



# Media Monitoring Manual



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**Media Monitoring Manual**

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# Media Monitoring Manual

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# 1. Introduction

# Introduction

The writing of this manual occasionally resembled a work permanently under construction. For it was shadowed by many dilemmas, two of which were quite fundamental: what is the value of content analysis for media monitoring and how should one appreciate research work conducted by non-academics? Both had a strong bearing on the manual.

Ever since the beginning of the twentieth century, content analysis has been a standard method of media research. Yet, the idea that content can be neatly divided, classified and measured to conclude something about its nature or influence has attracted many critics. They believe that fragmenting the content also changes the way it normally works, and so the analysis generates problematic results. They also dispute that the mere presence, or absence, of certain dimensions of the text is enough to conclude something about media representations.

In Eastern Europe, quantitative research in media-related subjects, as in other social sciences, was avoided, and knowledge about its reality hardly referred to any empirical evidence. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the importance of quantitative analysis visibly increased. Particularly content analysis which, in many cases, was discovered as a highly standardised, analytical instrument, and often uncritically presented as an 'objective' reading of what the media say and do. Ten years ago, after initiating the first media election study in Serbia, myself and some colleagues had to explain why it is important to analyse messages instead of the social conditions under which they originate. During the decisive 2000 election campaign in Serbia, five teams regularly monitored the media. It was hard to explain that focusing on how much air-time or coverage each candidate received was not the best way to analyse election communication.

So how important is quantitative analysis of media content?

As the media construct rather than reflect realities, the nature of those realities is very much revealed through media messages. I find content analysis particularly useful in identifying and quantifying various content dimensions, offering them for further analysis and interpretation. More importantly, its evidence confirms that media realities are human products and as such are produced by complying with certain standards and norms. By observing the content, patterns and practices that media professionals use become more accessible. The media is trusted to organise texts and images for an audience that generally lacks the first-hand experiences of those events they nevertheless find important. Therefore, analysing content according to selected categories quite often shows another dimension to the text, other than that of the author's intention. Frequently, it shows strategies of exclusion, isolation and discrimination: human made inequalities as opposed to 'objective' reflection of 'reality of the situation as it is'. Content analysis is important to generate this data but it is not

enough to explain it. Interpretation of the phenomena must follow from a wider understanding of it.

Much of the interest in analysing media content in South East Europe comes from the conviction that by improving journalistic performance, media might become fairer. But, during difficult years of transition, leading academic institutions have often proved unable to respond to the social and theoretical challenges posed by the changing environment. In the absence of certified knowledge, many of the new non-governmental organisations and media institutions have struggled to fill in the knowledge gap, or compensate for the lack of competence in understanding changes. Most of these organisations emerged as a response to the needs of the public for increased media literacy. Some of them initiated research projects that often lack academic scrutiny but brought a new enthusiasm to media debates: primarily because they care about media quality rather than market imperatives. The Media Diversity Institute's project comes from this perspective — it assists easier access to professional education and stimulates networks among those who care about it. Writing this manual not only for media students, but for all those concerned about media quality, made me realise just how important it is to adjust the highly technical skills to different demands for knowledge. While traditional institutions with the resources failed to help the public understand this new reality, it is encouraging to see so many new organisations trying to do just that.

The project's topic was a constant reminder of its importance. In a region that has suffered extensively from ethnic conflicts and an inability to accept, respect or tolerate differences, it is vital to detect the variants of exclusion and discrimination. Sensitive and socially responsible reporting about diversity is needed in every part of the world. But the horrific experience of regional conflicts over the past decade has made it even more urgent here. Of course, not all South East European countries witnessed the same amount of violence in the 1990s. But mere geographical proximity to the violence has meant that the consequences of the tragedy have reverberated throughout the region. Even without these recent conflicts, all these countries have some dark and muted history of minority-majority relations. They are usually not part of common, mainstream knowledge and are absent or suppressed in public memory. This manual is dedicated to the visibility of suppressed experiences, and to a celebration of the differences that bring a higher quality of life to all people.

## 1.1. About the project

This Media Monitoring Manual is part of a larger educational project for the Media Diversity Institute, which is aimed at the capacity-building of different media, research and NGOs interested in diversity reporting. One of the project objectives was the development of a research manual as an instructive guide to media monitoring. The idea was to assist in a research design that could be utilised across various regions and diversity-relevant topics. Instead of merely writing an instruction book, however, it seemed more appropriate to undertake a media monitoring study as a part of interactive training in itself. For that purpose, a multi-national team of analysts from South East Europe assembled to monitor the media coverage of ethnic minorities for one month.

This procedure was designed to highlight possible monitoring problems, address and discuss them with the team, and propose a research protocol that has been tested under real circumstances. Also, it initiated a network of media analysts from various countries suitable for future comparative research. An important aspect of the capacity-building of media and NGOs in the region is their ability to work together to develop both projects and methodologies that work across borders.

Monitoring focused on the coverage of ethnic minorities in twenty selected mainstream newspapers in ten South East European countries during November 2001. The standard of ethnic minority coverage was analysed to compare forms of discriminatory treatment of diversity and the journalistic practices that sustain it. Ethnic minorities constitute a significant part of the population throughout South East Europe, but ethnic differences have been exploited and transformed into sources of violent conflicts during the past decade. The objective of this comparative analysis was to reveal the underlying similarities beneath country differences regarding:

- ★ relations between social stability, levels of discrimination and press intolerance
- ★ similar journalistic standards and practices resulting in unfair treatment and intolerance, and
- ★ widespread, deeply-rooted stereotypes and prejudices that govern common understanding of minority-majority relations.

Two major daily newspapers per country were analysed. They were chosen because of their large circulation, non-state, non-party ownership and as representative of press diversity in their respective countries. The following newspapers were analysed : Albania, *Albania* and *Shekulli*; Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Dnevni Avaz* and *Nezavisne Novine*; Bulgaria, *Trud* and *24 Casa*; Montenegro, *Vijesti* and *Dan*; Croatia, *Jutarnji List* and *Vecernji List*; Kosovo, *Koha Ditore* and *Bota Sot*; Hungary, *Nepszabadsag* and *Metro*; Macedonia, *Dnevnik* and *Utrinski Vesnik*; Romania, *Adevarul* and *Libertatea*; Serbia, *Politika* and *Blic*.

The newspapers' entire contents were analysed and coverage of all ethnic minorities was monitored. The methodology was designed to provide a comparative insight into regional characteristics but, also, to capture the specifics of minority coverage in each country. Project author, Dr Snjezana Milivojevic (Institute of Social Sciences, Beograd) received expert help from the following project advisory board members: Dr Vera Messing (Center for Independent Journalism, Budapest), Professor Terhi Rantanen (London School of Economics), Professor Colin Sparks (Westminster University, London) and Professor Brian Winston (Westminster University, London). The monitoring team consisted of nine highly-qualified and equally motivated analysts: Ilda Londo (Albania), Nevena Rsumovic (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Danail Danov, (Bulgaria), Igor Kanizaj (Croatia), Vera Messing (Hungary), Anton Berishai (Kosovo), Antoaneta Ivanova (Macedonia), Georiana Ilie (Romania) and Ana Solovic (Montenegro and Serbia). Nevena Rsumovic additionally monitored one week of the press in Serbia as a part of an inter-coding reliability test.

## 1.2. Structure of the manual

The manual is organised to follow the major phases of the monitoring process chronologically. Its first aim is to present and discuss a possible way of developing a research instrument appropriate for the content analysis of the newspaper press. References throughout the text relate the monitoring conducted as a part of manual preparation. The introduction provides elementary information about that research.

The second section of the manual deals with the project design. Setting up a monitoring mission is a complex process, which includes methodological considerations that have to be worked out in the initial phase. Along with project objectives, it deals with the formulation of research questions, material selection, sampling and the development of coding instruments.

The third section refers to organisation of the monitoring mission itself. It emphasises the importance of training, setting inter-coding reliability procedures and the pilot study. The data collection discussion concludes with control and data preparation for processing.

Data processing is a focus of the fourth section. It indicates how raw data is transformed into research findings, and explains procedures of cross-referencing. Once processed, data is ready for interpreting and reporting.

The final stage of the research is the report along with a finalised presentation of the major findings in an appropriate form. Its structure follows from the research purposes, and if necessary, there can be more than one report from the project.

The conclusion remarks on some of the experiences gathered along these stages, but one must keep in mind that each monitoring faces different challenges and requires many difficult decisions. They contribute to making every project a unique insight into the world, and worthy of the collective effort it demands.

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## 2. Project Design

# Project design

## 2.1. Why monitor the media?

**M**edia monitoring is only occasionally conducted even though it is a systematic surveillance of media performance for the purpose of its description and critical evaluation. Mostly, it generates knowledge about the media by focusing on content. Media messages can be observed for many different reasons: it may be an academic attempt to detect media changes over time, indicating shifts in cultural habits; or it may be a response to special attention that the media attract during periods of vivid political activities, like election campaigns. Social movements may want to compile evidence on certain types of coverage to raise awareness. Quite often, the media monitor the quality of their own work to improve standards or to introduce new guidelines, against discriminatory coverage, for example.

Monitoring objectives can differ as much as their outcomes, and require a careful choice of appropriate methods to achieve their goals. Analysis may be interpretative or quantitative; it may be a special 'case study'; it may focus on the language or narrative of news stories; the duration of analysis may be short or long; it can include one medium and single country or it may be comparative. But, in each case, it has to be carefully designed, from defining a problem and research questions, to the selection of a proper sample. Those decisions have to be taken and major doubts cleared up before the monitoring begins. It is a difficult task, and invested effort can only be worthwhile when it brings relevant and reliable data.

There are various motives behind media observation, which express the rise in social interest in symbolic practices. By providing universally accessible products, the media perform an essential service for society. In doing so, journalists are granted professional autonomy as a result of 'media freedom', but their work is, nevertheless, widely debated. Discontent over media coverage is regularly expressed: 'CNN simplifies world news by Americanizing it', 'corporate media is biased because they care more about their advertisers than about audiences', 'Serbian TV served as a propaganda tool of the regime and manipulated the population', 'media coverage during the war on terrorism has been more about national security than objective and in depth reporting.' Such criticisms suggest that there is lot more at stake than just a struggle for media attention. They confirm a conflict over resources and, as James Carey states, over one particularly deficient resource — reality. "Like any scarce resource it is there to be struggled over, allocated to various purposes and projects, endowed with various meanings and potentials, spent and conserved, rationalized and distributed. The fundamental form of power is the power to define, allocate and display this resource" (Carey, 1989, p. 87). Therefore, there is a confrontation over constructing reality into meaningful wholes, and the media are the main arena for this conflict, bringing it directly into everyday life.

So many recent events have proved the media limit understanding by repeating simplified stories which many accept as 'how things are'. These simplified pictures rely on stereotypes, fostering prejudices and uncritical opinion. Furthermore, simplified stories cast simple division of 'good' and 'bad' characters, as standard media practice to distinguish 'us' from 'them'. Time and attention is generously given to those like 'us' without even acknowledging how that deprives 'them'. The media secure this inequality by ignoring, under or misrepresenting amongst other devices. It also excludes various groups, and this exclusion is a form of discriminatory practice. It may range from inflammatory and derogative use of language to invisibility; from militant, hate speech against immigrants, foreigners and refugees to linguistic denial, for example, use of language that conceals gender differences by assimilating women into the 'universal' male standard. Studies on ethnic distance have shown that people often have negative attitudes towards neighbouring groups, especially those closest to them, even if they have never encountered them. Beautiful black girls confirm that they can only be successful models if their looks correspond to dominant white standards. Sometimes discrimination is even presented as a guardian of tradition, like using the term 'Gypsies' for Roma because 'that is what they have always been called'.

It is already common knowledge to demand equal access to the media and for various groups this is a major political goal. But 'reading' the media requires a level of literacy which needs to be constantly updated. Media analysis is often beneficial to understanding the inadequate treatment of diversity. Several times in the media's history, analysis of its content has redirected research by shedding new light on how the media work. For example, the seminal Glasgow Media Group's research on the BBC's coverage of political/industrial disputes, or the Cultural Indicators Project with its findings on how the media cultivate violence or the multitude of feminist media studies about the 'symbolic annihilation' of women. Or when Stuart Hall, thirty years ago, told a visibly shocked BBC television audience "... there is something radically wrong with the way black immigrants — West Indians, Asians, Africans — are handled by and presented on the mass media" ([www.cronicleworld.org](http://www.cronicleworld.org)). Many things have since changed but 'difference' is still mostly presented as 'other' and essentialised through stereotypes (Hall, 1998, p. 223—291).

It follows from these examples, that media are expressive of reality in many ways. It is 'realistic', but not, as John Fiske rightly warns about television, "because it reproduces reality, which it clearly does not, but because it reproduces the dominant sense of reality... Realism is not a matter of fidelity to any empirical reality but of the discursive conventions by which and for which a sense of reality is constructed" (Fiske, 1987, p. 23). These conventions secure limits of reality — a common, everyday understanding of the world and the place of us and others in it. Therefore critical monitoring and public debate about media content is crucial. Still, monitoring results cannot lead to direct conclusions about the effects of media exposure. Contemporary media studies often state that while reading, audiences do not depend on the content alone. Readers are guided by their background, amongst other factors, and people interpret the same message in different ways. Nor it is possible to claim that correcting under or over-representation is the solution to social inequality. But monitoring results can confirm that respect for diversity is essential for media quality. Even when engaged in

negotiation about conflicting meanings, audiences start from the same media reality as common ground.

## 2.2. Focusing on diversity

Diversity reporting refers to coverage of 'otherness' (qualities different from those we possess) to sensitivity and fair treatment of differences by the media. Ignoring, suppressing or excluding differences results in the domination of majority groups over those in the minority. Discrimination is a consequence of this domination and different groups may be discriminated in many ways. But the repercussions of that variety are always the same — minorities are excluded from the mainstream and their experiences go unheard.

Media representations are regarded by many contemporary theories as central to the process of identity formation. They also contribute to public perception of different groups and general social attitudes towards them, even their acceptance or rejection. The implications of media misrepresentations are both serious and considerable. Misrepresentations are dangerous not only because they are fallacious, but because they reassure people that there is nothing wrong with it and that 'others' may even deserve unequal treatment. Media representations sometimes even create an appearance of acceptance by claiming that inequality is a normal and acceptable response to difference. And then, even use this paradox to close the circle by justifying discrimination: 'Roma are uneducated because their parents do not want to send their children to school, and that is why they cannot achieve positions as respected members of society.' Muslims are often called Turks and the name is a reminder they should never be allowed to forget or be forgiven for centuries of Turkish occupation.

The media create desirable models of behaviour and colours our understanding of how a member of society *should* be. That also extends to perception of differences. Public debate is the best means of getting those differences expressed, discussed and accepted; otherwise they become invisible and devalued. Such a debate is equally important for both majority and minority groups. Members of socially deprived groups are socialized under conditions that encourage them to accept their inferior social position as 'normal', self evident indication of how things are. Even when unhappy, they find it hard to change and sometimes even internalise their victimised position as 'deserved'. A long chronicle of discrimination, as documented by the women's movement, for example, proves how difficult it is to break the cycle.

Media equality for ethnic minorities does not solely concern the quantity of coverage devoted to them. It requires a more comprehensive set of conditions that provide for equal access and fair treatment to all people. When fair coverage is denied to some, they are deprived of active participation in society. The consequences of this exclusion are particularly important if it is strategic. Exclusion creates an expected norm, making it very difficult for alternative views, cultures or behavioural patterns to thrive. Media images can contribute to this fortification of status quo in many ways: from ignoring minority members, not appreciating their accounts of events, presenting them in socially less significant roles, devaluing their opinion to openly stimulating intolerance and incitement to hostility. Media images can even 'ethnify' certain

issues, place minorities in isolation by treating them exclusively with regard to specific issues and depriving them of appearance in all others. From that perspective, media images do tell stories that go beyond the actual everyday content — stories of exclusion and inclusion, stories about how societies represent themselves.

Discrimination is the practice of preserving injustice and inequality. “From topics to local meanings, style, rhetoric, argumentation and conversational strategies, we find the implementation of the overall strategy of positive self-presentation of ‘us’ and negative other-presentation of ‘them’. Obviously, such strategies are not merely mental.... They should be understood also as socio-cultural and political forms of interaction in a societal context of ethnic inequality, that is as enactment and reproduction of dominant group power.” (van Dijk, T.,1997. p. 175). Discrimination secures the acceptance of social disparities by justifying it, making it acceptable and ‘normal’.

But prejudicial media practices can be changed. To supply evidence about it, research must be approached in a clear and critical manner. Discriminatory strategies can be discerned by systematically observing the media. Not only to point to individual occurrences but to consistent patterns of how media select and present reality. Content analysis in this respect is a vital analytical tool — it brings quantifiable evidence about media messages that under same conditions most analysts would come up with. It is not just one of many possible readings, it is an objectified description of the content based on ‘quantitative’ evidence. But aspects of the content are not easy to transform into measurable units and this is one difficulty that each media observation is faced with. Quality of monitoring largely depends on how this difficulty is solved.

### **2.3. Monitoring assignment**

The need for monitoring arises because ‘problems’ are identified which need to be explained, remedied and documented. Media monitoring always starts within pre-defined, preliminary assignments. Usually they involve a particular area of interest, territorial location, and choice of media, a specific duration of study or all of the above. These conditions can be as stimulating as they are constraining. The monitoring protocol focuses precisely on what needs to be explained and how to provide quality evidence for it. In the example used in this Manual, the monitoring objective was to develop a research design appropriate for monitoring the quality of diversity reporting in the South East European mainstream press. The territorial scope and type of media was predetermined but everything else had yet to be defined.

The first task was to decide on how to monitor diversity reporting. How were we to focus on coverage that is in itself ‘representative’ of how newspapers treat diversity? There are many social groups that experience prejudice on the basis of their difference from the majority. But similar political, cultural, ethnic or sexual minorities may be treated differently by the media across countries due to different social conditions, political culture or tradition. Documenting them would reveal some forms of discrimination but not how widespread it is. Thus, it was necessary to detect not only how certain minorities are treated in the region, but to find a minority group whose media coverage is representative of ‘being a minority’, who best represents how media representations depend upon difference from majority.

Ethnic minorities were the most obvious choice. Excluding Albania, ethnic minorities constitute a significant part of the population in all countries. South East Europe is one of the most ethnically diverse parts of Europe. Just a decade ago in pre-war Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina was so ethnically mixed that it was likened to leopard skin. This fusion should have provided a warning that any attempts at 'territorial homogenization' would result in ethnic cleansing, yet this did not prevent the bloody conflict. The Albanian population lives in a relatively compact territory but still dispersed between several neighbouring countries. Therefore, conflict in one country soon affects the others. There are eighteen recognised ethnic minorities in Romania and most other countries in the region share the same ethnic make-up. But instead of benefiting from diversity, the region has suffered extensively from ethnic conflicts. Inter-ethnic hostility has assumed violent forms in the past decade, revoking centuries old 'negative memories'. But recent political changes have brought about new institutions which have initiated a new awareness about the importance and possibilities of co-existence. Social transition requires democratic and tolerant minority policies in South East Europe as they are faced with European Union standards and human rights demands. Therefore, coverage of ethnic minorities would be indicative of diversity reporting regionally, as well as in individual countries.

### 2.3.1. *Regional Scale*

South East Europe, as a location for this particular research assignment, bore three clear implications for research design: it would be a comparative study, based in a specific region and in selected group of countries.

#### *Comparative study*

Comparative monitoring is always more difficult than a single country study. It requires the constant adaptation of standards to cultural differences. Even selected research techniques have to be cross-culturally verified and accepted. The comparative demands of the project meant more than simply monitoring in several countries. The objectives had to be set up to detect both country-specific and widespread media characteristics. But it is difficult to locate something widespread unless one goes into the details of its each individual appearance. Many studies have demonstrated the racist coverage of the Roma but this variety must be documented in each country to see how it compares. Also some ethnic groups are written about more often than others, while others are ignored altogether. Sometimes, very different groups in different countries are treated in a similar manner because their minority status is similar or because others perceive them in the same way. Comparative monitoring had to capture all of these aspects and to identify the manner of minority representation in its various forms.

#### *Regional identity*

South East Europe is a newly emerging region, one of the political outcomes of the post Berlin wall. Though countries in the region share some historic, cultural or political commonalities, they also differ significantly. Remnants of what was once Eastern

Europe are now being divided in many ways and this new direction goes some way to distance these countries from their common past. The Stability Pact (1999) is one recent political initiative designed to coordinate regional development. All countries in the region are members, although in different capacities. In spite of the many differences between the region's countries, Hungary and Montenegro, or Romania and Bosnia for example, political initiatives can be powerful instruments in helping to shape more harmonious future of a region. New political structures sometimes serve as an impetus for new or restored communication. In many respects, the region does not have a common identity, but within this new European context, it may be a region where similarities replace the political conflicts and disparities of the past.

