

# **Ideological Discourse in the Czech and British Press**

## **Treatment of Roma Minority in Comparative Perspective**

Student Name: Magdaléna Selingerová

Student Number: 385573

Supervisor: Dr. Jiska Engelbert

Media, Culture & Society  
Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication  
Erasmus University Rotterdam

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## **Abstract**

This thesis offers an insight into a discursive construction of Roma minority in the Czech and British press coverage in 2013. The current problematization of the “Roma issue” in Europe, ranging from a fear of Roma immigration into Western countries to the open demonstrations of hatred in their countries of origin, begs the question whether media play a role in this escalated situation. The aim of this thesis has been to uncover and compare discursive practises, which can contribute to the reproduction of racist ideology against Roma in the Czech Republic and the United Kingdom. The critical discourse analysis employed to the newspaper articles from six different titles has indeed uncovered subtle manifestations of racist ideology, gained an insight into the ideological effects of the language use on the portrayal of Roma, and juxtaposed these two discourses in view of the countries’ different political and media contexts. In both datasets, Roma are portrayed as an essentialized group with innate characteristics and constructed as a threat to the majority on the basis of economical abuse, criminality and social deviation, while these negative attributes nourish and legitimize the larger narratives of individualistic neoliberalism and of exclusive idea of a society consisting of people with identical values, which are considered the norm. Roma, even though in different environments, discursively become strangers both abroad and at home, being left with no option but to change into non-Roma or explain themselves in a defensive mode when given the occasion for expression. The acknowledgement of the dominant social system’s responsibility for their marginalized position within society is often concealed, mitigated, transferred or reversed. The similar lexical and semantic strategies in the studied press further testify the standardized approach to portraying Roma as the Other in the European press landscape.

**Key words:** Czech Republic, critical discourse analysis, ethnicity, Great Britain, Gypsy, media, minority, new racism, newspapers, Othering, press, racist ideology, Roma, United Kingdom

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# **1 Introduction**

## **1.1 Spotting the Problem: Roma Minority and the Media**

This master thesis aims at examining the current media discourse about Roma minority in two European countries, the Czech Republic and the United Kingdom, by means of a critical discourse analysis of newspaper coverage. The negative popularity of the “Roma issue” in Europe, ranging from a fear of influx of Roma into Western countries to the open demonstrations of hatred in their countries of origin, raises question whether media discourses play a role in this escalated situation and what that role is. Media constitute a major platform, where competing (elite) groups offer, whether consciously or unknowingly, different interpretations of the social world to the readers (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992) – the imbalance, however, can emerge when certain representations are either normalized by their frequent occurrence or left out completely, therefore obscured. The goal of this thesis is to reveal whether British and Czech media employ discursive practises, which “could be used as the basis for the legitimisation and naturalisation of ethnic and social inequality” (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 30), and therefore reproduce racist ideology against Roma. Moreover, how are these legitimisations constructed in the flow of media discourse?

Although indirect and only partial, the power of the media in relation to struggles among social groups resides in their ability to construct representations, which serve as models of the “normal”, socially shared knowledge, and thus influence individuals’ future interpretations, e.g. by reproducing prejudice (Van Dijk, 1995). Of course, the causal relationship between media discourse and public opinion is never unidirectional - it is rather a mutual interaction, where the individual sense-making is embedded in the media discourse, which is conversely built upon the opinions of the public (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989).

Drawing on these concepts, media discourses about Roma form an important part of a complex system, in which cognitions about minorities are socially constructed. Since media content is seen “as the most important indicator of the general issue culture” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p. 3), and media institutions as exercising symbolical power over social knowledge (Van Dijk, 2000), press coverage serves the research as a platform to analyse the current perception of Roma.

## **1.2 Roma Question in Europe: The Legacy of Long-Term Discrimination**

Guinier and Torres (2002) see the rising problems of minorities as symptomatic for the ill being of the whole society. In this logic, the critical report by Council of Europe (2012) on Roma human rights could be seen as a warning to the democratic system itself. The

discrimination of the Roma is spread both geographically and structurally: anti-Gypsyism is common among citizens and politicians, the incidents of racial violence against the minority take place, Roma are discriminated in terms of access to education, labour market or housing, and are frequent victims of human trafficking, segregationist efforts and expulsion (Council of Europe, 2012).

Furthermore, the far-right parties have recently enjoyed growing level of support throughout Europe, the core of their ideological framework being hostile attitudes towards immigration, Islam, European integration, as well as against Roma minority (Wilson & Hainsworth, 2012). For instance, the extremist parties in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic or Hungary all base their political offer on scapegoating Roma while promoting their deportations or organizing protest rallies (Council of Europe, 2012). Meanwhile, the rhetoric of far-right or right wing populist political groupings has turned subtler, therefore acceptable for a broader electorate. For instance, Edwards (2012), in his study of British National Party, confirms that its discourse has been elaborated to better obscure its underlying racial prejudice. Moreover, the economic crisis has contributed to the social tensions – in the environment of competition for employment and worsening living standard, the search for “victims” may end by blaming the marginalized groups. After all, the results of the 2014 elections to the European Parliament showed an unprecedented support for euro-sceptic, anti-immigration and nationalist parties, highlighting the acceptance of and even preference for subtle racist discourses penetrating the mainstream political stream of thoughts. Nigel Farage of the British Ukip or Marine Le Pen of the French Front National have become legitimate adversaries to the long-established parties, emerging as winners in offering remedy for voters’ discontent and disillusion.

Discrimination is not a novelty in Roma’s lives. Since their arrival in Europe, they were treated as the Other – in some places enslaved, under Austro-Hungarian Empire and during communism forced to abandon their nomadic style of life and during the Second World War nearly wiped out by Nazi (Cooper, 2001). Roma’s cultural as well as physical differences coupled with the late arrival to fully inhabited Europe split into nation-states result in their on-going marginalization (Petrova, 2003). From the respective point of view, Roma themselves embrace a strong Othering, drawing a line between Them and non-Roma, generalized under the Romani term *gadje* (Petrova, 2003). Herakova (2009) identified the ambivalence between considering oneself Roma, yet without ambition to found a nation state, while feeling as a citizen of a particular country – such duality does not correspond to the

normalized view of national identity bound to certain geographical location and to the related civic and political participation, and results in the tendency to assimilate rather than integrate the “stateless” minority members. Consequently, the coexistence of the Roma with the majority seems to be caught in a circle of majority pressure on adaptation, historically perpetuated prejudice, isolation and poverty.

According to German journalist inquiring into Roma problematic Mappes-Niediek (2013), there exist two perspectives on the marginalized position of the Roma within society – the Western discourse presumes that it is the outcome of the discrimination in Roma’s countries of origin, the Eastern discourse inclines to the explanation of Roma’s problems by their deviating culture. Presumably, none of these viewpoints can satisfactorily explain the complex group relations between the Roma and the majority since both viewpoints are possibly interweaving. The criminality, poverty or cultural habits of Roma are as real as the systemic discrimination, prejudice and scapegoating performed by the majority. However, it is unquestionably the majority, who sets the order within the society, and if the current arrangement of the system results in racial inequalities, such system should be perceived as racist.

The fact that media contribute to this relational equation by discriminatory representations of Roma has been illustrated by researchers from different parts of Europe (e.g. Erjavec, 2001; Fox, Moroşanu & Szilassy, 2012; Klimkiewicz, 2002; Madroane, 2012; Morris, 2000). Moreover, the results of the research by Tortajada and Willem (2009), who examined the perception of media discourse by the very Roma citizens, reveals that the interviewees felt mistakenly portrayed in the media. Such a result, following the principles outlined by Van Dijk (1993b), is perhaps the most important justification for the critical discourse analysis in question.

