The background of the cover is a stylized world map. The top half is a light tan color, and the bottom half is a dark brown color. A vintage microphone with a ribbed grille is positioned on the right side, pointing downwards. The text is centered on the left side of the cover.

GETTING THE FACTS RIGHT
**REPORTING
ETHNICITY
& RELIGION**

A STUDY OF MEDIA COVERAGE OF ETHNICITY & RELIGION IN
DENMARK, FRANCE, GERMANY, GREECE, HUNGARY,
ITALY, LITHUANIA, SLOVAKIA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

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FOREWORD

Ethical journalism is thinking journalism. It provides fair, accurate, informed and reflective coverage of events and issues that are important to people and society.

But to be ethical journalists need time to think and no more so than in the age of networked information when media are reporting at a breakneck pace. Journalism of diversity, particularly coverage of religion and ethnicity, requires support for common values and understanding to counter the spread of ignorance, intolerance, and hatred which lead to discrimination and social tension.

This study, produced by the Media Diversity Institute in partnership with ARTICLE 19 and the European Federation of Journalists and its Ethical Journalism Initiative campaign, highlights the importance of good practice within journalism and serves as encouragement and guidance for those who are ready to stand up for the principles of journalism as a public good.

It exposes practices that fail to uphold ethics and values in media while illustrating how good journalism - accurate, independent and produced with lashings of style - can play a critical role in breaking down walls of ignorance, bigotry and injustice.

The study confirms in particular the challenges facing media reporting on ethnicity and religion where journalists often struggle to balance cultural and religious values and the right to freedom of expression.

To reveal the truth behind complex issues, journalism needs to inspire a culture of inquiry that is also sensitive and informed on cultural differences between communities. It is no easy task and can take years of professional experience and training.

But this study will help. It gives people in journalism a fresh opportunity to reconnect to their mission and will be equally useful to media students, researchers, policymakers, and others in civil society dedicated to the elimination of all forms of prejudice and discrimination.

Milica Pestic
Executive Director, Media Diversity Institute

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The interest in the way media report on ethnic and religious issues has increased in the last decade. The examples of unethical reporting on immigration, globalization, economic insecurity, and multiculturalism have raised the burning question of whether journalists have done more harm than good when covering events and issues that touch upon ethnicity and religion. The ground rules of factual, fair and balanced reporting have been evoked to highlight the growing concern over the media's role in reproducing prejudices, stereotypes and hate speech in an increasingly diverse Europe.

The Study is aimed primarily at journalists and journalism students. It also offers a range of information that may be useful for researchers, policy makers and civil society organisations.

Readers, viewers, listeners, researchers, and members of media monitoring bodies, warn that the discriminatory news coverage has potentially dire consequences. The examples of disgraceful reporting about refugees and asylum seekers, about ethnic minorities and Roma people, about minority religious groups - to name a few - sharply contradict objectives of providing accurate and timely information that citizens need for the functioning of democracy. This criticism is usually focused on the news text, what a reporter says or writes, what words are used and what they mean. It is rare that journalists are asked to explain what they know, what they believe in, and how they approach the issue of diversity.

This **Study** brings journalists back to the centre of inquiry about the media's role in covering ethnicity and religion. It asks:

- What professional norms guide editors and journalists when reporting on ethnicity and religion?
- What news gathering tools are most commonly used?
- What are the institutional constraints in producing reports?
- What could have been done better?
- What makes excellent coverage?
- What type of journalistic work fuels intolerance instead of providing information that supports intercultural understanding?

Based on extensive interviews with 117 journalists and editors in nine EU countries and analysis of 299 news stories, it offers a review of reporting practices as related to the coverage of ethnic and religious issues.

The **Study** finds that the main obstacles to good reporting are the poor financial state of the media, overloading of reporters, lack of time, lack of knowledge, and lack of in-house training.

The core values of journalism - truth and independence, accuracy, fairness and balance, as well as respect for privacy and minimising harm - are inscribed in national and international codes of ethics. Still, expectations and everyday practice in newsrooms vary in different regions of Europe.

The **Study Team** asked editors and journalists to nominate stories they thought exemplified excellent coverage of issues and events touching upon ethnicity and religion, and those stories where the media did not perform well. From these a range of case studies was selected that illustrate the most common themes within which these diversity issues are presented, and that show the main steps in news production that determine journalistic performance.

The analysis of the norms, values and techniques that journalists use to report on ethnicity and religion demonstrates the extent of journalists' knowledge and awareness of the anti-discriminatory laws and policies. **There is a strong awareness that national legislation prohibits discrimination: only 4 out of 104 newsmakers said their knowledge about national legislation was poor.**

The **Study** argues that good, accurate, fair, balanced and trustworthy journalism plays a most significant role in the democratic process. It is also the best guarantee that the European Union's declaration of respecting cultural, religious and linguistic diversity would be reflected in the media.

The Study is divided up into the following chapters:

01. The Study: reporting ethnicity and religion presents the methodology underlying the Study: interviews with journalists and editors and critical analysis of news stories that touch upon ethnicity and religion.

02. Profiles: who reports on ethnicity and religion? offers an overview of the demographics, and the professional and personal views of the newsmakers interviewed for this study. This section also discusses the ethical norms and values that guide journalists in their everyday work.

03. Knowledge of EU fundamental rights framework discusses journalists' engagement with laws and policies which prohibit discrimination on the grounds of race and ethnicity, and religion or belief. The section is organized around the knowledge and understanding of the following topics:

- Legislation
- Human Rights Organizations
- Media Obligations
- Media Responsibilities

04. Ethnicity case studies. This section presents analysis of news articles that touch upon ethnicity. The interviewees nominated 299 reports as representative examples of either exemplary or poor media treatment of ethnic and religious issues. These nominated reports revealed that news makers associate ethnicity and religion with a wide range of social matters. All nominated reports were then classified according to the social issue that functions as a theme of the text¹:

- Immigration
- Poverty and crime
- Discrimination
- Playing politics
- Ethnic minorities

05. Religion case studies. This section discusses the challenges journalists face in different phases of news production with regard to reporting on religious issues. Using the most representative case studies nominated by the interviewees, it presents different paths journalists take in:

- Finding a news topic
- Approaching sources of information
- Providing background information
- Finding an angle
- Presenting a story

The selection of case studies offers analysis of reports on a range of issues, from reporting controversies around building a mosque to the news on controversies related to the introduction of sexual education in schools.

¹ The theme allows researcher looking at the coherence of the text (Fairclough, N. 1989, *Language and Power*, Longman, London)

06. Findings: reporting ethnicity and religion provides an overview of the Study's answers to the questions: who are the journalists reporting on these issues? What do the journalists know about EU legislation and national antidiscrimination legislation? And how do they report on ethnicity and religion? A number of issues that underpin media coverage of diversity issues have been identified.

07. Recommendations features a summary of ideas on improving the media's ability to accurately and fairly report on people, events and issues that touch upon ethnicity and religion.

In a democracy, promoting tolerance and intercultural understanding in society is a role policy makers often ascribe to the media. The core values of journalism: truth and independence, accuracy, fairness and balance, as well as respect for privacy and minimizing harm, are inscribed in international and national codes of ethics. Still, expectations and everyday practice differ within and between newsrooms. Although journalistic codes of conduct oblige journalists to be aware of the danger of discrimination based on, among other things, ethnicity, religion, and national or social origins², covering intercultural stories remains a complex task. It requires **knowledge, understanding and full awareness** of social responsibility in order to avoid stirring up tensions, or stimulating confrontation and intolerance.

The Study finds that newsmakers perceive ethnic, religious and cultural diversity as a social reality, a policy tool and a subject of law. They acknowledge that respect of differences is crucial for the wellbeing of their society. Journalists interviewed in the study declare their dedication to the values of objectivity, unbiased reporting, promotion of plurality, democracy and civic society when reporting about ethnicity and religion, while at the same time they all admit that the media create negative stereotypes about minority groups.

The **Study** deals with this **ethical discrepancy - journalists are objective, but media are not** - by looking at case studies that might help journalists and editors to reflect on their work. Racial and ethnic stereotypes in the media contribute to citizens' negative perception of minorities³. And although studies show that the number of disturbing headlines, and reports that uncritically reprint derogatory and hate speech has decreased, the battle for good, **inclusive journalism**, a journalism for all and of all - is far from over. The powerful relationship between the news and how reality breaks along the lines of 'good' and 'evil' and 'us' and 'them' has been a recurring theme in contemporary academic, policy and media industry debates. Europe is changing and journalists' engagement with that change has become one of the pressing issues of today.

The **Study** was commissioned as part of the '**Ethical Journalism Initiative: a Campaign to Fight Discrimination through Freedom of Expression and the Highest Standards of Journalism**' which aims to improve journalism standards with regard to reporting on migrants, religious groups and ethnic minorities, and foster new dialogues between media professionals, civil society and policymakers. The initiative is led by the **European Federation of Journalists** (the regional grouping of the International Federation of Journalists), in partnership with the **Media Diversity Institute** and **ARTICLE 19**, and is supported by the European Union's Fundamental Rights and Citizenship programme.

² IFJ Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists, 1986.

³ Mastro, D. and Tukachinsky, R. (2011). The influence of exemplar versus prototype-based primes on racial/ethnic evaluations. *Journal of Communication* 61(5), pp. 916-937.

01

THE STUDY: REPORTING ETHNICITY AND RELIGION

Ethnic diversity has become one of the major challenges for the European media⁴. A significant percentage of the population in Europe feels that diversity is not sufficiently reflected in the media. Reporting about race, ethnicity, and religion contributes to the process of identity formation and the creation of public perceptions towards different social groups. Reporting ethnicity gives journalists a chance to map out the social reality for their audience, but also to evaluate, frame and magnify events and issues.

On one side, media coverage of religion and ethnicity can reinforce existing social relations and the status quo, and perpetuate stereotypes and prejudices. On the other side, journalists can demonstrate a full awareness of the dangers of discrimination being furthered by the media and do their utmost to avoid facilitating such discrimination as they are obliged by the International Federation of Journalists' *Declaration of Principles on the Conduct of Journalists, 1954*.

Getting the facts right: Reporting ethnicity and religion starts from the premise that good, responsible, reliable and ethical journalism contributes to promoting intercultural dialogue and fighting discrimination in Europe. The **Study** demonstrates how high quality journalism can provide the basis for rational debates of intercultural issues in society. It promotes the concept of **ethical journalism for public good**, underling the central role of **responsible journalism** within society. The implications of media representation of ethnicity and religion are significant not only because it emphasises the difference between 'us' and 'them' but because it fuels nationalism, spreading fear and tensions instead of promoting tolerance and compassion.

It is true that pejorative references to an individual's ethnic or religious origin are less likely to appear in the mainstream, quality press, and that the media coverage of these issues has changed. Public service broadcasters

ON ETHNICITY

"Ethnicity, whatever its basis, is a readily definable way of expressing a real sense of group identity which links the members of 'we' because it emphasizes their differences from 'them'. What they actually have in common beyond not being 'them' is not so clear, especially today... Anyway ethnicity is one way of filling the empty containers of nationalism."

(E.J. Hobsbawm, historian⁵)

across Europe have introduced diversity policies, established diversity units and included in their mission statements notions of working for and with ethnic minorities as well as fostering cultural diversity. Other mainstream media adopted similar principles either as a part of editorial guidelines or a general agreement that media reflect the community they are based in. Still, one only has to look at the media representation of Roma people, for example, to see that these principles are not fully applied.

⁴ Eurobarometer Report on Discrimination in the EU (2009) focused on religion or belief and ethnic origin

⁵ Hobsbawm, E.J. (1992). Ethnicity and nationalism in Europe today. *Anthropology Today* 8(1), p.3.

When it comes to the question of reporting religion, journalism practice has also changed over the last two decades. In the past, writing about religion in most Western European countries was reserved to small stories at the back pages next to the obituaries in newspapers. Nowadays, it has become a high profile media topic usually related to more political issues such as international conflicts, immigration, discrimination, sexual abuse, same-sex marriage, and stem cell research. In Europe, as well as in the United States, much of the coverage of religion is focused on events and controversies related primarily to Islam, which is often presented as a problem⁶ and, to some extent, to Christianity primarily related to recent scandals and controversies in the Catholic Church.

Journalists have a potential to exercise a significant cultural power in terms of global and politico-legal issues⁷. When reporting on the last wave of immigration to Europe, from North Africa and the Middle East for example, some media reprinted the argument that religion provides a means of historically distinguishing between European Judeo-Christianity and Islam⁸. This claim ignores Europe's internal religious diversity and its history; the fact that for centuries most intra-European wars have had a religious character⁹.

Although the European secular culture became one of the defining features of the continent in the last century, ethnicity and religion are important elements in shaping the political landscape, through Christian party programmes and a range of means by which right wing political groups generate atmospheres of social inclusion and exclusion. The increasing attention to the representation of social groups such as asylum seekers and refugees, ethnic minorities and religious organizations, has indeed improved reporting on issues that touch upon diversity, but the battle is far from over.

International and national documents underline the media's role in relation to political and social changes¹⁰. Codes of ethics, and individual news media's editorial policies and guidelines position journalism as an important contributor to the wellbeing of society by fostering a climate of tolerance, and building a culture of understanding between different ethnic, cultural and religious groups in society. The media's tasks in this domain involve:

- **Reporting factually and accurately** on acts of racism and intolerance
- **Being sensitive** when writing about tensions between communities
- **Avoiding derogatory stereotypical** depiction of members of religious groups, but also
- **Challenging the assumptions** underlying intolerant remarks made by speakers in the course of interviews, reports, and discussion programmes¹¹.

However, moving from a normative media goal - **combating racist discourse and creating a culture of tolerance** - towards its application in practice is not a straightforward road.

Although both ethnicity and religion are in the media, they are not always considered as an area of journalistic specialization, as a beat in itself. Religion and ethnicity stories are often intertwined and can be found in different sections of newspapers and radio and television bulletins. Depending on their scope and impact, they can end up in stories on policies, law, immigration, society, culture or crime. The fact that religion, race and ethnicity have not had the same place in all political cultures, may add to this 'blurriness'. Journalists provide information citizens need to be free and self-governing¹², but while reporting on events, issues and people they simultaneously:

⁶ Knot, K. (2010). *Religion in the British Media*, ERSC; Pew Research Centre's Project for Excellence in Journalism *Religion in the news 2010*

⁷ Blaagaard, B. (2012) The Multi-Cultural Obligation of journalism. In Gross, B., K. Moore, T. Threadgold., (Eds). *Migrations and the Media*. Oxford, Peter Lang.pp. 209-229.

⁸ Usually using Samuel Huntington's argument in *The Clash of Civilisation and the Remaking of the World Order* (1996), London: The Pree Press

⁹ Guibernau, M.(2001). *Governing European Diversity*. London: Sage

¹⁰ Recommendation n° (97) 21 of the Committee of Ministers on the Media and the Formation of a Culture of Tolerance, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, October 1997

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Kovach, B. and Rosenstiel, T. (2001). *The Elements of Journalism*. New York: Crown Publishers

- express a judgment on the importance of an item
- provide access to discussion about these items and
- offer interpretation of a segment of reality that is selected to become news.¹³

This simultaneous work by journalists is extremely important because journalists inform and analyze events, but they also create community¹⁴ and contribute to the establishment of social identities and social relations. Ethnicity and religion are dimensions of human existence and experience, but they are hard to depict using conventional journalistic tools of newsworthiness¹⁵. **Reporting on immigration, for example, brings stories about people usually told in the light of immigrants' ethnic background. Journalists stress the ethnic origins of immigrants such as Albanians and Romanians in Italy and Eastern Europeans in the UK. The only exceptions are stories where immigrants are Muslims. In that case stories about immigrants became stories about a religious group.** Regardless of the place they come from - perhaps Morocco, Tunisia or Pakistan - the religious background of these immigrants overrides their ethnic background. In substituting immigrants with Muslims and Islam¹⁶, the media contributes to spreading racism and intolerance, and constructs a notion of Islam as a social threat.

Getting the facts right: Reporting ethnicity and religion unpacks journalism's construction of ethnicity and religion in nine countries of the European Union. It starts from the premise that good, responsible, reliable and ethical journalism has the potential to contribute to promoting intercultural dialogue and fighting discrimination in Europe. It demonstrates how high quality journalism brings high quality news media coverage of intercultural issues. It promotes the concept of **ethical journalism for the public good**, underlining the central role of **responsible journalism** within society.

ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN EUROPE

The majority of European countries have minority populations below 20% of the total population, but 11 countries have a larger proportion of ethnic minorities. Cordell and Wolff (2004) classify minorities in four groups: national minorities (live on the territory of one state, but ethnic kin of titular nation of another (Germans in Central Europe for example), trans-national minorities (Basques and Catalans of Spain and France for example), indigenous minorities (such as Corsicans in France) and immigrant minorities (Turks in Germany, North Africans in France etc).

Cordell, K. and Wolff, S. eds. (2004)
The Ethnopolitical Encyclopaedia of Europe.
Basingstoke: Palgrave

The implications of media representation of ethnicity and religion are significant because reporting always means creating a sense of belonging, either by emphasizing what people have in common or underlining the difference between 'us' and 'them' that fuels nationalism and spreads fear and tensions instead of promoting tolerance and compassion. The **Study** focuses on journalism's role in the development of common values in ethnically and religiously diverse societies within the EU. Assuming that the journalistic sector of the media is a vehicle to public conversation and civic action, the **Study Team** used two main methods for gathering information about journalists' approach to diversity issues:

¹³ Adam, S. (1989). Journalism knowledge and journalism practice: the problems of curriculum and research in university schools of journalism. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 14, pp.70-80.

¹⁴ Anderson, B. (1999). *Imagined communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso

¹⁵ Based on a survey of journalists in 69 countries Masterton (1998) lists the following criteria newsmakers use to select part of reality that will become news: timeliness, proximity, prominence, human interest, conflict, consequences, oddity (Masterton, M. (1998). *A Theory of News*. In M. Breen (Ed.), *Journalism: Theory and Practice*, pp.85-104. Paddington: Macley Press.

¹⁶ Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2007). *Religion and social justice for immigrants*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press

- extensive **in-depth interviews** with 117 journalists and editors in Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Slovakia and the United Kingdom, and
- **critical analysis of news stories on ethnicity and religion.**

The Study aimed to explore the views of 15 newsmakers in each country: five journalists covering religion, five covering ethnicity and five editors. However, this was not possible. The majority of newsrooms in Europe do not have two separate beats - on ethnicity and on religion - but usually the same journalist covers both issues. This overlap can be explained by the fact that mainstream journalists do not specialize in covering ethnicity or religion exclusively because it is considered to be a minority beat. If it is a beat, it is usually covered by one journalist. Editors were interviewed first; they provided the names of the journalists who usually cover these issues. Three key sets of questions are asked and discussed:

- What are the professional norms and values in reporting on ethnicity and religion? **What has to be done to strengthen journalism standards when reporting on ethnicity and religion?**
- What is the level of journalists' awareness of legislation against discrimination? **How can it be improved?**
- How does the media cover ethnicity and religion? **What are the examples of journalism practice that could be usefully elucidated in order to breakdown prejudices, tackle discrimination, promote common values and provide independent and trustworthy information?**

The Study Team took a three-step approach to the research.

METHODOLOGY

- The **background research** included the examination of media monitoring mechanisms in each country, the investigation of specific national journalism cultures and the study of existing literature on media and representation of ethnicity and religion in each country.
- The **interviews** were conducted with journalists writing about ethnicity and religion and the editors in charge of publishing these reports. The Study Team aimed to have the same number of interviews per country, and an approximately equal number of people working in print, radio, television and online media. The mainstream media were included and the selection of media was based on circulation data (newspapers), the number of viewers/listeners (broadcast) and the number of online visitors (online news outlets).
- The **case study analysis** started in the interview phase. Each journalist and editor was asked to provide an example of coverage of ethnicity and religion that demonstrated a successful or unsuccessful approach by journalism to these issues. Each country researcher then nominated two reports for inclusion in the study based on the presence or absence of a set of criteria.

