HATE
- O -
METER II

Pristina, 2021

Executive Summary

The report on 'Hate Speech Research in Kosovo 2019/2020 II' is being published after the successful introduction of the first report, which for the first time provided scientific results on the use of hate speech in the Kosovo media. As with the previous edition, the purpose of this Report is to contribute to efforts to track, deter, and address hate speech and hate-based crime, focusing on the media as the main platforms for shaping public opinion. As such, the media are key actors in spreading or not spreading phenomena of concern and often catalysts for the spread of racist, xenophobic, and homophobic sentiments of radical groups. Therefore, this Report attempts to offer a modest contribution to identifying these narratives and thwarting them before they turn into hate-motivated acts (crimes).

In terms of methodology, same as with the first report, the research relies on a qualitative method of content analysis, which allows the identification of dominant frameworks used to portray target communities and linguistic links used to construct the 'other' in relation to the rest of the population. This method has been applied for the textual analysis of 10 online media and the linguistic analysis of 6 TV stations. The report used objective criteria to determine which media outlets should be included in research and to maximize the generalization of findings to the extent possible. To allow for a trend comparison, the review of articles and shows in these media was conducted over two six-month periods, 1 July 2019 – 31 December 2019 and 1 July 2020 – 31 December 2020. The researchers applied the approach of total population sample and random sample to select the articles for textual analysis, and criterion sampling for purposes of linguistic analysis of TV shows. In total, 1,355 textual items and 111 audiovisual items were analyzed and transferred to the main database. Overall, the findings show that for the analyzed periods, 8.34% of online articles (decrease compared to the previous report) and 18.60% of TV shows (increase compared to the previous report) use hate speech towards target communities or misquote people who use hate speech against certain groups.

Regarding the examined groups, the results show that in online articles and TV shows, the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities continue to be mostly targeted by hate speech, followed by Serbs, and fewer from migrants and the LGBTIQ community. More specifically, for the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities, the media report in the crime chronicles, where predominant reporting frames portray them as violent, sexually abusive, looters, and con men. For the LGBTIQ community, the media become a platform for disseminating homophobic calls from conservative politicians and religious leaders. Regarding immigrants/refugees, media reports portray them as a threat to national security and as violent persons. For Serbs, the reports generalize the crimes of the Serbian state and construct a notion of collective guilt for all Serbs. The emphasis on hostility between the two ethnicities dominates even outside of political events. The Report concludes by providing a list of recommendations on capacity building for law enforcement institutions to prevent hate speech and hate crimes and calls for media awareness when reporting on vulnerable communities in Kosovo.

1.Methodology, Selection of Media for Analysis, and Units of Analysis

1.1 Summary of Media Selection Methodology for Research Purposes

Readers of this second report are recommended to refer to the first report for detailed information on applied definitions, methodology, and data collection process. To avoid duplication of information, this section will highlight only those issues that new readers need to understand the procedures followed by researchers.

As in the first report, for purposes of this Report the definition used by researchers to classify the data produced is the one used by the Council of Europe (1997), defining hate speech as follows:

"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."[1]

The reason for using this definition involves the fact that this definition of hate speech not only expands the range of acts that can be considered hate speech (through spread, incitement, promotion), but also allows the inclusion of protected characteristics which may be subject to hate speech (racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, ethnocentrism, hatred towards migrants).[2] Moreover, this definition, being comprehensive, is in accordance with the constitutional provisions and the applicable legislation

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

[2]　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

governing hate speech in Kosovo.[3] Accordingly, in analyzing media language towards the most vulnerable communities in Kosovo, this Report refers to the above definition which allow us to analyze the media not only where they express editorial positions of the respective media outlets, but also where they become platforms for inciting hatred by third parties.

This definition has been applied to analyze textual material from online media and audiovisual material broadcast on national television. The main criteria for classifying the examined materials are: 1) context, 2) speaker's identity/capacity, 3) speaker's intent, and 4) potential of causing harm through used language. The same media as in the first report were selected to analyze the materials they produce. The sample selection included a total of 10 electronic media for the textual analysis of media articles and 6 TV stations 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 that broadcast nationally were selected[4] referring to their ranking on the www.alexa.com platform, which provides global rankings and web traffic analysis by country.[5] Referring to the list provided by this platform, the sample selection includes 7 media outlets top ranked by the audience.[6] These media outlets are: koha.net, gazetaexpress.com , indeksonline.net, klankosova.tv, lajmi.net, telegrafi.com, and

Kallxo.com.[7] While the 3 local broadcast media were selected according to the following criteria: 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 possible.[8] The selected sample included: veriu.info, tvprizreni.info, and drenicapress.com. Concerning audiovisual materials, the analysis included shows broadcast on mainstream national media: RTK, KTV, RTV 21, Klan Kosova, TV Dukagjini, and T7.

1.2 Units of Analysis and the Sample

In data collection and analysis, this research relied on the qualitative method of content analysis, focusing on identifying words/sentences that refer to the 'other' and the implicit messages conveyed through these sentences. In other words, content analysis allows researchers to recognize the presence of problematic language in media materials and the ways in which this problematic language is manifested. It should be noted that through this method, research is not limited to explicit manifestations of hate speech (through the use of disparaging terms), but also extends to implicit messages encoded in the material, which are very important to understand how the 'other' is constructed and 'its' relations with the 'other' part of society.

This method was applied to the collection and interpretation of data on 4 social groups, which as minorities are considered the

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[3]   See Article 40 paragraph 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo and Article 141 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Kosovo at:

https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=2834

[4]   The selection was made last year, when the first report was produced. Since then, there may have been changes in the media ranking. To

maintain consistency between the two reports and to allow comparisons between the two periods, we have analyzed the same media in both reports.

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

[6]   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.

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

[8]   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.

most vulnerable in public discourse. These 4 groups, serving as key units of analysis, are: Serb community, LGBTIQ, Immigrants/Refugees, and Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities. The main reasons for including these categories in the research are related to the tensions/conflicts in relation to the majority community (the case with the Serb community), social taboos on sexuality (LGBTIQ community), cultural prejudice (Immigrants/Refugees), and ethnic prejudice (Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities). 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 related to the 'other group' will be manifested in the public discourse, namely in the media as crucial articulators in this discourse. These key units of analysis 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. Key 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 twofold, and the target group (unit of analysis) is subject to hate speech based on both ethnicity and sexual orientation (grounds of hate speech).
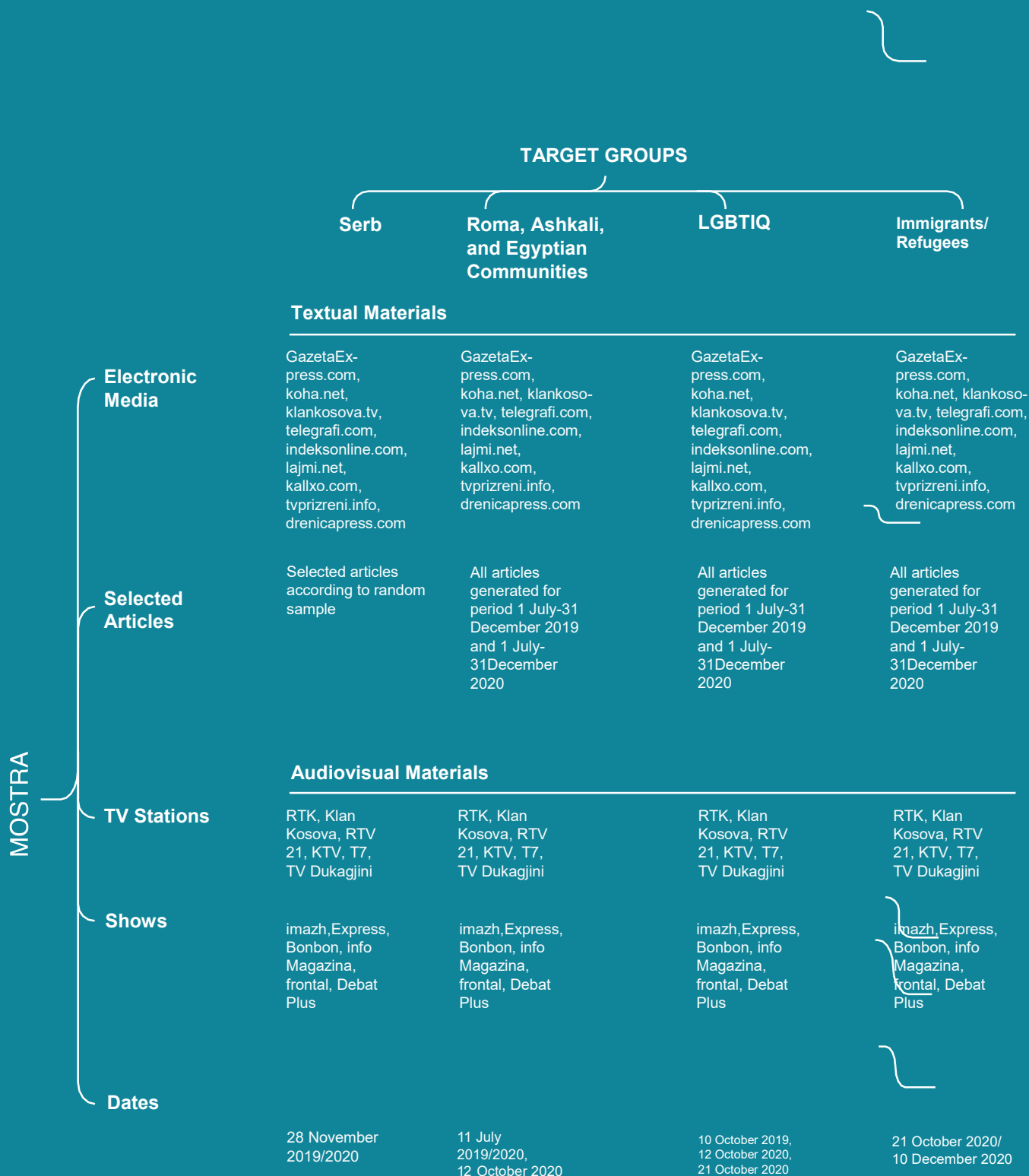
1.3 Media Selection, Data Collection, and Classification of Findings

The examination of articles and shows in these media outlets was conducted over two six-month periods, 1 July 2019 – 31 December 2019, and 1 July 2020 — 31 December 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 sampling approach 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 communities. 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 partially used for the Serb community, meaning random selection of articles, where each article is equally likely to be selected by the researcher.[9] As for audiovisual materials (shows), the

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[9] 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.