### **1.3 Research Question and Sub-questions**

Drawing on the outlined context, the research question and sub-questions enquire about the presence and construction of racist ideology against Roma in the press discourse, in comparative perspective of two European countries. The reasons for comparing the two countries in question do not concern only the fact that these two media discourses in relation to Roma have not been compared on the basis of critical discourse analysis yet:

Firstly, Roma hold a different status in both countries. Whereas the Czech minority consists of Roma, who are regular Czech citizens and members of recognised national minority, the Eastern European Roma in Britain currently discussed on media and political

scene are immigrants. One of the driving forces behind this paper is the attempt to reveal how these different positions of Roma are reflected in the different or perhaps similar discursive practices and legitimizations of racial inequality.

Secondly, by comparing the UK and the Czech Republic, the perspective of two historical paths after the Second World War comes into question, namely that of capitalist Western democracy as opposed to the communist regime of Soviet satellite. Even though the Roma faced genocide in the same manner as Jews did, the negative attitudes towards them endured in the West, where they have been considered, since the rise of Protestantism, as unproductive and a burden for the system in place (Petrova, 2003). Czech communist regime, on the other hand, made steps to assimilate Roma to the socialist society by forcing them to settle down and work in factories as unskilled workforce (Appelbaum, 2011).

Lastly, the Roma issue is a fresh topic in both countries, sufficiently discussed in the media (see 3.3 Time Period) and therefore fulfils the thesis requirement of topicality and originality. Moreover, by comparing two distinct press landscapes, the effects of their political economies and journalistic practices come into comparison.

The research question proceeding from the introductory outline above is as follows:

**RQ:** *How is Roma minority portrayed in the media discourse in the Czech and British press coverage in 2013?*

If the critical discourse analysis confirms the presence of racist ideology embedded in the discourse, the sub-questions will proceed as follows:

**SQ 1:** *What are the differences as well as similarities between these two particular media discourses in terms of reproducing racist ideology?*

**SQ 2:** *How do these differences or similarities reflect specific countries' contexts vis-à-vis different status of Roma minority within the society, countries' different socio-historical legacies and their political economies of media production?*

Specifically, the query is interested in an in-depth analysis of lexical and semantic strategies in the press articles treating Roma, which should lead to a complex assessment of the minority's discursive portrayal and to uncovering the potential subliminal forwarding of the dominant power structure within the society – in this case discriminatory system benefiting the majority.

## **1.4 Research Method Overview**

The questions above are answerable by combination of critical discourse analysis (see 3.1 Method, henceforth CDA) and secondary research of data on the countries' context (see



2.4 Contextualizing Analysis). CDA draws attention to and criticizes the employment of language benefiting the dominant group, while taking side of the oppressed (Fairclough, 1995), hence it emerges as a natural choice for studying discursive power structure of ethnic relations between majority and Roma. Moreover, since the challenge of the research is to uncover implicit ideological meanings and dig deep in the discourse of media texts, such a goal is not easily achievable by any quantitative method. The interest embedded in the research question lies within enquiring *how* the discursive practices are produced, *not* within testing hypotheses. Similarly, the research does not aim at quantifying large amount of data in order to draw inferences about the overall image of Roma in the national press since such a quantitative type of content analysis, even though undoubtedly useful, favours the possibility of generalization to the detriment of the deeper understanding of the studied material. In other words, the interest of this study does not lie in counting frames of the articles or their topics (as in the analyses carried out by NGOs and Roma organizations in both countries), but in looking closer on the structure of the discourse and shedding light on implicit meanings that might be hidden under the explicit surface analysed in quantitative studies.

## **1.5 Social and Scientific Relevance**

The pressing situation of European Roma minority raises ideologically toned public debates, which are reflected and represented by the media. According to Van Dijk (1991), “anti-racist individuals and groups need to ‘counter-read’ the newspapers” (p. 40). In other words, in order to fight against something, it is crucial to define and analyse it, which is the principal socially relevant goal of this paper. Uncovering the underlying strategies of racist discourse not visible during cursory reading might be valuable not only in order to question and therefore dismantle such a journalistic practice, but also to dig under the surface of the semblance and reveal what the leading narrative of today’s racism presented in the media is based on – certainly a helpful point of departure for anti-racist (Roma) activists, who need a clear identification of their adversary’s rhetoric foundation.

From the scientific perspective, the answers should provide an original comparative view of two countries, both actively engaged in the debate, and help to better understand how similarly or differently media discourses about Roma minority reflect different contextual backgrounds while being subordinated to similar economic logic of mass media. Concerning specifically the studies employing the qualitative discourse analysis to the articles about Roma in the press, CDA approach was applied for example in the case of Slovenian press (Erjavec, 2001) or Romanian press (Madroane, 2012), but a major thorough and more

importantly up to date critical discourse analysis in the British or Czech press cases has not been performed recently – a gap this paper opts to bridge by bringing fresh results.

Nonetheless, it has to be acknowledged that one similar comparative study concerning discourses about Roma integration in British and Romanian press has been carried out by Schneeweis in 2012 and certainly served as an inspiration for this research. However, its focus (discourse about integration), the stance (not normative), as well as the studied time period (1990-2006), nature of the selected titles (quality press) and compared countries significantly differed. Narrower time scope of this research should ensure deeper insight into current construction of Roma in the press. In the same time, by not concentrating on a single pattern within the discourse but remaining open to all racist ideology occurrences in the text, this research should provide for a more encompassing view of the racialization of the minority.

Finally, although the image of Roma in the media has gradually become a popular topic of theses at Czech universities, the academic impact of their findings is downgraded by the null reach of the Czech language beyond the borders of the country – a barrier this thesis aims at overcoming by presenting the research in internationally accepted language.

## **1.6 Thesis Outline**

As CDA requires a multi-disciplinary approach to the studied issue, the focus on media studies' theory would not suffice in order to illuminate the reproduction of racism in the media discourse. Hence, the theoretical chapter attempts to unwind the story of concepts as race and racism and their evolving meaning until its current obscure form. This theoretical foundation is afterwards extended by and connected to the role of language and journalistic practice in perpetuating the racist discourse, highlighting specific discursive strategies identified by the CDA researchers. Furthermore, CDA requires not only multidisciplinary approach to the theory but the research object has to be embedded in context as well – the last section within the theoretical framework is thus devoted to painting a larger picture of both Roma in British and Czech societies and of the studied media institutions. Proceeding to the execution of the research, an account of the methodological procedure employed to analyse the articles is discussed in the research design chapter, along with the selection and collection of the material and choice of the sources and time period under analysis. Consequently, the results section constitutes the core chapter of the thesis, systematically listing and contrasting the outcomes of the CDA, providing evidence for the revealed strategies of racist discourse. The conclusion chapter aims at bringing all the insights together by discussing the overall

narratives legitimizing racism against Roma, which emerge from the press discourses.

## 2 Theoretical Framework

### 2.1 Point of Departure: Theories about Race and Racism

Race and racism are the central topics of the thesis, the goal of which is to uncover racist ideology embedded in the media discourse. It is therefore essential to clarify terms as race, racism and their relation to ethnicity, ethnicism and nationality, nationalism, which are sometimes substituted for one another, especially in the context of anti-Gypsyism relatable to all of these. The volatility of the concept of race springs from both its different conception in diverse contexts and the varying viewpoints of scholars. Throughout the history until the current stream under the umbrella term of *Critical theories of race and racism* (see Chapter 18 in Ritzer, 2011), the theories have been bound to the historical context of their creation. Thus, whereas first ideas about race of Weber, Spencer or Durkheim were not free of the racist thoughts, which dominated their era, subsequent theoretical approaches, as those of Du Bois and Chicago school of sociology in the United States, pioneered a critical stance on racism, further enhanced worldwide after the Second World War (Winant, 2004). Since there is no unifying theoretical concept, which would explicate a complex nature of racism, the following paragraphs discuss a selection of concepts deemed useful for theoretical grounding of the current form of “new” racism, which is the central concept of the thesis.

