

# Attitudes to “race” in the media: evidence from Greece and the United Kingdom

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## 1. Introduction

The concept of “race”, albeit controversial and disputed, is becoming more and more thematised in today’s multicultural societies, which are increasingly re-shaped by migration and changing demographics. These changes are bringing to the fore discussions on culture, belonging and otherness, with “race” being a central aspect of the latter. The significance of the media in shaping attitudes to “race” and otherness is central in this respect (Van Dijk 1999; Frost 2008; Oliver-Ramasubramanian-Kim 2009). In this context, this paper is looking at how the media in Greece and the United Kingdom (UK) present and communicate the concept of “race” and of “race”-relations to their respective publics. The choice of Greece and the UK as the countries/societies of study is useful because of the wide differences in (modern) history, society and demographics. This exploration is also crucial for the wider discussion of racist discrimination in a European context.

To achieve the above-mentioned aim, we collected 10 TV and web debates, 10 social media discourses, 40 newspaper articles, 20 videos, 40 pictures and 10 talk shows in total for both countries to use in the RADAR training workshops<sup>1</sup>. What became immediately evident is that, despite notable differences in the histories and societies of Greece and the UK, racism, “race”-relations and discrimination are widely thematised in the media. Common messages and communicated attitudes include: migrants and the ensuing multiculturalism as a threat, the debate between hate speech and freedom of expression, as well as a false attribution of cultural characteristics to “racial” (physical) traits. Overall, the role of the media in influencing and shaping language use as well as attitudes in the

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<sup>1</sup> All this material is publicly accessible through [http://lnx.radar.communicationproject.eu/web/htdocs/radar.communicationproject.eu/home/dokeos/main/document/document.php?cidReq=RAD01&curdirpath=%2FCOMMUNICATION\\_PRACTICES](http://lnx.radar.communicationproject.eu/web/htdocs/radar.communicationproject.eu/home/dokeos/main/document/document.php?cidReq=RAD01&curdirpath=%2FCOMMUNICATION_PRACTICES), registration on the RADAR platform is required.

public sphere is highlighted in this study, together with the different attitudes to "race" in European societies.

Firstly, the paper offers a preliminary sketch of the term "race" through a critical lens. It also touches upon other related sensitive terms such as "mixed-race", "non-white", "person of colour" and others. Next, Membership Categorization Analysis (Sacks 1992) is presented as the chosen methodology of this study because of the usefulness of Sacks' categorization devices to the study of biased (in this case racist) discourse. The collection of materials is examined next. The materials studied are advertising pictures, newspaper articles and videos, with examples from the UK and Greece. The paper ends with some preliminary conclusions, which would be useful for a larger-scale investigation employing mixed methods (such as a multimodal approach including visual semiotics, for instance).

## 2. A critical approach to "race"

It is clear that our starting point is a critical view of the concept of "race". The RADAR project, and therefore also this paper, consider "race" as a social construct (Machery-Faucher 2005, among others), the purpose of which is to create division and exercise power over a social group perceived or defined as inferior by a dominating social group. Consider this famous quote of Bethencourt:

How is it that the same person can be considered black in the United States, coloured in the Caribbean or South Africa, and white in Brazil? (Bethencourt 2015: 1).

Dividing humanity into different "races" constitutes a "tool to oppress and exploit specific social groups and to deny them access to material, cultural and political resources, to work, welfare services, housing and political rights" (Reisigl-Wodak 2001: 2; Bethencourt 2015: 3)<sup>2</sup>.

This paper uses the term "race" in inverted commas to denote precisely this critical view. This position is not new. Anthropologists have argued against the biological basis of "race" for more than 15 years (Allen 1997; Smedley 1998; and others) and in 1998 the American Anthropological Association released a statement on "race", arguing, among other things, that

[t]he idea of "race" has always carried more meanings than mere physical differences; indeed physical variations in the human species have no me-

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<sup>2</sup> For a more thorough exploration of "race", see: Smedley 1999; Garner 2010; Gunaratnam 2003; Aspinall 2009; Machery-Faucher 2005.

aning except the social ones that humans put on them (AAA *Statement on Race*).

What is crucial is not only that a term which “imposes social meanings on physical variations” (Smedley 1998: 693) has become established, but, more importantly, that it supersedes any other aspects of someone’s identity. As Smedley explains:

“race” identity took priority over religion, ethnic origin, education and training, socioeconomic class, occupation, language, values, beliefs, morals, lifestyles, geographical location, and all other human attributes that hitherto provided all groups and individuals with a sense of who they were (Smedley 1998: 695).

Because of the salience of “race” in an individual’s identity, any attributes that are ascribed to a particular “race” (either negative or positive) end up characterising the individual. This mechanism forms the basis of bias and prejudice (see Hugenberg-Bodenhausen 2004; Augoustinos-Every 2007).

