

HATE - 0 - METER



RESEARCH ON HATE SPEECH
IN KOSOVO MEDIA 2019/2020

**Views and interpretations expressed in this document
do not necessarily reflect the views of the Embassy of
the Netherlands in Kosovo.**

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Introduction

This Research Report on the use of hate speech in the Kosovan media is published by ATRC in partnership with RADC, with the support of the Embassy of the Netherlands in Kosovo, under the “Combat Hate in Kosovo” Project under the MATRA Program. The purpose of this research is to take record of the use of hate speech on ethnic, gender, racial, religious, and other grounds in public and to combat this phenomenon which incites hate acts or crimes. Through this research activity, ATRC and RADC have created a database and subsequently compiled this report which will serve to inform the public, promote a more effective institutional response to hate related cases, and develop local resources to address it effectively.

This report is based on textual and audiovisual media research for the period January–June 2019, and January–June 2020. In the second half of 2021, under the same project, ATRC and RADC aim to conduct further research and publish related results on a second report, covering the period June–December 2019, and June–December 2020. Data collection and classification was carried out from 1 October 2019 through 15 November 2019. The data presented in the present Report is based on the main database, which is the intellectual property of ATRC.

The Report follows the structure of similar research reports, where it begins by providing the necessary information on the used definitions, sample selection, and data collection and classification. The second section focuses on the legal framework in Kosovo and the world governing the prohibition and sanctioning of hate speech in public discourse. This section provides a comparative perspective between the countries under examination, and good practices that can serve as a model for Kosovo. The third section exclusively presents

the research data, main trends per category, and the correlation between the variables. This is the crucial part of the research findings. The fourth section provides an overview of the main linguistic characteristics used in media discourse in Kosovo, and an interpretation of the findings from the previous section. The fifth section provides recommendations with reference to international findings and good practices.

This research does not aim to reach final conclusions on the use of hate speech in the Kosovan media, nor does it aim to make the data published in this Report universally applicable outside the given time frame and context. Rather, the purpose of this research is to promote public research and discussion on this topic, which is generally perfunctory in Kosovo. Through this Report we aim to promote a healthy public debate on ethics and professional principles in the Kosovan media when reporting on discriminated and easily vulnerable groups and communities. Recognizing the irreplaceable role that the media have not only in reporting the events that make up our collective and public life, but most importantly, in shaping public attitudes towards social phenomena, this Report attempts to pave the way for further research, which would put the spotlight on this role of the media in post-conflict societies and societies in transition (not only economically, but also in terms of values) such as Kosovo.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Report on 'Research on Hate Speech in Kosovo Media 2019/2020 I' is the first empirical research on the presence of hate speech in Kosovo media. As such, the report represents a significant step in monitoring the media coverage of events related to communities in Kosovo which are most exposed to vulnerability and verbal discrimination. The aim of the report is to provide scientific based evidence on the use of hate speech in Kosovo media and consequently exposes ways through which ethnic communities, LGBTIQ and migrants are 'othered' in Kosovo's media. To this end, the report delves into a critical examination of media coverage of these communities, by deconstructing language used to portray these communities or actions inferred in the use of a particular discriminatory language.

On the methodological level, the report relied on the qualitative method of content analysis to enable the researcher identify dominant frames used to portray target communities, and semantic relations which construct the otherness of these groups in relation to the rest of the society. This method is applied in textual analyses of 10 online media articles, and linguistic analysis of 6 TV channels. The report has used objective criteria to determine which media is included in the research, and to increase as much as possible the generalization of the findings. In order to engage in comparative analysis of trends, the examination of articles and shows in these media outlets was conducted in two six-month periods, 1 January 2019 - 30 June 2019, and 1 January 2020 - 30 June 2020. The research applied **total population sample**, and **simple random sample** to choose articles for textual analysis and **criterion sample** for linguistic analysis of TV shows. In total, 2,512 textual materials (arti-

cles) and 201 audiovisual materials (TV shows) have been analyzed and transferred to the main database.

At the aggregate level, findings show that in the period covered, 12.05% of online articles and **9.30% of analyzed TV shows use hate speech against target communities** or cite improperly persons or authorities that use hate speech against a particular group. It is worth noting that in the online articles the dominant frame used in the hate speech is that which depicts the 'other' as a violent, and a threatening element in the society. This is followed by offensive reporting towards the traditions and lifestyle of the communities, and to lesser extent by frames that explicitly or implicitly incite violence or call for murder of target communities. On the other hand, the dominant frames in the TV shows with hate speech content use offensive and negative representation, followed by prejudicial and essentialist language, and violent representation of target communities.

At the group level, results show that in both online articles and TV shows, communities (namely Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians) are mostly targeted with hate speech, followed closely by Serbs, and to a lesser extent by migrants and LGBTIQ community. More specifically, media tends to portray communities Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians as aggressors (against their own members), sexual predators, and their culture is associated with lack of hygiene and responsibility. Regarding LGBTIQ, the dominant reporting frames are those targeting members of this community as deviant, nationally incompatible, and dangerous. The reporting

in this category portrays LGBTIQ persons as offenders of the 'laws of nature/God' with emphasis on their 'abnormal' inclinations. For immigrants/refugees, reports tend to present them as aggressors, dangerous, and manipulators. The framing approach that portrays immigrants/refugees as dangerous in articles attempts to depict them as factors of instability in Kosovo and as elements of extremist movements in the Middle East. For Serbs, reports associate all Serbs with war crimes and atrocities, and highlight the incompatibility between Albanians and Serbs, and portrayals as aggressors are predominant.

The report also includes a section on successful international practices about mechanisms put in place for preventing the use and spread of hate speech in public discourse. The section

focuses on codes of ethics adopted in democratic countries, and on successful media self-control mechanisms which guarantee fair reporting on social phenomena, without undermining the editorial independence of the media. The report also gives a list of recommendations for all relevant actors involved in public discourse which if implemented could sensitize media and other actors about the effects of hate speech in shaping people's opinions and attitudes on particular communities.

1. Basic Definitions, Methodology Used, and Selection of Media for Analysis

1.1 Chosen Definition and Key Elements of Hate Speech

The term 'hate speech', together with other terms that can be used interchangeably with it, is one of the most problematic terms for definition and delineation, as well as for establishing its applicability in concrete cases. This challenge is not merely technical by nature – finding a definition that would be comprehensive yet not infringe on freedom of expression – but also due to the evolutionary character of the term itself over the last 70 years. Regarding the former, it should be noted at the outset that today's debates on the prohibition of hate speech are constantly taking place in relation to freedom of expression, and that these discussions always complicate the problem of striking a compromise between the fundamental freedom of expression and the right to equality and dignity. As for the latter, 'hate speech' is a term that is inherently changeable and deeply embedded in the context where it occurs, thus making the need to define it not an effort for universal and trans-historical definitions, but rather, for fluid, localized, and

historical determination. For this reason, hate speech scholars – unlike concept scholars and jurists who treat hate speech as a concept, rather than a phenomenon – in analyzing the presence of hate speech in public discourse, always rely on the definitions of International Organizations, as the only option to escape the arbitrariness of a phenomenon lacking universally accepted definition. International Conventions comprising the International Human Rights Law have consistently included the prohibition of hate speech in their enacting clauses, thereby providing us with a credible resource to underpin research into the occurrence and implications of hate speech in target societies.

Among the first international documents addressing inter alia hate speech is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948), while although it does not explicitly establish 'hate speech' as a standalone category, stipulates 'protection against any discrimination'

and 'any incitement to such discrimination' as provisions which limit the right to freedom of expression. In the same vein, Article 29 of the UDHR refers to duties to the community and recognizes the possibility of limitations in exercising certain rights to enable 'recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms' of others. Since then, several international instruments have been adopted progressively recognizing the need to eradicate hate speech and elaborating circumstances that justify certain limitations on the right to freedom of expression.¹In this spirit, regional human rights instruments were developed, more specific in addressing hate speech because they respond to the specific and contextual needs of different regions².

In the absence of a standardized definition used by all international instruments (in fact, the definition of 'hate speech' by various acts reflects the debates of the time on the compromise between 'freedom of expression' and 'hate speech'), this research will rely on the definition issued by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (1997), which though not an official definition, represents one of the most comprehensive definitions of hate speech. This CoE definition provides that hate speech shall be understood as

"covering all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin"³

This definition is considered the most comprehensive definition⁴ of 'hate speech' because it is not limited to prohibiting hate speech as an act (as the ultimate manifestation of hate speech), but also includes intermediate acts such as disseminating, inciting, promoting, and justifying hate speech. In this sense, the implications of this definition are that the responsibility for hate speech falls not only on the person who expresses it, but also on the parties that serve as platforms for the dissemination and promotion of such language. Additionally, the definition provides a broad base of protected characteristics, which include a wide range of grounds for intolerance. This definition was the most appropriate for the purposes of this research because the object of study was the language used in the media against communities that are considered marginalized in Kosovo – which can be not only the primary agents of the expression of hate speech, but also conveyors of such language by other actors. Accordingly, this definition enables the analysis of media attitudes towards marginalized communities where these attitudes express the editorial policies of the media, but also where the media serve as platforms for inciting hatred by third parties. In other words, the object of study in this research is textual and audiovisual material in relation to selected communities, where the classification of articles and TV shows as problematic content material is done considering the attitudes of the media towards the phenomenon subject to reporting (article writer's attitude), and how the media feature other parties' attitudes towards the phenomenon in question (quoted or paraphrased statements of third parties).

1 The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1978) for the first time explicitly requires Signatory States to prohibit by law 'any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence' (Article 20, para. 2). However, the Convention is exceptionally prudent in authorizing limitations on freedom of expression, presenting specific circumstances which must be met before acting against allegedly problematic language. Likewise, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1969) requires State Parties to prohibit by law 'all propaganda and all organizations which are based on ideas or theories of superiority of one race or group of persons of one color or ethnic origin' (Article 4 (a)).

2 Some of the most renown regional instruments are European Convention on Human Rights (1950), American Convention on Human Rights (1969), African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (1981)

3 Recommendation No. R (97) 20 of the Council of Europe, 1997 For more information, see: <https://rm.coe.int/1680505d5b>

4 This definition was later expanded to include sexual orientation as a protected characteristic. For more information, see: https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectID=09000016805cf40a

At the level of analysis, the research has classified as hate speech materials those articles or TV shows which express or incite hatred towards persons/communities based on an **immutable, fixed** characteristic that constitutes **a fundamental identity element** of the target person/community. On this basis, articles and shows classified as hate speech content materials meet this important criterion, which enables us to identify the occurrence of hate speech more easily, but also serves as a mechanism to prevent the misclassification of hate speech content, which can easily fall into the domain of free expression of thought. As an illustration, an article that talks about the “threat that Muslim immigrants pose to Kosovo” can be classified as hate speech against immigrants, because being a Muslim (a fundamental part of a person’s/immigrant’s identity) is represented as problematic and associated with potential acts of violence. Whereas an article that talks about the ‘criminal acts by the Syrian President’ does not constitute hate speech, because the (criminal) act is individualized, and does not relate to an immutable characteristic of the subject (Syrian President), but to his position as a politician, party leader, sect leader, etc. (voluntary, mutable affiliations).

In addition to this basic criterion, this research draws on the practices of National Courts when dealing with cases involving allegations of hate speech.⁵ In dealing with these cases, the courts use clear tests that help determine whether a certain expression qualifies as hate speech. In researching and classifying data, we have used such tests to determine whether materials reach the ‘threshold’ to be classified as materials that incite hate speech against a certain community. These tests are⁶:

1. **Context**, which refers to the social and political circumstances where hate speech occurs. In practice, this means recognizing the prevalent conflicts/tensions in the society subject to research, at the time when hate speech occurred. Based on this test, the research scrutinized the materials considering the social and ethnic tensions in Kosovo, with special focus on recognizing the dominant structures of social, political, and cultural power that marginalize certain communities, and institutionalize and justify discrimination.
2. **Identification of Speaker, or Recognition of the Authority of the Person** who utters hate speech is important to understand the effect that a certain expression may have on the group who perceives the Speaker as an Authority that can influence its actions. As will be seen in the results section, there is a considerable number of cases where persons in the capacity of religious/political or professional authority incite and promote hate speech against certain communities, influencing how followers shape their attitudes.
3. **Intent** is another important test for identifying whether incitement to hatred was planned or an unintentional omission by the Speaker. Although it is difficult to find out with certainty what was the real intent behind an expression, judges usually check how often the person in question used the specific term, the track record of the Speaker’s opinions, and how explicit was the hatred in the used language. Likewise, this research has classified as problematic materials those articles/shows with a recorded trend of the language or expression used and the semantic aspects of the article/show in question.

⁵ For more information on EU policies against hate speech and the Case Law of the European Court of Human Rights, see: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2020/655135/IPOL_STU\(2020\)655135_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2020/655135/IPOL_STU(2020)655135_EN.pdf)

⁶ These tests are elaborated in more detail in: <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/50bf56ee2.pdf>

4. **Intensity and Likelihood of Harm Occurring**, is another complementary test which analyzes the frequency of occurrence of hate speech and the real likelihood of the expression inciting violence against the targeted person/community. In the case of this research, this test has been applied to analyze how the target community is framed by the Speaker's

expressions, and what is the implicit appeal that the expression entails against the target community.

The above tests are at the same time the main elements of hate speech, and this research relies on these to analyze and classify the articles and shows subject to examination.

