RACISM AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN THE MASS MEDIA

An overview of research and examples of good practice in the EU Member States, 1995-2000

on behalf of the

European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, Vienna (EUMC)

by
European Research Centre
on Migration and Ethnic Relations
(ERCOMER)

Edited by Jessika ter Wal

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PREFACE

The research interest in analysing the way mass media report on ethnic issues has increased in the Member States over the last decades. And for this reason the EUMC decided to bring together the major research reports and their findings over the last five years in this report "RACISM AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN THE MASS MEDIA - an overview of research and examples of good practice in the EU Member States, 1995-2000".

The project has been carried out by Dr Jessika ter Wal, at Ercomer, Utrecht University, the Netherlands. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to her for her excellent work. The report underlines the importance of media research in the area of racism and diversity.

The mass media, and especially the news media, have an unequivocal position in society when it comes to establishing and disseminating common cultural references. The mass media have an influence on people's attitudes as well as our common knowledge, but not always in the expected and desired ways.

The active democratic role of the mass media in society can be influenced by a number of factors. The way the mass media represent, focus and give voice to different actors and incidents in society could have the unintentional result of strengthening a racist discourse instead of fighting against it. Mass media reporting is especially sensitive when it comes to ethnic, cultural and religious relations in our society.

The mass media organisations in the Member States take different initiatives to promote cultural, ethnic and religious diversity, such as developing codes of conduct, recruiting broadcasters from the migrant and minority communities and training the personnel from multiethnic societies.

The report has already attracted a lot of interest from researchers, from journalists as well as from media organisations. I hope that the report will be of practical use to all those interested in the fight against racism and especially those working in the media.

Beate Winkler

Director of the EUMC

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1 INTRODUCTION

by Jessika ter Wal

This report gives an overview of the existing research on racism and cultural diversity in the mass media in the 15 EU Member States. The country reports gathered in this volume summarise and analyse the studies that have been published in the period 1995-2000 in each single Member State. Furthermore, the report provides a comparison of the findings from the Member State reports and presents a number of recommendations emerging from these results.

1.1 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to provide reliable data about and to chart the main characteristics of reporting on ethnic minorities and migrants in the Member States. In addition, it gathers information on recent initiatives to promote cultural diversity in the media.

The report is set out to find answers to three main questions:

- 1. How do existing studies report on the way in which *general media practices* and the organisation of media in the different Member States affect reporting on ethnic issues?
- 2. What are the available findings about the *representation of ethnic and cultural diversity* in the media, and *the reproduction of racism* through the media?
- 3. What actions have been launched in the different Member States to promote cultural diversity and combat racism in the media?

The report aims at a representative overview of the research conducted on the subject in the different Member States. It is important to note that the amount of available information on a given Member State is clearly no indication of the amount of racism in its media. It is also not the aim of the report to benchmark countries or specific (types of) media; this would not even be possible because the picture is much too varied and subject to change to make far-

reaching evaluations of this kind. Instead, the aim is to understand what are the mechanisms responsible for the reproduction of (anti) -racism in and through the media, so that these can be challenged more effectively, also by showing positive examples.

1.2 HOW THE STUDY WAS CONDUCTED

The three general questions described above are answered for each EU Member State, in the country report chapters in section III of this report. A summary is found in the conclusions in section II. The answers provided are based on the available research and publications on these issues in the different EU Member States, published between 1995 and 2000. This material was gathered and analysed for each Member State individually by experts in each Member State. The experts are scholars that have been working in this field for many years, either at doctoral and post-doctoral level or as professors, from either Journalism and Mass Communication Studies or other related disciplines¹. The material comprised scientific research and publications on the representation of ethnic minorities in the media, as well as reports and publications from media practitioners and NGOs working to promote cultural diversity in the media. This included also the consultation of information available via the Internet and personal contacts with organisations operating in the field at the national level. The data had to be representative of the research published in the years 1995-2000 (with data collection done in summer 2000) and the reports had to present the main and most important findings of these studies and initiatives. Several of the reports were submitted to the review of other established scientific experts to quarantee the representativeness and objectivity of the data presented.

The country reports followed the structure of a questionnaire designed to include the most important elements that indicate the position of ethnic minorities and migrants in the media and initiatives to improve the position of these groups in the media.

¹ A list of names and addresses of the authors is given in appendix II.

