



# Minorities in selected newspapers of six EU Member States: a pilot project

Working paper

# Contents

- INTRODUCTION ..... 6
- 1. THE FRA PILOT RESEARCH PROJECT ..... 7
  - 1.1.The newspapers ..... 7
  - 1.2.The coding scheme ..... 9
  - 1.3.The newspaper questionnaire..... 12
- 2. FINDINGS: MAPPING NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF MINORITY-RELATED ISSUES..... 14
  - 2.1.The socio-economic and geo-political context at the time of data collection ..... 14
  - 2.2.The salience of minority-related coverage ..... 15
  - 2.3.The nature of the coverage..... 26
  - 2.4.Minority groups covered in minority-related headlines ..... 32
  - 2.5.The actors in minority-related content..... 37
  - 2.6.The tone of coverage – appraisal ..... 41
  - 2.7.Mapping analysis summary ..... 47
- 3. IMPROVING THE METHODOLOGY ..... 49
- ANNEX: THE CODING SCHEME ..... 51
  - List of newspaper sections..... 51
  - List of text genres ..... 51
  - List of authorship distinctions..... 52
  - List of national scopes ..... 52
  - List of geographical areas..... 53
  - List of thematic areas..... 53
  - List of minority issues ..... 55
  - Coding appraisal..... 56
  - Appraisal categories ..... 57
  - List of affiliations/professional background ..... 58
  - List of victim/perpetrator dimension items ..... 59
  - List of social role of actor (with some explanation) ..... 59

## Table of figures

Figure 1:	Number of news items, by newspaper and by Member State (n = 31,155) .....	16
Figure 2:	Number of minority-related news items, by newspaper and Member State (n = 2,096) .....	17
Figure 3:	Percentage of minority-related news items in all newspapers, by Member State (n = 2,096) .....	18
Figure 4:	Percentage of minority-related news items, by newspaper (n = 2,096) .....	19
Figure 5:	Distribution of minority-related news items by type of newspaper, by Member State (n = 2,096) .....	20
Figure 6:	Percentage of news items with minority-related content in the headlines, by newspaper (n = 777) .....	21
Figure 7:	Percentage of minority-related news items with minority-related headlines, by Member State (n = 777) .....	22
Figure 8:	Percentage of minority-related news items with minority-related headlines, by newspaper (n = 777) .....	22
Figure 9:	Distribution of minority-related headlines in minority-related news items, by Member State (n = 777) .....	23
Figure 10:	Size of all news items and of minority-related news items .....	24
Figure 11:	Distribution of news items, by size and type of newspaper .....	25
Figure 12:	Distribution of news items, by size and Member State .....	26
Figure 13:	Distribution of news items in newspaper sections .....	27
Figure 14:	Distribution of minority-related news items in newspaper sections, by Member State (%) (n = 2,096) .....	28
Figure 15:	Issues covered in minority-related news items (n = 2,096) .....	29
Figure 16:	Distribution of issues covered in minority-related news items, by type of newspaper (n = 2,096) .....	30
Figure 17:	Distribution of issues covered in minority-related news items by MS (n = 2,096) .....	31
Figure 18:	Distribution of size of minority-related news items in the top 10 categories of issues .....	32
Figure 19:	Distribution of general groups in minority-related headlines, by Member State (n = 645) .....	33
Figure 20:	Distribution of general groups in minority-related headlines, by category (n = 645) .....	34
Figure 21:	Distribution of general groups in minority-related headlines, by type of newspaper (n = 645) .....	35
Figure 22:	Distribution of general groups in minority-related headlines, by Member State (n = 645) .....	36
Figure 23:	Top 10 specific groups in the headlines (n = 493) .....	37
Figure 24:	Distribution of actors identified in minority-related news items, by type of actor and gender (n = 11,020) .....	38
Figure 25:	Distribution of types of female and male actors in minority-related news items (n = 4,296) .....	39

Figure 26: Overall distribution of types of actors in minority-related news items, by type of newspaper (n = 9,388) ..... 40

Figure 27: Proportional distribution of types of actors in minority-related news items, by type of newspaper..... 41

Figure 28: Overall distribution of appraisal of minority-related news items (n = 2,096)..... 42

Figure 29: Within-country distribution of appraisal of minority-related news items, by Member State (n = 2,096) ..... 43

Figure 30: Distribution of appraisal of minority-related news items, by type of newspaper (n = 2,096) ..... 44

Figure 31: Distribution of appraisal of minority-related news items, by newspaper ..... 45

Figure 32: Appraisal of general minority groups in minority-related headlines, by tone of appraisal (n = 645) ..... 46

Figure 33: Appraisal of general minority groups in minority-related headlines, by general minority group (n = 645) ..... 47

## Country codes

Abbreviation	Member State	Abbreviation	Member State
AT	Austria	IT	Italy
BE	Belgium	LT	Lithuania
BG	Bulgaria	LU	Luxembourg
CY	Cyprus	LV	Latvia
CZ	Czech Republic	MT	Malta
DE	Germany	NL	Netherlands
DK	Denmark	PL	Poland
EE	Estonia	PT	Portugal
EL	Greece	RO	Romania
ES	Spain	SE	Sweden
FI	Finland	SK	Slovakia
FR	France	SI	Slovenia
HU	Hungary	UK	United Kingdom
IE	Ireland		

## Introduction

In 2002, the European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), the predecessor of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), published a report on *Racism and Cultural Diversity in the Mass Media*, focusing on the then 15 Member States of the European Union (EU15).<sup>1</sup> This report provided a comprehensive overview of media research with regard to racism and highlighted examples of good practice in the media in relation to anti-racism and cultural diversity. One of the principal conclusions was that how the mass media represent, focus and give voice to different actors and incidents in society can have the unintentional consequence of strengthening racist discourse rather than countering it. In 2003, the EUMC also supported the project ‘Online/More Colour in the Media’, which consisted of an EU-wide quantitative monitoring of the media output of one day.<sup>2</sup> This study found significant disparities in news coverage of issues and actors related to minorities and migration when compared to coverage of ‘majority’ issues and actors.

In 2008, the Agency decided to examine in more depth methodological issues related to multilingual analysis of media content and launched a pilot project to examine representations of minority groups and related issues such as racism, discrimination, diversity, integration and migration (hereafter, minority-related issues) in the press in six Member States. The overarching aim of this project was to explore methodological approaches that could make a transnational analysis of media content possible, while taking into account the journalistic traditions and socio-cultural specificities of Member States of the EU. A parallel objective of the project was to raise awareness among media professionals as to how minorities are represented in the media, to foster dialogue between them and civil society actors and to contribute to the development of training programmes for media professionals.<sup>3</sup>

The pilot project focuses exclusively on the press, as newspapers continue to play a significant agenda-setting role. As a pilot project, the scope of the study had to be limited, and six Member States were chosen for analysis: France, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom. The selection provides a rich mix of ‘old and new’ Member States; socio-economic characteristics; journalistic traditions; relations with minority, ethnic and migrant groups; and policies on multiculturalism and migrant integration. The print versions of four daily newspapers (selected according to their market share, political orientation and type) were sampled during four non-consecutive weeks in 2008 in each of these Member States, yielding more than 40,000 news items. The unit of analysis was the entire newspaper rather than individual news items. This methodological choice enabled an analysis of the salience of minority-related content in the press, and that content was then analysed to identify the tone of coverage.

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<sup>1</sup> European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) (2002) *Racism and Cultural Diversity in the Mass Media*, available at: [http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/research/publications/publications\\_per\\_year/previous\\_publications/pub\\_m\\_r\\_racism\\_diversity\\_media\\_02\\_en.htm](http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/research/publications/publications_per_year/previous_publications/pub_m_r_racism_diversity_media_02_en.htm).

<sup>2</sup> More information available at: <http://www.legalopoli.it/index.php?module=Pagesetter&func=viewpub&tid=1&pid=3>.

<sup>3</sup> See also, FRA (2010) *A Diversity Toolkit for Factual Programmes in Public Service Television*, FRA, Vienna, available at: [http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/media/materials\\_trainings/diversity\\_toolkit\\_en.htm](http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/media/materials_trainings/diversity_toolkit_en.htm).

# 1. The FRA pilot research project

Research teams comprising experts in the fields of media studies, communication science and social sciences were set up in the six Member States where the research was carried out.<sup>4</sup> These teams collected and analysed the data under the supervision of a coordinating team,<sup>5</sup> which was responsible for developing the methodological approach for the project. This comparative approach combined content analysis with an open-ended questionnaire submitted to the editors of the newspapers examined. The aim of the content analysis was to map newspaper coverage of minority-related issues, thereby providing a baseline for comparison among and within EU Member States and media outlets. The purpose of the questionnaire was to have journalists provide background information on how they carry out their work when reporting minority-related content; the questionnaire sought to identify what measures journalists take to ensure high standards of reporting on these matters.

## 1.1. The newspapers

In order to keep the data set to a manageable size, four daily newspapers were analysed in each of the six Member States. The newspapers with the highest circulation and readership figures were selected for analysis, with a balance among the self-declared political orientation of these papers, their type and their geographical spread for countries without a truly ‘national’ press, such as Germany and France. Since there are no major tabloids in Spain and only one in France, newspapers distributed for free nationally were included in the analysis for these countries. Table 1 provides an overview of these newspapers, for which the combined circulation was approximately 17 million copies, with a total readership of approximately 60 million. Twelve broadsheets, three free sheets and nine tabloids were sampled, covering a range of political orientations of newspapers and socio-economic backgrounds of readers. As Table 1 shows, nine of the newspapers had a centre-right orientation, seven a centre-left orientation, two were neutral and one defined itself as ‘liberal democratic’. No political orientation could be ascertained for the free sheets or for one of Germany’s regional newspapers.

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<sup>4</sup> The team leaders in the six Member States were:

- France: Jean-Yves Camus and Sandy Lamalle (*Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques*, IRIS, Paris);
- Germany: Jeffrey Wimmer (*Zentrum für Medien-, Kommunikations- und Informationsforschung*, ZeMKI, University of Bremen);
- Hungary: Maria Heller (Institute of Sociology, Eötvös Lorand University, Budapest);
- Poland: Beata Klimkiewicz (Institute of Journalism and Social Communication, Jagiellonian University, Krakow);
- Spain: Isabel Alonso Belmonte (*Dept. Filología y su Didáctica*, University of Madrid);
- UK: Myria Georgiou (Centre for International Communications Research, University of Leeds) and Charles Husband (Department of Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Bradford).

<sup>5</sup> Composed of Endre Sik and Lili Vargha from the TÁRKI Social Research Institute (Budapest, Hungary) and Zsuzsa Vidra, from the Research Institute of Ethnic and National Minorities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Budapest, Hungary).

Table 1: Typology of the newspapers examined

MS	Newspaper	Type	Circulation (000s)	Readership (000s)	Political orientation
DE	<i>Bild</i>	Tabloid	4,120	11,630	Centre-right
	<i>Kölner Express</i>	Tabloid	240	n/a	n/a
	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	Broadsheet	373	860	Liberal democratic
	<i>Süddeutsche Zeitung</i>	Broadsheet	445	1,120	Centre-left
ES	<i>20 Minutos</i>	Free sheet	1,029	2,911	n/a
	<i>El Mundo</i>	Broadsheet	442	1,354	Centre-right
	<i>El País</i>	Broadsheet	435	2,274	Centre-left
	<i>Qué</i>	Free sheet	989	2,226	n/a
FR	<i>20 Minutes</i>	Free sheet	782	2,721	n/a
	<i>Le Figaro</i>	Broadsheet	410	1,305	Centre-right
	<i>Le Monde</i>	Broadsheet	436	1,883	Centre-left
	<i>Le Parisien</i>	Tabloid	395	2,227	Centre-right
HU	<i>Blikk</i>	Tabloid	321	1,090	Neutral
	<i>Bors</i>	Tabloid	118	n/a	Neutral
	<i>Magyar Nemzet</i>	Broadsheet	80	210	Centre-right
	<i>Népszabadság</i>	Broadsheet	141	544	Centre-left
PL	<i>Dziennik Polska-Europa-Swiat</i>	Broadsheet	259	643	Centre-right
	<i>Fakt</i>	Tabloid	513	7,042	Centrist
	<i>Gazeta Wyborcza</i>	Broadsheet	319	5,619	Centre-left
	<i>Nasz Dziennik</i>	Tabloid	150	595	Centre-right (Catholic)
UK	<i>Daily Mirror</i>	Tabloid	1,318	3,600	Centre-left
	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Broadsheet	799	1,901	Centre-right
	<i>The Guardian</i>	Broadsheet	292	1,240	Centre-left
	<i>The Sun</i>	Tabloid	2,896	7,872	Centre-right
<b>ESTIMATED TOTALS*</b>			<b>17,302</b>	<b>61,107</b>	

Note: \* The estimated totals are purely indicative.

Source: FRA, 2011

The complete print editions of the 24 newspapers were collected and analysed in each EU Member State, sampling four non-consecutive weeks in the spring and winter of 2008:

- Week 1: Monday 28 January, Wednesday 30 January, Friday 1 February, Sunday 3 February;
- Week 2: Tuesday 1 April, Thursday 3 April, Saturday 5 April;
- Week 3: Monday 5 May, Wednesday 7 May, Friday 9 May, Sunday 11 May;
- Week 4: Tuesday 10 June, Thursday 12 June, Saturday 14 June.

This yielded a total of 42,951 news items across the six Member States in the four weeks that were sampled. In order to test the comparative coding scheme, news items collected during Week 1 were subjected to a preliminary coding procedure. The final coding scheme was revised and refined on the basis of this procedure to increase the reliability, validity and comparability of the pilot project's mapping analysis. The findings discussed in this report therefore relate to those 31,155 news items that were collected in Weeks 2 through 4.

The aim here was not to analyse a representative sample of news coverage, but to test and refine a comparative methodological approach. The findings presented in the report should therefore not be taken as representative of press coverage of minority-related issues in the six Member States examined. The results are instead indicative of trends identified in EU newspaper coverage of issues relevant to minorities if a longitudinal sampling approach were to be implemented. In other words, this pilot project aimed to explore the possibilities for future scientific research, rather than to provide a detailed analysis of the nature of media coverage of minorities across EU Member States. For this reason, the results section of this report highlights the strengths and limitations of the methodology applied in the pilot study and, where relevant, makes suggestions to improve the methodology.

## 1.2. The coding scheme

The unit of analysis was the complete print edition of individual newspapers published on the days when data were collected. The country research teams contracted to carry out the research all applied the same coding scheme to the collected data, thereby allowing for within and between comparisons to be made, both at newspaper and EU Member State level. The country research teams implemented a two-step coding procedure (see the Appendix for more details on the coding categories).

The first step consisted of coding the complete editions of the collected newspapers, recording and detailing the following information:

- EU Member State: DE, ES, FR, HU, PL, UK;
- Name of newspaper;
- Newspaper type: broadsheet, free sheet, tabloid;
- Date of publication;
- Week of publication;
- News item number;
- Section of the newspaper where the news item appeared;
- Size of news item: full page, half page, quarter page, less than quarter page;
- Type of news item: e.g. news story, editorial, interview, etc.;
- Authorship: internal contributor, external contributor, press agency, other, not specified.
- External contributor: explicit minority background, representing minority organisation, representing anti-racist organisation, explicit majority background, not specified.
- Domestic/international;
- Geographical location;
- Thematic area: e.g. politics, war, terrorism, etc.;

- **Headline:** yes/no;
- **Minority content in headline:** yes/no;
- **Minority content in news item:** yes/no.

The second step in the coding procedure was solely concerned with news items that were identified as minority related, and it recorded and detailed the following data:

- **General minority group,** with different coding rules for domestic and international news items, as described below;
- **Specific minority group:** e.g. Black, Roma, Russian, etc.;
- **Religion:** Buddhist, Catholic, Christian, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim, Protestant, Mixed, None, other;
- **Minority issue:** e.g. violence and crime, migration, asylum, antisemitism, etc.;
- **Appraisal of news item:** see below for the working definition of appraisal implemented in this pilot study;
- **Quoted actors:** individual minority speakers, individual majority speakers, institutional minority speakers, institutional majority speakers.
- **Quoting:** direct, indirect;
- **Quoting:** number of quotes;
- **Minority actors mentioned in the news items;**
- **Issues mentioned by minority actors;**
- **Illustration:** yes/no;
- **Type of illustration;**
- **Appraisal of illustration;**
- **Caption with illustration:** yes/no;
- **Appraisal of caption.**

As noted, different rules guided decisions on identifying general minority groups in domestic and international news items. The general minority groups (and their related issues) coded in domestic minority-related news items were defined as follows:

- **Historical national minority groups with territorial/governmental autonomy** (e.g. Irish, Scottish or Welsh in the UK);
- **Historical minority groups without territorial/governmental autonomy, and who have been present in the Member State for more than a century** (e.g. Roma, Sinti, Travellers);
- **Minority ethnic populations** (immigrants who have been in the Member State for more than two decades);
- **Immigrants** (people who entered the Member State within the last two decades with the intention of remaining there);
- **Temporary immigrants** (people who have entered the Member State to fulfil a definite work contract – e.g. football players);
- **Migrants in an irregular situation;**
- **Refugees and asylum seekers;**
- **Religious minorities;**
- **Diaspora groups** (people that are attached to the country because of their nationality or ethnicity, but who live abroad);
- **Majority population.**

News items covering international issues were coded as minority-related if they explicitly referred to issues pertaining to minorities, racism or diversity, or if they explicitly referred to one of three specific minority groups: Roma, Muslims or Jews.

### 1.2.1. Coding appraisal

The coding scheme did not only aim to map newspaper coverage of minority-related content but also to evaluate the tone of that coverage. Hence the coding categories relating to appraisal, which can be ‘explicit’, ‘implicit’, ‘positive’, ‘negative’, ‘ambivalent’, ‘ambiguous’ or ‘neutral’. Explicit appraisal encompasses the open expression of value judgments in news items, while implicit appraisal encompasses the expression of value judgments that can be inferred from the social and situational context of the news item. The coding scheme included nine appraisal categories:

- ‘Positive explicit’ appraisal: the openly positive expression of value judgments with respect to ethnic diversity, such as the presence and influx of migrants and/or minorities (or certain minority groups), political anti-discrimination agendas. It also applies to such factors as the openly negative expression of value judgments with respect to issues such as discrimination or the expulsion of foreigners.
- ‘Negative explicit’ appraisal: the openly negative expression of value judgments with respect to ethnic diversity, such as the presence and influx of migrants and/or minorities (or certain minority groups), political anti-discrimination agendas. It also applies to such factors as the openly positive expression of value judgments with respect to issues such as discrimination or the expulsion of foreigners.
- ‘Ambivalent explicit’ appraisal: positive and negative value judgments are openly made with respect to issues such as ethnic diversity, the presence and influx of migrants and/or minorities (or certain minority groups), political anti-discrimination agendas.
- ‘Ambiguous explicit’ appraisal: where openly made value judgments can be interpreted as either positive or negative.
- ‘Positive implicit’ appraisal: positive value judgments are not openly made, but they can be inferred from the social and situational context of the news item.
- ‘Negative implicit’ appraisal: negative value judgments are not openly made, but such judgments can be inferred from the social and situational context of the news item.
- ‘Ambivalent implicit’ appraisal: neither positive nor negative value judgments are openly made, but both types of value judgments can be inferred from the social and situational context of the news item.
- ‘Ambiguous implicit’ appraisal: no value judgments are openly made, but value judgments can be inferred from the social and situational context of the news item, in such a way that news items can be interpreted as having either a positive or negative valence.
- No appraisal: no value judgments are made in the news item.

## 1.2.2. Coding active and passive actors: speakers and other actors

When analysing news coverage of minority-related issues, it is also important to identify who is given a voice and who is not, as it can help determine whether members of minority groups are portrayed as active or passive agents. The comparative coding scheme recorded and detailed the types of active agents (individuals, groups or institutional actors) – *Speakers* – who appeared in minority-related news items; whether they were directly or indirectly quoted; how often they were quoted; and in relation to which minority-related issues they were given a voice. Although passive actors (*Other Actors*) are not given a voice, they too are associated with particular issues in the news, which the coding scheme also recorded and detailed.