TARGET GROUPS

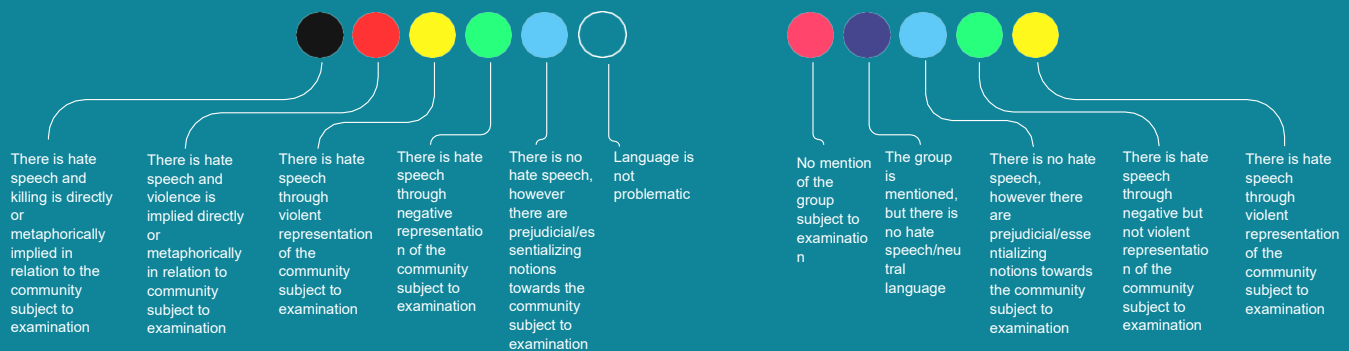| MOSTRA		Serb	Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian Communities	LGBTIQ	Immigrants/ Refugees
	Textual Materials				
	Electronic Media	GazetaExpress.com, koha.net, klankosova.tv, telegrafi.com, indeksonline.com, lajmi.net, kallxo.com, tvprizreni.info, drenicapress.com	GazetaExpress.com, koha.net, klankosova.tv, telegrafi.com, indeksonline.com, lajmi.net, kallxo.com, tvprizreni.info, drenicapress.com	GazetaExpress.com, koha.net, klankosova.tv, telegrafi.com, indeksonline.com, lajmi.net, kallxo.com, tvprizreni.info, drenicapress.com	GazetaExpress.com, koha.net, klankosova.tv, telegrafi.com, indeksonline.com, lajmi.net, kallxo.com, tvprizreni.info, drenicapress.com
	Selected Articles	Selected articles according to random sample	All articles generated for period 1 July-31 December 2019 and 1 July-31December 2020	All articles generated for period 1 July-31 December 2019 and 1 July-31December 2020	All articles generated for period 1 July-31 December 2019 and 1 July-31December 2020
	Audiovisual Materials				
	TV Stations	RTK, Klan Kosova, RTV 21, KTV, T7, TV Dukagjini	RTK, Klan Kosova, RTV 21, KTV, T7, TV Dukagjini	RTK, Klan Kosova, RTV 21, KTV, T7, TV Dukagjini	RTK, Klan Kosova, RTV 21, KTV, T7, TV Dukagjini
	Shows	imazh,Express, Bonbon, info Magazina, frontal, Debat Plus	imazh,Express, Bonbon, info Magazina, frontal, Debat Plus	imazh,Express, Bonbon, info Magazina, frontal, Debat Plus	imazh,Express, Bonbon, info Magazina, frontal, Debat Plus
	Dates	28 November 2019/2020	11 July 2019/2020, 12 October 2020	10 October 2019, 12 October 2020, 21 October 2020	21 October 2020/ 10 December 2020

research approach used criterion sampling, which involves selecting units (shows) that meet a certain criterion of importance predetermined by the researcher.[10] 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 were 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.

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 to alia* the problematic sentence, grounds of bias, entity suffering from the alleged target community action, and target community framing approaches by media outlets. Similar filters have been used to collect data from audiovisual materials, with some additional elements (time/minute 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 essentializing language. The figure below shows the colors used for article classification.

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

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

There is hate speech and killing is directly or metaphorically implied in relation to the community subject to examination

There is hate speech and violence is implied directly or metaphorically in relation to community subject to examination

There is hate speech through violent representation of the community subject to examination

There is hate speech through negative representation of the community subject to examination

There is no hate speech, however there are prejudicial/essentializing notions towards the community subject to examination

Language is not problematic

No mention of the group subject to examination

The group is mentioned, but there is no hate speech/neutral language

There is no hate speech, however there are prejudicial/essentializing notions towards the community subject to examination

There is hate speech through negative but not violent representation of the community subject to examination

There is hate speech through violent representation of the community subject to examination

*Color code for textual data collection *

*Color code for audiovisual data collection

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

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

2.1 General Overview of Problematic Language Presence in Selected Media

The data were collected through archive searches on selected media websites. Articles were searched by keyword (applying the rule of shortest denomination per social group). Below are the keywords used in data collection.
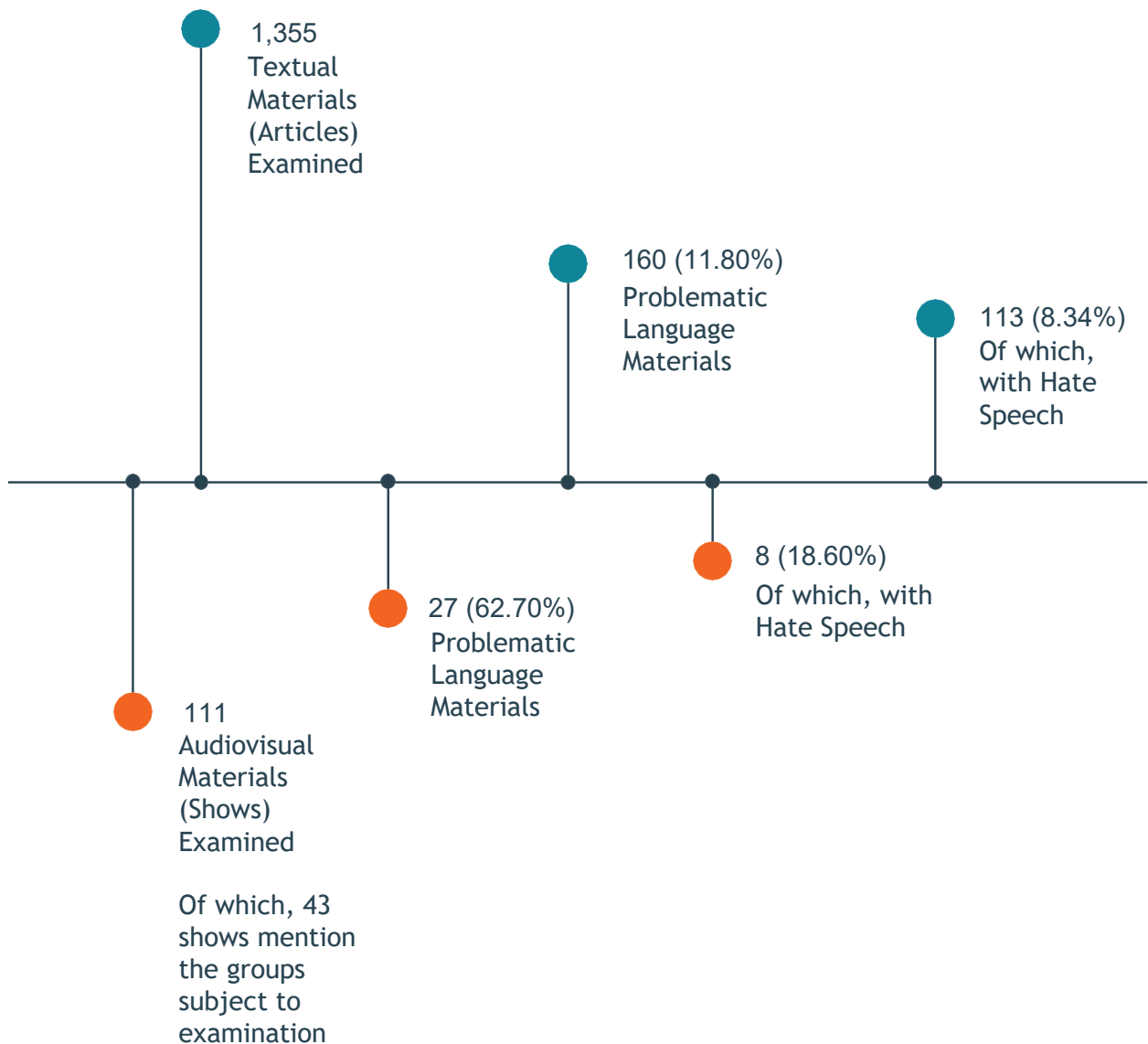
Figure 3: Keywords Used to Find Articles