The difference between race and other concepts as ethnicity or nationality is that the notion of race, unlike these, cannot be objectively conceived as a tool for categorization (Guillaumin, 1995/1999). Rather, race can acquire any discriminatory value, but it does not have an objective meaning in itself. Similarly, Park (1950/1999), in his socio-constructivist approach, argues that in order for any racial relations to exist, the members of the society need to construct those relations by consciously acknowledging the differences between certain groups and therefore validate their significance. Arguably, only through the historical development of on-going differentiation between groups, the wrong belief that the notion of race had real biological roots was born, objectified and structurally exploited in real life (Guillaumin, 1995/1999). Subsequently, social groups can be discriminated on the grounds of physicality, citizenship, religion, ethnicity or social class, the significance of which can become racist if it is acknowledged as such by the society. However, none of these phenomena imply discrimination on their own.

For instance, ethnicity denotes those of a common origin, who perceive themselves as culturally distinctive, but it does not mean they are necessarily subjects to inequalities, as well as ethnicity does not automatically connect with minority issues (Eriksen, 1993/1996).

However, ethnicity has always correlated narrowly with racism. Van Dijk (1991) even proposes to call the current discrimination against minorities ethnicism due to its grounding in cultural differences. Moreover, nationalism, another overused unclear term, is a good example of ethnicity used by majority as a basis for discriminatory practice. In conformity with Connor (1993), ethno-nationalism would be a better term to describe the tendency “to perceive the state as the political expression of ... [one’s] particular ethnic group” (p. 375). The notion of nation in Connor’s view invokes the feeling of blood ties among the members of a nation, which is then perceived as “extended family” (p. 382) and implies allegiance. Observing the rise of nationalism in Europe, this ethno-national bond seems to be, among others, a fair explanation of the problematic racial relationships in present-day heterogeneous states, only rarely composed of unique nations. Miles and Brown (2003) concur and point out the surprising endurance and even embracement of nationalism in the current globalized world: whereas the nation-state with its physical boundaries is losing significance, the ethnical belonging is being amplified as the main divide among nations.

When looking closely at the example of Roma, it becomes evident that their racial discrimination is layered and touches upon most of the possible group demarcation lines. Roma are an ethnic group with a common ancestry, distinctive physical appearance, proper Romani language and cultural traditions, which all can serve as discriminators. Roma do not have their own nation-state and therefore do not ethnically belong to any country’s majority. Last but not least, Roma generally belong to the lowest strata of the society, overwhelmed by poverty, which could point to the discrimination on the grounds of social class, however, it is unclear whether their status is the reason for discrimination or its outcome. Moreover, even though there naturally exists a great variety among the Roma population in the world in terms of languages, appearances and styles of living, as it exists among the members of majority, Roma are essentialized under the common indicators of difference and the social construction of anti-Roma prejudice appears to be embedded in the common sense everywhere.

Even though such a notion of “Roma race” does not have scientific backing, and would be regarded by theorist as a social construct, its implications are real. Guillaumin (1995/1999), warns against rejecting the concept of race since “race is a social category of exclusion and murder” (p. 362) and Miles and Brown (2003) stress that despite its formal rejection, “the idea of ‘race’ has continued to be used in common sense discourse to identify the Other in many societies” (p. 53). How is the racism kept alive in the present-day, seemingly tolerant society adhering to the values of universal human rights, is explained in

the next section.

### 2.1.1 Contemporary “New” Racism

As is evident from the outline above, a clear definition of racism arises as a challenge since even the term *race* proves not to be easily determinable. Goldberg (1993) too adheres to the concept of race as unstable and volatile and illustrates that it has acquired different meanings in different socio-historical circumstances: from being considered a synonym of one’s biological roots within a family to being used in the sense of delineating social class or nationality. However, it becomes clear, in alignment with Miles and Brown (2003), that if an explicit definition of racism is refused as unattainable, the concept loses its value and the possibility of being distinguished from other ideologies and fought against. Since the aim of this paper is to detect and criticize racist ideology, a definition of racism is a necessity.

The rather broad but not vague definition of Van Dijk (1991) is considered a good foundation for this paper. According to him, racism is a system enabling domination (e.g. social, cultural, political, economical) of a group over others, justified by the different characteristics of these other groups, perceived as negative. In Van Dijk’s conception, racism is a function with a goal of protecting and promoting the interests of the in-group as opposed to the out-group. After all, the need for social cohesion and defending what is “ours”, whether it means family, tribe or nation, runs throughout the human history. Unfortunately, it seems, as Said (1995) puts it, that the principal way to define one’s identity leads through Othering, which implies delimiting the notion of Us from that of Others/Them. Miles and Brown’s (2003) “dialectic of representational inclusion and exclusion” (p. 50) further supports Dijk’s and Said’s viewpoint on constituting group relations. According to them, through ascribing attributes to a group in order to define it as different from Us, the opposite attributes to those ascribed become automatically Our characteristics. In other words, by excluding a group as inferior, another group is promoted as superior. Leudar and Nekvapil’s (2000) research on Roma portrayal in Czech television debates illustrates these theoretical concepts in practice. They reveal that one of the speakers’ strategies is to ascribe to the Roma characteristics, which are the opposite of the attributes they appreciate in themselves (e.g. enterprising – lazy, spiritual - materialist).

As indicated above, the division of social groupings on Self and Other is legitimated differently throughout the history (Goldberg, 1993) and it has also taken place in different realms, as those of continents and nation states (e.g. colonialism, migration) and also inside single state units (e.g. anti-Semitism, anti-Gypsyism) (Miles & Brown, 2003). Similarly, it is

reasonable to assume that there is no generic racism against Roma but a differently legitimized one in each epoch or geographical region – an assumption to be tested through the comparative study in question. For instance, different racialization in otherwise identical conditions was presented by Fox et al. (2012), who examined the racial discourse about Hungarian and Romanian immigrants in the UK. Even though both groups consisted of white European citizens, the former group was welcomed due to its economical contribution, whereas the latter was partly restricted and negatively portrayed in the tabloids since it was no longer seen as valuable. It is thus evident that even “whiteness ... comes in shades” (Fox et al., 2012, p. 685) and racist ideology is indeed embedded in the context.

The legitimizations of racism change and develop. Inequalities, once based on the belief in biologically inherited superiority of the whites, are nowadays maintained in subtler, but potentially not any less significant way. The scientific disproof of differences among races has not deprived racism of its real consequences for the society (Van Dijk, 1991). The focus of this paper is precisely on the form of racism, which is characterised by its distancing from the “real” racism of far-right movements, e.g. through denying its racist nature, and thus continue to perpetuate the prejudice in implicit way (Van Dijk, 1992, 2000). Petrova (2003) even sees the denial of racism, in her case specifically anti-Gypsyism, as the most common expressive tool of the contemporary racism. Denying its ethnic basis and respectively identifying alternative cleavages, e.g. cultural differences, poverty, mental insufficiency or lack of integration efforts, does not make the Othering any less severe, while such a discourse stays acceptable since perceived as justified. A self-explanatory example are the rhetorical moves used to guard one’s racist statements, as for example “I am not prejudiced, but” (Bonilla-Silva, 2006, p. 57), which aptly depict the contemporary racist expressions.

Denial, arguably the most important characteristic of the “new” racism, seems to spring from the fear of being condemned as intolerant. One specific type of denial, which has found its way into both public and individual discourse, has acquired a popular title *reverse racism*. To call someone within the in-group racist has become a reason to accuse the critic of racism towards the in-group and of restricting the freedom of expression, resulting in camouflaging the actual racist expression by reversing it (Van Dijk, 1992). Arguably, the problem with these attacks on anti-racism consists of their non-existent embeddedness in the historical context. As Winant (2004) puts it, “[a]lthough recent decades have seen a tremendous efflorescence of movements for racial equality and justice, the legacies of centuries of racial oppression have not been overcome.” (p. 165) When talking about black people in the United

States or about Roma in Europe, arguing that there exists a reverse racism does not correspond to the socio-historical reality, in which the white majority was never discriminated. Nonetheless, picturing the members of majority as victims, threatened by the Others, has found its way into political discourse (see for example British National Party's discourse analysis by Edwards, 2012), as well as into everyday text and talk.