1.2 Content Analysis and Analysis Units

In data collection and interpretation, this research used the qualitative method of content analysis, which enables the identification of predominant terms/symbols within any text/show and the analysis of explicit or implicit messages in the material subject to examination.⁷ The researchers of this Report used content analysis as a tool to determine the presence of hate speech in the examined materials, and the relationships between the main subjects displayed in the material. More specifically, this research is based on relational content analysis which focuses not only on establishing the presence of problematic terms, but also examining the semantic relationships built around these terms. In other words, research is not reduced to finding racist/homophobic/xenophobic terms, but also attempts to find implicit messages embedded in the material, which are particularly important to understand how the 'other' is constructed and what are 'his' relationships with the 'other' part of society. The rationale behind the

choice of this method consists in recognizing the fact that the media represent not only a reflection of social reality, but also at the same time influence the shaping (construction) of this reality. And, since 'language' used in media communications is not neutral in terms of being detached from the predominant values in the relevant society, content analysis allows the deconstruction of everyday media vocabulary and of the ways how media lexicon reflects and actively contributes to the stabilization of the dominant social narratives.⁸ For this reason, the content analysis method fits best with the purpose of this research, which is directed not only towards finding explicit expressions that incite hatred, but also representative trends on marginalized communities that incite hatred and are embedded in daily media reporting.

In this sense, this research goes beyond identifying the disparaging terms/jargon used by the media for the targeted communities, but

⁷ For more information on content analysis as a method, see: <http://www.umsl.edu/~wilmarthp/mrpc-web-resources/content-analysis.pdf>

⁸ For more on the role of media in creating and constructing social realities, see Fowler, R (1991), *Discourse and Ideology in the Press*, Routledge, New York

also puts the spotlight on how media report on these communities even when there are no problematic terms in the material subject to examination. As shown below, most articles/shows classified as hate speech do not use explicit terms against the target community, but present (construct/shape) the target community in a discriminatory/inferior/violent manner in relation to the majority community. For this reason, the research used a scale-based data classification scheme, where articles are categorized according to how the target community is constructed, and the implicit appeal implied by the content. Accordingly, through content analysis we have classified as incitement to hatred all those articles/shows which present the action of the subject because of its immutable characteristics. By way of illustration, media reports that 'a Roma killed his brother' are racist and incite hatred against members of the Roma minority, because of all the traits of the perpetrator, the author of the article chooses to zero in on the perpetrator's ethnic background while reporting on his actions. In this regard, content analysis has enabled the understanding of these semiotic structures which create perceptions in the audience about certain communities, consequently contributing to the preservation and replication of bias against these communities.

This method was applied to the collection and interpretation of data on 4 social groups which as minorities, are considered the most vulnerable in public discourse. These 4 groups, serving as the key units of analysis, are: **Serb, LGBTIQ, Immigrant/Refugee, and Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian** communities. The main reasons for including these categories in the research are related to the tensions/conflicts in relation with the majority community (the case of the Serb community), social taboos on sexuality (LGBTIQ community), cultural prejudice (Immigrants/Refugees), and ethnic prejudice (Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian minorities).⁹ The results section will show how these groups are covered in the media using binary terms such as 'us' and 'them', and that the actions of members of these groups are constantly explained as a natural consequence of their affiliation (being an immigrant/refugee is associated with violence and looting, and being a Serb with recent war crimes in Kosovo). Therefore, it is expected that such prejudice and this deep ignorance of the 'other group' will be manifested in the public discourse, namely by the media as crucial articulators in this discourse. These key analytical units have been examined in relation to the 'grounds of hate speech' (bias categories), which serve to identify the underlying causes of hate speech and target a particular social group.

⁹ Among Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian minorities, it should be noted that articles and shows concerning the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian minorities have been examined because of systematic discrimination against these minorities and past tensions with the majority community. The data show that hate speech is exclusively directed at members of the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian ethnic groups. The content of such language and the way the 'other' is shaped in relation to these three ethnicities is the same, with differences that are negligible for analytical purposes.

The main findings show that hate speech against selected groups is based on **ethnicity/race** and **sexual orientation**. There are cases where the underlying causes of bias are two-fold, and the target group (unit of analysis) is subject to hate speech based on both ethnicity and sexual orientation (grounds of hate speech).

1.3 Media Selection, Data Collection, and Classification of Findings

This research focused on examining the content of articles and shows broadcast by the Kosovan national and local media. The sample selection includes a total of 10 electronic media for the textual analysis of media articles, and 6 TV channels for the linguistic analysis of TV shows (audiovisual materials). For purposes of establishing a comprehensive overview of the potential differences in the Kosovo media regarding hate speech, this research examined electronic articles published in 7 electronic media outlets that have an audience at the national level, and 3 local broadcast media. All 7 electronic media outlets with national audience were selected referring to their ranking on the www.alexacom platform, which provides global rankings and web traffic analysis by country.¹⁰ Referring to the list provided by this platform, the sample selection includes 7 media outlets top ranked by the audience.¹¹

These media outlets are: koha.net, gazeta-express.com, indeksonline.net, klankosova.tv, lajmi.net, telegrafi.com, and kallxo.com.¹² While the 3 local broadcast media were selected according to the following requirements: 1) To have been on air as of 1 January 2019, at minimum, 2) to be as original as possible in media coverage, and to copy mainstream media news as little as possible, and 3) to have a functional digital archive, and 4) to be media outlets based in the largest centers of Kosovo, if possible¹³. The selected sample included: veriu.info, tvprizreni.info, and drenicapress.com. Regarding the analysis of audiovisual materials, the analysis included shows broadcast on mainstream national media: RTK, KTV, RTV 21, Klan Kosova, TV Dukagjini, and T7.

The examination of articles and shows in these media outlets was conducted in two six-month

¹⁰ As Kosovo is not listed on the platform, Kosovan media appear in the list of media from Albania.

¹¹ Since data collection started in October 2019, the 7 top ranked media outlets at the beginning of October 2019 were selected. The listing was filtered to remove Albanian media outlets from the ranking, thereby leaving only Kosovan media outlets in the running for selection.

¹² In the results section, these media outlets are not identified by name for the sake of maintaining their reputation. The media outlets are referred as Media 1 through 10.

¹³ As will be shown in the data section, the selected local media outlets are hardly able to meet all these requirements. However, compared to other local media outlets, they rated as the most suitable for purposes of this research.

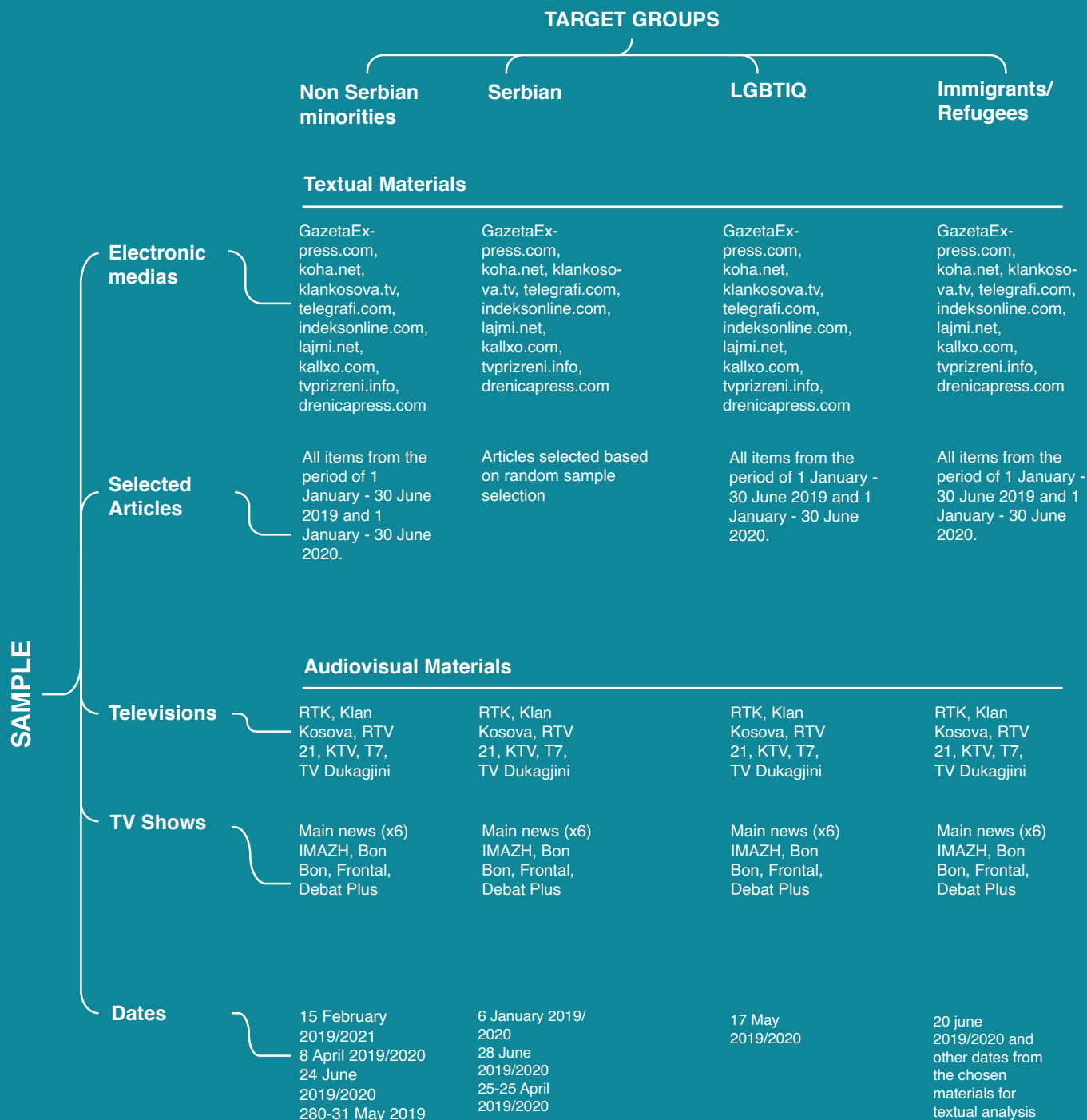
periods, **1 January 2019 - 30 June 2019**, and **1 January 2020 - 30 June 2020**. The reason for choosing this monitoring period involves finding and comparing reporting trends between the two semesters and analyzing eventual changes in media discourse from one period to another. The **sample** used for analyzing textual materials was a **total population sample**, and a **simple random sample**. The total population sampling approach was used to examine articles in relation to the LGBTIQ community, Immigrants/Refugees, and Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian minorities. This means that all articles (across feature sections) written in relation to these categories that are accessible have been examined, thus increasing the credibility and representativeness of the findings. The simple random sampling was used for the Serb community, where each article is equally likely to be selected by the researcher.¹⁴

As for audiovisual materials (shows), the research approach used **criterion sampling** which involves selecting units (shows) that meet some criterion of importance predetermined by the researcher.¹⁵ In this regard, research focused on finding shows airing on dates where the likelihood of mentioning a particular community is higher compared to other dates. In other words, shows are examined based on predetermined broadcast dates because the researcher has guesstimated **that** on those dates the 4 selected groups will be subject to discussion. There were two shows selected for each media outlet: 1) prime time news, and 2) one (1) show where political and cultural events are discussed. The table below presents the sample used for both types of analysis, textual and audiovisual.

14 The main reason for this sampling approach involves the enormous number of articles generated by the application of keyword 'Serb', such that the examination of all articles was rendered impracticable.

15 For more information on using this sample in qualitative research, see: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4012002/>

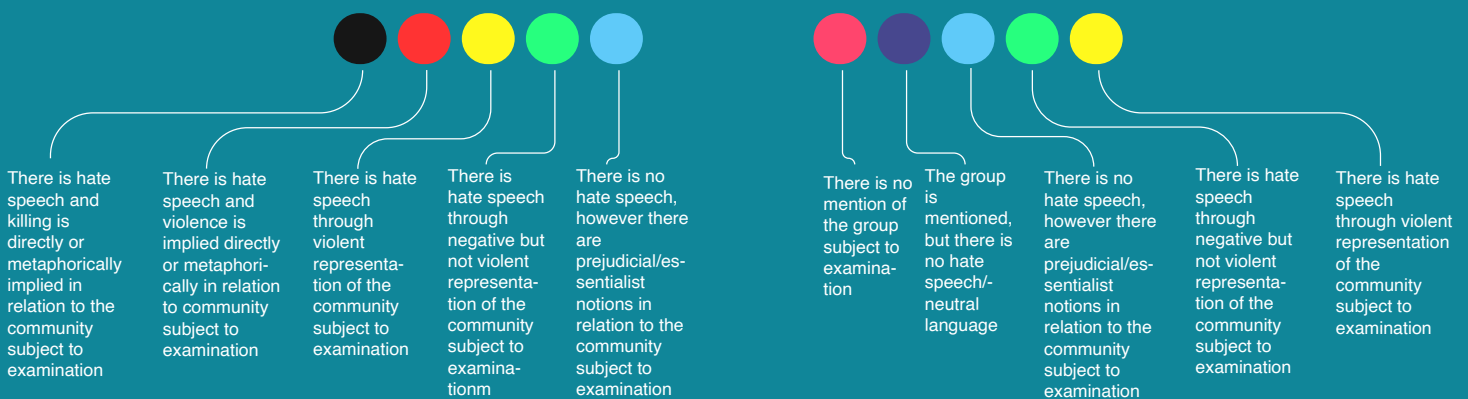
Figure 1: Sample Applied in Research Related to Textual and Audiovisual Materials



The data was collected through electronic media archives, or other alternative channels (official channels on YouTube, and Facebook). The generated articles and shows were analyzed and the researcher, depending on content, decided whether it qualified as an article/show with hate speech. Each item rated as an article with problematic content was subject to content analysis and was entered into the main database, including inter alia the problematic sentence, grounds of bias, the entity suffering from the alleged target community action, and the target community framing approaches by media outlets. Similar filters have been used to collect data from audiovisual materials, with some additional boxes (time/minutes of the show where the speaker utters hate speech, and the capacity of the speaker).

