

THE GLOBAL MEDIA DISCOURSE IN THE PROCESS OF CONSTRUCTING THE
KOSOVA IDENTITY

Lindita Tahiri

Faculty of Philology, University of Prishtina, Kosova⁴

Abstract

This study will compare Kosova coverage of the 2008 -2011 period by three newspapers: The Washington Post, The New York Times and The Guardian, analyzing four types of framing (topics, sources, attitudes, and high frequency words relations) and applying Critical Discourse Analysis on two dominant narratives in the three presses.

This study aims to uncover dominant linguistic elements in journalistic narratives of three global mainstream media, based on the assumption that press can serve as an important space for public discourse and can present principles for resolving political and historical issues but it can also generate ideologies that sustain and reproduce social conflict, domination and inequality. The findings of the study will reveal particular social and political practices within given perspectives of US and UK.

Key words: critical discourse analysis, framing, Kosova, organization of events, social actors.

1. INTRODUCTION

After the Kosova declaration of independence which was adopted on 17 February 2008 by the [Assembly of Kosova](#), the legality of this declaration was disputed by Serbia. In October 2008 the [United Nations General Assembly](#) approved Serbia's proposal to request [an advisory opinion on the matter](#) from the [International Court of Justice](#), and 17 months later the Court determined the declaration was not illegal. USA and the majority of EU member countries have recognized the new Kosova state, while Russia, China, Spain, and some other countries insist the declaration of independence has no force. These events have attracted attention of the world audience and have generated significant media coverage.

This study has compared Kosova coverage of the 2008 -2011 period by three newspapers: The Washington Post (WP), The New York Times (NYT) and The Guardian (G). Influence, circulation and reputation are criteria of choice of the sample newspapers. The Washington Post with an average circulation of 700 000 and New York Times with an average circulation of 1 million are highly regarded as of their prominence and influence, in particular concerning the coverage of international

⁴ "Kosova" is the Albanian name and "Kosovo" is the Serbian name, so unsurprisingly the government that announced independence in February 2008 calls itself the Republic of Kosova. The government of Serbia, which hasn't recognized that government, calls it Kosovo. Although the use "Kosovo" or "Kosova" can depend on the opinion of the situation in the place concerned, many international speakers use "Kosovo" without implying that they believe that Kosovo is Serbian. The deliberate choice in this paper is the Albanian form of the lexeme.

Journal of International Scientific Publications: Media and Mass Communication, Volume 1

ISSN 1314-8028, Published at: <http://www.scientific-publications.net>

political news. On the other hand, The Guardian is getting to an audience of about 36 to 37 million per month (BBC 2010) which makes it the largest English language paper on the web apart from The New York Times.

Sampling period ran from January 1st 2008 to 22 March 2011, including the period of Kosova declaration of independence and the period of IJC decision. The articles were identified using the LexisNexis database. To locate stories the key word 'Kosova' was used and 251 stories were generated in Guardian (G), 146 in the New York Times (NYT) and 107 in the Washington Post (WP). A closer examination revealed that not all the stories were relevant for the research, and using the selective LexisNexis search according to which at least 5 occurrences of the key word are present in an article, a total of 67 stories were generated in the Guardian, 45 stories in the New York Times, and 35 stories in the Washington Post. These stories were all cleared from extra information such as keywords, loading time, subject, minor terms, etc, and only the body of the article was kept for analysis.

2. METHODOLOGY

This study has chosen to compare NYT, WP and G as to what extent these three major newspapers differ in selecting topics, using sources, presenting sources' attitude, in their primary focus of headlines and leads, and in the overall framing that is used to define the reality for the audience through specific linguistic structures. Media scholars have studied for long the way that stories in media are framed leading to the construction of different interpretations (Biocca, 1991; Entman, 1993; Gamson, 1992; Price, Tewksbury, & Powers, 1996; Rhee, 1997; Van Dijk, 1988, 1993, 1998). One of the leading authors on framing media effects, Shanto Iyengar has pointed out that even people's explanations of issues like terrorism or poverty are critically dependent upon the particular reference points furnished in media presentations (2010). All the more, in his interview for the FrameWorks Institute (2009), Iyengar, states that framing effects affect the politically informed and uninformed alike. From another perspective, figurative language influences a particular kind of framing, as according to the theory of conceptual metaphors (Lakoff 1987, Lakoff and Turner 1989) metaphors are part of the way members of a culture have of conceptualizing their experience and belong to our deepest modes of understanding

Both content analysis and critical discourse analysis were applied. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used to identify the overall frames present in these newspapers. CDA, with the work of scholars such as Roger Fowler (1979, 1991, 2003), Hodge, Kress and Trew (1979), Fairclough (1995, 1997, 2003), van Dijk (2008), Wodak (2009) has proposed some of the most systematic analysis of the language of media, questioning the role of discourse in the construction and transformation of the social representation of reality. There was a need to combine both methodologies, as on one hand, using quantitative methods to identify the framing strategy of a text is helpful, because it seems reasonable to assume that parts of frames become overtly manifest in the language production. However, on a conceptual level, frames, more often than not, are latent and not spelled out in their entirety, therefore discourse analysis was applied to depict social power relations encoded within particular linguistic choices. The use of both approaches adds as well to the complementarity of the study.

The questions addressed in this study are the following:

RQ1. To what extent did the three presses differ from each other in selecting topics?

RQ2. To what extent did the three presses differ from each other in selecting sources?

RQ3. To what extent did the three presses differ from each other in selecting sources' attitude?

RQ4. To what extent did the three presses differ in the relation of high frequency words?

RQ5. To what extent did the three presses differ in selecting specific linguistic patterns to construct a specific reality for the audience?

The first question was addressed by following coding categories which were extracted from the most emphasized topics present in three presses : Kosova's western image, Kosova's Muslim image, Serbia's western image, Serbia's aggressor image, Serbian minority, Diplomatic efforts, Kosova Liberation Army (KLA) portrayal as criminal organization, NATO campaign against Serbia as legitimate action, NATO campaign against Serbia as failure/mistake, Economic situation, Election process, Culture.

The second question focused on the dominant quotes and sources of the stories, described through these coding categories: Journalists in the field, Agencies, US officials, EU officials, Kosova officials, Serbian officials, Russian officials.

The third question examined the dominant source's attitude, addressed by three coding categories: neutral, favorable, and unfavorable.

The fourth question explores the relations between the high frequency words in the three newspapers, concentrating on coordinating 'and' constructions, possessive 's' constructions, and on the modality of the verbs associated with the high frequency nouns. These particular three types of grammatical relations were chosen because of the semantic/pragmatic effects triggered by their linguistic constructions: the coordinating structures suggest equivalence, parallelism, resemblance and unison, despite the similarity /difference in real life, the possessive constructions suggest a range of associations between the two entities of possessor and possessed, such as ownership, authorship, part – and –whole relation, or domination, whereas the modality is the grammaticalized expression of the subjective attitude of the speaker, which includes opinions about possibility, probability, necessity, obligation, permissibility, ability, desire, and contingency.

The fifth question concentrates on selected number of stories based on thematic criterion: those that are covering the declaration of independence of Kosova and those covering the organ trafficking accusations for KLA, as these are the dominant narratives present in three presses. These articles are analyzed from the aspect of the patterns according to which events in the stories are organized, such as presence and absence, arrangement, abstraction and addition. They will also be analyzed with regard to the role allocation of the main social actors.