Communitie	Serb	LGBTIQ	Non-Serb Communities	Immigrant/Refug
Keywords:	Serb, "shka", "shkije", "shkinë"	LGBTIQ, homo-seksual, bisek-sual, transeksu-al, lesbike, gay, "peder"	Rom, ashkali, egjiptian, "magjup", "gabel", "jevg", RAE	Imigrant, refug-jat, azil kerkues, Sirian, Afgan, Irakian, Maroken, Arab, Vranidoll, Magure

According to the sampling approach explained earlier and the keywords listed here, the total number of textual materials (articles) subject to examination is 1,355, while the number of audiovisual materials (shows) is 111. Of the 1,355 articles examined, 160 (11.8%) contain problematic language (hate speech + prejudicial language), of which 113 (8.33%) only with

hate speech. While out of 201 shows examined, 43 of them involve topics on the selected communities, where 27 (62.70%) contain prejudicial language (hate speech
+ prejudicial language, and 8 (18.60%) contain hate speech.

1,355
Textual
Materials
(Articles)
Examined

160 (11.80%)
Problematic
Language
Materials

113 (8.34%)
Of which,
with Hate
Speech

8 (18.60%)
Of which, with
Hate Speech

27 (62.70%)
Problematic
Language
Materials

111
Audiovisual
Materials
(Shows)
Examined

Of which, 43
shows mention
the groups
subject to
examination

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)
Please refer to Page 26 for color code
breakdown
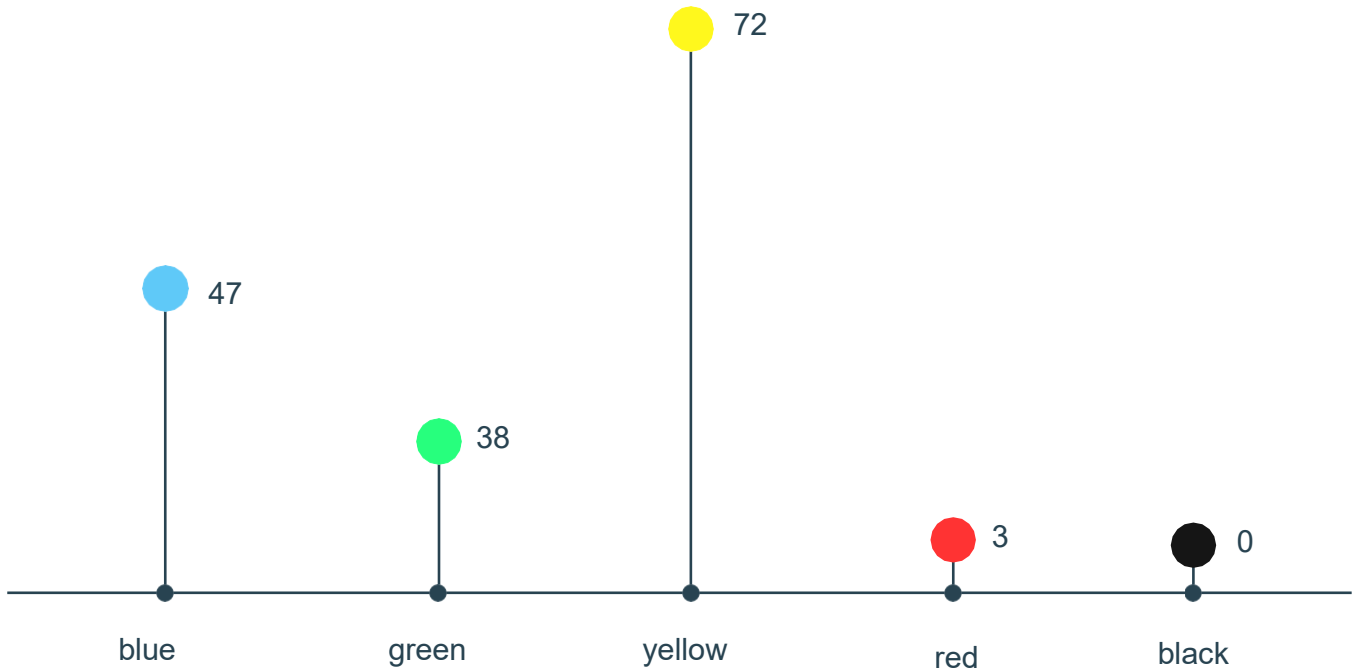
The results presented above show that the largest number of articles classified as having problematic content are in relation to language providing a violent representation of the target community (yellow). This implies that the prevailing discourse portrays the 'other' as violent and as a threat to the rest of society. This representation is followed by biased articles against selected groups, dominated by reporting which puts members of these communities in essentializing positions. While 28 articles are classified as articles with offensive discourse and 3 with discourse that implies violence. Compared to the first report, the classification of articles remains the same, with a slight pick-up in offensive representation and a decline in cases implicating violence (from 7 to 3), and no articles calling for murder (from 6 articles that were identified in the first report).

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

Total (by Color Code)
Please refer to Page 16 for color
code breakdown.
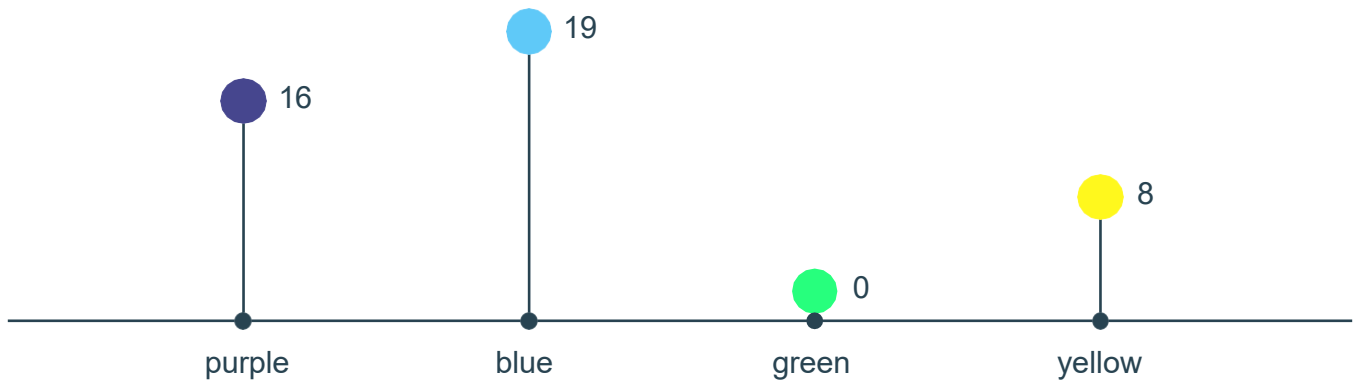
In the audiovisual materials, it can be noted that the number of shows involving the selected communities on relevant dates is relatively low (38.73% or 43 of the 111 shows examined). A large number of shows have a neutral approach to the topics they address, and in 19 of the shows there is prejudicial or stereotypical language to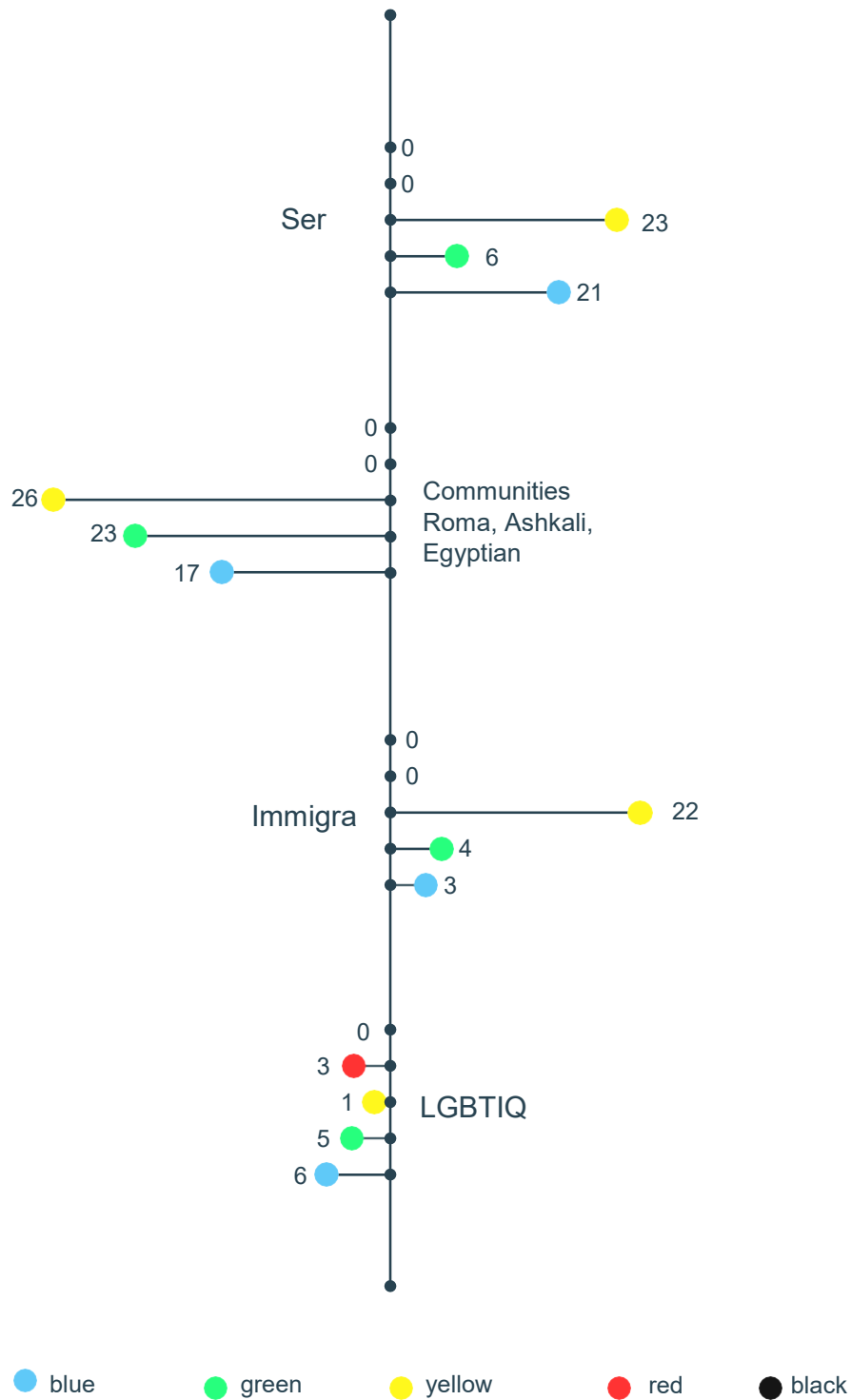wards the communities that are covered in these shows. Of the examined shows, 8 portray communities as violent, while there are no shows coded with the other three colors (green, red, and black).