## 1.3. The newspaper questionnaire

An open-ended questionnaire was submitted to the editors of the 24 newspapers. The questionnaire was designed to collect background information on their work and what steps they take to ensure high standards when reporting on minorities and themes related to racism, ethnic discrimination, ethnic and religious diversity, integration and migration. Eight newspapers responded, although the editors themselves may not necessarily have written the responses:

- DE: *Bild*; *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*; *Kölner Express*; *Süddeutsche Zeitung*;
- ES: *El Mundo*;
- FR: *Le Parisien*;
- HU: *Népszabadság*.

The questionnaire consisted of the following six questions:

- What are in your view the decisive factors for reaching and maintaining high standards in reporting about minorities and diversity themes?
- What concrete measures have been implemented by your newspaper in order to uphold standards in reporting about diversity themes and minorities?
- Is there internal training provided for journalists on reporting about diversity themes and minorities in a non-discriminatory way? If yes, what type of training?
- Are journalists encouraged to look at ethnic and cultural diversity as well as to gender balance in information sources and interview partners?
- Are you involved in any discussions within the media industry concerning diversity issues and non-discrimination in media reporting? If not, would such discussions be useful?
- Would you like to comment on any of the preliminary findings of our media project?

Not every newspaper responded to all six questions, nor did every newspaper go into the same level of detail in their responses. As a result, the following summary presentation of the responses is purely indicative and should not be taken as

representative of the processes implemented by reporters and editors across the EU when reporting on minority-related issues.

There was general agreement that it was important for the press to adhere to certain minimum reporting standards, and that maintaining these standards was closely connected to the quality and education of print journalists. According to the information received, newspapers attempt to ensure the quality of their reporting mainly through recruiting good journalists. Some of the newspapers mentioned that they encouraged their staff to look at the ethnic and cultural diversity as well as the gender balance of information sources and interview partners. None of the newspapers provided information about concrete measures, however, they had implemented to uphold standards in reporting. According to the responses, no specific training was provided for journalists on reporting about diversity themes and minorities in a non-discriminatory way. Furthermore, none of the newspapers took part in any media-industry discussions on diversity issues and non-discrimination in media reporting.

## 2. Findings: mapping newspaper coverage of minority-related issues

### 2.1. The socio-economic and geo-political context at the time of data collection

When carrying out this type of research, the socio-economic and geo-political context in which the news is reported is of paramount importance. Public debates on events and issues on the national and international stage at the time of data collection can influence news coverage of issues relating to minorities, ethnic and religious diversity, ethnic discrimination, migration and integration. As a prelude to presenting some findings drawn from the mapping analysis, and to contextualise these findings in the prevailing climate of the time, this section of the report provides an overview of the principal events with global reach and of national significance that newspapers reported on during the data collection period. These events, and their variety, must be borne in mind when considering the findings highlighted in the present report.

The press in the six Member States covered international events such as the United States presidential elections and unrest in Tibet, which included related coverage of the Olympic torch relay and the mooted participation of various European political representatives at the opening ceremony of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. Other featured events were the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the State of Israel and the UEFA European Football Championship (Euro 2008), which was of particular interest in France, Germany and Spain, all of which participated in the tournament.

The data collection period was also marked by armed conflict in Afghanistan, Darfur, Iran, Kenya and Lebanon; terrorist attacks in Algeria, Iraq and Turkey; the Israel-Palestine conflict; a large-scale natural disaster in Burma; presidential elections in Zimbabwe; Kosovo's declaration of independence; the 2008 NATO Summit in Bucharest; and by issues of particular relevance to the EU, such as the referendum on the Lisbon Treaty in Ireland, the EU Return Directive and EU immigration rules. The daily press of the six Member States covered all of these events to different degrees.

On the national level, relevant issues and events covered by the press included racist statements and incidents; (local) elections; political reform and policy proposals; political crises; and the impact of the economic crisis. Thus, in the French press, the economic crisis and its consequences were among the main topics of interest, while local and regional elections were also of concern. Other notable issues included financial scandals and prison reform. Furthermore, discussions took place on the issue of undocumented immigrants; ethnic discrimination at the work place; urban riots; and the influence of sects and a controversy about banning them.

The German newspapers covered xenophobic statements made during an election campaign in Hesse; Holocaust Remembrance Day; the case of a German-Lebanese person subjected to a rendition flight to Afghanistan by the US in 2004; conditions in the Guantánamo Bay detention camp; the contracting of foreign football players and

coaches for the coming season; and a fire in a house in Ludwigshafen, where nine persons of Turkish descent died.

In the Hungarian press, the economic crisis and its consequences were covered extensively, along with local and regional elections and political crises. During the period of data collection the government coalition broke down after a no-vote on a referendum on government-initiated reform measures. Other events of note included a week dedicated to Holocaust remembrance; the start of an important academic examination period; a vote on a DNA data protection law; the election of the new president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; and a Peace Day commemoration organised by the Socialist Party. The newspapers also reported on a number of racist statements and incidents that influenced public debate.

In the Polish press, topics high on the agenda included Poland's new immigration legislation; emigration from Poland and its effects on Polish families; the case of a Romanian migrant who died after a hunger strike in prison; a demonstration by Silesians demanding political autonomy; the achievements of foreigners in Polish football; racist incidents in Poland and other countries (in particular Germany); and Polish denial of antisemitism.

The economic crisis and its consequences were also of interest to the daily press in Spain. Other issues included national elections; the performance of the Spanish football team during Euro 2008; debates on an increase in violence in Spain; the efficiency of the legal system; cabinet approval of an immigrant return plan; drought in Catalonia; the funeral of a former prime minister; and an ETA attack targeting the premises of a Basque newspaper.

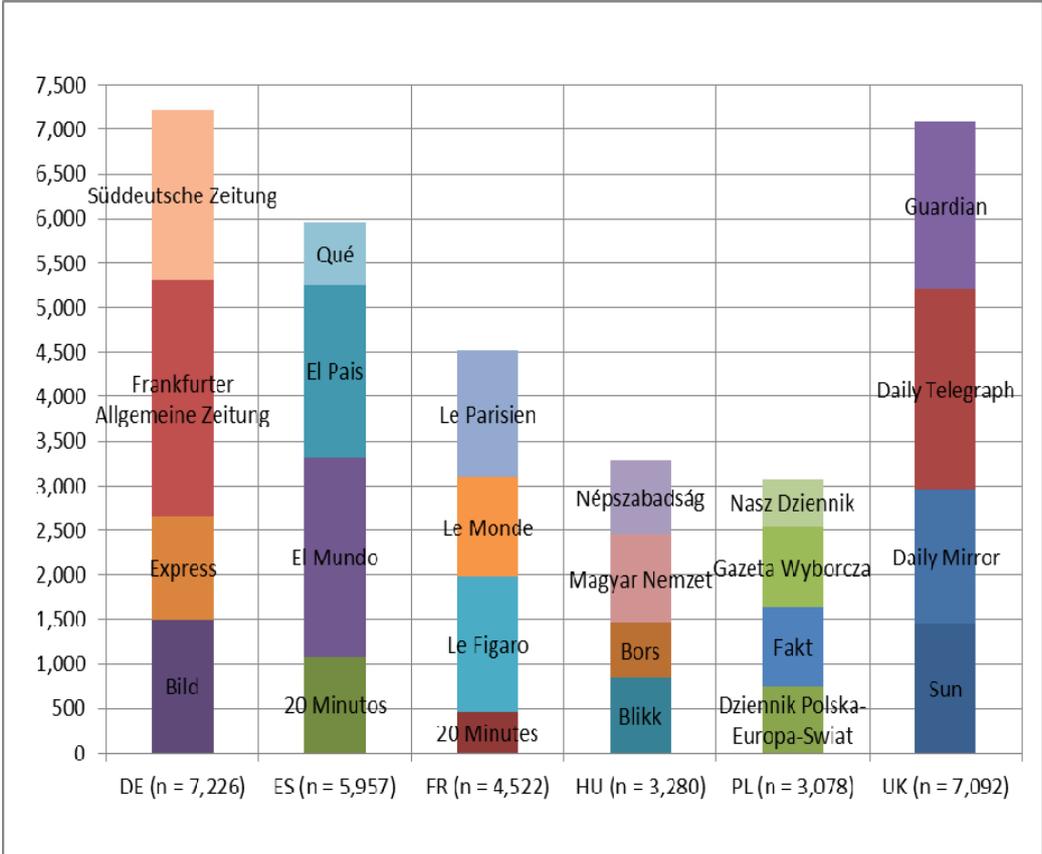
The UK newspapers covered issues related to terrorism; instances of racist behaviour and discrimination of minorities; the setting up of the UK Border Agency; a government initiative establishing cohesion teams to assist in the successful integration of new migrants in their host communities; new legislation on immigration; contributions of foreigners to the UK economy; government plans to repatriate child asylum seekers; and the call for a revised counterterrorism bill that would extend pre-charge detention of suspected terrorists from 28 to 42 days.

## 2.2. The salience of minority-related coverage

One of the principal strengths of the comparative coding scheme that was developed in the framework of this pilot study is that it allows for the identification of several indicators of salience of minority-related content in the press, within or between both newspapers and Member States.

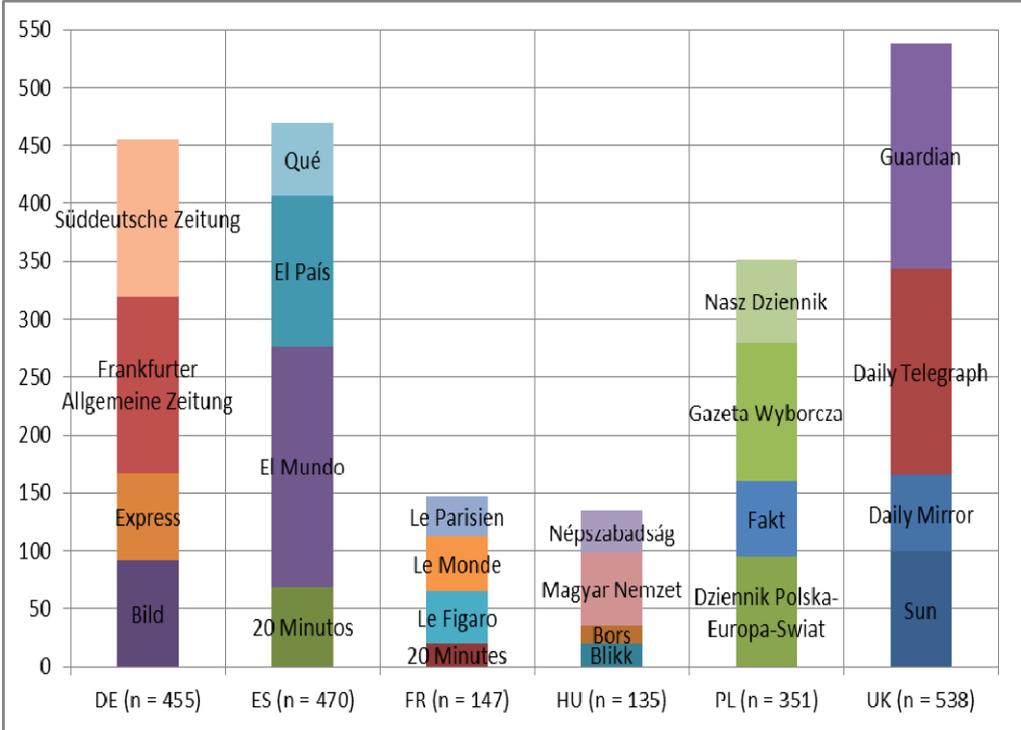
42,951 news items were collected across the six Member States in the four weeks sampled. News items collected during Week 1 were subjected to a preliminary coding procedure on the basis of which the final comparative coding scheme was revised and refined; as a result, these items had to be discarded from further analysis. The findings presented here therefore relate to those 31,155 news items that were collected in Weeks 2 through 4 (Figure 1). Of these, 2,096 were minority-related (Figure 2). This amount offers a first telling indicator of salience: with 6.7% of collected news items dealing with minority-related content.

Figure 1: Number of news items, by newspaper and Member State (n = 31,155)



Source: FRA, 2011

Figure 2: Number of minority-related news items, by newspaper and Member State (n = 2,096)

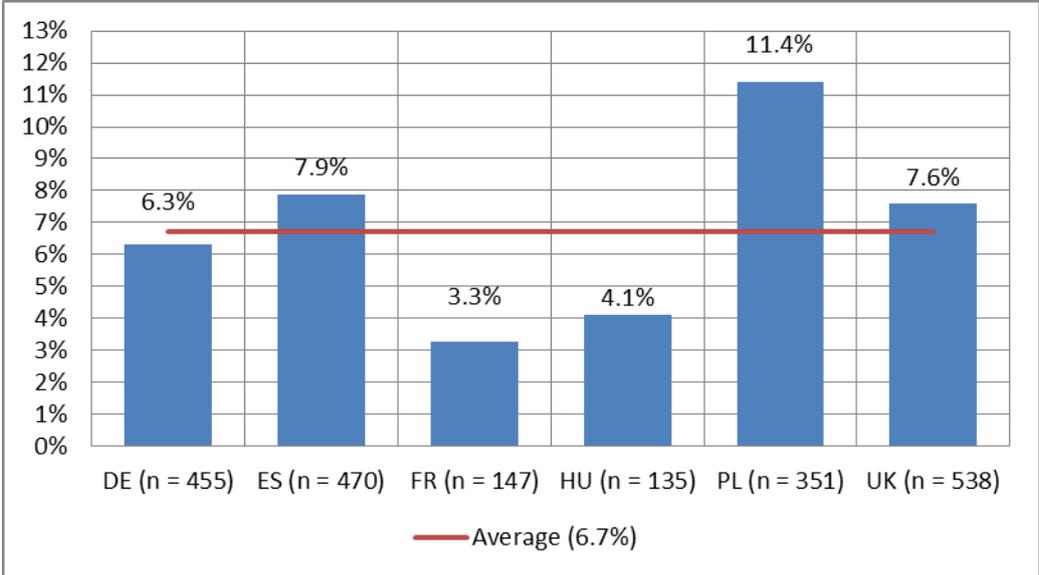


Source: FRA, 2011

The coding scheme also allows for a deeper analysis of salience of minority-related content, showing, for example, that the extent of coverage was uneven across the Member States, ranging from 3.3% in the French press to 11.4% in the Polish press (Figure 3). This is indicative of the importance of carefully considering the local context, as that context will determine where the ‘restless searchlight’<sup>6</sup> that characterises the media will rest, and what the media will choose to highlight at any given time.

<sup>6</sup> Walter Lippman’s classic analysis (Public Opinion, 1922) referred to the press as “a beam of a searchlight that moves restlessly about, bringing one episode and then another out of darkness into vision”.

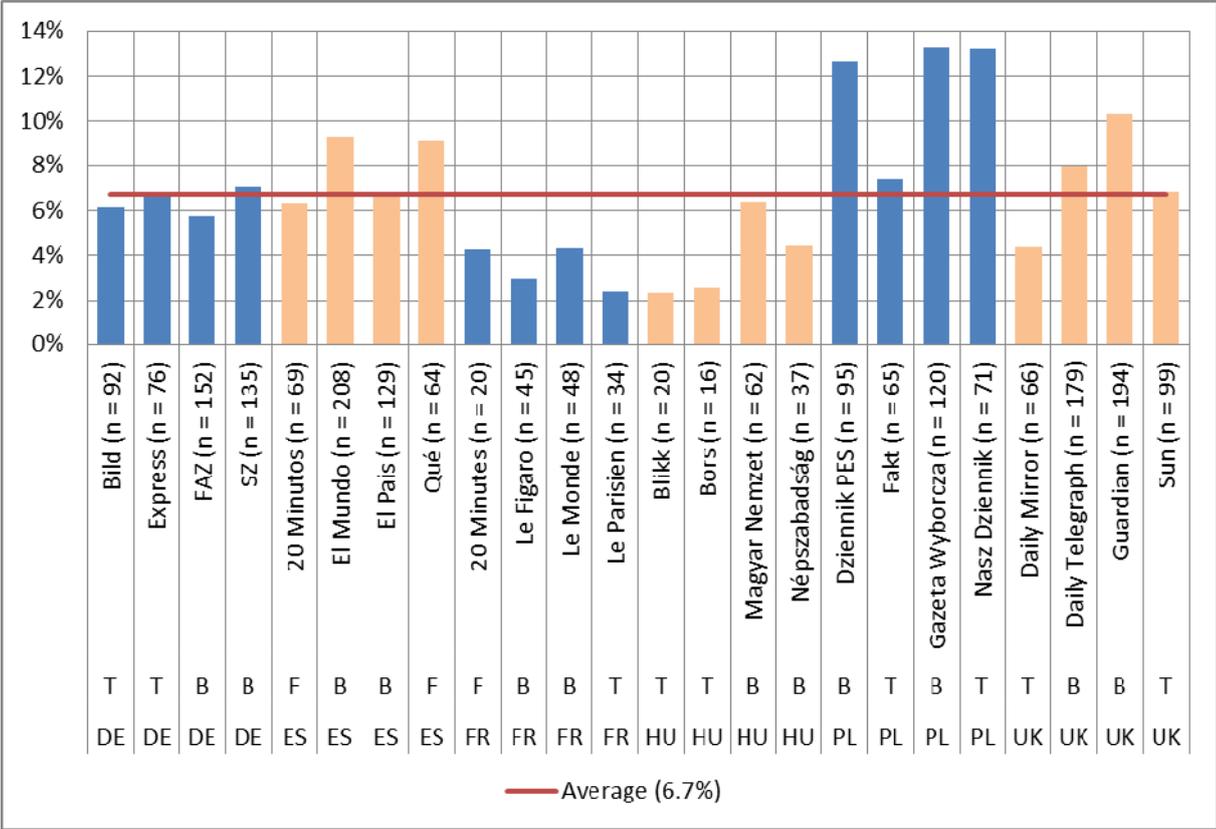
Figure 3: Percentage of minority-related news items in all newspapers, by Member State (n = 2,096)



Source: FRA, 2011

The coding scheme allows for deeper comparative analysis of salience between the newspapers under consideration. Thus, as Figure 4 shows, Hungary’s *Blikk* (tabloid) and France’s *Le Parisien* (tabloid) had the lowest proportions of minority-related content of the sampled newspapers with 2.4% of minority-related coverage in their print editions. At the other end of the spectrum, Poland’s *Gazeta Wyborcza* (broadsheet) and *Nasz Dziennik* (tabloid) had the highest proportions of minority-related content at 13.2% of coverage. Figure 4 also shows that there are important within-country variations in the amount of attention newspapers give minority-related content. Thus, while there is a relatively even distribution of that content in the German and the Polish press (except for *Fakt*), there is a great degree of variation in the other Member States. This indicates that routines of news gathering and reporting at the national level also need to be taken into consideration when carrying out this type of analysis.

Figure 4: Percentage of minority-related news items, by newspaper (n = 2,096)

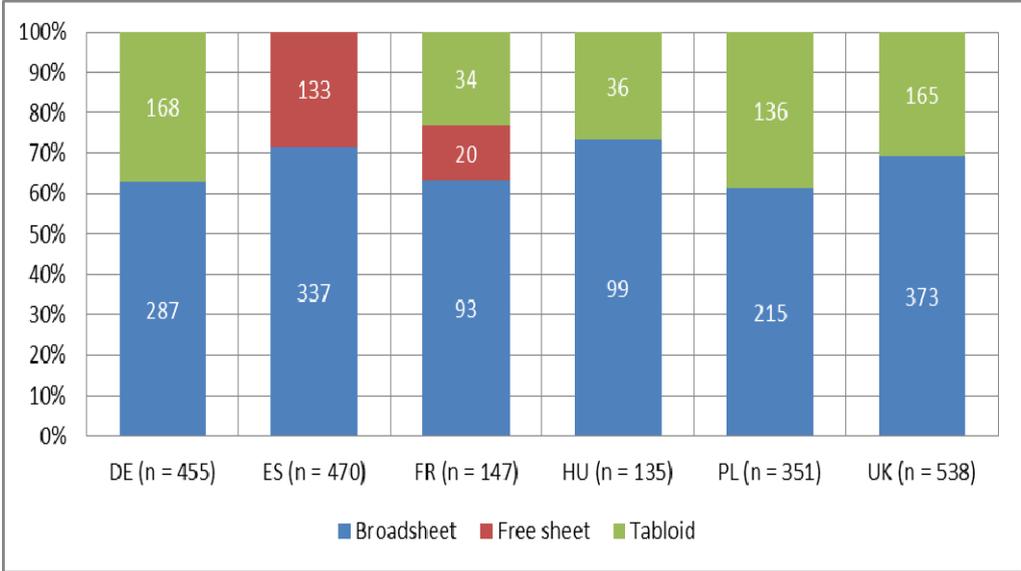


Note: B –Broadsheet, F –Free sheet, T –Tabloid.