AN INVENTORY OF THE EXISTING RESEARCH: OBJECT, METHOD, AND SAMPLE

In providing the overviews of the existing data, a two-step procedure was followed. The first step was to ask which sources of data were actually available. The reliability of the data was ensured by adopting as much as possible common conceptual definitions - within the limits of a report on existing research². Indeed, knowing that different theories of and approaches to the study of racism and the media exist, research results were reported mentioning the approach applied in that research and where felt necessary the limits were mentioned.

The reports contain both quantitative and qualitative data obtained with reliable methods of content analysis and discourse analysis. For each finding, reporters were asked to specify sample, and sample size. Reliability and objectivity of data was furthermore ensured by the definition of a common conceptual framework (which can be found in the appendix). Also, the reporters were asked to critically discuss the ethnic group labels found in data and to provide the full source and sample reference for any claims made about media contents and representations. Authors were also held to report on deficiencies in data or methods. From a methodological point of view, authors were asked to specify, among other things, whether results were based on systematic content analyses or single examples.

To sum up, for each study on which the report gives information, the following points were specified either in the text or as part of the bibliographical references:

 What kind of study? (e.g. doctoral dissertation, Master's thesis, report, book, article, conference proceeding, article in scientific journal, article in other journal, Internet article or report, presented paper, essay)

² For an overview of existing theoretical and methodological approaches and the conceptual framework see the appendix I.

- Object of study (extensive study over longer period, case study, analysing representation, analysing news contents, specific areas/regions)
- Method applied in the study (quantitative, qualitative, content analysis, discourse analysis, headline analysis, interviews)

Sample of the study

- Which media? (daily newspapers, weekly magazines, TV, radio)
- Which media type? (e.g. tabloid or quality newspapers, local or national newspapers, large circulation or specialised audience, mainstream or right- or left-wing, public or commercial broadcasting, community radio)
- Which news genre? (e.g. editorials, crime news, social issue reports, routine news, background reporting, documentaries, news shows, news magazines, talk shows)
- Which period? (e.g. week, month, year, prime time and/or late night TV programmes)
- Specific groups? (e.g. asylum seekers, labour migrants, postcolonial minorities, Muslims, etc.)

SUMMARISING AND ANALYSING RESULTS OF THE EXISTING RESEARCH

After having described the existing data as such, the second and most important step was to ask which conclusions could be drawn from the data. Here the findings were organised following a questionnaire, which is described in detail in this section. The questionnaire is based on the identification of a series of indicators which are theory-based, and stem from previous research in the area of (anti)racism and the media. The elements of the questionnaire are organised around the three main questions to which the report aimed to find answers: general media practices, the representation and image of ethnic minorities and migrants in the media, and examples of positive actions to combat racism in the media. The main dimensions of analysis, the specific practices, factors and types of data analysed are represented in the Table 1, which is attached at the end of this introduction section. The question about promotion of cultural diversity is not included in the table, as the list is provided in the text below.

The first set of questions concerned research results regarding ge**neral media practices.** The reports indicate what is said in the existing studies about the ways in which news making practices and routines have affected the contents of reporting in the Member State's media. The influence on news production is conceptualised in terms of news values, such as negativity, proximity, and authority, and **news making constraints**. When drawing conclusions on media data, it is indeed necessary to consider the perspective of media professionals (journalists, editors). Among the main constraints for journalists are the limited time and space to develop news contents, the editorial constraints, the space for background investigation or documentary reporting, the available news genres, such as 'social issue' reporting, and choice for other genres. Furthermore, the impact of newsmaking practices is typically examined through patterns of source use and quotation, e.g. the use of preferential sources and the access to and for minority sources. Finally, the frequency and position of different actors in the news, and the main themes or issues covered and main interpretations or **perspectives** given in the news are indicators of news production practices. The reports signal these different aspects and also indicate, where possible, whether these practices have changed over time, and to what extent have they been adjusted to an agenda aimed at fighting racial discrimination, or to other political agendas.