Figure 6: Distribution of Problematic Language Featured in Textual Materials, by Community

Total (Hate Speech only)

Distribution of Prejudicial Language and Hate Speech by Rhetoric and Type of Call.

0

0

Ser ● 23

6

21

0

0

Communities
Roma, Ashkali,
Egyptian

26

23

17

0

0

Immigra ● 22

4

3

0

3

1 LGBTIQ

5

6

● blue   ● green   ● yellow   ● red   ● black

The two charts above show the distribution of hate speech and the classification of problematic language for each community. The results show that as in the first report, the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities are most exposed to hate speech (66 articles), followed by Serbs (50 articles), immigrants (29 articles), and LGBTIQ (15 articles). The ranking of communities according to the frequency of hate speech directed at them remains the same as in the first report. While for the distribution of problematic language by type of call, the data show that the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities are the target of language that portrays

them as violent, followed by Serbs, and then immigrants. In terms of prejudicial language, Serbs lead in ranking, followed by the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities, and LGBTIQ. The offensive language is mostly directed at the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities, and less at Serbs, LGBTIQ, and Immigrants. And all articles implicating violence (3 articles) are directed against the LGBTIQ community.

Figure 7: Distribution of Problematic Language Featured in Audiovisual Materials, by Community

Total (by Hate Speech)
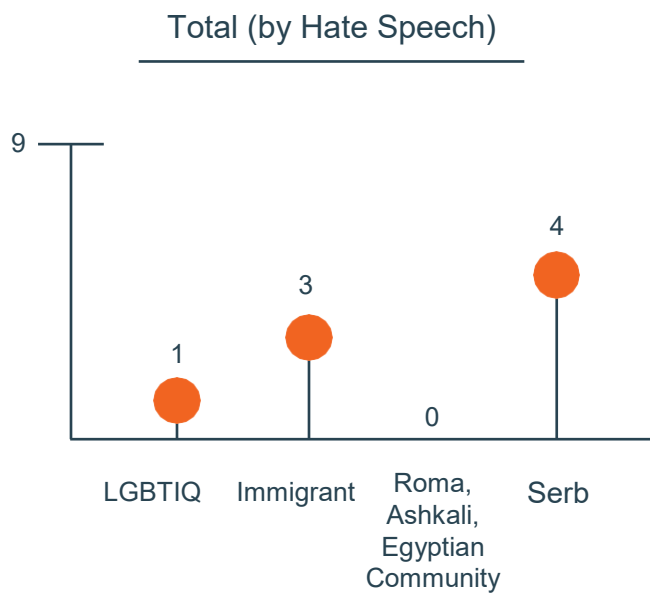
Distribution of Prejudicial Language and Hate Speech by Rhetoric and Type of Call
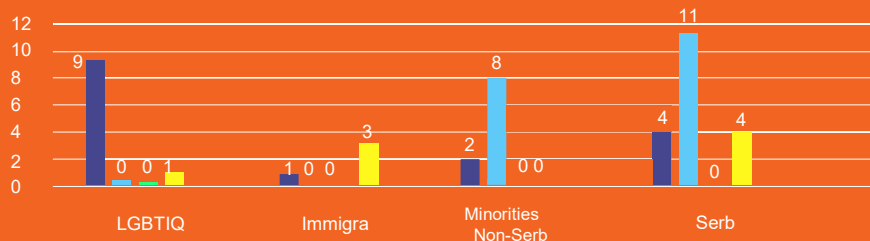
● purple — The group is mentioned, but no hate speech/neut. language

● blue — There is no hate speech, but there are prejudicial/essentializing notions towards the community subject to examination

● green — There is hate speech through negative but not violent representation of the community subject to examination

● yellow — There is hate speech through violent repr. of the community subject to examination

The data generated by examined shows indicate that members of the Serb community have been the target of hate speech in most of the shows classified as having such content. This community is slightly followed by Immigrants/Refugees who are portrayed as a threat to the safety of citizens. For the LGBTIQ community, one show has been identified to contain hate speech, spreading homophobic calls against this community holding a pride parade in Pristina. In terms of distribution

of the type of hate speech by community, it is observed that the Serb community leads rankings with language that portrays them as violent, followed by immigrants and the LGBTIQ community. In terms of prejudicial language, again the Serb community is most exposed, followed by the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities.

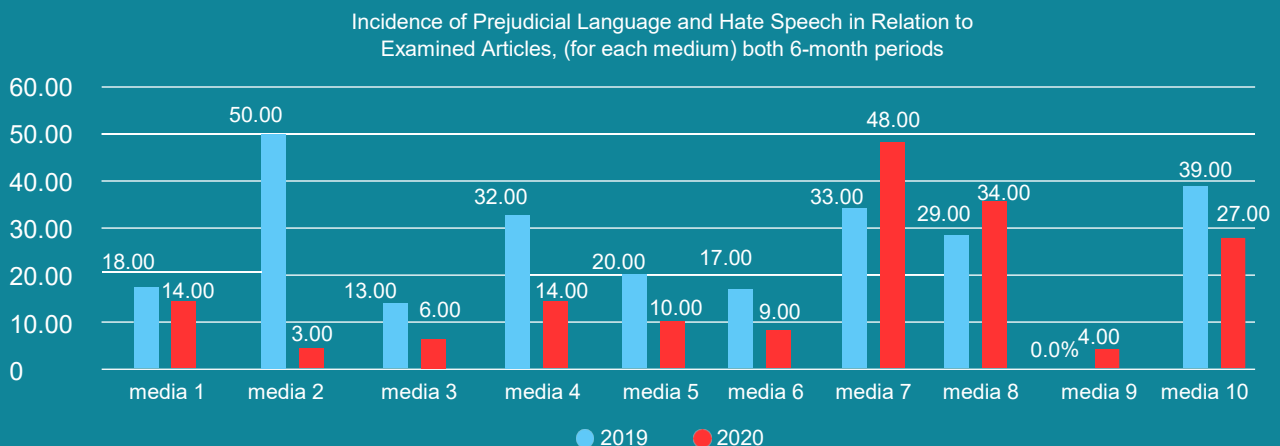**Figure 8: Incidence of Problematic Language in Textual Materials, both 6-month periods**