### *Countries*

The process of selecting countries as sites of monitoring was somewhat problematic. The research assignment included ten countries: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia. Although one can justify their selection as separate 'entities' not all of the selected areas are 'countries'. Some parts of the region still have unsettled borders, or their political status is not yet clearly defined, as in case of Kosovo, which affects its immediate neighbours of Serbia, Montenegro, and to some extent Macedonia and Albania. Kosovo is under the special protection of the UN and the social conditions there are quite different from rest of Yugoslavia, which it is still officially a part of. Additionally, Yugoslavia is experiencing a change of name and the possible redefinition of federal structure and relations between Serbia and Montenegro. Macedonia was entering a process of constitutional change as a consequence of violent inter-ethnic conflict around the time of monitoring.

So the project required a workable definition of a 'country'. We decided to include analysis of the press in each territory that was a distinct, political unit, which meant having Kosovo, Montenegro and Serbia as three 'countries' although they are officially one. They not only differ politically, but their media systems also diverge, and therefore should be monitored separately. Also the minority-majority status of various ethnic groups would have been impossible to capture if an official definition of a 'country' was accepted — Albanians are the majority in Kosovo but they would have been a minority in Yugoslavia, had we treated it as one country. However, Bosnia and Herzegovina, where there are also great disparities between the political and media circumstances between the two entities was treated as a single country, primarily because there is no dispute over this solution among the constitutive parts.

### *How did all this influence the monitoring?*

More than anything else, it provided a very interesting research frame. This was probably one of the first comparative endeavors of the sort in this area. Since it did not focus on the former Yugoslavia the research did not concentrate on the recent wars which usually dominate any attempt to compare realities in South East Europe. Also, many countries share population of the same ethnic origin and it made sense to map the media practices concerning them. As the most positive aspect of this regional framework it was clear that minorities connect these countries and there is a common interest in broadening mutual understanding.

There were, however, many difficulties with working in a loosely affiliated group of countries. Linguistic differences posed initial problems, although English was employed as the lingua franca, offering some redress. Still, some semantic subtleties were lost in multiple translation. Also, it is technically very difficult to run a comparative study. Electronic mail aids communication but it is still difficult to sort all problems by long distance discussion.

### 2.3.2. *Mainstream Media*

Although monitoring does not provide complete evidence of media influence, it assumes media importance, and so it is aimed at media organizations considered influential. This project targeted the mainstream press, allowing us to monitor the way in which ethnic minorities are a part of mainstream discourse by analysing how they are represented in the major daily newspapers. There are many ways of understanding the meaning of the 'mainstream media' and it is not easy to select media that belong to it. Nevertheless, major daily newspapers traditionally supply information about current events and exercise great interpretative power just by being a key source of information.

Major daily newspapers help form a dominant political discourse that is usually close to official policy position. Newspapers are also vital in providing common, everyday understanding of events. Admittedly, the power of the press is not as potent as that of television, though it is still influential, mostly because it caters for and is received by the literate classes, who are most active in a public debate. Also, due to political changes, daily newspapers in South Eastern Europe have, unlike the rest of the continent, increased in number. There are numerous national dailies in each country — there are twenty in Romania, sixteen in Albania, nine in Hungary, six in Macedonia or six in Bulgaria. The media scene is very dynamic, with some old newspapers being usurped by newer ones. In a few countries even the influential broadsheets from Communist times have survived but with very different levels of success. Some are on the verge of extinction like *Pobjeda* in Montenegro or *Nova Makedonija* in Macedonia; some are struggling to keep up with the new competition, like *Vjesnik* in Croatia; while others such as *Nepszabadsag* in Hungary, and most recently, *Politika* in Serbia are still hugely influential and both have recently become subsidiaries of the powerful German media group, Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung.

The real success in the post-communist newspaper market has been the new style semi-tabloid. It first appeared in the shape of *Blic*, an Austrian based company, and today several papers of this style are flourishing in almost all of the 10 countries. In Bulgaria both *Trud* and *24 Casa* top the circulation list, and as well as sharing the same format, both newspapers are owned by WAZ. Similarly, both *Jutarnji* and *Vecernji List* in Croatia are semi-tabloids with joint foreign and domestic ownership, while in Montenegro *Dan* and *Vijesti* share the same format but are very different in their political affiliation and ownership. Hungary became the first country in the region to circulate a free tabloid, the 'Metro', which is enjoying very high readership.

From this assortment, two papers per country were selected. In selection, we attempted to capture the most prominent amongst them by setting out three main criteria:

1. The national dailies involved in the investigation must be in the top three for circulation in the country.
2. All participating newspapers must be free from party or state ownership. Monitored newspapers will be commercial, market-orientated units. Common ownership of the selected newspapers is acceptable as long as the ownership does not interfere with editorial policy.
3. Where possible, newspapers should be representative of what is available on the market, but ideally, they should vary in style and political orientation. Research may be conducted on a broadsheet and tabloid in one country or two semi-tabloids in another, if that is representative of their respective mainstream, commercial newspapers. Similarly, newspapers may differ in political orientation if that is what represents the situation in that country, as in the instance of Bosnia and Herzegovina where one paper was chosen from Republika Srpska and another was from the Croat-Muslim Federation.

Small adjustments to the criteria of newspaper selection were permitted as it was important to capture each country's respective 'mainstream' discourse within widely read and influential daily papers. These differences were even more important as another objective was to monitor journalistic practices, and newspaper variety offers more scope for analysis.

The final selection of newspapers was chosen by the Reporting Diversity Network partner organizations as they were familiar with the press in their respective countries. In Bulgaria both of the selected papers were of the same format and owner, WAZ. WAZ is increasingly becoming a major player in the region, and is buying papers in different countries, but it does have a policy of non-editorial interference. However, if two newspaper owned by the same company manage to attract such a high readership they clearly both belong in the mainstream. In Bosnia, the obvious choice was to include one paper from each entity; in Serbia, Kosovo, Albania and Romania a morning paper and a tabloid were chosen; in Croatia and Bulgaria, two semi-tabloids; in Montenegro and Macedonia, two papers of a similar format but differed in political orientation; and finally, in Hungary, the most influential broadsheet and a new, de-politicised, free of charge, highly-read tabloid were chosen.

## **2.4. Problem definition**

Media coverage conditions public perception of 'otherness'. It also highlights broader political strategies of inclusion or exclusion of minorities from political life. The media contributes significantly to minority issues and actors, as well as influences public debate about it. Critical analysis of discriminatory media practice is therefore vital for the development of a more responsible press. This monitoring aimed to analyse common depictions of ethnic minorities as produced by the print media. But it also tried

to reveal some prevailing ethnic stereotypes and prejudices common throughout the region and to point out how they are sustained by routine media practices.

#### 2.4.1. *Major Objectives*

One major objective of the monitoring process was to reflect the manner in which the mainstream press presents ethnic minorities in South East Europe. We wanted to draw some general conclusions about media coverage by analysing the quality of its content and presenting its comparative value. We hoped to generate evidence by observing several newspapers for a fixed period of time, analysing what the press said about ethnic groups, how it represented them and what general perception about minorities it promoted as well as maintained. In turn we hoped to provoke discussion about the journalistic practices that help create newspaper stories.

All these goals presented major research questions: how much ethnic minority coverage is there in the mainstream press of South East Europe, what is the comparative quality of the coverage between the different countries and newspapers, what elements of the coverage are common to all countries and what elements are specific to certain countries? We also wanted to see if those messages were reflective of the prejudice, stereotyping and common opinion about ethnic minorities. The perception of certain groups and subsequent responses to them is often symbolic of the misunderstanding, misconception, fear and ignorance that shroud minority-majority relations in society. Even when unspoken, this is a part of the social arrangements underlying everyday life. And media messages both reflect and maintain them.

Take the example of Roma press coverage in the region. Almost without exception, they are depicted as a 'social danger' made up of pimps, prostitutes and drug dealers. They are depicted as dirty and their cultural habits are seen as strange - quite simply they are viewed as a threat to a way of life the majority accepts as 'normal'. Discrimination against them is justified by these irreconcilable differences that make 'their' position so incompatible with 'ours'. It is also argued that part of the problem is their unwillingness to assimilate, and adopt a 'normal' life. But the dehumanization of others and the presentation of them as a threat is just an attempt to justify discrimination.

Or look at the coverage of large ethnic minorities. In each country they constitute a 'significant minority' either because of their size or their long history of tensions with the majority. These groups are nearly always treated as threat to 'national unity', as a danger to national homogeneity, weakening the 'national cause' and endangering 'national identity'. They are 'dangerous' in a different sense than the 'threat' posed by the Roma. Their difference is clearly exploited for political motivations. Sizeable minorities have constructed their difference, and given it political expression in the form of political parties. Their status is an issue of political debate and a possible source of conflict. When this occurs, even international coverage is sometimes used for domestic purposes (as in case of Kosovo or Macedonia) to either discipline domestic minorities, or to present a regional dimension of ethnic 'threat'.

#### 2.4.2. *Research Hypotheses*

According to various newspapers in the region, all issues regarding ethnic minorities are primarily political. In more settled media environments, forms of discrimination are far more ‘sophisticated’, and increasingly moved to criminal section or sports pages of newspapers. They are sometimes more relevant for analysis than the front pages. But, in this region, the political perspective still dominates minority coverage. This is because minority issues are ‘open’, concerning either undefined minority status or rights, or their involvement in the wars that have been fought in the area over the past twelve years.

It is common knowledge that ethnic coverage is often related to general social conditions, to level of tolerance to differences and to inter-ethnic hostility or harmony. But what is the nature of this relation? In what sense is the print media representation of minorities ‘expressive’ of it, and how does it differ with changing levels of social stability? What aspects of media representation are relevant to indicate this relation? Press monitoring may answer some of these or similar questions when they are formulated hypothetically and then carefully verified by evidence. For our study this major questions were summarised in three following hypotheses:

(1) Ethnic minorities coverage is related to the political stability and quality of inter-ethnic relations in the country, therefore:

- a) coverage of ethnic minorities tends to be more positive, more inclusive and less discriminatory as general social conditions stabilise or improve, but
- b) during and immediately after open conflict, ethnic minority coverage tends to be more politicised, aggressive and discriminatory.

(2) Ethnic minorities living across South East Europe tend to receive the same type of mainstream press coverage, featuring, among other things, deeply rooted stereotypes. This indicates the common cultural patterns of majority-minority relations.

(3) The mainstream press in South East Europe shares journalistic standards that do not accommodate for ethnic diversity or tolerance.

Each of the hypotheses was to be tested through. Probably the most difficult to document was the second, as it could not be based solely upon direct evidence. It required further inferences about widespread, deeply rooted stereotypes and the prejudices that govern common understanding of minority-majority relations. These relations are in fact patterns of perceiving ‘otherness’ which influences general approaches to ethnic diversity, as well as the image of major ethnic groups regardless of political conditions. In the study, this was recognized by: the portrayal of minorities in socially less significant roles; the use of various derogatory names; the generalisation of minority activities, especially criminal, as typical of the entire group; only focusing upon ‘political’ and ‘conflict related’ coverage; and ignoring ‘normal’ aspects of life. Mostly, this was also supported by inadequate journalistic practices which linked the investigation of the two hypotheses. There are many ways in which social stereotypes and prejudices sneak past professional standards and contribute to misrepresentation: the number of sources used, and their relevance; placement of the article; the scarcity of visuals; the

predominance of small articles; and the victimization of minorities through highly interpretative reporting, editorials and letters to the editors.

### 2.4.3. *Selection of the Material*

Before monitoring can begin selection and sampling of material chosen for analysis needs to be completed. One can only select a portion of material as total media production cannot be studied, and would be unnecessary even if it could. A sample of the content, if properly chosen, provides enough evidence about all the structural features. Selection of such samples depends upon the nature of research, but should include the selection of media examples, time limits of the monitoring, and definition of the unit of analysis.

When monitoring refers to a specific event the observed period coincides with the time 'period of the event' and it is usually easy to select the start and finish dates. But sometimes it is useful to include a period of time before or after the event for it is not an isolated extract in time, but one with a history and a future. These periods might be selected differently, but are usually sampling dates that preceded the event — some regularly chosen dates within a month or a year before it, or some dates from events that in retrospect can be seen as being part of the same process.

Depending on the objective, monitoring can refer to a real period of a week, a month, a season or a year, or it can be a number of issues selected and later combined into a 'constructed' period. For example, a constructed week consists of rotating days from different weeks, starting with Monday from one, Tuesday of the following, Wednesday of the week after that, and so on, until a full 'week' has been completed. It has become standard procedure to construct time samples and the advantage of this method is that it contains the normal media attributes of consecutive days, but the days do not relate chronologically to the same news events. For example, a constructed month can cover for a whole year and bring seasonal, monthly, weekly variation within a sample of twenty eight days.

In our monitoring one 'real month' was selected. This was decided because another intention of the monitoring was to train the team to monitor the press in real time, rather than working with archive material. This is important for cases when monitoring refers to events as they are happening, for example election campaigns. The problem with a real-time time period is that it always reflects events happening which might not be reflective of normal coverage. There might be particularly intensive events, like an individual accident, but incidents are regular press material, and if monitoring compiles data about structural features of coverage and not the actual stories, then this does not pose a problem. Also, a period of four weeks, although of consecutive days, is long enough to reveal the usual journalistic standard regardless of events-specific situations.

#### 2.4.4. *Unit of Analysis*

Finally, the sample of material ended with a decision about the ‘unit of analysis’. This refers to the portion of material that will be used as an individual ‘item’ for detecting content qualities. It can be an entire text, a whole article, a sentence, a paragraph, a programme — whatever is appropriate for analysis and as long as it can be standardised. For content analysis, it is important to select and define what is a standard ‘item’ to be searched and measured throughout the material. For a large survey type analysis, like ours, which detects how certain groups are represented, as well as journalistic standards, it is quite common to select a whole newspaper text as a unit. It is an individual newspaper text, regardless of its length, journalistic genre and placement etc. It is not only the text but everything that is graphically within its boundaries: headlines, photographs, frames etc. — the whole space occupied by the ‘item’. It is easy to identify it by its visual and textual distinctness from the rest of the page.

Next, it is necessary to determine what part of the coverage will be analysed. It could be certain sections, like political coverage, or entertainment, or it could be the whole content of the selected medium. In our example the whole newspaper was included, from the front to the back page. As the unit of analysis was an individual text it was also necessary to establish some criteria of selecting actual articles for analysis. For our purposes there were two qualities that would determine inclusion for textual analysis: material referring to a particular ethnic minority or minorities in general; or articles containing a topic directly related to minority issues e.g. legal changes, minority policies, general debate about discrimination etc.

#### 2.4.5. *Selection of Categories*

Content analysis is a method of systematically investigating the manifested content. It only calcifies and measures ‘what is there’, recognizes the presence or absence of certain elements and establishes the frequency of its occurrences. So it requires very clearly defined categories for analysis and a definite number of options for their classification. Its major strength is in dividing content into units of analysis that can be later measured and interpreted according to standardized procedure. The coding sheet (book, schedule) is an instrument, a blue print on how it is going to be done.

The final choice of categories depends on the logic of the coding sheet. This logic follows from research questions and the proposed way to reach important answers. In matters as complex as the representation of ethnic minorities, some categories cannot always be easily identified in the content, such as derogatory statements and discriminatory context. They can be understood by detecting a number of characteristics. Agreeing on what to code comes after deciding exactly by what characteristics of the content some of the hypothesised qualities can be verified. This has to be consistently followed throughout the coding schedule. For example, the logic of our coding sheet evolved around three groups of data — the first related to the format of the article, the second related to the topics, and the third related to the actors (the persons in the story). Data about the media format directly relates to the media standards and professional instruments that favor certain ways of presenting minorities

over others; data about *topics* map the issues by which ethnic minorities are most commonly associated, placing them into certain relational contexts; while data about the actors detects the qualities that members of ethnic minorities are said to embody when covered by the press. Altogether this provides information on the representation of ethnic minorities and therefore guides the construction of the coding sheet.

## 2.5. Constructing the coding sheet

### *Categories 1—4*

#### IDENTIFICATION OF ARTICLES: *country ID, newspaper, date, page of publication*

The first set of categories helped identify or locate selected articles. Identifiers are a standard part of the coding schedule but are adjusted according to analytical requirements. In our example, they were: ‘country’ including the ‘identification number’ of the article, ‘newspaper’, ‘date’ and ‘page of publication’. The ‘ID number’ and ‘page of publication’ were purely for identification purposes, allowing easy and quick access to a particular article. By adding the article number, starting from 001 (as total amount was not expected to exceed a three digit number per paper) to the country code, from 1 for Albania to 10 for Serbia, both the country and article ID could be recognized within the same code. A means of tracing each text easily is essential during analysis, but it is equally helpful after research, if the data is going to be used further.

The three remaining categories had additional analytical potential besides identification. Ten countries and twenty newspapers each had a separate code so it was easy to distinguish data for a country or newspaper in the whole data set, like number of discriminatory articles or headlines per country, or frequency of editorials in each newspaper. Selected newspapers usually differed in orientation and style, and, where judged important, these differences served for more comparison. For instance, the tabloidisation of newspapers is changing the media landscape of the region, and apart from the political, historical or cultural determinants of the coverage, it seemed relevant to detect possible similarities imposed by this new developments. In some countries, coverage between two papers reflected clearly their political orientation and called for more analysis. With a small number of newspapers it was relatively easy to classify them according to different interpretative purposes.

‘Date’ is one of the standard identifiers in every analysis. It is more important in long lasting studies, when it not only locates articles temporarily, but also reveals distribution of material over weekdays and weekends or by months or seasons. By establishing a daily average of the articles, topics, actors, etc., it is easy to calculate a total average (‘mean value’) for the observed period, if necessary. When analysis refers to coverage of particular events, then daily frequencies also reflect the density of coverage and its relation to event developments. Short periods are not enough to recognize distribution of patterns in time, and date variations are not so relevant.

ABOUT ARTICLES: *headlines, section, type of article, salience, focus and visuals*

Among an articles many dimensions, it is not easy to select those which are essential for analysis. In some respects, all data is indicative as an index of the newspaper's content. But not all of it allows for qualified conclusions about the nature of the coverage. Conceptual work is mainly aimed at selecting and defining categories and using them to measure the presence or absence of certain dimensions in selected texts. Once categories are identified, their forms of appearance are classified and offered as options for coding. Classification of options directly relates to study objectives, as it differentiates between possibilities that tell something about the observed problem.

Categorization begins with selecting what is going to be measured and by what instrument. For instance, if the study objective is to compare newspapers formats, then a newspaper 'section' might be defined as the headings on various pages indicate — 'world', 'politics', 'news of the day'. Analysis would then turn to the implications of a particular division, ratio between sections, international and domestic politics for instance, or the presence or absence of certain sections. But in some comparative studies that might not be enough as newspaper styles do not always correspond and comparing very different sections can simply bring misleading results. Or, for particular analysis it might be irrelevant to detect the exact section but very important to see the ratio between them, like political and business news about ethnic minorities, for example. So the category 'section' should be defined adequately to provide for meaningful classification of differently divided newspapers. Most of the conceptual work in comparative studies includes some preliminary qualitative research on how to define what is meaningful and measurable in the context of different cultural standards.

*Headlines.* The first article feature important for analysis is the headline. Headlines are so important part of newspapers that it often warrants separate investigation. Their relevance comes both from the fact that they are the product of an editorial decision about what constitutes the core of event, and from their importance in attracting the reader's attention. What 'hits the headlines' is determined by the newspaper's style more so than by the events of which they refer to. Often, headlines are as expressive as the rest of article. But, language differences make extensive headline analysis very difficult in a comparative study. Headlines usually play with words and require context-dependent readings, or carry multiple meanings which can easily be lost in a cross-language analysis. And this can only be captured when headlines are the major focus of study. But, this is not such a problem when the goal is not to analyse what the headlines say exactly, but rather to treat them as an element of the text. If they are one feature of an article, then analysis aims to determine their relation to the rest of content, and if, and in what way, they contribute to the quality of coverage.

Even at such an elementary level, the relation of the headline to the article's content can be tested in many ways. In our monitoring, it was done in two steps: firstly, by establishing the level by which it corresponds to the text, whether it is related or not to the rest of its content; and secondly, by determining its particular 'type'. The informative contribution of the headline to the rest of the story was the criterion in both cases.