Ironically, it is the defamation of race as an irrational concept (Goldberg, 1993) or pretending blindness to the racial divisions in the society (Martínez Guillem, 2011), which bring current forms of racism to life. The embracement of multiculturalism and from that proceeding denial of unequal powers in the society led to the denial of the White hegemony (Goldberg, 2009). In addition, the neo-liberal emphasis on one's personal merits and individual skills has diverted the attention from the skin colour and the new Othering is grounded in "cultural deficiencies" (Goldberg, 2009, p. 330) of the out-groups. Van Dijk (1991) concurs and adds that the contemporary racism does not so much build on the belief of the supremacy of Us but rather on the inferiority of Them. For instance, Goodman and Rowe's (2014) research on the British discussion forums confirms this by concluding that openly expressing racist thoughts is a taboo. On the other hand, the cultural prejudice, especially against Roma minority, is seen as acceptable, mainly because of the fact it is considered deserved (Goodman & Rowe, 2014). Hence, the expressions of racism are not obviously noticeable in the present-day society and tend to be intentionally concealed, which is only another reason to try to expose them.

Moreover, Goldberg (2009) argues that the neoliberalism and globalization have bent the state into a servant of the free-market by furthering privatization, diminishing social welfare and favouring those already privileged to the detriment of those, who are seen as a threat to the Western ideal of private interest. The role of state thus seems to shift from the carer to the security man, whose task is to remove undesirable elements that prevent its citizens to sustain the system in place, e.g. delinquents or immigrants (Goldberg, 2009). The Othering remains, only in disguise of a new legitimization, which stigmatizes whole communities. This approach is particularly useful for the case in question since both British and Czech arguments against Roma usually oscillate around the minority's alleged parasitism on the social system and criminality, which are being extrapolated to the minority as a whole.

Looking closely on the issue of immigration, Buonfino (2004) argues that immigrants are nowadays predominantly framed as a security threat. The legitimization here draws on delineating boundaries between Us and Them with the intention to keep the desirable status



quo in the inside community and strengthening its own identity. This process naturally cannot do without “(discursive) construction of scapegoats” (Wodak, 2000, p. 6). Consequently, the discourses favouring the immigration as economically beneficial or emphasising the empathy with immigrants are pushed aside – the hegemonic viewpoint is dominated by the construction of the migration either as an economic threat to the original inhabitants or as an element endangering the peace within the country through crime (Buonfino, 2004). To conclude along with Huysmans (2000), the current consensus on immigration policy in the European Union forwards the “expressions of welfare chauvinism and the idea of cultural homogeneity as a stabilizing factor” (p. 753). For instance, Goodman and Burke (2010), in their research on discursive approach to asylum seekers by British students, have revealed that discrimination against asylum seekers is considered as objectively justified (e.g. by economic claims highlighting the financial burden for the state) and not at all as racist. The position of asylum seekers’ supporters, on the other hand, becomes increasingly difficult because they tend to be accused of restricting the free debate (Goodman & Burke, 2010) – a common strategy mentioned in previous paragraphs. The position of immigrants in present-day globalized world thus seems unenviable.

The aim of the thesis in question is to uncover the expressions, legitimizations or denials of racism in the Czech and British media discourse about Roma. Are they present and if so, how are they embedded in the discourse?

## **2.2 Racist Discourse**

### *2.2.1 Relation between Racism and Discourse*

The relationship between racism as a system enabling group domination and discourse follows from the nature of language. Through language objectification, the meaning and order is given to the aspects of social life, therefore the understanding of the reality is dependent on understanding the language (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). The language, both constitutive component of society and tool constituted by society, does not only reflect and sustain the relationships within but has the potential to change them (Fairclough, 1989). Thus, the discourse, a complex process of social interaction including the language use, interpretation and production of the text, is considered a power source within society (Fairclough, 1989).

Consequently, the main ground the contemporary racism arises from is believed to be discursive (Van Dijk, 2000). Both the structural discrimination and the cognitive prejudice against Others are perpetuated by ordinary conversations, talks and texts, which are considered as “normal” and “natural” (Van Dijk, 2000). In other words, the language can

exercise power in terms of creating common agreement, consensus about phenomena (e.g. minorities) by promoting ideologies as organizing frameworks of specific interpretations of reality (Fairclough, 1989; Van Dijk, 1991). Sometimes, in alignment with the Marxist conception of Gramsci (1971), seeking the consent through presenting specific group's ideology as natural and beyond questioning for the whole society may lead to hegemony – a specific type of group dominance, which is left unnoticed by the society, including the oppressed groups, since the general interpretation of the social world, even though potentially oppressive, is accepted as self-evident. Nonetheless, even though the vision of Gramsci serves as a good illustration of the potential power the ideology perpetuated by discourse can have, the fact that (racist) discourse can be challenged must be equally acknowledged (and preferably employed). For instance Foucault (1984), otherwise in agreement with Gramsci's view on dominant system reproduction, argues that the hegemony can never be absolute since there is always a space within discourse for countering the dominant meanings. Such a “counter-reading” of the prevalent media discourse is indeed the central goal of this research.

Proceeding from that, I argue that the potential impact of racist ideology embedded in the discourse is an inaccurate portrayal of the Other (Roma), which will be taken for granted as a common sense or an objective fact, while its fallacy or incompleteness will remain obscure. Moreover, given the current expressions of racism, the probability of overlooking its ideological implications under the cover of subtlety or denial could be significant. Van Dijk (2004) counts among the most common features of racist discourse about Others the stress put on their difference, emphasis on their abnormal behaviour or portraying Them as a menace to Us. However, the possibility to exercise such a power through, mainly public, discourse is not available to all members of the society, which is the reason why the thesis focuses on discourses produced by the media – a privileged source of public discourse in the society.

### *2.2.2 Relation between Racist Discourse, Ideology and Dominance*

Before illuminating the implications of the elite position of the media among public discourses, it is essential to step back and firstly shed light on the complex relationship between discourse and power sketched in previous section – this time discussing in more detail the interplay between individual and social dimensions of cognition in relation to the discourse and racist ideology. Why is reproduction of the ideology necessary for system of racism and how it comes to being in the first place?

Picking up the threads of Gramsci's concept of hegemony, it becomes clear that

maintaining social power within society can be achieved through different pathways. Even though the road of population repression by physical force is still present in contemporary society, the symbolical oppression of people's minds is definitely equally, or probably even more efficient tool to stay in power. In fact, those two dimensions have never truly existed apart. If we look at the system of racism, as Van Dijk (2000) argues, the component of social practise translating into the real-life inequalities cannot be separated from the cognitive component representing projections in people's minds, which justify their participation in those social practices. In other words, without the cognitive input, we could not mark the inequalities as springing from racism since it is the beliefs and opinions people have, which condition the practice. Consequently, the discourse – definitely a social practice – constitutes a crucial link in this system since “managing the mind of others is essentially a function of text and talk” (Van Dijk, 1993b, p. 254).

For instance, one of the cognitive building blocks of racist system is prejudice. Prejudice interconnects stereotypical belief and negative attitude towards specific members of the society, the former providing rationale for the latter (Quasthoff, 1989). The important point to make is that prejudice as such does not emerge per se in the minds of individuals out of personal experience (even though it can be reinforced or validated by it). Rather, repeated over and over again in discourse, prejudice belongs to the shared cognitions of whole groups or societies (Van Dijk, 1987) – it seems that its power both emanates from and helps maintaining the community. In sum, although not all shared cognitions in the society or stereotypes can be seen as negative – after all, they make the collective living in and understanding the world possible – some of them may sustain systems of dominance based on inequalities. Of course, few solitary stereotypes cannot rise to this challenge on their own – a more complex system of beliefs, norms and values is needed to play the role of a “world-guide”. It is ideology.

