challenge it as genocide. Arguably the controversy-making goes back to the very beginning of the article with the repeated insertion and removal of the word "alleged," a discussion about which is on the first of the nineteen archived talk pages. As the article grows (and with it the talk pages), it is as if every paragraph is the source of dispute. From the outset it is often observed that the Bosnian and Serbian power editors are discussing what should be in the article, and it is the "western" power editors that decide what is ultimately included, also playing peace-keeper. One (relatively early) example is a contribution to the controversy on the "Role of Bosnian forces on the ground," and in particular Naser Orić, the Bosnian army commander. Nikola Smolenski and Asim Led (aka HarunB, co-creator of Bosnian article) are in dispute about the extent to which Naser Orić should be covered in the English article. Finally, power editor Jitse Niesen calms them down: "I understand this is an emotional subject, but can we please try to keep our heads cool? Asim, I doubt it is helpful to indulge in personal attacks (thank you, Asim). Nikola, can you please explain what you mean with your remark about Orić? He is mentioned in the current article, in the fourth paragraph" (Talk:Srebrenica_massacre/Archive_1, 2006).

Пад Сребренице и Жепе

Део Рата у Босни и Херцеговини

[[Слика:

Bosna: Srebrenica i Žepa. Jul 1995 Mapa 62
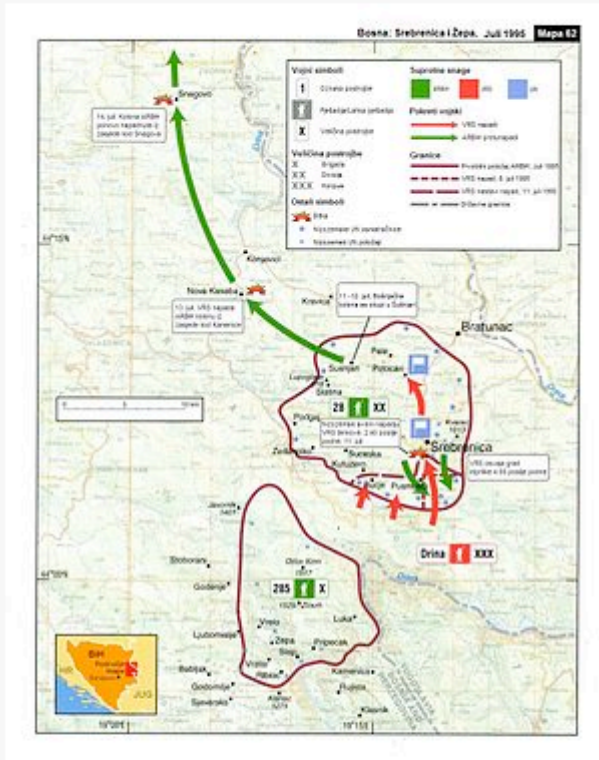
I300пl{{{опис_слике}}}]]

{{{опис_слике}}}

Време:	{{{датум}}}
Локација:	Источна Босна
Резултат:	Победа снага Републике Српске
Узрок битке:	Етничко чишћење Западне Славоније, која је била под заштитом УН, чије снаге нису заштитиле српско становништво. Напад Бошњака из заштићене зоне Сребреница на српско село Вишњица

Масакр у Сребреници

Гробље у оквиру Сребреница-Поточари Меморијалног центра

локација	Сребреница, Босна и Херцеговина
датум	11. јул 1995 – 22. јул 1995.
погинуло	8000+
починиоци	Војска Републике Српске
браниоци	Армија Републике Босне и Херцеговине

Figure three: Military conflict information box template (with military map and detail) and civilian attack template, in Serbian, with the details of the Operation Krivaja '95 and the Srebrenica massacre, respectively. Power editors replaced one with another, the last time being on 20 July 2010, when the military conflict box was inserted by Bas-Celik at 3:03 and the civilian attack box re-inserted by AntiDiskriminator four hours later at

7:35 in the morning. Since then the military conflict information box has not reappeared.

The Bosnian and Croatian articles speak of "Revisionism and the denial of genocide." In the Bosnian article, also the header "Role of Bosniak forces on the ground" is included, but is missing in the Croatian. The line in the table of contents called "Revisionism and denial of genocide" in the Bosnian is called "Criticism of the official versions of events" in the Serbian article. Here it is helpful to refer to Kaster, an editor of the Serbian Wikipedia version, who summarizes what he refers to as the western, popular media account as having roughly ten points, all of which should be rebutted in a special section called "critique of the general account of events," or "the Serbian version of the truth about Srebrenica" (Razgovor:Masakr u Srebrenici/Arhiva02, 2011).

- the safe haven was demilitarized before the events of July 1995.

- the "safe haven" was at peace and under control of the blue helmets.

- all or the majority of killed were civilians.

- the number of deaths is more than 8000.

- the killings were planned beforehand.

- the killings were ordered by Generals Mladic and Karadzic.

- The regular police as well as the Yugoslavian army participated in the killings.

- The Serbians as a ethnic group are to blame for what happened.

- Foreign influences [Dutchbat] as well as the Muslim side in the events of July were "innocent."