A specific line of investigation in media studies is that of **source use** in newsmaking. Specific attention tends to be paid to the interrelations between media and **preferential sources**, in particular political authorities and other elite actors. But also organisations fighting for ethnic and racial equality may constitute more or less routine sources for the news media. In relation to the coverage on ethnic issues, the report asked in what ways the media established interpretations and justifications of current policy management of migration, integration, discrimination and other related policy areas. In other words, with which policy area was reporting on ethnic and racial issues most frequently associated, and was this done either in a positive or negative way, and in with which formulations? Moreover, the question was what impact election or government campaigns had on negative (stereotypical) or positive (anti-racist)

reporting. Finally, we asked whether there are research results registering any effects of media coverage on attitudes or behaviour (e.g. campaigns on voting behaviour).

A sub-set of questions under the header of general practices (news perspectives) dealt with the media treatment of racism and antiracism. Here we asked whether any qualitative findings existed on how racism and anti-racism were defined and represented in the news. For example, was the definition of racism restricted to biological superiority and racist violence, or were other forms of everyday or institutional also included in the conceptualisation? Were particular forms or expressions of racism denied, reformulated or legitimated, or instead contrasted? What did the different definitions of racism adopted in the media - e.g. as a problem restricted to specific areas (periphery), groups (working class, unemployed, skinheads), or ideological formations - imply for the responsibility or blame attributed to ethnic minority or migrant groups, and other population or elite groups? Similarly, was attention for antiracism restricted to moral condemnation, or were concrete institutional initiatives, or the struggle against determined forms of (for example institutional) discrimination reported on, or did media present other solutions for education, integration or the restriction of new migration? How were different initiatives selected for reporting and how were they presented and evaluated? Further, quantitative findings were considered: how much space was dedicated in the news to racism and anti-racism respectively? It was also checked whether any findings existed (both qualitative and quantitative) on relevant changes over time in approaches to racism in the media, and by what these changes were found to be determined. In other words, it was asked due to which factors and to what extent media treatment of racism and cultural diversity had improved or deteriorated in the years under analysis.

The second main set of questions in the questionnaire dealt with the representation of ethnic minorities or migrants in the news, i.e. the image of ethnic groups and issues constructed in and by the media. Here were reported again findings about the dominant news frames and themes in the coverage of racial issues, in qualitative and quantitative terms and in terms of changes over time. We also collected

here findings on the prominence given to different actors (institutional, lay actors, minority actors), overlapping with the actor frequencies and quotation patterns identified under general media practices. In addition, the **roles** and responsibilities attributed (often implicitly) to different actors, which are identified mostly through qualitative analysis of grammar and text structure (e.g. active and passive tense, verb use), were seen as an important indicator of the position of ethnic minorities and migrants in the media. The same counts for the **degree of credibility** attributed to statements about and by ethnic minorities/migrants, which was again analysed qualitatively through the position and style of quotation.

Furthermore, an essential part of the analysis of images is traditionally the identification of **stereotypes**. The reports therefore included findings on the most frequent stereotypical representations of migrants/ethnic minorities. In other words, the question was which (socio-economic, cultural, or personal) characteristics were attributed to the different ethnic groups and represented as essentialised or generalised features of an ethnic group. Also, which categorisations and negative or positive evaluations and recommendations for action were based on these categorisations? These forms of attribution of stereotypical roles are often rather implicit and can only be identified in studies of qualitative discourse analysis.

As a further typical media feature known from previous research was included the question whether the studies examined registered any stereotypical bias towards specific ethnic groups, rather than others. For example, a bias might occur in the representation of these groups in specific genres or prominent positions in the news media, which do not correspond to the proportion of this group in the Member State (migrant or overall) population (underor over-representation). Also, there may be a bias towards migrants in negative roles (e.g. as deviants or involved in illegal practises).

More in general, this set of questions was meant to show the role of the media in the reproduction of expressions of **hostility towards specific groups**, such as refugees and asylum seekers, or specific ethnic groups. This was done also by asking what were the most frequently occurring **terms used to categorise migrants or ethnic** minority or migrant groups in the media in the specific Member States, and what terminology and format was used to represent issues related to ethnic and cultural diversity in the media. This was again also related to the actor perspective, i.e., to what themes and arguments different actors typically used in relation to migration and ethnic and cultural diversity. All these questions were posed with the idea to eventually allow for a comparison among the different Member State reports. In addition, to compare trends in the media over time, we asked how the representations and denominations changed, and whether there had been an improvement (towards less bias) or deterioration in the use of terminology to name ethnic out-groups. The authors were also asked to identify where possible the main causes for improvement or deterioration.