Source: FRA, 2011

Differences according to the type of newspaper can also be identified, with 67% of minority-related content found in broadsheets, compared to 25.7% in tabloids and 7.3% in free sheets. The distribution of minority-related content in the broadsheet press ranged from 61.3% in the Polish press to 73.3% in the Hungarian press, while in the tabloid press the range went from 23.1% in the French press to 38.7% in the Polish press (Figure 5). Considering the often sensationalist nature of tabloid coverage as opposed to the generally more measured style of broadsheet coverage, this finding suggests that the overall tenor of minority-related content might not be as negative as is often assumed, a point we will return to in the appraisal section of this report.

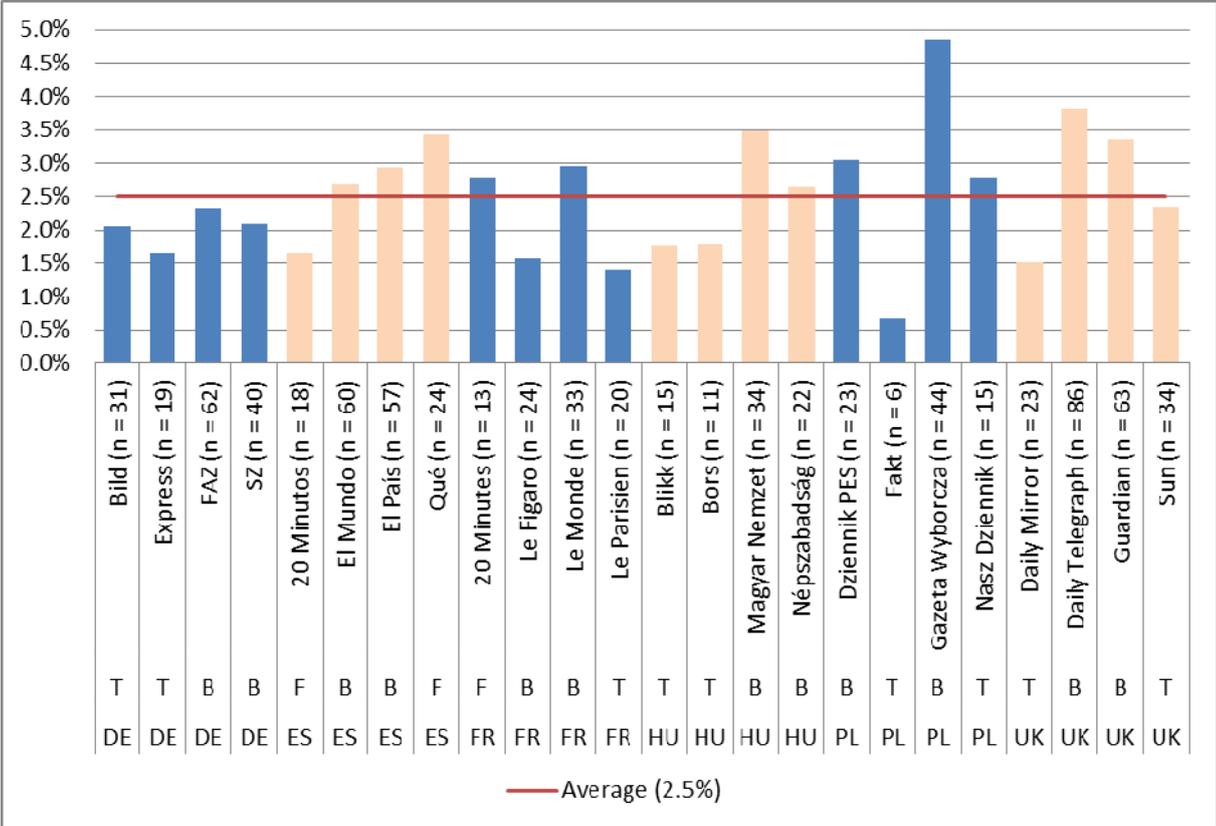
Figure 5: Distribution of minority-related news items by type of newspaper, by Member State (n = 2,096)



Source: FRA, 2011

Another indicator of salience is the extent to which an issue appears in the headlines of news items, which the coding scheme also recorded and detailed. The newspapers’ level of interest in minority-related content was also evidenced by the mere 2.5% of collected news items (n = 777) that displayed headlines identifying such content. In other words, minority-related issues are often discussed in relation to other issues. As Figure 6 shows, Poland’s *Fakt* (tabloid) had the lowest overall proportion of news items with minority-related content in the headlines (0.7%), while *Gazeta Wyborcza* (broadsheet), also from Poland, had the highest (4.9%).

Figure 6: Percentage of news items with minority-related content in the headlines, by newspaper (n = 777)



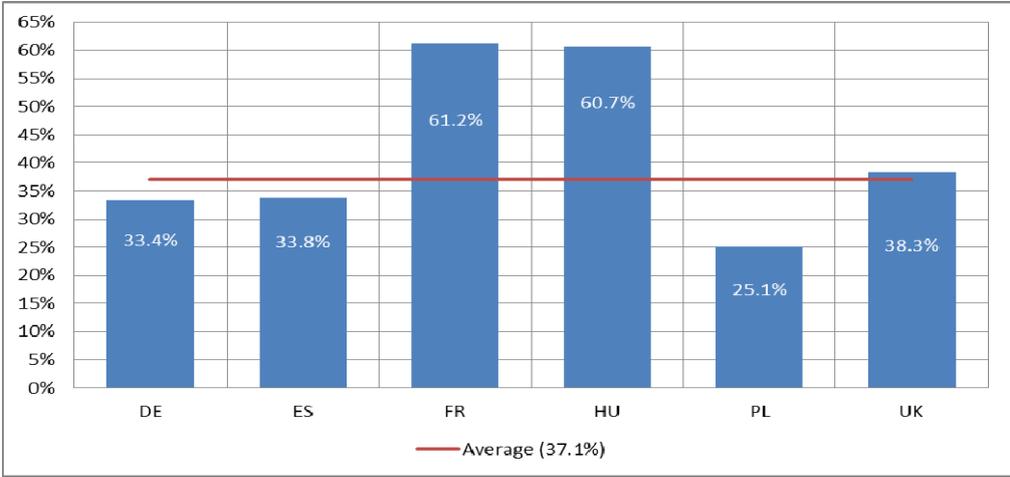
Notes: B –Broadsheet, F –Free sheet, T –Tabloid.

Source: FRA, 2011

Salience can also be established by identifying the proportion of minority-related news items that display minority-related headlines. The findings here further substantiate previous observations, with minority-related content identified in the headlines of 37.1% of news items with minority-related content.

As Figure 7 shows, minority-related content appeared the least in the headlines in Polish newspapers (25.1%), and the most in French newspapers (61.2%). This finding is almost the reverse of what happened with the overall distribution of minority-related news items, which had the lowest visibility in France and the highest in Poland. Another indicator of the low salience of minority-related news items is the finding that just 4.1% of them appear on the newspapers’ front pages (see Figure 13, below, for more details on the newspaper sections where such content is found).

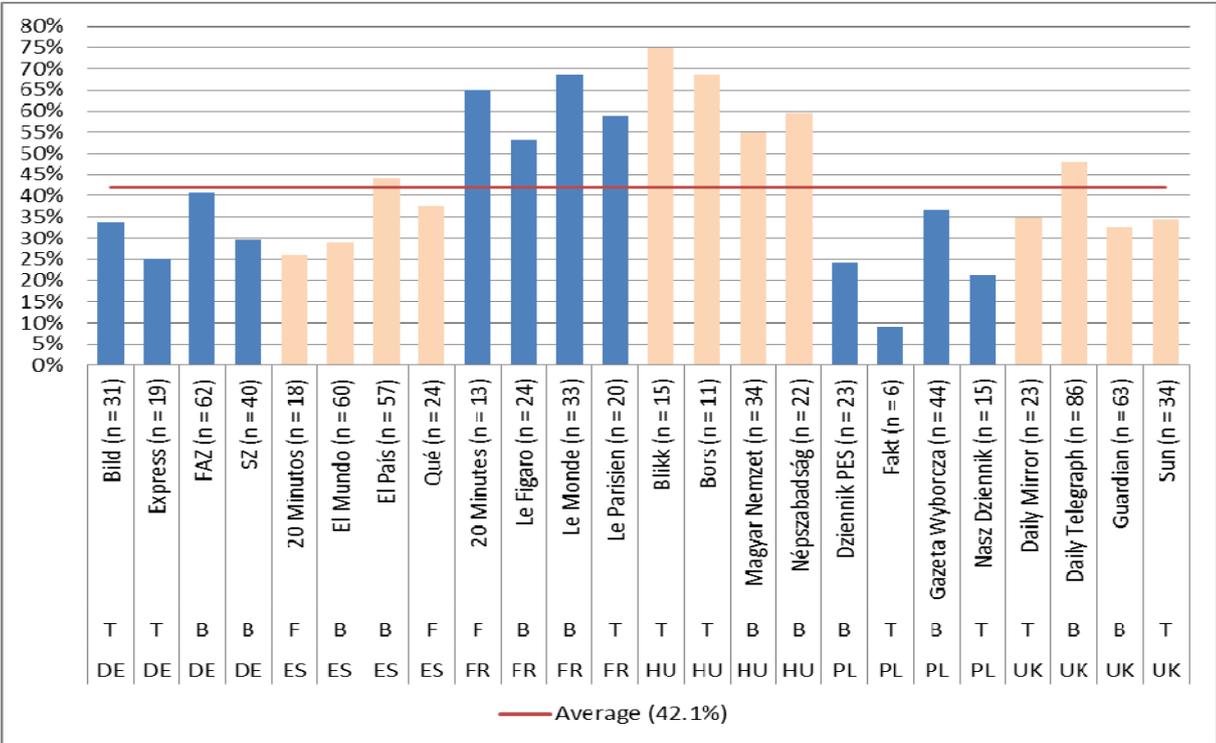
Figure 7: Percentage of minority-related news items with minority-related headlines, by Member State (n = 777)



Source: FRA, 2011

French and Hungarian newspapers pull the average up. Nearly all the other newspapers score below the average when it comes to including minority-related content in the headlines of minority-related news items, as Figure 8 shows. Indeed, in the other Member States, only the *Daily Telegraph* in the UK and *El País* in Spain score above the average.

Figure 8: Percentage of minority-related news items with minority-related headlines, by newspaper (n = 777)

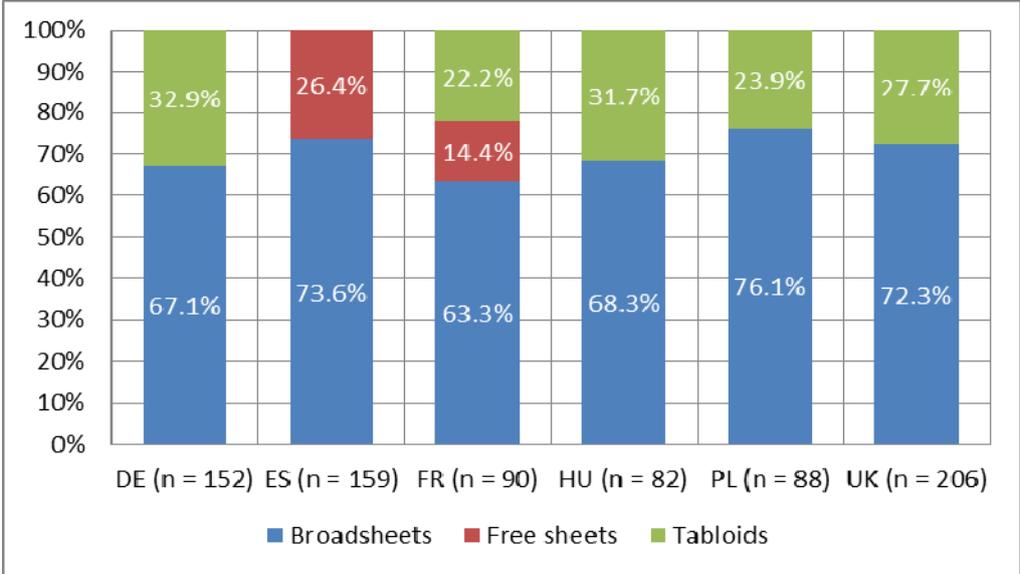


Note: B –Broadsheet, F –Free sheet, T –Tabloid.

Source: FRA, 2011

Of the 777 news items with minority-related headlines, 70.5% were found in broadsheets, 22.4% in tabloids and 7.1% in free sheets. The distribution across the six Member States was fairly even, as Figure 9 shows. This finding reinforces the impression that press coverage of minority-related issues might not be as negative as is often thought.

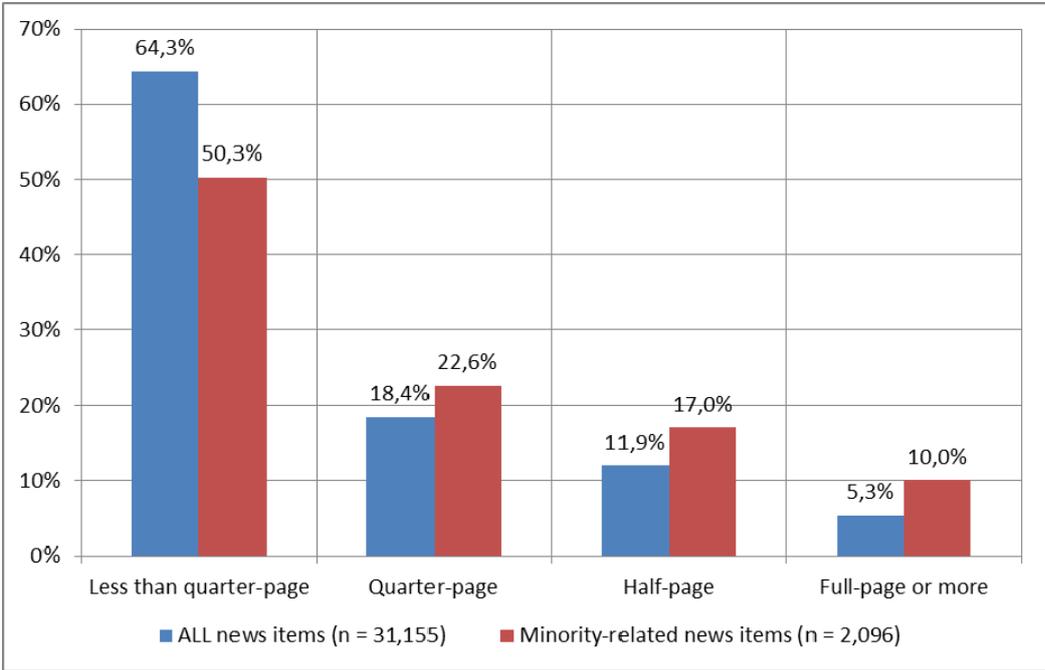
Figure 9: Distribution of minority-related headlines in minority-related news items, by Member State (n = 777)



Source: FRA, 2011

Next to headlines and front-page news, another important indicator of salience is the size of news items. The more column inches devoted to an issue, the more salient that issue is in the press. The collected news items were often short, with 72.9% of minority-related items covering a quarter-page or less, compared to 82.7% for all the collected news items (Figure 10). Figure 10 makes apparent that proportionally more full- and half-page minority-related news items were identified in the press than was the case for news items in general, with proportions of, respectively, 27% and 17.2%. Thus, although few minority-related items appear in newspapers and although those items are often not deemed to be worthy of headline news or even to figure on the front pages, minority-related issues still appear to be covered in relatively more depth than other news.

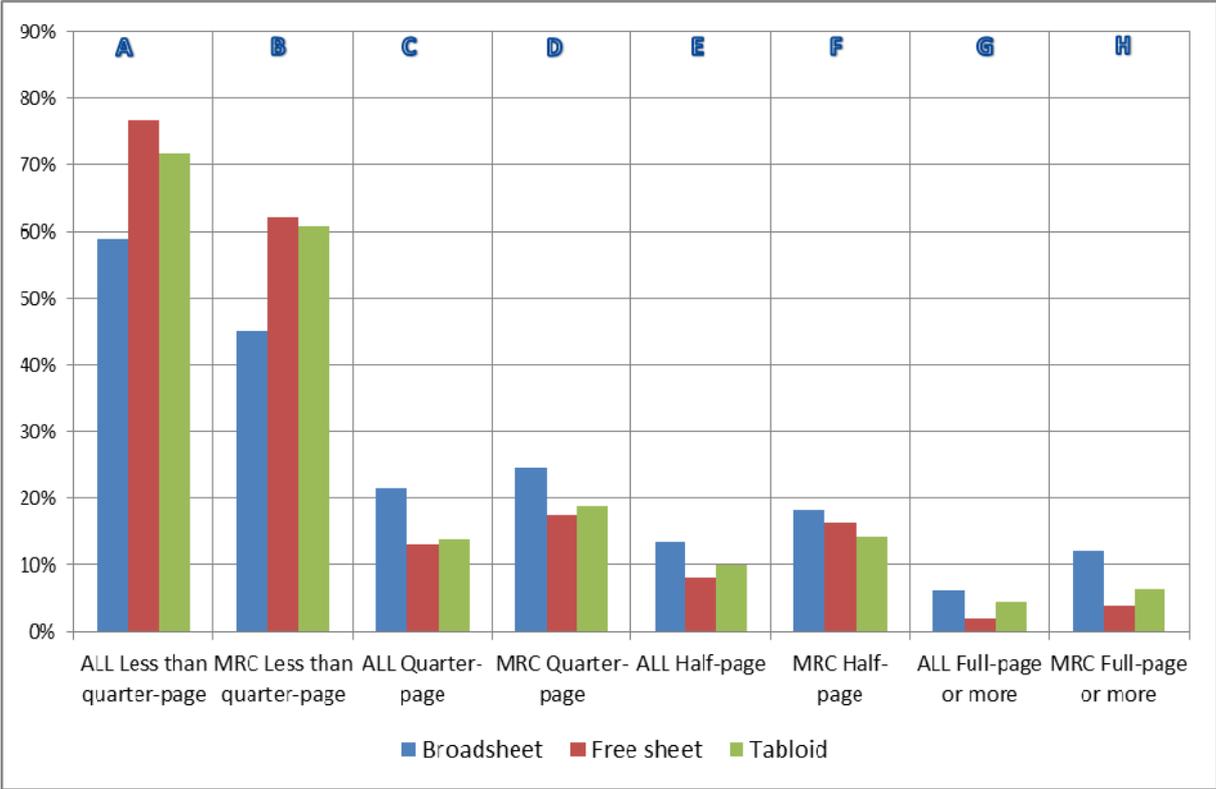
Figure 10: Size of all news items and of minority-related news items



Source: FRA, 2011

A similar pattern emerges when comparing the size of minority-related news items with that of all the collected news items according to the type of newspaper where these news items are published (Figure 11): minority-related news items tend to be longer than others. The shortest minority-related news items tend to appear in free sheets and tabloids (Figure 11, Column B), while the longest appear in broadsheets (Figure 11, Column H). Thus while it was observed that minority-related items were often covered in more depth, this would appear to be characteristic of the broadsheet press. This in itself is not a surprising finding, considering that broadsheets generally tend to cover issues in more depth, although this was only marginally the case during the research period (Figure 11, Column G).