- The Hague tribunal is just and treats all sides equally (Razgovor:Masakr u Srebrenici/Arhiva02, 2011)

While the edit warring template was put on the article directly after its creation date, the more recent Serbian article version has NPOV and factual inaccuracy templates (in place since August 2009). Nikola summarizes what could be described as a big-picture controversy about the article's POV (point of view). "The version of the course of events that has been forced by the west is taken as the most accurate one, while the local one is taken as a reaction to the former" (Razgovor:Masakr u Srebrenici/Arhiva02, 2011). Indeed, after the placement of the NPOV template, a discussion erupts in the Serbian talkpage on the question of how the Serbian article is supposed to represent a neutral point of view while still remaining its own version of the account of events. Here the relationship between the neutral and the Serbian is discussed (historiographically) in terms of the current and future needs of the Serb people. Miloš argues, "I realize [we] need revisionism (...) because it is not easy when five thousand to eight thousand people were killed *in the name of your people*" (Razgovor:Masakr u Srebrenici/Arhiva02, 2011). He also asks whether the article will improve with greater historical distance or hindsight, proposing at one point (in the interim) that the English write the Serbian article, and the Serbian the English-language one. In that vain he also poses a further question about why the Serbian language encyclopedia needs to be a Serbian encyclopedia anymore than the German-language a German one. In the event, the Serbian editors settle on a header (unique to the articles) called, "Reports and resolutions of Serbian institutions and the Republika Srpska," which offers additional sources and views so as to make the account less western.

The Serbo-Croatian article uses a combination of terms, "Alternative visions of events, revisionism, and conspiracy theories," whereas the Dutch table of contents does not

have a header referring to controversy as such, closing with the section title, "charges by the survivors," referring to the legal proceedings brought by the group referred to as the Mothers of Srebrenica, discussed below.

Referencing and providing images to the Srebrenica articles

Anyone can edit Wikipedia articles, as is said, though there are hurdles to be cleared. In Srebrenica articles editors are encouraged to turn to the talk pages, where edits are discussed, or drafted. Editors sometimes ask for further substantiation and referencing; it is at this point where contributors are occasionallly admonished for the introduction of specific sources as well as types of sources. As a case in point (mentioned above), in the English-language article on the Srebrenica massacre, the 2005 *Globe and Mail* piece by former Sarajevo UNPROFOR commander, Lewis MacKenzie, was not deemed credible, given his alleged Serb sympathies, physical distance from the events in question and so forth. A reprint of that piece is referenced (twice) in the Serbian article and in none of the other five articles in question. In the English-language version, there are also types of sources considered out of order, certainly blogs, as srebrenica-genocide.blogspot.com, which is the (Bosnian) source of the pictures of the graffiti on the walls at the Dutchbat compound in Potočari, raised in the Dutch discussion pages (and elsewhere). Like the MacKenzie piece, it is talked about in most language versions, and referenced only in one -- the Bosnian article. In both the MacKenzie and srebrenica-genocide.blogspot cases, the sources are referenced for their recognized knowledge, not in specific sections about revisionism, criticisms of official versions of events or similar alternative points of view. Thus certain sources are deemed acceptable by the editors of a language version, and not by others, which leads to the questions of which sources are unique (as well as shared) in the articles under study as well as the larger issue of the

distribution of attribution, or spread of references across articles. Are the articles relying on similar or vastly different authorities? Here it may be worthwhile to quote from the Serbian talkpage during the NPOV dispute period (approximately one year after the pasting of the B/C/S article, translated from the English, into the Serbian Wikipedia. The question of 'side' that references are on is raised. "The only reliable sources are those two. The rest is Bosnian, and controversial to Serbians. What to do?" (Razgovor:Masakr u Srebrenici/Arhiva02, 2011). Also, on which subject matters are the sources the same (both on the document as well as on the level of source name), and on which do they differ? There is also the question of context of use, or how (and where in the article) sources are cited. The approach taken here to the analysis of the referencing follows along the above lines of a comparison of shared and unique sources, including their usage.

Each article often has both references (in the form of footnotes) as well as suggestions for further reading. Both the references and suggestions are hyperlinked, which provides the opportunity for harvesting and comparing the links across articles, both on the level of the page (or document) as well as on the host (or general source name). (The links made to other Wikipedia pages in the body of the articles, and in menus, are left out of the analysis because they are not external sources and as such do not serve to substantiate accounts. It is worth noting that in the menu there are links to other language versions of the 'same' article, including the German, which like the Bosnian, is a featured article; the Japanese as well as Norwegian enjoy the status of good articles on the subject.) It is instructive at the outset to point out that the English-language article has the most references by far (308 of the 390 in all articles, or nearly 80% in total), followed by the Serbian (54), Croatian (38), Bosnian (17), Dutch (12) and Serbo-

Croatian (7). Statistically it is likely to have the most unique references (which it has at 276); it also has the highest percentage of unique references of all the language versions (90%). Recall that the power editors of the various articles (with the exception of the Dutch) contribute to the English-language article. Thus in principle it would not be unusual for references to be shared, if one takes into account that the editors potentially bring their references with them to the English-language article, and also take them back to their own version (so to speak). Perhaps the more remarkable finding, however, is that all articles (with the exception of the Serbo-Croatian) have majorities, some vast, of unique references: Serbian 77% (43/56), Bosnian 59% (10/17), Croatian 87% (33/38) and Dutch 83% (10/12). Following on from the assumption that some reference sharing should occur across articles with the same power editors, one could expect that at least English-language sources would recur. As a set, the six articles have no common outlinks as references or external sources, on a page level, be it in English or any other language. The only article whose (seven) references appear in at least one other article in the Serbo-Croatian (again, in a sense, unifying the articles, or views). As we come to, five of the six share a (page-level) reference to the original war crimes indictment in 1995, and four share a reference to the Mothers of Srebrenica, the group representing the survivors.