3. FINDINGS

This study compared the three nationally and internationally circulated newspapers in the coverage of Kosova starting from January 1st 2008 and ending on 22 March 2011. A total of 147 stories or 90 645 words were analyzed (see Table 1). Within this corpus 45 per cent belongs to The Guardian, 34 per cent to The New York Times and 21 per cent to the Washington Post. The average words per story were 726 for NYT, 607 for G, and 514 for WP. As regarding the types of stories, G had the highest percentage of comments and editorials (28), followed by NT (16) and WP (14), whereas NYT had the highest percentage of articles (84), compared to G (69) and WP (66), which also included short news reports : WP (20) and G (3).

The three newspapers differed from each other in selecting topics. Table 2 shows that NYT (40%) and G (38%) allocate the dominant space to the diplomatic efforts, followed by WP(30%). WP gives the main space to the Serbian minority in Kosova (39%), followed by NYT (24%) and G (16%). One significant difference of NYT compared to the other two newspapers is the second most prominent

Journal of International Scientific Publications: Media and Mass Communication, Volume 1

ISSN 1314-8028, Published at: <http://www.scientific-publications.net>

topic (35%) after the diplomatic efforts, which is the legitimacy of the NATO campaign against Serbia. WP and G allocate the same space (6%) to portraying the NATO campaign against Serbia as a failure. Serbia's image as aggressor in the war was more prominent topic in NYT (24%) followed by WP (19%) and this topic was the least covered by G (8%). The WP differs from the other two newspapers in the space dedicated to the portrayal of Kosova as a Muslim country (15%). Both NYT and WP allocate more space to the western image of Kosova (7%) and Serbia (6%), compared to G (1.5%). The least covered topics for the three presses are economic situation, elections and culture. All three presses allocated similar space to charges for criminality of Kosova Liberation Army: NYT(17%), G (16%), WP (12%).

Table 1. Comparison of profiles of sampled stories in the three presses

	Word count	Average words per story	Types of stories: Comments/editorials	Articles	News
NYT	31942 (34%)	726	7 (16%)	38 (84%)	0
WP	18014 (21%)	514	5 (14%)	23 (66%)	7 (20%)
G	40689 (45%)	607	19(28%)	46 (69%)	2 (3%)

Table 2. Comparison of space allocated to selected topics

	NYT	WP	G
Kosova's western image	3 (7%)	2 (6%)	1(1.5%)
Kosova's muslim image	1(2.5%)	5 (15%)	1(1.5%)
Serbia's western image	3 (7%)	2 (6%)	1(1.5%)
Serbia's aggressor image	10 (24%)	7 (19%)	5(8%)
Serbian minority	10 (24%)	14 (39%)	11(16%)
Diplomatic efforts	17 (40%)	10 (30%)	25 (38%)
KLA criminality	7(17%)	4(12%)	11(16%)
NATO campaign against Serbia as legitimate action	15 (35%)	2 (6%)	4(6%)
NATO campaign as failure/mistake		3 (9%)	6(9%)
Economic situation	1 (2.5%)	1 (3%)	1(1.5%)
Election process	1 (2.5%)	1 (3%)	3(4.5%)
Culture			3(4.5%)

Table 3 shows how the three newspapers differ from each other in using the sources. The main difference is that NYT uses more direct information from the journalists in the field (38%), followed by G (30%) and WP (21%). The WP number one cited source were Serbian officials (29%), to be followed by US officials (21%) and EU officials (20%). In NYT the second cited source was the EU

Journal of International Scientific Publications: Media and Mass Communication, Volume 1

ISSN 1314-8028, Published at: <http://www.scientific-publications.net>

officials (31%), to be followed by Serbian (27%) and Kosova officials (25%). The Guardian second used source after journalists from the field are the EU officials (15%), to be followed by US (10%), Kosova (10%), and Serbian officials (9%).

Table 3. Comparison of the use of the sources

	journalists from the field	Agencies	US officials	EU officials	Kosova officials	Russian officials	Serbian officials
NYT	17(38%)	6 (13%)	9(20%)	14(31%)	11(25%)	3(6%)	12(27%)
WP	8(21%)	7(20%)	7(20%)	8(21%)	5(14%)	1(3%)	11(29%)
G	21(30%)	0	7(10%)	10(15%)	7(10%)	1(1.5%)	6(9%)

Table 4 shows the pattern of attitude towards Kosova, which differs amongst the three newspapers. The prevailing attitude of NYT is the 'neutral' one with 76% as well as in WP with 69% . The prevailing attitude of G is the 'unfavorable' one with 46 %, to be followed by the 'neutral' attitude with 36 % and the favorable attitude with 18 %. The 'unfavorable' attitude is the least in NYT and the 'favorable' attitude is the least in WP.

Table 4. Comparison of the attitude of dominant sources

	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable
NYT	8(18%)	34(76%)	3(6%)
WP	4(12%)	25(69%)	6(19%)
G	12 (18%)	24 (36%)	31(46%)

Tables 5 have used the results of Phrase Net and Word Tree visualizations to identify the high frequency words and their relations between each other. The Phrase Net identifies the 50 more frequent words within a text, and the names of relevant countries for this research were analyzed as parts of coordinating constructions and as head nouns of possessive constructions in relation with the body of words identified within this frequency of use. With the Word Tree some of these nouns were analyzed in terms of the modality of the verbs that some of these nouns are subjects of.

Table 5a shows that the names of the countries which mostly occur in coordinating 'and' constructions in NYT are Serbia (26) and Kosova (21), with both combinations equally taking place (6). The next most frequent coordinating relation is between Russia (15) and Serbia (11), with both combinations appearing almost equally (6/5). The rest of the coordinating relations is among EU (11), NATO (7), Washington(6) and Brussels (4), in the following order Washington and Brussels (3), EU and Washington (2),EU and NATO (2). One of the least mentioned countries in this type of relations was Albania (3), in spite of its role for the Albanian population in Kosova, and the only time it appears in the coordinating construction with Kosova is when associated with crime.

The most prominent country name in the possessive/genitive case form is Kosova (177) which appears in this case as head noun (46) of Independence (49) and with equal frequency appears as head noun of declaration/Albanians/majority /autonomy/ population (46). The next frequent noun in possessive case is Serbia (72), related as head noun to President/ Foreign Minister/Capital/ Future / pro-western

president (21). Once it appears as head noun of 'violent repression', similarly to another frequent noun in the possessive relation, Milosevic (18) which is twice possessor in this construction.

Four nouns were analyzed in relation of the modality of the verbs that they are subjects of, with one exception, that Kosova was analyzed also from the aspect of usage with the verb phrase 'declared independence' taking into account that this is the main event the presses have focused on during the two year period that is object of this research. Table 5a shows that Kosova is subject to 'declared independence' 13 times, and the most frequent type of modality it is associated with is the modality of future intention, decision and promise connected with the modal verb 'will' (8), the following modality is the one of advice, necessity, prediction and recommendation connected with the modal verb 'should' (4). Serbia also acquires the modality of invitation, permission, preference, request and habit, associated with the modal verb 'would' (10) which is the most prominent modal, as well as modalities of future intention and recommendation. Washington appears as subject of three action verbs, and Brussels as subject of 4 verbs, two of them associated with modality of probability, permission and possibility.