Incidence of Prejudicial Language and Hate Speech in both 6-month periods
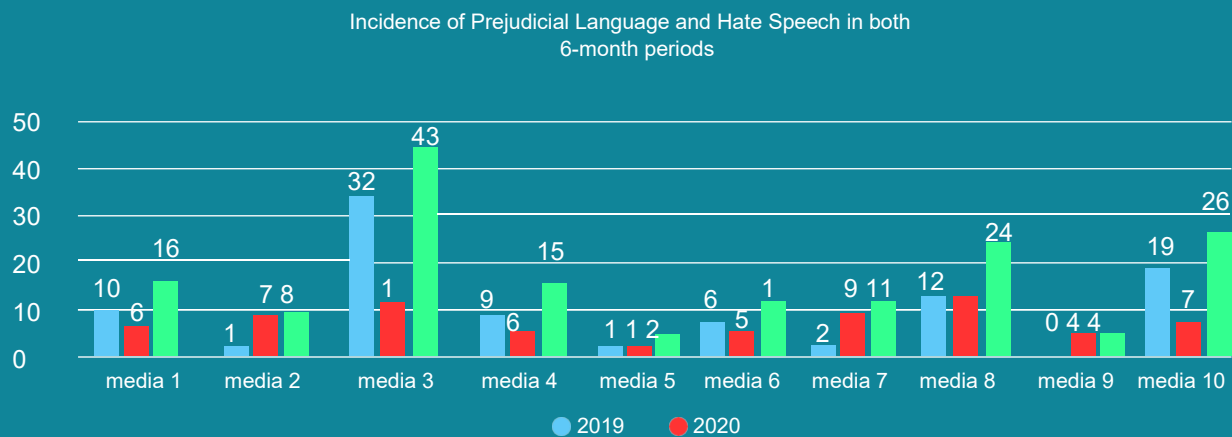
Figure 8.1: Incidence of Problematic Language in Relation to Examined Articles, (for each medium) both 6-month periods

Incidence of Prejudicial Language and Hate Speech in Relation to Examined Articles, (for each medium) both 6-month periods

The two figures presented above were generated to contrast 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 6-month period 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 examined articles. Both figures show that there are no consistent trends in both 6-month periods in terms of hate speech incidence, however it is generally observed that trends are more pronounced in the 6-month period of 2019 than during 2020.

While for the media outlets where problematic language has appeared with increased frequency, the data suggests that for 2019, Media 2, 4, 10 and 7 are the media outlets that have published the bulk of the problematic language. For 2020, the data shows that Media 7, 8, 10 have the most articles with problematic language, a trend which shows that hate speech is more prominent in some media outlets than in others (media outlets 7 and 10 top the list in both 6-month periods). Even compared to the first report, it is generally observed that some media feature more problematic articles than other media.

2.2 Dominant Trends by Community and Relationship Between Relevant Variables

This section provides charts on the feature sections of the articles for each group covered in research, the relevant framing, and the entities that are presumed to suffer from their actions.

Figure 9: Distribution of Problematic Language in Textual Materials by Feature Section (LGBTIQ and Immigrant)
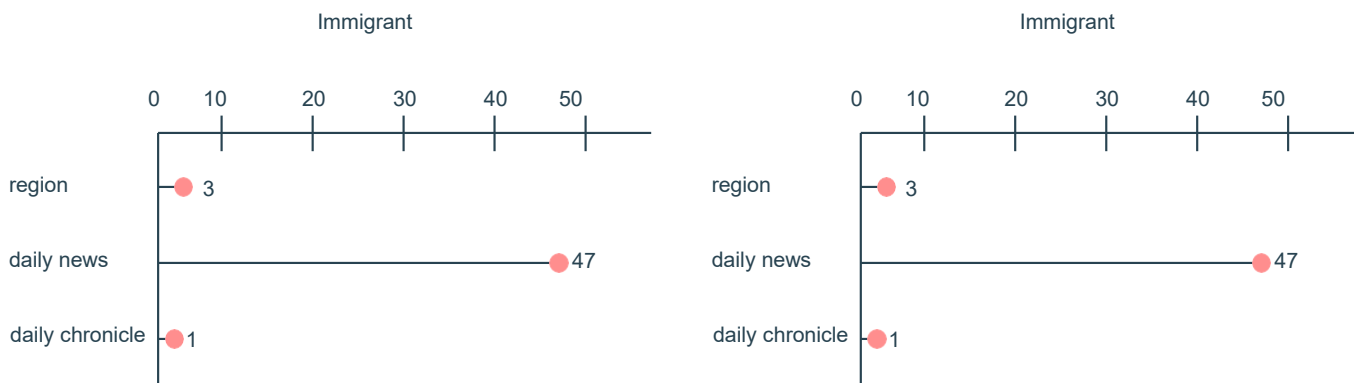
The data presented in the figure on the LGBTIQ community show that there is a broader yet more dispersed distribution compared to Immigrants/Refugees.

As shown by the data related to this community, problematic language is prevalent in the reporting of human-interest features, followed by daily news, and by showbiz and world news. In human-interest features prevail articles portraying members of the LGBTIQ community as an object of study where their behaviors, actions, and lifestyles are constantly scrutinized to draw lessons on homosexuality as a phenomenon.

Articles conveying statements by religious leaders against this community, and statements by conservative politicians who are known for their homophobic attitudes, dominate daily news feature sections. Immigrant/Refugees are prevalent in articles covering daily events related to this group, reporting on their ('violent') conduct in asylum centers, illegal border crossings, as well as Serbia's role enabling the penetration of these immigrants from its territory to the territory of Kosovo.

Figure 10: Distribution of Problematic Language in Textual Materials by Feature Section (Serb Community and Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian Communities)
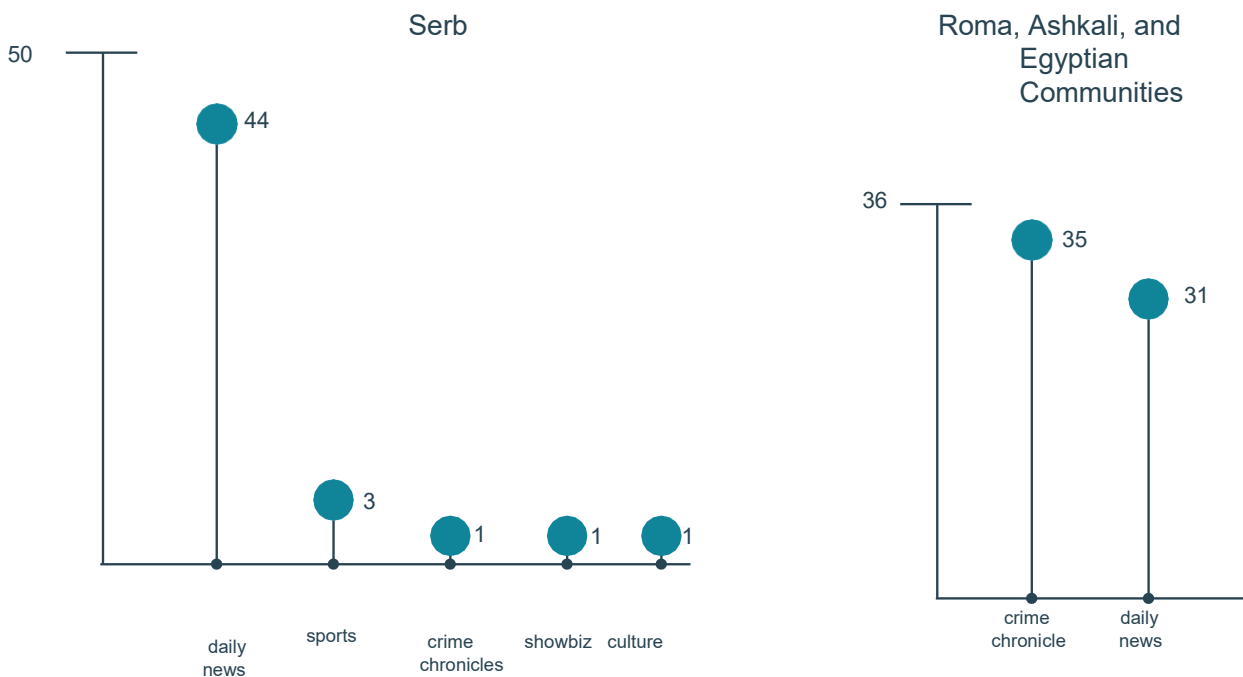
Regarding the Serb community, the problematic articles on this community are focused on the daily news, less so on the sports, crime chronicle, showbiz and culture feature sections. Same as in the first report, the 'hostility of the Serbian people' towards the Albanian people is underlined and war crimes are evoked as the deeds of the entire Serb population. Regarding the communities

of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptians, articles are mostly featured in the crime chronicles, reporting on crimes against members of these communities but also on criminal offenses against the property and assets of the majority population. Domestic abuse, incest, domestic homicide and rape, are some of the main topics that such articles address in relation to members of these communities.