The page-level analysis is accompanied by host comparison, so as to address the issue of articles' referencing translations of the same document, especially from international organizations and governments. The pattern of sourcing specificity becomes less dramatic on a host level, where the English and the Dutch articles still have a majority of unique hosts (74% and 64% respectively), while the Serbian, Bosnian and Croatian now have a minority (34%, 31% and 24% respectively) (see Appendix one). The United

Nations (un.org) as source is shared by all six articles, and the Mothers of Srebrenica (srebrenica.ba) and the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (icty.org) by five of the six. While there is that source agreement, the unique sources (on a host level) are specific to particular communities: three Dutchbat sources are referenced in the Dutch article, one concerning Manja Blok who piloted one of the two Dutch F-16s that bombed VRS positions just prior to the fall of the enclave. The air support previously called for did not materialize. Apart from the srebrenica-genocide.blogspot.com source, the website of the 300-family strong, Bosnian-Islamic cultural community of Oberhausen, Germany is referenced in the Bosnian article alone. The Serbian article refers to serbiancafe.com (which has not come up in discussion at the English-language Wikipedia) as well as serbianna.com, described by a power editor (Bosniak) in the English-language article as hosting "Serbian writers known for their spread of propaganda and bald faced lies, including ridiculing [the] Srebrenica genocide" (Talk:Srebrenica_massacre/Archive_11, 2010). Perhaps more to the point it also hosts the 2011 study, "Deconstruction of a Virtual Genocide: An Intelligent Person's Guide to Srebrenica," which as the title perhaps indicates is an alternative account of the events, and also a part of the "Srebrenica Project," which highlights (among other aspects) the Serbian victims of a conflict broader than the events of July 1995.

One of the main reasons for the discrepancy between the number of unique pages and hosts referenced concerns which UN documents are cited in each of the articles. Here it may be instructive to look more closely at the differences between the main protagonists' citation patterns, and at the same time take note of which documents cover which events and employ which terms. Here we provide another means to look behind the accounts given in the articles. Un.org is the only host shared by the Serbian,

Bosnian and Dutch articles, though the individual documents cited differ. The seminal

UN document is shared across the articles: the 1995 indictment of Ratko Mladic and

Radovan Karadzic by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia,

charging them with genocide and crimes against humanity. (The Serbian and Bosnian

link to it at a un.org site, whereas the Dutch to the icty.org site.) The articles show

further preference, with the next major document (chronologically speaking) being the

U.N. Secretary General's report to the General Assembly on the "fall of Srebrenica"

(1999), referenced in the Dutch article as well as the Serbian, not the Bosnian.[9] The

subsequent document, the 2001 ICTY judgement against Radislav Krstic, where the

presiding judge (Theodor Meron) ruled that genocide was committed, is referenced by

the Serbian and Dutch, not the Bosnian, whereas the 2004 final verdict against Krstic

(after his appeal) is referenced by the Bosnian only. Recall that it was the 2004 ruling

that confirmed the crimes committed as "genocide" and prompted Dado, power editor,

to put forward the title change in the English-language version from massacre to

genocide. Additionally that case, as well as the 2007 ICJ ruling, dated the term massacre,

according to GriffinSB in one of the many debates about the article name in the English-

language Wikipedia, noted above. There are also references shared by the Bosnian and

the Serbian articles, such as srebrenica.ba, the Mothers website. The other Mothers

website, the movement of the Mothers from the Srebrenica and Zepa enclaves

(srebrenica-zepa.ba), containing a list of 8,106 victims (to July 2005, and 8,373

thereafter), is also linked from the Serbian and Bosnian articles. For the issue of the

survivors, the Dutch article points to the detailed (multi-language) dossier kept by the

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[9] The same U.N. report of the Secretary-General pursuant to General Assembly resolution 53/35, The fall of Srebrencia, is referenced in Dutch article as http://www.un.org/peace/srebrenica.pdf, and in Serbian, Serbo-Croatian and English as http://www.un.org/docs/journal/asp/ws.asp?m=a/54/549.

Dutch law firm, van Diepen and van der Kroef, representing the Mothers in their case against the Dutch state and the United Nations. While the Bosnian and the Serbian share the links to the Mothers, the Bosnian and Dutch share no references at all, providing an indication of the distance between the two accounts.