Table 5a. High Frequency words and their relations in NYT

Word frequency	'and' constructions	Word frequency	Possessive 's constructions	High frequency nouns	Matching frequent verbs
Serbia (26) Kosova (21) Albania (3)	Kosova and Serbia (6) Serbia and Kosova (6) (crime that flourished) in Kosova and Albania	Kosova (177) Independence (49)	Kosova's independence (46) Kosova's declaration/Albanians/majority /autonomy/ population (46)	Kosova (504: 1.6%)	Declared independence (13) Will (8) Would (4) Should (4) Can (2) Could (1) May (1)
Russia (15) Serbia (11)	Serbia and Russia (6) Russia and Serbia (5)	Serbia (72)	Serbia's President/ Foreign Minister/Capital/ Future / pro-western president (21) Serbia's violent repression (1)	Serbia (272: 0.9%)	Would (10) Will (8) Should (5) Could (1) Can(1) May (1)
EU (11) NATO (7) Washington (6) Brussels (4)	Washington and Brussels (3) EU and Washington (2) EU and NATO (2)	Milosevic (18)	Milosevic's violent response (2)	Washington (17: 0.05 %)	Remained behind Kosova Recognizes Kosova Has blamed nationalist politicians
				Brussels (13: 0.04%)	May/Can/ Were/appeared

Journal of International Scientific Publications:
Media and Mass Communication, Volume 1

ISSN 1314-8028, Published at: <http://www.scientific-publications.net>

Table 5b shows that the names of the countries which mostly occur in coordinating ‘and’ constructions in WP are Kosova (11) and Serbia (7), but not in combination with each other, apart from once with Serbia as the first part of the coordinating structure. The most prominent coordination relation that Kosova is associated with is in combination with Bosnia (3). The most frequent coordinating relations in WP are between Russia (7) and Serbia (6), in ‘Russia and Serbia’ (4) and ‘Serbia and Russia’ (1). The rest of the coordinating relations (3) are between EU (3) and NATO (7). Kosova appears twice in coordinating structure with Albania, associated with the lack of rule of law in these two countries.

The most prominent country name in the possessive/genitive case form is Kosova (95) which appears in this case as head noun (26) of Independence (27) and as head noun of Serb/secession/decision/majority /autonomy/ Interior/legitimacy (18). The next frequent noun in possessive case is Serbia (28), related as head noun to Serbia’s Prime Minister/ Minister for Kosova/government/ leaders / capital (6). Another noun in the possessive relation, Milosevic (11) which is three times possessor: of ‘Serbia’, ‘government’, and ‘campaign’, which is qualified by the modifying noun ‘brutality’.

Table 5b shows that Kosova is subject to ‘declared independence’ 7 times, and it is associated with the modals ‘will’ and ‘would’ suggesting future intention and habit. Serbia is mainly subject to the modal verb ‘should’(4) associated with the modality of advice, necessity, prediction , recommendation. Washington appears twice as subject of the modal ‘should’ associated with necessity, and once as subject of the cognitive verb ‘knew’ (of kidnappings). Brussels does not function in the position of the subject at all.

Table 5b. High Frequency words and their relations in WP

Word frequency	‘and’ constructions	Word frequency	Possessive ‘s constructions	High frequency nouns	Matching frequent verbs
Kosova (11) Serbia (7) Albania (4) Bosnia (3)	Serbia and Kosova (1) (rule of law in) Kosova and Albania (2) Kosova and Bosnia (3)	Kosova (95) Independence (27)	Kosova’s independence (26) Kosova’s Serb/secession/decision/majority /autonomy/ Interior/legitimacy(18)	Kosova (292: 1.6%)	Declared independence (7) Will (2) Would (2) Should (1) Can(1)
Russia (7) Serbia (6)	Serbia and Russia (1) Russia and Serbia (4)	Serbia (28)	Serbia’s Prime Minister/ Minister for Kosova/government/ leaders / capital (6)	Serbia (125: 0.7%)	Should (4) Could (1) Would(1) Will(1)
NATO (7) EU (3)	EU and NATO (3)	Milosevic (11)	Milosevic’s Serbia Milosevic’s government (Brutality) of Milosevic’s campaign	Washington (8: 0.04%)	Knew of kidnappings Should demand that Kosova Should ensure that Serbia
				Brussels (0)	

Table 5c shows that the names of the countries which mostly occur in coordinating ‘and’ constructions in G are Abkhazia and Ossetia/ Transnistria (8). Kosova (38) and Serbia (21) follow with: ‘Kosova and Serbia’ (5) and ‘Serbia and Kosova’ (2). The next most frequent coordinating relation is between Russia (18) and Serbia (21), appearing in ‘Serbia and Russia’ (5). The rest of the coordinating relations is among Russia (18), EU (6), NATO (4), and West (4), in: ‘West and Russia’ (1), ‘EU and NATO’ (2). Kosova appears twice in coordinating structure with Albania, associated with trafficking.

The most prominent country name in the possessive/genitive case form is Kosova (146) which appears in this case as head noun (37) of Independence and as head noun of secession/unilateral/ northern (21). The next frequent noun in possessive case is Serbia (39), related as head noun to President/ Prime Minister/ call / main backer (10). Another noun in the possessive relation appearing in G is Marty (9) as possessor of ‘report. Milosevic does not appear in the 50 most frequent words, but a further search of the most frequent 100 words shows him as possessor: of Yugoslavia/ Yugoslav forces/ Serbian forces /troops/reign/suppression/ amalgam of intimidation /crimes.

Table 5c shows that Kosova is never a direct subject to ‘declared independence’. The most frequent type of modality associated with Kosova is the modality of future intention, prediction, decision connected with the modal verb ‘will’ (9) and the modality of invitation, permission, preference, request and habit, associated with the modal verb ‘would’ (6). Serbia is associated with the same modalities, in a lesser degree. Washington appears twice as subject: of an action verb of verbalization, of the modal ‘would’ associated with habit, and once as object in a passive construction. Brussels has the role of the actor with 6 verbs of action and once is subject of a verb denoting relational process of attribute.

Table 5c. High Frequency words and their relations in Guardian

Word frequency	‘and’ constructions	Word frequency	Possessive constructions ‘s	High frequency nouns	Matching verbs
Kosova (38) Serbia (21) Albania (4)	Kosova and Serbia (5) Serbia and Kosova (2) (Trafficking) Kosova and Albania (2)	Kosova (146) Independence (25) Declaration (18)	Kosova’s independence (37) Kosova’s secession/unilateral/ northern (21)	Kosova (554: 1.4 %)	Will (9) Would (6) Should (3) Could (1) May (1)
Russia (18) Serbia (21)	Serbia and Russia (5)	Serbia (39)	Serbia’s President/ Prime Minister/ call / main backer (10)	Serbia (181: 0.5 %)	Would (4) Will (4) Should (1) Can(1)
Russia (18) West (3) EU (6) NATO (4)	West and Russia (1) EU and NATO (2)	Milosevic : not in top 50 words	Milosevic’s Yugoslavia/ Yugoslav forces/ Serbian forces /troops/reign/suppression/ amalgam of intimidation /crimes	Washington (10: 0.02%)	Recognized Kosova Would be asking the security council

Journal of International Scientific Publications: Media and Mass Communication, Volume 1

ISSN 1314-8028, Published at: <http://www.scientific-publications.net>

					Has been told by its embassy
Abkhazia (9)	Abkhazia and Ossetia/ Transnistria (8)	Marty (9)	Marty's report (9)	Brussels (25: 0.06%)	Has to rule Resolved Sought Takes the role Will order Deploys Is keen

4.CONCLUSION OF CONTENT ANALYSIS

4.1.Selection of topics

Diplomatic efforts are the dominant topic in both NYT and G. WP gives the main space to the Serbian minority in Kosova, which is second dominant topic in G together with the topic of KLA criminality. WP also differs from the other newspapers in the amount of space dedicated to the portrayal of Kosova as a Muslim country. In contrast with the other presses NYT highlighted the legitimacy of the NATO campaign against Serbia, which is minimally pointed by WP and G – in fact these two presses allocate more space to portraying the NATO campaign against Serbia as a failure. NYT differs also by the amount of space allocated to Serbia's image as aggressor in the war, which was the least covered by G, but it is allocated quite a dominant space in the WP.