Finally, the **quotation patterns** already mentioned under general media practices also are a valuable indicator of the position of ethnic minorities and migrants in the news and the way in which a particular perspective is given on the reported events or issues. This can be analysed by focusing on several aspects of quotation. Firstly, the presentation and quotation of sources in more or less prominent positions in the news. Secondly, the implicit attribution of different degrees of credibility to actors from minority or majority groups. Third, the selection of quotations on specific (conflictual) subjects from interviews with lay actors. Finally, the commentaries or implicit negative meanings added to quotations from (minority or migrant, or other) sources, by balancing with interviews with elite actors or analyses of the journalists themselves.

The third and final set of questions, contained in the questionnaire submitted to the authors from each Member State, was about **examples of good practice**, in terms of actions to promote cultural diversity and/or combat racism. Here authors were asked to register the existence and where possible evaluate the success of the following initiatives:

- journalists' guidelines or codes of practice on 'race' reporting
- inter-net and (commercial or state-initiated) advertising on initiatives to combat racism in the media
- policies implemented to strengthen cultural diversity

- monitoring media reporting on race issues
- awareness-raising
- special media programmes or services targeted at minority groups
- programmes aimed at increasing recruitment and representation of minorities in the media, both in existing media and special minority media
- professional training programmes for reporting on 'race' and cultural diversity
- organisational initiatives and lobbying efforts

The chapters on the single Member States do not give a systematic overview of all existing initiatives, but focus on examples of positive practice. This approach of giving single examples was chosen because in this area, rather than research results what we have is references to concrete programs. Results of research in the area of media consumption patterns by ethnic minorities do not constitute a focus of the present report. Some country reports do mention examples, and almost all reports do mention examples of programmes directed especially at ethnic minorities or in which ethnic minorities participated that were produced over the last five years. They are mentioned for their contribution to the promotion of cultural diversity and anti-racist awareness raising. Moreover, publications documenting general examples of good practice already exist at the international level as indicated below

1.3 EXISTING INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES TO PROMOTE GOOD PRACTICE

In recent years, several important initiatives have been developed at the international level to develop instruments for increasing cultural diversity in the media. We here mention the most important initiatives and efforts of documentation that have been developed during the period 1995-2000 at the international level, and which thus are not be mentioned in the Member State reports.

 In the autumn of 1995, the organisation Public Broadcasting for a Multicultural Europe (PBME) has drawn up Recommendations for Good Practice, in consultation with members of the European Broadcasting Union Television Programme Committee and individuals from many public broadcasting organisations all over Europe. The PBME is a network organisation supported by BBC Education and BBC Television-Equal Opportunities (UK), BRTN (Belgium), NOS (Netherlands), STOA (Netherlands). It also organised a pan-European conference in Strasbourg, 1995 (PBME, 1995).

- In May 1997, the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) organised a World Conference on Media, Racism and Intolerance: 'Prime Time for Tolerance: Journalism and the Challenge of Racism', in Bilbao, Spain. As a result, the 'Bilbao Declaration, on the responsibility of journalists in supporting citizenship, tolerance and democracy' was issued (available, together with other codes at http://www.multicultural.net.dcodes.htm)
- In March 1998, on the occasion of a European seminar of Media against Intolerance, Racism and Xenophobia, representatives of professional organisations and trade unions of journalists from Germany, France, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, UK, and Spain, issued a code of practice, the Declaración de Madrid, available on http://www.fnsi.it/fnsionline/documentazione/documenti/declaration_de_madrid.htm
- In June 1998, the European Journalism Centre in Maastricht (NL), organised a meeting on 'Reporting ethnic minorities and ethnic conflict. Beyond good or evil'. The proceedings (which include contributions about media in the former Soviet Union, the former Yugoslavia and Northern Ireland), are available on http://www.ejc.nl/hp/rem/contents.html
- In March 1999, the European Institute for the Media published a report on 'Employment and access of ethnic minorities to the television industry in Germany, the UK, France, the Netherlands and Finland.' This formed part of the 'More Colour in the Media' project co-ordinated by Dutch STOA (Foundation for Multicultural Broadcasting).
- In May 1999, the EUMC organised a European Media Conference together with the West Deutsche Rundfunk (WDR, West German Broadcasting Company). In this occasion the good practice of WDR in its programme 'Funkhaus