Figure 11: Distribution of news items, by size and type of newspaper

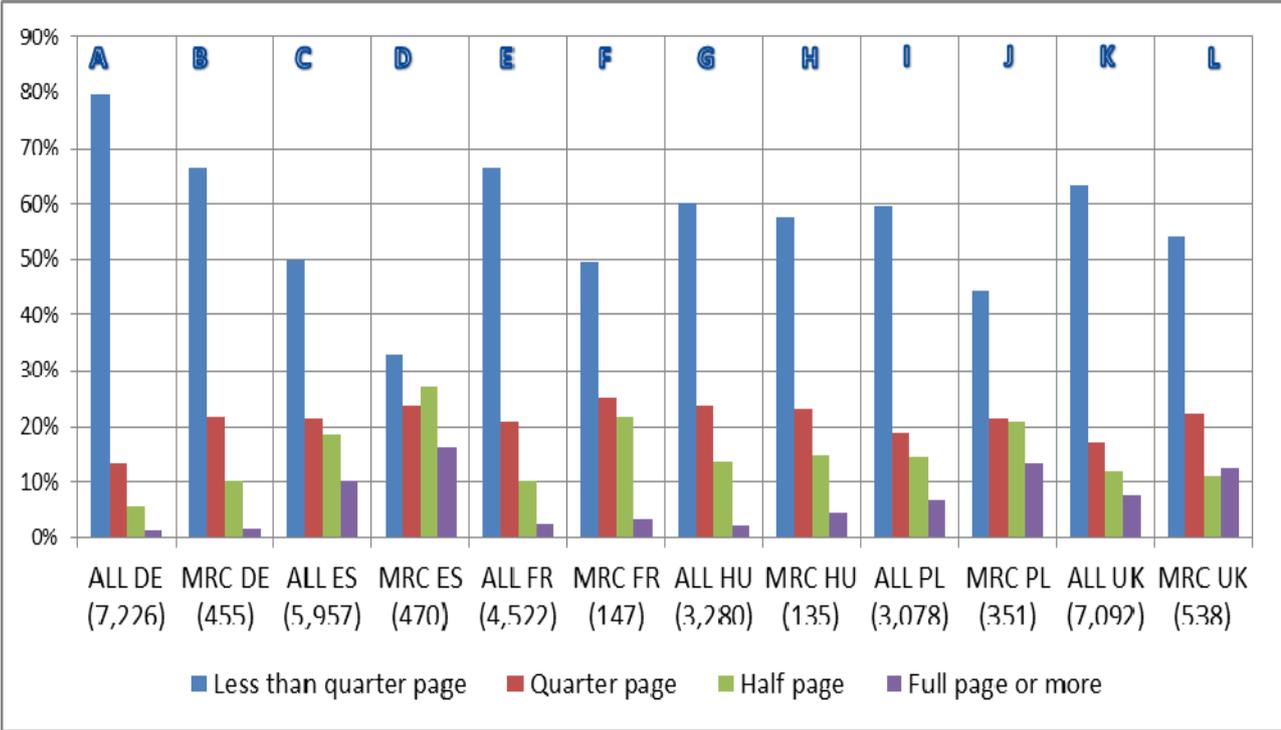


Note: MRC = minority-related news items; ALL = all news items.

Source: FRA, 2011

The coding scheme made it possible to catalogue important differences in the size of minority-related news items across Member States. Figure 12 shows that the same pattern of longer minority-related news items compared with other items was found across the newspapers in the six Member States. Longer minority-related news items were found in the Polish, Spanish and the UK press, with the shorter ones in the French, German and Hungarian press.

Figure 12: Distribution of news items, by size and Member State



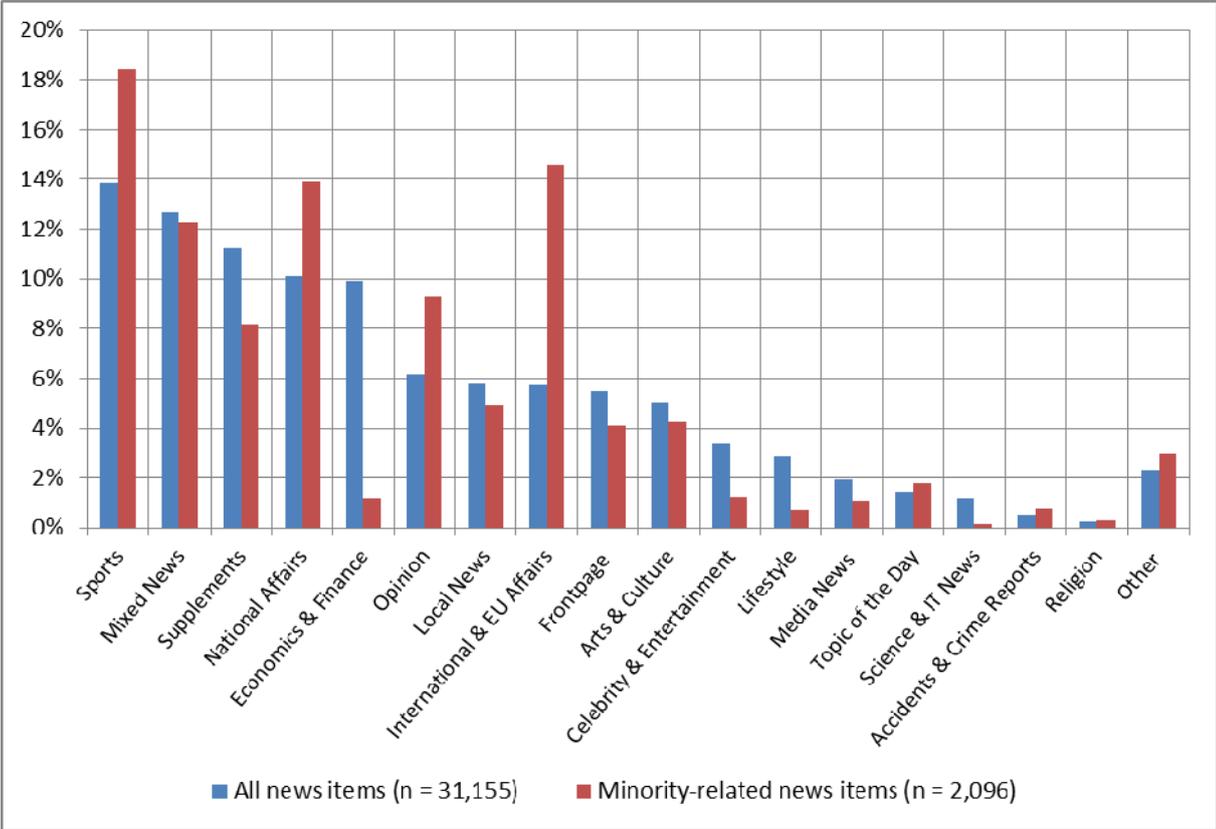
Note: MRC = minority-related news items; ALL = all news items; the number of news items are in parentheses.

Source: FRA, 2011

### 2.3. The nature of the coverage

The sections of the newspapers where minority-related news items appear most often are indicative of the scope of coverage given to such content. As Figure 13 shows, compared to the overall distribution of news items, minority-related items appear mostly in the sports pages (18.4% of minority-related items), international news (14.6%), national affairs (13.9%), and opinion columns (9.3%). Conversely, sections where minority-related items appear the least are economics and finance (1.2%), celebrity and entertainment (1.2%) and lifestyle (0.7%).

Figure 13: Distribution of news items in newspaper sections

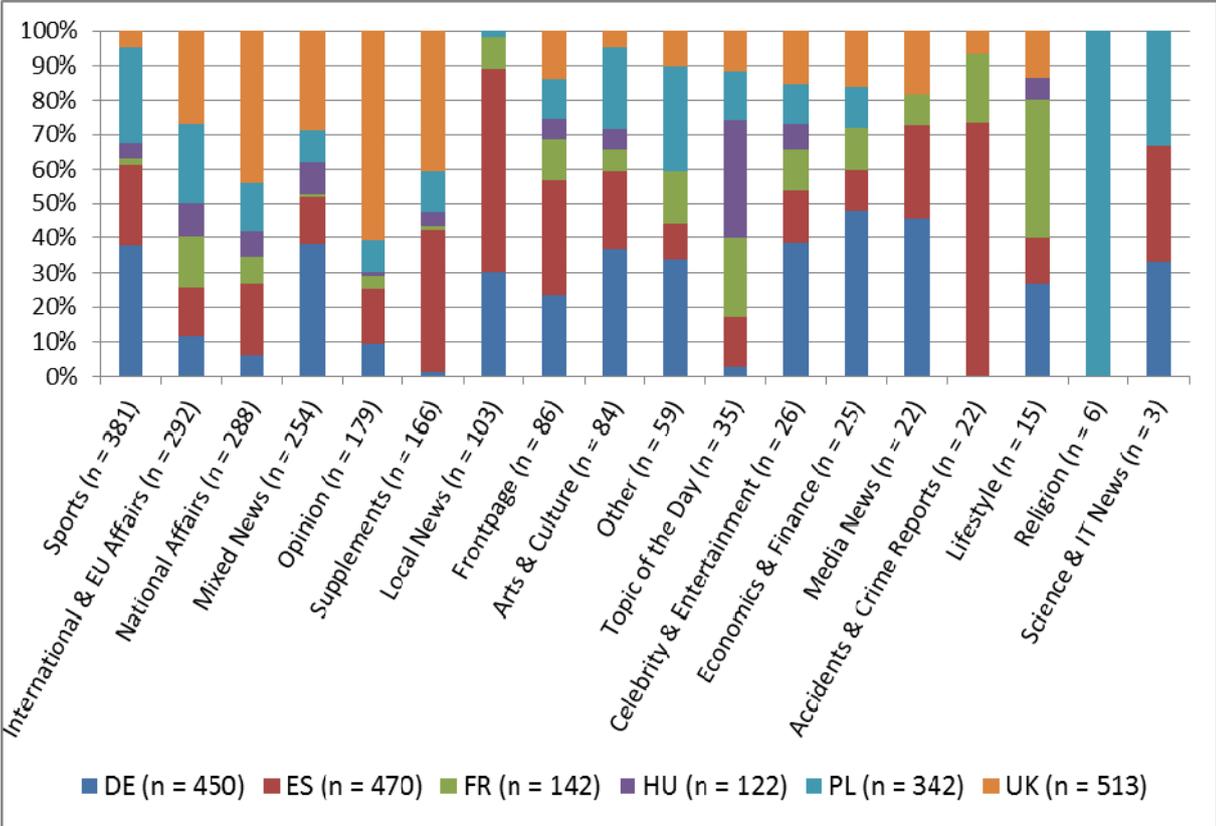


Source: FRA, 2011

Minority-related content is often found in coverage of national affairs, where the main issues of interest are ‘national politics’ (17.5%), ‘immigration’ (16.8%), and ‘violence & crime’ (15.5%) – the issues and topics of coverage will be analysed in more detail later in this report). Surprisingly, there is significant attention paid to minority-related content in international and EU affairs sections, where the main issues of interest are international politics (35.6%) and armed conflict (16.3%).

The coding scheme allows for between-country comparisons regarding the sections in which minority-related content appears. In the German, Polish and Spanish press, most minority-content appears in the sports pages. The distribution of such content in international and EU Affairs sections is more evenly spread across the six Member States, although, taken together, the UK and Polish press account for 50% of the content appearing in those sections. The UK press is also the clear leader in producing minority-related content for opinion columns (60.9%) and national affairs sections (43.8%), with the Spanish press a distant second in the latter (20.5%). However, the Spanish press accounts for the lion’s share of such content in the local news section, with 59.2% of its minority-related news items appearing there. Minority-related content was most often found on the front pages of the Spanish (33.7%) and German (23.3%) press. The German newspapers also covered a fair amount of minority-related news in their arts and culture sections, accounting for 36.9% of news items coded in that category. In effect, Figure 14 shows that minority-related content is handled quite differently in the press of the Member States examined.

Figure 14: Distribution of minority-related news items in newspaper sections, by Member State (%) (n = 2,096)



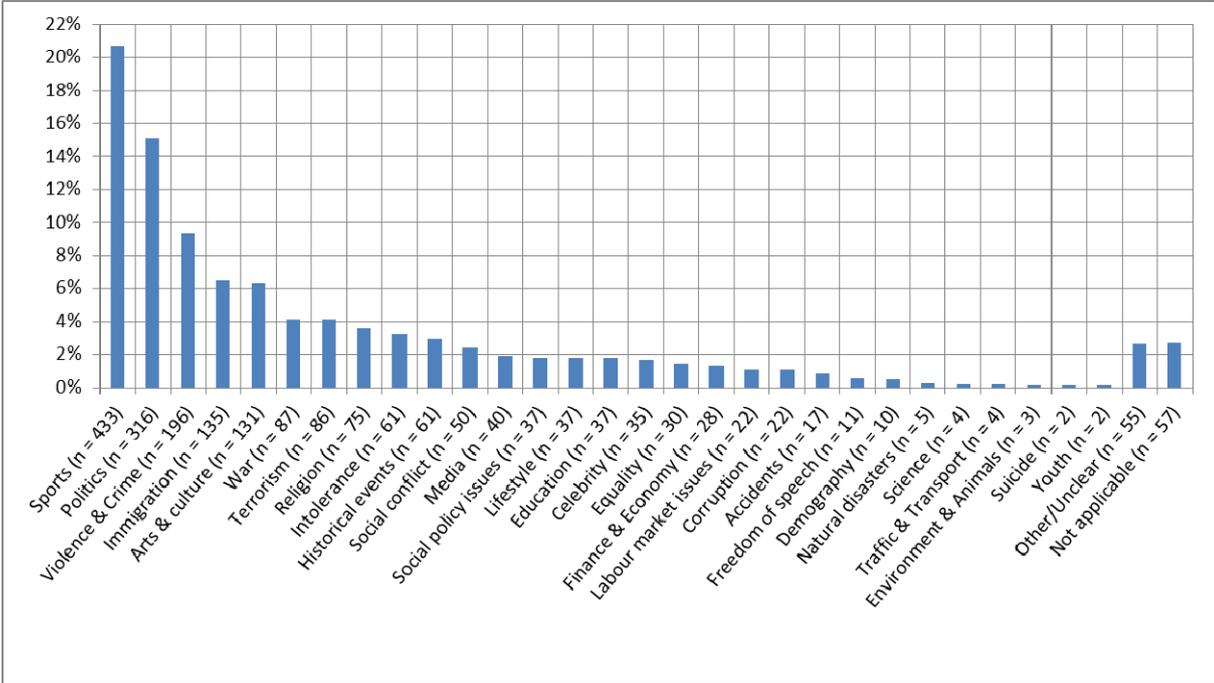
Source: FRA, 2011

Minority-related news items not only appear in several different newspaper sections, they also cover a host of issues (Figure 15). The top five issues covered in minority-related news items are: ‘sports’, ‘politics’, ‘violence & crime’, ‘immigration’, and ‘arts & culture’; taken together, these account for 57.8% of all minority-related coverage.

Cumulatively, the issues of ‘violence & crime’, ‘war’, ‘terrorism’, and ‘social conflict’ account for 19.5% of all news items, suggesting that about one in every five news items could potentially be presenting minority-related content in a way that confers a negative image on such issues. This issue of negative coverage will be explored further in the appraisal section of this report.

Note that beyond the top 10 most-covered issues the number of items coded is so low that it becomes difficult to make meaningful comparisons. This is a weakness of the sample chosen for analysis – the few days selected – rather than of the coding scheme. Meaningful comparisons could be made with the adoption of either a longitudinal sampling frame that takes longer periods into account or a daily monitoring exercise implementing the coding scheme.

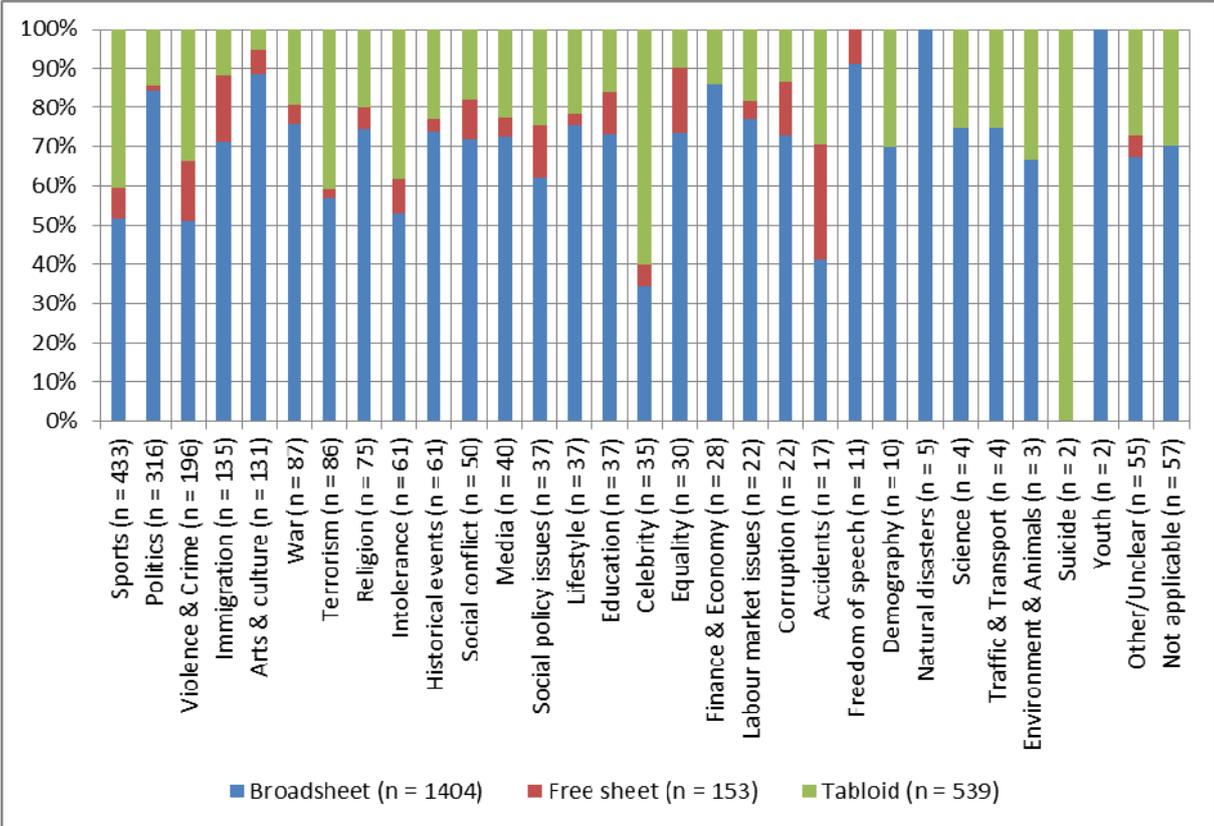
Figure 15: Issues covered in minority-related news items (n = 2,096)



Source: FRA, 2011

Differences in the distribution of issues covered in broadsheets, free sheets and tabloids largely reflect the regular patterns of news coverage according to newspaper type (Figure 16). Broadsheets focus on political issues and tend to cover most issues to a greater degree than the other newspaper types. Tabloids and free sheets devote more of their attention to issues relating to ‘sports’, ‘violence and crime’, ‘terrorism’, ‘manifestations of intolerance’ and ‘celebrity’, which offer more chances to cover ‘sensationalist’ issues.