CASE STUDY CRITERIA

- Demonstrates journalist's knowledge/absence of knowledge of legislation against discrimination
- The complexity of the issues tackled/ignored
- Transparently shows/hides journalistic tools used to report
- Shows uniqueness (usually for good coverage) or typicality of the coverage (for poor coverage)

The review of the nominated case studies generated a list of themes. Using the most common themes of news articles as a criterion for the selection, the Research Leader made a final selection of media texts for case study analysis.

An attempt has been made to provide **a balance of case studies coming from three different journalism cultures which correspond with three geographical clusters** (Mediterranean countries, Northwest European countries, and New EU States)¹⁷. Each article is analysed to identify **how journalistic discourse is produced, how arguments are made, and how news text may be implicated in the production and reproduction of social inequalities.**

The case study analysis included examination of **social context** (event/issue/people the news text deals with), **media text** (newspaper article, TV/radio story, online article), and **journalism practice** (tools used in reporting on ethnicity/religion)¹⁸. The analysis of media text focused on the use of sources, the most dominant frames, the newsgathering techniques and news genres.

In the case study analysis, newsmaker's responses during interview were taken into account. When it was necessary, the researcher went back to the interviewee to ask additional questions related to the report. These answers are included too.

GEOGRAPHICAL CLUSTERS & JOURNALISM CULTURES

The nine countries covered by this study were selected to represent distinctive features of three different journalism cultures. The **Northwest European** cluster was defined as covering Denmark, Germany and the United Kingdom. The **New EU member states** cluster covers Hungary, Lithuania and Slovakia. And the **Mediterranean**, or Southern European, cluster covers France, Greece and Italy.

Distribution of interviews

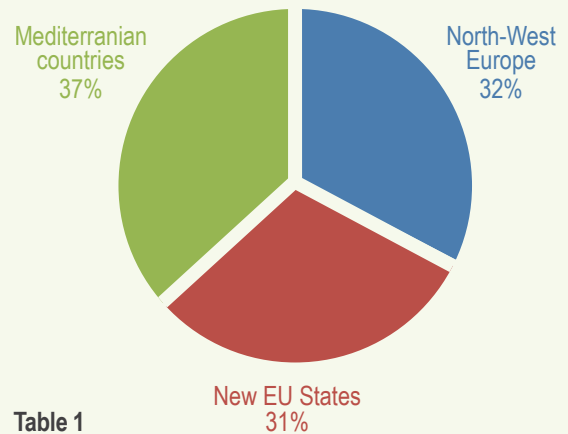


Table 1

We obtained approximately equal number of interviews with newsmakers in all countries (Table 1). The slightly higher number of interviews in the Mediterranean region can be explained by the higher presence of French journalists and editors, who were most responsive when invited to discuss reporting on ethnicity and religion. The media in France has been slow to embrace the nation's cultural diversity¹⁹ and professional discussion about reporting on these issues still raises a number of ethical and legal dilemmas.

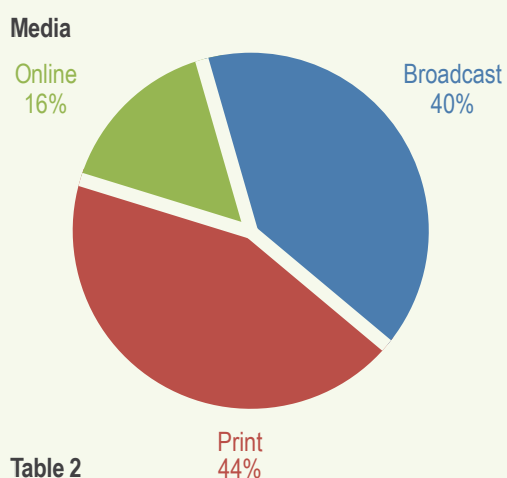
¹⁷ It takes into consideration similarities and differences in the domain of institutional roles (normative and actual functions of journalism in society), journalism's epistemologies (references to objectivity) and ethical ideologies (how journalists respond to ethical dilemmas) See Hanitch.T. et al.(2010). Mapping journalism cultures across nations. *Journalism Studies* 12:3, pp.273-293

¹⁸ Following methodology developed by Fairclough, N. (1995) *Critical Discourse Analysis*, Longman, London.

¹⁹ See Franchon, C. (2009). *Media and Cultural Diversity in Europe and North America*. Carthala: Panos

DISTRIBUTION OF INTERVIEWS BY MEDIA PLATFORM

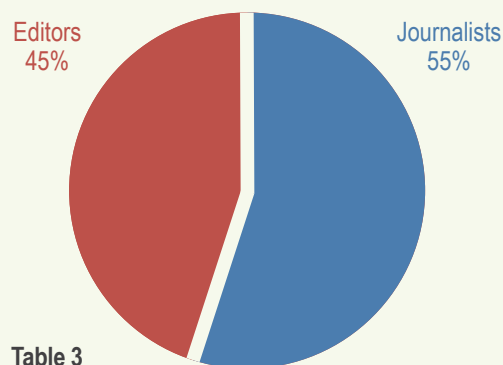
A good range of journalists working in broadcast (TV and radio), print media and online media has been obtained (Table 2).



The relatively low proportion of online newsmakers' presence is due to the fact that online news outlets are smaller, there are no specialized journalists working on ethnicity and religion beat(s) and the coverage is erratic.

DISTRIBUTION OF INTERVIEWS BY WORK POSITION

Work position



We interviewed journalists covering ethnicity and religion, and their editors (distribution of interviews is presented in Table 3), assuming that both work positions held responsibility for the way media portray ethnic groups.

02

PROFILES: WHO REPORTS ON ETHNICITY AND RELIGION?

This section describes journalists and editors who are responsible for coverage of ethnicity and religion. It compares data about age, gender, education, professional and personal values and views in order to provide a profile of people who bring to the audience stories that touch upon ethnicity and religion. These diversity issues feature in stories about conflicts, politics, policies, education, law, crime, sport and to lesser extent in the entertainment area of media coverage. Whoever writes about ethnicity and religion has to be prepared to demonstrate integrity, professionalism, lifelong learning, and above all an open mind²⁰.

JOURNALISTIC BEAT

The majority of journalists interviewed in this study (64.5%) cover not only ethnicity or religion but a range of other different issues (they are 'general reporters'). Comparison of results in three different European regions (Table 4) shows that 'beat journalists' - journalists covering religious and ethnicity as a defined area of work called a beat - appear more often in the **South European (Mediterranean)** newsrooms than in the other parts of the Europe²¹, with the exception of Denmark where, since the publishing of the famous Mohammed cartoons, religious reporters were designated in the majority of mainstream media.

General reporters and beat reporters

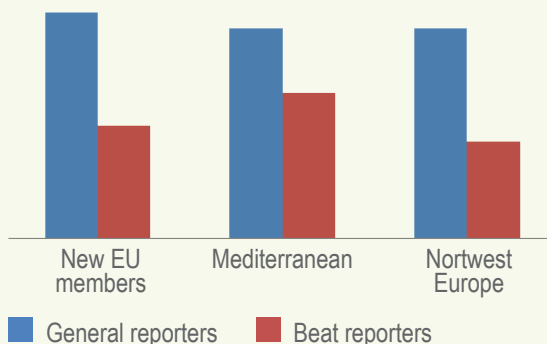


Table 4

The relatively higher presence of beat reporters in the Southern European cluster, reflects not only the Mediterranean journalism culture where the benefits of a beat reporter's expertise has been recognized, but a slow shift towards the more 'industrial' mass production of news that is currently present in the Northwest European countries.

Who reports on these issues depends on:

- the development of the medium
- the size of the newsroom
- the editorial principles on reporting ethnicity and religion and
- the media's tendency to value all-round journalistic skills higher than special knowledge

For example, journalists interviewed in this study who work on a specialist desk in **Denmark** are called 'integration' beat journalists. In **France** their area of work is called the 'suburbs' beat. In **Italy**, three out of seven news organisations rely on specialist journalists to deal with minorities and ethnic issues. In **Lithuania**, the very low importance and priority given to ethnic minority-related issues is reflected by the fact that there are no mainstream media journalists specializing in these topics - they are mostly covered by general assignment and politics reporters.

²⁰ Buddenbaum, J. (1998). *News About Religion*. Iowa State University Press

²¹ In South European newsrooms 41% of journalists interviewed work on a specific religion and/or ethnicity beat; in Northwest Europe 32% and in the New Member States geographical cluster 33%.

EDUCATION

The educational background of journalists covering religion and ethnicity appears higher than the educational background of the general body of journalists²². All journalists interviewed in this Study have a university degree, and half of them have a postgraduate degree (Table 5).

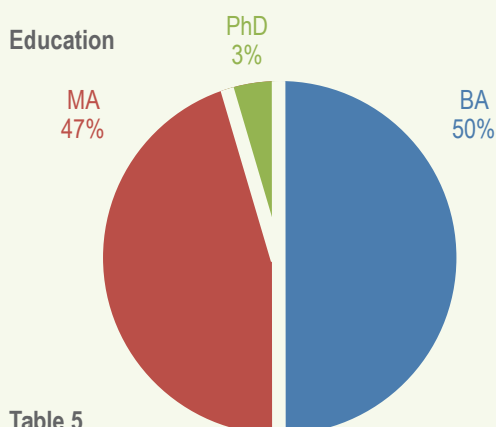


Table 5

GENDER

The importance of having a diverse staff is discussed mainly with regards to gender, especially the often low representation of women at editorial level. Reporting on immigration, refugees, asylum seekers and crime - the areas where for example ethnicity has been highlighted - is considered a hard news beat where male journalists dominate (table 6).²³

Gender: Journalists

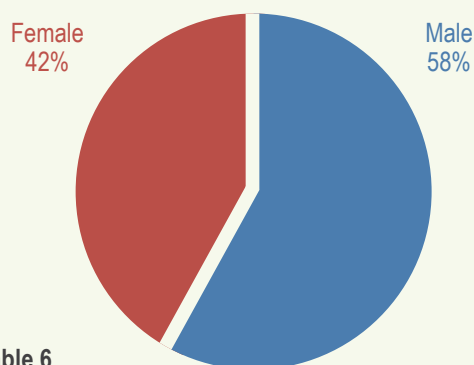


Table 6

The gender gap is more visible when it comes to the editorial office of the media included in this study. **In the sample of 52 editors, 75 percent were male** (Table 7).

Gender: Editors

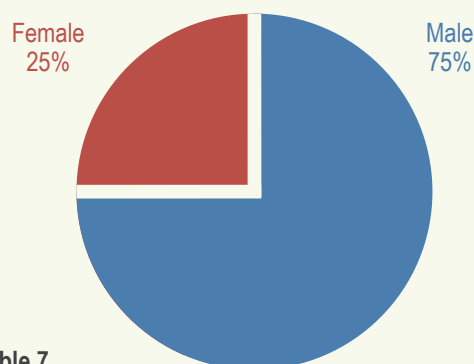


Table 7

INITIATIVES

In **Danish newspapers**, management has initiated projects to attract more female candidates for editorial positions and have set goals of a certain percentage of women which should be reached in a specific span of years.

AGE

The youngest journalists covering ethnicity and religion are in the New EU Member States, the oldest in the North-West European countries. Average ages in New Member States are 34, and 41 in the Mediterranean cluster, and in Northwest Europe 43.

²² In the survey of 1800 journalists in 18 countries, 86 percent of respondents have graduated from college (Hanitzsch, T., Seethaler, J., Skewes, E. A., Anikina, M., Berganza, R., Cangöz, I., Coman, M., Hamada, B., Hanusch, F., Karadjov, C. D., Mellado, C., Moreira, S. V., Mwesige, P.-G., Plaisance, P. L., Reich, Z., Vardiansyah Noor, D., & Yuen, K. W. (2012). *Worlds of journalism: journalistic cultures, professional autonomy and perceived influences across 18 nations*. In D. H. Weaver & L. Willnat (Eds.), *The Global Journalist in the 21st Century*. New York, NY: Routledge.

²³ Female journalists face difficulties dealing with both the predominately male newsroom and the assumption that they cannot cover hard news.

HOW MANY STORIES PER WEEK: QUANTITY OR QUALITY OF REPORTING

Studies of newsroom organisation²⁴ have shown that cost cutting exercises have reduced the number of journalists available to cover an ever increasing number of stories, leaving them without time to check their sources properly. Seeing news as a business, rather than public service (commercialisation of media) has led to a shift in editorial policies and a turn towards more sensationalism, that sometimes includes spreading prejudices and stereotypes²⁵.

The workload of journalists interviewed in this study reflects this general trend (Table 8).

Number of stories per week

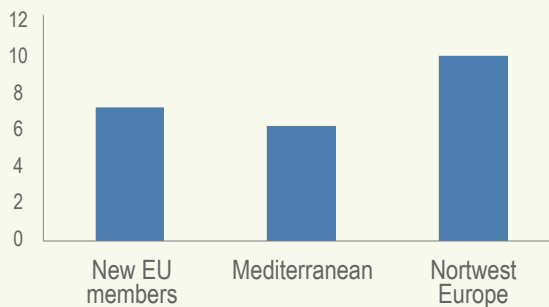


Table 8

A slightly higher number of stories in the Northwest European cluster sample is mainly due to the inclusion of British newsmakers.

RECORD: 15.6 STORIES!

The UK journalists interviewed in this study publish an average of 15.6 stories per week, five times more than Italian journalists.

HOW IMPORTANT ARE ETHNICITY AND RELIGION TO JOURNALISTS?

We asked journalists how important were their own ethnicity and religion to them. A comparison of country scores in responding to the question 'how important is your ethnicity to you' (Table 9) shows **the difference between Mediterranean countries where journalists do not see their ethnic identity strongly (the majority say ethnicity matters little or has no importance) and the Northwestern countries and new European states where it is important or very important.** Two out of ten newsmakers interviewed in Germany said they feel "European".

Importance of ethnicity

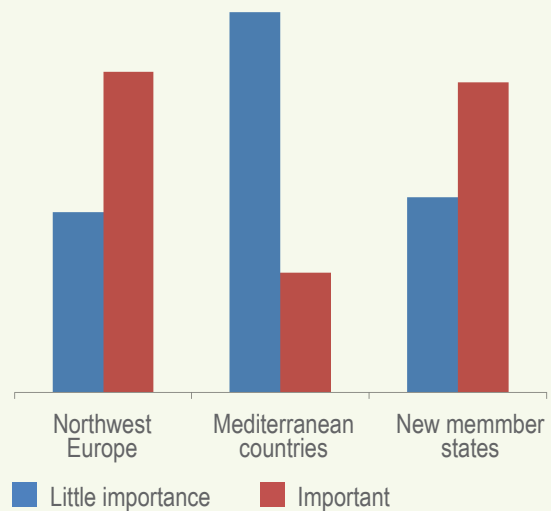


Table 9

When it comes to the importance of religion, a comparison of country scores (Table 10) shows a **difference between Mediterranean countries where journalists find religion and religious beliefs to be personally not important or of minor importance, and the Northwestern countries where religion is important or very important for journalists.** The results follow North West European and Mediterranean responses to the question of importance of religious belief.

²⁴ For example, Davies, N. (2008). *Flat Earth News*. London: Chatto & Windus.

²⁵ See Kovach, B., & Rosenstiel, T. (1999). *Warp Speed: America in the Age of Mixed Media*. Washington D.C: Century Foundation.

For journalists and editors in the New Member States cluster, ethnicity matters more than religion. This result can be explained by the fact that Lithuania, Hungary and Slovakia share the same past when it comes to political system: almost half a century of communism, an ideology that considered religion to be the 'opium for masses'.

Importance of religion

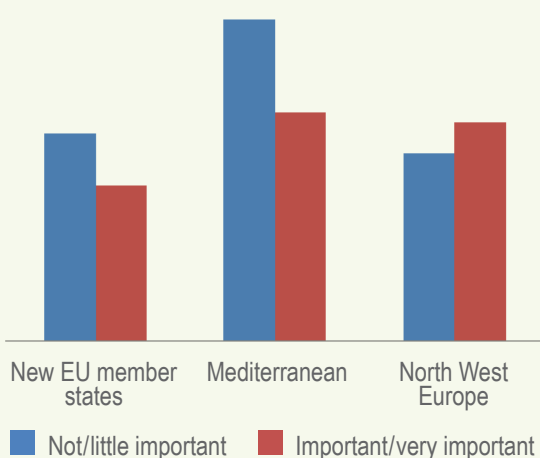


Table 10

DIVERSITY IN A NEWSROOM

The diversity in newsrooms should reflect that of society but that is not always the case. Journalists interviewed in the Study strongly emphasize that journalistic skills are the most important qualification, and that it also takes good journalistic skills to make use of one's specific ethnic or religious background.

NOT A GOAL ITSELF

It is not a goal in itself to have an ethnically diverse staff. We want the best journalists, and sometimes they have a minority background.

(TV Editor, Danish Broadcasting Corporation, Denmark)

The Study Team's question about diversity of a newsroom surprised many and proved to be inappropriate in France where questions about ethnic or religious background are banned by law. Similarly, in Lithuania editors at the national radio refused to discuss ethnicity and religious affiliation of their team as they said these factors played no importance in their employment practices.

JOURNALISTS ON DIVERSITY

Of course your personal background and interest does play a role. For example if you are a sports journalist, you will probably not be a very good one if you are not the least interested in sports in your private life.

(Newspaper Editor, *Kristeligt Dagblad*, Denmark)

I wouldn't really know [about religious diversity of a newsroom]. Nobody would ever ask anyone about her/his religious orientation.

(Newspaper Editor, *Il Corriere della Sera*, Italy)

You tend to know colleagues' religions if they have talked about it in conversation, otherwise it is not something I have experienced being formally asked about. It seems to be a private matter and up to individuals as to how they wish to raise this, if at all.

(Online Editor, *Marmoset Media*, UK)

In **Denmark**, the **UK**, and **Italy**, editors have a tendency to make 'experts' out of journalists whose ethnicity or religion is known and therefore are more likely to give them stories that might relate to their background even if they are not necessarily comfortable with this.

FRANCE: NO CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO RACE AND ETHNICITY

There's a contradiction between these ideas [framing stories in terms of race, ethnicity and religion] and the idea of a laic republic. The law and our convictions go against these divisions. It is not natural for us. The French national identity, the French Republic, is based on criteria centred on equality and secularism. But the democratic world becomes more and more Anglo-Saxon, and more embedded in that point of view, more multicultural, which creates a contradiction with all what my generation and the generation of my parents learned. It's an Anglo-Saxon vision with regard to equality
(TV Editor, France 2, France)

JOURNALISTS WITH SPECIFIC RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND: ADVANTAGES

During my internship I have worked a lot with stories of religion and integration. Not because I actually preferred that, but because I was asked to do it. And personally I am also very interested in these subjects, partly because I have a Palestinian-Muslim background myself, and I see that there are very often mistakes and wrong information in articles regarding Islam and integration. And I have written lots of articles on ethical issues and values - trying to create some new angles on political issues regarding for example religion. I have good access to Muslim communities. But as a journalist with an ethnic and religious minority background it is even more important for me, I think, to stay absolutely clear of pressure from any group or person. I have to make very clear that I am not some kind of mouthpiece for Muslims or Palestinians or immigrants. Once I did a story on a Friday Prayer Sermon in a Mosque in Odense. I was very critical and the Imams asked me to come for a talk. They were quite angry, but I explained to them that I am a journalist, I am not a mouthpiece for Muslims.
(Newspaper Journalist, Politiken, Denmark)

...AND DISADVANTAGES

During the job interview for my current job I was told that I would have to downplay my Catholic faith not to insult the audience. And there have been examples of listeners complaining about my choice of interviewees, because they thought that I had too often interviewed persons from the Catholic Church. And there have even been colleagues who thought I shouldn't have been offered the job because it would create problems with my credibility that I am a Catholic. I am quite used to the prejudice because many Danes do not like Catholics, but seen from an objective perspective I think it is really problematic that my Catholic background could be used to question my journalistic skills.
(TV Journalist, Danish Broadcasting Corporation, Denmark)

ETHICAL NORMS AND STANDARDS

Although different national settings translate into different journalism cultures, it is possible to identify a set of universal norms and standards that apply to all journalists regardless of the national context. For example, **being a watchdog of society** characterizes journalism in most western countries, while the milieu of **journalists seen as facilitators** prevails in several developing, transitional and authoritarian contexts. At the same time, relatively little professional autonomy can be found in countries with strong corporate and commercial influences on the press²⁶.