It is important to stress that we reject the term “race”, but not the study of the concept and its manifestations in contemporary society, which is heuristically useful. We are neither denying difference nor are we choosing a “colour blind” approach, which denies that the colour of one’s skin may have significant impact on their experiences, based on a “racialised” social hierarchy<sup>3</sup>. We reject this social hierarchy and we are critical of “race” as a social construct and of the link between physical and cultural traits (Garner 2010: 6), but we neither ignore nor reject diversity, and, most importantly, the struggles of ethnic minorities in white-dominated societies. More importantly, we use “race” in inverted commas through lack of a better alternative. The terms “ethnicity” or “ethnic group” are sometimes used in lieu of “race”, but this leads to a simplistic conflation of the very different concepts of “race” and “ethnicity”, which does not do justice to the history, struggles and power dynamics that are attached to the concept of “race”.

Moving forward, a study of the different thematisations and interpretations of the concept of “race”, as well as a study of attitudes to “race” is crucial in the racism debate and in anti-racist work. There is an abundance of works on the mass media construction and interpretation of “race” (Rojecki-Entman 2000; Brooks-Hébert 2006), as well as their influence on public attitudes. Yet comparative studies on “race” and attitudes to “race” are few and tend to focus on historical accounts (Bethencourt 2005; Gilliam-Valentino-Beckham 2002), “multiracial” and mixed heritage experiences (Shih-Sanchez 2009) or intra-“racial”

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<sup>3</sup> On “colourblind” privilege see: Gallagher 2012: Part I (D).

relations in multicultural societies (Blakemore-Boneham 1994). An investigation of the representation of “race” in the media in a UK and Greek context is lacking, especially for the purposes of developing an anti-racism and anti-discrimination training concept.

### 3. Methodology

Based on our critical approach to “race”-related terminology above, we collected material which would be intended for anti-racism training purposes, for use in training workshops as part of the RADAR project. These workshops were aimed at professionals in the legal sector, the police, social workers, policy-makers and trainers, as well as people who have experienced racism and/or xenophobia. The workshop aims were, among others, to understand and recognise hate-motivated and hate-producing communication practices. Such an understanding can be empowering for (potential) targets of discrimination or hate communication. It can also help professionals to make better judgments, react effectively to racist and xenophobic behaviours and attitudes and ultimately help to prevent racism, xenophobia, discrimination and exclusion. The collected material was then analysed with the method of Membership Categorization Analysis, which led to a series of analytical tools in the form of templates<sup>4</sup>.

Conversation Analysis (CA) and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) are two ethnomethodological methods for the analysis of interactional practices. Whereas MCA focuses on categorical or “topical” aspects (e.g. gender, sexuality, ethnicity, identity), CA addresses primarily sequential ones, such as turn-taking, projected next actions, conversational repair, etc. According to Day, MCA deals with

the recognizability of people as certain sorts of people or, more specifically, people as certain sorts of members of society, and how this recognizability is a resource for members in their dealings with each other. And as one of the primary ways in which we “deal” with each other is through language, MCA is often brought to bear on the analysis of how people use language in situations of everyday life (Day, 2012: 1).

Stokoe (2012: 280) refers to “ten keys into the data” as the key tools of MCA analysis. The tools that are used for this small study are the following.

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<sup>4</sup> The templates can be found here: [http://lnx.radar.communicationproject.eu/web/htdocs/radar.communicationproject.eu/home/dokeos/main/document/document.php?cidReq= RAD01&curdirpath=%2FANALYTICAL\\_TOOLSdocument.php?cidReq=WS2&curdirpath=%2FFINAL\\_DELIVERABLES\\_WS2%2FANALYTICAL\\_TOOLS](http://lnx.radar.communicationproject.eu/web/htdocs/radar.communicationproject.eu/home/dokeos/main/document/document.php?cidReq= RAD01&curdirpath=%2FANALYTICAL_TOOLSdocument.php?cidReq=WS2&curdirpath=%2FFINAL_DELIVERABLES_WS2%2FANALYTICAL_TOOLS), registration on the RADAR platform is required.

a) “Membership Categorization Devices”, which refer to “the apparatus through which categories are understood to ‘belong’ to a collective category” (Stokoe 2012: 281). According to Stokoe, categories may belong to many membership categorization devices “via various ‘rules of application’” (ivi).

b) “Category-bound” activities, which are, in situ, linked to categories, such as “Why are ‘men’ (category) so ‘reluctant to go to the doctor’s’ (activity)?” (ivi).

c) “Positioned categories”, which “occupy a hierarchical relationship (e.g. ‘baby’, ‘teenager’, ‘adult’), such that an ‘adult’ can be accused of behaving like a ‘teenager’, and so on” (ivi).

d) “The economy rule”, which refers to a single category being sufficient to describe a person (ivi).