4.2.Use of sources

The examination of the sources found that NYT uses more direct information from the journalists in the field and quoted more Kosova officials compared to the other two papers. The WP number one cited source were Serbian officials, whereas international news agencies, US officials and EU officials were allocated almost equal space. In NYT and the G the second cited source were the EU officials .

4.3. Attitude of sources

The prevailing attitude of NYT and WP is the 'neutral' one , whereas in the G is the 'unfavorable'one. The 'unfavorable' attitude is the least in NYT and the 'favorable' attitude is the least in WP.

4.4. Relations of high frequency words

The examination of the high frequency words shows that the three newspapers differ in the presentation of the coordinating relation between the names of the countries. This kind of grammatical relation presents joined grammatical units of equal weight and rank, and create e perception of unison and parity, with different choices for the three presses. NYT presents Serbia and Kosova as dominant partners in coordinating constructions, WP presents Russia and Serbia as prevailing partners while Kosova is co-paired with Bosnia, and the G presents Abkhazia and Ossetia/ Transnistria, drawing attention on the parallelism of the case of Kosova with the claim for sovereignty by breakaway republics in Caucasus. Kosova is in pairing relation with Albania only when associated with crime, trafficking, and lack of rule of law, in all three newspapers. The G in difference from other presses presents Russia as matching partner with West, whereas WP joins EU and NATO. NYT teams up

Washington and Brussels, EU and Washington, EU and NATO, making more prominent the representativeness of Washington in the coordinating constructions, in difference from other presses.

In all three presses the dominant country name in the possessive/genitive case form is Kosova as possessor of Independence; however this is more prominent in NYT in particular taking the account the number of words that the sample of this paper has compared to G. This paper shows Kosova as possessor of nouns denoting geographical and demographical descriptions, in difference from G which presents Kosova as possessor of words with negative implications such as 'secession' or 'unilateral'. In difference from other presses WP presents Serbia as possessor of Minister for Kosova, with implications that Kosova is part of Serbia. NYT diverges from the two other papers in presenting Serbia and Milosevic as possessor of 'violent repression', whereas WP presents Milosevic as possessor of governmental institutions while the negative connotations are not directly his possession but are attributed to his verbal product 'campaign'. The G does not include Milosevic in the 50 most frequent words, and within 100 most frequent words it shows as possessor of administrative institutions, military troops and emotional processes, and only once as possessor of 'crimes'.

The examination of the usage of Kosova as subject verb phrase 'declared independence' shows that NYT gives more prominence to this construction, followed by WP, while G never presents Kosova as direct subject and actor in the process denoted by this verb phrase, which comprises the main event covered in Kosova during the period of the researched sample. The NYT similarly associates Kosova and Serbia with the modality of future intention, prediction, decision, advice and recommendation. WP presents Kosova with the modality of future intention and prediction similarly to G, whereas Serbia is associated with the modality of advice, necessity and recommendation. G assigns to Serbia the modality of preference and permission.

The NYT differs from the two other presses in the role of the actor that it assigns to Washington related to the verbs it takes as a subject. Similarly, G assigns action roles to Brussels in the function of subject, whereas WP does not assign the subject position to Brussels at all.

5. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA)

This study uses CDA to analyze the dominant narratives present in three presses, the coverage of the Kosova declaration of independence and the coverage of the report of the Swiss senator Dick Marty on organ trafficking.

The event of Kosova declaration of independence was covered by The Guardian with 6 stories: one of them the leading article with contribution directly from Prishtina, 2 articles written from Mitrovica, the northern part of Kosova where the Serb minority is concentrated, one article is informative about key figures and facts in the country, and there are two comments published on this same issue (February 18). The next couple of days (19, 20, 21 February) there were five stories regarding the new context of independence declaration. There were 5 stories related to the independence declaration the week previously to the declaration (14, 15, 16 February 2008), so the total of stories related to this event is 16, or 23 % of the whole Guardian texts on Kosova.

The event of Kosova declaration of independence was covered by The New York Times with one story (February 18) reported with contributions from UN, Moscow and Berlin, preceded by 2 stories on the days before. During the whole month (19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27 February and 24 March) there were 11 stories published regarding the new context of independence declaration. The total of stories related to this event is 14, or 30 % of the whole NYT texts on Kosova.

The event of Kosova declaration of independence was covered by The Washington Post with one story reported from Prishtina (February 18), preceded by 3 stories on the days before. The following two

Journal of International Scientific Publications: Media and Mass Communication, Volume 1

ISSN 1314-8028, Published at: <http://www.scientific-publications.net>

weeks (19, 22, 23 February and 2 and 8 March) there were 6 stories published regarding the new context of independence declaration. The total of stories related to this event is 10 (30 %) of WP texts on Kosova.

Comparing the three presses, NYT and WP covered the declaration of independence through a larger period of time and with more stories, whereas G devoted more attention to it in the same issue of the newspaper published one day after the declaration . Most of the stories published in G were comments, whereas NYT had less comments compared to two other presses. All three newspapers had significant inclusion of the Serbian minority perspective during the coverage of the most important event of the Kosova history, with WP heading with 60 per cent and NYT and G with 50 per cent.

The issue of a Marty's report regarding alleged organ trafficking of the KLA was covered by 8 articles, or 12 % of the whole Guardian texts on Kosova, one of them appearing on the front page (15 December 2010). WP gave the least space to this topic, only one article, or 3 % of the whole NYT texts on Kosova.

Table 6. Comparison of coverage of two main events in the three presses

	Independence Declaration (ID)	Organ trafficking	Comments ID	Serbian minority perspective ID
NYT	14 (30 %)	2 (5 %)	5 (33 %)	7 (50 %)
WP	10 (30 %)	1 (3 %)	4 (40 %)	6 (60 %)
G	16 (23 %)	8 (12 %)	7 (44%)	8 (50 %)

6. FINDINGS

6.1. Organization of events

The analysis will take into account the pattern according to which events in the stories covering the Kosova independence declaration are organized, such as their hierarchical order, explanation, legitimation and filtering. The principles that Norman Fairclough has developed in his book *Analyzing Discourse* (2003) will be used: presence and absence (which events or elements of elements are present or absent in a chain of events), arrangement (how are events ordered), abstraction (what is the degree of abstraction of concrete events), addition (what is added to the explanation of events). The six Guardian stories were taken for analysis, whereas for NYT and WP apart from the story reporting on declaration independence, two other stories, one previous to the declaration and one following it were included.