The headline and the article correspond when they send the same message about the same thing. That is, when the headline coincides with the content, either as a quote or when it is clearly referring to events or participants in the same manner as the article. Correspondence does not have to be expressed in the same choice of words but it must be directly related to the rest of text. Headlines are not related to the content if they refer to something other than the article, or they are too evaluative, implying something that is not apparent in the story.

According to our results, 15% of all headlines were discriminating or sensational, but among headlines that did not correspond with the article's content — this percent went up almost to fifty. The fact that journalists and editors put discriminating remarks in headlines that are not even related to the actual story, only proves the point that many newspaper stories have little to do with what actually happens.

The second selection task was to identify the headline 'type'. Most articles in the daily press are not very large nor complex. Their aim is to inform more than interpret. This classification, therefore, referred to the informative contribution of headline to the article — was it sensational/bigoted or descriptive/informative? From this we wanted to provide systematic documentation of how minorities are represented through headlines. If the headline basically described the article it was put in the first group. And if it merely pandered to populist ignorance and prejudices then it went in the second. There were more differences between the couple attributes of the first group, as these two types of headlines are very different. But they were put together as sensationalism, particularly when related to minorities, is effectively discriminatory. It oversimplifies the truth, stereotypes and recycles 'common sense' explanations, though it fails to inform or describe what is actually written about minority groups.

Some of headlines from this group were openly prejudiced; those which featured words and meanings designed to denigrate, libel, harass or incite negative emotions towards the group mentioned. This group also includes a large number of interpretive headlines, again designed to be interpreted negatively towards an individual or group based on his or her ethnicity. Some of this interpretation is, of course, context dependent. A coder from Kosovo included headlines that he termed 'mobilizational' — those who clearly mobilise the majority population into direction which is offensive or threatening to minorities. 'And Now Straight to the State of Kosova' is one example. It clearly sends out a threatening message to the non-Albanian population as it informs them that international forces and UN resolution will not secure Kosovo as international protectorate for the limited period, but after the elections an independent Kosova state will be formed. As international forces and fragile agreements are the only forces of protection for ethnic minorities living mostly in protected 'enclaves', this headline is especially disturbing and threatening. In other countries, most racist headlines also refer to whole ethnic groups, such as 'Albanians are Becoming a Problem of Balkans and Europe', or 'Zagreb wants new ethnic cleansing' in the Serbian press, or 'They Were Killed Because They Were Serbs', or 'This summer Ulcinj looked like Banglades' in the Montenegro press. In countries without violent ethnic conflicts, racist implications are made in a very different manner. For example, in an article about 'Roma rapists and thieves' the headline quoted an MP saying 'Cut the Rapist's Penis'.

Headline analysis is very important and has a lot of potential for further study. Therefore, it is best when they are studied separately, allowing deeper observation. In

that instance, headlines should be the unit of analysis allowing researchers to focus on issues such as what the headline is about, in what context, using what choice of words and to what informative value. This would require a very different coding sheet than in our example where the headline was analyzed only as one aspect of the article.

Only during analysis primarily devoted to headlines can one focus on the linguistic subtleties that are so important to them. During our study, it was not the main task. Therefore, monitors were instructed to write down and translate only cases of clearly discriminatory headlines. Eventually, further analysis could be easily performed on this selected group as it is potentially a very rich area of study in terms of both vocabulary and editorial selectivity.

*Section.* Within this research the 'section' refers to where an article is placed and the importance it is given by its overall presentation. Because there are significant differences between newspaper layouts, it usually is not enough to classify 'sections' merely by the headings they are originally given. Some newspapers have the traditional categories of 'politics', 'sports', 'culture' and such, some have divisions according to 'events of the day', 'latest news' and 'exclusives', while other divide by territories, focusing on 'regional news' and the 'city page' for example. But in terms of content, most newspapers follow the standard division between political, economic, social, entertainment etc. Regardless, newspaper sections are never purely about layout. Locating an article in a particular section contextualizes the occurrence as a 'political', 'social' or 'business' event.

So some uniformity between criteria was necessary in order to be able to locate where substantial coverage of ethnic minorities was placed. A combination of 'content' (politics, finance, sports etc.) and 'layout' (front page, supplements, etc.) in our classification indicates that instead of clearly distinguished 'sections' it was more appropriate to locate 'pages' of article placement. This classification seemed suitable for all countries involved. It was important to differentiate whether minority issues were usually brought up in the political, cultural or crime pages of the paper. Some new research suggests that in democratic societies, racism and xenophobia has moved from the political pages to the crime and sports pages. But according to preliminary reading, it appeared that in this region, ethnic coverage still mainly falls in the political and cultural pages. Even though most minority issues are highly politically relevant, concerning either conflicts or status issues, much of its coverage is also about folklore, tradition and exotic culture. Where it appeared, the leisure, TV and various entertainment pages, would go under 'supplement', as not much coverage was expected.

The other important piece of information found by locating an article by 'section' allows one to see if the article attracts special attention from being either placed or mentioned on the front page. Although the front page is not a 'section', it is worth classifying it separately as either front page article placement or article mention indicates its special importance. The former was only coded in cases where the article was announced because of its content reference to ethnic minorities; if it was about something other than ethnic minorities but mentioned minorities somewhere in the body of the text, then it was not. Technically, in case of announcement the number of relevant sections was doubled and differentiated from the cases when the whole article was at the front page in which case it had a separate code.

*Saliency.* ‘Saliency’ is a category used to measure the overall importance assigned to an article. Again, this category can be adjusted according to the study objectives and in our example differed from usual monitoring practice as it did not measure the exact size of the article. Content analysis, almost unavoidably, measures the article length. As a quantitative technique it offers several choices to measure length precisely, either in square centimetres, or by the number of columns, lines or words. Although easily done, this is a very time-consuming operation and one should carefully consider if it is really necessary before commencing. In a single country or single newspaper analysis, it can provide some very interesting and important evidence. It is also worthwhile if, in some comparative cases, a huge difference in amount of coverage is expected. But for largely comparative studies, with lots of items from a number of newspapers, where exact length is impossible to compare, such measuring is often pointless.

In this case, even the number of appearances, although varying in length and form, might be more indicative of overall coverage than exact number of lines or words. For our purpose, it seemed best to somehow quantify articles so they could be compared by their relative size in their respective papers. Therefore ‘saliency’ was defined not only as length of the text, but as everything that belongs graphically to one article — including photographs, headlines, and adjoining text boxes. This was measured by how it compares to the newspaper page. For each paper, a ‘medium’ article was identified by being between a quarter and a half of the page (approximately), and then a five-scale classification was introduced, starting from very long and ending with the brief. It was more effective to compare articles from different newspapers by their ‘saliency’ rather than their exact length.

*Type.* Article ‘type’, along with ‘saliency’, indicates the general importance of the article. There is a variety of types and they can be classified in a number of ways, but again, it is important to build up a method of classification that can provide data most relevant for your particular study objectives. What is it about the type of article that is important for the way minorities are represented? First, one needs to decide if it is a ‘news story’, a story from any of the informative genres, or from another more interpretative or evaluative type of story. ‘Story’ was a general term for all the news genres that may be distinguished differently in different countries — report, interpretative report, news, etc. It was only important that it was a ‘news’ story, i.e. of the informative (as opposed to evaluative or interpretative) genre. So there was no further distinction between news genres. Only news ‘briefs’ were coded separately, because they are extremely short and it was important to see what proportion of the coverage they made.

There was no need for detailed classification of other article types grouped under ‘feature’ either. They all had to be specially produced, ordered or requested by the newspaper and the timing of these articles was not directly affected by the events they referred to in the same way news stories are. The selection of people to interview for reportages, background and feature articles depends very much on editorial choices and are mostly intended to interpret events.

For the same reason, articles expressing opinion such as editorials, commentaries, columns and all other evaluative texts by journalist or invited authors, were classified separately. Letters to the Editor and readers comments were also separately classified

as they demonstrated a different interpretative procedure. In some countries they are important tools for legitimizing official points of view, offering a populist voice rather than a more expert or journalistic type of opinion as offered in columns and editorials. All over South East Europe, the tradition of opinionated journalism is still strong, and this selection was aimed at capturing this informative-interpretative ratio in regards to ethnic issues.

*Focus.* This category deals with the way in which the article focuses on a minority issue. Ethnic issues are quite often covered within items dealing with other topics, therefore it was important to classify those that were focusing primarily on ethnic themes. They were coded as 'main focus' if ethnic issues made up more than half of the article in terms of content and importance. It was only a 'secondary focus' if it was not dominant and made less than half of the article content or importance. It was regarded as 'only related to the major focus' if an ethnic theme or issue was only mentioned, indicated or included but not elaborated in any way. These findings were also expected to be important for further analysis, to detect the topics and ethnic groups which usually attract 'major focus', and those that are only treated as 'secondary'. It was also worth noting how much coverage, which was not expected to be extensive, was only remotely related to ethnic issues. Like when it is mentioned as one of many themes in a Parliamentary reports, or when one of the quoted sources happens to be a minority politician. Even though it is 'minority coverage' it does not substantially contribute to the representation of ethnic minorities.

*Visual presentation.* Visual presentation, both substantially and methodologically, holds a similar analytic importance to headlines. The two can be analysed separately and quite often are, so they require different coding schemes as visual analysis is very different from textual analysis. Some say that a picture speaks a thousand words, but the quality of visuals cannot be measured by the same standards as words. In depth visual analysis would require that a selected photograph, illustration or sketch is in itself a unit of analysis. In our case it was more acceptable to observe visual presentation as one segment of an article (as we did with headlines) and code it as another category such as 'article type' or 'salience'. But what dimensions need to be highlighted when the visual is observed as only complementary to the text? How important, for example, is the visual material of an article, when looking at minority coverage?

Aside from its aesthetic values, visual presentation is a largely non-textual complement to the content, that stresses the importance of the events or people written about. Visuals are highly informative of media approach, even in the sense that newspapers have to prejudge the importance of events that can decide whether to assign a photographer to capture the event or photograph to illustrate the article. Important personalities and events always get visual coverage, and all those already deemed important enough to deserve a large article also get visual enhancement, as large texts always include photos or illustrations. So, for our analysis, it was initially important to establish if there is a visual, and if so, what 'type' it was, and afterwards what was the content of the article, and what did it present? This would capture whether the photos actually featured ethnic minorities, or whether they referred to other actors or objects.

In the first case, if there was any visual material it was coded. It was important to distinguish photographs from other types of visuals: sketches, drawings, comics or graphics. As this report was not a visual analysis, further classification was unnecessary; we only need to know if the article contained a photograph as a relevant piece of visual material. Quite often, ethnic minority coverage is not deemed important enough to have visual emphasis. Symbolically, it is an important form of visibility, as visual recognition highlights the importance of certain people(s). In absence of fresh photos, newspapers quite often use maps, photos of objects, archive shots, or some visual substitutes. In the case of detailed visual analysis these factors would all provide very significant data.

Illustrative 'content', what is presented visually, was also classified at an elementary level. As our study objective was the coverage of ethnic minorities, the only important data is that about them. So classification only broadly distinguished between 'individual', 'crowd' and 'objects' (inanimate things). Differentiation between an 'individual' and 'crowd' followed the logic of other categories aimed at determining how much of the coverage treated minority members as individual actors and how much presented them as a 'collectivity'. As in the previous case this variable also generated two types of data: how many photographs were of individuals and which of these individuals were from a minority. This could have been done with two properly selected categories, one establishing who is in the photo, and the second classifying minority individuals. Further cross-referencing of these two sets of data would produce a number of individual minority actors that were presented visually. But, instead these two were achieved within the same category, as only individuals who were ethnic members were coded under the option 'individual'. All the other individual photographs were classified as 'other', including the author of the article or anybody speaking on behalf of minorities who was not from an ethnic group, for instance. This differentiation was very important as visual presentation of minorities is often 'non-informative'. It is either unrelated to the content, does not refer to the same event, or it pictures other actors than minority members when the article is about minorities. It also demonstrated how the matter of who 'speaks' and who is 'visible' transfers importance from minority members to more authoritative or respected members of society, such as lawyers speaking on their behalf, or politicians commenting on an incident involving ethnic minorities, or the other person/people referred to in the article. Visual presentation in ethnic coverage is usually scarce, and it is made even more so by journalistic practice of covering this scarcity with substitute material.

### *Categories 13—16*

TOPIC OF ARTICLES: *conflict, minority policy, everyday life, ethnic issues in the region*

The topic, issues and themes which dominate coverage are very important in media monitoring. It is important to discern what topics are being written about, in what kind of events do ethnic groups most commonly appear and regarding what issues are they usually being quoted for. The subject matter of articles is indicative of many things, but above all it signposts the arenas in which minorities are expected to appear. The subject matter is also vital for further contextual analysis of the inclusion or exclu-

sion of ethnic groups. Topical classification is the mapping of areas of interest exclusively associated with minorities as minority rights, education, culture, or forms of their contextualization as conflict, incident or dispute. Conversely, topics indicate the areas of life where minorities are rarely or never presented and the issues which they never speak about.

Preliminary research indicated that usual newspaper diversity regarding other areas of life does not translate to minority coverage. On the contrary, minority coverage is limited to a very small number of issues. Devising a list of topical possibilities to code, however, is a very difficult, even contradictory task. If the list is too extensive the classification will become difficult to generalise, but if it is too limited it becomes pre-evaluative and frames the newspaper content according to the researcher's ideological positioning. Though one needs to classify, one cannot just classify all the possible issues appearing in the text. It needs to be done in a manner that helps answer research questions. Our goal was to observe the presentation of minorities and to point out particularly discriminatory coverage, therefore the classification of topics had to serve to explain that.

Hence, it was irrelevant for the purpose of our monitoring, to list all individual topics. It was more important to detect the 'structure' of issues and their common ethnic relevance, rather than provide a register of all topics. Secondly, according to the preliminary reading, conflict context, the negative, disturbing and incidental approach towards minority presentation, dominates the press. Violent conflict in Macedonia and the omnipresence of the recent wars in the Former Yugoslavia have contributed to this general impression. But even in countries away from the core of this huge inter-ethnic hostility, such incidental approach was present. For example the introduction of the Status Law, which proposes certain rights for people of Hungarian origin regardless where they live, has had resonance in neighbouring countries, particularly in Romania. In identifying topical structure, it was equally important to identify the manner in which the issue had been approached. For that reason, the category 'topic' was further subcategorized into four major groups that would allow for classification based on both pure 'topical' (overall meaning) and contextual ('how was the topic approached') classification.

In defining these four broad groups or topic frames, the relevance of selected issues for the comparative nature of analysis was also taken into account. So 'conflict', 'everyday life', 'policy issues' and 'ethnic issues in the region' were terms used to classify articles ranging from violent confrontation in Macedonia to minority participation in the Kosovo elections to a trial for war crimes in Croatia. Each of the four topic frames included a diversity of issues that captured the type of majority-minority relations as presented within these broadly defined groups of issues. When there is a story about a conflicting relationship, it is more important to classify the relationship than the 'content' of the conflict. For press analysis, in an article about an individual incident it is more relevant to detect this pattern in negatively contextualising 'them' being in a conflicting mode with the majority, than the actual causes or 'theme' of the incident.

The four topics were four frames defined by content attributes, therefore only one option within each of them could be coded per article. But the same article could have more than one topic, if each of them was from a different one of the four major groups. If the story was primarily about conflict but also presented possible conflict-

solving measures, the more dominant of the two had to be selected. But if apart from conflict some policy measures were discussed, than additionally an option from this other topic group — ‘minority policy’ — could also be selected. It is not always important to capture all topics in the article, unless the analysis focuses specifically on the topic or content attributes, or monitoring is about a particular event which is being observed through its ‘topic’.

This rather unusual manner of categorization was adjusted to the research purposes of identifying ethnic representation, and the comparative nature of monitoring. In the case of different goals, topic categorization would have been done differently. If monitoring is concerned with a particular event, or it was comparative monitoring taking place over a long period of time, then detailed topic classification of all the relevant aspects of the major issue may have been necessary. As it is very important for the overall meaning of the article, topics classification really needs to be carefully adjusted according to the study purpose.

*Conflict.* This topic group was designed to classify articles by the type of relationship they focused upon regardless of the nature of the conflict and its ‘sources’. No matter the essence of the conflict (ethnic, social, political or economic), its intensity or duration (long-lasting or sporadic, individual incidents) all articles presenting minority-majority relation in a conflict perspective were classified in this topic group. The reason for analysis was not to detect whether the conflict was over financial, political, social or educational resources. ‘Content’ of the covered issue was not particularly important as the monitoring lasted for one month and therefore, concerned a group of ‘randomly’ selected issues within it.

‘Conflict’ is not just a part of minority-majority relations. It is also a means of creating a context in which the activities of minority individuals is labelled ‘conflicting’. The manner of presentation coupled with the polarization of ethnic issues, probably contributes to negative coverage of minorities most significantly. As ‘conflicts’ were not classified by type, the typology offered a variety of conflict-related, sustaining or solving, activities to identify. Especially because of the recent wars in the Former Yugoslavia, there was a possibility to code ‘truth and reconciliation’ activities as well and detect attempts to improve ethnic relations by providing a critical evaluation of the past. And finally, individual incidents, that do not compare in scope but trigger possible negative emotions in case of more serious hostility. That build negative feelings, produces minorities into roles that oppose, contradict, stand on the other side as conflictingly perform social activities.

*Minority Policy.* This second topic group included a cluster of issues referring to ‘minority policy’. A significant chunk of ethnic coverage concerns government activities, general political initiatives regarding minority policy, new legal proposals, policy measures and the public debate about them. In more stable conditions, this allows for official initiative over ethnic issues. It was important to detect how many policy initiatives concerned general political ‘status’ and how many referred to social or cultural, educational or similar issues. Coverage of this kind of political activity, in comparison to unofficial, minority initiated policy demands, is an interesting indication of who ‘frames’ the minority issues for public debate.

*Everyday Life.* This category was an attempt to identify the media coverage of the everyday activities of ethnic minorities. It included issues referring to affirmative and inclusive coverage, presentation of minority issues within ordinary settings or areas, such as business initiatives and regular political or cultural activities. It even referred to criminal activities, when they were not used to 'ethnify' crime or to project criminal behaviour onto some or all ethnic groups. But, there are also discriminatory possibilities within normal coverage. One particularly frequent strategy is that of 'exceptional achievement', typifying an example of 'good' minority behaviour in a negative context. This device is not only used in conflict situations; one article in a Montenegrin newspaper featured a lengthy story about a man who happily changed his religion entitled 'Omar becomes Nikola'.

*Ethnic Issues in the Region.* Finally, there was a separate group of topics concerning minority coverage in the region. Since a number of minority groups live in most of the ten countries such as the Roma and the Jews, regional coverage was expected to have a great impact on domestic situations. At the time of monitoring, the conflict in Macedonia was still intense and its impact was felt in the neighbouring countries, at least. Apart from providing information about what is happening in the region, coverage of minority issues or ethnic disputes in other countries usually has some 'exemplary' value. By typifying roles and evaluating activities of people 'over there' the press can indirectly define the domestic ethnic situation. Also, for countries that cover their 'own' minorities in other countries, such as Hungary and Albania, this was an important topic.

#### *Categories 17—24*

ABOUT ACTORS: *social role, gender, generalization, identification, defining role, voice*

Another essential dimension of coverage usually refers to the actors of the events presented. In monitoring concerned with representation of ethnic groups, its importance resulted in the classification of a number of attributes. Any minority group which was written about was treated as 'actor'. It did not have to be a 'source' or have any 'defining role'. Every minority group that was covered was analyzed, by first being identified by a code from the 'list of actors' and then by the exact forms in which its members appeared. But compiling a 'list of actors' was not an easy task. It consisted first of defining an 'ethnic minority' and then selecting the ethnic groups to be listed on the coding sheet:

(1) Only minority groups of an ethnic origin different to that particular countries traditional majority were defined as ethnic minorities. There were some groups of ethnic origin which differed from that of the majority that were still not analysed. Groups from distant countries, like Chinese and Arab immigrants who had recently arrived and are already numerous in some countries, were not included. Neither were the illegal workers, including victims of sex trafficking, who came from nearby countries like Romania, Moldavia, Ukraine. A third large 'minority' are refugees, many of whom are still trying to settle down after the conflict in the Former Yugoslavia. While refugees

are occasionally written about, the two former groups are rarely covered and are almost invisible in the press. All of them are, nevertheless, often victims of discrimination but as 'new' groups, sometimes in forms that yet have to be recognized. They differ from the established patterns, stereotypes and modes of behaviour towards traditional ethnic minorities, and as a result, we were unable to include them in this study.