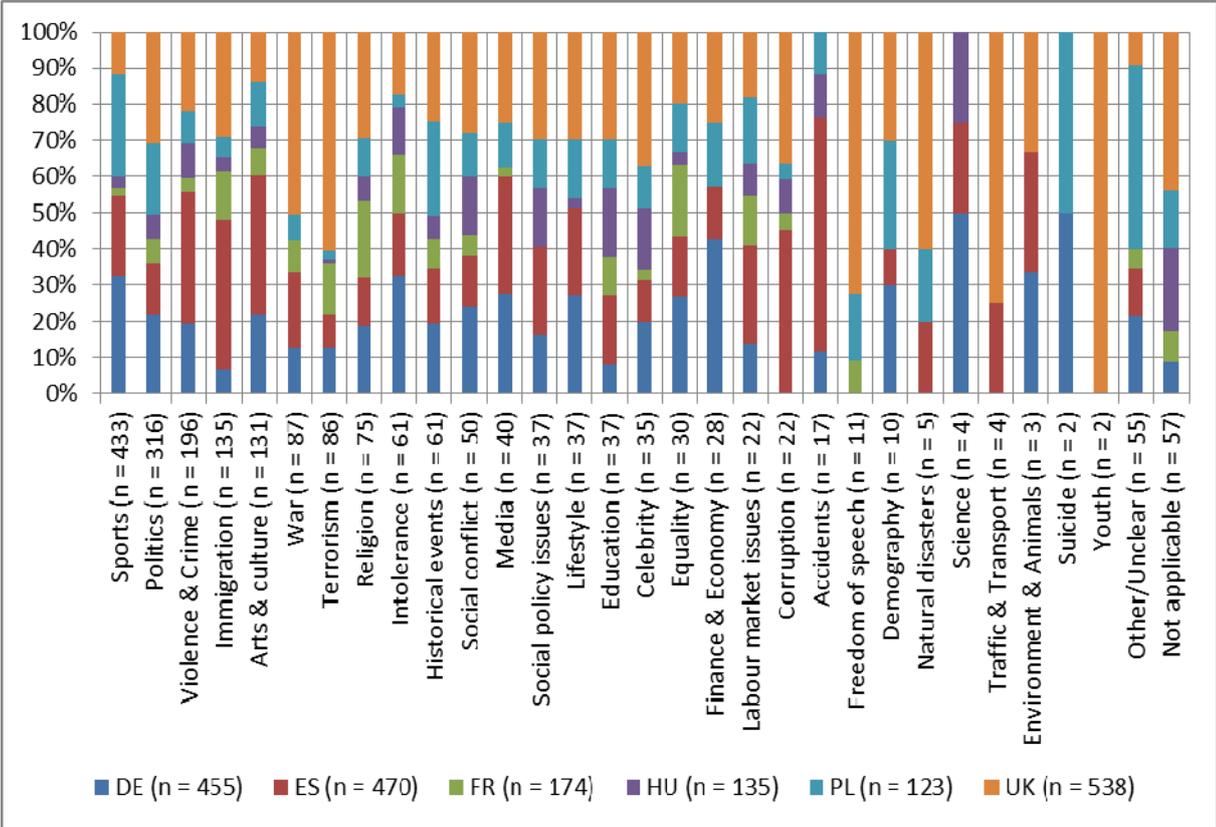
Figure 16: Distribution of issues covered in minority-related news items, by type of newspaper (n = 2,096)



Source: FRA, 2011

The coding scheme makes it possible to identify differences between Member States in the proportion of attention given to the press to particular issues, thereby also taking into account the local reporting context. As Figure 17 shows, the most minority-related news items on ‘war’, ‘terrorism’ and, to a lesser extent, ‘religion’ and ‘immigration’ are found in the UK press. A large proportion of news items on ‘violence & crime’, ‘immigration’, ‘sports’ and ‘arts & culture’ appear in the Spanish press. Minority-related sports issues figured prominently in the German and Polish press, while religion was of interest to the French press. Nevertheless, the number of news items coded in most of these categories was quite low, and these comparisons cannot be taken as representative of how newspapers across the Member States examined in the pilot study cover minority-related issues. Again, such generalisations could be made if the comparative coding scheme were to be applied longitudinally, monitoring the evolution of newspaper coverage of minority-related issues over time.

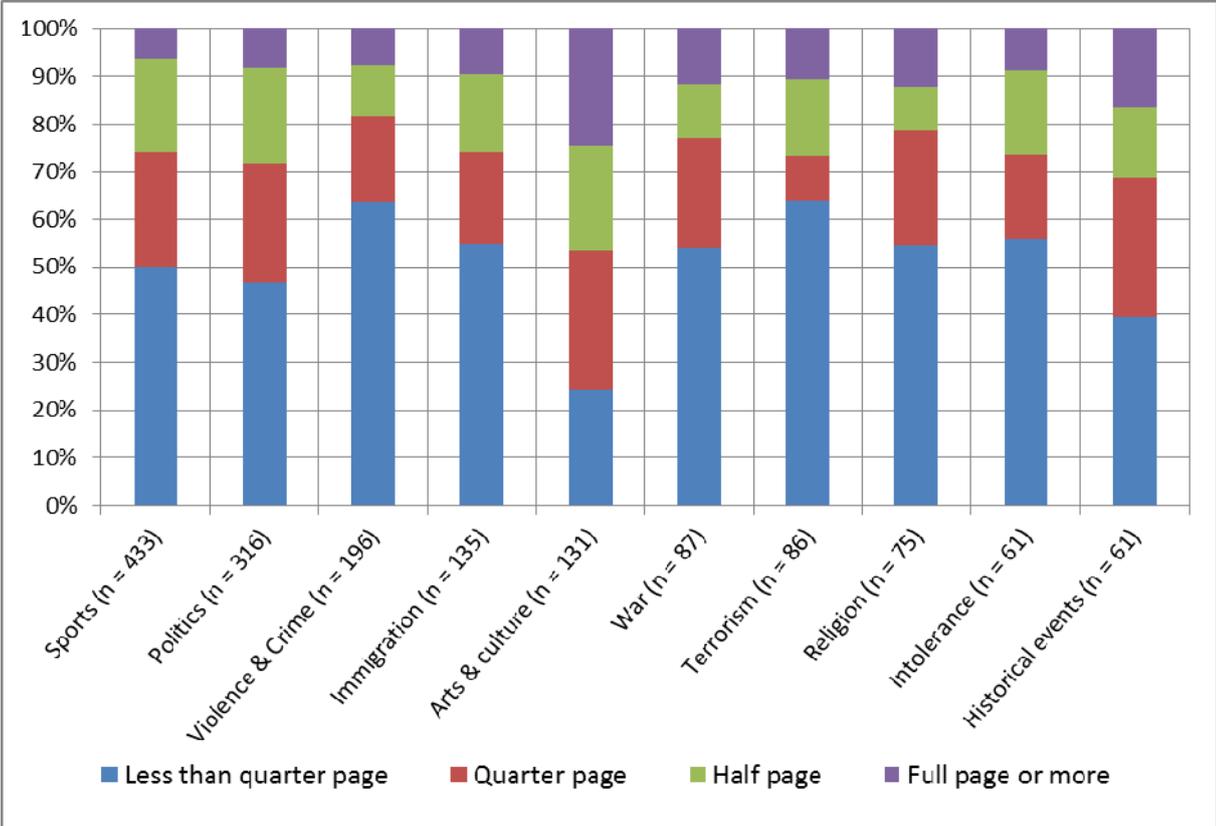
Figure 17: Distribution of issues covered in minority-related news items by MS (n = 2,096)



Source: FRA, 2011

A final consideration regarding the section in which minority-related news appears relates to their size. With the exception of minority-related content in the ‘arts & culture’ category, the size of news items tends to be a quarter page or less (Figure 18). This suggests that, save for ‘arts & culture’, the newspapers did not discuss any particular minority-related issue in more depth than another.

Figure 18: Distribution of size of minority-related news items in the top 10 categories of issues



Source: FRA, 2011

## 2.4. Minority groups covered in minority-related headlines

Each of the six Member States under consideration has a distinct history of immigration, emigration and of dealing with minorities. To do justice to these differences, the comparative coding scheme followed a three-step procedure, coding first a ‘general group’ dimension; second, a ‘specific groups’ dimension; and third, a ‘religious’ dimension, where relevant. In this instance, the coding scheme focused on headlines. The ‘general group’ category was the same for all six Member States:

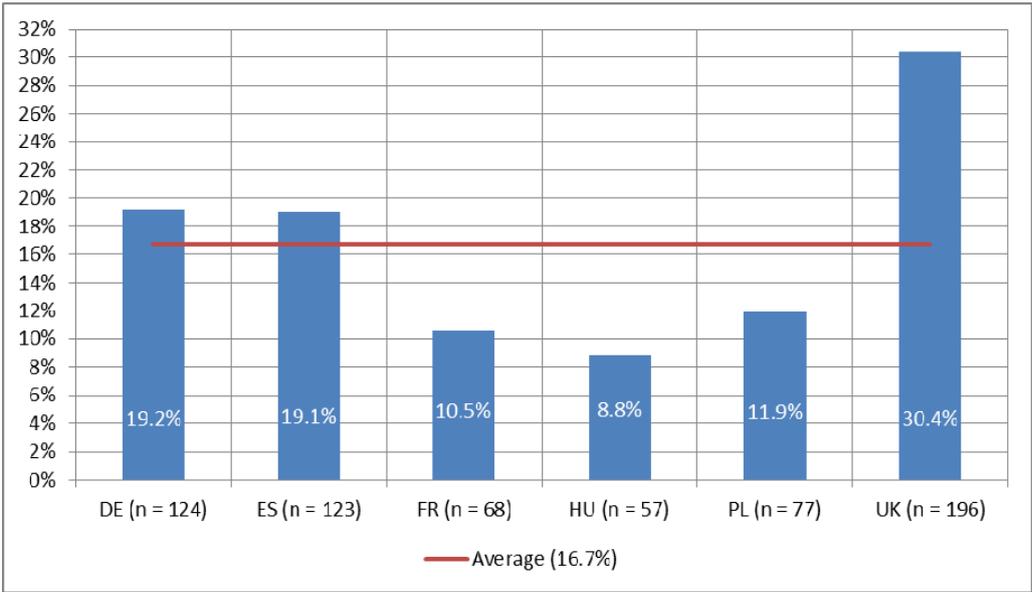
- historical national minority groups with territorial/governmental autonomy;
- historical minority groups without territorial/governmental autonomy, and who have been present in the Member State for more than a century;
- minority ethnic populations;
- immigrants;
- temporary immigrants;
- irregular migrants;
- refugees and asylum seekers;
- religious minorities;

- diaspora groups;
- majority population.

The ‘specific groups’ category was different for the six Member States. Each country research team defined this coding category based on the local context; distinct ‘specific groups’ containing a range of minorities were coded in each Member State. The study’s findings, therefore, provide information on which minorities are most visible in the press of each Member State.

When examining those news items that mentioned minority groups in newspaper headlines, the research found that they fell into three clusters (Figure 19) across the six Member States. Cluster 1 consists of the UK press, where nearly a third of all the minority groups identified in the headlines appear. Cluster 2 consists of the German and Spanish press, each of which accounts for about a fifth of the total references. Cluster 3 consists of the French, Hungarian and Polish press, which have the fewest headline mentions of minority groups, falling well below the six-Member-State average of 16.7%.

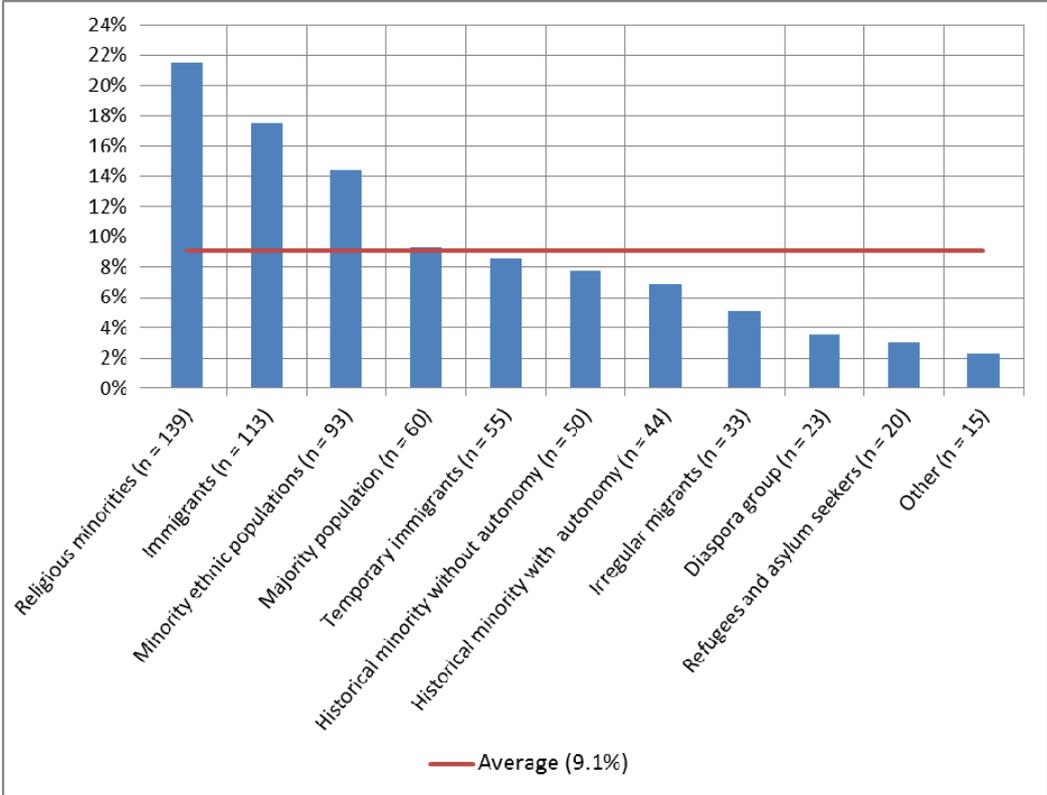
Figure 19: Distribution of general groups in minority-related headlines, by Member State (n = 645)



Source: FRA, 2011

The minority groups that appeared most often in the headlines are ‘religious minorities’ (21.6%), ‘immigrants’ (17.5%), and ‘minority ethnic populations’ (14.4%), which, taken together, account for 53.5% of minority groups (Figure 20). ‘Historical minorities’ appeared in the headlines with a combined total of 14.6%. The four categories of migrants and asylum seekers/refugees (‘immigrants’, ‘temporary immigrants’, ‘irregular migrants’, and ‘refugees and asylum seekers’) account for a combined total of 34.3% of the minority groups that appeared in the headlines.

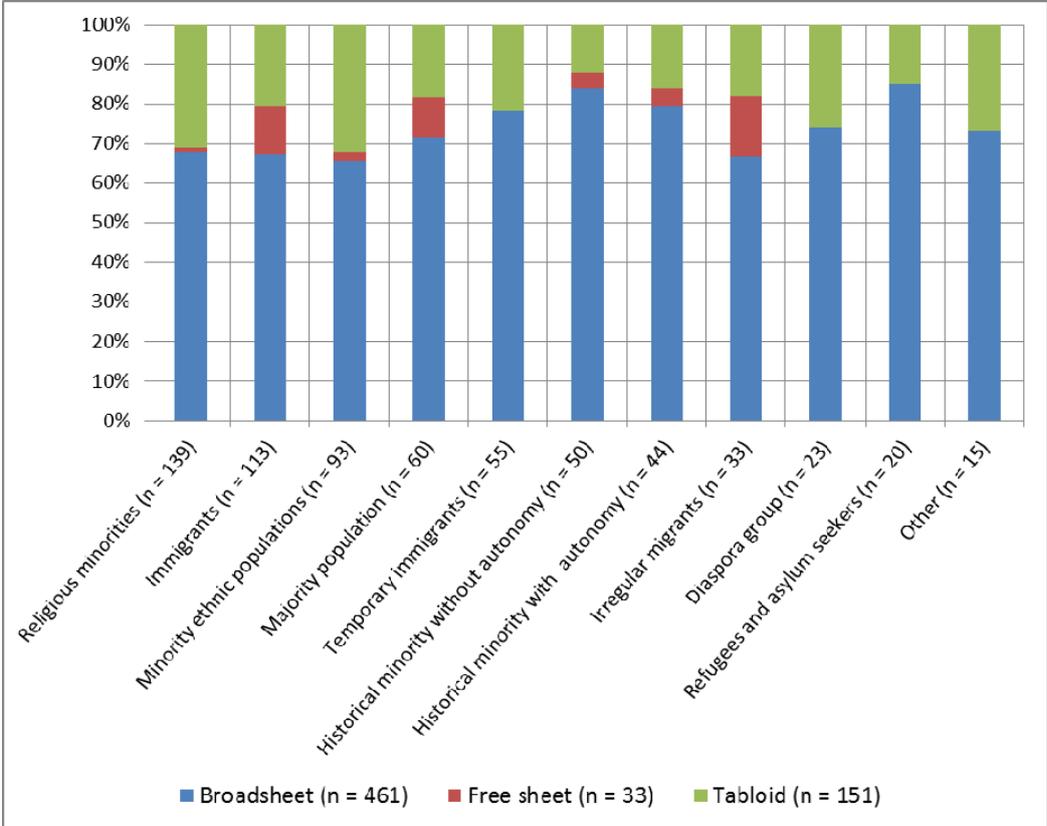
Figure 20: Distribution of general groups in minority-related headlines, by category (n = 645)



Source: FRA, 2011

In terms of the distribution of minority groups in the headlines by type of newspaper, minority groups most often appear in broadsheets (Figure 21). In tabloids, ‘religious minorities’ and ‘minority ethnic populations’ receive more headline mentions than other minority groups.

Figure 21: Distribution of general groups in minority-related headlines, by type of newspaper (n = 645)

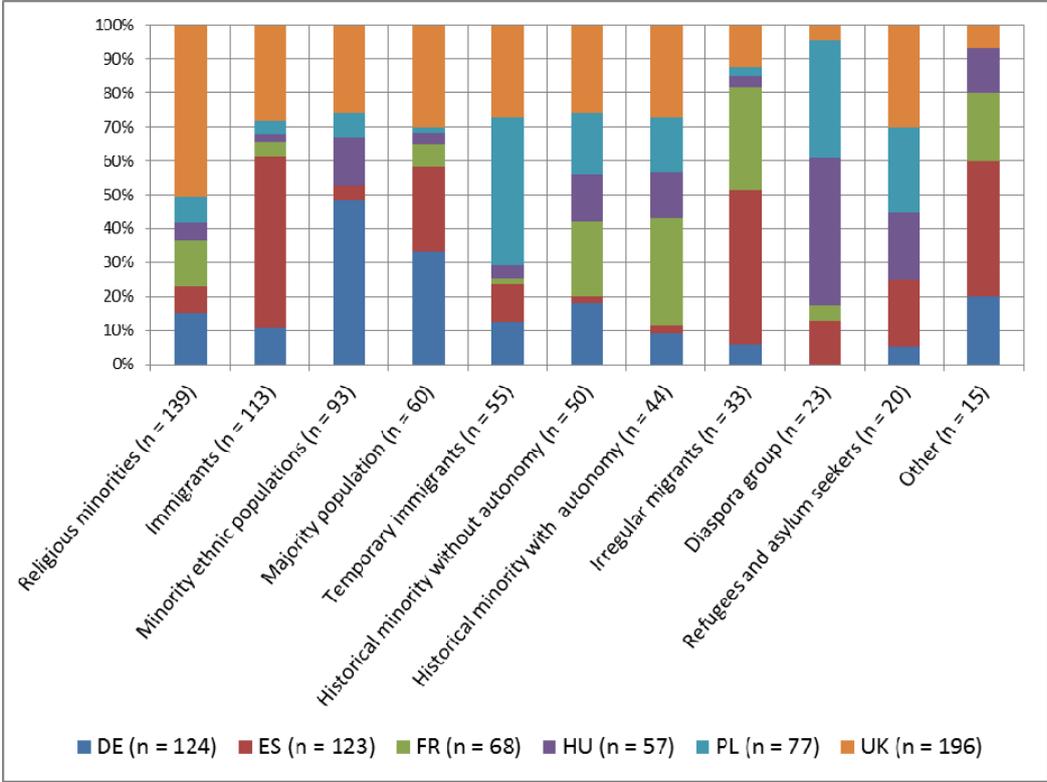


Source: FRA, 2011

The coding scheme made possible a detailed analysis of the distribution of headline references to the various minority groups by Member State. Notable differences emerged (Figure 22):

- 50.4% of all headline references to ‘religious minorities’ were found in the UK press;
- 50.4% of all headline references to ‘immigrants’ and 45.5% of those to ‘irregular migrants’ appeared in the Spanish press;
- 48.4% of all headline references to ‘minority ethnic populations’ were in the German press;
- 43.6% of all headline references to ‘temporary migrants’ were identified in the Polish press;
- 78.3% of all headline references to ‘diaspora groups’ appeared in the Hungarian and Polish press.