Van Dijk's (1991, 1993b) viewpoint on ideology could be described as that of shared software, which basically organizes the group's cognitions and makes sure that they reproduce in order to sustain the system, which could be otherwise challenged or replaced. Thus, for instance, the racist ideology in relation to Roma would offer an organizing framework, explaining in a logical manner Roma's Otherness and inferiority, in order for the majority to keep its privileged position in the social hierarchy. Nevertheless, the aim of this thesis is not to diabolize people, who, most probably unconsciously, participate in the system of racism by reproducing its ideology. On the contrary, it is reasonable to assume along with

Miles and Brown (2003) that individuals are not racist per se – it is the ideology that offers at first sight logical solution to perceived problems they have to cope with. Transforming this assumption into practice, the current economic crisis, which has left many people in difficult life situations, is an observable fact, only distorted by ideology (e.g. of far-right movements, populists), which proposes a wrongly constructed understanding of the situation as well as its solution – instead of questioning the shortcomings of financial sector management or national government’s policies, the focus is delegated to stopping the immigration or social benefits’ abuse. However, immigration or dependence on social system springing from poverty are only another observable facts, which offer the possibility to construct wrong causation that appears to be coherent with the aggravating economical situation.

After all, coherence is at heart of successful ideology. Fairclough (1989) explains the construction of ideology within discourse as co-produced by the reader himself - in an attempt to interpret a text or talk in a coherent way, he or she automatically speculates and generates assumptions or cues, which in fact bear and reproduce the ideology. The main problem here, following from Fairclough’s idea, is that this “guessing” and appropriating every discourse we read or hear to our expectations is, and naturally has to be, largely unconscious. In his own words, “the operation of ideology can be seen in terms of ways of constructing texts which constantly and cumulatively ‘impose assumptions’ upon text interpreters and text producers, typically without either being aware of it” (p. 83). Thus, ideology is not a visible component of a discourse; it is rather weaved between the lines, inducing the reader or listener to fill the gaps by himself and thus automatically except it as a common sense. Fowler (1991) shares this idea of ideology coproduction, specifically between the newspaper text and the reader, and states that readers “ ‘read-in’ ... the ideology which shapes the newspaper’s representation of reality” (p. 46) by assuming the common sense meanings and values to which they are frequently exposed. For instance, repetitively calling Roma as “unadaptable” presupposes myriad of assumptions (e.g. Roma do not want to adapt, adaptation is the right solution, our style of living is the norm) without actually explicitly expressing them. These assumptions are automatically implied and unconsciously activated by the audience in an attempt to make the story coherent. Evidently, the danger resides in not questioning these (e.g. Roma want to adapt but cannot, integration would be a better solution than adaptation, there are other possible styles of living). Moreover, according to Van Dijk (2000), the coherence is necessarily dependent on the journalist’s vision of reported events, which, in the case of news treating ethnic relations, can be potentially biased (e.g. reporting

on low literacy of Roma as on springing from the fault of bad parenting versus resulting from discriminatory educational system).

Hence, the aim of this paper is to deconstruct the discourse in order to find language strategies, which facilitate the creation of cognitions shared among members of the dominant groups and sustain the discriminatory status quo pointed against Roma.

### **2.3 Role of the Media in the Reproduction of Racism**

The socio-constructivist approach to the society chosen as a point of departure for this thesis was already sketched in the introduction and was interweaving the theoretical background until now. Why is the notion of social reality as constructed and interpreted by the members of the society (as opposed to given objective reality) important for the role of the media in the reproduction of racism? Social constructivism considers media as an important resource of information, which helps the audience to form their perception of reality, while acknowledging the fact that this mediated image of reality can never be objective (McQuail, 2009). In other words, any representation provided by the media is inevitably shaped from certain angle, as any other language-based utterance (Fowler, 1991), and therefore cannot be reflecting the reality as it is. The notion of ideologies being reproduced through symbolical content in media springs from the neo-Marxist branch of social constructivism informed by Gramsci, in which the distorted objective reality presented by media interferes with the subjective realities of the individuals and therefore reproduces the dominant order within society (Adoni & Mane, 1984). Arguably, the more abstract and distant the elements in the media discourse are, the less people can use their personal experience to construct the subjective perception and the more they rely on media messages – a model known as media-dependency theory introduced by Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur (1976). For instance, regarding majority of the political and social news presented in the media, the information about such events, unless directly witnessed, can be derived only indirectly from media texts. If we look specifically on the racial relations, the ordinary member of the majority does not often enter in contact with the members of the out-groups. Consequently, the lack of personal experience and source alternatives causes that “the mass media have virtually no competition in their communicative role regarding ethnic affairs” (Van Dijk, 1993a, p. 243). Richardson (2006) for instance argues that the physical exclusion of Roma from the society, e.g. in ghettos or even behind fences, actually strengthens the artificial, mediated construction of their identity since the real image of Roma is not otherwise accessible. Therefore, even though racism on the inter-personal level, perpetuated

by ordinary conversations and actions in quotidian life steadily nourishes the positive Self representation of the in-group as opposed to Others, the underlying thread of ideology, which forms these attitudes in the first place, is often believed to sprang from elite discourses, media discourse being one of them (Van Dijk, 1993a).

Furthermore, the media discourse is deemed special due to its ability to amplify other elite discourses (e.g. political, corporate) in addition to its own role of an independent elite player (Van Dijk, 1993a). Media thus participate in a co-forming of the public opinion, in the same time partly draw on the public opinion when creating their discourse and furthermore use and re-interpret all other available public discourses (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Media can exercise power over their audiences in terms of information selection, their unique representation or chosen perspective; however, the real danger consists of the fact that this power is rather invisible – it does not have to be clear to the reader that someone's specific interests are being favoured (Fairclough, 1989). A thorough discourse analysis, the goal of this paper, is thus needed to uncover these power relations.

Moreover, the role of the media in the case of inequalities based on ethnicity may become abusive due to the factors as insufficient access of the minorities to the media (both as producers and quoted speakers), the lack of majority's real-life experience with minorities, one-sided highlighting of problems and threats caused by minorities or the fact that minorities do not have a real possibility to publicly contradict these assertions (Van Dijk, 2000). It could lead to the situation in which, by controlling the means of mass communication, "the white group controls the definition of the ethnic situation" (Van Dijk, 1991, p. 33). For instance, the scarcity of Roma journalists in mainstream media denotes that the vast majority of articles about Roma is written by non-members of the minority, who naturally think of themselves as belonging to the opposite social group simply because they grew up and were educated in the corresponding social realm. It seems improbable for white journalists, working for elite institutions, the business profit of which relies on the current social order, to write articles from other point of view than from that of (paying) majority public they, after all, promised to inform. For example, the polarization between journalists as the representatives of Us in contrast to minorities portrayed as Them was illustrated by Erjavec (2001), the research of whom pointed out the construction of Roma as inherently different from the ordinary people in the Slovenian newspapers. Ironically, the minority journalists are often deemed to be biased, unlike the white journalists, who are believed to possess the virtue of objectivity when covering racial news (Van Dijk, 1993a).

Nonetheless, Van Dijk (1995) does not see the audience as passive and merely accepting media messages and does not oppose the individual's capacity of resistance – his point rather concerns the repetitive exposure to a certain type of reality representations (presented as shared by everyone), which can invade people's personal perceptions in the long run, especially when the personal experience is marginal or missing. The social cognitions presented in the previous section are thus largely organised by the media institutions, highlighting the point of Miles and Brown (2003), who conceptualize racism as naturally institutional ideology that is not created by the individual members of the society but needs grounding provided by institutions.