(2) The second question was how to select and list 'actors' for analysis. There were several options for the selection of criteria. One obvious choice was to go by the results of an official population census. That way the largest groups would be included from each country. Unfortunately, for most countries of the Former Yugoslavia, the last census took place over a decade ago. During the monitoring period, Croatia was preparing for one, the first since a war which had dramatically altered the ethnic structure of the population. But Kosovo still has not had one, as it did not even participate in the last census held in 1991. So this was not a reliable source of data.

Another possible criterion was to select officially recognized minorities. But this was equally difficult as some groups are recognized minorities in some countries but not in others, such as the Roma. Or some groups are considered religious minorities in some countries but ethnic in others, such as the Jews. Even further, some minorities are not even acknowledged although they clearly exist, like Macedonians in Bulgaria. Clear-cut distinctions about ethnic minorities are very difficult to make in the Balkans.

Since the monitoring objective was to analyse representation of ethnic minorities, it was not important to select them in advance, but was crucial that we did not exclude any. The research was about how certain groups were represented, not about selecting groups whose representation would exclusively be analyzed. So it was acceptable to list them extensively and then analyse those that appear in the press.

But even the listing of minorities was difficult. Unsolved territorial questions had implications on who is a minority and who is in the majority. For example, Kosovo is officially part of FRY (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) although it is under the protection of international forces. Therefore, the Albanian majority in Kosovo is an Albanian minority for the Serbian press, but it is also different than Albanian minority living in Yugoslavia but outside Kosovo. The only methodologically consistent solution was to list every minority group for each country and code it separately. For example, if Romanian press was covering story about the Roma in Hungary, they would be coded by a different code than if the same Roma story was covered by the Hungarian press. Then, in data processing, all codes for the same ethnic groups would be aggregated together. There were other problems with the precise definition of minority groups but some of the solutions were very project specific and probably only worked for the complicated minority puzzle of the Balkans.

Finally, selected minority groups appearing in an article were treated as a single 'actor', and up to three 'actors' could be coded in one article. If they were from the same ethnic group, for example, a politician, a witness and a criminal in the same story, they would all be coded under the general code for that particular minority, but then separately in their individual social or gender roles, for example. But they could also be from different minorities, like in case of Turkish-Roma dispute in a Bulgarian

village. If, after that extensive listing, some minority group was still not included, it would be given the code 99, and the name of the group would be tagged.

*What was important to determine about the ethnic actors?*

*What selected attributes are relevant for their media representation?*

First of all it is the actor's social role. It refers to the role of the individual who is being singled out in the article. If the 'actor' refers to a collectivity and not a single person, then it is coded as collectivity, with reference in the 'identification' about its collective 'identity' such as the 'Turkish business community' or the 'Bosnian people' or the 'Albanian National Army'. If there is an individual selected and identified, his or her social role is coded as a 'witness', a 'political party leader', a 'singer' etc. Social roles were broadly classified as it was important to differentiate individual from collective roles, and major type of roles but not their whole repertoire. The other important 'real' attribute of actors was their gender. It was only coded in clearly identified cases, i.e., for identified individuals. All the collective actors were coded as 'other' meaning unspecified gender, even when the gender could be assumed as in 'terrorists' or 'freedom fighters'. Gender was coded only when explicitly stated.

Other 'actors' attributes were assigned by the newspaper presentation. They included the level of generalising the actors' activity, identification, defining role and voice. All of these features indicate media treatment and journalistic practices in presenting individual occurrence as typical and general cases. Or in supporting socially insignificant roles of minority members by endorsing their passive position, depriving them of the right to define their own activities and situations. If their social roles are less important and authoritative, as witness, participant or victim, then it is almost a rule that their 'media' role is also less significant. This means they are being defined by others more often than being in a position to define the events they participate in. Accompanying this passivity is silence. Only occasionally are ethnic actors given a 'voice' by being directly quoted or paraphrased. This subject-object distinction reveals how actively the ethnic individual or group actor defines major position in the article and how often this primary defining role is given to others, authorities, experts and journalists.

The classification of roles attributed to actors follows from credit-claiming or blame-placing activity of the newspaper, attribution of responsibility and positive-negative evaluation of actors' behaviour by assigning them particular roles within the event covered.

### *Categories 24—25*

OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF ARTICLES: *attributes, frames*

These two evaluative categories required particular attention and overall assessment. Firstly, 'attributes' referred to the characterisation of the whole event, not only to the actor's activity but to the explanatory model that author used in setting the context of ethnic members action. Sometimes it relied on clear and obvious stereotypes, but sometimes it was the interpretative context that stimulated a particular reading of the event. In some cases it was a metaphor easy to identify, recognisable in common-sense

understanding indication like, 'Serbs and Albanians cannot live together in Kosovo', or 'Muslims have a very high birth rate and will soon be majority of the population'. But sometimes none of these could be recognised and none of the 'attributes' were detected. As it partly involved evaluative stance, the monitors were instructed to notify them only when clearly recognisable. But 'frames' were obviously easier to identify. They referred to the general approach to the topic taken in the article, general understanding that underpins the reporting both in terms of media selectivity, placement, focus, choice of rhetoric and presentation. This required an overall coder's assessment of the authors approach to the minority. Distinguishing articles as framed to be mostly 'descriptive/diagnostic', or 'prognostic', or 'evaluative/interpretative' or 'mobilisational' or 'discriminatory' provided data about their qualities and journalistic practices in their making. Although it is not always easy to differentiate, the coding guidelines provided instructions on how to classify different frames. If properly coded, evidence provided by these two evaluative categories would coincide with the findings of several other individual categories clustered together. Once the categories are selected and coding options for each of them defined the coding sheet can be designed.

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### 3. Collecting data

# Collecting data

**A**ctual analysis starts with data collecting which is the most essential part of monitoring. If the categories are carefully defined they will be easily recognised by monitors and their absence or presence detected in the text. Then, their type of appearance is identified according to the proposed classification. In case of 'salience of the item', for example, possibilities are:

1. Very long item.
2. Long item.
3. Medium item.
4. Short item.
5. Very short item.

Once the appropriate option is selected, its respective code is inserted in the data sheet. So, code 1 becomes substitute for a 'very long item' and data for further processing. But, data collecting is a complex part of monitoring which includes several stages — from training monitors to data control.

## 3.1. Training the monitors

Analytical work practically starts with training the monitors. They have to master the monitoring procedure and adjust to the demands of the coding schedule. Even in academic studies, conducted by experienced analysts, the coding instrument is to be carefully introduced and a precise instruction guide developed.

Systematic observation of media content differs from the interpretative or selective overviews of casual readers. Monitoring, when based on content analysis, is an objectified expression of what is in the text. Different coders should come up with the same results and not with variety of insights into its hidden meanings. The object of analysis is a manifest content — obvious, identifiable, quantifiable dimensions of the text and not implicit, assumed or latent content. For less experienced coders, this is a particularly challenging task, as they tend to read in characteristics that might not exist. Sometimes, they are afraid that the newspaper articles will lose their complex meanings — particularly expressive choice of words, or obvious cases of discrimination when transformed into numerical codes. This is not a weakness, however, but one of the advantages of quantitative analysis. It deals with large bodies of text and by recognising the same features over periods of time, or in different media it provides evidence about patterns, and not individual cases. Some other techniques, like narrative or discourse analysis that focus on less text can produce more in-depth interpretations. Content analysis seeks visible, repeatable, structural features of the selected material.

Training of coders is by no means routine part of the project. Analysis is not only about counting and classifying things that can easily be found and counted. It is in fact, about making decisions on identifying and classifying a variety of content on the basis of selected criteria. They have to be fully accepted by coders before the work starts. It is important to make sure that analysts come up with the same decisions about selection of material or coding requirements. Analytical categories have to be precisely defined so the coders understand them clearly and do not find cases that cannot fit the proposed classifications. The second aspect of the training refers to an adjustment of different coders styles contextually determined by their social, cultural, educational or other differences.

In a comparative study with coders from different countries, harmonisation of standards is more difficult. Common standards have to be introduced to make data comparable. Every project requires this standardisation — both operative definitions and proper criteria follow from the theoretical framework of the research. For the same reason, evaluative categories should be avoided whenever possible, as they leave lots of room for interpretative coding. But if they are included, very tight instructions as how to objectify coders evaluations should be given, and a very careful control over their application exercised.

Monitoring should be performed by properly trained analysts. This is very demanding work and standards for selecting monitors should be very high. So, the training can not compensate for absence of their research education or experience. Training starts from this assumption and mostly addresses project-specific issues, but it is always very helpful to have some initial general methodology instruction. Coders should also be familiar with the broader project picture; its context, purpose, objectives or problems and that should help them understand where their work fits in. In large-scale studies, that often include long periods of many years, or many volumes of material, coding is generally more technical work. In many academic studies it is even recommended that analysts should not be burdened with this information as it may influence their objectivity. But in media monitoring of a smaller size it may well stimulate the collective effort.

A major part of the training is the introduction of the coding instrument. Definitions of coding categories, clear instructions on how to employ them, and coding guidelines should be discussed as extensively as possible. Everything about the coding sheet is to be clear in detail and a range of coding varieties are to be debated. Coding technique, data handling and other necessary skills should also be practiced. It is crucial to provide enough time for discussion and common practical coding sessions. Therefore, workshops are the most suitable form of these sessions as coders need to practice individually or in small groups and discuss their findings. Written instructions should follow training and will help the monitors. Finally, regular contact with the project coordinator provides a form of security that coders normally find useful. They are very likely to encounter difficulties that will be easier to solve with this help. No motivation can compensate for lack of experience, but the technical sophistication and detachment of professional coders is not necessarily an advantage. Even if this prolonged training seems very time consuming, it usually pays off by the quality of research that it facilitates.

### 3.2. Pilot study

Monitoring has to generate reliable data. Although based on quantitative methods, every research bears a mark of personal design. Solid instructions should provide for consistency in coders work but coding differences can never be completely avoided. Therefore, strict forms of control should be applied throughout the process to avoid unsound data and misleading results. They begin with the pilot study. A pilot study tests work on a small sample of material, but its relevance is multiple: the monitors face the real material they will be dealing with. The pilot study gives an early indication of differences between them and helps set up an inter-coding reliability procedure. The study also helps set course for final improvements and precision of the coding sheet. As coding always means plenty of work, this material is not to be wasted. In some cases, like election campaign, this is not possible and the pilot study, if at all, should be conducted in advance. But if monitored material is sampled from old publications it does not present a problem.

As ours was four-week monitoring, the first week was a testing period. After completing a week's coding, monitors sent data sheets for control and stopped working but continued collecting newspapers. Each of them received back sheets with meticulous instructions for corrections and what to change in future work. As soon as they confirmed understanding everything, they resumed work. They also received instructions about corrections of the coding sheet on the basis of testing week experiences. This added significant pressure, but the procedure also saved time. Every subsequent week was set for control and with this week-of-control-after-week of work method, difficulties of extensive after coding control were avoided.

Both monitoring and control were finalised three weeks after the final coding date. Mastering the working rhythm is also very important. In short, or time-constrained monitoring, as is the election campaign, when results quite often provide evidence that might be politically relevant before the election day, work has to follow media production daily. When monitoring concerns material over certain periods of time — i.e. ethnic minority's coverage in the previous decade, the material is sampled from the archives which is much easier. But in the later case it is quite difficult to choose a representative sample of articles. Each type of constraint affects the work differently. We tried to simulate a particular combination of them as we conducted everyday monitoring on a randomly selected sample of twenty-eight consecutive days.

### 3.3. Data control

Data control is not only the supervision of individual monitor's work but also a help to other team members. They are all informed about problems, and how they were solved, in case they face something similar. There are two types of regular control of data sheets: logical, which points out to contradictions in the coding, and substantial, which indicates that the coders possibly misunderstood certain instructions or encountered cases that did not fit proposed classification. Logical control is the easier of the two, and it detects obvious, logical errors regardless of the analysed content. It

is an initial check up based on spotting clear contradicting information, for instance, an item type coded as a brief can not be coded as very long in the salience column. Or, if the item does not contain visuals then visual presentation content cannot be anything else but none. This routine checkup shows accidental mistakes that may be caused by anything like accidentally switching numbers to typing mistakes. Individual mistakes are most difficult to detect, as they do not follow any logic but they are also not as damaging as they are sporadic. Most of them can be avoided with thorough care. Substantial control includes overseeing monitors decisions about incorrect coding. It detects consistent errors made throughout a data sheet. Systematically repeated errors are more serious but observable through their consistency. For example, if identification refers to a minority in general — Bulgarian Muslims, Roma parents, Hungarian minority, the gender can not be coded male or female but always as other, as in the case for actors whose gender is not specified. It was the same rule for cases when a collective actor was presumably only — male Albanian terrorists, Serbian Chetniks, or Turkish businessman. The ratio of female/male actors, therefore, refers only to cases of explicitly stated gender. Additionally, the high frequency of collective actors with non-specified gender and its relevance for gender relations had to be explained using other indicators as well.

One more procedure for checking the validity of data is inter-coding reliability. It measures the level of agreement between coding work performed by different coders on the same material. In reliable monitoring, two or more coders after the same instructions and using the same schedule sheet come up with the same data. If they produce very different data it may mean that the coding sheet is not precise, or is too evaluative, leaving room for different interpretations. A low level inter-coder agreement raises doubts about other coders' results and implicates that any change of monitors would affect the findings. It seriously questions the quality of data and all the interpretations upon them.

Inter-coding reliability can be tested in several ways. The easiest is to compare findings of two coders using a small sub-sample of articles. In cases of very strict academic studies, it is sufficient to test up to 10% of the material. In our study, because of the many language difficulties and with only one team of commonly trained coders, a monitor from one country (Bosnia and Herzegovina) was asked to inter-code one week of the press from Serbia. The overall inter-coder agreement was very high (95%), with some variations depending on the category. Although it was a small amount of the total material, it was still one quarter of one country's amount, and as such a very good indication of a high level of similarity in coding.

### **3.4. Finalising the coding sheet**

After the pilot study and the initial data control, coding sheet can be finally revised. In our monitoring there were three important implications of the pilot study: first, initially the number of ethnic minorities that could be analysed in each text was limited to three. But, cases of three actors in the same article were extremely rare, as there were only two such items in one country. The coding sheet therefore was revised to allow only for two minorities. As there were seven features about each actor that should be

identified, this also meant leaving them out. Seven columns less made the data sheet much easier for handling.

Second, even with a very extensive list of ethnic minorities it was difficult to standardise them as they were appearing under a variety of names. Close to two thirds of listed minorities appeared at least once, but many were coded under the option 'other'. This stayed unchanged as it was not possible to have codes for 'non-Albanians' or 'Balkan minorities' or 'minorities in Macedonia', etc. It was better to preserve this variety because that kept track of less frequently seen groups, which would have been lost, if they were just coded as 'other' without an indication who they were.

Third, there was confusion between 'identification' and 'attributes' as both referred to ethnic minorities covered. They were included to provide evidence of cross-country differences in treating ethnic minorities by comparing different lexical choices and possibly the usual ways of naming certain minorities. But, unfortunately, it did not bring expected results. Identification captured how the newspaper identified actors. But open attributes about actors were quite rare, so it was changed to refer to the characterisation of the whole event covered and not only particular actor's activity within it. This provided data about major explaining-metaphors, and contextual features of minority coverage valuable for further analysis. The particular importance of these two categories was in their textual nature. Most content analysis tends to exclude those completely, as they are difficult both for coding and processing. But textual material is extremely useful for report writing.

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## 4. Data processing

# Data processing

**M**onitoring always generates a huge amount of data, which has to be processed efficiently and relate to study objectives. Some raw data might not even be used as studies sometimes tend to accumulate a lot of unnecessary data. An initial processing plan is already set up in the project design. But it is also a separate type of task which is usually performed by analysts with different skills. These require technical knowledge and an ability to handle data meaningfully. Processing became much easier, even more exciting work, thanks to the specialised computer-based programs available. Some of them are easy to apply and usually offer many possibilities. Though they guarantee accuracy and efficiency, they are not expected to generate 'results' by themselves. Processing requirements should follow from the major questions/hypotheses of the project. They frame the expectations and goals of data processing.

## 4.1. Data sheets

Before commencing with the processing, data sheets filled in by monitors should be controlled and, if necessary, technically adjusted. The data sheet is a standardised data entry form. It is designed to coincide with the coding sheet, and to avoid any confusion, it has the same structure and naming. That makes data easy to handle for monitors and processing analysts. The rows on the sheet contain data for individual texts, while each column refers to a separate category. Any particularly complicated parts of the sheet should be explained to coders carefully and carefully controlled. For instance, if more than one minority can be coded in each article, as in our case, then it is recommended to complete the full cycle for one actor (gender, defining role, voice etc.) and then go back to the 'actors' column and start a new cycle for the other actor. It makes the work easier and more visible that in the absence of a second actor, all columns referring to his/ her social role, gender, defining role etc., should be marked 'x'.

Data sheets should be filed in very carefully as a simple switch of numbers or columns can cause a lot of problems. More experienced monitors might decide to code straight on to the computer, but some still use working sheets first, and type in the data afterwards. All the monitors in our project were highly qualified and were competent users of Microsoft Excel, making it the obvious processing program of choice. There are other, more sophisticated, programs available, but these can be more demanding. One of the most widely used programs in social science research is the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) but studies can also use specially designed programs, which requires additional training. For our monitoring, like most of this scope and type, Excel was quite sufficient. Large scale studies must distinguish data collecting from processing work, but media monitoring is not the same as academic or market research, even if they might use same methods. Monitors are not just

coders or data collectors. They form a team of qualified media analysts that contribute to the project in several ways — by writing parts of the report, handling the database and writing separate essays for respective countries, for example. Encouraging them to master data processing is a worthwhile task, not just because it makes work more efficiently, but it also helps them become better team members.

## 4.2. Cross-referencing

The first processing task is always to calculate the data for each of the analysed categories. This is an indication of the total data-set that will be dealt with and is useful to study it carefully, observe possible correlations and obvious ‘messages’ it sends. This should indicate both the frequency, how many times each of the individual options appeared, and if the nature of the category allows, one can establish its average value. For our study it was more important to establish frequencies, and to present them for each option, both in terms of absolute numbers and their percentage — for example, ‘conflict’ was a topic with 516 items (32.17%), ‘minority policy’ had 277 (17.27%), ‘everyday life’ had 375 (23.38%) and ‘regional issues’ also had 516 (32.17%). Categories were defined so that they did not require a calculation of the general average value, although it is quite common to do so in some content analysis — like an average number of articles per day, or average number of lines/words/columns per article.

This first scanning also brings to one’s immediate attention some unexpected results or some strikingly obvious findings. In our monitoring, one unexpected result was the very low ethnic coverage in the Kosovo press — almost three times less than in Serbia and more than four times lower than in Macedonia. An expected but nevertheless striking finding was an obvious under representation of women from ethnic groups, who made up less than three percent of actors. And media selectivity of sources when writing about ethnic minorities was also surprising — they are ‘directly quoted’ in less than a quarter of articles about them.

Further data processing tasks follow from the monitoring objectives. In a comparative study, it is common to aggregate data for the whole region first, and then find out all the findings, or most of them, for each country. If the monitoring objective is to compare certain problems in various countries then the data will be processed to best present country variations, such as maximum and minimum values, the ‘average country’ value etc., and how they relate to the regional framework. If the objective is to analyse a certain regional problem, then processing should focus on aggregating data about the various problem dimensions and only secondary country differences, which provides one set of problem varieties. Finally, the objective might suggest relating results between two or more of the sub-selected countries. In our example, it could be countries with common borders, or those sharing large minorities of common origin, like the Roma or Albanians, or it might be countries that were recently involved in violent ethnic conflicts, such as most countries of former Yugoslavia. Similarly, there could be many other choices in response to particular research questions.

The objective of our monitoring was to analyse the representation of ethnic minorities in the South East European mainstream press — how they are represented, what are the regional similarities and what are the country specific dimensions of the

coverage. There were three leading hypotheses postulating that (1) the type of coverage, primarily discrimination and press intolerance, are related to general social conditions, (2) that similarities in coverage indicate some common regional patterns in majority-minority relations and deeply rooted stereotypes, but also (3) some shared journalistic standards that do not accommodate for ethnic diversity and tolerance in the media. All three hypotheses defined very complex realities and could not easily be validated by elementary research data. Most of the data had to be additionally cross-related and combined with findings that could support offered explanations and research conclusions.