After collecting the data, the researcher classified the hate speech articles/shows according to a 5-color code, where each color had an explanation attached as applicable to articles/shows subject to classification. This color-coded scheme included a color for classifying articles that do not contain hate speech yet use prejudicial and essentialist language. The figure below shows the colors used for article classification.

Figure 2: Color Coded Classification of Hate Speech and Prejudicial Language



*Colors for textual data collection

*Colors for audiovisual data collection

2. Comparative Aspects between Applicable Standards in Kosovo and Globally

2. Comparative Aspects between Applicable Standards in Kosovo and Globally

2.1 National Legal Framework Against Incitement to Hatred and Ethical Standards Applicable in Kosovo

The national framework against incitement to hatred in Kosovo consists of several acts, which separately address different aspects of the prohibition and sanctioning of incitement to hatred. The Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo addresses hate speech in the article that provides on the right “to express oneself, to disseminate and receive information, opinions and other messages without impediment”.¹⁶ In the subsequent paragraph, the Constitution allows for the limitation of the freedom of expression “by law in cases when it is necessary to prevent encouragement or provocation of violence and hostility on grounds of race, nationality, ethnicity or religion.”¹⁷ This inclusion of hate speech under limitations of the free-

dom of expression reflects international hate speech prohibition practices, which attempt to avoid treating hate speech as an ‘a priori regulation’ of freedom of expression. For this reason, the deliberate prohibition of incitement to hatred is formulated as a limitation that responds to necessary circumstances (in cases where national security or social cohesion is threatened). This constitutional provision is directly reflected in the Criminal Code of Kosovo providing that incitement to hatred is subject to criminal sanctions. Moreover, the Criminal Code of Kosovo provides a broader list of protected characteristics (Article 70, paragraph 2, subparagraph 2.12), including sexual orientation, language, disability, economic status,

¹⁶ Article 40, paragraph 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo.

¹⁷ Article 40, paragraph 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo

etc. This Code is progressive in the sense that it establishes as an aggravating circumstance if the criminal offense is a hate act, motivated upon the grounds provided therein. Regarding the sanctioning of hate speech, this Code in Article 141 (Inciting Discord and Intolerance), paragraph 1, stipulates:

“Whoever publicly incites or publicly spreads hatred, discord and intolerance between national, racial, religious, ethnic, and other groups or based on sexual orientation, gender identity and other personal characteristics, in a manner which is likely to disturb the public order shall be punished by a fine or imprisonment of up to five (5) years”¹⁸ [emphasis added]

Other paragraphs in this article criminalize incitement and discord leading to acts of violence and social unrest (paragraphs 2, 3 and 4).¹⁹ In addition to the Criminal Code, providing comprehensive sanctions for inciting and promoting hate speech, Kosovo has adopted Law No. 05/L-021 on Protection Against Discrimination, ensuring that persons with characteristics protected by law shall not be discriminated against on such grounds. This law is not applicable to the prohibition of discriminatory language as rhetoric, but discrimination as a practice in employment, access to public services, education, social services, etc.²⁰ While on the monitoring of hate speech in media discourse (which coincides with the object of study in this research), Law No. 04/L-44 on the Independent Media Commission (IMC) provides, inter alia, for the oversight that the IMC should exercise over Media Service Providers in relation to broadcast content. In addition to licensing, the IMC is authorized

to review appeals about breaches of license conditions, code of conduct or other legal acts by broadcasters (Article 35, paragraph 1, and paragraph 3). In case the IMC finds that the broadcaster has acted in violation of the provisions provided by law, then it has the right to impose fines or even terminate the broadcasting license (Article 30, paragraph 1).²¹

Regarding the specific rules of media broadcasting, the IMC has issued a Code of Ethics for Media Service Providers (MSPs) in the Republic of Kosovo, which aims to determine the rules of ethics for broadcasters to ensure that media reporting shall not endanger the national security and territorial integrity, and ensure due respect for the “diversity of ethnic, cultural and religious heritage in the Republic of Kosovo” (Article 1).²² It is important to note that the Code also refers to human rights and dignity (according to the Conventions and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights), as a basis for setting ethical rules for media reporting. In addition to prohibiting Vulgar and Offensive Language, the Code of Ethics specifically addresses Incitement to Hatred, in Article 5:

“MSPs should not encourage or promote, intentionally or indirectly, any form of discrimination and intolerance and must not broadcast any material that denigrates an ethnic or religious group or implies that an ethnic or religious group is responsible for criminal activity”²³ [emphasis added]

Although in this paragraph the Code is limited to citing ethnicity and religion as prohibited grounds for discrimination and intolerance, the following paragraph lists a wide range of char-

18 Article 141 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Kosovo, see: <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=2834>

19 Ibid.

20 Like the Criminal Code, this Law provides an extended list of protected characteristics. The explanation for this is

21 For more information, see: <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=2809>

22 Code of Ethics for Media Service Providers in the Republic of Kosovo, see: http://www.kpm-ks.org/lajmi_i_plot/2297

23 Ibid.

acteristics which should not serve as grounds for hate speech (race, color, gender, religion, political opinion, sexual orientation, disability, etc.). The key elements from this paragraph, and the following paragraphs, which are relevant to the findings of this research are: 1) hate speech is **prohibited even when it is implicit**, 2) **generalization and collective blame** for criminal activities is qualified as hate speech, 3) language that **denigrates, puts in a disadvantageous position, or mocks a certain group**,²⁴ 4) references to **racial, ethnic, religious background, sexual orientation, etc. while reporting** on an event must be made **only when such information is of direct relevance** to the event being reported. As will be shown in the research results section, most hate speech materials involve such elements.

In addition to this Code which has been issued and is administered by the IMC, the print media through the Press Council of Kosovo²⁵ have issued the Press Code for Kosovo (2019), as a self-regulatory instrument for the editorial policies of active media outlets in Kosovo. As a self-regulatory body, this Council through

the Press Code recognizes the crucial role that the media have not merely in informing the public, but also in shaping public opinion on social phenomena. For this reason, this type of organization aims to set minimum standards for media reporting without compromising the editorial independence of member media. Key points from the Press Code that are relevant to the findings of this research are: 1) Journalists and editors must make a distinction between **news and opinion**. News means “information about facts and data, while opinions convey thoughts, ideas, beliefs or value judgments on the part of publishers, journalists and editors.”²⁶ 2) Ethnicity, sexual orientation, race, religion, and other characteristics shall be reported **only when fundamentally relevant to the news**, 3) While reporting on crime, the media shall not treat any individual as guilty of a crime prior to a court decision to that effect. These standards, same as those set out in the IMC Code have been applied to data classification, and the results show that non-compliance with these rules is quite prevalent in media reporting.

²⁴ Article 4, paragraph 2 of the Code for MSPs.

²⁵ For more, see: <https://presscouncil-ks.org/>

²⁶ Article 2, paragraph 4 of the Code for Print Media.

2.2 Overview of Successful Global Practices and Self-Control Mechanisms Against Hate Speech in Print and Audiovisual Media

Democratic countries with longstanding experience of dealing with the phenomenon of hate speech, have developed successful mechanisms for preventing the occurrence and spread of hate speech in public discourse. Special attention is paid to creating an environment where the public sphere is not only kept safe from extremist elements in society, but also resources are mobilized in creating counter-narratives to deconstruct the myths that provide grounds for hate speech.²⁷ Since the mechanisms created for hate speech are exhaustive, this section focuses on addressing some **codes of ethics** regulating media reporting in Europe and Australia and on elaborating **successful media self-control mechanisms** which guarantee fair reporting on social phenomena, without compromising the editorial independence of the media.

The main features that distinguish Codes of Ethics in Media in democratic countries are: 1) Development of rules that correspond to the specific context, 2) Recognition of the specifics of the hate speech target communities, and 3) Extra due care in the terms used and in affirming controversial opinions of characters recognized as hate speech promoters. Regarding the former, as an illustration, Codes

of Ethics in Britain, Ireland, and Australia have developed specific rules which consider existing narratives in society, vulnerable groups in society, and general social dynamics. Accordingly, these three states in their Codes of Ethics in Media are constantly updating media reporting practices to respond to hate speech against migrants/refugees at a time when extremist groups are spreading propaganda against them, or when certain ethnic groups are the target of verbal attacks because of a certain event.²⁸ These practices instruct journalists to consider the prevailing tendencies in the representation of groups that are vulnerable in relation to extremist groups before reporting and to neutralize such tendencies by providing facts that disrupt the extremist discourse. In Australia, for example, following the terrorist attacks on some members of the Muslim community in New Zealand, the media were instructed to exercise caution when reporting on the assassin's Manifesto²⁹ and not to report on the views of groups or individuals who support such actions. Likewise, this Code was updated during the so-called 'Refugee Crisis', where the media were cautious in using terms such as 'illegal immigrants' and 'fake asylum seekers', as these may cause bias in the audience. Concerning recognizing the spe-

²⁷ For more information on EU policies on dealing with hate speech, see: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document.html?reference=IPOL_STU\(2020\)655135](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document.html?reference=IPOL_STU(2020)655135)

²⁸ This approach has been practiced especially after alleged sexual assaults by refugees in Western European countries. Far-right groups have attempted to exploit these events to organize propaganda campaigns over the alleged 'threat' posed by refugees from the Middle East.

²⁹ Immediately after the attack in Christchurch, New Zealand, the assassin's Manifesto, explaining the reasons and motives for the attack, took the social media by storm.

cifics of marginalized communities, the media in Britain and Ireland have established rules for reporting news which may be sensitive to certain communities. In practice, this has been translated into specific rules on how to report on ethnic minorities, religious minorities, and the LGBTIQ community. In cases of reporting on migrant-related events, the media were also advised to provide the perspectives of the immigrants/refugees themselves and to report on the stories of suffering and challenges they faced while traveling to their destination countries.³⁰ In cases where a group or character known for extremist rhetoric expresses problematic attitudes, the media have the right not to become a platform for disseminating such attitudes to the public, and must take the side of the vulnerable group by publicly condemning the advocacy of violence and hatred.³¹

The second important mechanism developed in democratic countries to control hate speech is the creation of self-regulatory capacities of the media, which avoid the interference of state authorities in editorial policies, enabling the media to establish their own reporting rules. The idea behind such mechanisms is for the media to self-organize voluntary structures that hold them accountable to the pub-

lic in relation to the materials they broadcast and the values they promote. In the countries of the European Union this practice is quite widespread and has proven effective in ensuring the implementation of Codes of Ethics. Arranging this mechanism requires the organization of the media through the format of the Council of Journalists, which is responsible for issuing, updating, and monitoring the Code of Ethics.³² At a time when the use of social media is incredibly widespread, this type of self-regulation enables the media to control the comments of other parties in the materials they distribute and to react more quickly to remove problematic comments. In this regard, the 2016 initiative of the European Commission to issue a Code of Conduct, which in cooperation with various media representative organizations requires major platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and Microsoft, to enable the reporting of hate speech and establish mechanisms for evaluating such comments, and if a particular comment is deemed to contain hate speech, it must be removed from the platform. The implementation of this Code is monitored by a network of civil society organizations from various EU countries, which test the response efficiency of these companies and recommend changes if necessary.³³

³⁰ For more on rules of media reporting on race, see: Updated NUJ race reporting guidelines - National Union of Journalists

³¹ Ibid.

³² For more, see: http://europeanjournalists.org/mediaagainsthate/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Self-regulation-and-%E2%80%98hate-speech%E2%80%99-on-social-media-platforms_final_digital.pdf

³³ For more information, see: https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combating-discrimination/racism-and-xenophobia/eu-code-conduct-countering-illegal-hate-speech-online_en

3. Key Research Findings and Identification of Representative Trends for Target Communities

3. Key Research Findings and Identification of Representative Trends for Target Communities

3.1 Overview of Hate Speech Presence in Selected Media

As elaborated in the data collection section, electronic archives of official media channels on their online platforms were used to find the articles and TV show broadcasts subject to examination. To find articles addressing topics on selected communities, researchers have used some predetermined keywords for each community. Word search through the search option was performed by applying the rule of the shortest common **denominator per social group**, ensuring that no article referring to the social group subject to examination shall re-

main unaddressed. E.g., the search for articles about the Roma community was conducted by using the word 'rom' (Roma) and not the words 'rome' (Roma woman), 'romë' (Roma plural) which would exclude from the research articles that only contain the word 'rom'. Below are the keywords used to find articles for each community.