Since it is the most specific, perhaps the selectivity of the Dutch referencing deserves a further (brief) examination, so as to shed further light on the peculiarity of the account there (compared to other articles under study). There are twelve links (and one unlinked reference to the 2002 report by the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation). We have mentioned the link to the UN document on the "fall of Srebrencia" (which is of course the title of the article). Also mentioned were the links to the Dutch law firm and to three Dutchbat sources, another of which treats the history of a medical evacuation team, and their aid of the Bosnians, which could be considered as contrapuntal to Dutchbat's alleged aversion to them. There is a link to a news article of the 2010 discovery that would have the effect of lowering the victim count: some 500 Bosnians listed as victims supposedly were discovered to be alive. Apart from news of a recent court ruling in the Netherlands, finding against the Dutch state for failing to protect Bosnian families employed at the camp (which is the smaller of the two cases brought against the state), the remaining references include two critical (and intellectual) articles from the *Groene Amsterdammer* weekly, the "Deconstruction of a Trauma" and "The Netherlands were collaborators in Srebrenica," where the latter is an interview with Janja Bec-Neumann, Cambridge-educated, genocide studies scholar, who refers to the Dutchbat contingent as "racists and cowards," as the subtitle of the article also reads. An accompanying reference to a newspaper article from 1995 is provided as counterweight to the very idea of collaboration (as well as racism): the so-called

Franken's list of the names of about 250 Bosnians compiled by a commanding officer (Major Franken) was not a list of those the Dutch forces wanted saved (in collusion with the Bosnian Serbs' plans), but rather an Amnesty International technique, according to the Major, warning the Bosnian Serbs that the Bosniaks they were taking away have names. The list has been faxed to the Hague (and is to be smuggled out in the Major's undergarments) (de Koning, 2000).

{Insert Figure four}

Figure four: Images in the Srebrenica articles, 20 December 2010, listed by Wikipedia language version and ordered by appearance.

The analysis of the images follows a similar path, looking at the sheer numbers (62 in total), the shares of them (English with 20, Bosnian 15, Croatian 14, Serbian and Serbo-Croatian 5 and Dutch 3), the common ones, and those that are unique (see Figure four). The images are scraped from the articles, and placed in columns in the order in which they appear on the pages. (They also may be reordered to show matches and uniques.) The Dutch article contains two maps, the first providing the location of Srebrenica in the Republika Srpska (Bosnia and Herzegovina) near the Serbian border, and the second the military campaign map (made by the CIA), showing the advance of the Drina Corps of the VRS, and the flight of the Bosnian army (the ARBiH), ambushed twice in their retreat by the VRS on 13 and 14 July. It also has a burial image, with the green draped coffins. These images recur in most of the other articles, either as exact matches or as similar ones. The Serbian (the next in order to be treated in terms of the quantity of images) shares two with the Dutch (military campaign map and burial), and otherwise has no unique images, displaying the cemetery at Potočari, a satellite photo of the mass

graves (at Nova Kasaba) and a picture of Ratko Mladić, the Bosnian-Serb commander of the VRS, as do the Bosnian, Croatian and English. The Serbo-Croatian (also with five images) is similar, using the pictures in the Serbian piece, but also adding the grave of the 13-year-old boy, which recurs across the Bosnian, Croatian and English articles. The Serbian article has a discussion of that picture in the talkpage, where consensus emerges against (or at least not for) using it: "It would give the impression that all or most of the victims of the massacre were children or minors, which is not the case" (Razgovor:Masakr u Srebrenici/Arhiva03, 2011).

The Bosnian article has the most unique images, which unlike those of the English are evidentiary from the days themselves in July 1995. The Bosnian has at the outset of the article the cemetery and the grave of the 13-year-old, returning at the end of the article with a picture of a boy about that age kissing a gravestone. In its 15 image files it introduces three not found in the other articles: Bosnian-Serb tanks in action at Srebrenica, Serbian soldiers separating Bosniak men in Potočari (12 July 1995) and a still from the Scorpions video recording of the execution of four boys and two young men from Srebrenica -- all rather grainy and generally of lesser quality than the rest of the images in all the articles. In contrast, the English and the Croatian (together with the Bosnian) contain pictures concerning the evidence-gathering since the events, including the exhumed body blindfolded with hands tied behind back as well as the aerial photography of the mass graves. (The English and the Croatian show pictures of the Commission for Missing Persons' files, a room of shelves with stored and labelled evidence.) The images unique to the English article are a Dutchbat military vehicle, the Dutchbat headquarters at Potočari and a visit to a mass grave by a group from the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGS), an image used in the Bosnian and

Croatian articles, but without the scholars. Generally it could be said (from the images present) that the Bosnian article presents, more than others, evidence concerning the events themselves, including the deaths of boys of non-fighting age, whereas others (largely the Croatian and the English) are more inclined to emphasize the investigation. The Dutch and the Serbian depictions are more of a military nature, with maps and burials, with the Serbian (not the Dutch) also emphasizing mass graves and the memorial to the victims.