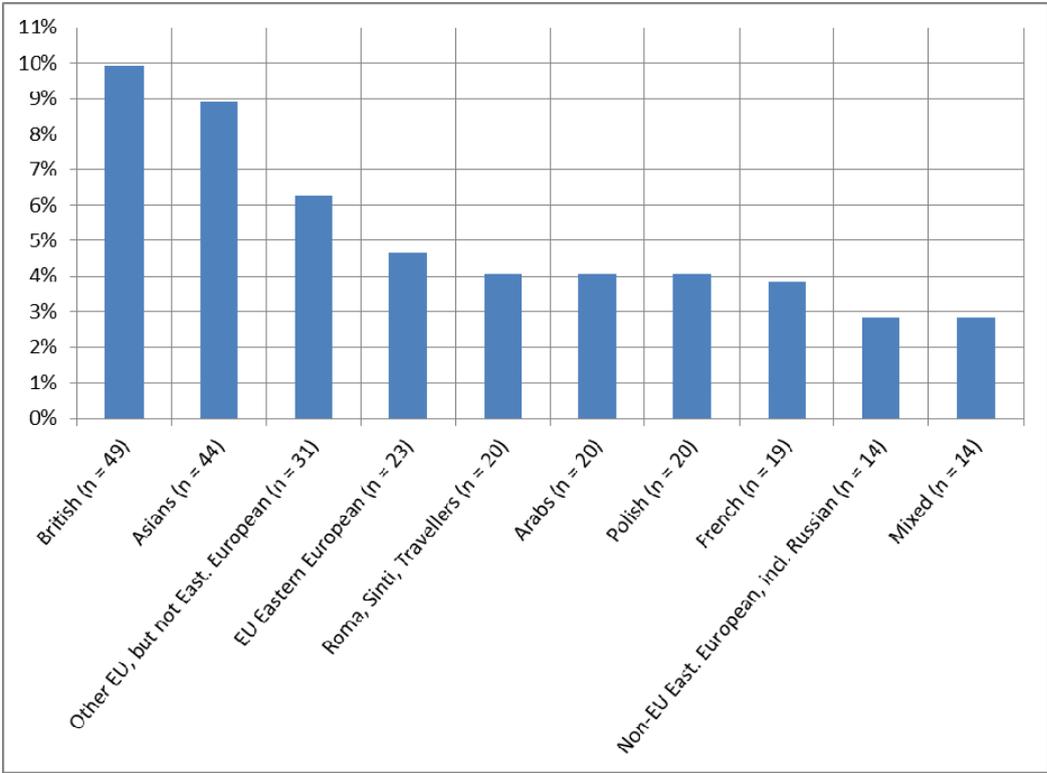
Figure 22: Distribution of general groups in minority-related headlines, by Member State (n = 645)



Source: FRA, 2011

The local context determines which specific minority groups are more likely to be reported on. Specific groups were mentioned in the headlines of 493 news items, and Figure 23 shows the top 10 groups. The minority groups identified in the headlines of the various newspapers were so disparate as to preclude any meaningful comparisons or conclusions. Longitudinal research or daily monitoring would be needed in order to make meaningful comparisons or to draw policy-relevant conclusions.

Figure 23: Top 10 specific groups in the headlines (n = 493)



Source: FRA, 2011

Analysis of the issues and minority groups could be extended to individual newspapers on the basis of the current coding scheme, but the limited sampling period of this pilot project meant that meaningful comparisons cannot be made. However, as has been pointed out, a longitudinal sampling frame or the regular monitoring of minority-related content would make such comparisons possible.

## 2.5. The actors in minority-related content

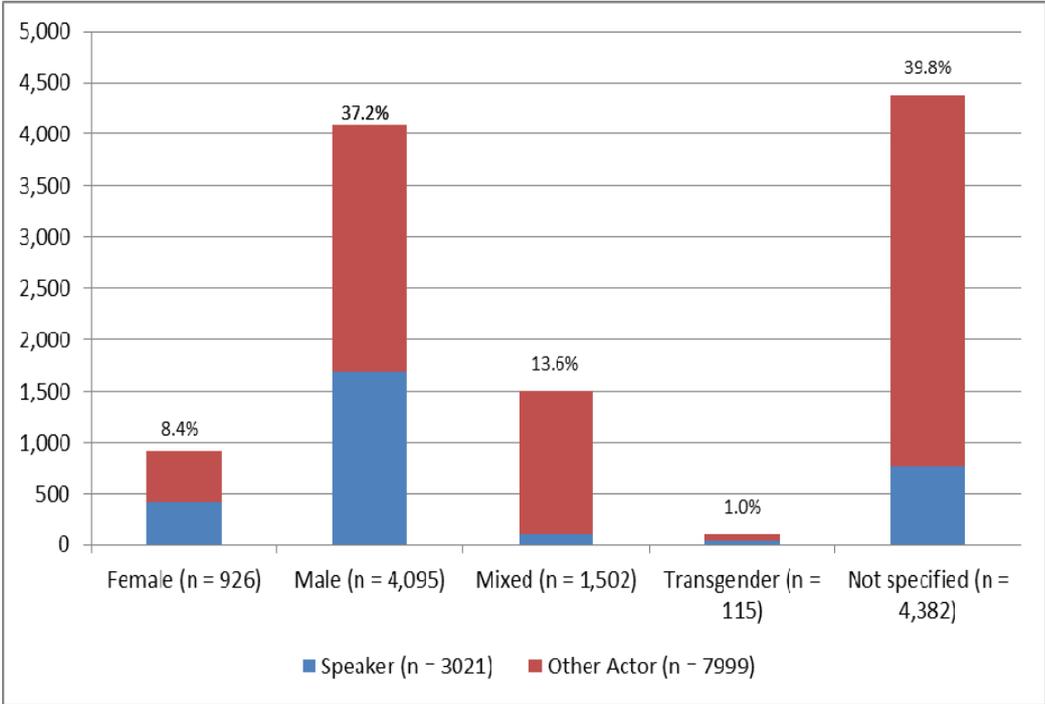
Aside from a simple count of minority-related mentions in the newspapers, it is important to identify who is and is not “given a voice”, namely who has been interviewed or quoted in an article. The coding scheme recorded in detail all references to the following categories of actors (that is, individuals, groups, organisations or institutional actors):

- *Speakers*: individuals, groups, organisations or institutional actors who were quoted directly or indirectly at least once in a news item or authored a news item. ‘Speakers’ are *active* actors.
- *Other actors*: individuals, groups, organisations or institutional actors who were mentioned but not quoted. ‘Other actors’ are *passive* actors.

A total of 11,020 actors were identified in the 2,096 minority-related news items, 27.4% of whom were ‘speakers’, with the remaining 82.6% ‘other actors’. As Figure 24 shows, the research identified about four times as many male actors (37.2%) as female actors

(8.4%), although gender was not specified for a sizeable proportion of actors (39.8%). It is remarkable that 1% of actors were identified as persons with a transgender identity.

Figure 24: Distribution of actors identified in minority-related news items, by type of actor and gender (n = 11,020)

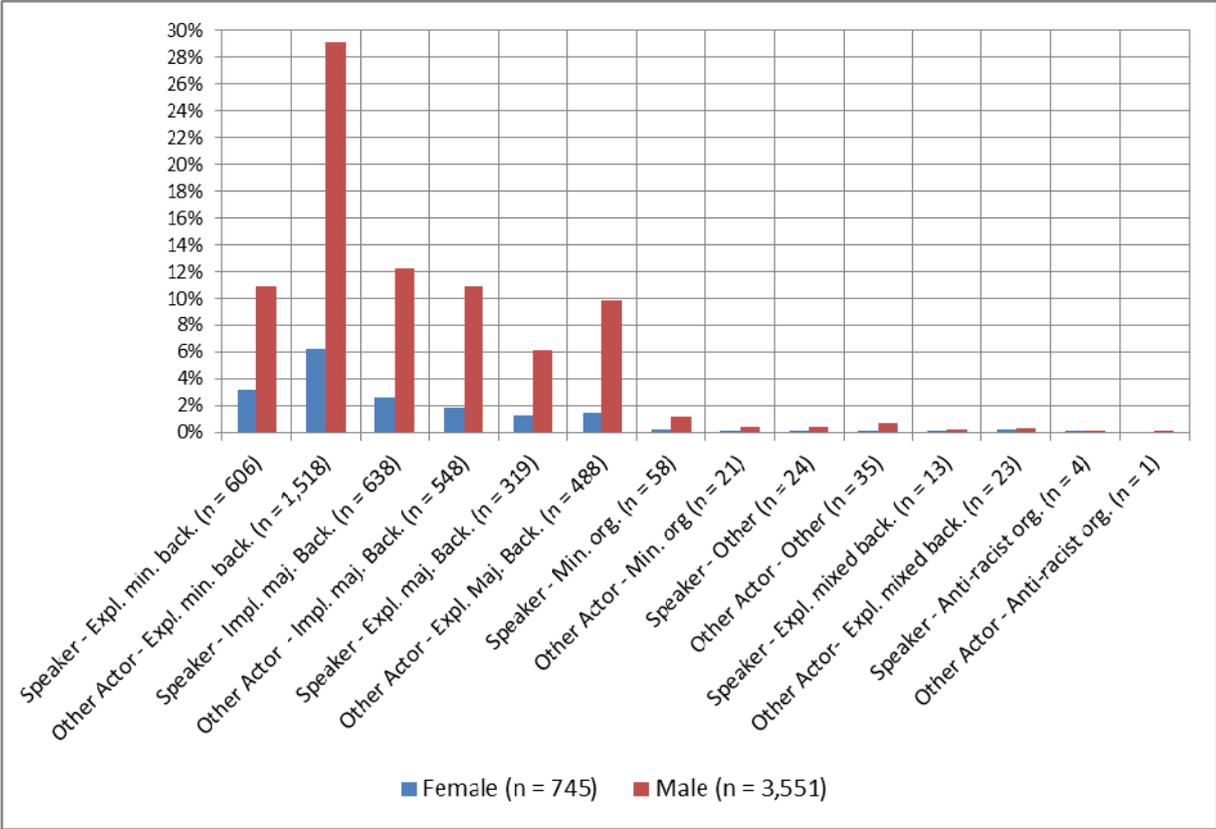


Source: FRA, 2011

Although fewer female actors were identified than male actors, proportionally, women tended to be quoted more often than men, although the difference was not sizeable. Female actors were identified as speakers in 44.8% of the news items in which they appeared, against 41.4% for male actors.

Figure 25 also shows that 29.1% of identified actors are ‘voiceless’ male representatives explicitly identified as members of minority groups. Overall, most actors are male with majority backgrounds, whether implicit or explicit. They accounted for 39.2% of all identified actors, with 18.5% of them given an active voice as ‘speakers’.

Figure 25: Distribution of types of female and male actors in minority-related news items (n = 4,296)

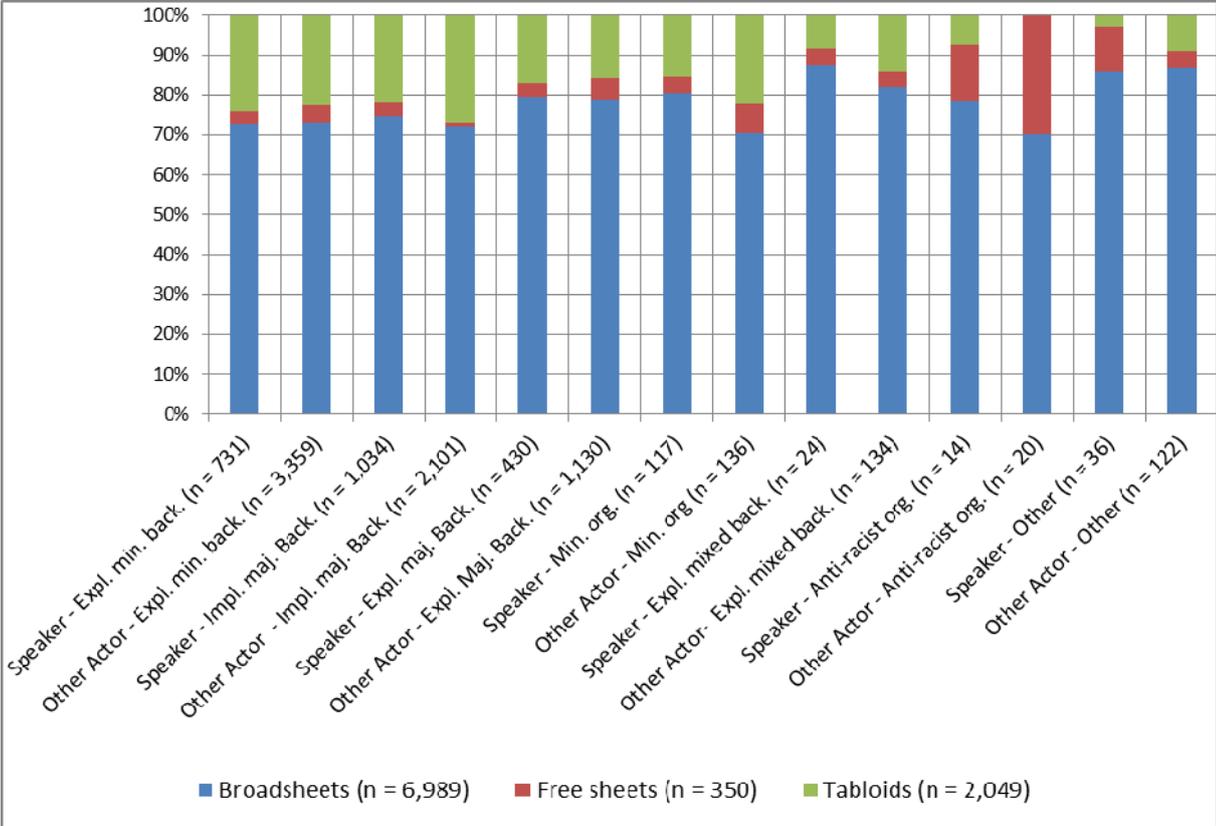


Notes: Expl. = Explicit; Impl. = Implicit; min. back. = minority background; maj. back. = majority background; min. org. = minority organisation.

Source: FRA, 2011

Figure 26 shows that the overwhelming majority of ‘speakers’ and ‘other actors’ appear in broadsheets. This finding is consistent with previous observations relating to the greater degree of coverage of minority-related issues in broadsheets compared with other types of newspapers. Despite this, there are few significant differences between the proportional representation the three newspaper types give ‘speakers’ and ‘other actors’, as Figure 27 shows. For ‘speakers’ of any type, the proportions are nearly equal across the three newspaper types. For ‘other actors’, the free sheets refer the most to ‘explicit majority’ and ‘explicit minority’ backgrounds, while tabloids tend to rely on ‘implicit majority’ backgrounds; and broadsheets mention ‘explicit majority’ backgrounds proportionally more than the tabloids do.

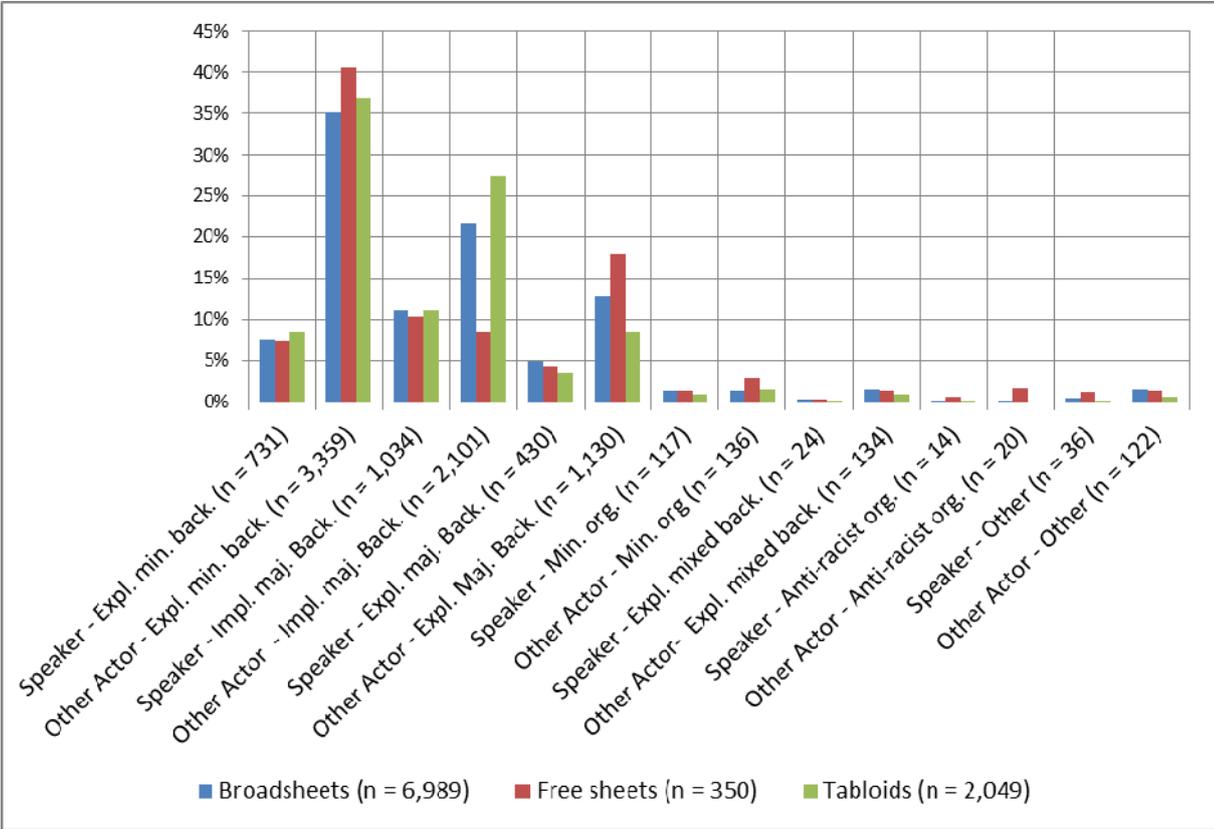
Figure 26: Overall distribution of types of actors in minority-related news items, by type of newspaper (n = 9,388)



Notes: Expl. = Explicit; Impl. = Implicit; min. back. = minority background; maj. back. = majority background; min. org. = minority organisation. Excluding undetermined backgrounds.

Source: FRA, 2011

Figure 27: Proportional distribution of types of actors in minority-related news items, by type of newspaper



Notes: Expl. = Explicit; Impl. = Implicit; min. back. = minority background; maj. back. = majority background; min. org. = minority organisation. The Figure excludes undetermined backgrounds.

Source: FRA, 2011

## 2.6. The tone of coverage – appraisal

The coding scheme is not only useful for mapping the salience and nature of minority-related content in the press; it can also be used to evaluate the tone of that coverage. In order to gain a clearer picture of how minorities are represented in the newspapers, it is necessary to appraise in a qualitative fashion how the press treats minorities and minority-related issues. To minimise the subjectivity of such an ‘appraisal’, references to minorities were labelled as positive or negative only when they included an explicitly positive or negative judgment, such as ‘radical’ Muslims or ‘aggressive’ Roma.

Minority-related content was coded as ‘positive’ if value judgments made in relevant news items were:

- in favour of ethnic and religious diversity;
- in favour of the presence or influx of migrants and/or minorities;
- in favour of the extension of rights of migrants and/or minorities;
- in opposition of a political anti-discrimination agenda;

- in opposition to discriminatory practices or the diminishing of rights of migrants and/or minorities;
- used positive terminology/attributes to describe minorities.

Conversely, minority-related content was coded as ‘negative’ if value judgments made in news items were:

- in opposition to ethnic and religious diversity;
- in opposition to the presence or influx of migrants and/or minorities;
- in favour of a political anti-discrimination agenda;
- in favour of diminishing the rights of migrants and/or minorities;
- used negative terminology/attributes to describe minorities.

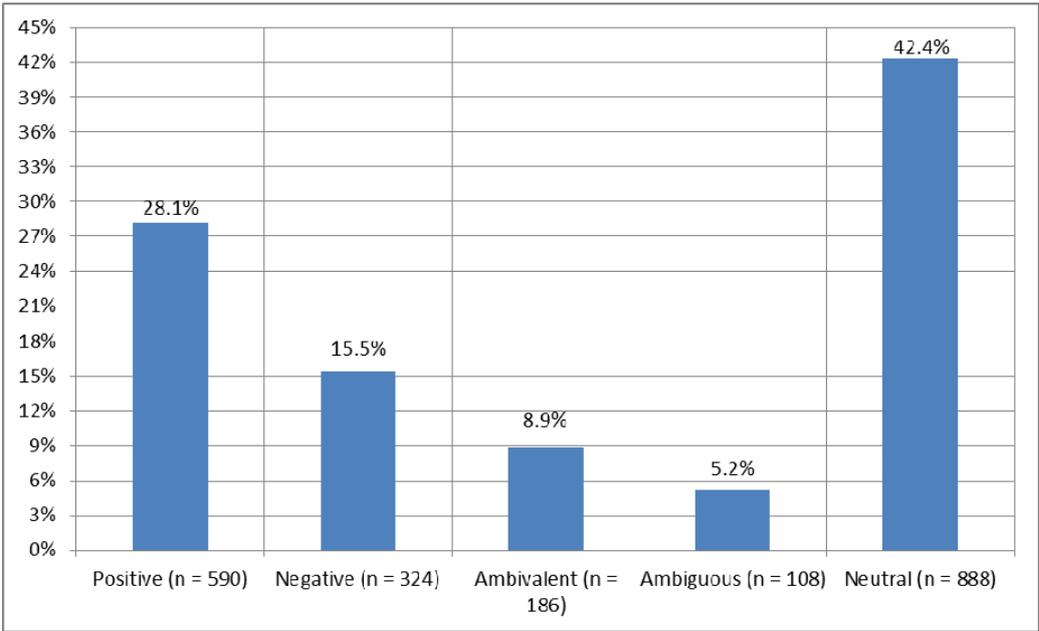
Content was coded as ‘ambivalent’ in cases with both positive and negative judgments with respect to ethnic and religious diversity, the presence and influx of migrants and/or minorities (or certain minority groups) or a political anti-discrimination agenda, for example, were made.