Taking the example of immigration, it is argued that media play a decisive role in exploiting the present fears in the society and transform them into public discourse with the potential to influence the governmental policy and retrospectively foster the concerns of the public with even greater intensity (Buonfino, 2004). In other words, even though it is impossible to determine the original source of such rhetoric, media function as an amplifier for the dominant discourse of securitization. Once the prejudice and concerns are reinforced, the political elite is forced to react via policy measures and the complete cycle results in the real structural inequalities.

On the other hand, this vision of media as perpetuating stereotypes is overly black and white and it is only just to acknowledge the media's equally strong potential to fight against and deconstruct racist prejudice. For instance Schneeweis (2012), in her research of British and Romanian quality press treating Roma integration, argues that journalists also challenge and question the racist discourses present in the society. Furthermore, according to Klimkiewicz (2002), if media refuse to simply report plain events but put the situation of minorities in broader social context, they may exercise major influence on dismantling racial prejudice.

### *2.3.1 Specifics of the Press*

Specifics of the press derive from the peculiar position of media institutions in general, which are simultaneously commercial subjects and disseminators of public symbolical content. In the following paragraphs, the consequences of this double identity, which implies both the role of a public interest guard and a business manager, for the reproduction of racist ideology are discussed.

The impacts of financing and production on media discourse is in the centre of interest for political economy of media – the theoretical thread within media studies, which does not

take the media's necessity of generating profit for granted and infer implications for the media content due to this economical-symbolic interplay. Murdock and Golding (2005) argue that the business model based on advertising transforms audiences into a commodity, which, in order to be effectively sold to the biggest number of advertisers, tends to be shaped into the largest homogenized group possible. In other words, the profit-driven media are aiming at the mainstream audience in order to increase their profit as well as decrease the traditionally high risk of media products, the success of which depends on volatile tastes of the audience (Sylvie, 2008). Hence, commercially oriented media management can incline to "safe", well-tested products or topics and avoid risky or costly endeavours (e.g. investigative reportages), resulting in the situation where the media content "confirms established mores and assumptions far more often than it challenges them" (Murdock & Golding, 2005, p. 65). The potential outcome for the minorities treated in the press, who do not belong to its target majority audience and who only minimally participate in the content production, is the reproduction of established social cognitions contrary to the alternative (minority) views. Similarly, in alignment with Bennett (1990), journalists tend to frame the news within the boundaries of established political discourses and even though they opt for representing all the voices within the political debate, they omit the actual alternatives outside the dominant discourse. Moreover, the clear preference for elite social players as the most accessible, credible and quoted sources (Fowler, 1991; Van Dijk, 1991, 1993a) increases the possibility of the news stories to reproduce the established set of majority values. In other words, the "[s]ource reliability is not judged primarily by the quality or the reliability of source messages, but by group or institutional membership" (Van Dijk, 1993a, p. 247). McQuail (2009) further adds to this enumeration that media institutions as classical business enterprises depend on the capitalist system and therefore may naturally incline to support conservative streams of politics.

That being said, it is crucial to note that by illustrating these potential outcomes, no conclusion about journalist's intentions to purposely bias the coverage can be made. On the contrary, the possible danger of the news-making machinery for the minority issues resides in the fact that these principles are largely automatic. Fowler (1991) argues that the process of selecting a piece of information to be reported is not done with specific goals in the minds of individual journalists – it is a routine. However, defining the newsworthiness can have significant impacts. According to Harcup and O'Neill (2001), some of the prominent



indicators<sup>1</sup> for the piece of information to be selected as a news story are, besides the all-powerful entertaining value, presence of an elite player, a very negative or a very positive emotional charge, as well as the newspaper's own agenda. If we compare this shortened listing to the most frequently occurring news about minorities according to Van Dijk (2000) (e.g. policies about and political responses to immigration, reception and social problems, focus on threats caused by minorities), the hierarchy of the news values, even more so in the case of conservative titles forwarding their agenda, can potentially result in the negative portrayal of minorities, usually seen from the perspective of elite majority players. A good example is the research carried out by Raichová (2001), who compared the content of mainstream and Roma newspapers in the Czech Republic. The news items from Roma journalists apparently reflect a very different set of news values, covering culture, education and history of Roma, as well as their concerns about racism - topics seldom included in the mainstream coverage. To conclude with Hall (1973), "[n]ews values appear as a set of neutral, routine practices: but we need, also, to see formal news values as an ideological structure" (p. 181, as cited in Harcup & O'Neill, 2001, p. 265).

Another characteristic of the current newsgathering culture that can potentially negatively affect coverage about minorities, especially the objective one situating minority issues in broader context, is the ever-accelerating information cycle, amplified in the online, imperatively up-to-date, environment. The outcomes of Lewis, Williams and Franklin's (2008) research on British press point out that the attempts to increase productivity of the journalists, facing the decline of newspaper readership, result in the significant time constraints for a quality work, combined with increasing dependency on external material, e.g. press releases. Given the fact that minorities in general can only hardly match the professional communication of elite players and only seldom control PR communication tools (Van Dijk, 2000), their chance to be substantially covered in the press potentially decreases as the speed of the newsgathering increases.

In sum, the power of the press resides in defining what constitutes the important news of the day and in what angle they should be interpreted – an angle nearly always written by and aimed primarily at majority members, usually embedded in their quoted opinions or being adopted from their press releases. This is not to marginalize the active counteracts of NGO's, minority leaders and majority journalists who challenge this practice or to discredit

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<sup>1</sup> These indicators apply only to the British *The Sun*, *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph*.

the capacity of the audience to refuse media messages, but to outline the possible reasons for racist ideology to be embedded in the discourse springing from the specifics of the press.

### *2.3.2 Strategies of Racist Discourse in the Press*

Finally, moving from the general theoretical grounding of the racism and role of the media to the very concrete strategies of racist discourse occurring in the press articles, this sub-chapter constitutes a bridge between theoretical insights of critical discourse analysts and the specific analysis used in the empirical research for this paper (see 3.5 Data Analysis).

By analysing the surface of the discourse, in this case semantic and lexical structure of newspaper articles, it is possible to uncover ideological meanings buried in the text. Occurrences of racist ideology, unless openly expressed, are subtle and for inattentive reader potentially invisible. In Van Dijk's (1993b) view, in alignment with Wodak (2001), the basic property of discourses capable of reproducing dominance or strengthen identity is the dialectic of two semantic moves, namely a positive representation of the in-group and a negative representation of the out-group. Consequently, Van Dijk (1993b) identifies two general strategies within this dialectic, which result in reproduced dominant position of the groups currently in power - each instance of such dominance needs to be legitimized, or denied.

Following his logic, the justification builds on the forwarding of the positive portrayal of Us and the negative portrayal of Them, while this group polarization is consequently generalized as a natural fact. In other words, the negative attitude towards an out-group has to be rationalized in order to become a generalized universal stereotype. Teo (2000) sees generalization as a necessary simplification within newspaper discourse, which can, however, if stressed and overly repeated, result in simplifying the personal characteristics of minorities, which are in the end seen as invariable and not as complex as the members of the majority. Moreover, according to Quasthoff (1989), stereotypical conviction about Others are difficult to dismantle since any contradictory information, which could prove the stereotype wrong, is routinely labelled as exception to the rules and further strengthens its typicality. Van Dijk (1993b) counts among the important justification tools within the text: argumentation from the alleged facts, leading rhetorical figures or unequally distributed quotation patterns and Wodak (2001) adds intentional nomination of actors, predication of their characteristics or framing, the goal of which is the construction of the in-groups and out-groups in the text.

Moving from the semantic moves to lexical and grammatical structure, Fowler (1991) highlights the ideological effect of vocabulary on the group divisions. According to him, the

lexical choices within the text are at the core of discriminatory practices since they possess the power to cluster people into distinctive categories. Furthermore, any structure within the language use that opens the opportunity to make an active choice is in general potentially ideologically significant since deliberately chosen by the producer. Such a choice might, for instance, lead to concealing the responsibility of an agent in the case of nominalization and passive constructions (Fowler, 1991; Van Dijk, 2000), to forcing reader into a preferred interpretation of an article in case of headlines and leads (Teo, 2000; Van Dijk, 2000), to masking racist labels by special, seemingly neutral words (Van Dijk, 2000) or to over-lexicalizing certain groups in order to mark their deviance (Fowler, 1991).