Conclusion

The contribution lies in the development of an approach to Wikipedia research that could be called cultural research with Wikipedia. In short, it puts forward comparative analysis of articles on the same subject matter across language versions, so as to further the study of Wikipedia not so much as accurate or inaccurate reference work, or as biased, but as cultural reference. By cultural reference is meant, in the first instance, the study of the account of events or phenomena that is shared with other versions as well as unique to the ones in question, despite the neutral point of view principle, and consensus-building process around it, that is at the heart of Wikipedia. That is, at first glance such an approach to Wikipedia appears counter-intuitive in that it is an online encyclopedia whose collaborative, consensus-building environment, together with its principles, aims to result in neutral points of view. As such one may imagine that the principle of neutral point of view upon which it is founded, and the bureaucracy in place to further it, would make Wikipedia articles universal in the sense of the same, or increasingly similar, across language versions. We have found that such a presumption does not hold.

One source of universality, or similarity, is translation; articles would be the same or similar, if translated from other languages. Thus, in practice, there may be parent versions of articles, with offsprings, such as the Srebrenica massacre (Serbian) and Srebrenica genocide (Bosnian and Croatian), which were born as translations from the English-language article. (The English-language article itself originates from another online piece written by Martin Frost.) Indeed, any number of Wikipedia articles may be translations, the product of copy-paste or otherwise seeded, like the 30,000 articles on U.S. counties and cities created by RamBot from census data and the CIA World Fact Book, beginning in October 2002 with Autaugaville, Alabama (User:rambot, 2010). That is how articles get started. A plea has been made in the literature, however, to allow them to grow organically in the local language (Callahan and Herring, 2011). Whether organically grown or transplanted, the question put forward here is whether they become more particularistic, or universal, as they are refined. As mentioned above, in comparative Wikipedia language version research, it was found that the entries on famous Poles in the English-language Wikipedia chronicled their personal lives far more than the 'same' articles in the Polish-language Wikipedia. The plea for the encouragement of home-grown articles in one's own Wikipedia language version, and cultural specificity, could be read at the same time as a critique of (American content) values embedded in an encyclopedia, rather than as a nudge to scholars to study Wikipedia as cultural reference. Here that latter proposal for the study of difference is made.

As also has been found, there are large numbers of articles that appear in one language version and not the others, including the Arabic, Korean and English (the largest) (Stvilia, et al.., 2009). One may have made a similar finding for encyclopedias prior to

Wikipedia, and proposed cross-cultural analysis of standard works. In any case, the approach to Wikipedia proposed here is a part of a wave of work that has moved beyond the (comparative) study of accuracy, which perhaps was prompted by a general sense of incredulity surrounding an amateur, free-labor encyclopedia that also has seen celebrated cases of vandalism and publication of falsehood (the John Seigenthaler case). Rather, the issue now has to do with how else to read Wikipedia.

If one accepts the very idea that Wikipedia language version articles on the 'same' subject matter may well be rather distinctive, and the distinctiveness a worthwhile object of study, the question remains how to approach such a comparative study so that the differences are telling. Of course the work performed here has as its subject events that go by distinct names, depending on whether (as a Serbian editor phrased it) the fall of Srebrenica and the aftermath (massacre, genocide) are considered one event. As is emphasized in the English, Bosnian and Croatian articles, and found in the ICTY and ICJ rulings, the planned killings of a group of Bosniaks (based on their identity), as part and parcel of the conquest of the town, would constitute one event: genocide. For the Dutch article, however, the fall of the town is its primary subject matter. As a power editor pointed out, Srebrenica massacre, or another Dutch word, does not cover the contents of the article, and would be misleading. Here the cultural specificity of the parsing of the events in Srebrenica of July 1995 become compelling objects of study.

At the outset it was pointed out that the Srebrenica articles belong to a particular class of controversial subject matters, whose editors may have particular qualities. The benefits of topic self-selection by editors (passion, knowledge) may not adhere as well to controversial articles, where versions of events are emotionally contested, as the

Wikipedia English-language power editors put it to their Bosnian and Serbian counterparts in the discussion pages. As we have found, contributors are not only attracted to such articles (for reasons of setting the record straight and others), but also leave them, after arguing and performing other Wikipedia bureaucratic work, including investigating other editors' 'socking,' referring to the practice of changing names so as to leave behind one's previous editing and discussion page reputation. Emir Arven, for one, has had nearly a dozen names, according to the sockpuppet investigations. In fact, five of the top ten power editors of the English-language article on the Srebrenica massacre have been blocked indefinitely or suspected of socking by using multiple user names. After one or more usernames are blocked, one may return as an anonymous editor, and see that IP addressed blocked as well. Here is further context to the remarks made by Dado, the seeder of the Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian articles. He found consensus-building frustrating and enervating.