Content was coded as ‘ambiguous’ in cases that could be appraised either positively or negatively.

Finally, content was coded as ‘neutral’ if the text made neither positive nor negative statements.

Under this coding scheme, as Figure 28 shows, 15.5% of minority-related news items were coded as negative and 28.1% as positive, with the plurality of news items coded as neutral (42.4%). Relatively few ambiguous or ambivalent news items were identified.

Figure 28: Overall distribution of appraisal of minority-related news items (n = 2,096)

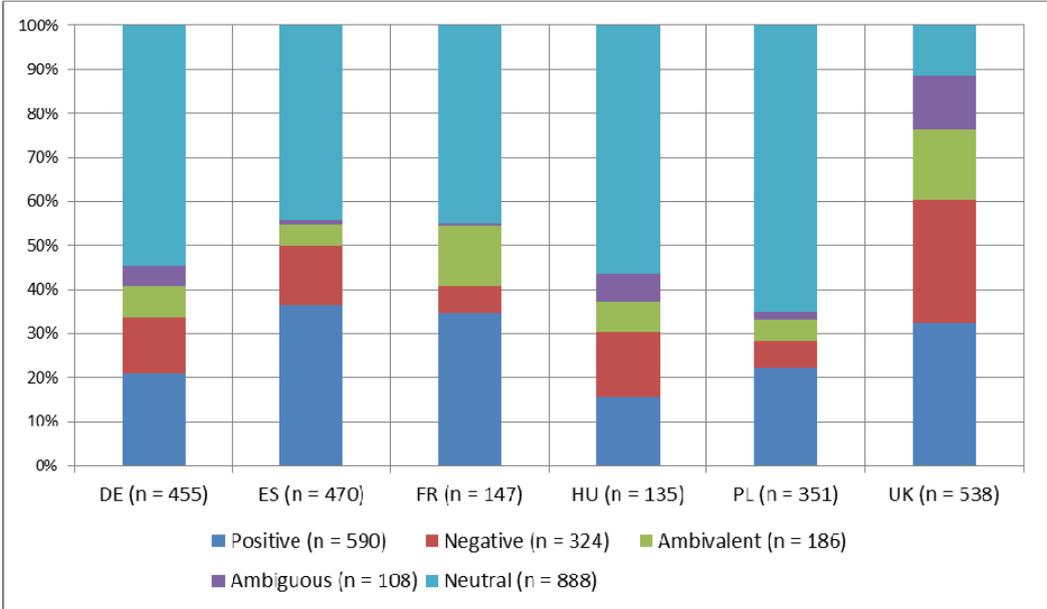


Source: FRA, 2011

Within-country comparisons (Figure 29) show that the tone of coverage of minority-related news items in the UK is positive in 32.3% of cases and negative in 28.1% of

cases. The Spanish (36.4%) and French (34.7%) press had the most positive coverage, with the French press also scoring high on ambivalence (13.6%), second only to the UK press (15.8%).

Figure 29: Within-country distribution of appraisal of minority-related news items, by Member State (n = 2,096)

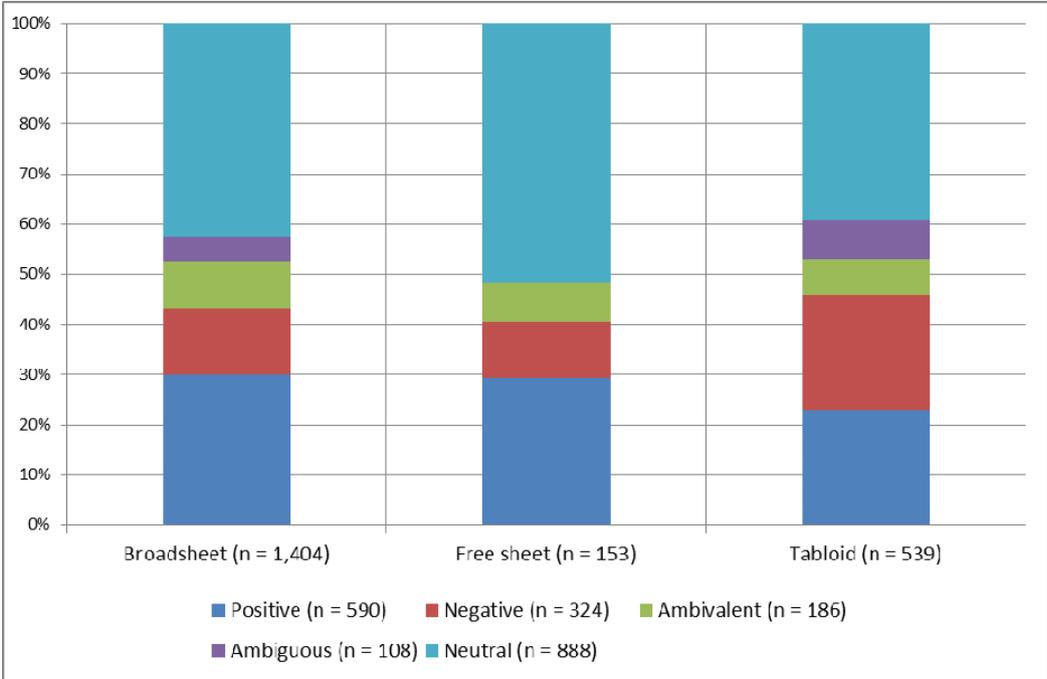


Source: FRA, 2011

Looking at the distribution of appraisal categories by newspaper type (Figure 30), it becomes apparent that coverage of minority-related content in the tabloid press is not necessarily as negative as is often thought.

The plurality of minority-related news items in the three types of newspapers is neutral, with the highest proportion of neutral coverage found in free sheets (51.6%). The highest proportion of negative coverage is indeed found in the tabloid press, where the tone of a little more than one in every five minority-related news items is negative (22.8%). This compares to 13.1% for broadsheets and 11.1% for free sheets. Thus, even if there is a higher proportion of negative news items in tabloids vis-à-vis the other newspaper types, tabloids also run an equal number of positive news items, or some 23%, a figure that is not far off that for similarly positive minority-related news items in broadsheets (30%) or free sheets (29.4%).

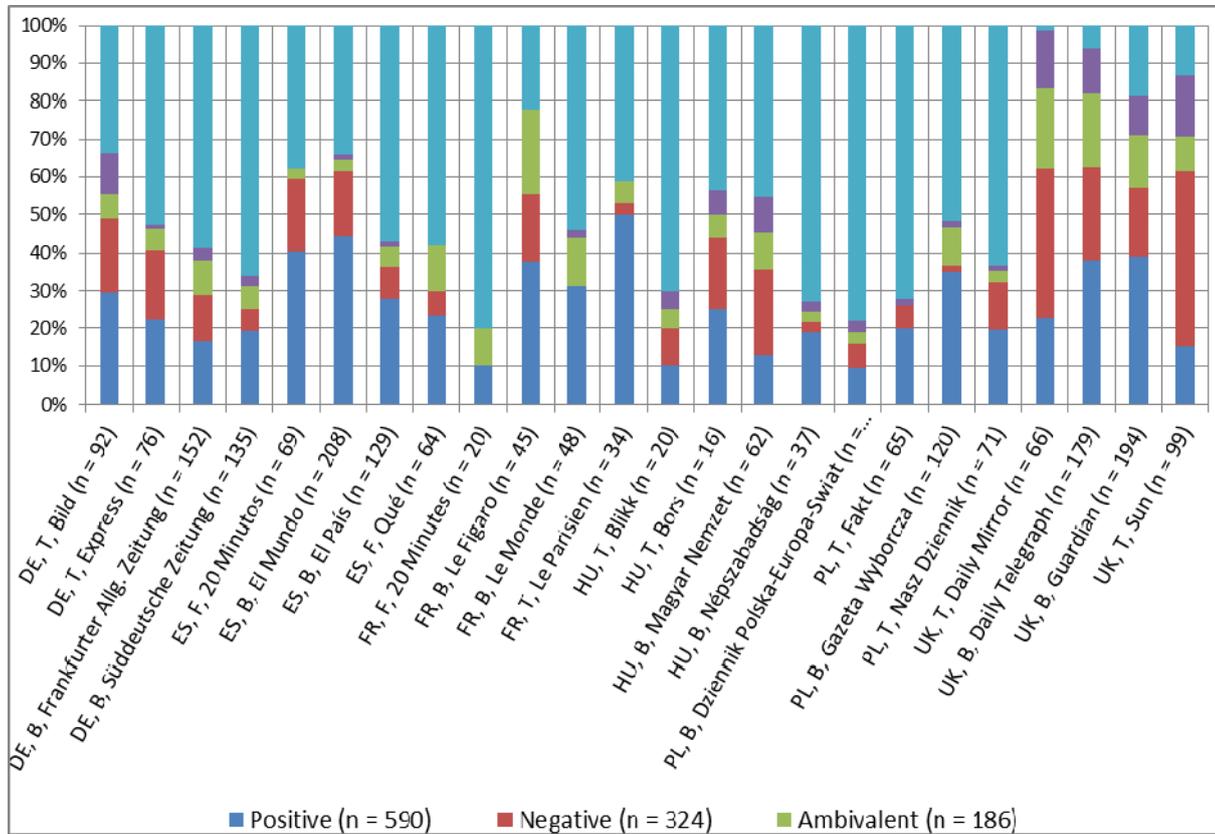
Figure 30: Distribution of appraisal of minority-related news items, by type of newspaper (n = 2,096)



Source: FRA, 2011

Although the coding scheme allows for an analysis of appraisal by individual newspaper (Figure 31), the low numbers of minority-related news items collected per paper preclude meaningful comparisons of the drawing of useful conclusions. For this reason, the data presented in Figure 31 are given for purely indicative reasons, as a further illustration of types of analyses made possible by the coding scheme designed in the framework of this pilot project.

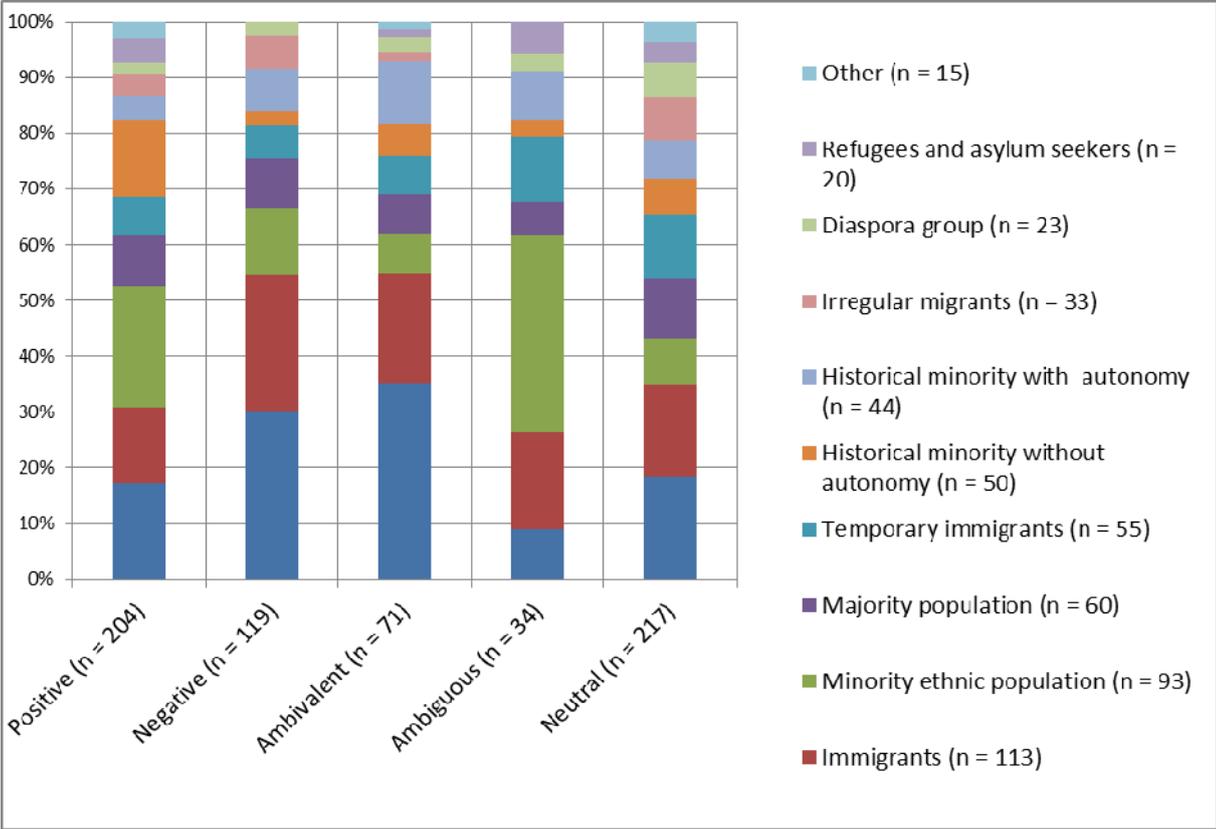
Figure 31: Distribution of appraisal of minority-related news Items, by newspaper (n = 2,096)



Source: FRA, 2011

A final consideration on appraisal relates to the general minority groups that were identified in headlines with minority-related content. Although the number of relevant headlines was quite low, Figure 32 shows that the general group that was valued most positively was the ‘minority ethnic population’, which accounted for 21.6% of all positive evaluations. The groups that were the most negatively evaluated were ‘religious minorities’ (30.3%) and ‘immigrants’ (24.4%), with these two groups accounting for a combined total of 54.7% of all negative evaluations in the headlines.

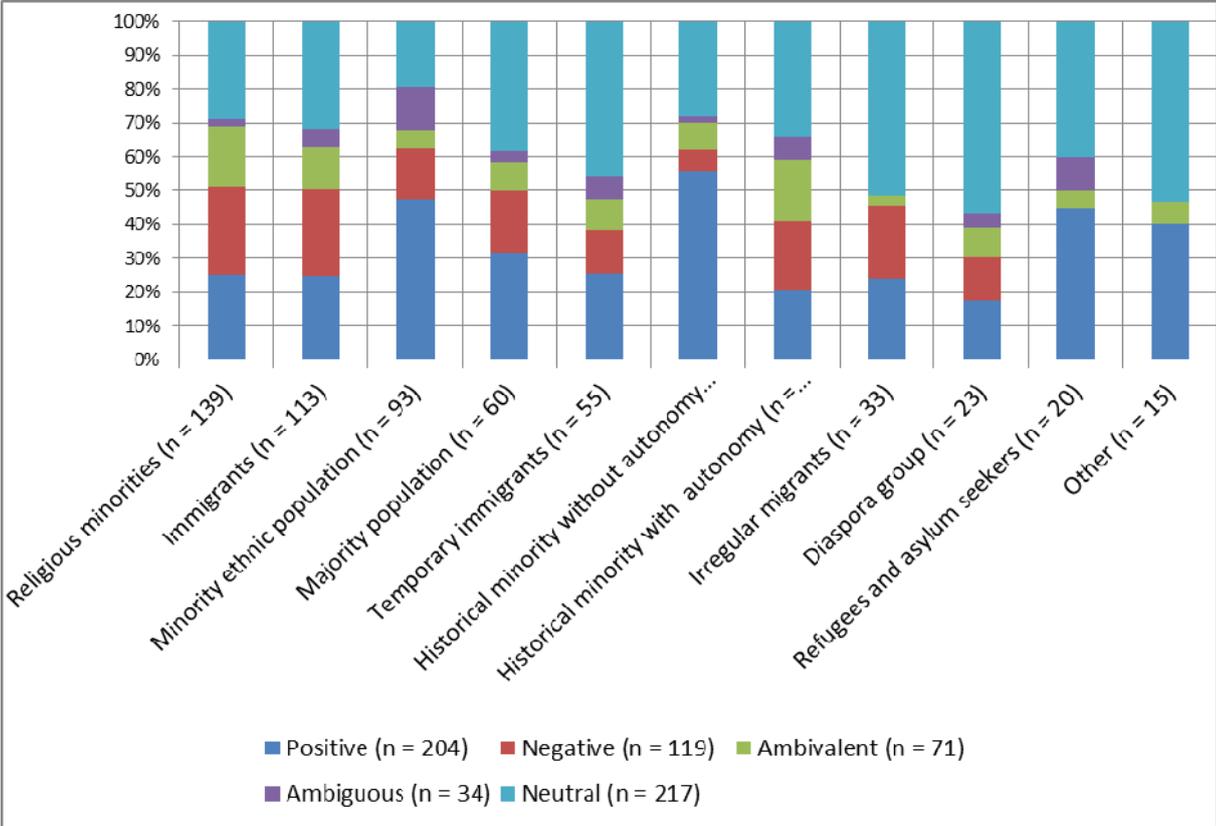
Figure 32: Appraisal of general minority groups in minority-related headlines, by tone of appraisal (n = 645)



Source: FRA, 2011

The same data can also be analysed from the perspective of the ‘general group’ categories (Figure 33), which shows yet more clearly how these groups are appraised in the headlines. It is worth noting that ‘religious minorities’ and ‘immigrants’ are appraised in similar fashion, although the ‘immigrants’ category receives a smaller proportion of ‘ambivalent’ and a larger proportion of ‘neutral’ appraisals. ‘Historical minorities without autonomy’ (which includes Roma) are appraised negatively in 6% of headlines and positively in 56% of headlines. This finding must be qualified, however, as only 50 headlines of the more than 30,000 news items analysed referred to this category. The ‘minority ethnic’ population tended to be appraised more positively (47.3%) than negatively in headlines.

Figure 33: Appraisal of general minority groups in minority-related headlines by general minority group (n = 645)



Source: FRA, 2011

## 2.7. Mapping analysis summary

The comparative coding scheme implemented in the framework of the present pilot research proved to be a practical tool for monitoring the salience, nature and tone of newspaper coverage of minority-related content across Member States with different journalistic traditions, policies on minority issues and relationships with minority groups. The versatility of the coding scheme made it possible to compare within and between conceptually different levels (country, newspaper, issue, minority group, appraisal, etc.). This report does not exhaust the possible avenues of analysis.

It should be noted that as this is a pilot research project the sample size was limited and therefore does not allow for conclusions to be drawn on the coverage of minority-related issues, whether within or between Member States. However, applying the coding scheme in longitudinal research monitoring minority-related press coverage over longer periods might allow for meaningful comparisons to be made and conclusions to be drawn.

Although the coding scheme was only used in relation to press articles, it is flexible enough to be adapted to other types of old and new media outlets, as long as the analysis is limited to the news media. For instance, the functional equivalent of measuring column-inches in newspapers for television news is to measure the time

devoted to individual news items, thereby giving an indicator of salience related to the total volume of coverage. The coding categories can be used to gauge the frequency of coverage in particular news outlets or the frequency of coverage of a particular issue or group, making them readily transferable and well-suited to the study of minority-related issues on television, the radio or the internet. Aspects of the coding scheme would, of course, need to be adapted for a multi-media analysis of minority-related content so as to ensure comparability among media platforms. The concluding section will discuss suggestions, provided mostly by the country research teams, as to how the coding scheme could be refined in order to allow for comparative research of this type to be carried out at EU level.

### 3. Improving the methodology

The newspapers were selected on the basis of four criteria: national circulation; high readership; type; political orientation; target market. The pilot project focused mainly on newspapers circulated nationally and excluded regional newspapers, an approach that can be problematic in Member States with a strongly regional press, such as Germany or France. This methodological choice was made because the pilot study's main aim was to test a methodological approach with limited resources. Similarly, the newspapers examined were all what could be termed 'mainstream', with no attention paid to the 'alternative' media, where coverage of minority-related issues would necessarily be of a different order as they cater to different audiences.