These rules of application result in the “hearer’s maxim” for duplicatively organised categories:

[I]f two or more categories are used to categorize two or more members of some population, and those categories can be heard as categories from the same collection, then: hear them that way (Sacks 1992: 221).

They also result in the “viewer’s maxim” for category-bound activities:

[I]f a Member sees a category-bound activity being done, then, if one sees it being done by a member of a category to which the activity is bound, see it that way (ivi).

It is clear from the above that the selection of a category illustrates the intentions of the actor.

MCA has an innovative character because it is different from traditional Content Analysis. Content Analysis consists of a simple quantification of words in a text or a conversation without consideration of the specific linguistic and social setting. Instead, MCA analyses the socio-logic of the ordinary classifications and categorization as a way to perform social actions. In particular, it offers a point of view of how people use ordinary categorization, such as national, ethnic or “racial” classification, in order to accomplish hate communication and racist communication in particular, in political and ordinary settings. Finally, studies in MCA have demonstrated its great potential as a training methodology for all those who need to deal with problematic communicative contexts, especially in multicultural contexts<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> See Day 2012; also see Analysis of Communication Practices on the RADAR project platform (registration is required): [http://lnx.radar.communicationproject.eu/web/htdocs/radar.communicationproject.eu/home/dokeos/main/document/document.php?cidReq=RAD01&curdirpath=%2FCOMMUNICATION\\_PRACTICES](http://lnx.radar.communicationproject.eu/web/htdocs/radar.communicationproject.eu/home/dokeos/main/document/document.php?cidReq=RAD01&curdirpath=%2FCOMMUNICATION_PRACTICES).

#### 4. Collection of material with implicit or explicit discriminatory content

Newspaper articles, social media posts, talk shows, advertisements, billboards, posters in bus stops and train stations, magazine publications, posters etc. have been used as sources for the training methodology and analytical tools developed within the RADAR project<sup>6</sup>. The collection was based on indexing the news as well as TV and radio shows between November 2014 and February 2016. This was the period of collection in accordance with the project's timeframe, however the material collected was not necessarily from that period. Instead, the indexing was carried out on the basis of implicit or explicit discriminatory content, in line with the material's pedagogical purpose. Specifically, the criteria of selection were: implicit or explicit discriminatory content, racist or xenophobic; communication that could incite hate, bias, prejudice and stereotyping, so potentially hate-producing, even if not necessarily hate-motivated. For the purposes of this paper, which looks at attitudes to race, we will focus on written material that contain "race"-related keywords and terms with different qualifiers, and visual material (images and videos) that depict people of different skin colour or ethnic group. It is important to note that this collection of material does not claim to be representative, as it constitutes a small sample of types of communication that could incite hate, bias, prejudice and stereotyping. It is still useful, however, as a precursor to a future larger-scale investigation.

##### 4.1 Advertising pictures

Among the advertising pictures we collected there were also pictures from political campaigns, pictures from awareness-raising campaigns (fighting hate crime) and pictures from a government body. Despite the fact that different types of pictures have slightly different roles and purposes, they have been included in our analysis of advertisement pictures for this paper because of: their format; their placement (public space); because they are part of an agenda (business, politics, awareness-raising; and finally because of their potential to influence the views and attitudes of the general public.

It was not easy to find examples of advertising pictures in the UK. The UK Communications Regulator, Ofcom, imposes strict guidelines and communicative practices in advertising are tightly monitored. Still, a handful of examples were found and analysed. Their main features are the combination of two or more categorizations, i.e. people are classed as being X (social class, status, hie-

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<sup>6</sup> Some of these analytical tools can be found here: [http://lnx.radar.communicationproject.eu/web/htdocs/radar.communicationproject.eu/home/dokeos/main/document/document.php?cidReq=RAD01&curdirpath=%2FANALYTICAL\\_TOOLS](http://lnx.radar.communicationproject.eu/web/htdocs/radar.communicationproject.eu/home/dokeos/main/document/document.php?cidReq=RAD01&curdirpath=%2FANALYTICAL_TOOLS).

rarchy, intelligence, beauty) because they have or do not have a certain skin colour. In Greece it was also difficult to find examples but for different reasons: there are very few adverts depicting people with different skin colour, possibly because of the profiling of shoppers by advertising companies in relation to their purchasing power in Greece or for simple demographic reasons since Greek society is not or perceives itself as not being very diverse.

## 4.2 Videos

The material collected included videos of migrants being verbally abused (on a bus in Manchester and on a train in Athens), videos of leaders of political parties, videos reporting the incidence of hate crime and talk shows. The videos present different perspectives of racist speech and racist hate crime: actual examples of verbal abuse, discourses of politicians and factual information about the problems and the consequences for victims, who are given a voice and present private and personal accounts.