The findings of this **Study** confirm that journalists covering ethnicity and religion, and editors in charge of publishing these stories, do not differ much from the general journalism population; they follow the same norms as general reporters, foreign correspondents, columnists and beat reporters in that particular country and that specific journalism culture. Although a notion of 'European journalism' is contested²⁷, the study confirms shared professional values among journalists in nine EU countries. No major deviations were found in relation to journalism cultures in the Study's geographical clusters.

However, the Study discovered a different degree of sensitivity towards ethical issues between general reporters and those who specialise in reporting on ethnicity and religion. Responses to the question that asks respondents to evaluate the level of agreement with a statement that describes approaches to news coverage revealed that **journalists covering diversity issues are more sensitive towards ethical issues than the majority of journalists interviewed in a previous study of journalists covering all issues** (Hanitzsch 2011).

Both groups of journalists, all journalists in Hanitzsch's study and journalists reporting ethnicity and religion in the this study, were asked to evaluate a series of statements that describe different approaches to news coverage. For each statement, they had to say how strongly they agreed (1 means strongly agree, 2 means somewhat agree, 3 means neither agree nor disagree, 4 means somewhat disagree, and 5 means strongly disagree). The following table (Table 11) shows the difference:

Table 11	All journalists ²⁸	Journalists reporting on ethnicity and religion ²⁹
There are ethical principles which are so important that they should be followed by all journalists, regardless of situation and context.	4.43	1.27
Journalists should avoid questionable methods of reporting in any case, even if this means not getting the story.	3.83	2.16
There are situations in which harm is justifiable if it results in a story that produces a greater good.	3.51	2.30
What is ethical in journalism varies from one situation to another.	3.03	3.33
Ethical dilemmas in news coverage are often so complex that journalists should be allowed to formulate their own individual codes of conduct.	2.87	3.19
Reporting and publishing a story that can potentially harm others is always wrong, irrespective of the benefits to be gained.	2.76	3.27

²⁶ Hanitzsch, T. (2011). Populist disseminators, detached watchdogs, critical change agents and opportunist facilitators:

Professional milieus, the journalistic field and autonomy in 18 countries. *The International Communication Gazette* 73(6), pp.477-494.

²⁷ Mancini (2005, pp78-80) says European journalism is much partisan than Anglo-American and the relationship with politics is much closer, while Williams (2005, p.62) describes European journalism as a model "more literary, political and intellectual in approach".

²⁸ Mean in Hanitzsch's (2011) study

²⁹ Mean in this study

This result needs further analysis and cross-comparisons, but it clearly indicates how the everyday work of journalists covering issues that touch upon diversity being ethnic or religious have sharpened their ability to reflect on their practice, far deeper than the reflection on ethical dilemmas general reporters demonstrate in their everyday work.

Journalists interviewed in this **Study** say there are no special norms applied on covering ethnic or religious issues. They are considered equal to all other social and political issues. Hence, newsmakers claim to stick to the same grounding principles as they do in every other story they cover.

GROUNDING PRINCIPLES

Journalists declare their dedication to the values of objectivity, media plurality, democracy and civic society when reporting about ethnicity and religion. Most of them feel that they have a responsibility to promote intercultural understanding and respect for diversity in society. Paradoxically, at the same time they all admit that the media furthers negative stereotypes related to ethnicity and religion.

Objectivity: *We work hard to maintain impartiality in reporting news, independent from bias. We think that polarization generates a predictive, less interesting and unreliable information. (Newspaper Editor, *Il Corriere della Sera*, Italy)*

Accuracy: *I think the role of a newspaper is to always try to get the facts right... at least that's how we see it on our newspaper. So we see our role as to try to qualify the debate by putting facts on the table and by describing things as they actually happen out there. (Newspaper Editor, *Ekstra Bladet*, Denmark)*

Fairness: *We deliver objective, accurate and fast information. Every claim must be confirmed at least by two sources. Our editorial guideline is a written document. (Online Journalist, *Aktualne.sk*, Slovakia)*

Balance: *We aim to hold a high level of good journalism practice, and our journalists make an effort to provide a balance. There is an unwritten ethical code of conduct, not to cross the lines when it comes to reporting on immigrants. (TV Journalist, *ERT*, Greece)*

BUT...

All those interviewed believed that elements of the media were discriminatory in coverage relating to ethnicity and religion. Journalists from the Northwest European countries said that there are more stories that seem to divide rather than inform. In the New EU Member States cluster journalists pointed out that stereotypes and prejudices towards minorities are furthered by the media, while journalists in France, Italy and Greece perceive immigration as a highly politicized social problem that some still struggle to grasp with.

Look at the example of the coverage of three peers of Asian descent in the parliamentary expenses scandal³⁰. Other politicians were treated separately but it felt as if connecting the Asian politicians together, there was a cultural element to the scandal as far as they were concerned. (Freelance Journalist, UK)

*If a non EU citizen commits a crime sometimes we put stress on their ethnic origins, the same thing doesn't happen if the offender is Italian... Politicians are entrepreneurs of fear. They increase people's fears to get consensus. Every time the media take for granted some politicians' statements and don't look for the reality of facts behind those statements, they are partners in the crime of encouraging fear. (Newspaper Journalist, *L'Unità*, Italy)*

³⁰ In 2009 the *Daily Telegraph* published a series of articles on the misuse of the allowances and expenses claims made by the members of the United Kingdom Parliament. This journalists alludes to the fact that MPs of Asian descent got more coverage than others.

WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT ROLE OF A JOURNALIST?

The most important thing is to be impartial. To be informed so he can inform the public. His job is to record the news and in any case to avoid manipulating the public. To conduct research and to provide full analysis and deliver background information in his reporting.
(TV editor, **ANT1, Greece**)

We have the responsibility to inform about the issues, but not to lead the discussion into a certain direction...
(TV Editor, **ARD-aktuell, Germany**).

We have a responsibility to report impartially and with balance. This will assist in creating understanding.
(TV Journalist, **BBC, UK**)

*To inform people in a... well, not objective manner, because you can't be completely objective, but your aim is - as someone once put it - 'to be subjective, but from five different angels'. (Newspaper Journalist, **Kristeligt Dagblad, Denmark**)*

*We do not have any particular principles or codes when covering ethnicity or religion, but uphold the general principle of the Press Council. (Newspaper Editor, **Der Stern, Germany**)*

THE ROLE OF THE PRESS

*Our public responsibility does not include doing something extraordinary in this field, I think. If we cover integration and religion in a decent way, providing our readers with information of high quality, it should not be necessary to do anything else. And then, hopefully, because we have a certain focus on religion and ethics, this would imply that our readers gain more knowledge about different religious and ethnic and cultural groups and different ways of living, different values and norms and lifestyles and ways of socializing. And then it might happen that our readers will be more open towards each other. But it is not for us to judge what people should think. And we can't conclude that knowledge and information will result in bigger tolerance. If people get to know more about the Muslim Brotherhood, they might not be more positive towards Muslims and Islamists. And when we look at the development in the relation between the Muslim and the non-Muslim world after September 11, I don't think it has generally become more friendly and open although there has been a massive focus on both sides on the other party. More information does not automatically result in friendship or tolerance. (Newspaper Editor, **Kristeligt Dagblad, Denmark**)*

03

KNOWLEDGE OF EU FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS FRAMEWORK

Editors and journalists interviewed in this study are generally well aware of the fact that most of their readers have a very poor level of knowledge about minority social groups and that few of them have personal relations with persons of different ethnic or religious backgrounds. This poses a dilemma about whether to give the issues of ethnic minorities, immigration, refugees, and asylum seekers a special status as an area which ought to be covered more often and with more caution than other areas.

ON STEREOTYPES

Last summer, there was this issue with the Afghans who slept in the central squares of Athens. A Greek citizen appeared with a Christian cross hanging around his neck, and while they were sleeping he raped a three year old child. And according to my sources, he had raped other little children. The only news outlet which published this story was Kathimerini, and only after my insistence. At its honour the newspaper devoted 400 words on this story. No other media mentioned this horrible incident, which involved a Greek Christian Orthodox who wore the cross on his neck. For the Greek Orthodox who rapes a three year old child, there was nothing to say. But when the story broke about the Albanian who raped and throttled a girl in the provinces, everybody in Greece knew about it. There is no discrimination between such heinous crimes. This creates negative stereotypes. What else is needed?

(Newspaper journalist, Kathimerini, Greece)

The Study has shown that journalism and human rights interact at several points. Journalism can be seen as a human right³¹ - right to inform and be informed - but, in the case of hate speech, can be seen as an instrument for human rights violations. Journalism provides means for promoting human rights by:

- reporting about events where violations occur.
- analysing, interpreting and providing space for commentary on acts of discrimination.
- generally increasing audiences' knowledge and understanding of these issues.

³¹ See Hartley, J. Journalism as a human right : the cultural approach to journalism. In Loffelholz, Martin & Weaver, David (Eds.)(2008). *Global Journalism Research: Theories, Methods, Findings, Future*. Blackwell Publishing, New York, pp. 39-51.

When it comes to journalists' own knowledge of the laws and policies **at the EU level which prohibit discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity or religion, the knowledge is significantly higher in old member states than in the new member states.** Newsmakers were asked to evaluate their knowledge on the following scale: very poor, poor, good, very good and excellent. There was a varied awareness of legislation relating to equality (table 12). In the UK, the study identifies stronger knowledge about legislation within the country. When editors take on the hat of managers, they talk about ethnic and religious issues linked to employment.

Despite the lack of knowledge regarding legislation there was a clear belief that **journalism has a strong and important role in tackling stereotypes and misinformation about ethnicity and religion by reporting in a professional manner and offering facts and informed opinion,** which allow the reader, viewer or listener to make up their own mind and seek further information.

Knowledge of EU legislation

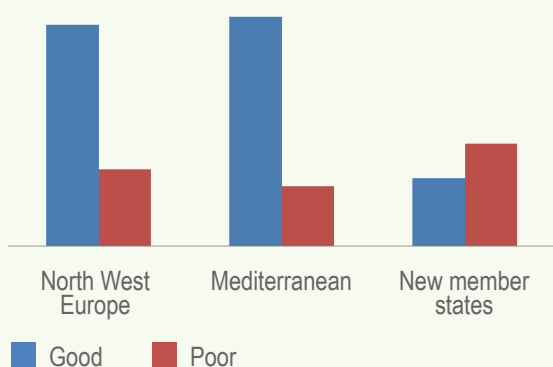


Table 12

Journalists pointed out a need for in-house training that would equip them with the knowledge and skills necessary for improving their writing about these issues. For example, the Danish media give their employees the possibility of taking a course every year at a journalism center for mid-career training, but do not offer courses or training in ethics, human rights, religion or ethnic minority issues. In-house training seems to be focused on technical tools.

One exemption from the rule is the *Danish Broadcasting Corporation* which regularly invites academics or experts from the religious field to hold a lecture for members of the faith desk and others with an interest in the subject.

Some media have taken steps to heighten the general level of knowledge about Islam among their journalists:

*We have **organized quite a few meetings and lectures** at the newspaper for all the journalists. Once we invited the Danish-born Imam Abdul Wahid Pedersen to come and give his personal story and interpretation of Islam. We saw that as an opportunity for our journalists to meet an expert in Islam and to start building a bridge of understanding. Had we invited an Imam with an Arab background there would have been too big a gap to overcome I think, but this was a realistic challenge - and it was for sure necessary to **broaden our journalist's perspective.** (Newspaper editor, *EkstraBladet*, Denmark)*

*I always try to get informed about the topics I deal with. Journalists though don't like the concept of studying. I am Muslim and there is a beautiful saying by the Prophet which states that one has to **look for knowledge beyond the self.** It helps me to study and develop knowledge and awareness of the world around. This is something I developed through my culture. It is important not to judge things from the surface. (Newspaper journalist, *L'Unità*, Italy)*

*There is a responsibility of media in this area. First of all to **avoid discrimination.** Second, to reveal the true dimension of issues **involving immigrants or any other minorities, without excesses or any racist points of view.** But at the same time, I should not discriminate them from the Greeks if they have committed a crime. (TV editor, *ANT1*, Greece)*

*We have told ourselves for years that the Italians aren't racist, it's a way to say that we have never been racists, therefore it's impossible for us to be racist now. We grant Italians a sort of antiracist DNA, which should prevent us from being racist today. But it's not as simple as that. (Newspaper journalist, *il Corriere della Sera*, Italy)*

CHARTER OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Article 10

Freedom of thought, conscience and religion

1. *Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right includes freedom to change religion or belief and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or in private, to manifest religion or belief, in worship, teaching, practice and observance.*
2. *The right to conscientious objection is recognised, in accordance with the national laws governing the exercise of this right.*

MEDIA RESPONSIBILITIES

The media's responsibilities in reporting on ethnicity and religion are usually analyzed in the light of *the structural conditions* that define journalists' work: economic and political conditions, ownership, legislation regulating media outlets' activities, and social and cultural context. This Study shows that the responsibility to report ethically on issues that touch upon ethnicity and religion **is also influenced by the journalist's and editor's own knowledge and understanding of what events, issues and people are of interest and importance to the public.**

Journalists try to balance two main tasks in reporting diversity issues: informing the public about the issues and events as they occur and interpreting reality in a way that provides a platform for a constructive public dialogue about issues of public concern. Journalists, particularly journalists in the Mediterranean countries, are reluctant to be seen as an agent of social policies,

regardless of how attractive these policies are. They are concerned about their credibility with the public if they take on a role of 'promoting' tolerance when covering stories that touch upon inter-cultural issues such as ethnicity and religion. What journalists opt to achieve are balance, awareness, public service interests and accuracy:

*Well, this is a big issue. The first contact with immigrants in Greece was not good, but in the long run, people affiliated with the immigrants. At this very moment, Greece is the first stop to enter Europe, so there is an uncontrolled immigration in Greece. This is disturbing to some people. I believe that Greeks are not racists, they just want to know who are these people, where are they coming from, who are illegal and who are not, they need this information to know if they can or cannot coexist with them. When you are dealing with the unknown, people are coming and going and they are coming back and they don't have permanent jobs here etc., this produces fear. Now in terms of the media's role, all **media should play a balancing role**. I don't think that there is an issue in the media. Because if there is no balance from any side, the game is lost. The key is to avoid choosing a side. The minorities issues should be handled in a balanced way and be extra careful not to influence to one side or the other the public, not to try to pass a certain view to the audience. Media have to work progressively. (TV editor, ERT, Greece)*

*Professional journalism standards are part of the rules. We are for instance bound to give certain space/time to the church/religious organisations. One could say, that we have exterritorial islands on which we have no influence at all. From the journalistic point-of-view, we have **an obligation to pay attention to religious issues** also in specific programmes. There are specific people working on these issues/beats, who often have a background in theology. (Editor, DRadio, Germany).*

*We have a **public service** contract with the state, and our principles are in part based on this contract. We have to consider the Danish cultural heritage, including Christianity, and that implicates that we have to cover church affairs and make transmissions from masses and so on at the major Christian holidays. (Editor, Danish Broadcasting Corporation, Denmark)*

Accuracy and balance are increasingly important when covering stories about the divide between the religious and secular. The Pope's visit to the UK highlighted a polarisation of views and our responsibility is to report on these issues without stirring further divisions. We have a responsibility **to report impartially and with balance**. This will assist in creating understanding. (TV journalist, BBC, UK)

The media's responsibilities in creating an atmosphere of tolerance and respect are implicit, rather than explicit. The news makers' choice of representative news stories about ethnicity and religion in answer to the question "What are the examples of journalism practice that could be usefully elucidated in order to breakdown prejudices, tackle discrimination, promote intercultural and interreligious understanding endorse common values and provide independent and trustworthy information?" - revealed that journalists mention ethnicity and religion most frequently when they are writing about: immigration, poverty and crime, discrimination, political issues and ethnic minorities.

The next chapter presents a range of 'ethnicity' stories embedded in five most frequently used themes. It offers an overview of the news stories that highlight elements of journalism practice (sourcing, framing, news gathering methods) and journalism tools (headlines, visuals, language) used in reporting on ethnicity. **The objective is to capture journalism practice that not only describes problems in reporting on these issues but serves as a list of possible action points. These easily readable examples of what went wrong or right in a story are aimed at highlighting what to pay attention to when reporting on ethnicity.**

04

ETHNICITY CASE STUDIES

The case studies on ethnicity are selected using the criteria of presence or absence of knowledge about anti-discrimination legislation, the level of engagement with the complexity of issues, the transparency of journalistic tools used, and uniqueness or typicality of representation of ethnicity. The case studies are systematized around five reoccurring themes in the coverage.

THEME: IMMIGRATION

IMMIGRATION AS A STORY ABOUT PEOPLE

One year, 4 months and 21 days. Journey from death to Italy
26 August 2009, *La Repubblica*, Italy

On 21 August 2009 a boat coming from Libya moored at the dock of the little island of Lampedusa, in Italy. The boat had been roaming around the Mediterranean Sea for twenty-one days, adrift, without fuel, nor food or water for the passengers.

Of the 78 people on board only five survived the journey. According to the new measures taken by the Italian government on immigration, these five people were already chargeable for the crime of illegal immigration.

Four days after the landing, *La Repubblica* devoted pages 2 and 3 to this event. Ezio Mauro, editor-in-chief for the newspaper, told the story of Titti Tazrar, the only woman among the five people who made it through the tragic journey. How was it reported?

In-depth interviews: The author spent four days in Palermo, at the hospital where Titti was being looked after. There, through the words of the girl, her relatives and the people involved in the rescue, he wrote the story of the young Eritrean woman.

Reconstruction of event: The piece retraces Titti's story from one year earlier, when she first took the hard decision to leave her country, her family and friends to look for a better life in Italy. It took a year of hard work to save the money, a year where Titti's experiences included hearing other people's stories. There is the journey through the desert from Sudan to Libya, and glimpses of an uninterrupted human trade. Detailed reports of the tragic conditions of immigrants involved in the trade had seldom appeared in the Italian media before.

The story moved to a vivid description of the painful journey, where people died of starvation. People are always addressed with their forenames, as Titti knew them.

Use of source's language: The author described the hopes and fears of those who were on the boat. He uses words of Titti's native language to give a stronger and more effective meaning to the content of the story: 'Meut (death) fills everyone's thoughts. It fills *Semai* (the sky), it will come from *Bahari* (the sea),' he writes.

Explaining legal context: In the article the author mentions the new measures taken by the Italian government against illegal immigration, and explains how the five survivors once rescued had been indicted by the commission of illegal immigration.

Raising public awareness: The author stressed his objective of raising public awareness on the complex phenomenon of immigration: 'These five people are the unknowing victims of the ideological cruelty that rules this country.' The author gave voice to the voiceless and promoted a better understanding of them, challenging the assumptions behind the discrimination of migrants so common in Italy.

WHY?

The editor of *La Repubblica* explains the coverage:

"It is a story that struck me really hard. The whole country and the media had already forgotten about it. As if it was an accident.