In the case of the first hypothesis the 'overall' minority coverage is related to the quality of inter-ethnic relations and respective country stability. 'Stability', of course, can be interpreted in a number of ways but for this project it was defined in terms of the presence (or absence) of recent violent inter-ethnic conflict. Findings indicate that the amount of politicized and conflict-related coverage, along with intolerance and discrimination, increased in cases of open or recent violent conflicts. Overall coverage was synthesized from a variety of features, particularly the number of articles, their salience, topics, selection of minorities, discriminatory headlines and frames. Of course, these dimensions appeared in different combinations across countries. For instance, minority coverage in Kosovo is slight and very discriminatory, whereas coverage in Albania is not at all discriminatory but is completely devoted to ethnic conflicts involving the Albanian population in the region and is therefore entirely politicised and conflict-related. On the other hand, coverage in Hungary is considerable, more than Romania, for instance, but the former is less discriminatory and conflict-related than the latter. So, findings imply that social stability does influence coverage of ethnic minorities but the nature of the influence and its press 'expression' varies across countries. Interpretation of particular discriminatory strategies in different countries newspapers had to address this combination and its relation to press intolerance. To obtain this further evidence some data has to be inter-related. The example below shows a pattern of cross-referencing and how data becomes more relevant when related in a particular way:

Firstly, one needs to select the categories that will be useful to relate to each other. Usually, the frequency of particular options suggests how important they would be to process. In the category frames with the options of 'descriptive' (61.6%), 'prognostic' (5.61%), 'evaluative' (22.51%), 'mobilizational'(5.67%) and 'discriminatory' (4.61), it is probably most interesting to start with 'discriminatory' and see how it relates to ethnic groups in those articles. All minorities are listed by the number of appearances as coded in the 'actors' column. So, the value for one particular option in the first category is related to total amount of the second — as in the example offered in the Appendix, 'discriminatory' frames are cross-referenced with all 'actors'.

This is the first level of cross-referencing and it establishes the distribution of discriminatory articles about ethnic groups throughout the region. In this example, further grouping of actors would have a similar effect as additional cross-referencing. Each minority had a separate code in each country (Bosnians were coded separately in Croatia, Kosovo, Srbska Republic, Montenegro, Serbia and Macedonia, for example, so one ethnic group could appear under several codes). Therefore, further grouping reveals a clearer picture of the regional distribution of discrimination on the basis of

ethnicity. It also singles out the most commonly discriminated ethnic minorities regionally.

The second level of cross-referencing relates one option in one category with only one option from another category — in our example, ‘discriminatory’ framing within a single ethnic group — Roma, for instance. This will show frequency of discriminatory Roma coverage in the regional press.

Following the same example, next level of cross-referencing would relate this result (discriminatory coverage about Roma) with options from the category ‘gender’, or ‘country’ and provide data on how many of this articles were about Roma women or in a particular country. This crossing can include not only more options but also more categories — how many of these Roma women were politicians or had a direct ‘voice’ on events etc.

### 4.3. Text analysis

Some interesting findings might call for additional cross-referencing in order to double check or support some results from a different angle. If those results coincide, the gain is multiple as this can later support analysis of more complex occurrences. It is, also, somewhat of a confirmation of the quality of monitoring. In our study, there were several co-occurrences of different dimensions pointing to similar conclusions. For example, in over 60% of the articles monitored, ethnic minorities were not ‘quoted’ or ‘paraphrased’: they were only ‘referred to’ by others. Effectively, they were not sources of news in those articles, even though they were spoken about. Their role was passive and they were presented through views of others without active participation or self-representation. Similarly, in over 60% of articles they had no ‘defining role’ but were ‘defined’ by others who had a direct ‘voice’ over the events presented. So, even in the daily press, and even regarding conflict-related and politicized events in which they were included, their views are mostly excluded from the coverage. This indicates inadequate journalistic practices which lead to an unequal and biased presentation of ethnic minorities by denying them active role. But, this professional conduct coincides with the marginalisation of minorities which has been made apparent by their very limited number of social roles. So, this co-occurrence implies consistency in the limited access to social resources for minorities, be it financial, educational or otherwise.

The last and most difficult task is the processing of textual data, such as headlines and other selected lines of text. Most content analysis excludes this data entirely since it cannot be analysed quantitatively. It is usually argued that the purpose of quantitative analysis is to transform texts into numerical codes that can be calculated. Also, language is an ‘object’ of more interpretative methods like narrative or discourse analysis, which is run by different research protocols. Multi-lingual and cross-cultural studies are particularly difficult in this respect and textual analysis cannot be done without language specialists. There are computer programs for textual analysis that can easily identify words, their frequency, location or context and analyse whole vocabularies. But it is difficult to combine qualitative (textual) with quantitative (numerical) processing when there are only some strings of text among numbers.

In our monitoring, textual data came from two categories; 'identification' and 'attributes'. They were only included for elementary indication of linguistic differences between countries and the relevance of studying them. Even this was not easy as the semantic fields of words do not translate in different languages. For example, there are many ways to say 'rebel' in Serbian, and some of them evoke entirely different emotions. So, without going into language subtleties it was important to at least note how the press identifies certain ethnic groups, whether they were regularly referred to as 'Roma', 'Gypsies' or 'dark-skin boys', for example. Insight into the prevailing patterns of identifying actors demonstrates whether the press usually attempts to simply 'name' or to attach a loaded meaning to groups by referring to them either as 'Albanian National Army' or 'fighters', 'rebels' or 'terrorists'. Textual data was, therefore, used to complement the results of quantitative analysis and to highlight particularly obvious findings.

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## 5. Monitoring report

# Monitoring report

**A**ll monitoring must conclude with a report on its major findings. The type of report depends on the study objectives and it may assume a number of forms, lengths and presentation styles. It needs to present what was accomplished, go back to the initial research questions and discuss them in the light of empirical evidence. It is a very demanding part of the project as it also provides context for interpretation of the findings. Data does not prove anything by itself; it's significance comes from plausible explanations.

The report is further determined by the purpose for monitoring. If it is motivated by a policy initiative, like if our report was commissioned by a government ministry, for example, it would probably focus on discriminatory practices and their political implications. If a human rights organization initiates monitoring about the same subject, the report may focus more on detecting forms of discrimination and how particular groups fall victim. For a professional organisation of journalists, the report would probably indicate the inadequate standards and professional behavior that leads to misrepresentation, and may have suggestions on how to rectify this.

Each of these separate reports could be written on the basis of the same monitoring. Sometimes results are rich enough to offer material for an extensive study. In that case, it helps to include references for more than one project, to review relevant literature, the results of other similar studies, or references to public opinion surveys on ethnic distance, for example. Evidence might then contribute to a more ambitious debate about media performance or diversity reporting. Even in not so ambitious cases, findings can be reported in different types of texts, as in our example, in which we provided a research report and a book of findings.

## 5.1. Research report

Regardless of the purpose or project objectives a report has to address certain topics:

*1. Information about the project.* The report needs to state the monitoring problem, its objectives, hypotheses and some notes on methodology. This information is to help readers find out what kind of material they are dealing with. A note on methodology is especially important and it should indicate the media used, the time frame and the techniques of monitoring, sampling and units of analysis. Readers should be able to identify this individually. Project design maps the research territory and is crucial for how a selected problem will be analyzed. Some of this information is essential and necessary, but some is only relevant for debate on methodology or for clearing possible doubts about results. In the case of comprehensive studies, this would extend to include a general theoretical framework and operational definitions of the concepts

and terms used. In our example, it would be on the importance of media images, the relevance of ethnic minorities coverage for reporting diversity and forms of symbolic discrimination, etc.

2. *Major conclusions.* The report should open with crucial conclusions referring to monitoring objectives. Usually, there are only a few major conclusions and they summarise overall findings about the essential dimensions of the research. Conclusions are not easy to reach; they follow from evidence but also from their proper interpretation.

3. *Monitoring findings.* Monitoring findings are at the core of the report. Their presentation and discussion relates directly to the research hypotheses. One of the most difficult parts of research is to explain the findings in a relevant way. The best way is always to refer to the questions that motivated the research. Is it easier to answer them now? Does the new evidence allow you to describe, interpret, explain and compare information better? Do findings support the major hypotheses? Validation of hypotheses, their acceptance or rejection, should lead to these answers. For example, from documenting inadequate journalistic practices in covering minorities — frequency of items, largely conflict-focused coverage, few minority sources quoted, discriminatory headlines, bias interpretation and derogatory naming — it follows that it was correct to hypothesise that this is a common practice throughout the region, which both supports and encourages fallacies of ethnic minority insubordination.

4. *Major problems.* Sometimes it is very useful to state the problems or obstacles in the monitoring and how they were dealt with. Quite often, they concern methodology issues and address difficulties in defining, categorizing or classifying media material. If conceptual work is not done properly, the monitoring might generate insignificant or unrelated data. It usually happens when monitors count and calculate whatever is easy to monitor or something that is expected from monitoring, like the exact number of lines for somebody's quote, or the number of appearance without notifying the context. Well focused monitoring can save both time and effort.

The report is not an all-inclusive, closed set of findings about the subject. It is one interpretation of the issue, which is highly probable and backed up with research evidence.

## 5.2. Research findings

A report does not include or refer to all the research findings, nor does it exhaust the interpretative potential they offer. Monitoring data, therefore, should be made available in a more comprehensive form for interested readers or as a potential source for analysis. This form of data presentation should be concise but as informative as possible and include a vast selection of results.

One useful way of presenting findings is to compile a book of charts, a collection of graphically expressed data. Charts are easy to follow and it is even better if they are complimented with respective tables. The book should open with some basic reading

indications of what was analysed, by what means and with what objectives. This means it can be an independent reading of any other project material. The material should be organised to provide easy access by different readers without needing to follow the sequence applied in a coding schedule. One possible way might be to systematise findings into four large sections: 'general data', 'topics', 'actors' and 'countries'. The 'general data' section should contain data referring to the whole region and mostly to the media format of articles — their type, placement, focus, framing, headlines etc. The section entitled 'actors' would present findings about minority actors — their social roles, gender, 'voice', visual presentation etc. 'Topics' should contain data about themes of the articles and 'countries' would provide basic data for each country.

A book of charts can be organized as a graphical narration about the monitoring, as in the example offered in Appendix 9. The major conclusions and research findings which were parts of the Report from our monitoring are also presented in the Appendix 8.

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## 6. Conclusion

## Conclusion

**R**eading daily newspapers is an everyday ritual for many people. It is almost a form of their civic education. The media, and the newspaper press have been doing it for centuries already, provide people with definitions of events, accidents, entertainment, role models. They provide texts and images used to map 'reality' as we know it. So how we read them is important. And, it is not only how we read what is explicitly written, but also what goes unsaid. Implicit media messages are sent by the definition, selection and narration of what society is allowed to perceive, accept and criticise.

People rely on media images — on their combination of 'good' and 'bad', of 'us' and 'them', of 'old' and 'new' and of 'normal' and 'deviant'. In doing so the media offer more than information. They provide stories about reality and sometimes they are stories of exclusion and hatred, stories of a refusal to accept 'difference'. Of denying others for not being like 'us'. Some of their meanings are not immediately visible; some change over time or become apparent only in a different context. But many of them are simply brushed off as 'only words'.

According to the Oxford Dictionary, amongst its many meanings, 'monitor' is the name for a type of lizard which gives an early warning about crocodiles. As important as it is for the animal world to survive the peril of crocodiles, it is equally important for humanity to survive the social ills that early warning may prevent. As recent conflicts have demonstrated, those who incite hatred, those who aim to hurt and humiliate others are ready to do more than just talk. And they even warned us in their very public messages of hatred that they would cause such devastation.

## Selected literature

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## 7. Appendices

# Appendix 1

## Ethnic minorities coverage coding sheet

### 1. Country ID

1. Albania
2. Bosnia and Herzegovina
3. Bulgaria
4. Croatia
5. Hungary
6. Kosovo
7. Macedonia
8. Montenegro
9. Romania
10. Serbia

### 2. Date-month

### 3. Newspaper code

1. ALBANIA
2. SHEKULLI
3. DNEVNI AVAZ
4. NEZAVISNE NOVINE
5. TRUD
6. 24 CASA
7. JUTARNJI LIST
8. VECERNJI LIST
9. NEPSABADSAG
10. METRO
11. KOHA DITORE
12. BOTA SOT
13. DNEVNIK
14. UTRINSKI
15. VJESTI
16. DAN
17. ADEVARUL
18. LIBERTATEA
19. POLITIKA
20. BLIC

#### **4. Page of publication**

#### **5. Headline**

1. Related to the article content
2. Not directly related to the article content
3. No headline
9. Other:

#### **6. Headline type**

1. Sensationalistic, discriminatory
2. Descriptive, informative, non-sensationalistic
3. No headline
9. Other:

#### **7. Section of the newspaper**

1. Front page
2. Foreign pages
3. Political pages
4. Economy pages
5. Society pages
6. Culture
7. Criminality pages
8. Sports
9. Supplement
10. Other:

#### **8. Type of article / item**

1. News story
2. Brief
3. Feature article
4. Editorial
5. Letter
9. Other:

## **9. Salience of the item**

1. Very long item
2. Long item
3. Medium item
4. Short item
5. Very short item

## **10. Focus of the item**

1. Main focus of the item
2. Secondary focus of the item
3. Just related to the main focus

## **11. Visual presentation — type**

1. Photograph
2. Illustration — sketch, drawing, comics
3. Graphics — data, tables, graphs, maps
4. None
9. Other:

## **12. Visual presentation — content**

1. Individual
2. Crowd
3. Object
4. None
9. Other:

## **13. Topic of the item: conflict**

1. Violent ethnic conflict — i.e. serious violent conflict of certain duration, not an individual incident (Macedonia).
2. Conflict-related activities — i.e. activities that are not related to the actual violent confrontation but are working towards sustaining that confrontation (arming of troops, harassing of population, police actions, rebel activities etc.).
3. Conflict solving activities — i.e. negotiation, cease fire, peace initiatives.
4. Truth and reconciliation activities — i.e. investigations into the truth about previous conflicts (official investigation about victims, fact revealing activities, trails, commemorations, etc.).

5. Lasting non-violent disputes — i.e. non-violent political, economic, social etc. conflicts.
6. Ethnic incidents — i.e. individual occurrences, exceptional events, criminal activities that might involve violence but are not part of a continuous confrontation.
9. Other:

#### **14. Topic of the item: minority policy**

1. Government minority policy — i.e. general political initiatives regarding minority policy, new legal proposals, policy measures, their consequences, criticism, debate etc.
2. Social issues — i.e. human interest stories on social issues, everyday life, standard of living etc.
3. Cultural issues — i.e. minority education, trade, culture, information policy, general identity or assimilation stories.
9. Other:

#### **15. Topic of the item: everyday life**

1. Exceptional achievement — i.e. 'positive example' stories, individual positive examples within negative context.
2. Political, business, and social activities of the minority — i.e. inclusion of minority in the activities of the mainstream society.
3. Cultural activity — i.e. customs, rituals, tradition etc.
4. Criminal activity.
5. General background stories, history — i.e. stories about the past, historical cases of discrimination, or cooperation, general background analysis etc.
9. Other:

#### **16. Topic of the item: ethnic issues in the region**

1. Everyday life, feature stories, culture, education etc. of respective minority in other countries — i.e. Hungarian press coverage of Hungarians living in Croatia.
2. Political activities of respective minority in other countries — i.e. Albanian press coverage of Albanians requesting constitutional changes in Macedonia.
3. Government policy affecting minority in other countries — i.e. Romanian press coverage of the implications of Hungarian Status Law.
4. Major inter-ethnic event in the region, if covered systematically.
9. Other:

#### **17. Ethnic minorities covered**

List attached.

## **18. Actor's social role:**

1. Vox populi, man/woman on the street
2. Ethnic issues/human rights activist
3. Politician
4. State official
5. Expert
6. Artist
7. Celebrity/show buzz
8. Criminal
9. Sportsman/woman
10. Fighter, member of a military group
11. Witness
12. Collectivity, write:
13. Other:

## **19. Actor's gender**

1. Female
2. Male
9. Other:

## **20. Generalization of actor' activity**

1. As an individual case
2. As representative of a larger group
3. As typical for the whole ethnic group
4. As typical for minorities in general

## **21. Identification of the actor:** (about the actor)

★ Write the name or collective designation given by the newspaper e.g. terrorist, rebels, activists etc.

## **22. Actor's contribution in the presentation of the event**

1. Defining actor
2. Defined actor
3. Both defining and being defined

### **23. Actor's voice**

1. Directly quoted
2. Paraphrased
3. Referred to but not quoted
9. Other:

### **24. Major attributes:** (about actor's activities)

★ Write the exact words used to qualify the actor or, if possible, identify the stereotype or metaphor used to 'explain' the actors behavior.

### **25. Framing of the story:**

1. Diagnostic/descriptive
2. Prognostic
3. Evaluative/interpretative
4. Mobilization
5. Discriminatory

## Appendix 2

### List of newspapers selected for monitoring

**Albania. Of 16 national dailies, monitored were:**

1. ALBANIA — broadsheet, circulation 7000
2. SHEKULLI — tabloid, circulation 22 000

**Bosnia and Herzegovina. Of 3 dailies in the Muslim-Croat Federation and one in Republic Serbska, monitored were:**

1. DNEVNI AVAZ — the largest broadsheet in MCF
2. NEZAVISNE NOVINE — only daily newspaper in RS

**Bulgaria. Of 6 national dailies, monitored were:**

1. TRUD — serious issues, tabloid layout, circulation 450.000
2. 24 CASA — serious issues, tabloid layout, circulation 350.000

**Croatia. Of 7 national dailies, monitored were:**

1. JUTARNJI LIST — serious issues, tabloid layout, circulation 130 000
2. VECERNJI LIST — serious issues, tabloid layout, circulation 200 000

**Hungary. Of 9 national dailies, monitored were:**

1. NEPSABADSAG — broadsheet, circulation 300 000
2. METRO — tabloid, international chain, free of charge, Budapest region

**Kosovo. Of 6 national dailies, monitored were:**

1. KOHA DITORE — tabloid layout, serious content, circulation 20 000, extra 15 000 for Western Europe
2. BOTA SOT — tabloid, circulation 20 000

**Macedonia. Of 6 national dailies, monitored were:**

1. DNEVNIK — broadsheet, circulation 50 000
2. UTRINSKI VESNIK — broadsheet, circulation 30—35 000

**Montenegro. Of 5 national dailies, monitored were:**

1. VJESTI — tabloid layout, serious issues, circulation 20 000—25 000
2. DAN — tabloid layout, serious issues, circulation 15 000—20 000

**Romania. Of 20 national dailies, monitored were:**

1. ADEVARUL — broadsheet, circulation 150 000
3. LIBERTATEA — tabloid, circulation 115 000

**Serbia. Of 9 national dailies, monitored were:**

1. POLITIKA — broadsheet, circulation 90 000—130 000
2. BLIC — tabloid layout, serious issues, circulation 155 000—170 000

## Appendix 3

### List of ethnic minorities

1. Greeks (Albania)
2. Macedonians (Albania)
3. Montenegrins (Albania)
4. Vlachs, Roma (Albania)
5. Serbs (Federation)
6. Croats (Federation)
7. Bosniacs (RS)
8. Croats (RS)
9. Roma (BIH)
10. Jewish (BIH)
11. Albanians (BIH)
12. Checks (BIH)
13. Poles (BIH)
14. Turks (BIH)
15. Armenians (Bulgaria)
17. Jewish (Bulgaria)
18. Pomaks (Bulgaria)
19. Roma (Bulgaria)
20. Turks (Bulgaria)
21. Serbs (Croatia)
22. Muslims (Croatia)
23. Slovenians (Croatia)
24. Hungarians (Croatia)
25. Ilalians (Croatia)
26. Albanians (Croatia)
27. Roma (Croatia)
28. Jewish (Croatia)
29. Roma (Hungary)
30. German (Hungary)
31. Slovaks (Hungary)
32. Romanians (Hungary)
33. Slovenians (Hungary)
34. Serbs (Hungary)
35. Croats (Hungary)
36. Ruthen (Hungary)
37. Greek (Hungary)
38. Bulgarian (Hungary)
39. Armenian (Hungary)
40. Jewish (Hungary)
41. Albanians (Kosovo)
42. Montenegrins (Kosovo)
43. Serbs (Kosovo)
44. Roma (Kosovo)
45. Turks (Kosovo)
46. Turks (Macedonia)
47. Roma (Macedonia)
48. Vlachs (Macedonia)
49. Serbs (Macedonia)
50. Jewish (Macedonia)
51. Bosniacs/Muslims (Macedonia)
53. Albanians (Macedonia)
54. Albanians (Montenegro)
55. Serbs (Montenegro)
56. Croats (Montenegro)
57. Roma (Montenegro)
58. Muslims/Bosniacs (Montenegro)
59. Jewish (Romania)
60. Germans (Romania)
61. Hungarians (Romania)
62. Roma (Romania)
63. Turks (Romania)
64. Tartars (Romania)
65. Italians (Romania)
66. Albanians (Romania)
67. Aromenians (Romania)
68. Ukrainians (Romania)
69. Russian-Lipovans (Romania)
70. Slovaks (Romania)
71. Slovenians (Romania)
72. Chechs (Romania)

- 73. Bulgarians (Romania)
- 74. Aramanians (Romania)
- 75. Serbs (Romania)
- 76. Croats (Romania)
  
- 77. Albanians (Serbia)
- 78. Hungarians (Serbia)
- 79. Croats (Serbia)
- 80. Bosniaks/Muslims (Serbia)
- 81. Roma (Serbia)
- 82. Gora (Serbia)
- 83. Slovaks (Serbia)
- 84. Rusins (Serbia)
- 85. Turks (Serbia)
- 86. Jewish (Serbia)
  
- 90. Minorities in general
- 99. Other

## Appendix 4 Data sheet

										Country ID	1
										Date	2
										Paper	3
										Page	4
										Headline	5
										Headline type	6
										Section	7
										Item type	8
										Saliience	9
										Focus	10
										VP type	11
										VP content	12
										Conflict	13
										Minority policy	14
										Everyday life	15
										Regional issues	16
										Actor 1	17
										Actor 2	17
										Social role 1	18
										Social role 2	18
										Gender 1	19
										Gender 2	19
										Generalization 1	20
										Generalization 2	20
										Identification 1	21
										Identification 2	21
										Defining 1	22
										Defining 2	22
										Voice 1	23
										Voice 2	23
										Attributes	24
										Framing	25

# Appendix 5

## Major coding instructions

### **Selection of items**

The whole body of newspaper will be considered, from the front to the last page. The unit of analysis is an individual ITEM — selected article with its belonging headlines and photographs, a body of text and visuals, distinguishable from the rest of the newspaper by its distinct content and graphics, regardless of its journalistic genre or placement.