## 4.3 Newspaper articles

Among newspaper articles collected were articles classing perpetrators on the basis of their nationality, articles presenting migrants as abusing the system, articles denouncing racist hate crime, either individual cases or in general. Newspaper articles include news items focusing on the origin of the alleged perpetrator(s) rather than on the crime itself. Membership Categorization Analysis shows how language is used to present the “US” versus “THEM” discourse and to class perpetrators as committing crimes because of their origin. With regard to the articles presenting the anti-migration views, they also build on the idea that there is an “US” category and a “THEM” category. In the case of the UK, British-born citizens are portrayed as victims of migration and migrants as a threat. This message is constructed through the inclusion of law enforcement bodies as part of the “US” and by portraying the idea that migrants abuse the economic system and use any means and anybody to do so.

## 5. Critical analysis of examples

### 5.1 Examples from the UK

The design of hate-producing adverts is appealing and well-thought. Colourful pictures portraying happy people are used to convey positive ideas: freedom, feeling good, happiness, high performance. Stereotypes are thus masked with feel-good feelings.

Additionally, pictures used by the two main anti-migration parties in the UK have also been included in this category. They share a common discourse featuring: victimisation of the British-born population; migrants presented as abusing the labour market, invading the UK and being a threat for the British-born population; anti-EU discourse, where the EU is presented as a threat to the UK, in particular with regard to migration policies. Pictures under these categories target voters and present the potential consequences of migration for British-born citizens, who are portrayed by the stereotypical image of a migrant (begging on the street), and finally for British culture in general. Some of the pictures portray signs and images conveying violence and destruction (fire), while others use Britishness as a tool to engage with the audience (e.g. Picture 1 when white British child “Rebecca” is presented as a potential minority in an increasingly diverse British society). Finally, pictures from awareness-raising campaigns were also collected. These are mainly aimed at raising awareness about hate crime and at informing primarily potential victims, but also the general population, about the different ways of reporting hate crimes. Pictures from awareness-raising campaigns are backed by law-enforcement bodies or NGOs. The content is both informative and supportive, and the message against hate crime is clear. Regarding the design, images of people who could represent members of groups normally affected by hate crime are portrayed.



UK, May 2015

Source: BNP website / "Help secure a future for British children"

Link: [http://bnp.org.uk/sites/default/files/fp\\_slides/donate\\_rebecca\\_banner.jpg?1415205986](http://bnp.org.uk/sites/default/files/fp_slides/donate_rebecca_banner.jpg?1415205986)

Description: Anti-immigration campaign poster by the British National Party (BNP).

For the purposes of this paper, only pictures of the first category will be analysed, because their hate-producing elements are less obvious and, it could be argued, even unintentional, as opposed to the explicit messages of the anti-



immigration campaigns or, at the other end of the spectrum, awareness-raising campaigns.

In Picture 2, two men are presented as representing two experts in two fields – the black dancer and the white estate agent. It mainly tries to generate an emotional response: dedication and professionalism as qualities any expert is born with. The two men represent two different worlds/fields/stereotypes, but both are presented as friendly men, men the audience like and accept through attempts at humour. Both men are looking at viewers and convey self-confidence, pride and dedication to what they do. The dancer on the left is on a dance pose, looking at viewers. The estate agent is standing on an elegant position, looking confidently at the viewer with one hand in his pocket and the other holding a tablet. The estate agent's clothes feature the brand colours – red, white and black. The dancer's clothes are denim, black (vest and cap), and white (footwear). Text is written in black and red, also matching the colours in Strutt & Parker logo. Distance has been left between the two men, and each man and the text.



UK, 21 November 2014

Source: Online – International Business Times / “Strutt & Parker” (estate agent)

Link: <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/strutt-parker-racist-advert-dancing-black-man-withdrawn-1475952>

Description: Billboard advertising Strutt & Parker estate agency.

The following MCA categories are identified: men, dancer, estate agent, white, black, folk. More importantly, this example is typical of “category-bound activities”: black men dance, while white men sell flats. These categories in turn

function as "positioned categories", in that the hierarchy presented is clearly in favour of the white man. As a result, the "economy rule" also applies, with the assumption that "all" black men are born to dance while "all" white men are born to sell flats, despite the term "some" used in the advert.