Figure 3: Keywords Used to Find Articles

Communities	Serbian	LGBTIQ	Non-Serb Communities	Immigrant/Refugee
Keywords:	'Serb', 'shka', 'shkije', 'shkin(ë)' [derogatory terms for Serb, Serbs, Serb woman]	'peder' [homosexual, bisexual, transexual, lesbian, gay, 'faggot']	rom, ashkali, egjiptian, egjiptas, 'magjup', 'gabel', 'jevg', RAE [Roma, Ashkali, Egyptian, 'gypsy', 'gyppo', 'vagrant', RAE]	[Immigrant, Refugee, asylum(seeker), Syrian, Afghan, Iraqi, Moroccan, Arab, Vranidoll, Magure]

As can be seen in the table, the used keywords were selected to return articles where hate speech is explicit (containing direct hate speech such as 'shka', 'peder', 'magjup', 'gabel', etc.) and implicit (that can be expressed indirectly when mentioning terms such as 'serb', 'homoseksual', 'rom', 'refugjat', etc.).

According to the sampling approach explained earlier and the keywords listed here, the total number of **textual materials** (articles) subject to examination is **2,512**, while the number of **audiovisual materials** (shows) is **201**. Of the 2,512 articles handled, **453 (18.03%)** contain

problematic language (hate speech + prejudicial language), of which 314 (12.05%) contain hate speech only. While out of 201 shows examined, in 86 of them involve topics on the selected communities, where **12 (13.95%)** contain prejudicial language (hate speech + prejudicial language), and **8 (9.30%)** contain hate speech.

The figures below show the statistics on the distribution of these materials according to the color code assigned for problematic language classification (elaborated in section 1.3 of this Report).

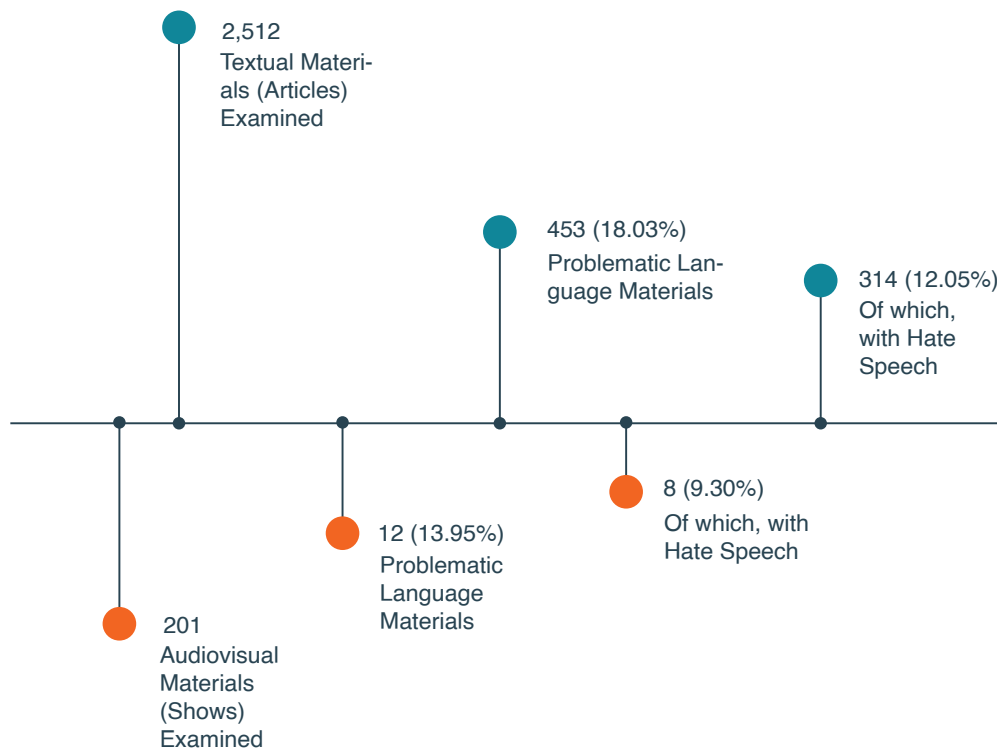
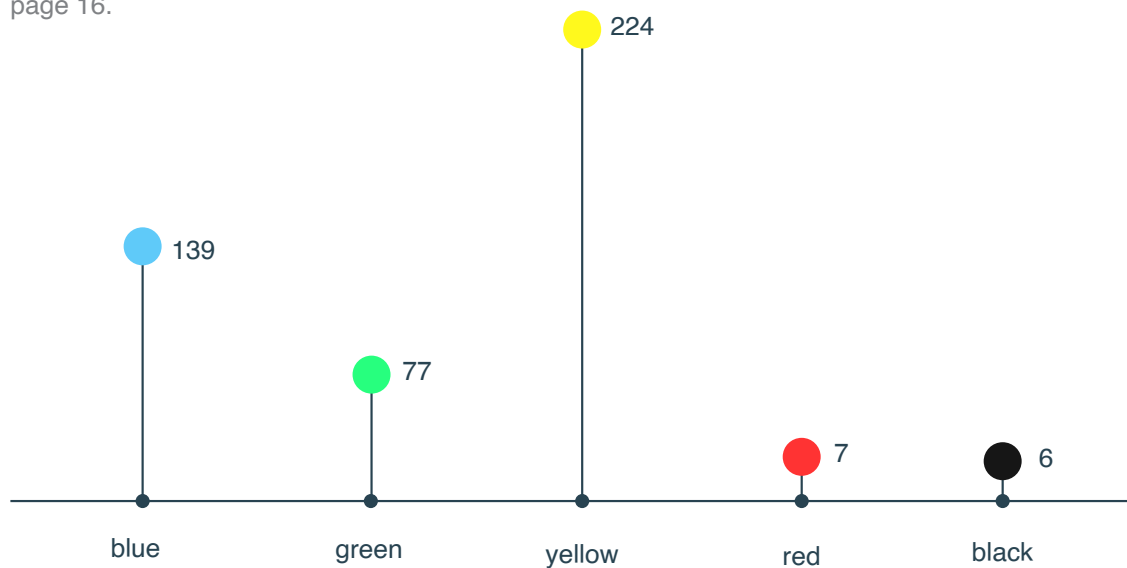


Figure 4: Distribution of Problematic Language by Color Code for Textual Materials (Total)

Total (including Prejudicial Language)
For clarifying the color spectrum refer to page 16.

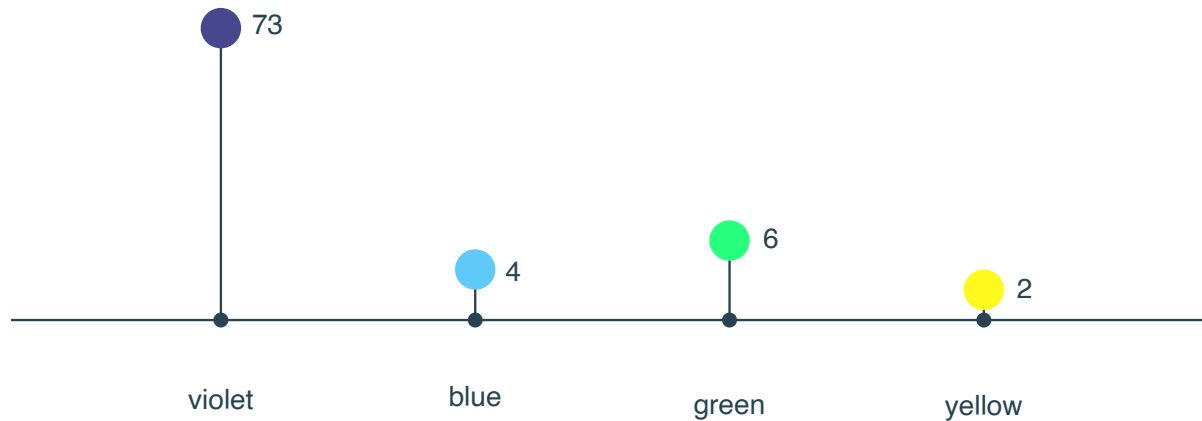


The results presented above show that the largest number of articles classified to have problematic content are in relation to language **providing a violent representation of the target community (yellow)**. This means that the prevailing discourse portrays others, whose actions, presence, or beliefs are rejected, vilified, and discriminated against, as a threat to the society. As will be shown in the following sections, the main context of reporting in these articles is crime, felonious conduct, war wrongdoings, offenses involving moral turpitude, and the like. Prejudicial language follows next in prevailing representations of target communities. The language that is

prevalent in these articles replicates existing social stereotypes towards communities and portrays essentialist views in relation to ethnicity or sexual orientation. This type of language notes the ethnic or sexual orientation of the target person without any relevance to the news, with essentialist attributions to tradition as an innate part of the group or by publishing photos of victims in violation of their privacy and endangering their well-being. Negative representation continues with offensive discourse (green), appeals for violence (red), and fewer calls for murder (black) for selected communities.

Figure 5: Distribution of Problematic Language by Color Code for Audiovisual Materials (Total)

Total (by Color Code)
For clarifying the color spectrum refer to page 16.



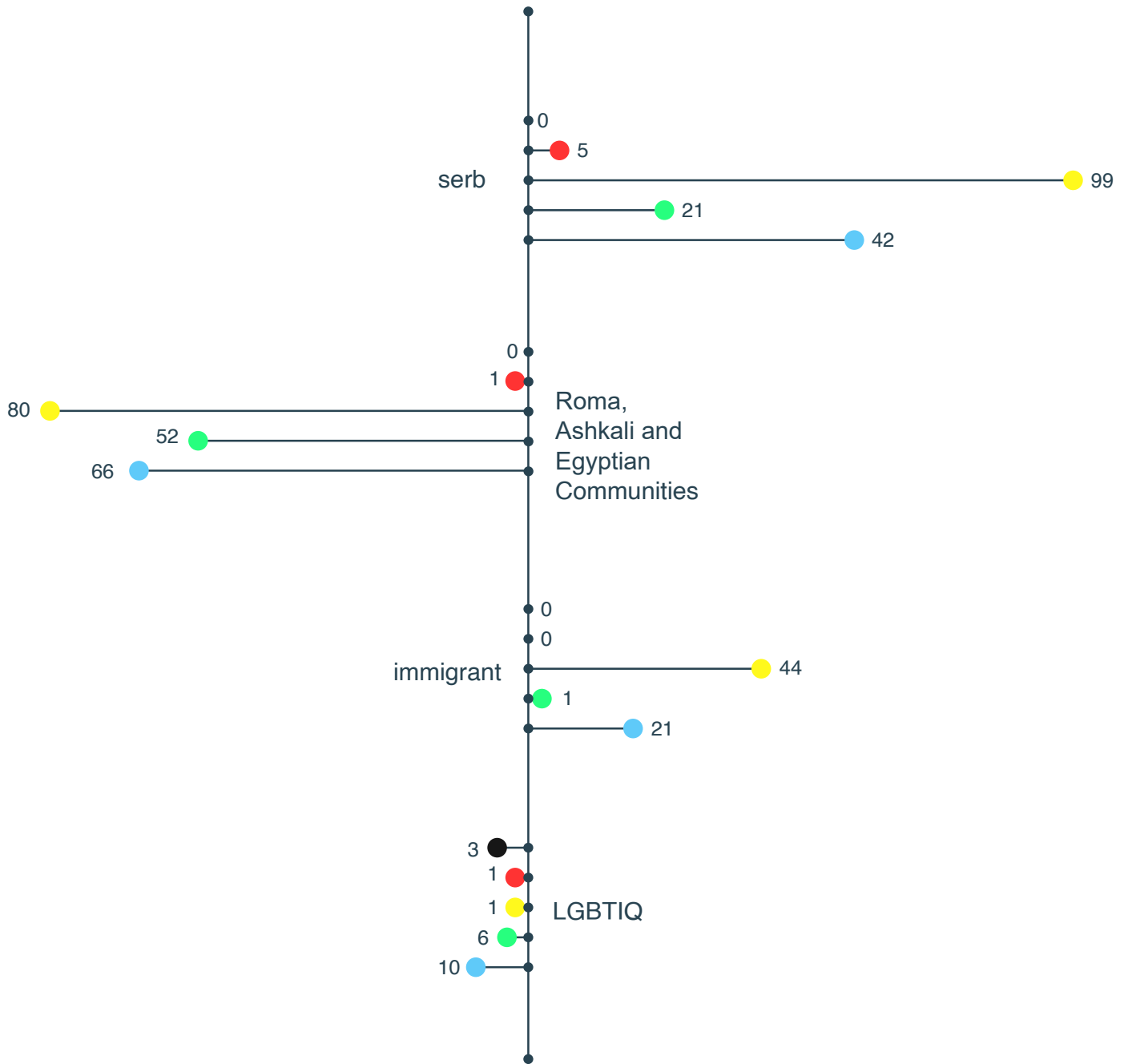
In the audiovisual materials (shows), it can be noted that the number of shows involving the selected communities on relevant dates is relatively low (**42.78%** or 86 of the 201 shows examined). There is a prevalence of offensive and negative representation of target communities in the classified shows, where the conduct of members of a particular community is subject to offense and prejudice, and disparaging terms are used in referring to them. Next comes prejudicial and essentialist language (blue), and violent representation of communities subject to examination (yellow).

Figure 6: Distribution of Problematic Language Derived from Textual Materials, by Community

Total (Hate Speech only)



Distribution of Prejudicial Language and Hate Speech by Rhetoric and Type of Appeal



● blue ● green ● yellow ● red ● black

For clarifying the color spectrum refer to page 16.