**Figure 11: Target Group Framing Approaches in
Textual Materials**

LGBTIQ

immigrants/refugees

Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian Communities

Serb
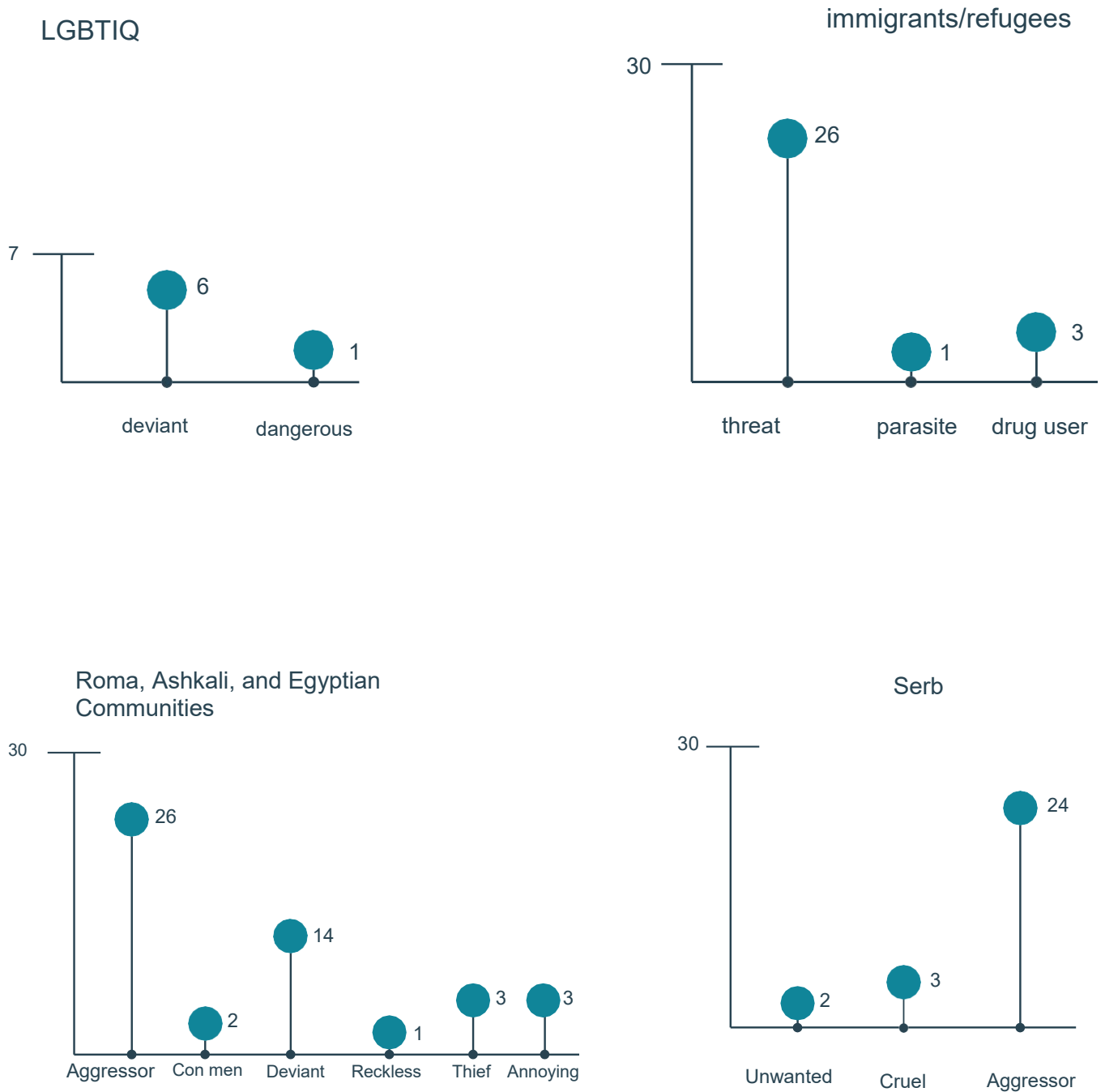
The above figure shows the principal framing approach used by media outlets while reporting in problematic language on the selected groups. Of the 4 groups, reporting on the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities employs the most versatile framing approaches, while reporting on the LGBTIQ community is more concentrated. In general, for the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities, the predominant framing approaches portray members of these communities as aggressors and as deviants. Also, in smaller numbers, there are framing approaches that portray them as thieves, con men and annoying. For the LGBTIQ community, the prevalent discourse portrays members of this community as deviant individuals that threaten

moral and social values. In this aspect, there is no difference compared to the previous report. There is no major change in relation to immigrants/refugees, where they continue to be featured as persons with risk potential and as factors of instability for national security. As for the Serb community, the articles generalize the recent war crimes attributing collective fault to the entire Serb nation. There are also reports that use, without any censure, disparaging terms for this community.

Figure 12: Target Group Framing Approaches in Audiovisual Materials

Immigrant/Refugee

2

1

dangerous threat
to security

LGBTIQ

2

Deviant,
freaks

Serb

4

Aggressor
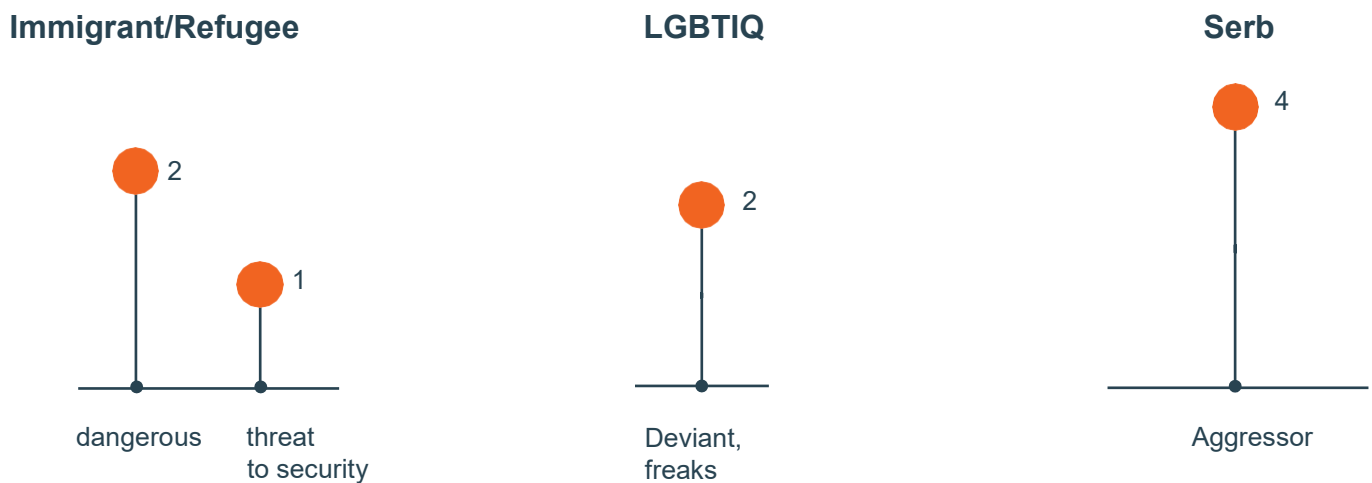
This figure presents the data from the analysis of audiovisual materials for 3 from 4 groups subject to examination. There is no figure for the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities because there were no shows containing hate speech towards these communities. According to the presented figures, there are no significant differences from the framing approach towards these communities in textual articles. For the LGBTIQ community, same as in textual articles, in TV shows they are portrayed as

deviant people who pose a threat to the 'sound' moral principles of the Kosovan society. Immigrants/Refugees are portrayed as violent, dangerous, arsonists, looters, and suspected of infiltration by terrorists from the Middle East. Regarding the Serb community, all 4 shows frame them as aggressors, war criminals, as enemies of the Albanian people, and guilty at national level for all crimes committed against the Albanian population in the 90s.

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

Entities Suffering from Alleged Target Group Actions

● out-group

● in-group

LGBTIQ   Immigrant   Non-Serb Minorities   Serb

The above figure presents data on how media articles have constructed the entities that suffer from the actions/omissions of the target group member(s). 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, the data show that problematic articles on the LGBTIQ community portray the heterosexual community in Kosovo as the suffering entity. In this respect there is no difference from the first report, where the existence and actions of members of the LGBTIQ community are portrayed as violating social moral norms, threat to the future of the heterosexual family and 'proper' religious or social principles. Coverage of immigrants/refugees is dominated by reporting that portrays them as a threat to the local population (out-group), and in

few cases as a threat to themselves (in-group). The local population is presented as the suffering entity from their 'illegal' actions, while the burning of places of worship, illegal border crossing, and finding refuge in Kosovo villages is presented as a threat to the locals. The results in relation to the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities are consistent with the previous report, where the suffering entity in most cases turns out to be 'in-group', and less 'out-group'. Most of the problematic articles

(27) present the members of these communities themselves as victims of their cohorts. The main topics covered in these articles are related to sexual abuse of minors, domestic crimes, looting in the community, etc. Coverage of the Serb community is dominated by articles portraying Albanians as victims of Serbs as an ethnic group. The articles that most employ this type of narrative are those that report on war crimes, where there is a tendency to generalize attribution of guilt to all Serbs.