The interplay between these categorization devices and rules of application becomes clearer if we consider the following. The comparison between the two men immediately exposes stereotypes about skills, abilities and professions depending on the colour of your skin. Occupation is key for the message and theme used – the dancer vs the estate agent. The dancer is dressed in "urban" clothes, which is a racialised marker, while the white estate agent is dressed in a suit and tie, a symbol of status and privilege. This explicitly follows stereotypes and promotes ideas of superiority – selling flats vs dancing; white vs black. The use of "folk", the surnames given to the two men and the idea that you are born to do what you are supposed to is a gross oversimplification and follows the false connection between "race" and cultural attributes and capabilities that was examined in section two above ( Smedley 1998). It shows that power asymmetries, success, class and status differences are based on ethnicity, and, it is implied, biology and "race". It promotes stereotypical values and differences based on class and ethnicity, as well as white superiority. Specifically, it promotes the idea that black people are born to dance and, implicitly, that being an estate agent is preferable to being a dancer. In this way, it directly conveys discrimination, racism, conformism, elitism and stereotyped thinking. Overall, it is clear that the intent of the advert is to promote the job of the white, male, well-dressed estate agent on the right, as opposed to the black, male, "urban"-style dancer on the left; this is an advertisement for an estate agency. Lastly, it is also important to note the fact that women are absent from the category of employees. Both representatives of the categories of dancer and estate agent are men. This could be interpreted as implicitly sexist, since it raises the question – what were women born to do? Certainly not to dance or sell flats, according to this advert, which was eventually withdrawn<sup>7</sup>. Certainly, images have a polysemic meaning and some of the stereotypical messages of this image may not be universally recognised, however these hidden messages do exist and they may be interpreted as discriminatory. The fact that hidden prejudice is being thematised is useful, whether these messages are intentional or not. Similarly, in Picture 3, the MCA categories of men, employees, power, white, black are identified. This example is typical of the "category-bound activities" that black men "perform" while the white man leads, stands, is superior to and towers above the black men. "Positioned categories" are also evident in this setup, with the white man clearly higher in the hierarchy than all the black men together. The "economy rule"

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<sup>7</sup> See: <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/strutt-parker-racist-advert-dancing-black-man-withdrawn-1475952>, viewed May 8 2016.

then becomes clear, with the assumption that “all” white men lead, manage, rule over “all” black men, who are depicted here as machines that perform or cogs in a functioning mechanism. Domination and power are conveyed as features of white men. Superiority, in its various manifestations (employer-employees; white/black), is constructed through the graphic elements and the text (“multiply performance”). In general, the atmosphere conveys planning, profit-making, performance-boosting, business and competition combined with submissiveness, superiority and objectification.



[online], August 2007

Source: Business Insider / Intel “Multiply computing performance and maximize the power of your employees”

Link: <http://www.businessinsider.com/the-10-most-racist-ads-of-the-modern-era-2012-6?op=1&IR=T>

Description: Intel advert.

Additionally, there are shades of brown that match the businessman’s colours and the skin colour of the six runners, conveying a feeling of balance when it comes to colour. Most light comes from the top – the window, metallic lamps and the desktops. There are clearly defined lines: desks, bodies, windows, cei-

ling. The combination of straight lines and curved ones (runners' bodies) reinforces the idea of superiority and performance. The white businessman is in his 40s, with a smart hairstyle and clothes. He is standing, self-confident, as the person who is in charge in the picture. Black runners are bent down, looking down. Their faces are not visible, as they do not matter, as they are a non-entity, an object. They are used to represent the features of the processor advertised. Equally, the advert is about black men being presented as homogeneous (they use the same man six times) and conveying the idea that they are good for the "physical" labour, but that it requires a white man to run the company. This is closely related to a master/slave dynamic and is explicitly racist.

Picture 4 is using different Membership Categorization Devices. Here there is no evident "white" category, but the categories seem to be black, civilised, uncivilised, beard, shaved, afro hair, short hair. The man in the advert is clean-shaven, wears jeans, a white shirt and a grey sweater. He is taking momentum, getting ready to throw his previous self, represented by a head with Afro-hair, beard and an angry look. The contrast here is between a black man with traditional "African" features such as afro hair and between a more "civilised" version of the same black man with those features removed (no afro hair and no beard). What is striking is that even the new, clean-shaven "civilised" version of the man, is performing an "uncivilised" act of carrying a severed head and is ready to dispose of it.



UK, 22 August 2011

Source: [www.anorak.co.uk](http://www.anorak.co.uk) / "Nivea Racist Advert"

Link: <http://www.anorak.co.uk/290887/keyposts/racist-nivea-presents-the-most-racist-adverts-ever.html/>

Description: Nivea aftershave advert.

The “category-bound activities” that black men with afro hair and beards are uncivilised, while black men without these features are civilised are immediately evident. These can also be transposed to the relevant “positioned categories”, as these were described above; the “less African” black man is clearly higher in the hierarchy than the black man with African features. Indeed the latter is not even a full man, but only his severed head is depicted. Again, the “economy rule” becomes clear as a result of this, with the assumption that all” black men with afro hair are uncivilised and need to be re-civilised by removing physical traits “that are characteristic of their “race”; their afro hair. Ultimately, by showing afro hair as the trait of an uncivilised person, the stereotype conveyed is that black people are “naturally” uncivilised.