6.1.1. Presence and Absence

How do the three presses differ in the events they present/suppress on reporting the Kosova declaration of independence?

Our analysis reveals that NYT presents the historical and political context and background in Kosova, as well as the actual process of declaration of independence (1a,b,c,f,j,k,m,3) from both viewpoints of Albanians and Serbs (1d,g,m). It presents in realistic tones the anti-American reaction in the Serb-populated area of the country (1h), and points out the relations with the main ally Russia (1i,2). The role of Milosevic and Serbia in former-Yugoslav wars is highlighted (1l).

WP exposes a highly balanced chain of events: it emphasizes the brutal campaign of ethnic cleansing Albanians by the Serbian army (1a,d,j,k, 3a,b,c) and the negative role of Serbian nationalism

encouraged by Russia (1c,3d,f) . The actual reality of the democratically elected government overseen by EU mission is presented. The effort of Kosova Albanians to integrate the Serb minority is exemplified by the fact that singers invited to perform at a celebratory concert have to submit their lyrics to authorities to make sure there were no overly patriotic anthems on their song lists (1f). The role of US and EU is highlighted and the peace in Balkans is said to depend on Serbs (3f).

On the other hand, G displays intentional selective choice of events during the declaration of Kosova independence. Serbia's point of view is foregrounded (1b,c,h, 2g,4c,e,5), and Kosova is presented as Serbia's territory (1d), whereas the independence declaration is presented as unstable project with no future perspective (1g,4a). The role of Serbia in the violent conflict with Kosova and the negative information is absent, whereas the Albanian viewpoint is completely overlooked. The facts about the democratically elected Kosova government are missing as well as the pledge of the government to integrate the minorities. Only the historical background of Serbs in Kosova is presented and the Albanian historical context is missing. The Albanian leaders are portrayed in relation to the guerrilla war (3a) and the Serbian leaders are related to their pro-Western attitude (3c). The information on the stoning of the American Embassy in Belgrade is not given. Only the piece written by an Albanian journalist in UK presents a complete and balanced background of the events related to the declaration of the new state (6).

6.1.2. Arrangement

How do the three presses differ in ordering the events during the reporting of the Kosova declaration of independence?

The analysis shows that NYT and WP arrange the events on terms of cause and effect relations. They give the background of the Kosova war, stating the cause which is the struggle for self-determination. Parallel portrayals of Albanian and Serbian attitudes are arranged in neutral manner, without inclining towards one side or another. The US/EU position and the Russian/Serbian one are constantly displayed as different to one another.

The G makes a wide use of contrast: it juxtaposes the act of independence declaration with political stability (4a), the dancing and drinking of Albanians celebrating with the fear and rage of Serbs (4c,e), the EU recognition of independence with Russia's annulment (4d), and these set of oppositions is used to draw conclusions, such as the one that the Serb alienation is the fault of Albanian majority, which are said as words of an anonymous Albanian (4f). The G assigns less importance to the attitude and position of the Albanian majority by shadowing them in the background. This intentional polarizing arrangement ignores explicit interpretation of events and makes dramatization possible. The exception from this narrative strategy is the letter of the Albanian journalist (6).

6.1.3. Abstraction

How do the three presses differ in the degree of abstraction of concrete events on reporting the Kosova declaration of independence?

The NYT and WP focus both on issues as well as on individuals, portraying public and private realms of both Albanian and Serb context, highlighting the institutional and political context both locally and internationally.

The G generalizes the lack of conciliation between Albanian and Serbs as an overall situation with little progress, to conclude that the two sides have swapped roles after the war (1g,h). This newspaper makes also use of the opposite device, personalization, by preferring to focus upon individual actors and to downplay institutional and political considerations that establish their social context. The war of Kosova is minimized as 'dint that Slobodan Milosevic did to it' (1f), attributing the genocidal war to an individual and neglecting the institutions behind it. G focuses on single event and persons, showing

them as representational of the whole situation: a Serb student in Mitrovica, is given the authority of science and intellect when discussing history with the journalist (5a), a young Serbian mother appeals to emotions while protecting her child from snipers (5d), an elder person transmits strong emotions when spitting on US and UK politics (5e). On the other hand, one Albanian man is negatively portrayed as referring to Serbs as dogs (5f). This technique makes dramatization possible by polarizing the Albanian and Serbian side, by portraying Serbs as passive victims making silent protests (5c) and Albanians, and attracts the audience as consumers more than as citizens. The exception from this narrative strategy is the letter of the Albanian journalist (6).

6.1.4. Addition

How do the three presses differ in additional explanations related to the Kosova declaration of independence?

The NYT and WP legitimize and justify the declaration of Kosova new independent state, explaining the background of political events and military conflicts. NYT adds the fact that Kosova is under supervision of EU and with presence of NATO troops, which makes its sovereignty limited (NYT: 1j). The WP (3d,f) highlights the negative influence of Russian politics in Serbia.

The G ignores historical realities and institutional policies, or pushes them in background. It presents opinions as facts, for instance evaluates the declaration of independence as unilateral, and concludes that it does not address the future (1 e,g), . It misinforms that EU's role is not clear (2) and it leads to the attitude that the international community is to be blamed about the created situation and the misery of Serbs (5b). It explains paradoxically the role of EU representative who has the right to fire local officials and overturn legislation as a contribution to undo the culture of dependence in Kosova (3 e).

Main chain of events and their arrangement in stories of *NYT*

1. *In a showdown, Kosova Declares Its Independence*

- a. Kosova Declaration of independence is a hope for Albanians that the long and bloody struggle for self-determination has ended
- b. Background: civil war killed 10 000 people and there was a decade of limbo under UN
- c. Climax is brought to a showdown between the West which argues that Serbia's brutal subjugation of Kosova's ethnic Albanian majority cost it any right to rule the territory on one side and Serbia and its allies in Kremlin on the other side.
- d. Albanians dance in the streets, in freezing temperatures and heavy snow
- e. President Bush declares this is stability in Balkans and Serbian people have a friend in America
- f. Hashim Thaci, who 10 years ago began an armed rebellion against Serbian domination, struck a note of reconciliation in his pledge in the Parliament.
- g. Albanians are mainly holding Albanian flags, and giant American flags posters of former President Bill Clinton and chanted, "Thank you, U.S.A." and "God bless America." US is the architect of the NATO campaign against Serb forces.
- h. Serbs are angry and they are hurling stones and smashing windows of the US embassy in Serbia's capital.
- i. Russia says that the declaration violates the UN Resolution and US official says it does not.
- j. Kosova sovereignty is limited, with NATO troops and EU mission.