Seventy-three people died off our coast. The media reported the story as it was a common news item. The story was much more than that. I wanted to stress how much we care about these issues and how much we care that people know a bit more about what it means to be on the other side."

FOR NEW CITIZENS

Italian newspapers, *La Repubblica*, *L'Unità* and *Il Corriere della Sera*, promote blogs and sections to raise awareness on ethnic issues, cooperate with organizations for human rights and civil society groups.

"What has really changed in the last ten to fifteen years is the attention and the way we address these issues. We dedicate the cover of our Sunday supplement to the 'extraitaliani', the new Italians. We devoted numerous reports and stories to newcomers, to get to know their cultures, mixed marriages, the demographic changes linked to the migration phenomenon. The attention and the way we care about, and have respect towards these issues has massively changed in time. This has brought growing and developing competences, sensibility and attention towards these issues. Journalists have developed their skills on the field. We can't change at the rate of demographic changes. What has changed and developed is the attention and the room we devote to these topics."

(Newspaper editor, *Il Corriere della Sera*, Italy)

IMMIGRATION FRAMED AS A CRIME STORY...

Only in Rome, one in three rape cases is their fault

28 January 2009, *Il Giornale*, Italy

Murders, sexual assaults, robberies, muggings, thefts, extortions. Drug smuggling and people smuggling. They commit all the worst crimes with a brutality we used to associate with Albanians. Now the gold palm for crime goes to Romanians, who are most of the time illegal immigrants in our country.

This is a quote from the article that framed the issue of immigration around a crime story and used the following common practices - that good journalism should avoid - to construct the story:

Labelling: The term “Romanian emergency” used in the article was taken from the extreme pole of the political spectrum as undisputable fact. The term was first introduced at the beginning of 2008, during the political campaign for the local election in Rome. Newspapers, TV and radio extensively reported crimes committed by people of Roma and Romanian background. One year later, this report underlined the ‘massive’ percentage of offenders of Romanian origins. The article used numbers that, to use the author’s words, ‘create mass panic.’

INTEGRATION IS IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST

The media tend to talk about minorities when they are involved in crimes or offenses. It is really rare to read or hear about stories of integration. The majority of the media assume that these themes are not of public interest; that people don’t care about them. This is a really strong responsibility we take. If you talk about minorities only as related to bad stories, people will then be affected in their judgments, the result would be social fear and discrimination.

(Journalist, *Il Corriere della Sera*, Italy)

INVISIBLE IMMIGRANTS

The immigrant worker is invisible. He becomes visible when he cheats, when he violates the law. He becomes visible when he is a delinquent, when he is in jail, when he sets cars on fire... then he is very visible, he becomes immediately visible, ut he is not visible when he asks us to pay attention to him or to improve his economic conditions. I worked on that beat a few years ago, and I am aware of that. To show, for instance, an Arab immigrant who works installing isolation membranes on roofs was impossible. I would never get permission from the company to show on camera a worker, Arab, because the company was concerned that that could negatively impact their brand image. That is in part the work we have to do with regard to the invisibility.

(TV journalist, France 3, France)

Selective use of data: The text is based on an interview with the chief of police, who said that 35% of crimes were ascribed to ‘foreigners.’ The article though did not include any reference to the immigration rate or any other monitoring data, for instance, employment or integration of Romanian migrants in the society. Referring to the data of the Ministry of the Interior, the article lists numbers and percentages of offences, stressing at each step the Romanian contribution.

Generalizing individual crimes: The author says: “Romanians prefer the worst crimes, and anyway, the many crime stories reported by the media provide sufficient evidence to understand that something has to be done on the matter.”

Negative stereotyping: The image of Romanians but also of other minorities which comes out of the article is extremely negative. Ethnic groups are presented as monolithic blocs. The picture is that of a distorted reality where minorities are dangerous, inclined to committing horrible crimes. The writer is openly promoting negative stereotyping.

HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Inside the sanctuary of illegal immigrants

17 April 2011, *Aggelioforos*, Greece

This exclusive article described for the first time how hundreds of immigrants from Iraq and Pakistan enter Greece. Their trip, according to the report, costs from 8,000 up to 10,000 euro, depending on the country an immigrant is coming from.

Exclusivity: The article was based on an exclusive interview with a reliable police officer who remains anonymous. The editor-in-chief of *Aggelioforos* explains in the interview that the paper granted anonymity to the main source, but a thorough process of verification and fact-checking was undertaken before publishing the story. **The article satisfied all criteria of excellence in a scoop: the topic is in the public interest, someone tries to hide the truth and a story wouldn’t be told if it was not for news media discovery**³².

Honesty: The source reveals that immigrants are often called “watermelons”³³. The Police officer describes the state in which immigrants travel to their destination, Greece: “Families with children, pregnant women, holding their babies. Many of them are terrified, as during their trip the traffickers are blackmailing them that they will kill their family left back in their countries, so that they can get their money”. No one is spared criticism in this article, including Greek citizens involved in the trafficking who take advantage of the situation.

POVERTY

There are thousands of immigrants, poor people coming to Greece. But Greeks are also poor at this very moment. When we first dealt with immigration Greeks were hospitable. Now the doors are closing. When Greeks started to identify the immigrants with crime the doors closed behind them.

(Newspaper journalist, *Dimokratia*, Greece)

³² Key elements of investigative journalism - See De Burgh, H. (2000). *Investigative Journalism: Context and Practice*. London: Routledge)

³³ Using the word “watermelon” in a sentence comes from the old prejudice that African Americans like watermelon

AND IMMIGRATION AS A POLICY ISSUE

Border staff humiliate and trick asylum seekers - whistleblower

2 February 2010, *The Guardian*, UK

This exclusive report describes the working culture of the UK Border Agency (UKBA). It reveals that “asylum seekers are mistreated, tricked and humiliated by staff working for the UK Border Agency”. The examples of humiliation - that included office mascot as an ‘award’ for every asylum rejection - stirred enormous public debate in the UK.

Exclusivity: The whistle blower Louise Perrett disclosed to the *Guardian* that she heard her colleagues express views that were anti-immigration. They were allegedly proud to refuse applications for asylum.

Not one, but series of articles: The *Guardian* published a series of articles about the UKBA, the first of which prompted an investigation by the professional standards unit.

Impact: The inquiry has been made and the internal report laid out recommendations about changes to be made at the UKBA. This news coverage provided an example of the media’s ability to affect positive change in society. The UKBA has now had to defend its role and actions publicly and has set itself the standard where it “expects the highest levels of integrity and behaviour from all our staff.”

TERM “ILLEGAL IMMIGRANT” - A GREEK EDITOR’S VIEW...

QUESTION: Is there any written document or some guidance from the state or from ESIEA (the Journalists’ union) of how, for example, journalists should refer to immigrants? We often hear an adjective “illegal” immigrant. Is this right? And if it is or not right how are the journalists to know about it?

No, this is what I am telling you. There is no separation. For us, for ERT TV, immigrants are immigrants. A reporter who covers a story that involves immigrants, will use the word “illegal”, if of course the reporter has the appropriate evidence to use that word. There are the illegal immigrants, the political refugees, the economic refugees etc. We try to treat each issue, as thoroughly as possible. It is how each news outlet chooses to handle it.

(TV editor, ERT, Greece)

...AND REAL MEANING

The term “illegal immigrant” refers to an individual whose presence in a state is in violation of the immigration laws of that jurisdiction. Yet the term “illegal immigrant” has been used to describe individuals whose immigration or refugee status is unclear (e.g. asylum seekers) or still to be determined by a competent authority or tribunal. Unless such a determination has been made, it is inappropriate to use the term.

(Sejal Parmar, *Senior Legal Officer*, ARTICLE 19)

THEME: POVERTY AND CRIME

ROMA PEOPLE FRAMED AS DANGEROUS NEIGHBOURS...

Ghettos in the West of Slovakia. One Roma attacked our TV crew!
23 August 2010, *TV Markiza*, Slovakia

Aired in the main evening news of the most popular television channel in Slovakia, this report was about Roma people who “terrorize their neighbours”. The TV story starts with a claim that one Roma man attacked the crew. The journalist doesn’t explain what actually happened, if there was any damage or if anyone was hurt. It is not clear why the Roma got angry and if the fact that the cameraman started to shoot without approval started the fight.

Infuriating words: The author depicts the coexistence of Roma and other citizens of Malacky with very provoking words: “Rats, dirt, fights, robberies are taking place on a daily basis. The Roma people terrorize their neighbours. People fight to save their lives!” The selection of words gives the impression that Malacky is the most dangerous place in Slovakia, where you can’t walk out in the street, which is not true.

Only one side of a story: The journalist interviewed only non-Roma citizens, giving them space for claims such as “The Roma threaten to kill us!” No other side (Roma) was taken into account to confirm or reject these claims.

When the country researcher talked to the author later on, he admitted the use of only one side of a story was a mistake, but that the Roma people allegedly refused to talk to him.

...ROMA AS NEIGHBOURS...

Bill for evicting just 90 traveller families from UK’s biggest illegal site could hit £18m
7 March 2011, *The Daily Mail*, UK

This article was written about the eviction of 1000 travellers from a farm where they had lived since 1970. The community had tried many times to obtain planning consent to legally occupy the land but were blocked by the local Conservative Party Member of Parliament. The article focused on “the huge cost of the eviction” announcing the leader of the Council’s determination “to press ahead if the families choose not to leave by their own accord”. The piece goes into the cost to the Council of removing the travellers, the cost to the tax payer in clearing up after they have left and even warns of the cost of jobs at the council for having to deal with this eviction.

What is not said: The author presents the issue taking a socio-economic cost as an angle, rather than a humanitarian one. There is no mention of the human rights issues involved in evicting 1000 people. The writer does not tell the reader where they will go or how their needs will be accommodated elsewhere; schooling, healthcare etc. Instead they are reported on as a social problem. There is no mention of the discriminatory effect of planning legislation and policies towards gypsy traveller communities, nor any quoting of different sources representing different groups, such as human rights activists, policy-makers, or environmentalists.



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...AND OUR NEIGHBOURS

Flora, four children and Roma camps evictions

30 January 2011, *Tg3*, Italy

From 2007 to date there have been five hundred Roma camp evictions just in the city of Milan. The story of Flora, a woman of Roma origins with four children, made by Valeria Collevocchio, broadcast journalist for *Tg3*, lasts only 1 minute and 39 seconds, but it has had a great effect on the public.

Giving a voice to the voiceless: The story starts at the edges of Milan. Flora shows Valeria one of the places where she used to live with her kids. The voiceover explains how many evictions Flora went through. The camera follows the woman, the journalist's intervention is minimal, the story is told by Flora, with long close ups on her face while she recalls the number of times the police came and forced her and her children out into the streets, how the bus drivers never stop when they see her and her kids, and how hard it is to remain clean and well-dressed, when living on the streets.

Showing respect: The journalist addresses Flora as madam, she never says Roma, nor even on voice over. She asks: 'Madam, where are you and your children going to spend the night?' 'I don't know,' Flora answers, 'we'll find a place, we have a duvet... I thank God my kids are in good health, only the younger has a bit of a cough.'

Impact: After the news piece was broadcast, *Tg3* newsroom received many phone calls from people who wanted to help Flora and her family. That was the first time the journalist felt she had raised some awareness.

Damage to community: The evidence of the damage to community cohesion is evident in the comments made by the author of the article which included the following: "Don't you just love the new Multi-Cultural UK? Or: Seize their caravan, cars, lorries and all personal belongings and sell them to help pay towards the bill. Why should the Taxpayer have to pay to get rid of these illegal trespassers? Make them homeless and DO NOT give them any benefits for the rest of their and their children's lives as I suspect most are claiming for something. Make then do an honest day's work for a change and pay taxes."

LEGAL CORNER

Positive obligations

Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights states:

1. Everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life, his home and his correspondence.

There shall be no interference by a public authority with the exercise of this right except such as in accordance with the law and is necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security, public safety or the economic well-being of the country, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

THEME: DISCRIMINATION

EXPOSING RACISM

Doorman: "It's just not gonna be tonight"

27 August 2010, *Politiken*, Denmark

The author of this article had visited a number of nightclubs together with three other young males from an ethnic minority background to investigate whether there was systematic discrimination against ethnic minority youth in the nightlife of Copenhagen. He uncovered discrimination: five out of six night clubs would not let them in - with no other reason than their ethnic minority background.

Undercover reporting: Undercover reporting is used to test discrimination in real life.

Raising awareness about discrimination: Two fact boxes published along with the main report provide a background to this examination of discrimination. The first box lists rules prohibiting discrimination, and states the number of people who made complaints about discrimination in night life. The second fact box presents the method of investigation and the four main characters of the article with their name, ethnic background and occupation.

Neutral language: The author uses neutral, facts based, sober language. A great strength of the article is that the journalist doesn't fall into the trap of playing with the emotions of the reader. Instead he leaves it to the reader to imagine what the repeated rejections by doormen at the discos did to the young men, and this helps create empathy and sympathy with the journalist and his friends.

Firsthand experience: The article is based on and describes the experience of the author and his three companions - combined with research on laws and regulations on discrimination based on race and ethnicity.

PRAISING THE METHOD

The article was nominated for the Danish section of the European Award for Journalism about Discrimination 2010, and won the national Danish prize. Here follows an extract of the award's report:

What I like about it is the method: very down to earth, basic journalistic method. It is a good way to come around the fact that this story is not new, it has been told before, but it is still important to tell. So he manages to get the attention of the reader by using this method. And it actually created a lot of debate, among readers and politicians as well.

THE POWER OF A PERSONAL STORY

Mariam's wedding ["Mariams bryllup"]

31 August 2008, TV2, Denmark

This report followed Mariam, a girl of Muslim Arab origin who lives in the 'ghetto' of Vollsmose near Odense, during the days of her wedding. The 16 year old girl is shown preparing for the wedding and during the wedding ceremony and the party afterwards, mostly documenting the events and giving an impression of the excitement and joy and maybe also a bit of fear, which is involved in the whole process of getting married at an early age. The camera follows Mariam closely, giving her a chance to sometimes comment on the events. But most of all it just acts as the 'fly on the wall', giving the audience a feeling of being invited into the home of the family and being given the chance to 'sneak' into the life of a young woman from an otherwise unknown environment.

Giving a voice to the voiceless: By letting the groom, the mother of the bride and a friend of the bride comment on the events the relatively short report manages to show a nuanced picture of what can be the background story of an early marriage. The report 'teases' the audience by uncovering surprising elements of the story: Mariam's wedding proves to be an example of a young couple marrying out of love - and against the will of their parents.

The other side of the story: It is an example of a much debated issue of early marriages, a debate dominated by generalizations about oppression of Arab women. The report fills in a hole in the coverage of the issue, namely giving an insight into a concrete example of a general phenomenon, showing the many nuances of the matter.

Timeliness: The story was broadcast at a time of intense public debate about forced/arranged marriages and early marriages among ethnic minorities - a debate which mainly focused on Muslim weddings and marriage traditions as old fashioned, 'medieval' and problematic for the integration process in a modern society.

What could have been done better: The story could have had bigger effect if had it been followed by more facts and a studio debate with other young immigrants and their parents, or Danish people who marry early on.

DISMANTLING DISCRIMINATION

A lot of work has to be done to tackle the mechanisms of discrimination. If we are able to do research at the source, if we can go and ask why if you are black, and you live in Montfermeil, why you are less capable of accessing employment than others with equivalent education, we will be doing a good job. We would be dismantling the mechanisms of discrimination and dismantling the stereotypes that are conveyed very easily by the media in general.

(TV journalist, France 3, France)

JOURNALIST AS A VICTIM OF RACISM IN FRANCE...

I, Mustapha Kessous, journalist at Le Monde, am a victim of racism

23 September 2009, *Le Monde*, France

The article that was most frequently referred to in the interviews with French newsmakers was the testimonial article “I, Mustapha Kessous, journalist at Le Monde, am a victim of racism”. Describing the author’s personal experience of discrimination, the article starts with the encounter with the French Minister of Immigration:

Brice Hortefeux is very funny, I know it. He made a joke one day. On Thursday, April 24, 2008 the minister of immigration and national identity was going to receive me in his stately office. It was an appointment to discuss a series of strikes led by undocumented workers in several companies. We had never met. I waited with my colleague, Laetitia Van Eeckhout, in this mansion belonging to the Republic. Hortefeux shows up, he presents his hand, smiles and asks: “Do you have your papers?”

Gradation as a narrative tool: After Kessous recounts the joke made by the French minister of immigration, and how he received it, he uses gradation as a narrative tool to evoke a series of personal memories as a citizen and as a journalist: being stopped for no reason while walking down the street, being asked for the press card but not for his ID, being mistaken for being the chauffeur of Le Monde’s famous journalist “M. Kessous” (“Some do not hesitate to call the newspaper to report that a ‘Mustapha’ is posing as a journalist from Le Monde!”) being disrespected by the police, or civil servants of all types and ranks, and by interviewees of different social milieus and economic levels. Kessous even remembers being forced to conceal his first name from potential landlords, while visiting apartments with a “French-looking blonde” friend during an apartment-hunting period in Paris (“I had to amputate part of my identity, I had to clear my Arab name from my conversations”).

DISCRIMINATION OF JOURNALIST IN ITALY

I could also talk about some cases concerning myself as a victim of discrimination. I often read statements such as: Somali young woman, “professional” Italian. I am not a “professional” Italian, I am just Italian, I was born here and I have Italian citizenship. This is what usually happens with migration issues, they write random things that nobody checks.

(Newspaper Journalist, *L’Unità*, Italy)

Testimonial: The story demonstrated how discrimination goes beyond social status. The story is told with a touch of humour, and some affection. It uses the format of testimonial to bring authenticity (veracity) to the information conveyed.

*I thought that my “status” as a journalist would finally save me from my main “defects”: to be an Arab, having tanned skin, being a Muslim. I thought my press card would protect me from the “hooks” thrown at me by people obsessed with origins and appearances. But whatever the subject, location, population, prejudices are sticky. (Newspaper Journalist, *Le Monde*, France)*

SEGREGATION

Gypsy children. We are afraid of them

9 March 2011, *Vilniaus Diena*, Lithuania

This article about segregation of Roma school children is an example of a story where the media brought up a case of human rights violations that subsequently led to an investigation by human rights protection bodies in Lithuania. Starting with a powerful, pointed headline and colourful lead paragraph, the reporter uses effective language to depict the life of Roma children. She quotes children directly and offers vivid examples to illustrate their everyday life while, at the same time, enhancing our cultural understanding. In detail, the journalist explains how these children have to miss classes in winter because they have no warm clothes, or how they struggle to understand why taking off shoes in the classroom is unacceptable.

Avoiding stereotypes: The author avoids common media stereotyping of Roma and also steers clear of the ineffective bureaucratic slang that is prevalent in media articles summarizing scientific studies and surveys. In the photographs children are shown playing chess, computer games, reading books, writing on the blackboard, and running around in the yard. By using all these tools, the reporter succeeds in portraying Roma pupils like all children in the country - curious, smart and in need of protection - and helps the reader empathize with them.

Taking a stand on discrimination: The author, however, goes much further than simply depicting the life of schoolchildren. She draws attention to the instance of possible discrimination at one school, where all Roma children have been grouped into class 3c (*c* - for “*cigonai*”, which in Lithuanian stands for Gypsies) irrespective of their age.

Primary sources: Unlike the majority of other reporters, who usually represent the Roma’s voice by talking to human rights advocates or heads of ethnic Roma associations, she quotes Roma themselves. Furthermore, she visits Roma residences. Volunteers working with the school children explain the consequences of grouping Roma children into one class (3c) irrespective of age - Roma children feel isolated, and as a result of the mixing of different ages the learning process becomes ineffective. A representative of the local municipality and director of the concerned school, quoted in the article, argue that being grouped in a separate class helps Roma children achieve better results.