The method put forward for the comparative analysis of (controversial and sometimes hard-fought) articles across language versions is a kind of Web content analysis that takes seriously the units of analysis Wikipedia has to offer, including ones that are specific to the medium. By medium-specific we mean the features of wiki software, with its built-in revision history; mediawiki's wiki, with its talkpages and its retention of the IP addresses of anonymous editors; and Wikipedia's bureaucracy, with its templates, and its locking and unlocking pages (for example). (Where one missing unit is concerned, it would be convenient for the researcher to have IP addresses of the registered editors as well, so as to be able to automate a geolocation analysis of all the editors of the articles.) In the analysis, we have compared the article titles, templates, tables of contents, particular content details, talk pages, editors' names and locations,

references and images. We have found that the majority of articles seldom shares titles, tables of contents, editors, references and images. They are also distinctive in their contents, beginning with the question of the scope to be covered in the articles. Above mention was made of whether the events in question in July of 1995 should emphasize the pre-history, say 1992-1995 (as the Serbian and Croatian editors have remarked), the taking of Srebrenica or its fall (the Dutch), or the planned taking of the town and slaughter of the Bosniak men (the Bosnian, Croatian and English). Each would affect not only the title, but also the type of information box chosen, a discussion about encyclopedic administration which paved the way for a decision (in the Serbian) to accept the massacre frame over that of military conflict.

The side-by-side placement of the various victim counts are special cases in point in our study, for not only do they show difference but also often rely on sources that are not shared. The report by the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (2002) has a lower victim count than the Federal (Bosnian) Commission on Missing Persons. The government of the Republika Srpska has a higher Serb victim count than other institutions. Relying on one's national authority leads to discrepancies across articles. There are also contrarian or skeptical sources, and space is made for them in special sections at the conclusion of the article, be they entitled revisionism or the Serb account.

One of the more sensitive questions concerns whether the victims were of fighting age, and thus how to construe the killings. The Bosnian article, through its images, places emphasis on boys too young to fight, including the grave a 13-year-old. Other articles share war crime imagery, with the picture of the exhumed body blindfolded with hands tied behind the back. These images are not in the Serbian or the Dutch Wikipedia

articles, which have fewer pictures generally, and share with other articles the geographical and military maps as well as the picture of the cemetery, and the caskets with green drapings. The map of the location of Srebrencia and the graves are shared across all articles. It is on that point that all articles agree.

Finally, in a sense, the neutral point of view and the related guidelines should not be opposed to the distinctive accounts given across the Wikipedia language versions. The power editors in the Bosnian, Serbian, Dutch and Serbo-Croatian Wikipedias are continually altering their articles to have acceptable pieces in their Wikipedia that at the same time still fit with the three core principles and accompanying guidelines as to how to achieve them. As we have seen, some language versions have more difficulty defending their specific content and sources against vandalism and other accounts of events, e.g., western ones.

In the English-language edition it becomes apparent that many of the power editors are willful, defending their versions, their sources and their accounts, often to such a degree that they are blocked temporarily or indefinitely from contributing. Some of these editors, subsequently, return to their own version, where they continue to edit. With the exception of the English and the Serbo-Croatian, the editors of different language Wikipedias are fully aware that they are creating both their own account as well as a 'negotiated' account of events with the other versions. That leaves the English and the Serbo-Croatian articles. While it would be difficult to term any a universal article, there are what we could call instead umbrella articles, with two varieties, one created through the work of many, and the other the work of the few. There is a highly contested one

with many interlanguage editors (the English) and a softened, rather unifying one with

very few editors (the Serbo-Croatian).

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Appendix one

{insert appendix one}

Referenced hosts in the Srebrencia articles per Wikipedia language version,

colored by frequency, and ordered by frequency and by alphabet, 20 December

2010

Locations of anonymous editors of the Srebrenica articles
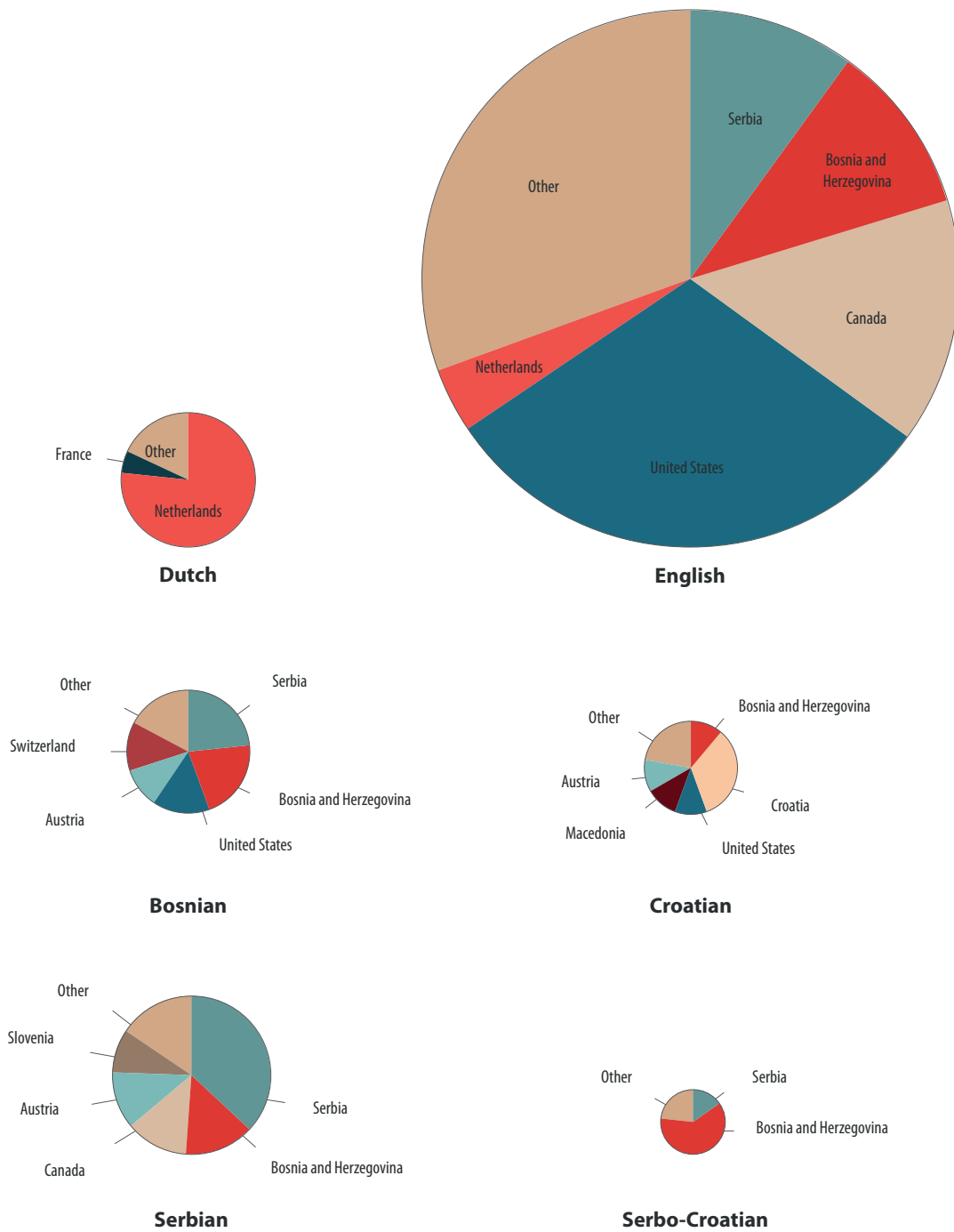
Figure one: Locations of anonymous editors of the Srebenica articles, per 20 December