The data presented above shows the distribution of problematic language in textual materials, and the type of language used for each community. As indicated, taken as a whole, minorities Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian are the most exposed to hate speech (133 articles) in media articles, followed closely by the Serb minority (125 articles). Of the examined articles on immigrants/refugees and the LGBTIQ community, 45 articles used hate speech in relation to immigrants/refugees, and 11 articles in relation to members of the LGBTIQ community. It should be noted that the number of articles generated for these two communities was smaller than for the Serb and Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian minorities. This does not necessarily mean that LGBTIQ persons and immigrants/refugees are less vulnerable to hate speech, but rather these groups are less frequently covered by reporting and the specific

periods when their visibility is higher (e.g., May 17th when the media reports on the LGBTIQ community). Regarding the distribution of hate speech and prejudicial language by community, the data shows that the Serb minority leads comfortably in violent representation, while Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian minorities lead in terms of prejudicial language used against them. Language directed at immigrants/refugees prevails in their violent representation. The most interesting finding may be that the LGBTIQ community is the only community experiencing calls to murder language. Of the 6 articles calling for the murder of the 'other', all are aimed at members of the LGBTIQ community, which points to the radical and intimidating discourse that exists in relation to this community.

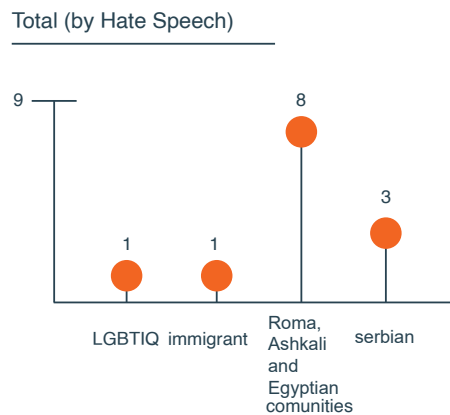
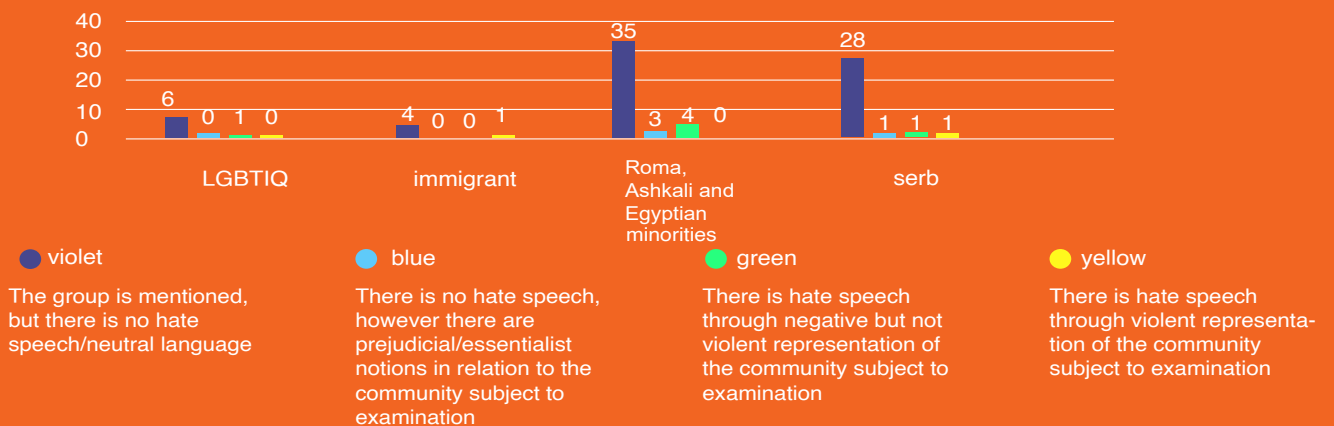


Figure 7: Distribution of Problematic Language Derived from Audiovisual Materials, by Community

Distribution of Prejudicial Language and Hate Speech by Rhetoric and Type of Appeal



The data generated by examined shows indicate that members of the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities are more vulnerable to hate speech in the media broadcasts subject to research. This number of hate speech shows against minority communities focused especially on reporting related to the case of a Roma woman who was subject to fear mongering and subsequently harassed and brutally beaten in May last year. In this case, the media not only re-reported unprofessionally on the events related to the beating of the woman in question, but also incited the mobs against her. It should be noted that hate speech in this case was not exclusively directed at the victim's ethnicity, but also at suspicions that she may be trans-gender or homosexual. In this case, the fear mongering propaganda against her has a dual

character, both of racial and sexual orientation discrimination. Regarding the distribution by type of hate speech, it is noted that for the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian and Serbian communities there is greater coverage on the selected dates. As indicated, offensive and prejudicial language prevails in the coverage on the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities, while Serbs and immigrants are represented as violent and framed as dangerous to the majority community. The case of the offensive show on the LGBTIQ community involves the above case of the Roma woman, where the sexual orientation of the person is raised as the reason that makes the victim suspicious and an object of speculation.

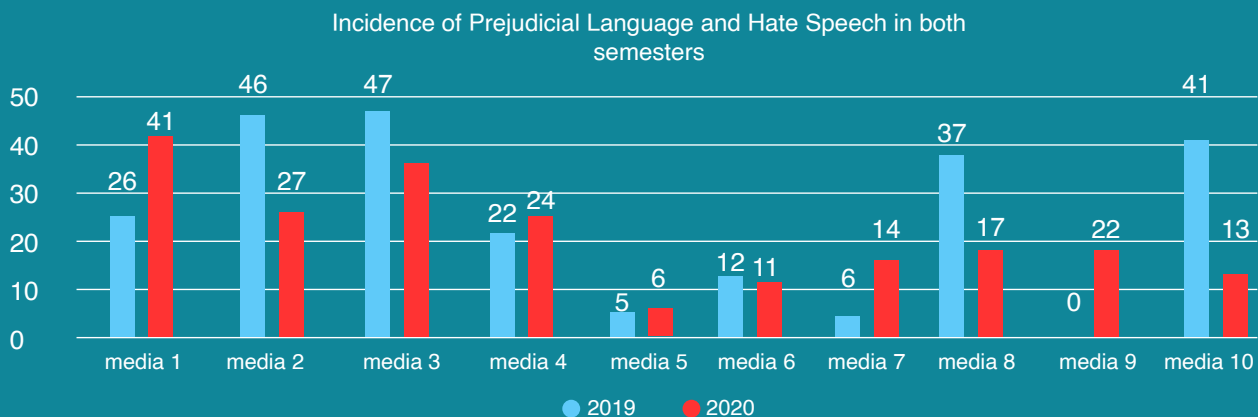
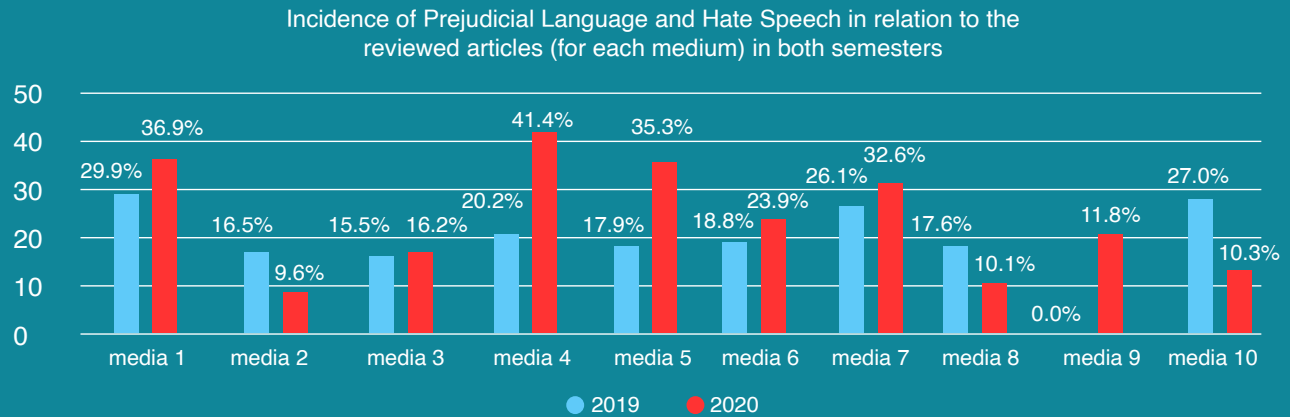


Figure 8: Incidence of Problematic Language in Textual Materials, Both Semesters

Figure 8.1: Incidence of Problematic Language in Relation to Examined Articles (by Medium), Both Semesters



The two figures presented above are generated to draw comparisons between the occurrence of hate speech in the media selected for textual material analysis. The first figure shows the number of articles with problematic language in the first half of 2019 and 2020 respectively, while the second figure shows the relative incidence which is based on the number of articles with problematic language in relation to the number of articles examined. It is necessary to present relative incidence because for some media (marked with *) it was impossible to generate articles for certain keywords (due to problems in their electronic archives), consequently the smaller number of articles can give them an edge over media without such problems. From what is presented in these figures, we can argue that there is no consistent trend which could give us confidence in drawing the conclusion that in one 6-month period there are more occurrences of problematic language than in the other period. While for the media outlets where problematic language has appeared with increased frequency, the data suggests that for 2019, Media 1, 10, 7, and 4 are the media outlets that have published the bulk of problemat-

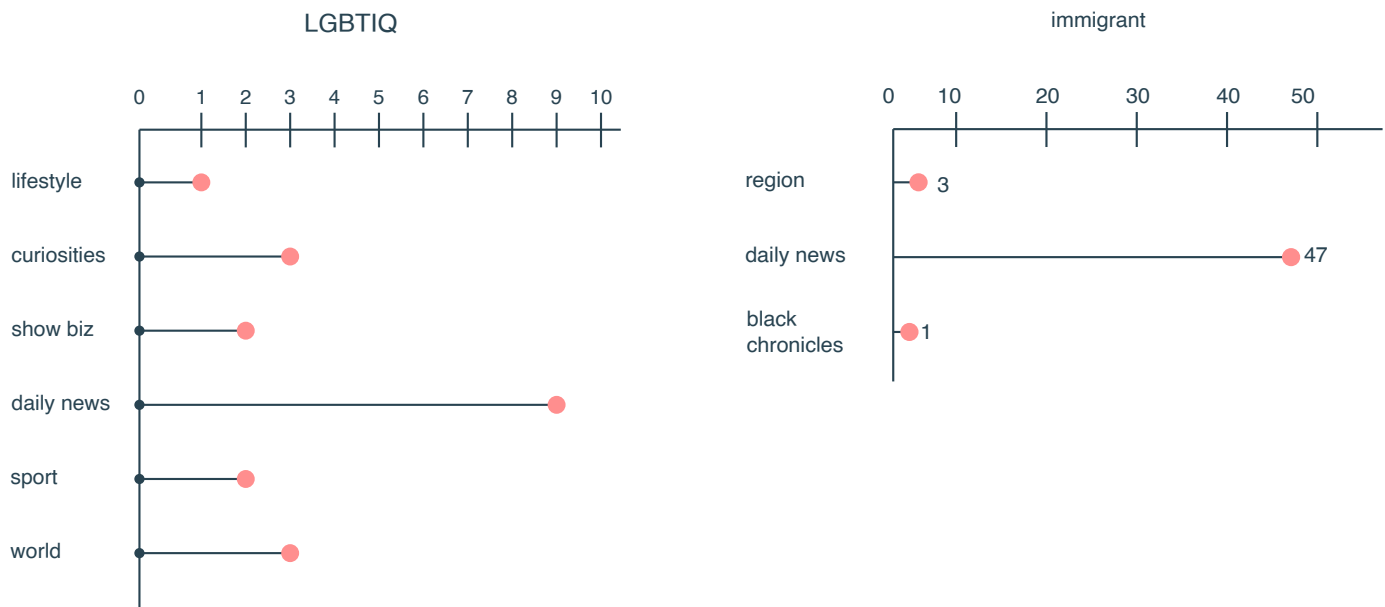
ic language. For 2020, the data shows that Media 4, 1, 5, and 7 have the most articles with problematic language, a trend which shows that hate speech is more prominent in some media outlets than in others (3 out of 4 media outlets are at the top of the list in both semesters). In relation to this fact, it should be noted that it is not important to only identify media outlets that constantly use problematic language, but also the content of the language used. In other words, there are media outlets that do not have many articles published on a particular community, but when they do write about them, the use harsh language. For these reasons, quantitative research is not enough, because despite the accuracy it may provide regarding emerging trends, it is insufficient to understand the reasons why certain language is used.

3.2 Dominant Trends by Community and Relationship Between Relevant Variables

To better understand how the media report on selected communities, this research has paid special attention, during data collection, to contextual aspects that help identify trends in the occurrence of hate speech. To understand how the fear of the 'other' is constructed, researchers, while entering data into the database, identified the feature section of the article with problematic content, the framing of the target group by the article, and the enti-

ties that the article alleges suffer from the 'actions/attitudes' of the target group. The same is applicable for shows, researchers identified these contextual aspects that are also included in the graphic representations below.