What could have been done better: Reflecting on her experience writing the article the journalist said: *Regarding the 3c class, probably it was the carelessness of me as a journalist that I wrote about it but did not frame it as the core issue.* (Newspaper journalist, *Vilniaus Diena*, Lithuania).

POSITIVE CHANGE

The true impact of the story was revealed in the follow up. In the wake of the report, the Controller of Equal Opportunities of Lithuania launched an investigation into a possible case of discrimination and violation of human rights. The author followed up her story with two other reports. Following a two-month investigation the Controller ruled that the creating of class 3c violated human rights and equal opportunities, and should be abolished by allowing Roma children to study in classes with pupils of other nationalities.

“I was surprised by the reaction from society and that other media republished the piece. The story resonated and it wasn’t just us playing in a sandbox.”

(Newspaper Journalist, *Vilniaus Diena*, Lithuania)

IV | THEME: PLAYING POLITICS

SOCIAL UNREST

Gyöngyöspata: recidivists among the attackers

6 June 2011, *Heti Válasz*, Hungary

Using techniques of investigative journalism, the author tried to give a new perspective on the events in Gyöngyöspata, a Hungarian village where a self-proclaimed uniformed vigilante group with ties to the radical right party, Jobbik, started patrolling streets in order to “protect” the local Hungarian population from ‘Gypsy criminals’. The police were heavily reinforced and the ‘vigilantes’ pulled back. Shortly afterwards, members of a paramilitary organisation called Véderő arrived in Gyöngyöspata, and a mass fight broke out one night between the Roma and the non-Roma.

Moving beyond the event...: The paper wanted to move from the pure description of the event. They reviewed the court decisions related to the incidents where members of Roma communities were involved. Looking at the last five years, it was explained, might bring a turning point in the judgement of the situation in Gyöngyöspata. The article claims that “members of the Roma community, ‘dreading racist attacks’, committed assaults against the local residents repeatedly and collectively”.

...but in a narrow direction: The writing lacks a wider context. Those unfamiliar with the details of the situation have no information to find out how life is in Gyöngyöspata, how many inhabitants the village has, what opportunities they have, how many of them are employed or how much their income per head is. No evidence of a relationship between crime, truculence and ethnicity is unveiled, nor is any data provided on proceedings against the non-Roma. The article seeks to put local tensions in an ethnic framework of reference yet it fails in its endeavour to explore correlations and links.

RIOTS AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

In October 2005, the death of Bouna Traoré (15) and Zyed Benna (17), children of African immigrants, ignited a series of riots in the French suburbs by North African Arabs of Algerian, Tunisian and Moroccan heritage. The teenagers died of electrocution inside a power station, where they hid after being chased by police officers, who were investigating a possible break-in in the neighbourhood. President Nicolas Sarkozy denied the police’s responsibility for the event, and his speech, which indirectly questioned the integrity of the victims (he argued that there had actually been break-ins in the neighbourhood), ignited a series of violent riots that lasted longer than a month.

The riots set the tone for an ongoing discussion about French national identity, the place of Maghrebi immigrants in France, post-colonialism, religion and culture, integration and republican values in France. No specific article was pointed out by the interviews but the following comments came out as main points for discussion:

Generic name for a social group:

When there are revolts in popular neighbourhoods, we would never say black, Arab, Maghrebi, we will say the children of the immigrants, the poor.

(Web Journalist, Rue 89, France)

Minimizing harm:

There is discrimination with regard to race. We try to minimize those ideas, but there are various criteria that reinforce discrimination and are spread by the media. It is not a stigmatization against a group, but sometimes we present certain people as “Mr. X, Tunisian immigrant.” So that’s about ethnicity. It’s a way to introduce people that is not usual. Here in France, for instance, we have no statistics with regard to ethnicity, for instance. That’s forbidden. And I think it’s ok. But when we present someone on TV, we present someone as “Mr X, who comes from Africa or from an Eastern country, Poland” it reinforces some ideas, particularly on TV. And it is true that on TV you can see if the person is black. But this type of introduction has become more habitual. And it’s not necessarily discriminatory, but it has become an element to introduce people on TV, and I am not for it.

(TV Journalist, France 2, France)

V | THEME: ETHNIC MINORITIES

UNDERSTANDING CULTURE...

Morning Programme

8 August 2010, *Lithuanian National Radio*, Lithuania

The Radio reporters travelled to Pabrade, a small town close to the Lithuanian-Belarusian border. Dominated by Polish, Russian and Belarusian languages and known as the location of the national refugee detention centre, Pabrade has often been portrayed as a conflict-ridden place, brimming with anti-Lithuanian sentiments. However, this report stood out in the mainstream media by presenting a much more balanced and diverse portrayal of life in Pabrade.

Matching content and sound: The broadcast from Pabrade presents a full picture of day-to-day life in a multicultural town. Reporters went about interviewing inhabitants on the street, with tractors roaring and cars honking in the background - the elements that make their stories sound very real and vivid at the same time.

Direct speech: Reporters asked simple questions such as “How is your day?”, “What do you like about your town?” without excessive attempts to frame stories and allowing Pabrade residents to speak about their lives as they saw it through their lens. Most inhabitants, when given freedom what to share about their life, spoke about the beauty of their town, the richness of the surrounding forests and hardly mentioned ethnic disagreements.

Use of languages: The majority of interviews were held in Lithuanian language. In one telling example, reporters interviewed the town’s largest farmer. Prior to the broadcast, the farmer expressed hesitation to speak to the radio. At the beginning of the conversation, he appears to be very formal, even standoffish, and speaks exclusively Polish (to reporter’s greeting “Good morning” in Lithuanian he snaps “Dzien Dobry” in Polish). By making a visible effort to appear non-confrontational and asking questions like “How has this year been for you?”, “What do you grow on your farm?”, reporters gradually put the interviewee at ease and after a few minutes he started inserting Lithuanian phrases, and then even began answering some questions in Lithuanian. When needed, consecutive interpretation by a local town official was provided, allowing radio listeners to hear the farmer’s language - a mix of Polish, Lithuanian and Russian - uninterrupted. When the farmer was comfortable with the reporter, the radio journalist asked about the languages used in town and cohabitation of different cultures.

WHAT WAS THE OBJECTIVE?

The main topic of our morning current affairs program was languages - how do different communities co-exist despite existing disagreements at the political level...We wanted to show that people can speak different “Lithuanian” - many don’t understand that.

(Radio Reporter, *Lithuanian Radio*, Lithuania)

CRIMINALIZING AN ETHNIC GROUP

Police affirm - These are the poker-robbers

18 March 2010, *Bild Zeitung*, Germany

Four men rob a poker-tournament in Berlin and the tabloid daily BILD Zeitung, Germany's largest daily, publishes the first names and nationality (Lebanese & Turkish, German-Turk) with pictures of three of the fugitives as their cover.



"Bild", 18.03.2010

Press Council warning: BILD receives a disapproval/deprecation from the German Press council³⁴ as the naming of the person's origin is of no relevance to the comprehension of the story. It also infringes against personal rights and privacy, and discriminates as well as disregards the Press Codex. The legal department of the publisher denies these accusations and refers to cases in which the Press Council had not criticised the naming and revealing of origins of suspects.

Violation of personal rights: The paper also published photographs of the suspects' children. The publication of these private pictures is of no relevance to the understanding of the story and also is not in the public interest. The publication went against personal rights and privacy by doing so.

Bild Zeitung obtained the information for the lead-story from the police, but also gained access to the suspects' private homes for additional pictures.

Headlines: The headline is written in tabloid style, using about ¼ of the first page. It focuses on the origins of the delinquents, deliberately demonstrating the papers perspective on the issue.

SOME ETHNIC GROUPS "MATTER" MORE

Hero policeman run down and killed by Gypsy criminal

24 July 2001, *Magyar Hirlap*, Hungary

In this article a whole ethnic group was identified with crime. It is a story about an accident, a car hitting a policeman. In the report, the term 'Gypsy criminal' is used five times. The driver's partner was also sitting in the car, a fact referred to as 'Gypsies on the run' at one point in the text. The author stresses the ethnicity of the driver although such information has no relevance to the running over of the policeman. Moreover, the Hungarian Police, the likely source of information, is not entitled to hold records of the ethnic and religious identity of perpetrators.

False logic: By stressing the alleged ethnic identity of the perpetrator, the paper makes an underlying claim that there is a link between crime and the origin of the criminal, associating 'Gypsy' with criminal.

Prejudices: Prejudices against Roma are seen in the fact that, following the same face logic of the importance of ethnicity, the ethnicity of the policemen was not stressed although his name clearly indicates non-Hungarian origin.

Ethical norm: The ethnicity, descent, religion, and racial identity of the victim are naturally irrelevant to the case.

Law: Hungarian police and authorities of jurisdiction are not entitled to hold records of the ethnic and religious identity of perpetrators.

³⁴ Pressekodex, Richtlinie 12.1

“WHO RULES THE WORLD”...

Who Rules the World?

2004, *Respublika*, Lithuania



© Rimantas Valeikis

This caricature first appeared in Lithuanian daily “Respublika” in 2004 and accompanied a series of articles entitled “Who Rules the World?”. It was reprinted again 2 February, 2009.

“Respublika”, which states as its mission the promotion of “national values and Lithuanianness”, caused a big outcry in 2004 with a series of openly anti-Semitic and homophobic publications entitled “Who Rules the World?”. Publication of these articles led to numerous lawsuits that in the end, however, did not produce any results of consequence to the newspaper. In January

2009, “Respublika’s” publisher and editor Vitas Tomkus wrote another one of his frequent inflammatory commentaries that again prominently featured the infamous caricature from 2004. The illustration portrays two men holding a globe - one with dark beard, long, uncut sideburns, what appear to be Orthodox Jewish *payots* and a black hat; the other visibly muscular and athletic male donning an unbuttoned leather vest, exposing bare chest and pouting bright red lips alluding to homosexuality. The caricature appeared in the daily and for several days was also featured in a leading position on a popular web news portal *balsas.lt*.

Polemic style: The article is a commentary, written in the first person singular, directly addressing the reader, as if engaging in a conversation. In polemic style, the author starts by shooting off strongly-charged, targeted questions. “Where is our Motherland? In Washington? In Israel? In Brussels? Anywhere but Lithuania. Everybody’s rights are protected here. Of Gypsies, Jews, and Poles... But not of Lithuanians,” Tomkus says, juggling readers’ emotions and subtly referring to the clout of the USA, Israel and the European Union, and ridiculing human rights advocacy in Lithuania.

Ethics Commission’s intervention: The repeat publication of the explicit caricature that provoked strong condemnation several years earlier, more than the text itself, caused outrage among intellectuals. Audrius Navickas, editor of web news portal *bernardinai.lt*, submitted a complaint to the Journalists and Publishers Ethics Commission, accusing the newspaper of inciting ethnic hatred, anti-Semitism and homophobia.

Several weeks later, the Ethics Commission ruled that the author did not violate the Journalists and Publishers Ethics Code of Conduct and stopped the investigation. The Journalists and Publishers Ethics Commission does not provide explanations to its rulings. It posts all its decisions on the website and in this case the decision reads:

Debate: Request by A Navickas to evaluate an article in daily “Respublika”. Meeting was attended by Vitas Tomkus, editor of the newspaper “Respublika”, and a group of individuals that came with him. Andrius Navickas requested to evaluate if article “Lithuanians We Were Born...” published in “Respublika” on Feb 2nd, 2009, was inciting ethnic hatred, anti-Semitism and homophobia.

Decision: “Respublika” article “Lithuanians We Were Born...” by Vitas Tomkus did not breach the Journalists and Publishers Ethics Code of Conduct.

“Respublika”, meanwhile, several months later, remaining truthful to its style, published another series of articles. This time - about “Soros Clan Usurping the Media”.

05

RELIGION CASE STUDIES

This section of the Study presents an overview of news stories that editors and journalists interviewed for the Study consider to be the most representative, for good or bad reasons, of reporting on religion. The stories highlighted elements of journalism practice that illustrate key problems in reporting religion.

Using the most representative case studies on reporting religion nominated by the interviewees, a range of issues were identified related to different phases in news production. This section is organized around these steps in reporting on religion.

- Finding a news topic
- Approaching sources of information
- Providing background information
- Finding an angle
- Presenting a story

The spectrum of stories nominated for analysis by the interviewees also revealed a spectrum of themes within which religion is considered:

- Veil issue (France)
- Teaching Islam in schools (Italy)
- Integration (France, UK, Denmark, Italy, and Germany)
- Places of worship/building a mosque (Italy, Greece and Hungary)
- Abortion (Slovakia)
- Islamophobia (Germany and UK)
- New religious groups (Lithuania)
- Religious extremism and conversion (UK)
- Homosexuality and sexual scandals (all countries)

Newsmakers agree that the basic principles of good reporting - accuracy, fairness, objectivity and balance - apply in covering religious issues. Media follow written and unwritten editorial guidelines that advise how these issues should be treated. Every time there is a story, an editorial team deals with the story having in mind these principles but focusing on particularities of an individual event.

Sometimes, it poses a problem. A journalist's work is to reveal the truth and report what is happening and although the vast majority of those interviewed agree that, along with an informative role, they have a task of educating the public, when it comes to their everyday practice, differences arise.

While the work of journalists covering religion in the North West European cluster has been systematically scrutinized by a well developed system of institutions and civil society organisations who highlight anti-discriminatory practices, journalists in the Mediterranean cluster are very much prone to be influenced by political, legal, and economic context as well as the news organisation's take on the issue.

FINDING A NEWS TOPIC

BUILDING MOSQUES IN ITALY

Terrorism, the mosques where hatred is preached

22 September 2009, *Il Giornale*, Italy

In this article from Italy, a reporter tells a story about two men of Moroccan origin who were charged with criminal conspiracy to commit international terrorism. The two offenders were members of 'Pace' (peace) Islamic centre situated in Lombardy, northern Italy. Following the court case, a member of the political party Lega Nord (Northern League, part of the government coalition) proposed a moratorium against the setting up of Muslim places of worship in the country. According to the cited right-wing politician, mosques and Islamic centres of worship were hideouts for terrorists. The 'mosques case' opened a debate throughout the country and the press actively contributed to that debate. This article resumes the case by proposing a report on an anti-terrorism investigation on Muslim places of worship present in the country. To use the writer's words, the piece "depicts the geo-political map of the places the Imams have chosen to predicate the Koran in our country, in the most extreme, radical and violent way."

This particular meaning was created by playing with the following features of the text:

Frame: The combination of terms terrorism, hatred and mosque frames the topic of building mosques as a danger. It encourages readers to look at people of Islamic faith as potential terrorists. The author endorses the strong and fearful image of the stereotypical Muslim-terrorist generating fear and promoting the social out-casting of minorities.

The headline: The first paragraph accentuates the discriminating content of the headline. Imams and Islam followers are described as "preachers of violence, terrorism supporters, professional fundamentalists." The author proceeds to list the 'threatened' towns throughout the country, proposing each time a different negative anecdote and recalling crime stories involving Muslim people.

Dichotomy of 'us' and 'them': The image that comes out is a danger of invasion. The dichotomy 'us' vs. 'them' is used to compose a distorted image where there is no space for integration because, the article implies, Italians and Muslims are divided by a cultural wall that is impossible to cross.

WHAT THE EDITOR SAYS

International and European human rights law, EU law and national norms prohibit discrimination on the grounds of religion.

The editor of *Il Giornale*, the newspaper which published the article, when asked about European anti-discrimination law said:

I don't need Europe to come and tell me how to do my job

...AND BUILDING A MOSQUE IN ATHENS

Mass Muslim prayers in Athens

21 November 2010, *Kethimerini*, Greece

This article brings back the story about building a mosque in Athens. Although a new place of worship had been agreed in 2006, no progress had been made. The number of Muslims in Greece is estimated at more than half a million³⁵. In late October 2010 Muslim immigrants engaged in mass prayers, closing central streets of Athens. The journalist visited one of the “street mosques” in central Athens, located at Attiki Square. The area was characterized as a “war zone”, a place of many hostile incidents between immigrants and Greeks.



© Thanassis Dimopoulos/Phasma

The article came after the mass Muslim prayers. The journalist reported that Greek citizens of the area and members of nationalist organizations threw eggs and other objects at the Muslims during the prayer. They scattered offensive flyers and played the highest volume music on the radio in order to silence the voice of the Imam.

Both sides of a story: This is an example of an article that seeks to tell the truth by talking to both sides of the dispute. The article cites citizens, referring to “the fear in the citizens’ eyes” because they saw their neighborhood change radically in just a few months, and the immigrants who say the arson attempt on the mosque by right wing party supporters. The journalist’s engagement with the topic is detached, no judgments are made, just a presentation of facts as they were told by the people involved.

³⁵ 527,000 “Significant increase of Muslims”. 28 January 2011, *Kethimerini*, Greece

ITALY: PROMOTING INTEGRATION

Avis, first Islamic group of blood donors in Florence
13 April 2010, *L'Unità*, Italy

Avis (Association of Voluntary Italian Blood-donors) is the major Italian non-profit and charitable organisation for blood donors. In April 2010, some members of Florence's local Muslim community who used to be regular blood donors for the non-profit association, created the first group of Islamic donors in Italy. The group chose a slightly provoking slogan for the campaign: 'Even if we are of different races and religions, we share the same blood.'

Sources of information: The journalist from *L'Unità* interviewed the local Imam. He stressed that the Muslim minority is committed to promote peaceful integration based on the overt adoption of 'Italian' ethical and moral principles. 'We hope - the Imam said - that similar initiatives will follow all over the country.' The writer reports data on the increasing immigrant contribution to blood donation. The journalist also reported on the point of view of the president for the regional section of Avis in Tuscany, who said: 'We are witnessing a new important phenomenon. The members of a minority are promoters of integration. They are making a gesture of altruism and solidarity towards the whole community they live in.'

Cooperation with civil society groups: The newspaper has strong relations with civil society groups and charitable organisations. This is an example of valuable cooperation between media and civil society. The editor in chief at the time of data collection sees the importance of giving voice to key actors of the change as a condition for better coverage on ethnic and religion issues.

Through the use of multiple sources and alternative voices, the newspaper highlighted an important phenomenon of integration. The coverage raises public awareness, promotes equality and a better understanding of possible paths that integration can take.

II | APPROACHING SOURCES OF INFORMATION

LITHUANIA: ARE ALL POLES CATHOLIC FANATICS?

Poles Need Even More Churches in Vilnius

5 March 2011, *Lietuvos Rytas*, Lithuania



© Irmantas Gelunas/15min

The article reproduced the stereotype of a pious Pole by describing the plans of Lithuania's Polish electoral bloc leader Valdemar Tomashevski to build a complex of churches in the capital Vilnius. The complex would be built next to the former residence of Polish nun St. Faustina, where she is said to have experienced a vision of Jesus Christ in the early 20th century. Reportedly, the politician believes that Vilnius could then attract half a million tourists a year from Poland.

Images: To reinforce the image of Poles as devout Catholics³⁶, in the accompanying photograph Tomashevski is portrayed in front of a famous religious icon of St. Mary with the caption reading: "V. Tomashevski - a devout Catholic believer. The next day after elections he first of all went to pray at the Chapel of the Gates of Dawn".

Mixings facts and views: The language in the article is emotional and far more suited to a commentary or an op-ed. Reportedly, Tomashevski talks about his plans "with a serious face". Or maybe "the Polish politician let the words slip accidentally before elections and they just like other promises of politicians - should not be taken seriously?" asks the reporter.