Journal of International Scientific Publications: Media and Mass Communication, Volume 1

ISSN 1314-8028, Published at: <http://www.scientific-publications.net>

- k. Kosova played a central role in the collapse of the Yugoslav federation built by the Communist strongman Josip Broz Tito
 - l. Background: Milosevic repression and the war
 - m. Young Albanian whose family was killed in the war says she feels safer now
 - n. Serb in Mitrovica declares Kosova is Serbia
 - o. It will be hard to forge the new multiethnic identity that foreign powers have urged
2. *In a Divided Kosova City, a Resounding Vow to Remain Part of Serbia*
- a. One day after Kosova declaration of independence Serbs in the divided north are chanting Kosova is Serbia and burning an American flag covered with the words "The Fourth Reich."
 - b. A group in the bridge shout "Kill the Albanians". Armed police keeps them from crossing the bridge where Albanian crowds are on the other side
 - c. The Serbian-dominated northern part has parallel institutional structures and does not recognize the authority of Kosova government
 - d. Serb telling the protesters. "If the Albanians try to cross the bridge, we demand from the Serbian Army to use all available means to stop them. America is no longer the single world power. The Russians are coming. As long as there is Russia and Serbia, there will never be an independent Kosova".
 - e. In Belgrade Serbs chanted anti-Albanian slogans and stoned the American Embassy
 - f. In Bosnia, Serb party called for the independence of the Serb-run half of Bosnia
3. *Here Comes Kosova*
- a. New state in Europe, ending the bloody unraveling in Yugoslavia. Cause for celebration.
 - b. Russian bear will growl.
 - c. The fact is the independence of Kosova is justified, unique and unavoidable. Further delay of the inescapable can only damage the region.
 - d. No unanimity of EU, but broad consensus is sufficient.
 - e. Slobodan Milosevic, the late dictator, set Serbia's murderous nationalist tide in motion in Kosova
 - f. Albanians accounting for about 95 percent of Kosova population of 2.1 million cannot be reconciled with a Serbia that suppressed, beat up, evicted and killed them until NATO's 1999 intervention
 - g. Serbs protest in their blind pursuit of an untenable moral equivalency
 - h. Serbs in the pocket north of Mitrovica may be encouraged to go for partition

Main chain of events and their arrangement in the stories of *WP*

- 1. *Independence Is Proclaimed By Kosova; Serbia Condemns Break; U.S. Recognition Expected,*
 - a. A new state emerged from the long and bloody unraveling of Yugoslavia
 - b. Ethnic Albanian leaders promised to embrace Kosova's embittered Serb minority and forge a multiethnic, democratic nation

Journal of International Scientific Publications: Media and Mass Communication, Volume 1

ISSN 1314-8028, Published at: <http://www.scientific-publications.net>

- c. Declaration was condemned by Serbia and its ally Russia. But the United States is expected to quickly recognize the new state, as is most of the European Union, in return for an agreement by Kosova's leaders to submit to European Union supervision.
- d. Kosova was under UN supervision since the end of NATO bombing against Milosevic's government which was accused of waging a vicious campaign, including ethnic cleansing, to suppress an insurgency led by Thaci
- e. Kosova media say: The past should not be forgotten, but it belongs to the past and should be forgiven
- f. Singers invited to perform at a celebratory concert Sunday night had to submit their lyrics to authorities to make sure there were no overly patriotic anthems on their song lists
- g. American flags were also plentiful on the streets of Pristina on Sunday, a recognition of the leading role the United States took in the 1999 bombing campaign
- h. Bush is quoted saying that independence of Kosova brings stability in Balkans and that Serbian people have a friend in America
- i. Serbian President harshly criticized US role and said it will be inscribed with black letters in the history of Serbia and Serbs stoned and granated the US embassy in Belgrade
- j. Prishtina citizen celebrating: "I'm 80 and I've waited all my life for this day"
- k. Young Albanian playing trumpet in the concert says Kosova is neighbors with Serbia now.

2. Kosova Gains Recognition by U.S., Some in Europe

- a. The United States and the European Union's largest countries recognized the independence of Kosova
- b. President Bush, traveling in Africa, hailed the new state's "special friendship" with the United States
- c. Secretary of State invites Serb leaders to work with US
- d. Serbia and Russia consider the new state illegal
- e. Serb minority marched chanting "This is Serbia" in the divided city. They might attempt to partition Kosova.
- f. British expert says that although EU is divided on this issue, but in practical terms, the reality is it doesn't matter much because the countries that don't approve of independence are going along with the majority and not preventing things from happening

3. Independent Kosova: The birth of Europe's newest state was long overdue.

- a. Declaration of independence yesterday by the Balkan province of Kosova was both inevitable and long overdue
- b. Kosova, whose population is more than 90 percent ethnic Albanian, was governed by UN since 1999, when NATO intervened to stop a brutal campaign of ethnic cleansing by the Serbian army, a campaign which was preceded by years of repression.
- c. The democratically elected government will be closely overseen by a large mission of EU where eventually both Kosova and Serbia will be integrated together
- d. This logical step would have happened earlier if it was not for poisonous nationalism of Serbia and its encouragement by Vladimir Putin's Russia.

Journal of International Scientific Publications: Media and Mass Communication, Volume 1

ISSN 1314-8028, Published at: <http://www.scientific-publications.net>

- e. Up to 100 countries are expected to recognize Kosova, including US and most of EU
- f. The peaceful future in the Balkans will depend on the Serbs. If they choose to break with their ugly history of nationalism Kosova's course can also be smooth, otherwise Serbs will isolate themselves from Europe and likely become vassals of Russia

Main chain of events and their arrangement in the *Guardian* stories:

1. *Flags are not enough*

- a. A new state was proclaimed. Is it a final act?
- b. Serbs do not recognize it. Half of them live under NATO protection.
- c. If they continue not to recognize it, there could be re-partition of the country.
- d. How will Serbia react to the loss of 15 per cent of its territory?
- e. This is unilateral solution where disputes are decided unilaterally
- f. The argument that Kosova is unique by dint of what Slobodan Milosevic did to it is a thin one
- g. Independence redresses the wrongs of the past, but does not address the future.
- h. Little progress has been made in conciliation between the Serb and Kosovan Albanian communities - they have to some extent swapped roles.

2. *Questions remain over EU's role*

- a. New state is born with US and EU as midwives, Brussels taking the role of foster parent
- b. EU is divided in policy and action
- c. Moscow is using this lack of unity
- d. There could be vacuum in replacing UN with EU mission
- e. EU might not be equipped to deal with unrest
- f. It is unclear if UN resolution which allowed takeover of Kosova enables European mission and independence of Kosova
- g. The benefits for the Serbs can happen only if they take part in the governance which will not happen in short term at least.

3. *Kosova independence: the key figures*

- a. Kosova's Prime Minister is young but powerful, was guerilla commander, damaged reputation by KLA reprisals against Serbs, has remodeled himself as moderate
- b. Kosova's President is mild mannered university professor, lacks charisma and status, will gain power by the Constitution
- c. Serbia's President is psychologist and leader of Democratic party with pro-Western platform who has defeated nationalist challenge . Opposes secession of Kosova because he is under a lot of pressure.
- d. Serbia's Prime Minister is conservative nationalist , has used harsh language for Kosova. Leader of centre-right Democratic party, took over from Milosevic on a pro-western platform but soured his view of the west after the role that Hague Tribunal took

Journal of International Scientific Publications:
Media and Mass Communication, Volume 1

ISSN 1314-8028, Published at: <http://www.scientific-publications.net>

- e. EU representative with the role of governor general has the right to fire local officials and overturn legislation. He wants to undo the culture of dependence in Kosova.

4. *Albanian celebrations leave Serbs defiant: Russia seeks UN talks as yesterday's declaration widens rifts*

- a. Independence declaration of Kosova was celebrated but it has widened ominous political rifts
- b. Style of American declaration of independence. It is supervised by outside administrators
- c. Rights of minorities rejected by Serbs, while Albanians danced and enjoyed firework, Serbs were defiant
- d. Main EU states are expected to recognize independence, Russia is demanding annulment
- e. Albanians celebrating with beer and cake, with Albanian, US and EU flags. Serbs in enclaves are full of fear
- f. War time Kosova leader says Serb alienation is partially fault of Albanian majority.