2010. Analysis tool: Wikipedia Edits Scraper and IP Localizer, Digital Methods Initiative,

Amsterdam.

"Srebrenica Massacre" - English version 6 August 2005	"Srebrenica Massacre" - English version 20 December 2010
1.Background	1. Background
1.1 April 1993: the Security Council declares Srebrenica a "safe area"	1.1 Conflict in eastern Bosnia
1.2.3 Early 1995: the situation in the Srebrenica "safe area" deteriorates	1.1.1 1992 Ethnic cleansing campaign
1.3.Spring 1995: The Bosnian Serbs Plan To Attack the Srebrenica "Safe Area"	1.1.2 Fate of Bosnian Muslim villages
1.4 6-11 July 1995: The Take-Over of Srebrenica	1.1.3 Struggle for Srebrenica
2. The massacre	1.2 "Srebrenica safe area"
2.1 The Crowd at Potocari	1.2.1 April 1993: the Security Council declares Srebrenica a "safe area"
2.1.1. The Humanitarian Crisis in Potocari: 11-13 July 1995	1.2.2 Serb refusal to demilitarise around Srebrenica
2.1.2. 12-13 July: Crimes Committed in Potocari	1.2.3 Early 1995: the situation in the Srebrenica "safe area" deteriorates
2.2.The Column of Bosniak Men	1.2.4 Possible widespread racism among Dutch peacekeepers
2.3. A Plan to Execute the Bosnian Muslim Men of Srebrenica	1.2.5 4 June and 6–11 July 1995: Serb take-over of Srebrenica
2.4. The Mass Executions	2 Massacre
2.4.1. The Morning of 13 July 1995: Jadar River Executions	2.1 11–13 July 1995: the humanitarian crisis in Potočari
2.4.2. The Afternoon of 13 July 1995: Cerska Valley Executions	2.2 12–13 July: crimes committed in Potočari
2.4.3. 13-14 July 1995: Tisca	2.3 Separation and murder of Bosniak men in Potočari
2.4.4. 14 July 1995: Grbavci School Detention Site and Orahovac Execution site	2.3.1 Rapes and Abuse of Civilians
2.4.5. 14-16 July 1995: Pilica School Detention Site and Branjevo Military Farm Execution Site	2.4 Deportation of women
3. The Reburials	2.5 Column of Bosniak men
4. Recent developments	2.5.1 Other groups
4.1. US resolution 199	2.5.2 Tuzla column departs
5 Revisionism and denial of the massacre	2.5.3 Ambush at Kamenica Hill
	2.5.4 Sandići massacre
	2.5.5 Trek to Mount Udrc
	2.5.6 Snagovo ambush
	2.5.7 Approaching the frontline
	2.5.8 Breakthrough at Baljkovica
	2.5.9 Baljkovica corridor
	2.5.10 Arrival at Tuzla