The unit of analysis in the pilot project was the entire print edition. This means that various supplements and sections with little to no coverage of minority-related issues were also analysed during the first step of the coding procedure. While it is important to analyse that content to enable baseline comparisons of the salience of minority-related coverage in the press as a whole, this approach runs the risk of minimising the salience of such coverage. For instance, should all supplements to newspapers be discarded from the analysis and only that part of the newspaper that actually relates to 'news' be analysed, it is plausible that proportionally more minority-related content would be identified than was the case in this pilot study.

Ultimately, analysing supplements or not is a methodological choice. Should the concern be with establishing baseline comparisons of the amount of coverage granted to minority-related issues in the newspaper landscape as a whole, then supplements would need to be analysed. Should the concern lie specifically with the representation of minority-related issues in the news, then supplements could be discarded.

As has been noted, the sample of newspapers examined was neither random nor representative, precluding additional analyses. The simplest way to construct a representative sample would be to select news items randomly from an entire year. The country research teams proposed alternative, innovative solutions to creating quasi-representative samples. For example, the Polish team argued that selecting four half-weeks annually was not enough to reflect the variety of issues and debates relevant for minorities and cultural diversity. One way to overcome this limitation would be to expand the sampling period to more weeks or even cover 12 consecutive full weeks.

The French team proposed non-random selection of the observation period and postponed selection of the observation dates, that is, on the basis of a fixed six-month period of observation, each country team could select the more relevant four or six weeks during which the debates or events were particularly focused on the groups analysed.

The German team suggested an after-the-fact event-based design to cover the most important minority issues of the year. Having tracked the coverage of discussions on topics like immigration, Muslims in Europe, or right-wing extremism, the team could then start data collection about two weeks prior to what had already proven to be a relevant event, finishing two weeks later, for a total four-week sample period.

Alternatively, the German team proposed a random selection of an annual observation point in a way that would provide an artificial week at the end, that is, the Monday of calendar week one, the Tuesday of week two etc. Such a design would ensure the coverage of all particularities regarding the days of the week, as well as monitoring the media output of an entire year. In any event, the choice of sampling must ensure that meaningful comparisons can be made and policy-relevant conclusions drawn.

An essential aspect of any such cross-national research project relates to the training of the coders, and to communication between the country research teams carrying out the research and the coordinating team managing the overall research project. Training and monitoring are therefore crucial to ensuring that all decisions relating to sampling and coding are properly carried out and include the following:

- intensive training of coding staff;
- individual identification numbers for coders to control for quality during the coding phase and the model-building phase;
- double-coding of random samples of news items to ensure the coding scheme is implemented in the same way, on the basis of which inter-coder reliability scores can be calculated, thereby increasing both the internal and external validity of the research;
- translation and back-translation of coding categories to ensure that the data are coded as much as is possible in the same way across Member States;
- two waves of database cleaning (first by the country research teams, then by the coordinating team) prior to carrying out the mapping analysis proper;
- continuous internal evaluation of data processing to reduce researcher bias and to increase the reliability of the data analysis process;
- establishment of an on-line questions and answers forum for queries relating to coding, allowing coders to get quick responses to any questions that emerge during the coding phase.

One limitation of the coding scheme that was applied in this pilot project was that content analysis as such is incapable of grasping the complexity of news production and drawing out the subtleties of news coverage. This is, however, not what the coding scheme aimed to do; it was a tool designed to map news content, not to evaluate it. More qualitative research delving deeper into the meaning and implication of covering issues in a certain way is certainly useful and necessary, but such analysis goes beyond establishing baseline indicators of salience, nature and tone of coverage. As such, content analysis is a useful technique providing proxies for the content (for example which minority groups are in the news in relations to what issues, and which are not) and repeated and regular (that is, longitudinal) analysis of that type can help develop a monitoring system whereby trends and tendencies in the coverage of minority-related issues can be identified and measured.

# Annex: The coding scheme

## List of newspaper sections

- front page
- international & EU affairs
- national affairs
- mixed news (this category refers to newspaper pages that provide a mix of national and international political news and other news and will presumably be of particular relevance for coding tabloid papers)
- accidents & crime reports
- local news
- economics & financial news (this category includes news about jobs & employment)
- opinion
- sports
- arts & culture
- religion
- celebrity & entertainment
- lifestyle (this category includes reporting about travelling, general interest stories, beauty tips, etc.)
- science and IT news
- media news
- supplements
- topic of the day
- other

## List of text genres

- news story (news stories follow an ‘inverted pyramid’ structure for conveying information about a current event, incident, or issue of public interest. The first sentence of the article or lead, gives the most important information to the country research teams [who, what, when, where], and the following paragraphs present, in descending order of importance, the details of the event, incident, or issue [how, why].)
- information/short news (short news and information bits that consist of 2–15 lines [less than a quarter of a page] and aim at presenting a certain event or a fact and answers to the questions: what? where? when?)
- feature story (feature articles tend to be longer and less time-sensitive than news stories; feature stories provide background information on people, places or events of general interest to the public without necessarily following the ‘inverted pyramid’ structure.)
- historical account (past-oriented form of feature story)
- profile (a biographical story about a person of general interest)
- reportage (reportage is a so-called eyewitness genre, an account about contemporary reality on the basis of first hand, on-site observations and experiences of the reporter,

registered shortly after the fact, in the form of a personal account, with time and place clearly specified.)

- interview
- editorial
- opinion column
- letter to the editor
- other opinion (e.g. blogs, press clippings of opinion articles from other newspapers)
- celebrity news
- life style story
- review (analysis and evaluation of some creative work – to inform people about its strengths and weaknesses. It is a flexible genre which may vary according to the nature of the creative work being reviewed, the intended audience, and the aspects considered worth commenting on.)
- literary fiction (includes extracts from books, short stories, other literary non-newspaper pieces)
- irony (includes satirical and joke texts that are not serious about all what they say)
- caption
- other genres (obituaries, knowledge, definitions, diary, questions & answers, etc.)

## List of authorship distinctions

- internal (journalist of the respective newspaper)
- press agency (text from a press agency)
- external individuals (e.g. guest writer, letters to the editor)
- explicit minority background of external writer
- representing minority organisation (definition of minority organisation: organisation that represents one or more of the minority groups covered by our study. Important: charity organisations are not automatically minority organisations, only if they in addition to their charity function represent one or more minorities.)
- representing anti-racist organisation (including international organisations that promote diversity) (definition of anti-racist organisation: organisation that fights racism and related intolerances and/or supports minority groups and/or promote diversity – without having a representative function with regard to a particular minority group.)
- explicit majority background
- no explicit evidence
- external other (e.g. press clippings)
- undetermined

## List of national scopes

- domestic
- non-domestic/international (including bi- and multilateral international issues)
- both (including transnational and global issues)
- unclear/undetermined scope

## List of geographical areas

- US
- Canada
- Iran
- Pakistan
- Turkey
- Israel
- Palestinian territories
- Arab countries (Iraq, Jordan, Morocco, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Tunisia, Egypt, Algeria, Libya, Syria, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, Sudan, Mauretania, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Mali, Djibouti)
- Other Asian countries
- Other African countries
- Western Europe (old 15 EU Member States plus Switzerland, Norway, Cyprus, Malta and Iceland)
- Central-Eastern EU Europe (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Baltic States, Slovenia, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria)
- Non-EU former Yugoslav republics
- Non-EU Eastern Europe (Russia, Belarus, Ukraine)
- Central-American countries (including Mexico and the Caribbean Islands)
- South American countries
- Australia
- The world (as a whole)
- Europe (as a whole)
- The EU (as a whole)
- Asia (as a whole)
- Africa (as a whole)
- South America (as a whole)
- Central America (as a whole)
- North America (as a whole)
- The western world
- The Islamic world
- Trans-/supranational level (e. g. UN)
- Bi- or multilateral issues (Use this category only in the following cases
- there is more than one non-domestic region involved and
- none of these regions takes a dominant role in the article headline or in the respective reference, e.g. reporting about tensions between North Korea and USA with none of the two countries taking a dominant part in the reporting.)

## List of thematic areas

- politics (including local government news), e.g. political representation (including representation by members of the royal family in constitutional monarchies), elections, debates, decisions, legal reforms, political conflicts, political agreements.
- corruption

- war (armed conflicts), e.g. military operations abroad or against one or several foreign countries, coup d'états, etc.
- catastrophes, e.g. earthquakes, hurricanes, flooding, etc.
- terrorism, e.g. preparation and execution of terrorist attacks, combatting terrorism, etc.
- violence & crime (including court news, drugs, police news, prison, riots, trafficking), e.g. violence against the police, violence between ethnic groups, violence within the family, violence against women, robbery, theft, murder, etc.; criminality related to drugs, organised crime, smuggling of persons, court procedures against crime suspects, beggary, teenage violence, police assaults, police investigations, success stories of the police, prison, riots, trafficking, biographies of criminals or victims of crime or police officer who investigated crime, etc.
- social conflicts, e.g. strikes, demonstrations, non-violent tensions between population groups, etc.
- immigration, e.g. border protection, immigration laws, asylum proceedings, etc.
- demographic situation and developments, e.g. birth rates, mortality rate, population figures, population composition, ageing of society, etc.
- finance & economy (including articles on agriculture)
- labour market issues, e.g. unemployment, income, competition on the labour market, unions, etc.
- social situation, e.g. poverty, housing, health issues, social policy issues, social benefits, etc.
- equality in society (including gender equality), e.g. human rights, direct & indirect discrimination, programmes for raising equality, legal issues related to equality, equality bodies, etc.
- manifestations of racism, antisemitism, Islamophobia, xenophobia, e.g. antisemitic utterances, racist political campaigns etc.
- freedom of opinion & speech
- religion, e.g. religions celebrations and holidays, religious symbols, religious laws and regimes, religious fundamentalism, etc.
- freedom of religion
- media, e.g. situation of different media (newspapers, online-media, radio, TV, etc.), media developments, etc.
- arts & culture, e.g. arts exhibitions and projects, architecture, film, music, theatre, opera, etc.
- celebrity
- education, e.g. situation in education facilities (kindergarten, school, university, vocational training), performance studies (e.g. PISA), situation of teacher, etc.
- youth
- historical events, e.g. commemorative events and speeches, denial of historical crimes, building of monuments, etc.
- accidents, e.g. car crash, plane crash, fire, etc.
- sports
- science (both natural and social sciences)
- environment & animals
- travelling, lifestyle, cars, pets, health & food
- traffic & transportation (including public transportation)
- suicide
- other or no clear thematic area

## List of minority issues

- political decisions and debates on regulations for minorities and migrants
- violence & crime with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators
- violence & crime with minorities as victims, e.g. individual racist acts, statistics on antisemitic acts, violence against religious groups, etc.
- terrorism with minorities as (presumed) threat or perpetrators
- terrorism with minorities as victims
- immigration
- asylum seeking
- illegal migration & Trafficking
- detainment of asylum seekers and illegal migrants
- displacements of minorities
- war (armed conflict) between ethnic groups
- war (armed conflict) between religious groups
- conflict between ethnic groups, e.g. conflicts between Pakistani and Afro-Caribbean communities, or between Turkish and Kurdish communities, etc.
- conflict between religious groups
- intra-group conflict, e.g. debates or disputes within the Muslim or the Jewish community, etc.
- claims of minorities for a (territorial, cultural or religious) legal status
- minority members as politicians
- minority members influencing politics
- minority members as entrepreneurs
- minorities in arts, culture, entertainment & celebrity
- minority members as heroes, e.g. a report about a minority member who prevented a criminal act or who saved lives, etc.
- history of migrant/minority groups
- legal situation of minorities
- legal situation of immigrants
- health situation of minorities
- social and economic situation of minorities
- effect of immigration on the social and economic situation (in general)
- effect of emigration on the social and economic situation (in general)
- effect of immigration on majority ethnic jobs and wages
- effect of immigration on the demographic situation
- effect of emigration on the demographic situation
- education situation of minorities
- effect of immigration on the education sector
- discrimination by public bodies & institutions, e.g. unequal treatment by social service institutions or by job agencies, discrimination by the police, etc.
- racism & xenophobia, e.g. racism as a phenomenon, racist campaigns, surveys on racist attitudes, racist utterances, etc.
- Islamophobia
- Antisemitism
- Antisemitism and the Israeli–Palestinian conflict
- Antisemitism and the Holocaust
- Israeli–Palestinian conflict

- Holocaust
- World War II
- post-WW II forced resettlements of minority populations
- persecution and discrimination of minorities during communism
- right-Wing extremism, e.g. acts, right-wing extremist parties and politicians, etc.
- anti-racist activities, e.g. organisations lead by migrants, organisations that support migrants, anti-racist initiatives and activities, demonstrations against racism
- diversity & integration, e.g. debating advantages and disadvantages of multiculturalism/cultural diversity, etc.
- multiculturalism and social cohesion (as policy)
- self-segregation/parallel cultures
- Judaism
- Islam
- Christianity
- other religions
- religious fundamentalism
- secularism
- freedom of religion
- situation of women
- foreigners in sports (that is, persons who came to the country specifically to work in a sport team)
- persons with migrant/minority background in sports
- diaspora issues, e.g. issues specifically relating to continuing transnational identities and connections (most usually between people/groups in different geographical locations/across national boundaries); generally, diaspora issues are about continuing engagement with life and family elsewhere. For example: Remittances – sending money home. Family obligations across national boundaries – including ‘in-group’ marriage. Cultural synergy from ‘homeland’ to land of settlement. Continuing concern with ‘homeland’ politics.
- no particular minority issue
- other or no clear thematic area

## Coding appraisal

- For the coding appraisal, we used a two-tier structure for understanding the attitude or appraisal behind certain forms of representing actors and issues in newspaper articles. This two-tier structure consists of an explicit and an implicit level, with the implicit level serving as a type of back-up in the case no ‘explicit appraisal’ is found in the newspaper text.
- Explicit and implicit appraisal: explicit appraisal refers to explicit judgmental and/or biased vocabulary used by an author or speaker in order to convey an opinion with regard to the actor or subject he/she refers to. Important: for judging the explicit appraisal of a text you should ONLY look at the terminology and attributions used and NOT at the general social context of the text; implicit appraisal refers to the general social and situational context/implication of a newspaper text. Note: you should judge the implicit appraisal of a newspaper text ONLY when there is no explicit appraisal.

## Appraisal categories

- Positive explicit appraisal. Definition: Positive explicit appraisal refers to cases in which the following expressions are explicit: expressions of having a specific positive judgment with respect to ethnic diversity, the presence and influx of migrants and/or minorities (or certain minority groups), a political anti-discrimination agenda, etc.; expressions of having a specific negative judgment with respect to discrimination the expulsion of foreigners, etc. Examples: ‘Business leaders want more immigrants.’ ‘Diversity is an asset for society.’ ‘Racism weakens societies.’ Note: a negative statement can also contain a positive appraisal of minority related content! If we are, for example, confronted with a negative statement about antisemitism or about racism, then this is to be coded as positive appraisal, because it is supportive in relation to the affected minority groups.
- Negative explicit appraisal. Definition: negative explicit appraisal refers to cases in which the following expressions are explicit: expressions of having a specific negative judgment with respect to ethnic diversity, the presence and influx of migrants and/or minorities (or certain minority groups), a political anti-discrimination agenda, etc.; expressions of having a specific positive judgment with respect to discrimination the expulsion of foreigners, etc. Examples: ‘Flood of immigrants in 2007.’ ‘Immigration threatens economy.’ Note: a positive statement can also contain a negative appraisal of minority related content! If we are, for example, confronted with a positive statement about exclusion/discrimination, then this is to be coded as negative appraisal, because it is supportive of exclusion/discrimination of minority groups.
- Ambivalent explicit appraisal. Definition: ambivalent explicit appraisal refers to cases in which both positive and negative judgements with respect to ethnic diversity, the presence and influx of migrants and/or minorities (or certain minority groups) or a political anti-discrimination agenda, etc. are explicit. Example: ‘Immigration brings problems and benefits.’
- Ambiguous explicit appraisal (includes ironic statements). Definition: Ambiguous explicit appraisal applies to cases that could be appraised in either direction, positively or negatively. In other words, the analyst cannot be sure whether the journalist’s judgment with respect to ethnic diversity, the presence and influx of migrants and/or minorities (or certain minority groups) or a political anti-discrimination agenda, etc. is positive or negative. Example: ‘Migrants are already the most numerous community in this town.’
- No explicit appraisal, but positive implicit appraisal. Definition: Positive implicit appraisal refers to cases in which expressions of positive appraisal with respect to ethnic diversity, the presence and influx of migrants and/or minorities (or certain minority groups) or a political anti-discrimination agenda are not explicit, but can be inferred from the interaction of the article text with the social context in which it is launched, as the event is viewed in that context as conventionally positive. Example: ‘Immigration brings more diversity.’
- No explicit appraisal, but negative implicit appraisal. Definition: Negative implicit appraisal refers to cases in which expressions of negative appraisal with respect to ethnic diversity, the presence and influx of migrants and/or minorities (or certain minority groups) or a political anti-discrimination agenda are not explicit, but can be inferred from the interaction of the article text with the social context in which it is

launched, as the event is viewed in that context as conventionally negative. Example: ‘Two asylum seekers kill old woman.’

- No explicit appraisal, but ambivalent implicit appraisal. Definition: Ambivalent implicit appraisal refers to cases in which expressions of both positive and negative appraisal with respect to ethnic diversity, the presence and influx of migrants and/or minorities (or certain minority groups) or a political anti-discrimination agenda are not explicit, but can be inferred from the interaction of the article text with the social context in which it is launched. Example: ‘Immigration brings diversity and heightened demand for health care.’
- No explicit appraisal, but ambiguous implicit appraisal
- No appraisal

## List of affiliations/professional background

- state (as a whole)
- society (as a whole)
- public authority, e.g. Prime Minister, government, politicians who have a function in public administration, other members of public administration, etc.
- diplomatic authority (International Civil Servants)
- local authority
- legal authority, e.g. judges, prosecutors, solicitors, etc.
- lawyer
- police & armed forces
- minority self-government
- international organisation (UN, EU)
- NGO
- political party
- politician (that is, politicians who have no function in public administration)
- official churches & religious organisations
- unofficial churches & religious organisations
- right-wing extremist group
- left-wing extremist group
- terrorist organisation
- scientific/research background/institution
- educational background/institution
- explanation: if a university lecturer talks about his/her research activities, then he/she should be put under the ‘scientific/research’ category; if he/she is mentioned in relation to teaching students then ‘educational’ would be the most accurate category.
- social institution, e.g. refugee camp, homeless shelter, etc.
- medical background/institution, e.g. hospital, doctor, nurse, etc.
- media
- arts background/institution, e.g. theatre, opera, musical, etc.
- sports
- professional, e.g. installer, craftsmen, construction worker, etc.
- farmer/landowner
- entrepreneur/Company representative

- celebrity figure
- unaffiliated individual
- unaffiliated group, e.g. migrants as such, asylum seekers as such, etc.
- member of majority society
- other or unclear affiliation

## List of victim/perpetrator dimension items

- does not apply
- victim of crime
- victim of political oppression
- victim of discrimination
- victim of an accident
- international aggressor (attacking or threatening other countries)
- violator of human rights (violation on rights within the respective country)  
Note: if the actor is both an ‘international aggressor’ and a ‘violator of human rights’ then choose the dimension that is more prominently referred to in the article.
- convicted criminal
- crime suspect
- Islamist terrorist
- other terrorist
- eyewitness
- family member or friend of a victim
- family member or friend of a criminal/crime suspect

## List of social role of actor (with some explanation)

- political leader (member of the government or governing party)
- political opposition
- spokesperson (speaking for an institution or representing his/ her profession)
- expert (a person or an institution that provides an expertise on a certain issue)
- manager, administrator
- activist
- hero (somebody who saved a live, prevented a crime, stood up against more powerful actors, etc.)
- winner/go-getter (a person, company or institution that has economic success, educational success, etc.)
- star (movie stars, theatre stars, literature stars, successful business persons, etc.)
- actor, entertainer
- journalist
- intellectual/think-tank/opinion leader (a person or institution that develops ideas about past, present and future states of the world)
- prosecutor in a legal case
- complainant in a legal case
- other involved party in a legal case
- historical figure

- trainer
- player, athlete
- social worker
- priest
- having done one's job/duty (a doctor who provides medical treatment, a teacher who teaches, etc.)
- individuals/member of the general public
- other social role (including social roles that were already coded in the victim/perpetrator dimension)
- no particular social role