### **Criteria of selection**

All items referring to a particular ethnic minority or minorities in general, or items having a topic directly related to minority issues (legal changes, minority policies, general debate about discrimination etc.).

Items about ethnic group members, when their ethnic origin is not directly referred to but is known or recognizable to the monitor, will be noted separately in the end notes and will be used in the report .

### **1. Country ID**

Country code will include ID number of each article for easier processing and identification

*Example:* Albania country code 1 and 001 for article number 1 — makes 1001, 1002 — article number 2, 2075 — article number 75 from Bulgaria etc.

### **2. Date-month**

Standardize dates as: 02-nov

### **3. Newspaper code**

Use only the newspaper's code — *Nepsabadshag 9, Dnevni Avaz 3, Trud 5* etc.

### **4. Page of publication**

Important for identification of the article more than for analysis.

### **5. Headline**

If there is a headline establish its relation to the article. Code 1 if the headline coincides with its content, either as a quote or when it is clearly referring to events/actors in the same manner as the story.

### **6. Headline type**

Even if the headline has some informative value, but is clearly sensationalistic, discriminatory or provokes strong sensation — code 1.

## 7. Section of the newspaper

It is important to capture importance/salience of the item given by placement and not formal heading of the pages.

If the whole item is in the front page — code 1.

If there is a front page announcement, or just initial few lines on the front page, and the body of article is somewhere else in the paper, code double number of the section where it is placed — e.g. if the text is in the foreign pages but announced on the front page code 22, or if it is in sports pages with front page announcement 55 etc.

Leisure, TV, various entertainment goes under 'supplement'.

## 8. Type of article/item

A major distinction is made between news stories which include any informative genre and other relevant types of stories such as:

- ★ feature: refers to the story specially produced by the newspaper with timing not directly related to daily events — analysis, background story, reportage, interview, investigative article etc.
- ★ editorial, commentaries, columns, and
- ★ letters of the readers, 'voice of the people', expert voices in form of letters etc.

News stories are not further distinguished except for a brief — a very small news item. Salience of other news stories will be captured by other categories as well.

## 9. Salience of the item

Instead of pure quantitative criteria items to be distinguished by relative measurements:

- ★ very long item is almost a full page, large headings, illustrations etc. not only the actual text but the whole volume that visually belongs to the same item take almost the whole page;
- ★ long item is one which is around or more than half a page large, again with all the including parts;
- ★ medium item is an average item for the standard of the paper analysed, between quarter and half the page, try to establish the medium item for each paper first;
- ★ short item is approx. a quarter of the page, or smaller;
- ★ very short item is a brief, small news, note, few lines etc.

## 10. Focus of the item

Major focus of the item means that ethnic issue/actor makes up more than half of the article content — quantitatively and in terms of importance.

Secondary focus means that it is not dominant, makes up less than half of the article content and importance.

Just mentioned is for the cases when ethnic issue/actor is just indicated, noted, but not elaborated in any way.

## 11. Illustration/visual presentation

Visual presentation refers to all visuals within articles about ethnic minorities and not only their appearances.

## **12. Visual presentation — content**

Classification of the visual presentation by ‘content’ only focuses on ethnic minorities.

Code 1 only when the photograph is of a member of ethnic minority group or its representative.

Use other if the photograph presents any other individual — author of the text, or individual not from the ethnic minority in the story to distinguish them from visuals of minority members/groups.

## **13—16. Major topic of the item**

More than one topic can be coded in each article, but maximum three, and if one is obviously dominant, do code 1.

The four ‘topics’ are also four ‘frames’ defined by content attributes therefore only one of subcategories within each can be coded — e.g. if the story is about conflict choose one type from section 13, but if there are policy measures discussed in the same story, than code 1 of 14 as well.

Please code major — first in importance — topic only by number, and add \* after the codes for the second and third, so we can distinguish them in latter analysis.

## **17. Ethnic minority covered**

Minority group focused on in the item is treated as an ‘actor’, and more than one actor per article can be coded. This is in cases when the article is about two or three distinct minority groups: Roma-Turkish dispute in a Bulgarian village, or Serbian and Croat joint problems in Bosnia etc. In case of more actors each of them is coded separately in columns 17—24. First complete 17—24 for one, and than go back 17—24 for the second and if, necessary, third.

For each minority group there is a separate code. So if there is a story about Roma boy in Romanian paper — the actor coded is 62, but if there is a story about Roma boy in Hungary but in Romanian paper the actor coded is 29.

More members of the same ethnic group, if more than one appear in the story — i.e. a politician, a witness and a criminal for instance, are coded by the same code in columns 17 and than each of them separately through other codes from 18 till 24. If the article is about more groups, or uses two or three minorities just as illustrative of general trend — code 90. minorities in general.

## **18. Actor's social role**

Actor’s social role refers to the role of the individual who is being singled out in the item — a witness, a political party leader, singer etc. Do indicate other roles that appear but are not listed.

## **19. Actor's gender**

Other is for cases where actor is presented collectively and no gender can be identified. It will be applied to most collective social roles — unless a group of mothers or obviously clearly stated gender specific group.

## **20. Generalization of actor' activity**

Carefully distinguish if the story is treating the 'event' as an individualized, singular occurrence or is presenting it as representative of larger group behaviour. Distinguish the level of generalization by clear references in the text.

## **21. Identification of the actor: (about the actor)**

This is 'naming', 'labeling' used to identify the actor as such. Do quote the exact words and names used by the paper — terrorist, rebels, activists etc.

## **22. Actor's contribution in the presentation of the event**

Defining activity of the analyzed actor. Is s/he defining the position in the article or is s/he being defined by others, or both are present.

## **23. Actor's voice**

The 'speaking' position of the analysed actor, code only one and where more than one is applicable chose the most important — first 'directly quoted', than 'paraphrased', than 'referred to'.

## **24. Major attributes (about actor's activities)**

Major attributes or metaphors used to explain actor's activities: obvious stereotypes, labels, 'common-sense' names should be recognized and quoted using quotation marks.

Also, if there are none, do try to recognize explaining metaphors through which the actors behavior is presented — i.e. 'Roma do not pay taxes' or 'Roma can only get rich through illegal activities' as in the case of the story on King Chabba we discussed in Budapest.

## **25. Framing of the story**

General approach to the topic expressed in the item, general understanding that underpins the reporting both in terms of media selectivity, placement, focus, choice of rhetoric and presentation. This is an overall assessment of the coder about authors approach to the minority in the story.

### **Coding suggestions:**

1. Look at the whole paper carefully and select the articles for analysis.
2. Keep the coding sheet always in front of you, do not try to memorize it and insert the codes carefully.
3. Code x in every space without a number — for second actor or topic if there is none — nothing can stay empty.
4. Double check data after you insert it, try to avoid typing mistakes.
5. Contact me as soon as you face a problem or just want to consult.
6. Open a separate file for notes and send them together with the analyzed week. Pls. do keep notes, they will be useful for writing a report — note down anything you find interesting, important, relevant etc.

## Appendix 6

### Coding instructions after the testing week

1. ID: ARTICLE ID NUMBER IS NECESSARY. After the country code add article number starting with 001. Some of you have done it some did not as indicated in your sheets. Please, correct this before you start anything else, as your memory is still fresh and you will not be able to locate articles for correction otherwise.

6. HEADLINE TYPE: As none of you have large number of discriminatory or sensationalistic headlines, note down some of them as examples for further reporting. Include in the notes two or three headlines that you think deserve to be selected because of its illustrative nature.

As only one of you asked I assume it is clear to others — sensationalistic OR discriminatory means that both this types are coded under same number and not that headlines have to have both these qualities. Same goes for descriptive OR informative.

9. SALIENCE: When compared with 8. TYPE OF ARTICLE some of you coded 8.(1) news story as 9.(5) very short which is NOT POSSIBLE. Very short is only for a brief. Also, sometimes 8.(2) brief was 9.(4) short and even (3) medium. This is also NOT POSSIBLE — a brief is a very small item or several very small news grouped together or a small news that is not a full news story in itself. Even if sometimes they are longer than others that you code as very short, they can still be 9.(5) — not all the medium items are the same length either. Keep the code short for small items other than brief.

10. PHOTOGRAPH: If you have more than one photograph or photo and illustration code 1 and add \* after the number. In the notes, write down using the code number of the article, the total amount. This is easier since only two of you had this case so far.

13, 14, 15, 16 TOPIC: Most of you had majority of articles with one topic — or clearly dominant topic. Only one of you had systematically more (even all four) in one article. For cases of more topics: it is not important to capture everything in the article — i.e. if it is 'regional issues' get one from this selection and if it is only about event in the region DO NOT select from others CONFLICT or EVERYDAY LIFE. For instance — items about conflict in Macedonia or elections in Kosovo, for all of you in other countries ( except Albania, Serbia, Montenegro) it is 16 (4) — major event in the region.

17. ETHNIC MINORITY: If you find a minority which is not on the list use 99 and write the name. Also use this code for cases as 'all Hungarians leaving abroad'.

MAJOR CHANGE: Nobody had a case of there actors, even two are rare. Therefore TAKE THE ACTOR 3 COLUMN OUT, and ALL THE REST REFERING TO IT FROM 17

TO 24. Again, social role, gender, generalization etc. for Actor 1 code always in columns 1, and for Actor 2 in columns 2. If there is no actor two code x in the second columns.

18. SOCIAL ROLE: Must be identified everywhere. If you have collectivity as actor — a political party, cultural organization, military group etc. — code 12 and do write down what it is.

21. IDENTIFICATION: you have to write down how the actor is named: ‘ all Serbs’, ‘individual name’ , ‘party leader’, ‘Albanian farmers’, ‘Hungarian minority’ etc. You can not write none, as they are referred somehow in the article. Use x when there is no actor.

23. VOICE: Code only one type of expression for each actor, starting with the most important — if you already coded 1 do not add 2 or 3 for the same actor.

24. MAJOR ATTRIBUTES: This was really a difficult one. Take columns 2 and 3 out — and leave only one column. THIS MEANS THAT IT REFERS TO THE CHARACTERIZATION OF THE WHOLE EVENT NOT ONLY PARTICULAR ACTOR’S ACTIVITY.

The point is to capture how the event is explained. If you find an obvious stereotype quote it, use quotation marks, but if not, RECOGNIZE THE EXPLAINING CLUE that was offered for the readers.

*Example:* Serbs and Albanians can live together in Kosovo, Bosnia is ethnically divided country, Hungarians have to be more open-minded to enter Europe etc.

Some of you have done it excellently and if you want I will distribute it as an example.

NOTES: A suggestion, open the sheet 2 in the same file for notes. Just start with dates and ID number, so the notes will be in the same data sheet.

When coding 9. Other — indicate what it is, so we can see whether to include it in the report.

# Appendix 7

## Data processing examples

### Different levels of data cross referencing

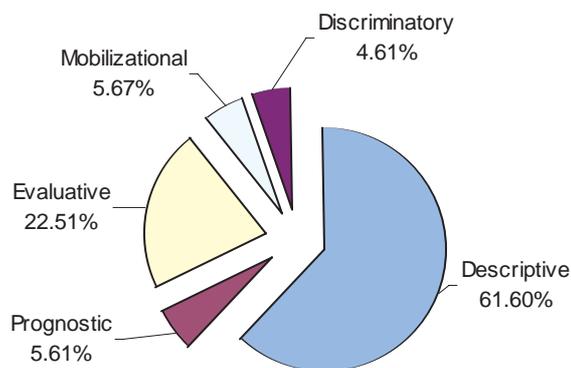
#### 1.Level one

#### PRESENTATION OF DATA BY A CODING CATEGORY

#### FRAMING OF THE ITEMS

FRAMING	No.	%
Descriptive	988	61.6
Prognostic	90	5.61
Evaluative	361	22.51
Mobilizational	91	5.67
Discriminatory	74	4.61
TOTAL	1604	100

#### FRAMING OF THE ITEMS

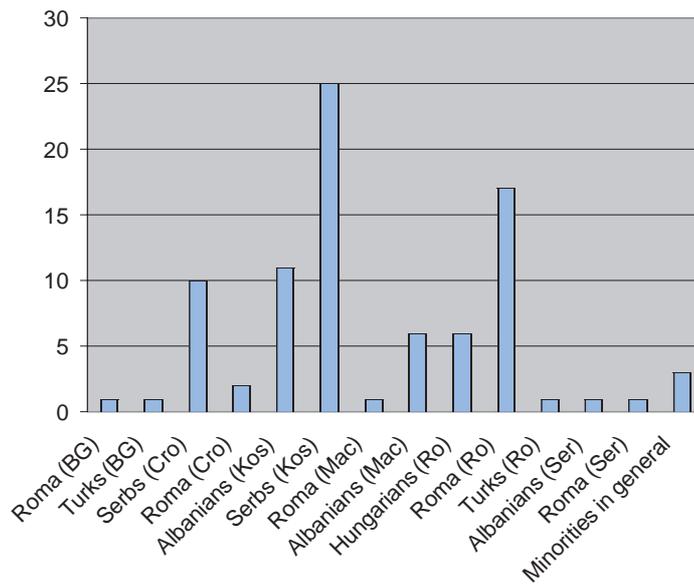


## 2. Level two

CROSS REFERENCING: DISCRIMINATORY FRAMING WITH ACTORS APPEARING IN THOSE ARTICLES

### DISCRIMINATORY FRAMING: ACTORS

ACTORS	No.	%
Roma (BG)	1	1.16
Turks (BG)	1	1.16
Serbs (Cro)	10	11.63
Roma (Cro)	2	2.32
Albanians (Kos)	11	12.79
Serbs (Kos)	25	29.07
Roma (Mac)	1	1.16
Albanians (Mac)	6	6.98
Hungarians (Ro)	6	6.98
Roma (Ro)	17	19.78
Turks (Ro)	1	1.16
Albanians (Ser)	1	1.16
Roma (Ser)	1	1.16
Minorities in general	3	3.49
<b>Total</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>100</b>



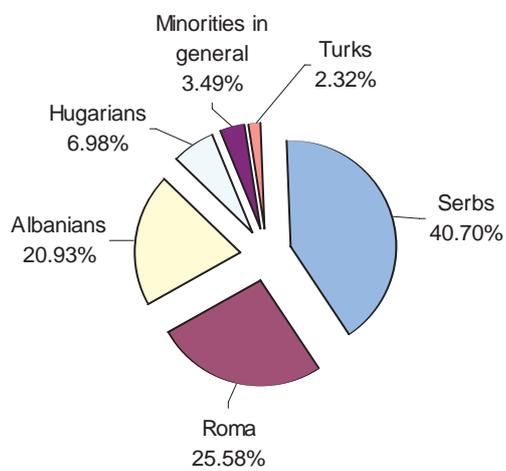
### 3. Level three

#### FURTHER GROUPING OF ACTORS CROSS REFERENCED WITH DISCRIMINATORY FRAMING

##### DISCRIMINATORY FRAMING: ACTORS

ACTORS	Items	%
Serbs	35	40.7
Roma	22	25.58
Albanians	18	20.93
Hugarians	6	6.98
Minorities in general	3	3.49
Turks	2	2.32
Total	86	100

##### DISCRIMINATORY FRAMING: ACTORS



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## Appendix 8

# Research report

## Mirroring images: Ethnic minorities in the South East European press

### Abstract

**C**ritical analysis of discriminatory reporting is vital in developing a more responsible press.

The following comparative analysis highlights some of the ethnic stereotypes and prejudices common throughout the region. It also reveals how the media perpetuates them.

Major daily newspapers influence the formation of dominant political discourse, usually close to official policy position, but also affect everyday understanding of events. Media coverage therefor conditions public perception of otherness and indicates broader political strategies of inclusion, or exclusion of minorities in political life.

This report is based on content analysis of the mainstream press in 10 South East European countries. It focused on minority coverage, in the region which has experienced major inter-ethnic conflicts during the past decade. At the time of monitoring in late 2001, conditions among the countries differed markedly – from ongoing ethnic conflict (Macedonia), to those close in time or proximity to conflict (Serbia, Kosovo, Albania, Montenegro), from post-conflict situations (Bosnia, Croatia), to countries without recent violent ethnic confrontation (Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania). As ethnic minorities constitute a significant portion of the population in each country, successful transition in those nations require more democratic and tolerant minority policies.

## About the monitoring

**M**onitored and analyzed content was taken from one month's reporting by 20 mainstream newspapers in 10 South East European countries in November 2001. The quality of ethnic minority coverage was analyzed to compare forms of discriminatory treatment and journalistic practices that perpetuate it. Ethnic minorities constitute a significant part of the population throughout the region, but during the past decade these differences were often misused and transformed into sparks for violent conflict. The objective of this comparative content analysis was to reveal underlying similarities between countries' differences with regard to:

- \* relations between social stability, levels of discrimination and press intolerance;
- \* similar journalistic standards and practices resulting in intolerance and unfair treatment of diversity issues.
- \* widespread, deeply-rooted stereotypes and prejudices that govern common understanding of minority-majority relations;

Two major newspapers per country were monitored. They were selected for their large circulation, non-state or non-party ownership, and for being representative of press diversity in their countries. Those newspapers are:

- \* Albania: *Albania* and *Shekulli*;
- \* Bosnia and Herzegovina: *Dnevi avaz* and *Nezavisne novine*;
- \* Bulgaria: *Trud* and *24 casa*;
- \* Montenegro: *Vjesti* and *Dan*;
- \* Croatia: *Jutarnji list* and *Vecernji list*;
- \* Kosovo: *Koha ditore* and *Bota sot*;
- \* Hungary: *Nepsabadsag* and *Metro*;
- \* Macedonia: *Dnevnik* and *Utrinski vesnik*;
- \* Romania: *Adevarul* and *Libertatea*;
- \* Serbia: *Politika* and *Blic*.

Each newspaper's entire contents was analyzed, and coverage of all ethnic minorities included. Methodology was designed to provide comparative insight into regional characteristics but, also, to capture specifics of minority coverage in each country.

This research is part of a larger educational project of Media Diversity Institute aimed at capacity building for media and non-government organisations interested in diversity reporting. One of the project objectives was the development of the Media Monitoring Manual. This research served as a form of inter-active training – a proposed research protocol was tested through this monitoring mission. In the process, media analysts from various countries, through their common training and work, formed a team suitable for further comparative research.