"Genocida u Srebrenici"- Bosnian version 20 December 2010	"Genocide u Srebrenici"- Croatian version 20 December 2010
1. Introduction 1.1 April 1993: The Security Council Declares Srebrenica a "free zone" 1.2 Early 1995: State of "safe area" of Srebrenica deteriorates 1.3 Spring 1995: Serbs planned attack of the "safe area" of Srebrenica 1.4 Period 6 to 11 July 1995: the takeover of Srebrenica 2. The massacre 2.1 The mass of people in Potocari 2.1.1 12-13 July: Crimes Comitted in Potocari 2.1.2 The separation of Muslim men in Potocari 2.2 The column of Bonsiak men 2.3 Plan to execute the Bosniak men from Srebrenica 2.4 The mass executions 2.4.1 13 July 1995 morning: The executions of Jadar 2.4.2 13 July 1995: afternoon: Cerska Valley 2.4.3 13-14 July 1995: Tisca 2.4.4 14 July 1995: Place of detention at a school in Grbavci and execution in Orahovac 2.4.5 14-16 July 1995: School Detention Site Pilica execution at Branjevo Selo 3 The reburials 4. Epilogue and recent developments	1. Introduction 1.1 April 1993: The Security Council Declares Srebrenica a "free zone" 1.2 Early 1995: State of "safe area" of Srebrenica deteriorates 1.3 Spring 1995: Serbs planned attack of the "safe area" of Srebrenica 1.4 Period 6 to 11 July 1995: the takeover of Srebrenica 2. The massacre 2.1 The mass of people in Potocari 2.1.1 12-13 July: Crimes Comitted in Potocari 2.1.2 The separation of Muslim men in Potocari 2.2 The column of Bonsiak men 2.3 Plan to Execute the Bosniak men from Srebrenica 2.4 The mass executions 2.4.1 13 July 1995 morning: The executions of Jadar 2.4.2 13 July 1995: afternoon: Cerska Valley 2.4.3 13-14 July 1995: Tisca 2.4.4 14 July 1995: Place of detention at a school in Grbavci and execution in Orahovac 2.4.5 14-16 July 1995: School Detention Site Pilica execution at Branjevo Selo 3 The reburials 4. Epilogue and recent developments
4.1 Role of Bosniak forces on the ground (Conclusions of the United Nations)	5. The role of Serbia
4.2 Resolution of the United States No. 199	5.1 The resolution of the United States no. 199
4.3 The role of Serbia in genocide	6. Trials
5. Revisionism and denial of genocide	7. Revisionism and the denial of genocide

| "Masakr u Srebrenici" – Serbian version 20 December 2010	"Masakr u Srebrenici" – Serbo-Croatian version 20 December 2010
1. Background	1. Creating a safe area
2. Operation Krivaja '95. The taking of Srebrenica	2. The situation in the safe zone (1993-1995)
3. Operation Stupcanica '95. Taking Zepa	3. The fall of the Srebrenica enclave
4. Chronology of Massacre	4. Breakthrough of Muslim men to Tuzla
4.1 Beg** of Bosniaks in Potocari	5. Evacuation of women and separation of men from Potocari
4.2 Transport women, children and the elderly	
4.3 Separation of bosniak men	6. Mass executions
4.4 The column of refugees and soldiers	7. The military and political consequences of the massacre
4.5 Executions	
4.6 Primary and secondary mass graves	7.1 Apologies by Serbia
5. Reports on the massacre in Srebrenica	8. Court proceedings
6. Criticism of the official version of events	9 Alternative visions of events, revisionism and conspiracy theories
7. Controversy	
8. Consequences	
9. Trials	
9.1 The Hague Tribunal	
9.2 International Court of justice	De Val van Srebrenica – Dutch version of 20 December 2010
9.3 Trials in Serbia	
10. Reports and resolutions of Serbian institutions and the Republic of Srpska	1. Background
	2. Battles before the fall of Srebrenica
	3. The Fall of Srebrenica
	4. Aftermath
	4.1. Investigation of the circumstances
	4.2 The ones responsible
	4.3 The NIOD report and its implications
	4.4 Charges pressed by survivors

Figure two: Comparison of the tables of contents of the Srebenica articles, 20 December 2010, also including the table of contents of the English-language article, translated into Bosnian (or B/C/S), 5 August 2005.
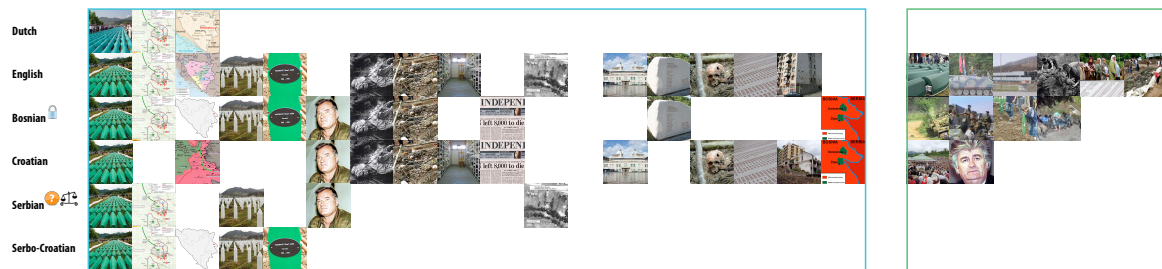
Figure four: Images in the Srebrenica articles, 20 December 2010, listed by Wikipedia language version and ordered by similarity.