5. *Anger and fear in a city still divided: The Serb view*

- a. History student in Café London in Mitrovica explains that Kosova is very important for Serbian culture, showing a map of monasteries.
- b. Independence of Kosova is tragic for Serbs and International community is to be blamed.
- c. Silent protests of Serbs
- d. Young mother protecting her sick one-year child in the bedroom out of fear of snipers
- e. US and UK are blamed. Elderly man spits on the journalist "You are a fascist like Tony Blair.
- f. Albanian man on the other side of the divided town shouts at the police for not allowing him to cross over. He refers to Serbs as 'dogs on the other side of the bridge'.

6. *Independence for Kosova repairs two broken decades: Yesterday marked a new dawn for my people, and brought new hope for the region. But it is wrong to see it as a precedent*

- a. Content individual
- b. Whole population satisfied with their improved perspective of daily life: it is not just a celebration or a piece of paper
- c. Comparison with the past: No fear of ethnic segregation and violation
- d. Background of Milosevic aggression causing disintegration of Yugoslavia
- e. Two decades of repression: the world looked on, and today this is European problem
- f. Not unilateral but internationally coordinated action
- g. Not breaking laws but repairing broken laws of two decades
- h. Independence is guarantee for the Serbian community, as partition would cause dangerous domino effects
- i. Serbia has to accept the independence, for the sake of constructive communication and mutual respect, otherwise stereotypes and prejudices remain

7. PRESENTATION OF SOCIAL ACTORS

Stories on Dick Marty's report of the three newspapers will be analyzed in connection with the role allocation of the main social actors in news articles, following the functional model developed by M.A.K. Halliday (1973, 1978, 1994), according to which any part of language simultaneously functions ideationally, in representing reality, interpersonally, in constructing social relations and identities, as well as textually, in making the parts of a text into a consistent whole. The main social actors in the three presses will be examined as regards to the ideational function, focusing on their lexicalization and their relation with predicates.

Specifically, we gave attention to the ways that Kosova Prime Minister Thaci is referred to in the news articles. References and labels of a politician in mainstream media are not random language descriptions, but they can reveal social and political processes and practices within a particular context or perspective.

Table 7 summarizes the main semantic fields and the lexemes that represent Prime Minister Thaci in the eleven stories of the three presses. The NYT refers to the PM as 'political leader' when mentioning him in reference to the KLA, in comparison to WP which does not acknowledge the institutional aspect of the organization of KLA and uses the more informal label 'comrade'. On the other hand, WP uses stronger label 'leader' when mentioning PM in relation to criminal networks, in comparison to NYT which in this case uses the less formal label 'boss'. It is interesting that WP uses the metaphor 'America's golden boy' to suggest the favoritism displayed by US in relation to PM. The G is profuse in usage of evaluation for PM in relation to the crime allegations, labeling him as 'head' and 'key-player of the mafia group' or metaphorically as 'biggest fish in organized crime'.

Table 7. Reference of the Kosova Prime Minister in the news articles

Representation of PM Thaci	New York Times	Washington Post	Guardian
Semantic field	Word and frequency	Word and frequency	Word and frequency
War	Political leader of KLA	KLA comrade	Former guerilla leader (4)
Government	Prime Minister (2)	Prime Minister (2) Leader (2)	Prime Minister (8) Country leader/head
Crime	Boss of criminal network	Leader of criminal groups (2)	Criminal boss Head (3)/ key player of mafia-like group Boss of criminal network (4) Biggest fish in organized crime
Metaphor		America's Golden boy	

Journal of International Scientific Publications: Media and Mass Communication, Volume 1

ISSN 1314-8028, Published at: <http://www.scientific-publications.net>

Who are the main social actors that the three presses present for the readers and in what kind of reality do they function?

The three presses have similar main social actors: Kosova, Serbia, and EU and Tribunal authorities, with WP being different in adding and stressing the role of United States. The WP portrays an image of US diplomats who were aware of the crimes but overlooked them because of political stability, and furthermore, these diplomats had advised the criminalized leaders to wait and do nothing. WP tells Americans that they should feel betrayed by Kosova which owes the existence to them and that US should join EU in carrying criminal investigations and prosecutions. In addition, WP asks US diplomats to use their power and authority to force resignation of Kosova politicians. The WP is the only press that claims for Carla Del Ponte to have reported credible assertions of organ harvesting, whereas both two other presses present the opinion of the analysts who question her allegations five years after investigations were over, with G also presenting the statement of Tribunal authorities that the Marty's report on crimes is irresponsible and appalling. In difference from two other presses, WP never mentions Serbia's atrocities in Kosova, and it claims that all Kosova leaders are involved in crime organization. Also, in difference from the other presses WP never mentions Kosova's and Albania's official point of view and their dismissal of the crime allegations.

Table 8a. Main social actors in NYT

Social Actor	Predicate
PM's criminal clan	is active in trafficking organs of Serb prisoners
PM's group	involved in heroin trade and market of human organs
KLA	controlled the trafficking
Albanian guerrillas	fought Serb forces of Milosevic who killed 10 000 people
Kosova	denounced the findings
Kosova official	called it slandering
Albanian officials	deny allegations
Serbia	considers Kosova as cultural heartland
Serbian investigators	say they have evidence
Council of Europe	says UN investigators did not find enough evidence in Albania
Report	says international actors turn a blind eye
	does not give explicit role of Thaci in criminal network
Carla Del Ponte	in her memoirs makes allegations for organ trafficking
Analysts	ask why Ms Ponte reveals allegations 5 years after case investigation
	say she has failed to provide enough evidence

Journal of International Scientific Publications: Media and Mass Communication, Volume 1

ISSN 1314-8028, Published at: <http://www.scientific-publications.net>

Table 8b. Main social actors in WP

Social Actor	Predicate
Kosova	owes its existence to US
Kosova and Albania	lack rule of law
	have since issued only blanket denials of wrongdoing
Albanians	know this, but are too terrified to say so in public
Thaci's comrades	kidnapped victims
	delivered them to secret camps in Albania
	murdered them and sold their organs, after NATO's bombing campaign
Thaci and other leaders	condemned the report
Thaci's words	could incite attacks on members of minority groups, political opponents, journalists, and foreigners
Kosova leaders	committed crimes
	waged ugly campaign
	launched witch hunt
Americans	should feel betrayed
American/EU/UN officials	overlooked wrongdoing
Washington	knew of kidnappings
Washington's voice	is needed to stop the incitement
US diplomats	advised Thaci and other leaders to do nothing and wait out the storm
US and UN	refrained from running criminal inquiry because political stability became top priority
US	should make a forceful public statement
	should question every detail of report
	should demand a briefing with Marty
	should join EU in carrying criminal investigations and prosecutions
	should demand that K and Albania cooperate fully
	should use their leverage to force resignation
Carla Del Ponte	reported credible assertions of organ harvesting

Table 8c. Main social actors in G

Social Actor	Predicate
PM	has called for an investigation by EULEX has repeatedly pledged his full cooperation to law enforcement authorities
Kosova's PM and high officials	have close link to criminal network
K's most respectful physicians	participate in illegal market of human organs
Haliti(power behind Thaci)	highly involved in prostitution, weapons and drugs smuggling
Kosovar Albanian guerillas	trafficked organs of Serb prisoners
KLA	involved in harvesting of organs holds power in Kosova's government
Kosova government	dismisses allegations
Albanian President	says no convincing proofs
Albanian Prime Minister	invites EU investigators
Albanian senior officials	dismiss the accuses
Albanian prosecutor	told her (Del Ponte) if they killed Serbs they did a good thing
Serbia's officials	say report shows what Kosova is and who is leading it
Carla Del Ponte	describes her sources as credible says KLA butchered 300 young Serbs complains UN authorities in Kosova blocked investigation
UN tribunal investigators	were not able to prove
Officials and analysts	are surprised Del Ponte chooses to make her investigation public 5 years later
Tribunal authority	says report irresponsible and appalling, more journalistic than prosecutorial
Slobodan Milosevic's troops	responded to KLA attacks by orchestrating a horrific campaign against Albanians

8. CONCLUSIONS OF CDA

The CDA focused on the pattern according to which events in the stories covering the Kosova independence declaration are organized, such as presence and absence, arrangement, abstraction, addition. It also revealed the role allocation of the main social actors in news articles.