The second common strategy, which can result in perpetuating dominant ideology – a denial – draws on the conviction that the current society is essentially egalitarian and to speak about dominance is inaccurate at least (Van Dijk, 1993b). In this case, the positive self-representation obviously plays a major role since “[t]he semantic basis of denial is ‘truth’ as the writer sees it” (Van Dijk, 1992, p. 103) – a view, which presupposes tolerance of the in-group. One of the semantic moves that fall within the category of denial described both by Van Dijk (1992) and Wodak (2001) is mitigation, specifically used to soften negative actions or attitudes of Us (e.g. by using euphemisms). Its counterpart, intensification, can on the other hand magnify negative characteristics or actions of Them (Wodak, 2001). This softening of the racist discourse is emblematic of the “new” racism, which fights for saving its tolerant face and tries to find new ways of legitimization at once. Van Dijk (2000) categorized the most common disclaimers of racist attitude. Once again embedded in the group polarization, the function of such disclaimers resides at first in casting positive light on Us, therefore a priori disproving any accusations of racism (e.g. by saying “I have absolutely nothing against Roma”) and only after such guarding term or sentence proceed on to articulate the kernel of the utterance, which is a negative portrayal of Them, usually connected to the first part of the sentence by the word “but” (e.g. “but it is true that they prefer not to work and only receive benefits”).

In any case, racism is rarely attributed to anyone outside of the extremist movements. If it is, it usually concerns remote realms that do not interfere with those of the journalists’, such as historical accounts of racism, reports about racism in foreign countries or criticism of racism perpetuated by lower strata of the society (Van Dijk, 1995).

## 2.4 Contextualizing the Analysis

### 2.4.1 *Current Situation of the Roma Question in the Czech and British Society*

An account of the state of Roma minority is essential for better embedding the analysis in the context, from which the media discourse emerges. Even though distinctive in terms of socio-historical and political realities, both the UK and the Czech Republic share a social system, which discriminates Roma and leaves the minority marginalized and excluded from most of the domains naturally accessible to majority.

In the Czech Republic, the Roma population consists mainly of descendants of Slovakian and Hungarian Roma, who migrated to the country after the Second World War, since the original Czech Roma were wiped out by the Nazi regime. Even though they are a legally recognized minority, they use Czech as their first language and Roma children participate in compulsory Czech education, their relations with the majority stay glacial. According to European Roma Rights Centre's ([ERRC], 2012) report, the situation deserves severe criticism. ERRC counts among the most prominent concerns the lack of policy action reversing discrimination in the domains of housing (e.g. forced evictions of Roma families, lack of social housing) and education (e.g. absolute majority of Roma children being assigned to special schools), or stigmatizing political and media discourses and racist violence. Giña (2013) points out that an estimate of 100 thousand Roma live in 400 segregated ghettos, the living conditions of which have led the minority into a fierce cultural decline over the last twenty years resulting in disappearance of traditional Roma identity and moral systems coupled with extreme unemployment and degrading educational level. These conditions of poverty and often-high indebtedness can consequently give rise to criminality, gambling or prostitution (Romea, 2012). Arguably, attempting to escape from this vicious circle is beyond strength of any individual and yet, the common-sense conviction of majority wrongly postulates, "if they wanted to work/integrate, they would". Ascription of the structural inequalities to the Roma's unwillingness to improve their lives is illogical (who wants to live in poverty?) but seems to be a socially shared legitimization of their exclusion.

The most prevalent development in the minority-majority relations during 2013 was numerous anti-Roma marches, incited by extremist movements. These types of happenings, which usually aim at gaining publicity for upcoming elections, but also include terrorizing of the local Roma populations (Romea, 2012), were repeatedly taking place also in the past. Nonetheless, the year 2013 was marked by the presence of ordinary citizens. Thus, in addition to the subtle exploitation of the negative attitude towards Roma by mainstream

politicians, which helped them to win elections in the past (Giña, 2013), the majority not only silently approved of the marches but also publicly showed its support. The Czech informational organization Romea (2012) uncovered the identity of the marches participants, who were mostly people experiencing rough aggravation of their living standard or facing unemployment and who identified Roma as “the ‘internal enemy’ whom it is possible to fight and to defeat, thereby ‘resolving’ the problem” (p. 3). Thus, the theme of scapegoating those, who can be potentially in even worse situation and helpless to an attack, is reoccurring.

Roma currently living in the UK have started to migrate to the island in the 1990’s as asylum seekers fleeing from the discrimination in Eastern and Central Europe and after two enlargements of the European Union in 2004 and 2007, seeking chance on better job, education for their children and society without prevalent anti-Roma attitudes. Nonetheless, according to the FRANET (2012) report, they migrated only to be caught again in the circle of discrimination and exclusion, which results in poverty and lack of participation in cultural or political domains. The report further suggests that the most prominent problems the minority has to face are economic difficulties, which may lead to a low school attendance, to their exploitation by work agencies and even to human trafficking, or prejudice and discrimination from the part of their neighbours - often other British minorities, who also live in poorer locations. The findings also point out that it is mainly the bad economical status of the minority and their difficult position as immigrants, which forward the inequalities, not explicitly their ethnicity.

The characteristic of the minority-majority relations in 2013 does not go as far as the open manifestations of hatred in the Czech Republic. In fact, the attention paid to Roma issue was largely elicited by media and political figures, who speculated about the potential consequences of the final lifting of the job market barriers to Romanian and Bulgarian citizens in January 2014. The main motive, perpetuated mainly in tabloids, was the fear of Roma heading towards the UK in order to abuse the social benefits system, which even resulted in a protest online petition to the parliament (Anstead, 2013). Moreover, statements of several British politicians, who negatively generalized Roma and called for necessary change of their culture if they were to stay in Britain, once again stirred the public debate. Finally, David Cameron introduced a proposal of restrictive policy on immigrants, such as receiving no benefits during the first three months of the stay or deportation and ban of re-entry for begging and sleeping on the streets. Even though he did not mention Roma, the target of these propositions was evidently the minority. Ultimately, in his speech on

immigration from March 2013<sup>2</sup>, the division between good immigrants (e.g. high-skilled workers, university students) and bad immigrants (e.g. unskilled force allegedly striving for benefits) was made straightforward.

#### *2.4.2 Public Discourses about Roma*

Roma are one of the most marginalized ethnic groups in the world with no territory of its own (Appelbaum, 2011). Hence, Roma represent an ideal of Other - in contemporary Europe defined by “essentialized physical or cultural characteristics, together with a presumed (immoral) character” (Martínez Guillem, 2011, p. 31). Whether are Roma seen as free-minded, nomadic people or thieves and kidnappers of children, it is clear that “[n]o people in Europe has been at once so persistently maligned and so excessively romanticized” (Cooper, 2001, p. 69). In following paragraphs, I opt to present the prevalent discourses about Roma within European realm, mainly through the prism of previously conducted research, with a focus on discourses prevalent in the UK and the Czech Republic.

Borrowing the theory outlined in earlier sections, the discourse was conceptualized as a link, which connects the structural discrimination in a real life and social cognitions (e.g. beliefs, prejudice) in people’s minds (Van Dijk, 2000). In the same logic, Petrova (2003) argues that Roma find themselves in the vicious circle of repeated misconceptions and myths, which only weaken the already weak position of the minority. She counts among the predominant assumptions about Roma their nomadism and irresponsibility, high involvement in crime, exploitation of their children and unwillingness to integrate or to self-educate. Even though each of these prejudices is refutable and not applicable to the minority as a whole, they remain to be the building blocks of Roma identity as seen from the exterior, implying that the position of the Roma is the minority’s own fault. Tileagă (2005, 2006), in his interviews with Romanian citizens, came to the same conclusion – the prejudice is considered to be justifiable and We are not to blame for it, it is essentially the Roma’s fault.