Moving on to the analysis of a video, what is of particular interest is a video of former UKIP leader Nigel Farage posted in January 2015 on the online version of “The Telegraph” newspaper<sup>8</sup>. In this video, Farage makes a statement on the Paris attacks, blaming multiculturalism for the terror shootings and promoting fear and anger against those who threaten democracy. He states as an argument that “[i]t is a result, I’m afraid, of now having a fifth column living in our countries, holding our passport, who hate us”. In this example, “us” and “them” categories are evident: “us” in London, “them” in Paris, “us” living in democracy in “our” country, “them” threatening it. The use of intonation and volume to emphasize certain words, such as “ONE state”, “YES”, “VERY nervous” is also worth pointing out. Also, the phrase “good neighbours with good fences” is an interesting one, as Farage advocates division (“fences”) with neighbouring countries, but does not explicitly advocate or promote hate. In this case, bias is conveyed implicitly through categorization and oversimplification (us and them), as well as othering. It conveys the idea that society should be divided and that the British society should not welcome other people nor join one larger entity. Farage uses the terror shootings to attack the Muslim community and the idea of integration. In these ways, his speech’s intent is to promote and/or reinforce discriminatory attitudes and views.

With regard to the analysis of newspaper articles, the article entitled *‘Sorry is not good enough’: Student who was raped by two Polish men after her drink was spiked demands they are deported*, which appeared in the “Daily Mail” in August 2013<sup>9</sup>, constitutes a typical example of implicit bias which could incite hatred. The article describes how a 19-year-old student in Hull had her drink spiked and was subsequently raped by two Polish people. According to the article, the victim demands that the perpetrators of the crime be deported. In particular, the article states:

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<sup>8</sup> [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/article11332680.ece#oid=FwcDhvcjqbUPrwrIifs\\_Ep5E\\_kmEaObXc](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/article11332680.ece#oid=FwcDhvcjqbUPrwrIifs_Ep5E_kmEaObXc), viewed May 12 2016.

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2404652/Student-raped-Polish-men-Roman-Smentek-Krzysztof-Drozdz-demands-deported.html#ixzz4Bb7yNIM2>, viewed May 10 2016.

A university student who was raped by two Polish men after being dropped off at the wrong address by a taxi called for the pair to be deported yesterday, saying: "Sorry is not good enough". The 19-year-old was left semi-conscious after her drink was spiked at a club and the Poles took her into their house, where they attacked her.

The Membership Categorization Devices (MCDs) used in the article are the "natural collections" (Sacks) Polish > nationality, Men > gender, her > gender, Student > occupation. Classification then works as follows: Polish, Poles > nationality (and migrant status); Girl > gender and age (=young); Men > gender and age (=adults); Victim > role in the crime; mother > family member. It is important to note that a 19-year-old female, who would normally be described as a woman, is referred to as a "girl" in this article, to highlight the contrast between her and the portrayal of the Polish migrants. The article clearly associates crime with nationality, referring to the criminals by their nationality only and inferring that Polish men, and by extension all migrants, are rapists and criminals. Furthermore, the focus of the title, and of the piece, is the fact that the victim wants them to be deported. Nationality becomes the issue, which obscures the crime itself.

Similarly, the article "Foreign doctor attacked female patient who disagreed with diagnosis: GP given six month conditional discharge", which appeared in the same newspaper in December 2013<sup>10</sup>, over-emphasises the perpetrator's nationality (Nigerian) and otherness (foreigner). In this article, the MCDs are: Foreign > nationality, status; Female > gender; Patient > role in the institutional setting; GP, doctor > profession, role in the institutional setting. There is a shift of focus to the doctor's "origin" and nationality ("the doctor, who is of Nigerian origin,..."), implying, through "position categories" and the "economy rule", that the doctor's conduct is the result of the doctor not being British.

Lastly, the article *Number of EU migrants claiming UK benefits is DOUBLE that of Brits claiming welfare abroad*, which appeared on "The Express" on January 2015<sup>11</sup>, uses more subtle MCDs. Status and migration constitute the main devices for membership categorization, and the categories that are evident after analysing the article with MCA are: EU migrants, EU nationals, Polish, the thousands claiming benefits, EU citizens who are out of work VS Brits, Britons, Britons living in other European countries. The categorization is reinforced in this article by contrasting and comparing British citizens with EU migrants and stressing figures as they deem it convenient to support the stereotype. The contrast be-

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<sup>10</sup> <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2529320/doctor-attacked-female-patient-disagreed-diagnosis-GP-given-six-month-conditional-discharge.html>, viewed May 10 2016.

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/553184/EU-Migrants-UK-benefits-DOUBLE-Number-Britain-Welfare-Jobseekers-Allowance>, viewed May 12 2016.

tween EU and British, but also between citizen and migrant, is striking. The term EU citizens is not used at all in this article; nor is the term British nationals used. Ultimately, “EU migrants” are presented as abusing the UK benefit system, as opposed to EU citizens claiming benefits in line with existing EU legislation, which is applicable to all member states. “Position categories” and “the economy rule” are once again evident in this biased article.