Journal of International Scientific Publications: Media and Mass Communication, Volume 1

ISSN 1314-8028, Published at: <http://www.scientific-publications.net>

8.1.Presence and Absence

The analysis reveals that NYT presents the historical and actual political context and background in Kosova from both viewpoints of Albanians and Serbs and that WP exposes a highly balanced technique of journalistic narration. On the other hand, G displays intentional selective choice of events during the declaration of Kosova independence, foregrounding Serbia's point of view and minimizing the Albanian viewpoint and the achievement of the independence declaration.

8.2.Arrangement

NYT and WP arrange the events on terms of cause and effect relation, giving the background of the Kosova war and stating the cause for self-determination. Parallel portrayals of Albanian and Serbian attitudes are arranged in neutral manner, without inclining towards one side or another. The G juxtaposes the act of independence declaration with political stability the same way as it polarizes the position of the Albanians and Serbs in Kosova, by portraying Serbs as victims of the Albanian majority. This ideology of polarization ignores explicit interpretation of events and makes dramatization possible in order to attract the audience. Hence the commercial and political values of entertainment take precedence over the public service ideals of journalism.

8.3.Abstraction

The NYT and WP focus both on issues as well as on individuals, portraying public and private realms of both Albanian and Serb context, highlighting the institutional and political context both locally and internationally.

The G makes use of personalization, preferring to focus upon individual actors and to downplay institutional and political factors that establish their social context. The war of Kosova is attributed to Slobodan Milosevic, an individual, neglecting the state institutions behind it. The narrative technique of focusing on single event and persons and showing them as representational contributes to dramatization and by appealing to emotions attracts the audience as consumers more than as citizens.

8.4.Addition

The NYT and WP legitimize and justify the declaration of Kosova new independent state, explaining the background of political events and military conflicts. The G ignores historical realities and institutional policies, or pushes them in background. It explains paradoxically the role of EU representative who has the right to fire local officials and overturn legislation, as a contribution to undo the culture of dependence in Kosova .

8.5.Presentation of Social Actors

The lexicalization of Prime Minister Thaci differs in the three presses thus transmitting different realities to the readers : NYT gives the image of an institutionally legitimate political leader, in contrast with G and WP which tend to institutionalize and present his relation to organ trafficking and criminal networks as accepted structure of the political and social organization.

The WP in difference from the two other presses gives the image of US diplomats who are aware of the crimes but overlook them because of political stability. It tells the American readers that they should feel betrayed and should ask their diplomats to use their power to force resignations of Kosova politicians instead of advising them to wait and do nothing. The WP is the only press that claims for Carla Del Ponte to have reported credible assertions of organ harvesting, and also the only press that never mentions Kosova's and Albania's official dismissal of the crime allegations. Obviously WP assigns the main importance to the allegations of Del Ponte, which is understandable taking into account the type of interest involved in the case of the author of the WP editorial, who is the co-author of Del Ponte's memoirs, "Madame Prosecutor." This editorial ignores the historical reality , the

institutional policies of ethnic segregation, the political life behind the case of Kosova and puts the stark accusation for the 'Albanian mafia' in the foreground. When media writes in this way ignoring explicit interpretation of events and makes dramatization possible, they manage to attract readers as consumers, more than making them feel as responsible citizens.

9. LAST REMARKS

The findings of both types of analysis suggest that the three presses to some extent delivered three different pictures to readers, which reflect broader intended strategic objectives for the particular political discourse of each of these newspapers. The comparative analysis of the three presses demonstrates that NYT during the covered period shows higher level of professionalism and impartiality, whereas G has an overall tendency towards unbalanced exposure of Kosova news. The WP presents clashing standpoints regarding two events: on the case of the declaration of Kosova independence it legitimizes and justifies the declaration of the new state explaining the background of political events and military conflicts, and regarding the case of the accusations for organ trafficking it presents Kosova Prime Minister's relation to organ trafficking and criminal networks as institutionalized structure of the political and social organization of which international community and in particular America was aware but abstained to act in order to maintain political stability.

It is beyond this study to conclude whether this particular journalistic coverage of Kosova is a media phenomenon of infotainment, or reflects the dominant political discourse about Kosova in a given context.

REFERENCES

- Biocca, Frank. 1991. *Television and political advertising: Vol. 2. Signs, codes and images*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Entman, Robert. M. 1993. Framing: Towards clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58.
- Fairclough, Norman. 2003. *Analyzing Discourse*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1995. *Media discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Fowler, R., Hodge, B., Kress, G. and Trew, T. 1979. *Language and Control* Routledge Kegan Paul.
- Fowler, Roger. 2003. *Language in the news: Discourse and Ideology in Press*. London: Routledge <http://www.frameworksinstitute.org/> viewed 5 May 2012
- Gamson, William. A. 1992. *Talking politics*. UK: Cambridge University Press
- Iyengar, Shanto. 2010. *News That Matters: Television and American Opinion*. University of Chicago Press
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1973. *Explorations in the Functions of Language*. London: Edward Arnold
- Lakoff, George and Turner, Mark. 1989. *More than Cool Reason*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, George. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Journal of International Scientific Publications:
Media and Mass Communication, Volume 1

ISSN 1314-8028, Published at: <http://www.scientific-publications.net>

Price, Tewksbury, & Powers. 1996. *Switching trains of thought: The impact of news frames on reader's cognitive responses*. Annual meeting of the International Communication Association Conference, Chicago.

Rhee, June Woong. 1997. *Strategy and issue frames in election campaign coverage: A social cognitive account of framing effects*. Journal of Communication, 47(3), 26-48.

Raid, David and Teixeira Tania, 2010. *Are people ready to pay for online news?* BBC news at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/click_online/8537519.stm viewed 7 May 2012

Teun A. van Dijk. 1998. *Opinions and Ideologies in the Press*, in *Approaches to Media Discourse*, ed. Ballan Bell and Peter Garrett. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Teun A. van Dijk. 1988. *News as Discourse*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Teun A. van Dijk. 1988. *News Analysis. Case studies of international and national news in the press*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Teun A. van Dijk. 1993. *Elite discourse and racism*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Teun A. van Dijk. 2008. *Discourse and Context: A Sociocognitive Approach*. Cambridge University press.

Wodak, Ruth. 2011. *The Discourse of Politics in Action*. Palgrave Macmillan.