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

Entities Suffering from Alleged Target Group Actions

● out-group

● in-group

LGBTIQ   Immigrant   Non-Serb
Minorities   Serb
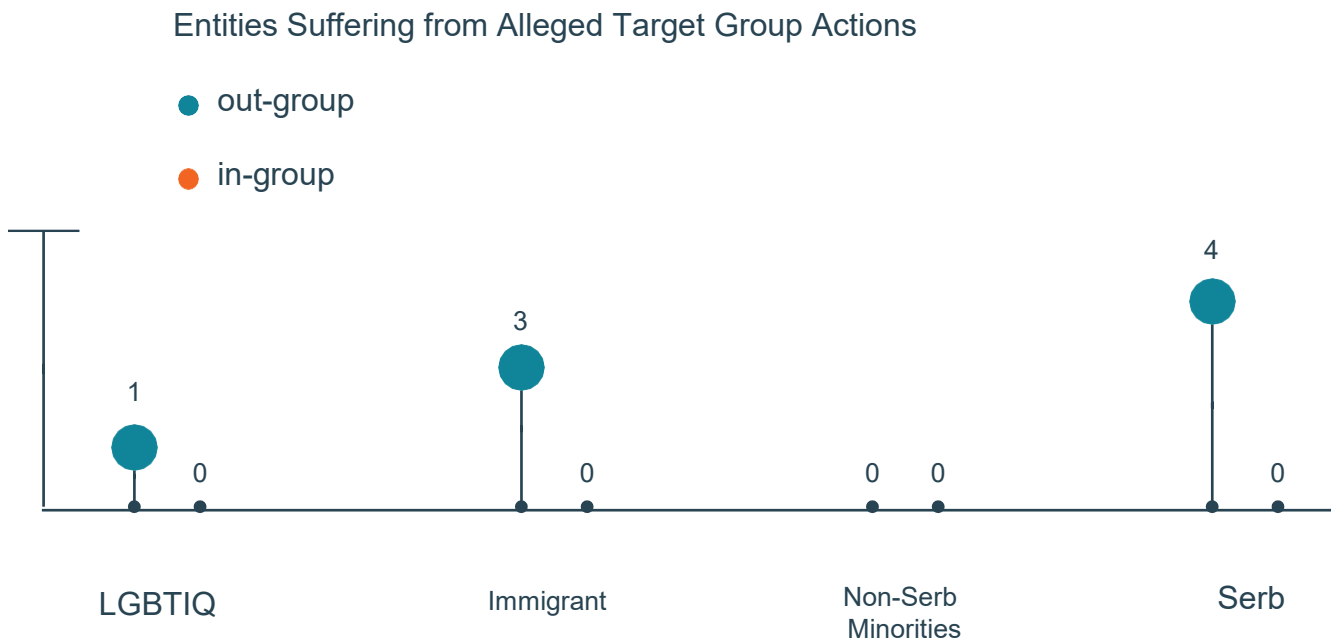
In audiovisual materials, although the number of shows containing hate speech turns out to be lower, the trends are not very different from to the textual materials. The LGBTIQ community is portrayed as a threat to the heterosexual community, while immigrants/refugees and Serbs are framed in relation to the majority community. No data were generated on the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities because there were no shows classified as problematic towards these communities.

3. Putting Findings in Context and Attributing Meaning

3. Putting Findings in Context and Attributing Meaning

3.1 Key Characteristics of Problematic Language by Selected Category

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

SELECTED GROUPS

Media	Serb	Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian	Immigrant/Refugee	LGBTIQ
Media 1	- Disparaging terms are used to refer to Serbs such as 'shka, shkinë, shkije.' Conveying statements by influential persons using such expressions. - War crimes are generalized, attributing collective guilt rather than state responsibility. - Sports matches take on a nationalist connotation, where sports matches are perceived as rivalries between two hostile ethnicities.	- Consistent reporting on juvenile rape and sexual abuse in the family. Most reports link the act to the perpetrator's ethnicity.	- Refugees from the Middle East portrayed as dangerous people who are causing problems for the safety of citizens. - Refugees portrayed as ineligible beneficiaries of social assistance schemes of Kosovo.	- Homosexuality portrayed as something undesirable and used as an expression to offend the other party. - Media become platforms for homophobic calls by conservative politicians. - LGBTIQ community portrayed as threat to the people and as 'destroyers of the nation and the state.'
Media 2	- Generalization of Serb crimes by blaming Serbs for crimes committed by Serbian police, paramilitary and military forces. Prevalent use of designation 'Serb crimes', instead of language specifying that the crimes were committed by the state authorities of Serbia, and not by of all Serbian people.	There were not many articles with problematic language towards these communities.	- Reports on smuggling, dealing, and use of drugs, and criminal offenses committed by refugees/immigrants.	- Positive approach to the challenges of and discrimination against the LGBTIQ community

Media 3	Same as Media 1 and 2	- Rape, juvenile abuse, early pregnancy, and domestic violence dominate the reporting by this media outlet on this community	- They are portrayed as thieves, smugglers, and potentially terrorist elements infiltrated in Kosovo. - They are accused of deliberately setting fire to mosques and asylum facilities, providing coverage of complaints of local residents against this group.	- Homophobic statements of conservative politicians against the LGBTIQ community are broadcast.
Media 4	- Ethnicity of criminal offense suspects is noted, even in cases where this information has no relevance to the news. - Same as Media 1	- Cases of beggars are constantly associated with the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities.	- Water-related metaphors are used to sound the alarm about the arrival of refugees in Kosovo - Same as Media 1 and 2	- Same as Media 1
Media 5	There were not many articles	There were not many articles	- Refugees accused of setting fire to the mosque in Magurë	There are not many reports about this community .
Media 6	- Disparaging terms are used for the Serb community - The term and designation as Serb are used to offend the other party	- Disparaging terms that exist for these communities are used to offend other parties	- Refugees are presented as drug users and persons prone to violence	- Articles objectify homosexuality and present it as abnormal behavior - Conveying homophobic messages by a conservative politician, where the LGBT community is portrayed as a threat to the state of Kosovo.

Media 3	Same as Media 1 and 2	- Rape, juvenile abuse, early pregnancy, and domestic violence dominate the reporting by this media outlet on this community	- They are portrayed as thieves, smugglers, and potentially terrorist elements infiltrated in Kosovo. - They are accused of deliberately setting fire to mosques and asylum facilities, providing coverage of complaints of local residents against this group.	- Homophobic statements of conservative politicians against the LGBTIQ community are broadcast.
Media 4	- Ethnicity of criminal offense suspects is noted, even in cases where this information has no relevance to the news. - Same as Media 1	- Cases of beggars are constantly associated with the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities.	- Water-related metaphors are used to sound the alarm about the arrival of refugees in Kosovo - Same as Media 1 and 2	- Same as Media 1
Media 5	There were not many articles	There were not many articles	- Refugees accused of setting fire to the mosque in Magurë	There are not many reports about this community .
Media 6	- Disparaging terms are used for the Serb community - The term and designation as Serb are used to offend the other party	- Disparaging terms that exist for these communities are used to offend other parties	- Refugees are presented as drug users and persons prone to violence	- Articles objectify homosexuality and present it as abnormal behavior - Conveying homophobic messages by a conservative politician, where the LGBT community is portrayed as a threat to the state of Kosovo.

3.2 Analysis of Used Discourse and Identification of Problematic Discourse

For the LGBTIQ community, media coverage of events related to this community is more frequent on dates when the visibility of members of this community is higher. The discourse that dominates the representation of this community portrays its members as deviating from 'normal' and 'sound' moral norms, and as persons posing a 'threat' to children who may follow their example. Additionally, a large number of articles objectify homosexual behavior and present it as something that could be studied, and the term *homosexual* is used to offend others. Some of these news pieces boast headlines such as (headlines have been paraphrased):[11] *Demands to Ban Pride Parade*; *Muslim Woman*: *Shame on homosexuals, God created Man and Woman, not John and Mark*; *Politician from Fjala Party*: *Homosexuals should not be supported, because they need medical help*; *Doctors blow up the bomb*: *Are you born homosexual or become one?*

The same discourse frameworks are applied to Immigrants/Refugees in reporting on their 'illegal' border movements, the threat they pose to the local population, and their delinquent actions. The main narratives about them cast doubt on the truthfulness of their statements as refugees and they are portrayed as elements of instability for national security. The burning of the mosque in Magurë, the looting in areas where the refugees are presumed to pass, as well as the assumptions that they are involved in smuggling and abusing narcotics, create a negative image and incite hatred among the audience. There are also reports that portray as 'parasites' that benefit from the assistance schemes provided in Kosovo. There is no lack

of water-related metaphors that sound the alarm about the presence of such persons in Kosovo. Some of these news pieces boast headlines such as (headlines have been paraphrased): *Syrians Smuggling Immigrants into Kosovo*; *Palestinian National Arrested for Selling Drugs in Camp for Foreigners in Magurë*; *Syrians Arrested for Robbery Attempt in Pristina; Kosovo Flooded with Middle Eastern Refugees; Asylum Seekers Burn Mosque in Magurë.*

In coverage of the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities, there are no significant differences in terms of their portrayal, reporting frames, and feature sections where they appear and how they are constructed as violent, abusive, thieving, and backward. Early pregnancies, sexual violence and assault against minors, as well as killings within the community dominate the media discourse on these communities. Additionally, as was the case in the first report, a large number of articles on these communities continue to appear in the crime chronicles and the entities presumed to suffer from the actions of members of these communities are the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptians themselves. Some (paraphrased) news headlines that provide an overview of media reporting trends are: *Two Persons Killed, Victims Are Ashkali; Roma Enters Pharmacy, Takes Meds and Leaves Without Paying; This is how Roma and Serbs provoke Albanians in the US; 16-year-old Ashkali gives birth at UCCK.*

Regarding the Serb community, the media discourse is organized especially around the generalizations of war crimes and the hostility that Serbs are supposed to have towards Albanians and the statehood of Kosovo,

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[11] These headlines were paraphrased to ensure confidentiality in relation to the media outlets that published the news. The news headline, though paraphrased, is quite close to the original headline.

and the incompatibility that exists between Albanians and Serbs. Most reports refer to crimes committed by the state of Serbia as 'Serb crimes', and in some cases disparaging references to Serbs are not censored by the media. Sports or cultural competitions are constantly painted in ethnic and political overtones, and reports are based on binary terms between 'us' and 'them.' Some selected (paraphrased) headlines from media coverage of the Serb community are *Disgrace of Kosovo: Albanian woman confesses her love for Serbia; Serb arrested by Police for beating his Albanian wife; Inter makes mistakes in transfers, gets an old man and a Serb; Albanian Crushes Serb in Martial Arts; Tensions in Greece, Albanian footballer clashes with Serb defender.*

4. RECOMMENDATIONS

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

- Organize specialized trainings with the Kosovo Police to maintain a special register of cases reported as hate crimes.