Sources of information: The Polish minority leader is quoted indirectly without explaining where and when the politician originally described his plans. Curiously, the reporter asks for a comment from the director of a state orphanage adjacent to St. Faustina's house, who snaps that "We have enough churches. Money should really be invested elsewhere". The opinions of a prominent politician who at the time was competing for the mayor's post and that of the former Vilnius mayor are also presented. According to the reporter, their positions were rather vague because "who would want to go against God by saying "no". The opinions of the municipal authorities and the Catholic Church are absent.

Political context: Years 2010 and 2011 presented challenges to relations between Lithuanian and Polish ethnic groups. Tensions were further fuelled by worsening bilateral relations between the two neighbouring countries. The media in both the Polish and Lithuanian languages did not overstep legal boundaries but often took the easy way out and limited their reports to event-driven, stereotype-ridden coverage that lacked in-depth understanding of a broader context. This case is a good example of how instead of toning down the tensions and creating understanding, the media may do the opposite - further deepen the divide.

³⁶ According to the latest available data on religious composition of all Lithuania's residents, collected in 2001, the overwhelming majority of the population identify themselves as Catholic (79 percent).

UK: ON EXTREMISM, SELECTIVELY

Nine arrested after masked mob's march against Muslim extremists turned violent

2 June 2009, *The Daily Mail*, UK

A group named 'March for England' organised a protest against Islamic extremism in Luton, a highly ethnically and religiously diverse town. The group stated that they planned a peaceful march but there were riots, an Asian man was attacked and police made nine arrests. The author lists the slogans that were on the banners and that evoke fears associated with Islam: "No Sharia Law in the UK" and "Respect our Troops". The article uses terms such as Islamic Extremist and Muslim interchangeably, drawing the conclusion for their readers that they are one and the same.

Attribution: Saiful Islam, a local Muslim activist, is described as a 'hard-line political agitator'. His hard line appears to be that he is opposed to the war. Further in the article the same group of protesting Muslims are described by the March organiser as extremists. The report includes information about an Asian man who was hit across the face, and although he sustained injuries, the reader is not encouraged to dwell on this point. The victim remains unnamed and the attack is not explained or described as racist. The author describes March for England as a 'Mob'. The members of the group were seen giving Nazi salutes but it was not mentioned in the report.

PROVIDING BACKGROUND INFORMATION

ON VEILED WOMEN IN FRANCE

Fillon pushes for his plan, Sarozy reveals his game

23 April 2010, *Le Parisien*, France

All interviewed newsmakers in France agreed that the most challenging example of media coverage of religion was the reaction to the law that banned wearing the veil in public places. Although none of the journalists could point in the direction of one story that had been particularly well covered, many of them mentioned the story of a 31-year-old woman in Nantes who was arrested for driving dressed in a full veil as an example of very unsuccessful, poor coverage. The story, which was broken by a local newspaper from Nantes, *Presse Océan*, on April 22, 2010, received immediate attention from the national media. And it was, as many of interviewees said, an excuse for right wing parties to begin pushing for a general ban on the burqa.

Initial frame: The story gained momentum as politicians framed it around the notion of a “French identity.” The first paragraph of *Le Parisien*’s story ran as follows:

A 31 year old woman wearing the full veil was sentenced in early April to a fine of 22 euros, imposed for “driving in imperilling conditions,” after she was stopped at a traffic control in Nantes (Loire-Atlantique). The case was revealed Friday by the regional daily Presse Océan, and triggers the controversy over the general ban on veils, which is being pushed forward in full swing by the president.

A French national, for nine years Anne has worn a niqab that only reveals her eyes. She was the subject of a traffic control on April 2 when she was driving her car on a street in Nantes. “Two officers on motorcycles made a sign to stop,” she says. The young woman presented her papers and said she had unveiled her face so that her identity was verified. “And then the policeman told me that he would fine me because of my dress. I told him he did not have the right, that this was discrimination pure and simple. But the officer told me: ‘I do not know what happens in

JOURNALISTS ON VEIL DISCUSSION

I think that the veil issue was really poorly treated, and very caricatured, some journalists jumped on veiled women to make them speak, especially the audio-visual media, which needs quick testimonials. I think that the written media have been more reflexive about this issue and they took more time to find the right people, whereas we had to rush to the streets.

(TV Journalist, *France 3*, France)

The position we took, was that it was unnecessary to pass a law to prohibit the burqa, [which is basically making] a law for 2000 persons. We separated the use of the burqa and Islam as a religion. Islam doesn’t require the use of the veil, and the fact that women wear the veil as an attempt to display her dignity as a woman. There are laws that are impossible to enforce and this is one of them.

(Newspaper Editor, *Le Monde*, France)

your country.” Anne who always wears a niqab, held a brief press conference in a grocery store in Nantes on Friday afternoon.

Follow up: The story, however, had an immediate follow-up. The press found that her husband had multiple women, which is forbidden in France. *That reinforced all the stereotypes: he is a Muslim, they exploit their women, they have 10 women each, we don't know how they live, they are surely into trafficking. The fact was that that particular guy was, in fact, a little shady, but this type of story degenerates quickly, and the politicians talk about them right away.* (Newspaper Journalist, *Le Parisien*, France)

Magnifying the issue: There was a media confusion on what is the foulard, the niqab, the burqa, the veil. In broadcast media the situation was aggravated by the fact that in France there is only a very small group of women who wear the integral veil, and the images of a minority of women wearing the veil were magnified to underline the difference. The media treatment of the issue reflected the way the politicians have treated the issue in the Veil Commission: it was limited, caricatured, and in the end, the coverage had a detrimental outcome, which is exactly the opposite to what many journalists would have expected.

SLOVAKIA: WOMEN'S RIGHT TO ABORTION

Battle for “genetic” abortions
12 May 2008, *TV Markíza*, Slovakia

Religious issues in Slovakia are mainly concentrated around the topics of abortion and the right to conscientious objection. This TV story was an example of a journalist's effort to remain impartial and to present the issue of women's right to abortion within a context, in this case national legislation. It deals with the problem of abortions in the case of genetic damage in the human foetus.

Two sides of a story: The author presents two points of view. The first one uses an example of a young writer with Down syndrome who has already written three novels to say that people with Down syndrome can have a happy life. The opposite point of view is represented by a women's rights activist saying that abortion represents a woman's right to keep control over her own body and life. The author remains neutral and gives space to both sides of the dispute. He has interviewed representatives of NGOs and the ministry of health.

Knowledge of legislation: The journalist adds that the right to abortion is guaranteed by the constitution. The story is based on some legislative research, however the author does not mention any piece of EU legislation.

ARTICLE 19 ON FULL-FACE-VEIL BANS

The bans that have been recently proposed, and in some cases adopted, restrict the rights to freedom of expression and also freedom of religion, as well as other rights. They must therefore, under international and European human rights law, fulfil the following requirements: they must be prescribed or provided for by law; they must pursue a legitimate aim; and they must be necessary in a democratic society. Furthermore, they must be proportionate and not be imposed for discriminatory purposes or applied in a discriminatory manner. In ARTICLE 19's opinion, although the bans on the full face veil may fulfil the legality and legitimacy of aim, and in certain circumstances may be deemed to be necessary in a democratic society, they are not proportionate. It is also likely that they will be applied in a discriminatory manner and are likely to have disproportionate impact upon Muslim women.

(Parmar, S. *Legal Comment*, December 2010)

IV | FINDING AN ANGLE

GERMANY: A BOOK THAT STIRRED A DEBATE ABOUT IMMIGRATION

Germany is becoming poorer and dumber

23 August 2010, *BILD Zeitung*, Germany

BILD Zeitung, Germany's largest daily newspaper, with a circulation of around three million copies a day, as well as the largest weekly magazine, *Spiegel*, pre-published some excerpts from a new book by former Bundesbank board member, Thilo Sarrazin, 'Deutschland schafft sich ab' - 'Germany does away with itself'. In these first published extracts Sarrazin's provocative thesis about the 'inherent violent nature of Islam', 'the non-integration and laziness of Islamic immigrants in Germany', the 'Jewish gene' and 'Turkish people being prone to incest' are laid out. He also states that immigrants are 'a burden on social welfare' and 'Islamic groups have a criminal predisposition'. First paragraph of *Le Parisien*'s story ran as follows:



Thilo Sarrazin (65)

THILO SARRAZIN'S DRASTISCHE THESEN ÜBER UNSERE ZUKUNFT

Deutschland wird immer ärmer und dümmer!

DEUTSCHLAND SCHAFFT SICH AB!

VON THILO SARRAZIN

23.08.2010 00:13 UHR

Reprinting problematic statistics from a book: Sarrazin deduces some of his thesis from outdated numbers and statistics and questionable research (e.g. the idea of the 'Jewish gene'). The data sets, ideas and thesis he used were extensively discussed from all-angles in most media outlets throughout Germany for several months (internet, print, talk shows, magazines, radio, between politicians, NGO's etc). It significantly contributed to a public discussion of issues that had often been untouched by politicians because of their sensitivity.



GERMANY: ISLAMOPHOBIC FRONT PAGES

Since 9/11 numerous front pages and lead stories spread the idea of a "dangerous islamization" of Germany: "Mekka Germany - the silent Islamisation"; "The holy hatred"; "Pope contra Mohammed"; "Koran - The world's most powerful book"; "Dangerously foreign"; "Islam - why do they want to kill us | A history of Islam".

The *Bild Zeitung* coverage was a populist stunt disregarding journalistic norms in relation to accuracy and objectivity. The headlines had been carefully chosen to have the most populist quality and appeal. More balanced reporting on the issue was done by die *ZEIT*, *FAZ* and *DRadio*, which had **background information, analysis, references to the social context of the story as well as arguments for and against in different formats**. These gave the audience an informed source of information.

HUNGARY: ANTI-SEMITISM AND ANTI-COMMUNISM

The same stink

4 January 2011, *Magyar Hírlap*, Hungary

In the media affiliated with the political right in Hungary, periodically there have been distinctly sharp anti-semitic overtones. This anti-semitic discourse does not manifest itself in the context of religious difference, but appears embedded in political discourse. A standard topic of the radical right is that Hungarian Jews support (and control) the political left. The anti-semitic discourse of the radical right is built on stereotypical anti-semitic patterns: Jews are not loyal to their 'host' nation and country but they are 'cosmopolitan', pursuing 'the quest for global dominance' to be attained this time via financial organisations (World Bank, IMF etc).

Implied meaning: Anti-semitic discourse rarely chooses to stigmatise 'the Jews' in a direct way. Instead, it prefers to use codes that will allow the audience to get the message clearly. The article was written as a reaction to the international community and foreign press criticism of Hungarian right wing politics and the attacks on fundamental rights, including the recent change of the Media Act. The author cites the *Guardian's* commentator Nick Cohen - who wrote "you can catch a smell of intolerance in Budapest" - and lists three names in his response:

Hungary stinks, writes some stinky end product of metabolism called Cohen, somewhere from England. Cohen, plus Cohn-Bendit, plus Schiff.

The author named three individuals: Cohen who is a journalist, Cohn-Bendit, a member of the European Parliament and Schiff, who is a musician. He does not have to add anything explicit as he signified the British reporter as 'some stinky end product of metabolism' and juxtaposed two more, clearly identifiable Jewish names. By specifying three names the author denoted very clearly what group he thinks is criticising the Media Act.

Using public memory: The major part of the article discussed the emigration of the leaders of the Hungarian Soviet Republic after the fall³⁷. For that matter, the primary attribute of the leaders of the Hungarian Soviet Republic is their Jewish descent in the perception of the Hungarian political right. According to the author, participants of the 'Red emigration' in that period made all efforts to discredit Hungary, just like the opposition to the current government. This implied labelling of criticism as anti-patriotic coincided with the government's narrative claiming that foreign criticism of the Media Act was inspired and arranged by Hungarians.

³⁷ The Republic was formed in 1919 and lasted only 133 days.

ITALY: TEACHING ISLAM IN SCHOOLS

Provocation: teaching Islam in schools? A chorus of objections

18 October 2009, *Avvenire*, Italy

This article was published in *Avvenire*, the Italian newspaper affiliated to the Roman Catholic Church. Adolfo Urso, then deputy minister of economic development, suggested promoting the integration of Muslim minorities through teaching Islamic culture in secondary schools. The programme would have taken the form of one hour per week of lectures.

The proposal opened a debate involving education, communities and political parties' representatives. Many saw the proposal as a good opportunity to raise awareness of a different culture and promote peaceful integration of minorities within local communities. Many others were doubtful about the feasibility and the potentialities of the project.

Editorial policy: The article gives prominence to the objections to teaching Islam in schools. This is exemplified by the headline of the piece, which points out a partial understanding of the very same voices the article hosts. The author respects the policy of the Catholic newspaper, which tends to approach topics according to a cultural and religious frame and is often impermeable to changes to the *status quo*.

The journalist interviewed for the Study stressed:

Italy should value the Christian tradition and Humanism as basic principles of Italian culture. These values do not involve any religious identification, they just evoke Italian history, its traditions and its roots.

(Newspaper Journalist, *Avvenire*, Italy)

Such values though, when applied to practical media coverage, tend to be a limit.

Primary definers: Despite the multiplicity of sources and voices offered in the article, the paper clearly expresses the view (through the headline as well as in the piece) that teaching Islam in schools is unacceptable. The role of the primary definer of the issue was given to Gaetano Quagliariello, member of Senate in the benches of the Berlusconi government, who argued: 'The proposal is just another example of the unfruitful European recipe toward multiculturalism, a model which has already failed as the UK example shows. We should instead focus on our own identity and culture, without hurting common sense. Promoting a misconceived cultural pluralism - he concluded - it is not the state's business.'

UK: THE ISSUE OF CONVERSION

The Islamification of Britain: record numbers embrace Muslim faith

4 January 2011, *The Independent*, UK

The authors of this article investigated why the numbers of Britons converting to Islam had doubled in 10 years. The backdrop to the story was the launch of a new study by the inter-faith think-tank Faith Matters which suggested that the real number of conversions could be as high as 100,000, with as many as 5,000 new conversions nationwide each year. The think-tank report says: 'Following the global spread of violent Islamism, British Muslims have faced more scrutiny, criticism and analysis than any other religious community', and acknowledges that 'the often negative portrayal of Islam' has influenced the reinforcement of stereotypes.

Sources of information: Journalists interviewed the director of Faith Matters Inayat Bunglawala, the author of the report, Fiyaz Mughal, the founder of Muslims4UK, which promotes active Muslim engagement in British society and a number of Britons who had converted to Islam.

Data analysis: The story clearly addresses a question of reliability of data by specifying how, when and where it was collected. An Irish-born convert to Islam of 25 years who works at the Islamic Foundation and runs the New Muslims Project, was quoted saying she believed the new figures were "a little on the high side". It also addressed the way the report looked at how converts were portrayed by the media and found that while 32 per cent of articles on Islam published since 2001 were linked to terrorism or extremism, the figure jumped to 62 per cent where there was a reference to converts.

This article demonstrates the advantages of comprehensive coverage of the issue. The main report had a section on 'How to become a Muslim', that illustrated the experiences of sources rarely heard in the British press unless they were responding to a negative piece on Muslims or Islam.

V | PRESENTING A STORY

GERMANY: SATIRICAL APPROACH TO THE CLERGY

Church today

April 2010, *Titanic*, Germany



The April 2010 issue of the popular German satirical magazine *Titanic* ran a cover depicting Jesus on the cross smiling with a catholic cleric kneeling in front at waist height covering his loins. The headline states: “Church today”. Blood sprinkles out of a wound on the crucified Jesus, who appears to be smiling at the same time. The cover page of the magazine led to an investigation by the public prosecution department.

Legal response (prosecutors): The consensus of the prosecution department was that the cover picture does not disrupt public peace because satire is constantly working with forms of appropriations, distortion and exaggeration. The task of satire is to reveal problems in society and initiate debate about problematic issues, by provocation. In this case the topic of sexual abuse in the church.

Ethical response (Press Council): This was the only case of media coverage of religion that the German Press Council discussed in 2010. They received 198 complaints regarding the cover page. The Press Council did not

consider the picture as being discriminatory of religion or a belief system as it did not criticize the religion, but the behavior and conduct of some bishops and cardinals. People of these ranks are publicly subjected to criticism. The Press Council further stated that democracy as well as the Catholic Church had to tolerate criticism to this extent: “The caricature highlights the problem within a society. The aim of satire or caricature is to highlight problems and initiate discussions within a society. Satire can be pointed and sharp but also be borderline. In this case the caricature visualises a current debate on sexual misconduct of wards. It provokes and precisely therefore initiates the reader to think about the shortcomings within the church. It is not Christ of Jesus that is criticised, but the conduct and behaviour of dignitaries that have acted wrongfully....”³⁸

³⁸ Satire kann an Grenzen gehen, Katholischer Geistlicher vor dem Gekreuzigten: 198 Beschwerden
Entscheidung: unbegründet, Ziffer: 9,10,11

LITHUANIA: DEMONIZATION OF NEW CHRISTIAN GROUPS

The Economics Minister Mixed up Prayer, Beer and Politics

22 December 2009, *Lietuvos Rytas*, Lithuania

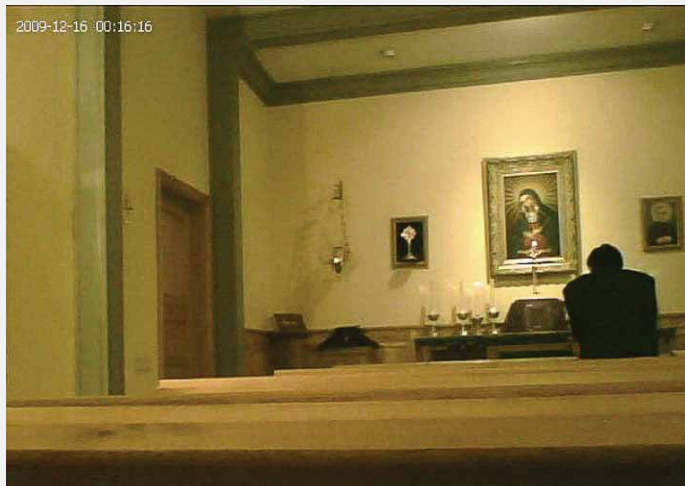
The Secrets of “Opus Dei”

5 February 2011, *Vilniaus Diena*, Lithuania

The overwhelming majority of the Lithuanian population identify themselves as Catholics (79 percent)³⁹. The Catholic discourse dominates spiritual and even political domains and, not surprisingly, the general population remains suspicious of non-Catholic and especially non-traditional religious groups⁴⁰. Even though stereotyping is common, there have been no cases of open discrimination or incitement of hatred in the media and, compared to ethnic minorities, the importance assigned to religion in the media remains low. In late 2009 and early 2010 the national daily *Lietuvos Rytas* published a series of articles about new Christian group “Opus Dei”. The interest was sparked by the fact that the Economics Minister was found to be a frequent “visitor to a men-only club linked to a mysterious religious organization.”

The use of photographs: On the front page of the influential *Lietuvos Rytas*, the Economics Minister Dainius Kreivys is portrayed sneaking through a half-open door as if trying to avoid catching anybody’s attention.

On the next page, the second photograph, seemingly taken with a hidden camera, shows the minister from the back, kneeling in prayer in candle light in front of a saint’s picture.



© Lietuvos Rytas

No other side: Apart from several unauthorized quotes from the minister and other club members recorded with a hidden microphone, the piece does not present other direct quotations that would explain what “Opus Dei” is. No evidence is given that “*Lietuvos Rytas*” tried to contact “Opus Dei” for a comment. The minister, meanwhile, is caught for a very brief comment while boarding a car after work but there is no evidence of sustained effort by the journalist to acquire and present the cabinet member’s reaction.

³⁹ National population census of 2001.