- Europa', the TV programme Babylon and a workshop for journalistic diversity were mentioned (EUMC and WDR, 1999).
- In March 2000, the Adolf Grimme Institute, part of the On-Line/More Colour in the Media network, published a booklet on media education, entitled 'The Future is Mixed. Media Education for a Multicultural Europe'. It collects concrete examples of projects enacted and strategies developed in several Member States to develop young people's understanding of the media, from an inter-cultural perspective. These experiences were gathered as a result of an international expert workshop held in Greece in 1999.
- In April 2000, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), published a report 'Examples of Good Practice to Fight Against Racism and Intolerance in the European Media', available on http://www.ecri.coe.int. The report shows reports positive practice in the medium of radio, and on initiative of NGOs, but for some countries also in mainstream TV and press.
- In 2000, the 'On Line-More Colour in the Media' network, coordinated by Dutch STOA, published a Handbook for promoting diversity in the broadcast media, entitled 'Tuning into Diversity' (On Line-More Colour in the Media, 2000), and a Handbook for trainers working for more 'colour' in the media.
- The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) and its initiative for the networking organisation International Media Working Group Against Racism and Xenophobia (IMRAX) have launched numerous projects to promote tolerance in the media. Examples are the yearly IFJ Prize and the publication of a resource manual for "Reporting Diversity".
- The Multicultural Net web-site gives an overview of Multicultural Radio and Television, Programmes, Declaration and Codes related to fair reporting on multicultural issues, Projects for training and recruitment of ethnic minorities (such as the 'More Colour in the Media' project), and Workshops organised by journalists' organisations and NGOs. An example is the 'TV-Exchange' project brought together eight European broadcasting corporations (Belgian

RTBF, Dutch Sommedia, France3, Portuguese RTP, Austrian ORF, Spanish Canal Sur, Swedish Television and the European Broadcasting Union) that produced reports on multicultural society-related topics. Information is available on http://www.multicultural.net/ptelevision.htm

These examples show that there is a rich array of initiatives aimed at promoting cultural diversity and equal access of ethnic minorities to the media, and that recommendations and codes for fair portrayal widely exist, increasingly also at the international level. However, many of these initiatives have focused more on broadcasting and much less so on the role of print media. They have also concentrated mostly on the production side, e.g. on means to increase access of ethnic minorities to the media profession through new initiatives. Evidently, this approach is one of the most effective ways to improve the representation of ethnic minorities and migrants in the media (as participants and producers).

However, information about actual (mainstream and esp. news) media output in past and present, through for example content analysis, is not provided in such initiatives, or only sporadically. Such research is often limited to one country and media type (mostly TV and radio), and specific indicators (e.g. of visibility of ethnic minorities in media productions, thus again focussing on access and participation) and is mostly using quantitative research methods.

Lacking at the international level are studies that monitor media practices in a more systematic way. That is, studies that gather the existing knowledge and data about the images of ethnic minorities and migrants in the media in the different Member States, and that compare the general practices of media in gathering and presenting news about ethnic issues, both quantitative and qualitatively. This information is scattered and little is known about developments in recent years, and how different Member States can be compared at this level. This type of information can provide valuable evidence for the need for effective change and positive practices in the media, as well as concrete indications of how to bring this about.

1.4 PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE COMPARABILI-TY OF DATA

In the following section of this report, recurrent patterns and variations in the data across the Member States are identified. After having collected the input from the 15 EU Member State reports, the results shown for each of the questions outlined were compared in order to identify common trends, main differences and positive or negative developments. Compared were results for the indicators and questions outlined above, as applied to the different Member States and available data. In addition, data for different time periods, different media (TV, radio, press, inter-net), and different media types (e.g. tabloid and quality press, private or public broadcasting, conservative or liberal press, etc.) could be compared.

There are several limits and problems related to the comparability of the data. Since the report provides insight into existing research only, in which different samples and sets of indicators have been used, it is not possible to make any direct comparison. However, the bulk of research is based on common theoretical insights about the functioning of media and on similar conceptual frameworks and methods to analyse the role of media representations of ethnic diversity in the communication of ethnic prejudice and racism. Therefore, the comparison is carried out adopting common indicators and criteria for the analysis of racism and cultural diversity in the media, as outlined above. The variables and indicators recorded allow common patterns and trends (and variations within these trends), i.e. in reporting practices and representations of diversity, to be identified. And it is possible to at least compare qualitative results where comparable media samples or general mechanisms are concerned.