## 5.2 Examples from Greece

It has been the case in Greece that many collected advertising pictures represent the extreme right-wing political party of Golden Dawn in Greece and embrace hate speech in a very open and direct way. Wordplay has been used to inculcate similar feelings of victimisation of the Greek population against migrants similarly to the UK paradigm. Through these pictures, no targeted terminology is being used, however human rights for access to food, medical care, and blood donation are being questioned. Illustrative examples include advertising posters with the slogan “Doctors with borders” or invitations for blood donation and free food distribution only for Greek citizens.

The challenging part of data collection and thus analysis, has been, however, to highlight whether the collected pictures reflect racism, prejudice, sexism, alienation, stereotyped thinking, conformism, generational conflict, isolation, or elitism in a way that could go by unnoticed by many people in the “first reading” of the source. For the purposes of this article, we shall focus on two examples of racism and stereotyping being transferred presumably unintentionally through humour and lampoon and one example of questionable journalistic practice.

Picture 5 is a (political) cartoon presenting a clerk at passport control which looks like Anastasia Christodouloupoulou, State Secretary for Immigration at the time of the publication. She announces to tourists that, in addition to their cooperation with the tax authorities, they will also have to adopt a migrant, referred to as “this gentleman”. The clerk seems to be oblivious to a problem that is considered by the artist to be an emergency. In contrast to the clerk’s apathetic face, the tired faces of the migrants, who all look identical, and the astonished faces of the tourists, make a statement. All migrants seem to be an invisible homogeneous mass behind the glass and they are presented as “items” available for adoption. In fact, adoption by tourists appears to be an obligation. The difference in the facial characteristics of the white people and of the black (migrants) behind the glass is also striking. They are not seen as people, as individuals, but as a mass, all looking alike, sharing caricatured and over-racialised features, while the white people in the cartoon (the tourists and the clerk) look more realistic.



Greece, 15 April 2015

Source: Online version of printed journal / “<http://www.kathimerini.gr/>”

Link: <http://www.kathimerini.gr/811326/sketch/epikairothta/politikh/skitso-toy-hlia-makrh-150415>

Description: (Political) satirical cartoon image.

The cartoon makes fun of the policy of Anastasia Christodouloupoulou, former State Secretary for Immigration, as well as of the policy of the Greek Government at the time (Spring 2015). It implies that both the increase of taxation and the large number of migrants influence tourism in a negative way. Although the sketch is supposed to be satirical and critical of the government, it also becomes racist against migrants. Even if this cartoon raises the issue of the sharing of responsibility among all nations as far as the migration issue is concerned, it can cause misunderstanding since migrants seem to have no say in any part of this situation and are represented as “burden” that needs to be shared or even better “transferred”.

The next example comes from an advertising campaign on TV, in Greece<sup>12</sup>. A still of the video is depicted in Picture 6. The service of 3G mobile telephony and internet network is being advertised. The situation takes place in different

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3XswY1UAH3w>, viewed May 9 2016.



settings: at the traffic lights, at the locker rooms of a football team, during a press conference by the President of a football team. A football scouter meets a man (possibly migrant) at the traffic lights. The man washes the scouter's car window in the middle of the street. The scouter recruits the man offering to give him some "pocket money". He believes that because this man comes from an African country, he meets the stereotype of football fans and he expects him to be a good footballer. Later, it is indicated that the new player does not seem to know anything about football.



Greece, June 2012

Source: [www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com) / "Telephony Company "Wind" Advertising campaign"

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xXhBgzSIQxY>

Description: This is a still image from the video advertisement of mobile telecommunications company Wind in Greece.

More attention should be paid to the following parts of the video: the player falls down while trying to show his football skills to his teammates (fails to meet the stereotype). Furthermore, in the beginning the man is connected to a specific status (work at traffic lights) and is presented to be ready to engage in anything without question for some "pocket money". The scouter throughout the video gesticulates trying to defend his choice. He uses often the expression "black gun" (μαύρο πιστόλι) to describe the young man. As soon as he realises that the young man is not a good footballer, he speaks to him in a patronising way which is understood by the audience of the spot but not from the co-actors of the spot scenario. It is important to note that the black man does not speak at all during the video.

The slogan of the video translates as follows: "At the renewed 3G Network by Wind, everything 'runs' even when nothing 'runs' [meaning: nothing goes on]. Wind Mobile Internet for everybody! The new 3G network by Wind!". A play of words takes place in the Greek version of the slogan and, more specifically, with the word "run", which is used both to signify that the online network works properly but it is also included in an expression which means that nothing happens, nothing goes on. The feeling of the video is that it relates only remotely to the meaning it wishes to convey. Furthermore, the video comes across as racist against poor, black people but also against a whole kind of audience, that of football fans who the spot considers to be naive and racist by default.