Figure 9: Distribution of Problematic Language in Textual Materials by Feature Section (LGBTIQ and Immigrant)



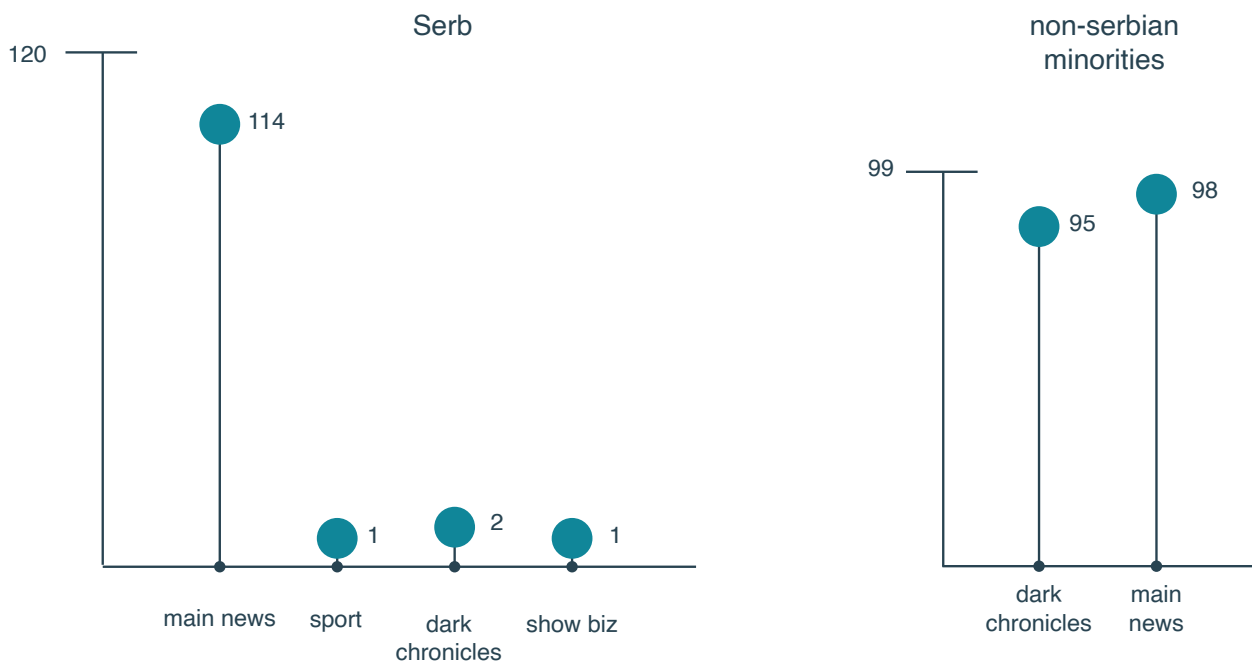
The data presented in the figure on the LGBTIQ and Immigrant/Refugee communities show that there is a broader distribution of reporting events involving the LGBTIQ community. As shown, in relation to this community, problematic language is prevalent in the reporting of current affairs in Kosovo, followed by world news, and human-interest features.

In the news, problematic anti-LGBTIQ language takes the form of transmitting homophobic statements by third parties (especially religious representatives), whereby the media outlets that broadcast such attitudes become a platform for disseminating homophobic attitudes. Most media outlets broadcast extremist opinions without any

warning that these statements are homophobic and discriminatory. The same trends are observed in world news features, where the media share the homophobic opinions of world leaders, without applying any editorial filters or warning the audience about the upcoming opinion content. It is interesting to note, as will be shown in section 3, the way homosexuality is reported in the human-interest features, where the traits of homosexuality are analyzed, interrogated, and objectifying conclusions are given on being homosexual. Concerning immigrants/refugees, articles that follow daily events related to this group dominate the field, reporting on their location, their actions, and their plans to stay in Kosovo. This

group is spoken of with problematic language about their (il)legality, actions against the majority community, and their movements inside and outside the borders. It should be noted that although the figure indicates only 1 article appearing in the crime chronicles feature, the 'criminality' of immigrants/refugees is featured in the daily news section. Regional Reporting is mostly alarming and laden with sensationalism, alerting the public of the impending arrival of refugees in Kosovo.

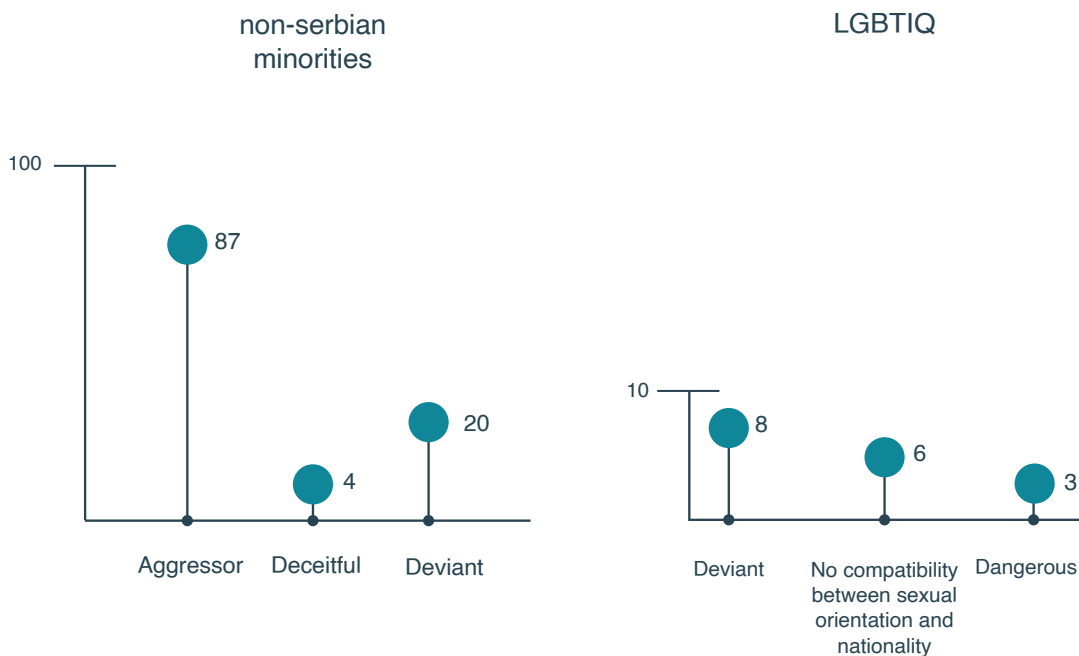
Figure 10: Distribution of Problematic Language in Textual Materials by Feature Section (LGBTIQ and Immigrant)



Regarding the Serb community and the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian minorities, it is interesting to examine the concentrated distribution of problematic language related to these two groups. In relation to Serbs, reporting is mostly provided in daily news, where the nature of reporting is versatile. Most prevalent is reporting on war crimes, where crimes related to the last war are generally attributed to all Serbs, the ethnicity of the key person is noted without any relevance to the news, and the 'differences' between Serbs and Albanians are underlined. Concerning reporting on the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities, it is incredibly telling that reporting on these communities is almost equally distributed between daily news and crime chronicles. The data shows

that reporting in the crime chronicles features is the most prominent for these communities. The content of such reporting is quite problematic, where members of these communities are constantly presented as violators, robbers, and abusers. The same is not observed while reporting on violations and offenses committed by members of the majority community. Additionally, the daily news features predominantly cover the 'immoral' behavior by members of these communities and domestic violence. Sexual abuse and sexually deviant behavior occupy a special place in the daily reporting of selected media.

Figure 11: Target Group Framing Approaches in Textual Materials





The figure above shows the principal framing approach used by media while reporting in problematic language on the selected groups. Of the four (4) groups, reporting on the Serb community employs more versatile framing approaches, while reporting on the other three (3) groups is more consistent. Disaggregated data by group shows that when reporting on the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities, the predominant framing approaches portray characters from these communities as aggressors, deviants, and con men. Articles portraying members of these communities as 1) aggressors, are those reporting on alleged crimes committed by these members, 2) deviants, those reporting on ‘abnormal’ acts/ behaviors such as early pregnancy or sexual abuse, 3) con men, in cases covering the forgery of documents or actions that cause harm to the victim.

Concerning the LGBTIQ community, the dominant reporting frames are those targeting members of this community as deviant, nationally incompatible, and dangerous. Regarding the former, the reporting in this category portrays LGBTIQ persons as offenders against ‘laws of nature/God’ with emphasis on their ‘abnormal’ inclination. Concerning the incompatibility between sexual orientation and nationality, sexual orientation and being

Albanian is portrayed as controversial, meaning a priori incompatibility between the two identities that appear to be mutually exclusive. Whereas LGBTIQ persons are portrayed as dangerous when their role in society is underlined, with prevailing voices that attempt to paint the members of this community as ‘family destroyers’ and ‘moral turpitude offenders’.

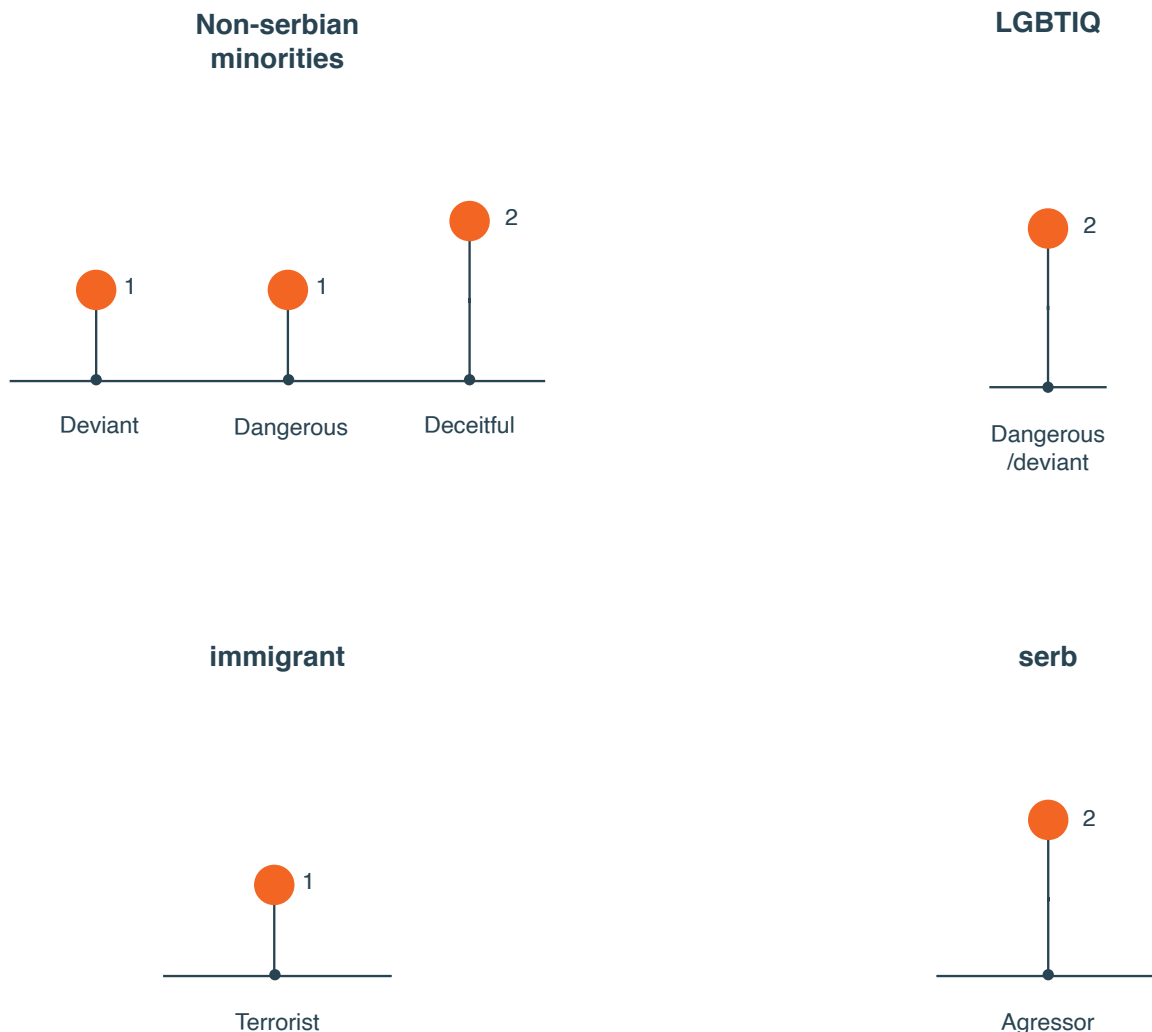
For immigrants/refugees, reports tend to present them as aggressors, dangerous, and con men. They are portrayed as aggressors through reports underlining their ethnicity when it comes to any criminal offense committed in Kosovo. The framing approach that portrays immigrants/refugees as dangerous in articles that attempt to depict them as factors of instability in Kosovo and as elements of extremist movements in the Middle East.

For Serbs, reports that frame being Serb with war crimes and atrocities, incompatibility between Albanians and (unwanted) Serbs, and portrayals as aggressors are predominant. They are featured as war criminals through generalizations in relation to war crimes and ethnic cleansing of Albanians in the ‘90s and in terms of the legacy of past hostilities. The framing approach that portrays them as cruel is evoked through disparaging designations for Serb(s) as ‘shka’ or ‘shkije’ respectively, a term

always used in referring to situations where Serbs are shown as ruthless and murderous to Albanians. Regarding the incompatibility between Serbs and Albanians, media reports tend to highlight the cultural and historical divisions between the two ethnicities. This is most evident when reporting on potential cooperation, cultural exchanges, and sports activities between the two parties.