Another problem related to comparability is that media systems between countries differ considerably, and may be more or less commercialised, more or less under political influence, following different traditions in journalism, with a different division in (political) orientation and editorial policy of newspapers. Furthermore, when drawing conclusions about the image of ethnic minorities and migrants, we have to make explicit that cross-nationally the

groups we are talking about often refer to a completely different reality (in terms of legal, socio-economic, cultural and political status, treatment and background in inter-ethnic relations). Different languages, different historical, social and political backgrounds may imply different denominations for 'migrants' and ethnic minorities. Historical backgrounds may influence whether or not and since when a Member State is recognised as a country of immigration. Especially for the generally less well known countries, the authors of the Member State reports added introductory notes on the position and different labels given to migrant and ethnic minority groups in their country.

Furthermore, media practices and representations vary according to the management of anti-racist norms, which differs from one situation to the other. That is, norms about what can and cannot be said about migrants without being accused of 'racism' affect the ways in which media report and people talk about migrants and ethnic minorities. This is likely to vary not only over time but also per country. Similarly, different conceptualisations of multiculturalism and integration in the different Member States are likely to affect the (modes of) representation of cultural diversity in the media. Similarly, the signification and significance of the 'race' dimension differs widely from one country to the other. For example, in some countries it may be connected more to issues of cultural difference, in others to socio-economic problems. Likewise, definitions of racism vary over time and among different countries.

On the other hand, and despite all the differences that persist, some scholars argue that nowadays comparisons of 'societies' are not possible, because they progressively vanish as a result of global communication (Gabriel, 1998). Also, differences between media systems are observed to gradually diminish with the increasing commercialisation of the media. Similarly, it is said that it would be a risk to analyse racism based on different manifestations of it in different nations or cultures, because nations are 'imagined communities' too. Thus, such an analysis may reproduce essentialist assumptions, which the study of racism, on the contrary, should try to challenge. Following this critique, a comparative analysis would need to

focus on general trends and processes, a tracing of similarity, rather than difference.

1.5 OVERVIEW

In the following section, the main conclusions (Chapter 2) and recommendations (Chapter 3) emerging from the study are presented. That is, firstly a summary of the main findings, in terms of common trends, and positive and negative developments, and comparative conclusions. Secondly, chapter 3 contains recommendations for media, training and other initiatives to promote ethnic and cultural diversity in the media. The core section (Chapter 4) of this volume presents the main results of the study, i.e. the chapters presenting findings from each single Member State. The order of presentation of the chapters is alphabetical, based on international abbreviations for the Member States. In the appendix (Chapter 5), reference to the existing theoretical and methodological approaches in research on racism, cultural diversity and the media is presented, along with a general bibliography of studies serving as a reference for theoretical and methodological backgrounds against which this study was carried out. The reference to research gathered for the single Member State reports is found as the final section to each single chapter. The country reports also have an appendix with names and addresses of the main organisations and institutes that provided data and information on the subject.

Table 1. Dimensions, specific media practices, factors and related types of data

A. GENERAL NEWS-MAKING AND ROUTINE MEDIA PRACTICES			
DIMENSION	SPECIFIC PRACTICE	TYPE OF DATA	
A.1. Source use	News values (authority)Power relations and accessNews-gathering routinesUse of preferential sources	 Frequency of source use for different actor types Over- or under-representation of actors 	
A.2. News selection	 News values (negativity, authority) Time constraints Space constraints Editorial constraints News genres routinely used 	 News contents Frequency of themes and actors Dominance of certain themes and actors 	
A.3 News presentation	 Conventions for genres Professional codes Ideologies/common sense 	 Prominence given to themes and actors Interpretations and perspectives News frames and genre selection Definition of issues and construction of alarm Association of issues with specific policies Justification of policies Impact of election or government campaigns 	
A. 4 Quotation	 Power differences between actors Stereotyping Balanced reporting News values 	 Quotation of different actor types Quotation in specific positions in news Quotation in specific roles Selection of specific quotes Selection of specific verbal expressions for specific actors 	