⁴⁰ In a 2010 social survey about the attitudes toward various population groups, conducted by the Institute for Ethnic Studies, among religious groups the most disliked were Jehovah’s witnesses (43 percent of respondents said they would not like to have them as neighbours), Muslims (38.8 percent), members of unregistered religious groups (24 percent) and members of new, non-traditional Christian movements (22 percent). Source: The Institute for Ethnic Studies http://www.ces.lt/wp-content/uploads/2010/02/LSTC_ETI_2010_LT-gyvent_apklausa_socinstanc111.pdf

Linguistic tools: Without presenting supporting evidence, the religious group is referred to as “mysterious” and “controversial” by linking it to Dan Brown’s book “The Da Vinci Code”. (“Opus Dei”, which is formally part of the Catholic Church, vehemently denied the accuracy of many facts presented in the famous novel). Other poor journalism practices are given away by the frequency of some of the words used by the reporter - “it is said” and “I was under the impression” are definite markers for unverified information.

Reinforcement of one-sided message: A day later, the report was followed up by a related piece on www.lrytas.lt, a web news portal affiliated with the newspaper and belonging to the same publishing group. The lengthy article entitled “The Secretive “Opus Dei” is Even Accused of Treating Women like Dogs” again reproduced the same discourse of the religious group as esoteric and controversial without interviewing its representatives.

Factual mistakes: In a letter to the portal www.lrytas.lt in response to the latter article the head of the “Opus Dei” information bureau in Lithuania listed at least 13 gross factual inaccuracies, most of which, he claimed, could have been avoided by simply checking open sources or speaking to an “Opus Dei” representative.

“Vilniaus Diena”: In an article that appeared in another daily, Vilnius city newspaper “Vilniaus Diena”, the reporter also starts off with a reference to the popular esoteric image of this new Christian group (“For most people two words, “Opus Dei”, send shivers down their spine”). However, the journalist sets out to demystify the group by researching its history, visiting “Opus Dei” centres, talking to its members and senior representatives. This simple investigation that should be standard practice for every journalist resulted in many myths being broken and an entirely different representation of “Opus Dei”.

Reflecting on her experience writing the article the journalist said: *“I think that the piece ended up being objective. I spoke to “Opus Dei” representatives and the [head of their information centre] said that despite the fact that there had been so much publicity about “Opus Dei” in the last 10 years, he only received 10 phone calls from journalists requesting a commentary. This means that probably we don’t try hard enough to reflect the truth.”*

(Newspaper Reporter, Vilniaus Diena, Lithuania)

DENMARK: SEX SCANDAL IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

Priests on trial

3 November 2010, Danish Broadcasting Corporation, Channel 1, Denmark

This television programme was about the so-called ‘sex scandal of the Catholic Church’ - with a focus on the Danish Catholic Church and the priests who have been ‘on trial’ in the media campaign launched by both omnibus and tabloid newspapers. The journalist tries to give a broad description of the case from different angles, but with a strong focus on how the involved priests and their supporters in local churches have experienced the media coverage and the internal processes in the Church. The story focuses on the people involved, not so much what has actually happened but on the question how it affected people’s lives.

Sources of information: The programme presents facts and describes the sex scandal using old clips and voice-over. It uses a lot of face-to-face interviews with the involved parties, including several priests and church-goers and also other members of the Church who have been actively involved in putting the priests on trial. Also a victim of sexual abuse gives his account as well as a bishop of the Danish Catholic Church. Other media’s material is used too, both Danish and international as well as documents from the Church and reportage elements from different Catholic churches. An excellent range of sources brought depth to the reporting.

Fairness and in-depth reporting: This is an excellent example of how high journalistic standards can be applied to a controversial and complicated issue. Other media has generally been tempted by the combination of sex, religion and gossip to cover the case in a very simplified manner, often indicating strongly the guilt of the priests although none of them have been formally accused or convicted. The journalist succeeds in producing a fascinating and exciting programme without compromising the ideals of fairness, balance and importance. She deals with the facts and the emotional side of the case in a sublime way. The journalist succeeded in getting one of the victim's own account but leaves the question of guilt open. The programme gives the impression of substantial research over a long period of time.

GAINING TRUST

The journalist behind the documentary explains her reasons for producing it and the importance of gaining the trust of sources.

It was quite shocking how even quality media produced sensationalistic and biased reports about the sex scandal, forgetting all about the principles of fairness and accuracy. It inspired me to produce the documentary, which I consider one of my most successful pieces of journalistic work. I tried to make a whole new perspective on the story of the accusations against Catholic priests of the sexual harassment and abuse of young boys. I think that media coverage mixed up everything: the question of celibacy, the legal aspects, the phenomenon of pedophilia and the phenomenon of homosexuality among religious people - and the power structures of the Catholic Church. My immediate feelings were the same, I think, as for most people. It was really disgusting what might have been going on. But I found it very problematic how the media covered the case. So my idea was to try to talk to the priests themselves and to find out where the allegations stemmed from. I didn't want to 'cleanse' or judge the priests, but to show their perspective together with the perspective of the alleged victims. I also wanted to highlight the consequences of the priests being exhibited on front pages of tabloid newspapers with names and photos.

I think I succeed in balancing the whole thing, so that I didn't cast a suspicion of the alleged victims of sexual abuse for being liars, but at the same time showing the complexity of the case and also highlighting how the whole process had influenced the priests. I also showed that some of the people who had worked very hard to create a big media attention about the case were not victims themselves, but people who had other interests in giving a bad image of the priests in question. I am proud that I succeeded in getting the priests to talk, because many of them didn't talk to the media for a long time. I really spent a lot of time just gaining their trust and trying to find out what was going on. It was challenging for myself, because I guess I have the same prejudice as many other non-Catholic Danes. But my driving force was my curiosity and a strong wish to cover the whole issue without compromising basic journalistic principles, as I had seen other media doing.

(TV Journalist, Danish Broadcasting Corporation, Denmark)

DENMARK: HOMOSEXUALITY AND RELIGION

Is it possible to be religious and homosexual?

22 May 2010, *Politiken*, Denmark

This article tells a story about how three people with different religious backgrounds interpret their religion's stand on homosexuality, and what type of reactions they have met among their co-believers. One male Christian, one male Muslim and one female Jew explain how the Quran, the New and the Old Testaments consider homosexuality to be a problem and how the three of them, being homosexuals, remain believers.

Q&A interviews: Three separate interviews were written in Q&A form, each beginning with the question "How can you believe in a religion, which so strongly opposes your sexuality?" Each interview provided information on the person's family background, religious affiliation, general view on the possibility of combining their religion with homosexual practice and identity, referring to controversial quotes from their holy scripture and explaining how they interpret these text passages. Also the interview lays out their experience of reactions from family members and/or persons from their faith community. The author's choice of genre shows a sense of how to use an easy-to-read text, which will appeal to many readers - including readers who might never want to read a longer background article on the same subject (because they don't see themselves as interested in integration or religion or theology) to discuss a complicated issue.

Invisible minorities: The interviewees represent a group which has almost never been portrayed, but has been much discussed, and all three of them give a trustworthy and balanced account which does not undermine the general idea of minorities having troubles with being accepted, but on the other side challenges the idea of religion always being an obstacle to personal freedom - especially regarding sexuality.

The author of the article: The article reflects the idea that a diverse newsroom brings new and refreshing perspectives on minority issues. The author is a journalist with a Muslim background who has a strong faith - he identifies himself with the connotation of religion being "extremely important" to him. The article is an example of how a social-liberal newspaper actually does what it preaches in terms of reflecting a diverse society, including religious diversity - in its recruitment of journalists and its day-to-day-reporting.

Setting up the agenda: The article succeeds in setting a new agenda and adding a new perspective to a debate on religion and homosexuality which has so far mostly been focused on Islam as a suppressive influence. It broadens the perspective by looking at homosexuality in relation to all three Abrahamic religions - and by presenting three religious homosexuals as active players in their own life and in the field of religious interpretation.

WHAT THE JOURNALIST WANTED TO SAY?

The author's own comment on the article:

It's not a new thing that homosexuality exists among all groups of people, but what I want to do with this article is to show, that there are similar problems and possibilities for all homosexuals no matter if they are Muslim, Christian or Jewish. So that is why I made three different interviews - one with a Christian, one with a Jew and one with a Muslim. And it is interesting, I think, to present a Muslim who is not a victim of violence and pressure from his family, and to show that Christians and Jews might ace problems regarding religion and homosexuality, but also that all three of them have found a way to cope with the challenge of religion and sexuality.

(Newspaper Journalist, *Politiken*, Denmark)

Slovakia: Sexual education in schools

Sexual education in schools - should it be harmonized?

26 February 2011, *SME Daily*, Slovakia

This article analysed how sexual education in elementary schools in Slovakia works, what are the obstacles and summarizes the objections and stances of all relevant sides - liberal activists, ministry of education, the church, psychologists, teachers, and parents.

Impartiality: The author remains impartial, giving space to all sides of the dispute. This article is unique due to its complexity and broad presentation of all relevant stances. The author interviewed experts - the minister of education, a women's rights activist, a spokesperson of the Catholic Church, a psychologist, parents, and spokespersons of all parliamentary parties. He doesn't mention any example of EU legislation or practice but a good range of presented views provides ground for the impartial representation of the issue.

06

FINDINGS:

REPORTING ETHNICITY AND RELIGION

This Study has explored how journalists approach the issues that touch upon ethnicity and religion in diverse societies within the EU. This chapter summarizes the main findings of the interviews and the case study analysis.

Editors and journalists agree there is a media responsibility for representing different social groups accurately and fairly in order to support good relations between people with a wide range of identities.

Through interviews with journalists reporting on issues related to ethnicity and religion, and editors in charge of publishing these reports in France, Germany, Italy, Greece, Denmark, Hungary, Lithuania, Slovakia and the UK, the Study revealed the role perceptions and professional norms of journalists play, and the standards they apply when reporting on diversity issues.

WHO ARE THE JOURNALISTS REPORTING ON THESE ISSUES?

- The majority of journalists (64%) interviewed in this study cover not only ethnicity or religion (beat reporters) but a range of other different issues (they are '**general reporters**').
- Journalists covering these issues have a university degree, and **half of those interviewed have a post-graduate degree.**
- The majority of interviewed newsmakers are **male** (58% of reporters and 75% of editors). Their average age is 37.
- All journalists have a heavy workload, but the British journalists suffer the most from **under-resourced newsrooms** (writing more than 15 stories per week).
- Newsmakers say their own ethnicity and religion do not interfere with their work, stressing a **notion of detachment** when it comes to reporting ethnicity and religion.
- Journalists and editors agree that **newsroom diversity is not a goal in itself.** Journalists interviewed in the Study strongly emphasize that journalistic skill is the most important qualification, and that it also takes good journalistic skills to make use of one's specific ethnic or religious background.
- There is a difference between general reporters and those who specialize in reporting on ethnicity and religion when it comes to professional norms and standards. **Journalists covering diversity issues demonstrated significantly higher ethical standards than the majority of general journalists interviewed.**
- Grounding principles of objectivity, accuracy, fairness and balance lead journalists in all nine EU countries, regardless of specific journalism culture.

WHAT DO JOURNALISTS KNOW ABOUT EU AND NATIONAL ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LEGISLATION?

- The knowledge about EU legislation is significantly higher among those in old EU member states than new member states.
- There is a varied awareness of legislation relating to equality between nations, with UK journalists being the best informed about anti-discriminatory policies and legislation.
- All journalists expressed a clear belief that **journalism has a strong and important role in tackling stereotypes and misinformation about ethnicity and religion by reporting in a professional manner.**
- Journalists try to balance **two main tasks in reporting diversity issues: informing the public** about the issues and events as they occur **and interpreting reality** in a way that provides a **platform for a constructive public dialogue** about the issues of public concern.

HOW DO THEY REPORT ON ETHNICITY AND RELIGION?

The analyses of case studies of news coverage focused on journalistic tools used in gathering, selecting, organising and presenting stories about ethnically and religiously diverse societies. It revealed how journalism practice contributes to the way media represent immigration, asylum seekers, refugees, members of minority ethnic groups, and members of different religious groups.

- The majority of **stories that touch upon ethnicity are framed within five broad themes: immigration, poverty and crime, discrimination, playing politics and ethnic minorities.**
- The majority of stories identified in this Study as stories representative of media coverage of religion were **reports on contested issues such as the veil**

issue, teaching Islam in schools, integration, places of worship, abortion, islamophobia, religious extremism, homosexuality and sexual scandals in the church.

- All **phases in news production pose challenges in journalism work:** from finding topics and approaching sources of information, to providing background information, finding an angle, and presenting a story.
- **There is a rise in using undercover reporting,** first-hand experience, and testimonials as powerful narrative tools to present stories about minority groups and the problems they face in everyday life.
- The good examples of media coverage of ethnicity and religion are based on journalism practice that includes: **in-depth reporting, providing background information, explaining legal contexts, considering the impact, giving a voice to the voiceless, showing respect, raising awareness about diversity, avoiding stereotypes, taking a stand on discrimination, moving beyond the event, and minimizing harm.**
- The poor examples of media coverage of ethnicity and religion usually entail: **labelling, selected use of data, generalizing incidents, negative stereotyping, giving one side of a story, using derogatory words, mixing facts and views, absence of fact checking, and miss-matching of the content of the text and headlines, images, and sound.**

BEHIND THE COVERAGE...

The interviews and the case study analysis have generated a number of issues that underpin media coverage of diversity issues:

- **Journalism and economic context:** The Study found that the current financial crisis put a burden on the everyday work of journalists, affecting the media's ability to develop models for improving journalism performance.

- **Journalism as a contribution to democracy:** While the vast majority of newsmakers agree that quality journalism plays a most significant role in the democratic process, some feel uncomfortable with the idea that journalists should take an active role in promoting tolerance and inter-community dialogue. Journalists and editors from Germany, Denmark and the UK (the Northwest countries) are more open to the idea of becoming advocates of an inclusive society, while journalists in the New Member States preferred the conventional idea of 'mirror journalism' (journalists seen as neutral observers of reality).
- **Diversity in the newsroom:** All interviewees acknowledged the importance of newsroom diversity for improving coverage of diversity issues. The idea of newsroom diversity has been mentioned in relation to ethnicity, gender and religion, stressing that newsrooms should resemble the society at large. While media in the Northwest European cluster have developed models for recruiting journalists with minority backgrounds, newsrooms in the Mediterranean cluster and the New Member States cluster still struggle to approach the issue in a more systematic manner.
- **Awareness of anti-discrimination legislation:** All journalists demonstrated general awareness of anti-discrimination law and policies but their knowledge and understanding is far better when it comes to national policies than EU policies. Variations across three regions indicate that knowledge about relevant legislation is significantly higher in old member states than in new member states.
- **Knowledge of equality bodies:** more has to be done to inform journalists about the work of human rights institutions and to improve cooperation between the equality bodies and journalists covering stories that touch on race and religious issues.
- **Cooperation with Civil Society Organizations:** Examples of good cooperation between journalists and civil society groups demonstrate great potential for joint initiatives in many countries. While in the Northwestern European cluster the media and CSOs have developed a number of models for broadening

DENMARK

ASSOCIATION FOR JOURNALISTS WITH MINORITY BACKGROUND

In 2007 a group of young journalists with ethnic minority backgrounds established an Association for Journalists with Minority background, whose members regularly hold lectures and visit high schools to inspire immigrant youths to make careers in journalism. To succeed in this the association tries to combat the widespread impression among ethnic minorities that all media and journalists tend to discriminate when reporting on Islam or ethnic minorities.

access to the media, journalists in the New Member States cluster still feel reluctant to engage with CSOs beyond using their representatives as sources of information.

- **Law versus self-regulation:** While the majority of newsmakers acknowledge a need to have legal restrictions when it comes to news content that might incite religious and ethnic tensions, journalists in the Northwest countries of Europe demonstrated clear preference towards self-regulation, although the example of phone hacking in the UK casts serious doubts on the effectiveness of self-regulation.
- **General versus beat reporters:** Most media outlets tend to have no specific desk dealing with religion or ethnicity, but most have at least one or two journalists with a special interest, or significant experience, in covering these issues. Most of these journalists are employed at the domestic desk, while it doesn't seem to be a consideration to station them at the EU desk.

- **Question of ethnicity embedded in a variety of topics:** The Study revealed that media associate reporting on race and ethnicity with topics about immigration, poverty and crime, discrimination, politics, and ethnic minorities. While in the Northwest and South of Europe immigration dominates as a topic, ethnic minorities are at the centre of media attention in the New Member States. Among the topics of the stories that were nominated as the most representative for the media treatment of ethnicity, stories about Roma people were at the top of the list demonstrating how this ethnic group still faces persistent discrimination, social exclusion and a very high risk of poverty and unemployment.
- **Islam, immigration, sex scandals, and religious sects dominate coverage:** The Study of journalism, media and religion in nine EU countries revealed that media in the Southern and the North Western European countries still consider coverage of religion as an issue connected to the question of immigration. In the UK, Germany and Denmark (although less than immediately after the publishing of the Mohammed cartoons) the focus is still on Islam and immigration. In Greece the immigration theme dominates and the question of ethnicity and religion are interlinked; in Italy there is the strong presence of the Catholic Church in the media coverage of religious issues, and in France the veil debate dominated coverage of both ethnicity and religion for a long time.
- **Poor financial state of the media:** This is a huge problem in new member states.
- **Overloading of reporters:** The economic crisis in Southern Europe has had an impact on news organisations by increasing the number of stories journalists have to cover per day (particularly in Italy and Greece).
- **Lack of time to prepare reports:** related to the poor financial state of the media and workload of journalists.

ADVICE FROM ITALY

I am personally running a training course in my local library. It is a small course on how to write about immigration. It is a creative writing course, not specifically for journalists. There is a young journalist though among the participants.

I decided to start this project because even if there are many essays and books on discrimination and the media, there are very few reflections on the topic written by journalists for journalists.

My opinion is that a well-structured course on these issues should be added to journalism schools' programmes.

Many schools have already introduced the study on La Carta di Roma, which is a good thing, but in addition to this there should be some professional training.

(Newspaper journalist, L'Unita, Italy)

OBSTACLES TO GOOD REPORTING

The Study revealed the following obstacles in reporting on ethnicity and religion:

- **Lack of knowledge:** reinforcement of stereotypes in the media comes as a result of inadequate knowledge about ethnic and religious issues; many journalists expressed willingness to attend courses that would help them understand the issues and support their approach to these themes in everyday work.
- **Lack of in-house training:** the majority of those interviewed would like to undertake some form of training that would support better handling of these issues.

07

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations that follow are grounded in the ideas generated by the interviews with journalists and editors and analysis of case studies. They are aimed to support ethical, value based journalism able to be followed by all professionals, regardless of situation and context.

Variations in journalism cultures, identified in newsmakers' responses to the questions related to journalistic norms and values, as well as particularities in using different journalistic tools when reporting on religion and ethnicity, should not prevent journalists from applying universal ideas of good, accurate, fair, balanced, responsible and trustworthy journalism. Five basic journalism duties⁴¹ should be kept in mind:

- **Duty to society:** telling the truth, providing equal access to media, being responsible, respecting privacy, adhering to the normative set of journalism rules and values.
- **Duty to audience:** providing information necessary for the functioning of democracy and making the significant interesting.
- **Duty to news organisation:** following company policies, striving to give the news organisation a competitive edge, protecting sources of information.
- **Duty to colleagues:** helping out with information, protecting colleagues from unfair treatment.
- **Duty to her/himself:** acting according to their own integrity and conscience.

The following list contains some of the good practices and points of action mentioned by the interviewees - regarding covering religion and ethnicity:

WHAT CAN JOURNALISTS DO?

- Get to know anti-discrimination legislation.
- Use a dialogue-oriented approach.
- Use a broader network of expert sources.
- Provide background information.
- Put facts in context.
- Investigate documents in the public domain (archives, libraries, local offices).
- Interview people with knowledge.
- Portray people as human beings instead of representatives of religious or ethnic groups.
- Avoid negative labels.
- Separate facts from opinion but treat opinion as relevant.