The video conveys racism, prejudice and stereotyping both directly and indirectly, by questioning the financial status and ethical standards of the young man. Spotting a black man in the traffic lights, cleaning car windows and being willing to undertake any task without asking any further questions, just for some "pocket money", is taken for granted. The video also ridicules the young man by having him stumble while trying to show his football abilities to his teammates. This is also achieved through the underestimating way in which the scouter addresses and treats the young man (e.g. he grabs him when he sees him cleaning the windows, he asks him impolitely to get up when he falls down). The tearing down of the positive stereotype that black and African young men are excellent sportsmen does not seem to have anything to offer against the perpetuation of racism and stereotyping either.

Our final example relates to a frequent practice in journalistic settings, namely the custom of using an ordinary categorization, such as a national, ethnic or "racial" classification, to accomplish hate speech. The article, which gives an account of the murder of a young female trainer by her ex-boyfriend, was published in February 2015<sup>13</sup> and it is titled "The Albanian murderer of female trainer presented himself as Italian". The individual is described with the use of the word (or category) "Albanian", which belongs to the natural collection of nationality. The choice of this specific category instead of another one such as "man" or "ex-boyfriend" shows the intention of the author and, as mentioned in section 3 above, the selection of this category is in function of the action the journalist wants to accomplish. The combination of nationality with the category "murderer" makes use of hearer's maxim, mentioned in section 3 above, in order to create a new collection where the two categories are related. In other words, with the frequent use of news titles such as this one, the two different collections are merged into one, and the words "Albanian" and "murderer" are perceived by readers as belonging in the same collection. This trend is intensified in the content of the article as the choices of categories to describe the

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<sup>13</sup> <http://www.protothema.gr/greece/article/451580/sok-apo-to-eglima-pathous-stin-kalamata-/>, viewed May 15 2016.

individual do not only include “30-year-old man”, “ex-boyfriend” and “perpetrator” but mainly his nationality: “Albanian”, “Albanian perpetrator” and “of Albanian origin”.

## 6. Conclusions

Even though the samples under analysis are not representative enough to constitute a reliable corpus, we can perceive some indications, which could in turn become the hypothesis of a further study. Despite notable differences in the histories and societies of the UK and Greece, the examples studied in this paper show similarities in the mechanisms of hate-producing (not necessarily hate-motivated) communication. Membership categorization analysis has shown that the “us” and “them” strategy is used to create division not only by highlighting differences but also by shifting the focus to “race”, nationality, origin etc. Attitudes to “race” and categorization of people are strikingly similar in the examples studied; by associating “racial” and physical traits with performance or ability (UK Intel ad and Greek football ad), by implicitly promoting correlations and collocations such as “Polish rapist” or “Albanian murderer”, or by explicitly presenting one population group (“race”) as inferior (NIVEA ad and Greek cartoon). The implicit message and communicated attitude to “race” is that migrants, especially “visible minorities”, and the ensuing multiculturalism constitute a threat. By using these analyses in the RADAR training concept, we hope to raise awareness of and start a discussion on the way hate communication is produced, not only through direct speech acts but also, and more importantly, through non-verbal and implicit messages.

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### Abstract

This paper draws on research conducted as part of the EU-funded project RADAR (Regulating AntiDiscrimination and AntiRacism, JUST/2013/FRAC/AG/6271). It rejects the concept of "race", hence the inverted commas, and sees it as a social construct aimed at dividing people into unequal, static, unchangeable categories (Witzig, 1996, and others). From this starting point, it offers an exploration of attitudes to "race" in the media in Greece and the UK, based on a sample analysis of authentic material specifically collected for use in the RADAR training workshops. The material was analysed using Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA), a sub-section of Conversation Analysis originally developed by Sacks (1992). The paper shows similarities of some mechanisms of hate communication not only between genres, but also between countries (UK and Greece), despite clear historical, social and demographic differences.

Questo lavoro si basa su una ricerca condotta nell'ambito del RADAR progetto finanziato dall'UE (Regulating AntiDiscrimination and AntiRacism, JUST/2013/FRAC/AG/6271). Viene rifiutato il concetto di "razza", che viene visto come un costrutto sociale volto a dividere le persone in categorie immutabili e statiche (Witzig, 1996, e altri). Da questo punto di partenza, il saggio offre una esplorazione degli atteggiamenti relativi alla "razza" nei media in Grecia e nel Regno Unito, sulla base di un'analisi di un campione di materiale documentario, specificamente raccolto per l'uso nei laboratori di formazione RADAR. Il materiale è stato analizzato utilizzando Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA), una sotto-sezione di analisi della conversazione originariamente sviluppato da Sacks (1966; 1992). Il documento mostra somiglianze di alcuni meccanismi di comunicazione di odio non solo tra i generi, ma anche tra i paesi (Regno Unito e Grecia), nonostante chiare differenze storiche, sociali e demografici.

Key words: "race", hate communication, media, Greece, United Kingdom.

Parole chiave: "razza", comunicazione d'odio, media, Grecia, Regno Unito.