B. REPRESENTATION (IMAGE) OF MIGRANTS AND MINORITIES IN MEDIA			
DIMENSION	SPECIFIC PRACTICE	TYPE OF DATA	
B.1 General Representation	 Importance attributed to minority perspectives Access of minority actors to media Political agendas Common perceptions and world views Common and professional perceptions of cultural and ethnic diversity Stereotypical thinking or journalistic bias Anti-racist and pro-minority agendas 	 Importance attributed to minority perspectives Access of minority actors to media Political agendas Common perceptions and world views Common and professional perceptions of cultural and ethnic diversity Stereotypical thinking or journalistic bias Anti-racist and pro-minority agendas Focus on specific groups, on the basis of legal or socioeconomic status or origin, and creation of ethnic hierarchies 	
B.2 Attribution of identity characteristics (categorisa	 Forms of ethnic prejudice (widespread beliefs) Beliefs propagated by actors with symbolic power Historical, social and economic backgrounds 	 Stereotypical portrayal related to mention of Origin and legal status (nationality) Appearance (e.g. clothing, skin colour) (Presumed) socio-economic characteristics Cultural traits (e.g. religion, norms and habits) Traits related to behaviour attributed to minorities and migrants (e.g. crime and deviance) 	
B.3 Evaluations about the position of groups and interethnic relations		 Strategies of division between 'good' and 'bad' migrants Strategies of 'us' versus 'them' portrayal Association of migrants and minorities/members of minorities with negative or positive actions (e.g. both carriers and targets of violence) Predominant victim perspective Attribution of responsibility 	

B. REPRESENTATION (IMAGE) OF MIGRANTS AND MINORITIES IN MEDIA			
DIMENSION SPECIFIC PRACTICE TYPE OF DATA		TYPE OF DATA	
B.3 Evaluations about the position of groups and interethnic relations		 Negative beliefs about the threats posed by migrants and minorities in demographic, economic or cultural terms (e.g. welfare abuse, disadvantage and disruption of security, ways of life or ethnic integrity) Positive beliefs opposing the above 	

C. TREATMENT OF RACISM AND ANTI-RACISM			
DIMENSION	SPECIFIC PRACTICE	TYPE OF DATA	
C. 1 General treatment	 Access of (anti-)racist organisations to media and their status and treatment Editorial decisions Existing anti-discrimination laws 	 Space dedicated to racism and anti-racism Most prominent actors presented and quoted in reports on racism and anti-racism, negatively or positively Formats to approach racism and anti-racism, e.g. sensationalist, moralising, factual, emotional, denouncing prejudice, dialogue etc. 	
C.2 Treatment of racism	 Ideological orientation Anti-racist norm management Specialist knowledge and education about racism Awareness of anti-racist norms and anti-discrimination laws Professional socialisation 	 Definition of racism Restricted to traditional biological racism Restricted to racial violence Restrict to a working class problem Focussing on 'ethnic conflict' (suggesting active involvement of minorities) Representation of different forms of racism Institutional discrimination Everyday prejudice and discrimination Widespread opinions and attitudes (surveys) Anti-immigrant protest (political racism) Mobilisations of citizens 	

C.2 Treatment of racism	 Ideological orientation Anti-racist norm management Specialist knowledge and education about racism 	- Explanations of racism, e.g Competition over scarce resources - Tolerance thresholds - Concentration, ghettoisation (policies)
	- Awareness of anti-racist norms and anti-discrimination laws - Professional socialisation	- Ideologies and negative reports/information - Lack of knowledge about and dialogue with 'others' - Failure of elites to oppose it effectively - Denial strategies, e.g Mitigation - Reformulation - Excuse - Accusation of reverse discrimination - Blaming the victim
C.3 Reports on racist incidents		 Portrayal of victims and perpetrators of racism Denial/recognition of racist motivations Reports on trials against perpetrators Credibility attributed to police and other sources
C.4 Treatment of anti- racism	 Political agendas Political orientations Awareness and specialist knowledge 	 Seriousness and credibility attributed to anti-racist positions Focus on (one or more) forms of anti-racism Preventing racism by restricting new immigration Fight against right-wing extremism (police/normative measures) Popular mobilisations supporting fight against (extreme right or other) racism Multi-cultural initiatives (Enactment of) anti-discrimination measures- Equal opportunity policies Initiatives migrant/ minority organisations and other NGOs Awareness raising