⁴¹ Hirst, M. and Patching, R. (2007). *Journalism Ethics*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press

WHAT CAN EDITORS DO?

- Organize in-house training for journalists.
- Invite members of religious and ethnic groups to come to the newsroom.
- Encourage more senior journalists to support younger colleagues in these matters.
- Support best journalism practice.
- Create a culture of tolerance within the newsroom.
- Work with human resource departments to take into consideration newsroom diversity.
- News outlets who do not have internal editorial guidelines should be encouraged to adopt them.

WHAT CAN NEWSMAKERS EXPECT FROM CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS?

- Regular updates on activities in the field.
- Professional advice in matters of disputes.
- Support in gaining background information.
- Support in finding sources for information.
- Functioning as an advisory panel for the most contested issues.
- Providing ideas for stories that highlight the issues of religious and ethnic groups.

WHAT CAN NEWSMAKERS EXPECT FROM UNIVERSITIES?

- The development of inclusive journalism curricula.
- Organising more post graduate training for mid-career journalists.
- Introducing courses on journalism ethics if they don't exist already.

WHAT CAN JOURNALISTS' UNIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS DO?

- Adopt and promote an ethical code for journalists.
- Organise training and workshops for journalists on issues related to tolerance, religion, security policy, rights of minorities, and reporting on vulnerable groups.
- Establish an equality council or a working group within the union to deal with the issue. The National Union of Journalists of the United Kingdom and Ireland established a Black Members' Council to campaign for race equality in the union and in the workplace and to tackle racism in the media.
- Develop guidelines on reporting on race, migration and religion.
- Develop a specific charter or code of conduct for reporting on race, migration and religion. In 2008, the Federazione Nazionale della Stampa Italiana developed the Rome Charter, a code of conduct for reporting on asylum seekers, refugees, victims of trafficking and migrants in the media.
- Initiate campaigns and debates among journalists, unions, publishers and civil societies.
- Adopt and enforce a conscience clause in the collective bargaining agreements for journalists.
- Develop social dialogues with media organisations/ owners to defend ethical and quality journalism.
- Examine the case for establishing a press council, or question the value of the existing one.
- Support public discussion on the work of journalists and, for instance, media coverage of issues related to tolerance, religion, security policy, rights of minorities and vulnerable groups.
- Establish an Ethics Commission to discuss cases and review the code of ethics. The Lithuanian Journalists' Union established an Ethics Commission to discuss cases where there is a breach of the code of ethics; and to review the code of ethics on a regular basis.

APPENDIX A: STUDY TEAM

Research Leader:

Dr Verica Rupar, Media Diversity Institute/Cardiff University

Researchers:

Aiste Brackley (Lithuania)

Dr Pablo Calvi (France)

Athina Dimitrakopoulou (Greece)

Malene Fenger-Grøndahl (Denmark)

Paul Macey (UK)

Jozsef Makai (Hungary)

Eva Michockova (Slovakia)

Francesca Orru (Italy)

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Research Assistant:

Marloes Viet, Media Diversity Institute

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Farid Littleproud, Media Diversity Institute

External Evaluator:

Bettina Peters, Director,
Global Forum for Media Development

Steering Committee:

Zdeno Cho, International Relations Officer, Slovak Syndicate of Journalists

Yannis Kotsifos, Director, Journalists' Union of Macedonia and Thrace Daily Newspapers

Sejal Parmar, Senior Legal Officer, ARTICLE 19

Milica Pesic, Executive Director, Media Diversity Institute

Dainius Radzevičius, Chairman, Lithuanian Journalists' Union

Yuklan Wong, Communications & Project Officer, International Federation of Journalists



Dr Verica Rupar

teaches international journalism at Cardiff School of Journalism, Media & Cultural Studies in the UK.

Her publications

include *Journalism & Meaning-making* (Hampton Press, 2010) and *Scooped: Politics & Power of Journalism in Aotearoa New Zealand* (co-edited with Sean Phelan & Martin Hirst, AUT Media 2012). She has written on the epistemology of journalism, journalism in transition countries, the development of journalism form and style in historical contexts, excellence in journalism, media and diversity and inclusive journalism. She has worked previously as a journalist in Serbia, Slovenia and Hungary, and taught journalism in Serbia, New Zealand and Australia.

APPENDIX B: ETHICAL JOURNALISM INITIATIVE PARTNERS



The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) is the world's largest organisation of journalists (established in 1926). The IFJ represents 600,000 members in over 100 countries and its European regional group, the European Federation of Journalists (EFJ), represents over 260,000 members in 30 countries. The IFJ/EFJ defend press freedom and social justice through strong, free and independent journalists' trade unions. The federation supports affiliates to foster trade unions and to create environments in which quality, journalistic independence, pluralism, public service values and decent work in the media exist.



The Media Diversity Institute (MDI) works internationally to encourage and facilitate responsible media coverage of diversity. It aims to prevent the media from intentionally or unintentionally spreading prejudice, intolerance and hatred which can lead to social tensions, disputes and violent conflict. MDI encourages instead, fair, accurate, inclusive and sensitive media coverage in order to improve inter-community relations, increase tolerance, and promote understanding between different groups and cultures. Established in 1998, MDI has worked in Western, East inclusive and sensitive media coverage in order to improve inter-community relations, increase tolerance, and promote understanding between different groups and cultures. Established in 1998, MDI has worked in Western, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, the former Soviet States, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East and North Africa, and Southern Asia. It works with journalism academics and students, media decision makers and reporters, as well as with Civil Society Organisations specialized in diversity issues. MDI is registered as a charity in the UK (No: 1110263).

ARTICLE 19

ARTICLE 19 is an international human rights organisation which takes its name and mandate from the 19th article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which proclaims the right to freedom of expression. ARTICLE 19 seeks to develop and strengthen international standards which protect freedom of expression by, among other methods, making submissions to international, regional and domestic tribunals and human rights bodies, convening consultations of experts and facilitating the development of international standards on freedom of expression. ARTICLE 19 facilitated the adoption of The Camden Principles on Freedom of Expression & Equality, in 2009. They highlight not only the role, responsibilities and obligations of the state and public authorities, but also the moral and social responsibilities of the media with respect to the promotion of intercultural understanding. ARTICLE 19 is registered as a charity in the UK (No.32741).

ASSOCIATE PARTNERS

The Lithuanian Journalists' Union (LZS) has established a commission for ethics aiming to develop a self-regulating system to promote ethical and accountable journalism among its members and media organisations, and has also developed a code of ethics for journalists and publishers regulating professional standards in journalism.

The Journalists' Union of Macedonia and Thrace Daily Newspapers (ESIEMTH), based in Thessaloniki, Greece, has been active in promoting multiculturalism, human rights, media diversity and democratic values through ethical journalism in the Balkans.

The Slovak Syndicate of Journalists (SSN) is committed to defending press freedom and excellence in journalism through promoting ethical journalistic standards and is the co-founder of the Press Council in Slovakia which regulates the professional conduct of journalists and journalism standards.

APPENDIX C: LIST OF INTERVIEWED NEWSMAKERS

Name	Job title	News organisation
Denmark		
Jørn Mikkelsen	Editor-in-chief	Morgenavisen Jyllands-Posten (daily newspaper)
Mads Bonde Brobjerg	Journalist	Morgenavisen Jyllands-Posten (daily newspaper)
ANONYMISED	Journalist	Morgenavisen Jyllands-Posten (daily newspaper)
Poul Madsen	Editor-in-chief	EkstraBladet (daily newspaper)
Jakob Nielsen	Foreign Correspondent	Dagbladet Politiken (daily newspaper)
Olav Hergel	Journalist	Dagbladet Politiken (daily newspaper)
ANONYMISED	Journalist	Dagbladet Politiken (daily newspaper)
Jeppe Duvå	News Editor	Kristeligt Dagblad (daily newspaper)
ANONYMISED	Journalist	Kristeligt Dagblad (daily newspaper)
ANONYMISED	Journalist	Kristeligt Dagblad (daily newspaper)
Inger Bach	Director & Leader of Faith Desk (television & radio)	Danish Broadcasting Corporation
ANONYMISED	Journalist & Editor	Danish Broadcasting Corporation
ANONYMISED	Editor	Danish Broadcasting Corporation
Michael Dyrby	News Editor & News Director	TV2
Nagieb Khaja	Documentary Filmmaker & Journalist	Freelance (TV & print)
Ole Jessen	Journalist	Freelance (print)
France		
ANONYMISED	Editor	Rue 89 (online)
ANONYMISED	Journalist	Rue 89 (online)
Daniel Wolfromm	Chief Editor	France 2 (TV)
Dominique Pradalié	Chief Editor	France 2 (TV)

Name	Job title	News organisation
ANONYMISED	Journalist	France 2 (TV)
ANONYMISED	Journalist	France 2 (TV)
Fabrice Angotti	Journalist	Canal Plus (TV)
Nabil Wakim	Editor	LeMonde.fr (online)
Aline Leclerc	Journalist	LeMonde.fr (online)
Michel Noblecourt	Editorialist	Le Monde (newspaper)
ANONYMISED	Journalist	Le Monde (newspaper)
Mariana Grépinet	Journalist	Paris Match (magazine)
Bertrand Boyer	Journalist	France 3 (TV)
Francois Sergent	Chief Editor	Libération (newspaper)
Christophe Forcari	Journalist	Libération (newspaper)
Catherine Coroller	Journalist	Libération (newspaper)
Alain Passerel	Journalist	Radio France
Germany		
Andreas Hummelmeier	Deputy Editor	ARD-Aktuell (TV)
Thomas Osterkorn	Editor-in-chief	Der Stern (weekly magazine)
Gerhard Kohlenbach	Deputy Editor-in-chief	RTL Aktuell & Infonetwork (TV)
Thorsten Berger	Deputy Editor	RTL Aktuell (TV)
Andrea Ernst	Deputy Editor	WDR (TV)
Manfred Höffken	Editor & Journalist	WDR (TV)
Katharina Graça Peters	Journalist	Spiegel (online)
Peter Lange	Director & Editor-in-chief	DeutschlandRadio
Rüdiger Achenbach	Journalist	Deutschlandfunk (radio)

Name	Job title	News organisation
Hartmut Kriege	Journalist	Deutschlandfunk (radio)
Katrin Eigendorf	Journalist	ZDF (TV)
Greece		
Panagopoulos Andreas	News Director	ANT1 (TV)
ANONYMISED	Journalist	Dimokratia (newspaper)
ANONYMISED	Editor	Dimokratia (newspaper)
Nektaria Stamouli	Columnist / Journalist	Protagon.gr (online)
Traianos Hatzidimitriou	News Director	Aggelioforos (newspaper)
Panagiotis Nestoridis	Editor	Aggelioforos (newspaper)
Giannis Sidiropoulos	Editor	Xanthipress.gr (online)
Pavlos Nerantzis	Journalist	ERT3 (radio/TV)
Athina Korlira	Editor	AIR International Radio
Maria Delithanassi	Journalist	Kathimerini (newspaper)
ANONYMISED	Editor	ERT (TV)
ANONYMISED	Journalist	ERT (TV)
Hungary		
Péter Magyari	Journalist	Index.hu (online)
ANONYMISED	Editor	Index.hu (online)
ANONYMISED	Editor	Kossuth Rádió
Szilvia Suri	Journalist	Kossuth Rádió
ANONYMISED	Editor	TV2
ANONYMISED	Editor	Népszabadság (newspaper)
ANONYMISED	Journalist	Népszabadság (newspaper)

Name	Job title	News organisation
ANONYMISED	Journalist	Népszabadság (newspaper)
ANONYMISED	Editor	Magyar Hírlap (newspaper)
Iván Bardócz	Editor	Figyelő (online)
Italy		
ANONYMISED	Editor	RTL 102.5 (radio)
Ezio Mauro	Editor-in-chief	La Repubblica (newspaper)
Gennaro Schettino	Senior Reporter	La Repubblica (newspaper)
Alessandro Sallusti	Editor-in-chief	Il Giornale (newspaper)
Barbara Stefanelli	Deputy Editor-in-chief	Il Corriere della Sera (newspaper)
ANONYMISED	Journalist	Il Corriere della Sera (newspaper)
Alessandra Coppola	Journalist	Il Corriere della Sera (newspaper)
Gian Antonio Stella	Senior Journalist	Il Corriere della Sera (newspaper)
Giuseppina Debbi	Deputy Editor-in-chief	Tg La7 (TV)
Concita de Gregorio	Editor-in-chief	L'Unità (newspaper)
Giovanni Maria Bellu	Co-editor & Journalist	L'Unità (newspaper)
Igiaba Scego	Freelance Journalist	L'Unità (newspaper)
ANONYMISED	Editor	Tg3 RAI3 (TV)
Valeria Collevocchio	Journalist	Tg3 RAI3 (TV)
ANONYMISED	Journalist & Editor	Avvenire (newspaper)
Lithuania		
Monika Garbaciauskaite-Budriene	Editor-in-chief	Delfi.lt (online)
Egle Samoskaite	Journalist	Delfi.lt (online)

Name	Job title	News organisation
ANONYMISED	Journalist	Vilniaus Diena (daily newspaper)
Saulena Ziugzdaite	Religion Editor / Journalist	Bernardinai.lt (online)
ANONYMISED	News Editor / Correspondent	Lithuanian Radio
Nina Mackevic	News Editor (Programmes for National Minorities)	Lithuanian Radio
Audrius Braukyla	Head of News Service	Lithuanian Radio
Skaiste Plausinyte	Journalist	TV3
Aleksandra Akinco	News Editor / Journalist	Znad Wili (Polish language radio)
Audrius Matonis	Head of News Service	Lithuanian Television
ANONYMISED	Editor	Lietuvos Rytas (daily newspaper)
Arunas Dumalakas	Journalist	Lietuvos Rytas (daily newspaper)
ANONYMISED	Journalist	Respublika (daily newspaper)
Rimvydas Valatka	Editor-in-chief	Lrytas.lt (online)
Slovakia		
Michal Hlaváč	Vice Editor-in-chief	Plus7dní online (previously Aktualne.sk)
Miloš Luknár	Editor-in-chief	Plus7dní (weekly newspaper)
Karol Sudor	Editor	Sme (daily newspaper)
Lukáš Fila	Vice Editor-in-chief	Sme (daily newspaper)
Roland Kyška	Vice Editor-in-chief & Journalist	Plus7dni (weekly newspaper)
Jozef Šivák	Journalist	RTVS (Radio & Television of Slovakia)
Marta Jančkárová	Journalist	RTVS (Radio & Television of Slovakia)
Anna Sámelová	Head of News Department	RTVS (Radio & Television of Slovakia)
Rado Igaz	Journalist	Markiza Television

Name	Job title	News organisation
Ivana Vansová	Journalist	Markiza Television
Lukáš Diko	Editor-in-chief	Markiza Television
United Kingdom		
ANONYMISED	Home News Editor	BBC TV
ANONYMISED	Foreign News Editor	BBC TV
ANONYMISED	ANONYMISED	Colourful Radio
ANONYMISED	Editor	The Guardian (newspaper)
ANONYMISED	Editor	Financial Times (newspaper)
ANONYMISED	ANONYMISED	ANONYMISED
ANONYMISED	Correspondent	BBC 3 Radio
ANONYMISED	Journalist	Freelance (print)
Maurice Mcleod	Journalist & Editor	Freelance
ANONYMISED	Correspondent	The Guardian (online)
Rory Mckinnon	Journalist	Morning Star (newspaper)
ANONYMISED	Journalist	Croydon Advertiser (newspaper)

APPENDIX X: ONLINE APPENDICES

The following additional appendices are available online at:

[www.ethicaljournalisminitiative.org/en/EJI STUDY 2012](http://www.ethicaljournalisminitiative.org/en/EJI_STUDY_2012)

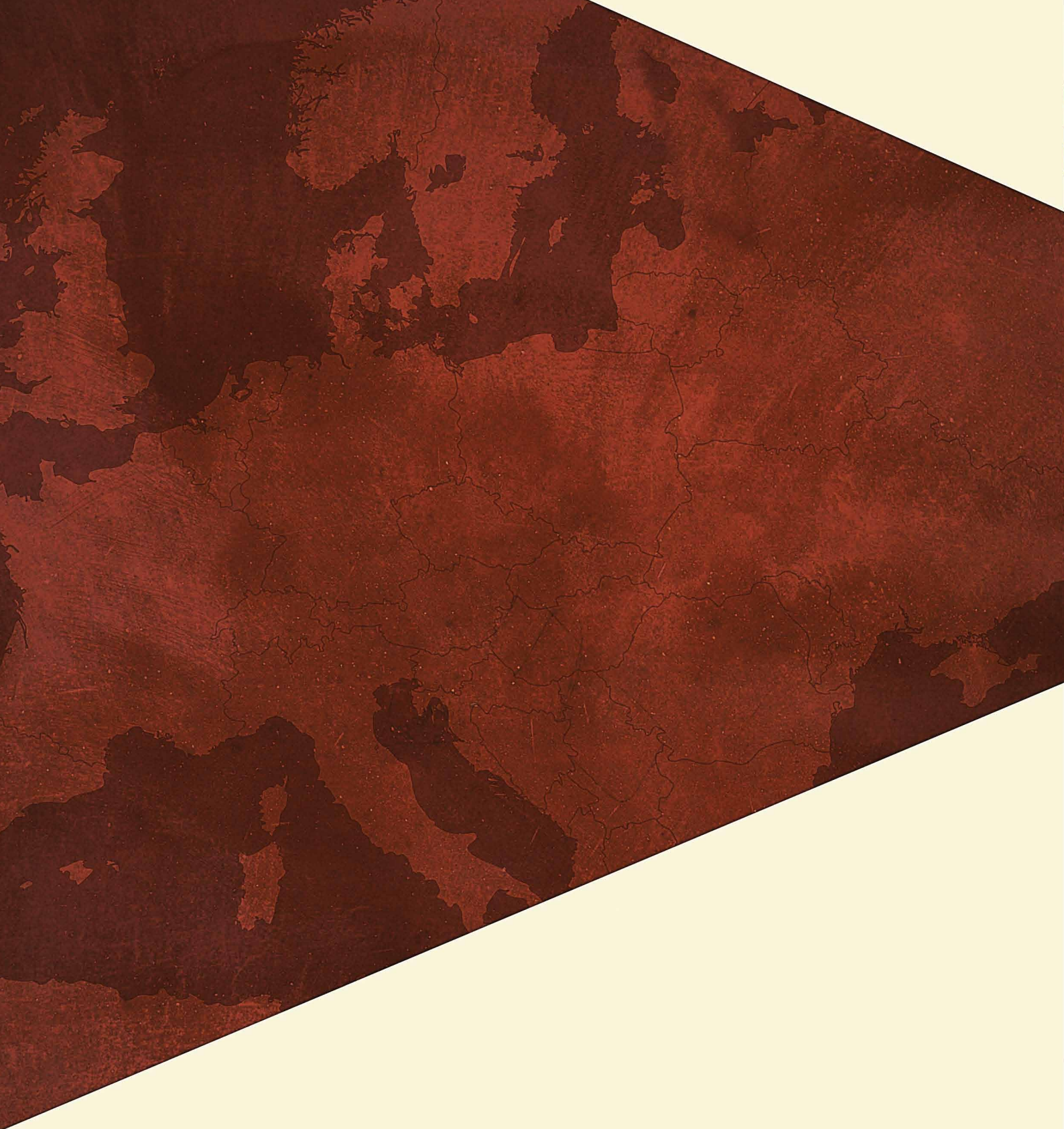
Appendix D:
Questionnaire for Interviewing Journalists

Appendix E:
Questionnaire for Interviewing Editors

Appendix F:
Legal Framework

Appendix G:
Equality Bodies

Appendix H:
Media Responsibility



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