Figure 12: Target Group Framing Approaches in Audiovisual Materials

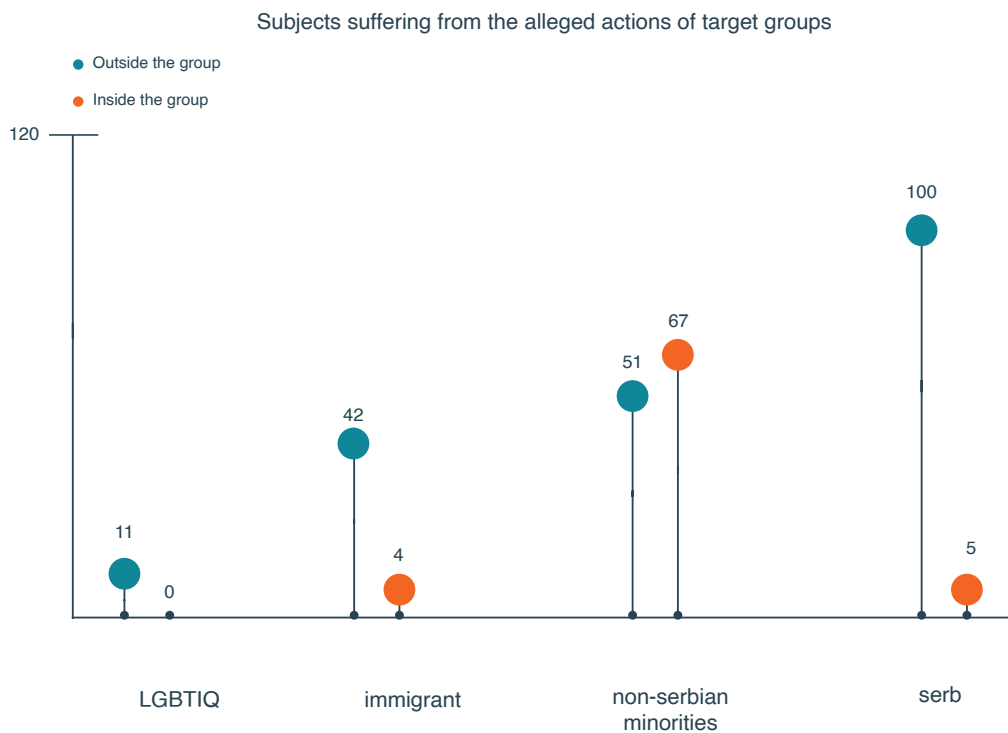
This figure presents the data from the analysis of audiovisual materials for the 4 groups subject to examination. Unlike textual materials, in TV shows it was observed that the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities are framed in more than one reporting frame. The dominant framing approach in TV shows involving these communities portrays them as unclean, with emphasis on waste and the dirty environment. Whereas they were portrayed as deviant and dangerous especially when the object of reporting was a Roma woman, where certain shows in a glaring lack of profession-



alism fueled panic among the population on the possible ‘threat’ from this woman with a ‘strange’ appearance. The same framing approach is applied to the LGBTIQ community, where the physical appearance of the Roma woman was covered controversially, and her gender and sexual identity was discussed in relation to being her ‘dangerous’. Anytime the population’s heinous reaction to her was discussed, the hosts or guest commentators on the show mention the woman’s appearance and her ‘suspicious’ orientation. Concerning immigrants/refugees, the show dedicated to their arrival in Kosovo presents the opinion of a security expert, who says that the arrival of these people in Kosovo must be perceived as

a security issue, because these people come from conflict-ridden countries and terrorist attacks can also target Kosovo. As for the Serb community, shows that use problematic language in relation to this community frame Serbs as aggressors against Albanians without distinguishing between crimes committed by the Serbian state apparatus and Serb citizens. In both cases, disparaging terms such as ‘shka’ and ‘shkije’ are used by third persons, and without any warning that such attributions are racist and inappropriate.

Figure 12: Entities Suffering from Alleged Target Group Actions (Textual Materials)



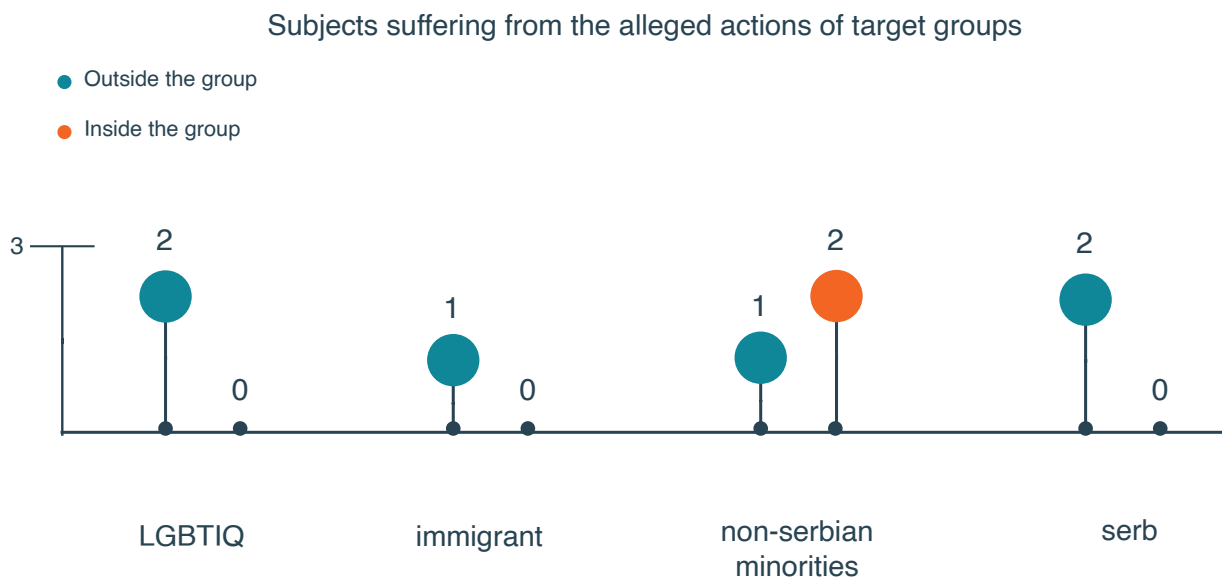
The figure above presents data on how media articles have constructed the entities that suffer from the actions/omissions of the target group member(s). In other words, the research has focused not only on how certain groups are represented, but also on the entities that these articles tend to portray as ‘victims’ of these groups. The classification of data comprises of two categories: ‘out-group’ – where

the article implies that the entity suffering from the target group is someone outside the group, and ‘in-group’ – where the article presents the suffering entity’s group to be the same as that of the perpetrator. Accordingly, for example, problematic articles on LGBTIQ persons present the heterosexual community in Kosovo as a suffering entity. The ‘offenses involving moral turpitude’ allegedly caused by

the promotion of LGBTIQ rights are presented as a problem for the heterosexual family, which will find it difficult to raise children according to 'sound moral principles'. Also, in many of these articles is mentioned the 'existential threat' posed by people with different sexual orientation for the future of the Albanian nation. Coverage of immigrants/refugees is dominated by reporting that portrays them as a threat to the local population (out-group), and in a few cases as a threat to themselves (in-group). The local population is presented as the suffering entity from their 'illegal' actions, the religious and ethnic background of immigrants/refugees, and the potential they possess to cause instability in Kosovo. Cases where they pose a threat to themselves are reported in articles covering brawls at the Asylum Center in Magurë or Vranidoll. In these cases, the victim of the actions of an asylum seeker is another asylum seeker who shares the same space with the aggressor. The most

interesting sets of data were generated for the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities, where the suffering entity in most cases turns out to be 'in-group', and less 'out-group'. Accordingly, most of the problematic articles present the members of these communities themselves as victims of their cohorts. The main topics covered in these articles relate to sexual abuse of minors, early pregnancies, domestic crimes, and parental negligence (e.g., non-vaccination of children). Coverage of the Serb community is dominated by articles presenting others as victims of Serbs as an ethnic group. As noted earlier, such reporting is largely dominated by war stories where the blame for the committed crimes tends to be attributed to all Serbs.

Figure 13: Entities Suffering from Alleged Target Group Actions (Audiovisual Materials)



In audiovisual materials, although the number of hate speech shows turns out to be lower, the trends are almost replicated. LGBTIQ persons are portrayed as a threat to the heterosexual community, while immigrants/refugees and Serbs are framed in relation to the majority community. Concerning the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities, although the

number of shows is small enough to produce consistent trends, it turns out that the same as with the written articles, these communities are portrayed more as a threat to themselves than to others. The topics of hygiene and lack of awareness are most prominent when these communities are portrayed as self-victimizing.

4. Putting Findings in Context and Giving Them Meaning

4. Putting Findings in Context and Giving Them Meaning

4.1 Key Characteristics of Problematic Language by Selected Categories

The table below summarizes the print media reporting for the selected groups.

Regarding audiovisual materials, it has not been possible to prepare such a table because the number of problematic language shows was not concentrated in one or two media, rather in many of them. This has made it impossible to derive trends and generalizations on the content of the shows subject to examination.

SELECTED GROUPS

Media	Serbian	Non-Serb Minorities	Immigrant/Refugee	LGBTIQ
<p>Media 1</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Objectionable action towards the majority community is correlated to the Serbian ethnicity of the perpetrator. - Situations/events where Serbs 'face off' against Albanians are constantly framed as a clash between two enemies and take on the connotation of a physical confrontation, where the victory of one party means loss for the other ethnicity. In confrontations with Serbs, the individual is always posited in relation to the other as an Albanian; - Uncensored and unannounced use of disparaging terms for Serbs such as 'shka', 'shkina', 'shkijet'; - Generalization of Serb crimes by blaming Serbs for crimes committed by Serbian police, paramilitary, and military forces. Prevalent use of phrases such as 'Serb crimes', instead of language specifying that the crimes were committed by the state authorities of Serbia, and not by the entire Serbian people. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The objectionable/criminal conduct of persons from the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities is constantly represented in association with their respective ethnicities. - Negligent acts are associated with the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian ethnicities (arson, inebriation, self-harm, etc.). - Incest and early parenthood in minors are represented as a phenomenon associated with being part of the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Refugees from the Middle East are portrayed as dangerous people, whom the citizens should fear. - Refugees are portrayed as getting benefits from the state of Kosovo (parasites). - Their 'illegality' is highlighted, and their ethnicity is constantly noted when reporting on their actions (brawls, thefts, assaults). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Homosexuality is objectified, mystified and homosexual behaviors are put under the magnifying glass of journalistic 'research'. Reporting which defines homosexuality as a choice rather than as a biological determination is prevalent. - Media outlets become platforms for airing homophobic calls by local imams inciting hatred and violence against the LGBTIQ community. Members of the LGBTIQ community are labeled as terrorists, 'obscene', and degenerate, and their speeches are broadcast uncensored.
<p>Media 2</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Noting the Serbian ethnicity where ethnicity has no relevance to the news, except for the tendency to associate action with ethnicity. - Uncensored use of disparaging terms for Serbs such as 'shka', 'shkina', 'shkijet' (even when there are calls for violence against Serbs). - Generalization of Serb crimes by blaming Serbs for crimes committed by Serbian police, paramilitary and military forces. Prevalent use of phrases such as 'Serb crimes', instead of language specifying that the crimes were committed by the state authorities of Serbia, and not by the entire Serbian people. 	<p>Same as Media 1.</p>	<p>Reporting on crimes that are not usually covered when committed by members of the majority community</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Positive approach to the challenges of and discrimination against the LGBTIQ community

<p>Media 3</p>	<p>Same as Media 2</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Waste, pollution, uncleanliness is constantly noted in relation to the neighborhoods and settlements of members of the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities. - Same as Media 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Use of metaphors such as 'river of Syrians' and other bombastic headlines that are alarming to the local population. - Their 'illegality' is highlighted, and their ethnicity is constantly noted when reporting on their actions (brawls, thefts, assaults). - Reporting on crimes that are not usually covered when committed by members of the majority community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Positive approach to the challenges of and discrimination against the LGBTIQ community
<p>Media 4</p>	<p>Same as Media 2</p>	<p>Same as Media 1 and 3</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Headlines are alarming and warn of threats from refugees. - Same as Media 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Impropriety of being gay and Albanian is implied (State and national symbols and LGBTIQ community symbols are mutually exclusive).
<p>Media 5</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Uncensored use of disparaging terms for Serbs such as 'shka', 'shkinë', 'shkije'. 	<p>Same as Media 1</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Refugees from the Middle East are portrayed as dangerous people, whom the citizens should fear. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Homosexuality is represented as abnormal sexual behavior. - Same as Media 1
<p>Media 6</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Situations/events where Serbs 'face off' against Albanians are constantly framed as a clash between two enemies and take on the connotation of a physical confrontation, where the victory of one party means loss for the other ethnicity. In confrontations with Serbs, the individual is always posited in relation to the other as an Albanian. 	<p>Same as Media 1</p>	<p>Same as Media 1</p>	<p>There are not many reports about this community</p>