Project author Dr Snjezana Milivojevic, of the Institute of Social Sciences, Belgrade, received project support from several people. Project advisory board members are Dr Vera Messing (Center for Independent Journalism, Budapest), Professor Terhi Rantanen (London School of Economics and Politics), Professor Colin Sparks (Westminster University, London) and Professor Brian Winston (Westminster University, London). The monitoring team consisted of nine analysts from the region: Ilda Londo (Albania), Nevena Rsumovic (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Danail Danov (Bulgaria), Igor Kanizaj (Croatia), Dr Vera Messing (Hungary), Anton Berishai (Kosovo), Antoaneta Ivanova (Makedonia), Georgiana Ilie (Romania) and Ana Solovic (Montenegro, Serbia).

The European Commission funded the project.

## Major research findings:

### I Political stability and minority coverage

**B**oth the quantity and degree of politisation of conflict-related coverage increases under conditions of political instability and disharmony in ethnic relations. As conditions stabilise, both the amount of coverage and level of intolerance for ethnic differences decrease.

Conflict resolution may also be followed by increased invisibility and ignorance of ethnic actors or issues as a form of their exclusion from public life. In the absence of conflict, attention of the press quite often turns to minorities in other countries – that is to say the minority there that is of the same ethnicity as their country's main group – rather than domestic minorities issues in their own country.

General press trends split the regional press into two groups:

#### **First group:**

#### **Areas experiencing violent ethnic conflicts or those in proximity to violent ethnic conflicts**

*Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania and, with certain differences, Kosovo*

*General:* Conflicts get more coverage, between 10 and 20 percent over the regional amount. Highly-politicised reporting, more visible discrimination, isolation of individual ethnic groups, and highly interpretative reporting are more visible here.

MACEDONIA (318 articles, 19.83 percent of the total amount)

Dominating the monitored coverage were constitutional changes, a general amnesty and disarmament of paramilitaries. More than half of all articles were about violent confrontation with the Albanian minority; an additional quarter was about demanded constitutional changes. Relations with the Albanian minority were the only minority issue and Albanians was the major ethnic group covered – they made up 80 percent of all actors. Only Serbian and Roma minorities made a significant appearance in the press. Ten times more articles had more discriminatory headlines than discriminatory content and with rare exceptions (two articles about Roma) they were always about Albanians. The press is generally very interpretative – less than one quarter of monitored articles was news stories, the remaining three-quarters were various feature articles, editorials and letters to the editor.

SERBIA (219 articles, 13.65 percent of the total amount)

Half of the analysed items concerning ethnic minorities was devoted to parliamentary elections in Kosovo, and presented them only from a minority angle. Serbian community election participation is the focus, and the whole event is defined as a test of

the minority policy for new Kosovo authorities. The Serbian minority in Kosovo is used as an instrument — primarily, politicians represent them from Belgrade and their activity is measured according to policies in Serbia. Final decisions on election participation are expected from Belgrade. The most frequently covered actors are almost equally, Albanians (42 percent) and Serbs (41 percent). Roma and Bosniacs get little note, at 4 percent each, and other ethnic groups are barely mentioned. Openly discriminatory articles are rare (around 3 percent) but there are more discriminatory headlines (nearly 10 percent) – almost always about Albanians.

**MONTENEGRO** (196 articles, 12.22 percent of the total amount)

Monitoring points to the importance of covering ethnic minorities in Montenegro's prospects for national independence. The press is highly polarised, politically, which also affects minority coverage. In one part of it an inclusive reporting strategy makes minorities and their issues extremely visible. Coverage is also less conflict-based and more oriented toward everyday action and minority policy, but this only applies to the significant ethnic groups of Albanians and Bosniacs. Other Montenegro media, with a different political orientation, is more tuned to regional issues, primarily Kosovo, Macedonia and Croatia. Discriminatory articles are very rare (only two), but more articles have discriminatory headlines (around 10 percent), most often concerning Albanians.

**ALBANIA** (179 articles, 11.16 percent of the total amount)

The proximity of violent ethnic conflicts involving the Albanian ethnic community in bordering Kosovo and Macedonia directly influences the domestic political scene. Only one of the analysed articles is about minorities living in Albania, dealing with Roma cultural life. Three fourths of the articles are about Albanians living abroad and the remaining fourth is on Kosovo non-Albanians. There are no openly discriminatory articles but there are discriminatory headlines (around 7 percent) and lot of interpretative coverage with editorials totaling 10 percent.

**EXCEPTION: KOSOVO** (77 articles, 4.8 percent of the total amount)

The first elections after the arrival of international forces were treated as an ordinary political event by the press. There was an extremely small number of articles about minorities. The Serbian minority's possible non-participation in the elections was only presented as a problem in a single ethnic group, and treated as a minor issue. An obvious minimising of ethnic issues and groups came as a result of post-conflict changes in the majority-minority situation. Serbs were seen as an insignificant minority rather than in any dominating role. Almost a quarter of the articles written during the monitoring period carried heavy discriminatory reporting and was always about Serbs.

**Second group:  
Post-conflict societies or those with an absence of recent violent conflict**

*Hungary, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Bulgaria and Romania*

*General:* Less minority coverage, between 5 and 10 percent of the regional amount. More emphasis on minority policy, everyday life and individual ethnic incidents. The press tends to cover minorities in other countries – that is to say the minority there that is of the same ethnicity as their country’s main group – rather than minority issues in their own country. A higher level of discrimination is seen in post-conflict nations than in the countries without recent violent conflicts.

HUNGARY (160 articles, 9.98 percent of the total amount)

The fairly high amount of ethnic coverage in evidence is probably connected to one important event – the introduction of a status law concerning Hungarian minorities in neighboring countries. The law sparked plenty of debate and media attention for one fifth of the analysed content. A lot of attention was devoted to Hungarian minorities in the region – they are actors in almost 40 percent of the monitored articles. The most extensively covered minority are Roma, with a quarter of the stories concerning them. Roma are usually reported in conflict context, and one third of articles with discriminatory headlines are about them. Articles about Jews also often carry discriminatory headlines — four cases out of 13 analysed articles were noted.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (129 articles, 8.04 percent of the total amount)

One newspaper in BiH was selected from the Federation and one from Republika Srpska, with a very similar pattern emerging in both regions, but with different minorities in focus. Minority issues are a little more prominent in the Federation’s press. Events from the recent past are an important issue and almost one quarter of all articles are about consequences of recent fighting. Kosovo is slightly ahead of Macedonia in regional issue coverage. More articles are written about Serbs than Croats, but Bosniacs is rarely treated as a minority. The constitutional status of the three major ethnic groups is debated more than the position of minorities outside these groups. Jews is the only other minority group given significant coverage. There are no openly discriminatory articles, and the general tone is less conflict-driven than in other regions, possibly because of new strict media regulations.

CROATIA (114 articles, 7.11 percent of the total amount)

Analysis of newspapers shows that post-conflict reporting still strongly emphasizes the past. Half of the articles on minorities are about Serbs and very many of them, almost a third, are very discriminatory. Articles about Serbs mostly focused on recent war crimes and even when not openly discriminatory, such a focus paints a negative picture of the whole group. Out of nine articles about women, eight is about a Serb woman convicted of war crimes. Croats living abroad also received considerable attention, for about a quarter of the surveyed articles and Jews were the only other minority with significant coverage.

BULGARIA (108 articles, 6.73 percent of the total amount)

Coverage of minorities in a country without recent violent conflicts is generally less antagonistic. But the proportion of discriminatory articles is not much less than elsewhere, especially on material concerning the largest ethnic groups. Turks and Roma was the most heavily covered — together they attracted nearly 70 percent of the coverage. Conflict reporting is nearly completely absent and focus leans toward minority policy or various everyday life activities. Close to 10 percent of the articles about Turks have discriminatory features. Out of five articles about women, three focused on the Roma: one on a fortuneteller, another on a little girl getting married, and third on a woman connected to the murder of her baby.

ROMANIA (104 articles, 6.48 percent of the total amount)

Although not extensive, minority coverage during the monitored month was very conflict oriented and quite often discriminatory. Roma and Hungarian minorities dominate the press, and they are actors in nearly 80 percent of the related articles. Conflict issues are very much in evidence with close to 40 percent of the articles on long-lasting, non-violent conflicts or various individual incidents. Crime dominates reporting about minorities in everyday life situations, almost 45 percent, and the actors are always Roma. The majority of discriminatory articles, which total around one fourth, are also about Roma. Women are actors on only three occasions and all of them are Roma. One is about a helpful neighbour, another on a drug-addict mother, and one about a victim of Roma pimps and drug dealers.

## II Content of the coverage

### 1. Major topics

**C**onflict, minority policy, everyday activities and regional ethnic issues were designated for monitoring after the pilot study results indicated that they were the most frequent topics.

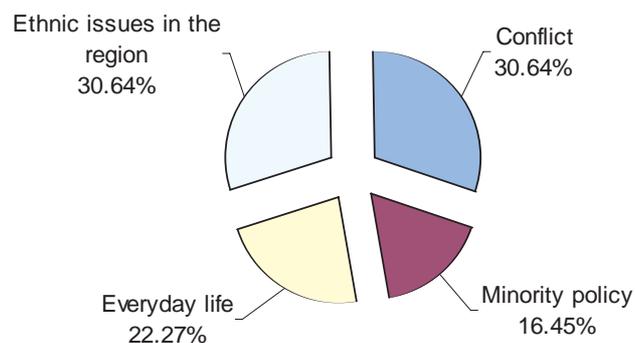
Items were classified according to overall content qualities, topic choice, journalistic approach and type of narrative. Group conflict issues included articles on violent ethnic clashes along with various individual non-violent incidents, because both refer to inter-ethnic conflicts. Articles on political regulation of minority status were classified under minority policy, while the everyday life topic applied to texts about culture, sport, business and other minority group activities. Ethnic issues in the region were also analysed as they often influence domestic minority-majority relations.

Conflict and regional issues each account for about one third of the stories. One fifth of the articles cover various everyday activities, where one sixth is devoted to minority policy issues. (Chart 1)

Articles often deal with more than one issue and do not fit neatly in the research categories. A majority of them have a dominant topic, but approximately 5 percent of the articles covered two topics.

Chart 1

#### TOPICS OF THE ITEMS



## 2. Conflict-related reporting

Almost one third of the articles are directly devoted to conflict reporting about events that provoke, sustain, or perpetuate conflict.

Domination of conflict issues is obvious in countries with recent violent ethnic confrontation. It is more obvious in Kosovo, where it amounts to almost 80 percent than in Macedonia where it amounts to 45 percent of the articles. But in Macedonia an additional one fifth of the articles deal with various conflict-motivated policy issues (22 percent) and various conflicts in the region (11 percent) making the overall conflict reporting more frequent.

Conflict coverage gets high visibility in countries geographically or historically close to violent ethnic conflicts. More than half of the articles in Serbia is directly conflict-related, and in neighbouring Montenegro about one third. In Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, most conflict reporting investigates the past and is primarily presented as “truth revealing” coverage. In Croatia, all conflict-motivated reporting follows this pattern, and there is almost no coverage of reconciliation initiatives. (Chart 2)

Conflict reporting differs in countries without recent violent ethnic confrontation. In Bulgaria, coverage never focuses on conflict but one fifth of minority news coverage focuses on their criminal activity. In Hungary, direct conflict-related reporting is also rare at 7 percent, but it is very frequent in Romania, at 37 percent. (Chart 3)

Chart 2

### CONFLICT

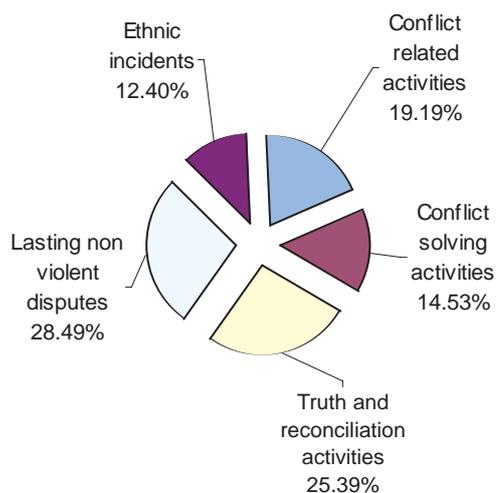
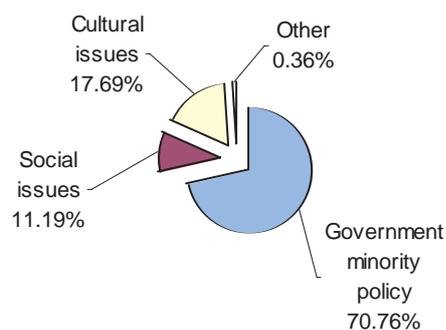


Chart 3

### MINORITY POLICY

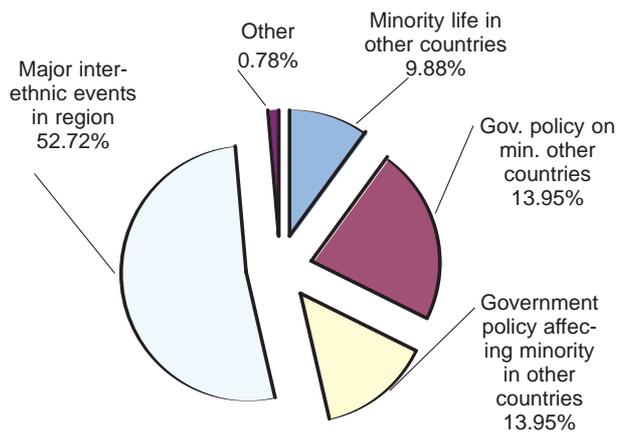


Within three remaining topics — ethnic issues in the region, everyday life and minority policy — the most frequent individual issues are also potential conflicts or individual incidents. The most extensively covered regional events are those in Kosovo and Macedonia, where crime takes up to one fifth of the coverage. (Chart 4; Chart 5)

Considering all these various forms, conflict reporting dominates up to two thirds of the analysed content.

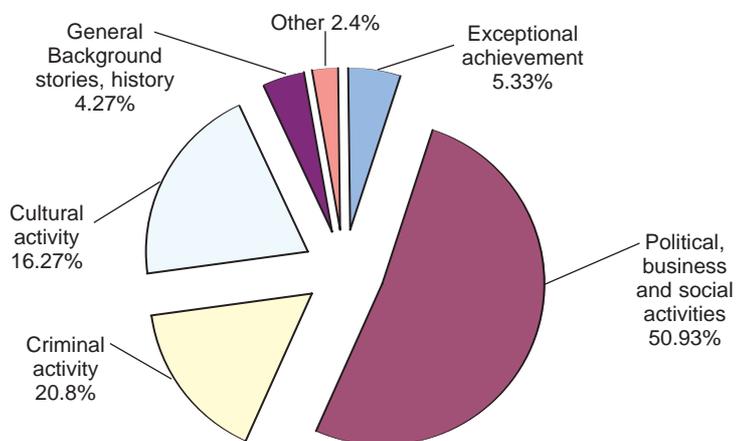
**Chart 4**

**ETHNIC ISSUES IN THE REGION**



**Chart 5**

**EVERYDAY LIFE**



### 3. Highly politicised coverage

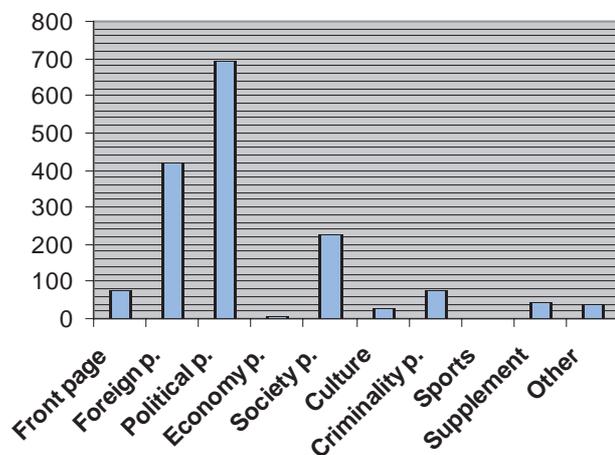
Ethnic differences are presented as political in almost 90 percent of the related articles.

Ethnic diversity is generally interpreted as a potential source of political problems and divisions. Stories about sport, culture, business, and everyday life — that would provide for more positive and tolerant coverage of ethnic differences — are all within the remaining 10 percent. Even within this part, almost half of the articles refer to crime in minority groups.

Ethnic issues is normally placed in political sections of the newspapers with over 40 percent on political pages, nearly one sixth on society pages, more than a quarter in international politics and slightly less than 5 percent on the front page. The ratio is even more striking in articles worthy of the front page: almost 80 percent are related to domestic political events and an additional 13 percent to international politics. In more stable and democratic environments, ethnic minority reporting is more diversified and more inclusive, where discrimination is less visible. Quite often sport and criminal pages are more relevant for research than political sections or front pages. In the South East European press, ethnic differences remain a highly politicised issue. (Chart 6)

Chart 4

#### SECTION OF THE NEWSPAPER



## III Presentation of ethnic actors

### 1. Selection of minorities

**T**he region covered is ethnically very diverse. Out of 90 groups listed for analysis, thirty groups are noted as mentioned in the press, but only 10 attracted substantial coverage. At the same time, around a fifth of the articles had more than one actor. Sometimes they were from different ethnic groups and sometimes from the same, but with different social roles and positions in the article, and there are more actors than stories or topics.

Albanians are the most extensively covered minority in the region at almost 40 percent followed by Serbians and then Roma. The first two were directly involved in recent ethnic conflict, but Roma attracts the majority of discriminatory coverage throughout the region.

Ethnic actors mainly deserve media attention when they are from minority groups in a conflict relationship with the majority.

Some ethnic groups receive much discriminatory reporting in more than one country. Over one fourth of overall Roma coverage has some discriminatory features — 27 percent. Serbs and Albanians, as groups that are frequently reported on, are the target of discriminatory coverage in several countries at 17 percent and 15 percent, respectively. (Chart 7)

Some minorities are often discriminated against only where they constitute a large minority, like Hungarians in Romania — almost one quarter — or Turks in Bulgaria — close to 10 percent. Some other groups are discriminated against only in certain countries: as with Jews in Hungary, or Croatia. Discriminatory coverage about Jews from these two countries constitutes one third of the articles carried about them in the region.

Chart 7

ALL ACTORS	No.
Roma	188
Albanians	807
Armenians	6
Bosniacs/Muslims	72
Bulgarians	2
Checks	3
Croats	64
Egyptians	1
Germans	1
Greeks	2
Hungarians	133
Italians	4
Jewish	25
Macedonians	3
Montenegrins	12
Poles	1
Romanians	3
Serbs	454
Tartars	2
Turks	57
Vlahs	3
Balkan minorities	1
BG minorities	1
BiH minorities /RS	15
CRO minorities	1
Csango	2
FRY minorities/SER	11
Kosovo minorities	40
Gora in Kosovo	1
MAC minorities	7
Minorities in general	23
RO minorities	2
Russians	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1948</b>

MAJOR ACTORS	No.
Roma	188
Albanians	807
Serbs	454
Hungarians	133
Bosniacs/Muslims	72
Croats	64
Turks	57
Kosovo minorities	40
Minorities in general	23
Jewish	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>1863</b>

OTHER ACTORS	No.
Egyptians	1
Germans	1
Montenegrins	12
Armenians	6
Romanians	3
Bulgarians	2
Tartars	2
Checks	3
Vlahs	3
Balkan minorities	1
BG minorities	1
BiH minorities /RS	15
CRO minorities	1
Csango	2
FRY minorities/SER	11
Greeks	2
Gora in Kosovo	1
MAC minorities	7
Italians	4
RO minorities	2
Russians	1
Macedonians	3
Poles	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>85</b>

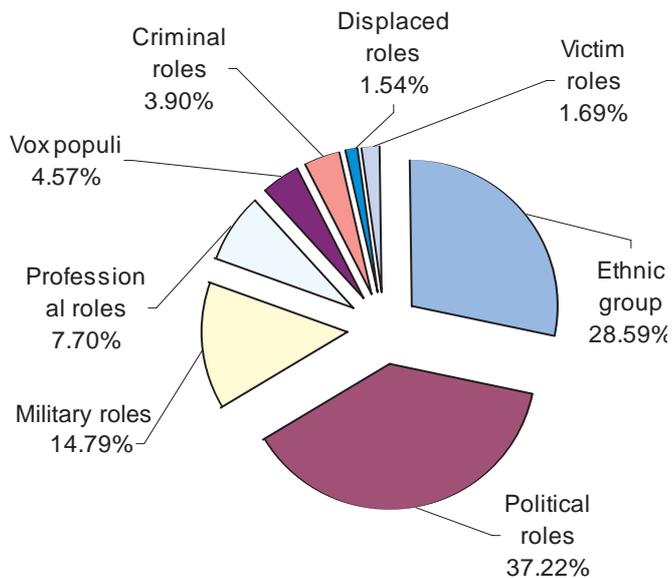
## 2. Social roles

Even when not openly discriminatory, coverage often depersonalises and socially devalues ethnic minorities. In various forms this is present in up to 60 percent of stories. This percentage corresponds to the amount of articles where others define ethnically-connected people, and where they are mostly only referred to and not quoted or paraphrased. This image problem appears to be a consequence of journalists' work, and not a real picture of minorities.