- Train prosecutors and judges on contemporary ways of tracking hate speech and on the international provisions governing this issue.

- Hold workshops and trainings with journalists and editors on the Codes of Ethics applicable in Kosovo and the need for professional and community-sensitive reporting on vulnerable communities.

- Provide technical assistance to the Independent Media Commission to analyze gaps in the existing Code and come up with recommendations on possible amendments.

- Train the Press Council on monitoring the implementation of the Code of Ethics and on sanctions applicable in EU countries in case of violation of such provisions.

- In cooperation with Civil Society Organizations involved in promoting the rights of vulnerable communities in Kosovo, organize public awareness campaigns on the adverse effects of hate speech.

- Hold open talks with the Kosovo Police on the possibility of changing the protocol for including ethnicity in daily reports.

- Organize media campaigns on the importance of preventing hate speech and hate crimes.

- Explain what disparaging terms are commonly used in everyday speech and explain that such terms are racist, xenophobic, homophobic, etc.

- Avoid generalizing war crimes and underline every time that crimes committed in Kosovo were committed by the state structures of Serbia and not by all Serbian people.

- Report on Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities beyond the crime chronicle and the essentializing approach towards them. Report on their livelihood beyond the framing approaches of violence, crime, incest, uncleanliness, etc.

- Censor homophobic statements of persons known as hate-mongers and inciting violence against members of this community.

- Include coverage of stories showcasing the suffering of immigrants/refugees, stories similar to those from the past of the Kosovar people as refugees, and stories of duty to provide safe harbor to people fleeing terror and violence.

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6. ANNEX

Practice in EU Countries on Capacity Building for the Prevention of Hate Speech and Hate-Based Crime

6.1 Croatia

The Croatian state in its laws has defined hate crimes as acts which are directed at the 'race, color, religion or gender identity of the other person' (Criminal Code of Croatia, 2017, Article 87 (21)). If the criminal offense is found to have been committed on hate motives and based on protected characteristics, then this motive is considered as an aggravating circumstance for the perpetrator.

Since 2011, the recording of hate crimes by the police and other relevant authorities is governed by the Protocol for Procedure in Cases of Hate Crimes (Dakovic, 2019). This Protocol requires police officers to ensure that in recording a hate crime case, the case information should include: a) affiliation of injured party, b) motive of hate crime, c) consequences/harm caused, and d) evidence establishing the incident as hate crime (Ibid:14). All this information is entered into the system of the Ministry of Interior and this register serves to monitor criminal cases related to hate crimes. Also, the State Prosecutor's Office identifies cases of hate crimes and is obliged to maintain a special register of hate crime cases. Likewise, the courts of first instance must maintain records of hate crime cases and collect data on the number of such cases, the outcome of investigations, the duration of the trial, as well as the sanctions or penalties imposed. Such

cases are included in the general court case system, and when data are entered, they are tagged as hate crime cases and included in periodic reports on hate-based crime trends (ECRI, 2018). The Ministry of Justice is obliged to collect data from all involved institutions (police, courts, prosecution) and submit a 6-month report to the Office of Human Rights and National Minority Rights, which is published on the website of this institution.

The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) under the Council of Europe considers the adoption of this protocol as good practice and has recommended additional training of law enforcement institutions in the implementation of this Protocol. In addressing this recommendation, the Office of Human Rights and Minority Rights in coordination with the Academy of Justice and the Center for Peace Studies have organized intensive training with law enforcement officials and judicial institutions on key aspects of Article 87 (paragraph 21) of the Criminal Code as well as aspects related to incitement to violence and hatred under Article 325. These trainings included the necessary explanations on legal definitions of hate crimes, case-law of the European Court of Human Rights, as well as workshops on how to handle and examine evidence in cases where the act is presumably motivated by hatred towards a certain group

(FRA, 2021). Similarly, specific training was provided to the Croatian police on how to abide by the Protocol when dealing with suspected hate-motivated cases. These trainings sought to build police capacity throughout the case examination process (collect-ion of evidence, recording of evidence, steps followed to determine whether the offense constitutes hate crime) and their reporting to other institutions (case registration in the system, case tracking, cooperation with the prosecution).

6.2 Finland

Finland has a consolidated legal framework that addresses hate crimes and hate speech. Both phenomena are defined by the Finnish Criminal Code, with provisions for aggravating circumstances which include the commission of a crime motivated by hatred (Finnish Criminal Code, 2011). This applies to all crimes based on hatred or discrimination. Furthermore, the Code contains provisions for hate crimes committed through ethnic agitation and chauvinism (Ibid). It is important to note that according to the Law on Freedom of Expression, the Prosecutor General has the right to initiate cases where the published material features hate content, such as racial, religious, sexual, or similar.

Hate crime data is collected by the Police, the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Prosecutor's Office, the Ministry of Justice, and the Finnish Statistical Agency. In addition to official data, the state implements a questionnaire with citizens to obtain additional information on hate crimes which are not reported to the police, and as such are not recorded in the state register (ECRI, 2019). Every year, a group of researchers use the police register to track down hate crime trends in society and to identify the motives behind them (bias). This report is sent to all relevant institutions dealing with hate speech and hate crimes with comparisons from previous periods. This is considered good practice for keeping a record of hate crimes and ensuring inter-agency coordination in dealing with and preventing such crimes.

Another good practice, that should be considered as an example by EU countries, is the setup of the Council for Mass Media (CMM), which is a self-regulatory mechanism established by mass media and journalists. The purpose of this self-organization approach is the professionalization of media reporting and the protection of freedom of the press by regulating the reporting practices themselves, without the need for outside interference (Dakovic, 2019). This Council addresses the methods of engaging in journalism and professional reporting. The Council does not have any legal jurisdiction over its media membership; however its decisions are largely respected by the represented members. Any person claiming to be a victim of unfair reporting may lodge a complaint with the Council about his/her allegations, which are reviewed and if it is established that the media has committed a violation, the respective media is instructed to publish a notice acknowledging the violation. Most of the Finnish media have signed an agreement with the Council, authorizing this body to deal with any complaints filed against them. In addition to handling complaints, the Council monitors the implementation of guidelines on professional information reporting and encourages all member media to adhere to professional ethics in reporting information. Studies show that Finnish journalists are very committed to adhering to professional ethics and the quality of Finnish journalism continues to be high (Ibid). Their professionalism remains an example of journalism at EU level.

6.3 Austria

Like other EU countries, Austria has included in its anti-hate legislation provisions which consider it an aggravating circumstance to commit a hate crime against legally protected characteristics. Data on hate speech and hate crimes are collected and monitored by the Regional Prosecution Offices, and by the State Agency for Protection against Terrorism under the Ministry of Home Affairs. However, in recording such data, Austria does not distinguish hate crimes from hate speech, and for this reason the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI, 2015) has recommended for, *inter alia,* separate hate crime registers and hate speech registers.

Beyond that, Austria continues to be a country of good practices against hate crimes and hate speech (FRA, 2021). One such practice exists in the state of Styria, where the city of Graz in cooperation with the federal administration authorities of Styria funds an Anti-Discrimination Office, which serves as the single point of contact for reporting cases of hate speech and hate-motivated acts. Citizens who feel discriminated against or targeted with hate speech can report their cases to this office and receive advice from responsible officials on how to proceed with reporting cases to state authorities. Such cases also serve to monitor acts of hatred and discrimination trends in the city. The project seeks, *inter alia*, to raise awareness among the city residents on the effects of discrimination and hatred and organizes campaigns to promote social diversity.

Another promising initiative is being developed by the Advisory Bureau against Racism and/or Online Hate (ZARA- Zivilcourage und Anti-Ras- sismus -Arbeit). This initiative is organized by a civil society organization which promotes a society open to all, regardless of color, language, religion, nationality, origin, or sexual orientation (Against Hate, 2019). Its activities include, *inter alia*, legal and psychosocial counseling for victims of hate acts, and documenting cases of hate-based

violence which, after being reported to the courts, are monitored until the end of proceedings. This organization also organizes training courses, seminars, and workshops with relevant parties on preventing and combating hatred and discrimination in society.

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