<p>Media 7</p>	<p>Not enough items for this community were found in the archive</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Unclean and negligent; - Same as Media 1 	<p>Same as Media 1</p>	<p>There are not many reports about this community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Articles refer to situations where third parties exchange offenses by labeling each other as homosexual
<p>Media 8</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Noting the Serbian ethnicity where ethnicity has no relevance to the news, except for the tendency to associate action with ethnicity. 4. 'Normal' relations between Serbs and Albanians are portrayed as abnormal, suspicious, and weird 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Uncensored use of disparaging terms such as 'magjup', 'gabel'. - Violation of privacy and objectification of the Roma woman who was attacked in multiple municipalities of Kosovo 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Alarming headlines about the large number of refugees from the Middle East who will descend into Albanian territories. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This media outlet published a racist fear mongering article against a person portrayed as "a man who looks like a woman, and snatches children". Such articles from this media outlet, but also others, caused the perpetration of violence against the woman, who was later established to be
<p>Media 9</p>	<p>Same as Media 2</p>	<p>Same as Media 1</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Use of metaphors such as 'river of Syrians' and other bombastic headlines that are alarming to the local population 	<p>Not enough items for this community were found in the archive</p>
<p>Media 10</p>	<p>Same as Media 1</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -There is an article that incites hatred and engages in fear mongering against a Roma woman, who was attacked in multiple municipalities of Kosovo. This article misinforms that 'a woman from Llapi possesses a weapon and is part of a criminal network that kidnaps children' (paraphrasing). Such reporting led to violence and savagery against this woman.. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Alarming headlines about the large number of refugees from the Middle East who will descend into Albanian territories 	<p>Same as Media 1</p>

4.2 Analysis of Used Discourse and Identification of Problematic Language Structures

In his well-known article 'Objectivity as Strategic Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen's Notions of Objectivity', Tuchman (1972) posits that the idea of objective reporting by the media is more of a strategy used to protect itself from criticism over the truthfulness of reported news and the credibility of news sources. Similarly, Cohen-Almagon (2008) argues against objective reporting that would involve moral neutrality in covering events, and prefers instead 'subjective' journalism, which maintains morally sound attitudes while covering anti-democratic phenomena or calls against certain communities. The prevailing principles of journalistic reporting presuppose a 'detachment' of the journalist from the phenomenon that is the object of reporting, making it impossible for the journalist to take a stand on the event he/she is reporting. Accordingly, objectivity as a form of detachment in journalism becomes an instrument for maintaining the social status quo and the power relations in the given society. This is because access to the sphere where public opinion is shaped is not the same for everyone and powerful groups (harnessing more than material power) dominate the public space and use this privileged access to maintain the asymmetric relations with marginalized groups. In this sense, media objectivity becomes a 'mask to disguise or legitimize the authority of powerful social groups over the weakest groups in that society' (Ibid, p. 9). The following section will examine the discourse used against the selected groups

and provide some examples of how the media structure reporting on certain events, which are indicative of the power relations between social groups in Kosovo.

Starting with the LGBTIQ community, media coverage of issues related to this community in Kosovo is centered around important dates for members of this community (on or about May 17th). Stories on events or characters related to this community outside of Kosovo are reported throughout the year, without added frequency in any period. Regarding the analysis of the discourse used by the media for this community, it should be noted that in most of the examined media (6 out of 10 print media outlets) there was one article with content including **calls for the killing of LGBTIQ members**. Relying on the 'objectivity' of reporting, these media outlets have become **platforms for vilifying** members of the LGBTIQ community, where religious authorities promote and incite violence against this community unchecked. The content of these reports speaks of the **incompatibility between being Albanian and Muslim** on one side and **being LGBTIQ** on the other side. The media outlets express these opinions without applying any standard for filtering information, nor obtaining the opinion of the party affected by such problematic calls. The rest of the media discourse on this community is objectifying and stigmatizing, where being gay is used as an insult to the other person. Some of these news pieces boast head-

lines such as (headlines are paraphrased)³⁴: “Fitness Exercising is a Sign of Being Gay”, “Scientific Study: “Lefthanded Men Are More Likely to Prefer the Same Sex”, “Albanian MP Attacks the President of the EC: Alcoholic and Homosexual”, “A Man Dressed as a Woman is Snatching Children in Kosovo”. This type of discourse treats homosexual behavior as an object of study and attempts to mystify the actions of a member of this community. The last headline showcases the glaring lack of professionalism, where being trans (media assumption) is presented as reason enough to fear a person and action amounting to public lynching is encouraged against the ‘weirdo’ and ‘abnormal woman’. In some EU countries, hate mongering and discriminatory calls against the LGBTIQ community are neutralized by the media, where they have the right to opt out of reporting on events or calls that affect this community.³⁵

Immigrants/Refugees are covered depending on the movements of immigrants/refugees in the Balkans and Albanian lands. In reporting about their movements towards Albania and Kosovo, the prevalent topics are on the **number of arrivals, their movements** within the territory, and **their goals** to leave or stay. Concerning their stay in Kosovo and Albania, immigrants/refugees feature heavily in the **crime chronicles** reporting of their criminal offenses in Kosovo and the problem they pose to the **order and security in host countries**. In the reporting of criminal offenses allegedly committed by immigrants/refugees, the ethnicity of the protagonists is constantly noted, while in the vast majority of cases noting ethnicity does not have any relevance.³⁶ Another prob-

lem is the indiscriminate use of terms such as ‘**illegal immigrants**’ or ‘**illegal stay**’ to indicate the status of immigrants/refugees, although no information is provided on whether these persons have applied for asylum and if their asylum application has been rejected. In some other cases, water related metaphors are used to report on the arrival of immigrants/refugees. Terms such as ‘**river of refugees**’, but also ‘**landing of refugees**’, or ‘**refugees head to borders**’ are constantly used and suggest to the audience the ‘need to protect themselves and their families’ from the oncoming ‘others’ (Reporting on Migration & Minorities, Approach and Guidelines, 2017:10). This type of reporting creates the impression among the host population that immigrants/refugees are a destructive force and that their community is ‘under threat’. Some media outlets have spread fake news about the alleged security problems caused by refugees in Kosovo and Albania, where no facts or evidence are given that the refugees have endangered public safety. Often there is **discrepancy between headline and content**, and additional ‘facts’, such as videos that allegedly prove that the perpetrators are refugees, which if examined carefully turn out to be fabrications and fake news. It is also important to note here the propaganda reporting that presents the refugees as ‘**parasites**’, who are gaining material benefit from the state of Kosovo. Such news notes the assistance schemes for asylum seekers and implies that it behooves these asylum seekers to stay in Kosovo because of the benefits they receive. Some of these news pieces boast headlines such as (headlines are paraphrased): “**This is the Number of Syrians in Our Country, Though Supported by the State, They**

³⁴ These headlines are paraphrased for the sake of ensuring confidentiality in relation to the media outlets that published the news. The news headline, though paraphrased, is quite close to the original headline.

³⁵ For more, see: <https://www.article19.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Responding-to-%E2%80%98hate-speech%E2%80%99-with-positive-measures-A-case-study-from-six-EU-countries-.pdf>. It seems significant to note that the media have the right to review religious interpretations, which may promote gender inequality or reinforce stereotypes of various types (page 10)

³⁶ There are also many cases where the media outlets find an immigrant/refugee guilty even though a trial is yet to be held on the alleged offense. In many European countries, the principle of ‘innocent until proven guilty’ is integrated into the Codes of Ethics in Media. For more, see: <https://www.respectwords.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Reporting-on-Migration-and-Minorities..pdf>

Beg”, “Euro 19.00 Per Asylum Seeker, Syrians and Iraqis Plan to Live in Kosovo”, “Middle Eastern Refugees Pose a Problem to Order and Security in Albania”, “River of Syrians in Albania, No Information from the Police”, “Moroccans Physically Attack Security Personnel at Magure Asylum Center”.

In examining reporting on communities Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian, it is observed that news about these communities overlook the context in which a particular phenomenon occurs. In other words, news reports tend to present the phenomena related to these communities detached from the socio-economic factors, which have enabled these phenomena to appear in the first place. As noted in *Reporting on Migration & Minorities, Approach and Guidelines* (2017), the problems of ethnic minorities are reported superficially in terms of not addressing the root causes of these problems, consequently causing the ‘normalization’ of the occurrence of such problems, as if they were given facts. The same type of reporting is present in the media subject to examination, where the problems of the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities are reported as if they appeared in a social and economic ‘vacuum’. Sexual abuse, early marriages, domestic violence, non-vaccination of children, and other phenomena are represented as issues related to the mentality, traditions, unworldliness of these minorities, and not as manifestations of an oppressive system against members of these communities. As with immigrants/refugees, the vast majority of news reports of illegal acts, allegedly committed by members of these communities, make note of the perpetrator’s ethnicity either in the headline or in the body of text, although it is irrelevant to the information. In this regard, it is important to underline the fact that there are some cases where the news highlight the perpetrator’s ethnicity when the perpetrator belongs to one of these communities, but not in cases where the perpetrator is from the majority community. This manifestly evident

discrimination also appears in police reports, where the Albanian perpetrator or victim is not noted by ethnicity, rather referred to as ‘Kosovan’, while the ethnicity of members of other communities is constantly noted. Another characteristic of media reporting on the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities is their framing as ‘victims’ or ‘aggressors’. News about them falls in either one of these two extremes, consequently depriving the audience of information that would represent members of these communities as citizens. Closely related to this is the practice of not including the perspectives of these communities on events that concern them. Members of these communities can be talked about, researched, judged, and have news produced about them, but they themselves as news protagonists are deprived of talking themselves about their experiences, goals, and problems they face. Some (paraphrased) news headlines that provide an overview of media reporting trends are: “Roma from Kosovo **Suspected of Spreading Coronavirus in the German City While Celebrating Eid**”, “**In the Week of Vaccination, Doctors Say That RAE Community Children Remain a Problem**”, “**This Is Why Roma Are Not at Risk from Coronavirus**”, “**Kosovan Sexually Abuses Ashkali Minor in Pristina**”, “**Woman Who Caused Panic in Kosovo - What Children and Adults Say**”.

Regarding the Serb community, the media discourse revolves especially around war crimes and the obstructions by Serbia in relation to the state of Kosovo through the Serb population living in Kosovo. Reporting tends to emphasize the rivalry/enmity between Albanians and Serbs, and the actions of one side towards the other are seen through this prism, where the ‘race’ between them has winners and losers. Accordingly, sports or music events in which Albanians and Serbs participate are interpreted as competitions where the parties must defeat each other, not only for the sake of the competition, but also for the ethnicity they represent. Contenders enter the compe-

tition not only in their capacity as athletes or performers, but as

Albanians and Serbs who, beyond their own, have a historic mission to fulfill. In addition to generalizing war crimes and using disparaging terms for Serbs, media articles tend to note the ethnicity of the news protagonist merely to associate ethnicity with the protagonist's conduct. For example, the Serbian ethnicity of the illegal beneficiaries of agricultural grants is emphasized, but not the ethnicity of the beneficiaries from the majority community. The approach is similar in reporting of criminal conduct where the perpetrator's Serb ethnicity is emphasized, while this is not the case when the perpetrator is a member of the majority community. While reporting on political events, the ethnicity of MPs or ministers is underlined, especially in cases where the news relates to Serbia's destructive actions and agendas towards Kosovo statehood. Some selected (paraphrased) headlines from media coverage of the Serb community are: "Albanian Boxer Before the Match Against Arkan's Son: I Pledge My Besa - I Shall Not Disgrace You", "Police Arrest Serbian Who Beat His Albanian Wife", "In Bujanovac, Albanians Buy the Last Serb Owned Shop", "Fisticuffs Between a Kosovan and a Serb in Pristina", "At Match End, Xhaka Brawls with the Serb Dubajic".

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings presented above and good international practices in relation to preventing and combating hate speech, the Report provides the following recommendations:

1. Unify definitions of hate speech in laws, guidelines, and codes of ethics to avoid ambiguity and gaps in interpretation.
2. Expand the list of characteristics against which hate speech is prohibited. Include sexual orientation and refugee/immigrant status as grounds on which the incitement or promotion of hate speech is prohibited.
3. Update the Codes of Ethics and monitor their implementation on a regular basis.
4. Provide sanctions against media violating professional reporting rules and establish oversight mechanisms for compliance with such rules.
5. Strengthen the self-regulatory capacities of the media and ensure the inclusion of the media in setting the rules for self-regulatory mechanisms.
6. Re-interpret the principle of 'objectivity' in reporting and establish a balance between 'neutral' reporting of the event and preserving human dignity.
7. Apply editorial filters to speeches and calls by religious or political authorities that incite hatred against certain communities.
8. Avoid mentioning ethnicity in reporting where this is irrelevant to the news being reported.
9. Show sensitivity towards refugee stories and avoid framing refugees/immigrants in a criminal light.
10. Report professionally on the phenomena concerning the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities, and avoid noting the perpetrator's ethnicity where irrelevant to the news.
11. Avoid sensational headlines while reporting on vulnerable groups and communities.
12. Censor disparaging references to minorities in Kosovo and disassociate from news containing calls for violence or discrimination against a certain social group.
13. Avoid generalizing crimes and underline every time that crimes in Kosovo were committed by the state structures of Serbia and not by all Serbs.
14. Observe the principle of innocence where reporting crimes allegedly committed by discriminated groups in Kosovo.
15. Break the inter-ethnic relations myth while covering non-political events, such as in arts and sports.

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