Ethnic actors appear mostly in various political roles (37 percent), simply as ethnic minority (29 percent) and in military roles (15 percent). Within the remaining 20 percent, most frequently they are victims as displaced peoples, returning refugees, or possibly in some professional role. The prevailing collective image of minorities leave whole ethnic groups appearing like single actors mainly in politically or military active roles. (Chart 8)

Chart 8

### ACTOR'S SOCIAL ROLES



Ethnic groups seen as a whole is common at almost one half of all articles. Individualised actors are mostly politicians and state officials. Criminals are counted as receiving double the attention of issue experts. Incident witnesses and anonymous participants of events are also occasionally individualised, but rarely ever is artists or celebrities at less than 1 percent. (Chart 9; Chart 10)

Chart 9

**INDIVIDUAL VS. COLLECTIVE SOCIAL ROLES**

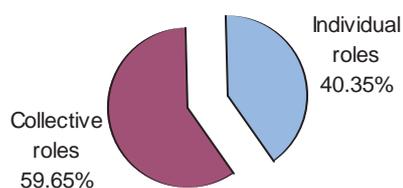
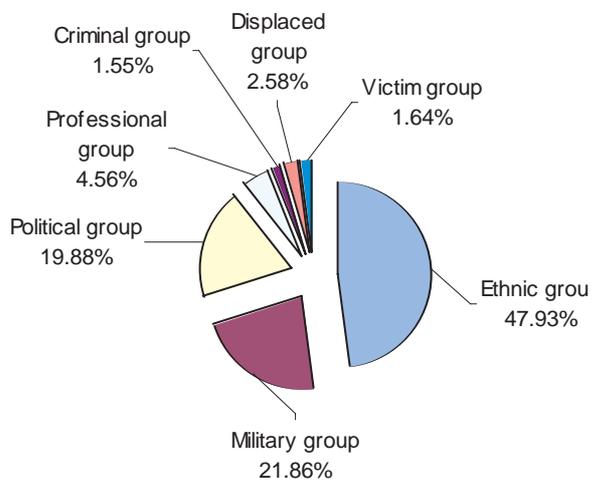


Chart 10

**COLLECTIVE SOCIAL ROLES**

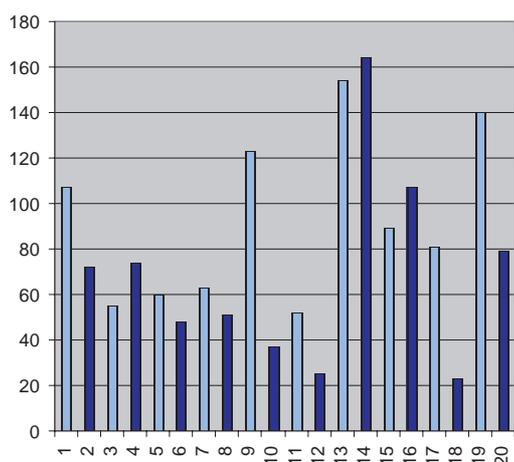


## IV Discriminatory coverage

### 1. Media format

Chart 11

AMOUNT OF COVERAGE: NEWSPAPERS



The development of tabloids has generally results in depolitization of the press coverage including ethnic minorities. Where analysed papers differ clearly as “broadsheet” and “tabloid”, as in Romania and Hungary, the amount of coverage in the former gets up to three times more than in the latter.

Where similar-format newspapers dominate the market, as with semi-tabloids like those in Croatia and Bulgaria, the difference between these papers is much less and usually within 10 percent. Where both newspapers are of similar format, but in opposing political positions, the differences is between 10 and 20 percent.

There are cases when the amount of discriminatory headlines, even completely discriminatory articles, is higher in the tabloid press. (Chart 11)

Coverage					
Country	Papers	No.	Papers	No.	Total
Albania	Albania (1)	107	Shekulli (2)	72	179
BiH	Dnevni avaz (3)	55	Nezavisne (4)	74	129
Bulgaria	Trud (5)	60	24 Casa (6)	48	108
Croatia	Jutarnji (7)	63	Vecernji (8)	51	114
Hungary	Nepsabadsag (9)	123	Metro (10)	37	160
Kosovo	Koha ditore (11)	52	Bota sot (12)	25	77
Macedonia	Dnevnik (13)	154	Utrinski (14)	164	318
Montenegro	Vjesti (15)	89	Dan (16)	107	196
Romania	Adevarul (17)	81	Libertatea (18)	23	104
Serbia	Politika (19)	140	Blic (20)	79	219
Total					1604

The highest ratio is in *Bota sot* – of 25 articles, 19 have discriminatory headlines and 15 discriminatory content. There are also highly circulated broadsheets with very discriminatory content. *Adevarul* carried 15 discriminatory headlines and 26 discriminatory stories out of 81 articles. *Nepsabadsag* had 25 discriminatory headlines in 123 articles.

Discriminatory headlines are equally frequent in semi-tabloids, like in *Vecernji list* where 17 out of 51 articles have discriminatory headlines, or in *Trud* with 12 discriminatory headlines in 60 articles.

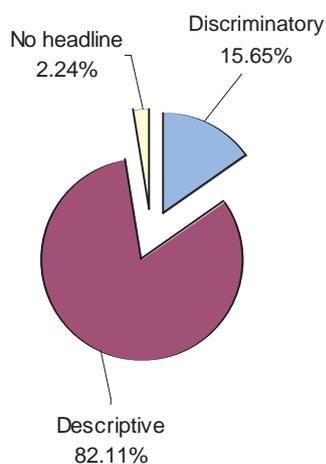
## 2. Visible discriminatory coverage

Almost a fifth of the analysed coverage contains some visible discriminatory features and most of these are seen immediately in the headline.

More than 15 percent of the stories are titled discriminatorily or for sensationalism, which can spark prejudices. In all of the studied cases, article content is not entirely truthful, and this weighs into the role of journalists in their responsibility to fairness. An additional 3 percent of the articles are discriminatory in general approach, or presentation. This group includes only openly and clearly identifiable intimidating content. (Chart 12)

Chart 12

### HEADLINES: TYPE



Many more items are potentially discriminatory, as up to 40 percent of the articles is interpretative with evaluation, prognostication or mobilisational content.

Such a high proportion of interpretative over descriptive writing offers room for judgment about actors and events, even when the facts are still not completely known in developing stories.

The amount of evaluative approaches corresponds to the distribution of story types and 40 percent fall into various interpretative genres. Varied informative stories account for another 45 percent with briefs and shorts taking up the last 15 percent. Feature articles total a third of the interpretative stories. These are stories that are not only, or necessarily, affected by events, but also by editors' decisions about the importance and timing in certain issues.

Interpretative articles double that of letters to the editor, but they vary across the region. Editorials are more frequent in Albania and Romania, but letters to the editor is more common in Serbia and Hungary.

### **3. Less visible forms of discrimination**

Many less obvious forms of discrimination are also directly produced by inadequate journalistic practices.

Unprofessional, inconsiderate routines foster ethnic stereotypes and contribute to prejudices. This conduct supports and encourages beliefs that ethnic members are less active and socially less important.

In up to two thirds of the articles, ethnic actors are presented only in general terms. The absence of individual actors depersonalises ethnic members and stimulates their image as undifferentiated others.

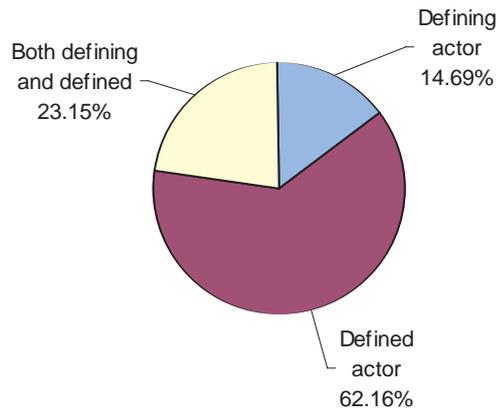
In two thirds of the articles, people from other backgrounds define ethnic actors, and almost by the same percent these ethnic actors are neither quoted nor paraphrased. The press therefore intensifies their social passivity by not allowing them to self-define their actions. It follows information about their activities comes from other sources. (Chart 13; Chart 14)

Minority actors are seldom seen in the newspapers. More than half of the articles about them have no visual material, and when they do it photographs in 40 percent of the cases. Those photographs are not always relevant to the text, and only a third of them features ethnic members. (Chart 15)

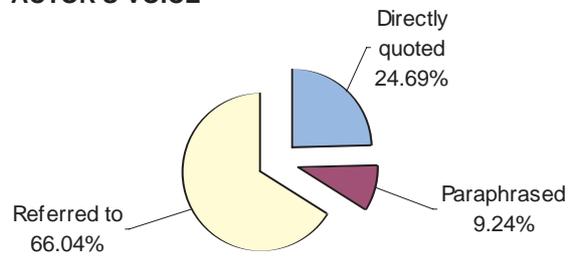
Nearly 85 percent of the articles do not treat events as individual occurrences. Too often they are generalised as typical for larger groups, even whole ethnic minorities.

Coverage is often conflicting, incidental and highly-politicised, so negative and conflict features are universalised and easily projected from the individual level to entire ethnic groups.

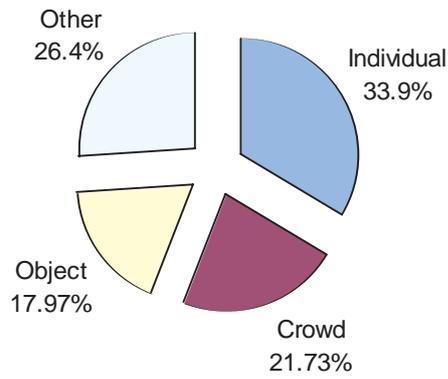
**Chart 13**  
**ACTOR'S DEFINING ROLE**



**Chart 14**  
**ACTOR'S VOICE**



**Chart 15**  
**VISUAL PRESENTATION: PHOTOGRAPHS**



## V Minority within minorities

**W**omen, already marginalised, are further discriminated against as members of ethnic communities.

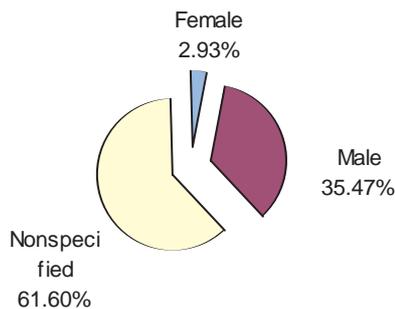
As the majority of actors are described in terms of their social groups (such as Roma children, Kosovo non-Albanians, Albanian political factors, Jewish community, Hungarians in Transylvania, Turkish business community etc.) their gender is not specified (62 percent). (Chart 16)

When actors are individualised, women make up less than 3 percent of all of them: three and half times less than men at 35 percent.

Some social roles, however, connected with more power, transgress this rigid exclusion. Close to one third of the women appearing in the press serve in political, or government jobs (20 percent politicians and 10 percent state officials), making this their most significant individual social role. (Chart 17)

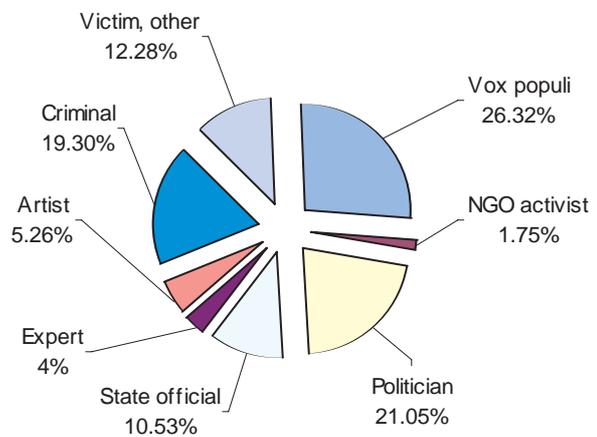
**Chart 16**

### ACTOR'S GENDER



**Chart 17**

### FEMALE ACTORS: SOCIAL ROLES



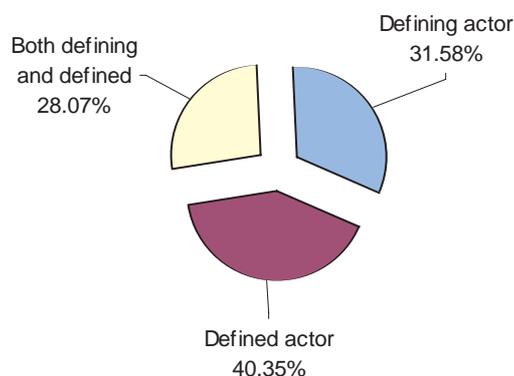
The majority of women appear in roles that comply with the dominant patriarchal pattern – women are mostly victims and witnesses of events (40 percent).

Women have a defining role in two thirds of the articles and in half of the stories they are quoted or paraphrased. Women often attract more media attention, however, in the more socially insignificant roles of witness, or person on the street opinionating on some question. This does not threaten the status quo as persons speaking from the lower end seldom undermine power relations. (Chart 18; Chart 19)

Patriarchal structure of discrimination is, infers, most visible in disproportionate social roles assigned to men and women in South East Europe — male actors are mostly politicians and fighters female-witnesses and victims.

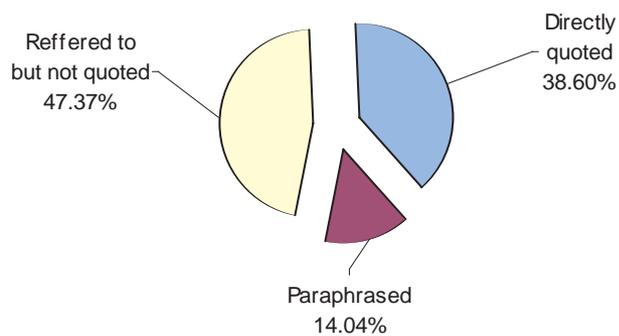
**Chart 18**

**FEMALE ACTORS: DEFINING ROLE**



**Chart 19**

**FEMALE ACTORS: VOICE**



## Major conclusions

Comparative content analysis of mainstream South East European press revealed both differences and common features in ethnic minority coverage.

★ Differences between countries confirm that current political conditions and the quality of inter-ethnic relations affect reporting in obvious, but not necessarily equal ways.

★ Similarities indicate that press coverage reflects the prevalent understanding of minority-majority relations, usually based on deep-rooted patterns of perceived otherness.

★ Also, they point out some similar journalistic practices that contribute to poor diversity and toward intolerance through the press.

Therefore, major research findings demonstrate that:

1. Ethnic minorities coverage are related to political stability and the quality of inter-ethnic relations in each country.

★ Politicised and conflict-related coverage increases under conditions of political instability and disharmony in ethnic relations.

★ As conditions stabilise, both the amount of coverage and level of intolerance toward ethnic differences decreases.

★ Increased invisibility and ignorance of ethnic actors or issues may also follow conflict resolution.

★ In the absence of conflict, attention of the press quite often turns more toward ethnic communities in other countries – that is to say the minority there that is of the same ethnicity as their country's main group – rather than domestic minorities issues in their own country.

2. Widespread, deeply-rooted stereotypes and prejudices that govern common understanding of minority-majority relations is reflected in the press. They form patterns of perceived otherness that are often common throughout the region. These patterns influence the general approach to ethnic diversity and affect images of major ethnic groups regardless of political conditions.

★ Ethnic diversity is generally a political issue. Differences are mostly comprehended and interpreted as politically significant: either as a threat to national unity or as a sign of difference, which could prompt political conflict. This reflects in ethnic distance between groups and toward mistrust of minorities.

★ The common image of a minority group is one of a non-differentiated whole: presented through collective groups rather than individuals, whose members are mostly male and behave in similar ways. This complies with a stereotypical view that they are all the same, and that ethnic origin is crucial in the behaviour of minority members.

★ Almost without exception, there is an ethnic group in each country that attracts most of its discriminatory reporting. It is always a significant group — either large, or with a long history of tensions with the majority, or group commonly discriminated against in the region.

3. Media standards and journalistic practices that contribute to poor diversity and intolerance are often common throughout the region. This kind of behaviour by journalists supports and encourages beliefs that ethnic members is less active and socially less important.

★ Varied and competing newspaper formats prompt higher media standards that also affect minority coverage. Compared to broadsheets, tabloids clearly depoliticise coverage as they have less content, is less analytical, and carry less interpretative reporting. Tabloids introduce more simplified, sensational and some discriminatory coverage. Minority issues require a cautious and tolerant understanding of differences and most tabloids are not likely to provide that.

Inadequate journalism standards contribute directly to a depersonalised and passive image of ethnic peoples. Quite often they are not quoted or visually presented, nor do they get a chance to self-interpret their activities. Additionally, gender structure of ethnic groups reveals multiple discrimination — women, already marginalised, are further discriminated against when from ethnic communities.

Journalism, more sensitive to ethnic diversity, would provide better room for excluded groups in the common pictures of South East European societies.

# Appendix 9

## Research findings

### How to read the charts

The following tables and charts present findings from the monitoring. These tables and charts are organized according to the features of the analyzed articles. The first section contains comparative data about the entire region and the second presents data by countries.

There are 1604 analyzed items, and when the amount of items is concerned, this is the number referred to as the total. An item is a newspaper text selected as an unit of analysis. It is an article with its belonging headlines and photographs- a body of text and visuals distinguishable from the rest of the newspaper by its distinct content and graphics, regardless of its journalistic genre. Values are always expressed in absolute numbers in the column 'No' and percentage in the column '%'.

Items were selected for analysis when they were about a particular ethnic minority, minorities in general, or if their topic was directly related to minority issues: legal changes, minority policies, debate about discrimination, etc. Ethnic minorities in the article are called actors. There were stories with two different actors, so their total exceeds the number of items at 1948. In tables and charts about actors this is the number referred to as the total.

Content was classified under four major blocks of topics that were defined as most frequent, based on a pilot study. Each of these blocks contain several possible issues providing for further classification of the content variety. As there were articles dealing with more than one issue, the number of topics is also larger than the number of items, 1684, and this number is the total when topic qualities are presented.

Complete research findings are available at Media Diversity Institute's web site

[www.media-diversity.org](http://www.media-diversity.org).

**Snježana Milivojević**, Ph.D. in Sociology, is Research Fellow of the Institute of Social Sciences in Beograd. She was also a visiting lecturer, University of Massachusetts (1989) and Chevening Scholar, St. Antony's College, Oxford (2001), and has published extensively in the field of media studies.





## About the Media Diversity Institute

**T**he London-based Media Diversity Institute is a non-profit, non-partisan organisation which promotes conflict resolution through diversity reporting in developing societies. The institute's Reporting Diversity Network (RDN), brings together journalists, news organisations, media assistance centres, journalism schools and others in a collaborative effort to mobilise the power of the news media in support of a deeper public understanding of diversity, minority communities, inter-group conflict, and human rights. The RDN promotes the highest standards of professional journalism as they relate to coverage of minorities, diversity, and inter-ethnic relations, and develops the tools, training vehicles and practical reporting initiatives required to implement those standards.

Fair, accurate, sympathetic and in-depth reporting is vital in promoting understanding between different groups. The media has all too often been used as a weapon, promoting prejudice and discrimination. MDI aims to change that and turn media into a tool for strengthening human rights and democracy.

We do this primarily through education, training and co-operation with:

- ★ practicing journalists;
- ★ journalism professors and academics;
- ★ media owners and decision-makers;
- ★ media, human rights and minority organisations.

Our comprehensive approach, dealing with the issue of diversity from all angles, is the Institute's unique characteristic. We train journalists and media managers in best practice; we teach minority organisations how to communicate with the media; we work on strengthening minority media and we work with the journalism professors who will train future generations of journalists. MDI activities are divided into nine main areas:

1. diversity awareness training for journalists and media decision-makers;
2. practical diversity training and professional development for mid-career journalists;
3. diversity reporting news production initiatives, including team-reporting and news agency projects;
4. diversity curriculum development, in cooperation with journalism faculties;
5. media and public relations training for minority groups;
6. projects designed to promote reconciliation through the media;
7. production of diversity handbooks, resource manuals and training manuals;
8. post-conflict professional development for journalists, with a special emphasis on Post Trauma Stress Disorder (PTSD);
9. media monitoring of diversity-related issues.

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