Such rhetoric of stigmatization known as Anti-Gypsyism is spread across Europe and finds its way not only to the hate speech of radicals or participants in heated online discussions but more importantly into official political, religious, legal and media discourses, apart from other countries also in the UK and in the Czech Republic (Council of Europe, 2012). Even though the messages targeting Roma avoid open racist expressions, they successfully perpetuate their negative portrayal – in the case of the European media by

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<sup>2</sup> The speech is available at <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/david-camerons-immigration-speech>

unnecessarily highlighting Roma ethnicity in relation to criminal activity or by sensationalizing (mostly negative) events concerning Roma (Council of Europe, 2012). For instance, Erjavec (2001) has found that Slovenian journalists anchor articles about Roma in partial perspective, which unambiguously sheds a positive light on the majority, while obscure context of the events and discursively reverse discrimination of the Roma into discrimination of the majority. As illustrated in following paragraphs, similar findings, selected from the Czech and British environment, are not exceptional.

Within the realm of Czech attitudes towards Roma, their image seems to be built on the idea of incapability to live in the “normal” society of the majority. This belief is aptly supported by the commonly used “neutral” label *the unadaptable* in the media as well as in the political discourse, which has become a synonym for Roma. They are often perceived as criminals, lazy, parasites and not surprisingly as those, who “have brought their fates upon themselves” (Fawn, 2001, p. 1196). Consequently, as Leudar and Nekvapil (2000) found in their analysis of Czech television debates, perception of Roma as a uniform mass of Others results in the situation where the diverse identities of Roma are unknown to the general population. Moreover, the stereotypes were often presented as a general common-sense knowledge shared by everyone - such argument cannot be successfully refuted since guarding the prejudice by extrapolating it to general public opinion renders it essentially bulletproof.

The reasons for this level of intensive Othering probably have the same roots as any other forms of discriminatory practice, the goal of which is the maintenance of dominant position of the in-group. Nonetheless, Erjavec (2001) offers an interesting perspective by pointing out the necessity of Eastern European countries to designate a segment of population, to which the majority can project the underdevelopment and backwardness, traditionally ascribed to the Eastern Europe in general, and therefore construct its own image as that of civilized culture. This assumption approximates to the findings of a broad research project on Roma portrayal in the Czech media during the early 1990’s carried out by a range of authors under the editor leadership of Homoláč, Karhanová and Nekvapil (2003). In several analyses, the tendency of Czech media to portray not only Roma but also white extremists (e.g. skinheads) as abnormal groups, considerably remote from the majority population, document the effort to dissociate any groups condemned by public opinion as “uncivilized” from Us, and to deny any racist attitudes of the majority in the process. Furthermore, the research also showed that reported acts of violence or even murders committed against Roma were being justified in the press by Roma’s alleged negative

behaviour - the authors concluded that “for the Czech media, an act can only be seen as racially motivated when all other possible motives have been eliminated” (p. 80) One of the interesting outcomes of this paper could be to see whether the media discourse matured.

For example, Fawn (2002) contradicts this criticism on the basis of analysis of Czech broadsheets, and argues that Czech press was maintaining an unexpected level of political correctness when treating Roma, especially since the second half of the 1990’s due to pressure of Roma activists. He even speculates that “Czech press is so ‘politically correct’ that it does not reflect opinion” (p. 89) and points out that some portion of the majority society considers press overly sympathetic to Roma. On the other hand, his analysis does not concern tabloids and more importantly, he concentrates rather on adherence to the obvious, general standards of non-discriminatory journalism, not on the deeper discourse analysis. In any case, according to the most recent quantitative content analysis carried out by Vodochodský (2013), the context in which the Czech media embed the minority is still overwhelmingly negative – treating mainly resentment of the majority, social problems and criminality. Furthermore, drawing on analysis of TV news reports by Sedláková (2007), the classical discriminatory practices, as favouring majority elite players, unnecessary dramatization of events to the detriment of context, overuse of reference to ethnicity and perpetuating stereotypes of Roma as nomadic, filthy or abnormally fertile, are still in place. Furthermore, as non-profit informational organization Romea (2012) points out, there can be found several instances of reports on incidents, which were artificially invented by the alleged victims of alleged Roma criminals and media’s uncritical embracement of these false stories has ignited anti-Roma atmosphere.

Moving to the realm of British coexistence with Roma, the image of the minority is twofold, drawing on the shared cognitions about domestic Travellers and Gypsies and also on the perception of immigrant Roma from Eastern Europe, who started to arrive to the island after the fall of communism. However, regardless the origin, the public discourses seem to be equally negative, both in media and political sphere. “In the United Kingdom, hostile reporting about Roma and Travellers is reported to be prevalent, particularly in some editorials of the tabloid press” (Council of Europe, 2012, p. 52) and according to an analysis of British parliamentary discourse from 1988 to 2001, the Gypsies were generally stigmatized as filthy criminals by members of all parties without being criticized for racist expression (Turner, 2002). This reoccurring pattern indicates that prejudice against Roma is indeed accepted as justified. One of the possible reasons for this can be, based on the experimental



research of Marcu and Chryssochoou (2005), the fact that British majority beliefs that Gypsies “belong to a separate ontology” (p. 54) – the one not corresponding to the complex cultural organization of humans but rather to the one corresponding to the simple and untied realm of nature. This perspective does not seem to imply a mere discrimination but a total exclusion from the societal system and may partly explain why the outspoken prejudice against Roma stays unnoticed or silently approved.

Previous research further suggests that the stereotypes attributed to the British Travellers and Gypsies (e.g. criminality, illiteracy, work-shyness) help to co-create the image of immigrant Roma. For instance, Fox et al. (2012) argue that domestic Gypsies serve as a point of departure for constructing the same prejudice about the newly arrived. In their analysis of tabloid reporting on Romanian immigration to Britain in 2007, they found that mentioning Roma was used as a discursive tool to stigmatize the whole Romanian nation, drawing simultaneously on the negative image of Travellers and Gypsies but also on the negative image of the first incoming Roma groups from Eastern Europe in the early 1990’s. Similarly, Morris (2000) sketched a critical portrayal of British newspapers’ treatment of Gypsies, highlighting the unprofessional fuelling of the conflicts between them and settled majority by drawing on stereotypes in order to create attractive stories, while avoiding other pressing issues the minority has to face. Richardson (2006) argues that in order to deny the Travellers and Gypsies the access to accommodation and education, the constructed public discourses supported by local media can largely deviate from the reality, e.g. by speculating about Gypsies as murderers, and make the Othering extreme.

Finally, following the extensive study on the discourses about Roma in British quality press by Schneeweis (2012), it is possible to observe two angles of how the immigrant Roma were regarded from 1990’s until 2006: The Roma entering the country were problematized, but rather in terms of denouncing their mistreatment in their countries of origin or criticizing the EU policy, therefore Britain positioned itself as not responsible for their situation. In the same time, the pro-integration humanitarian voices constituted the competing discourses. However, even those gradually developed into an assimilative discourse, reflecting the growing fear over immigration effects. Schneeweis also demonstrates that journalists opt for a humanitarian discourse while covering Roma abroad, but the Othering becomes prevalent while covering the domestic Roma population, marking an interesting difference to look for in this research.

Previous research suggests that public discourses about Roma are in general negative

but some may be rather subtle or seen as politically correct. This paper will hopefully dig beyond their subtlety and offer a new insight on the construction of racialized Roma identity.

### 2.4.3 *British and Czech Press Under Analysis*

Following the implications the economical nature of the press corporations can have on the ideological content of the newspapers (see 2.3.1 Specifics of the Press), a brief contextualization of the analysed titles is outlined in this section.

Unlike the British traditional press titles dating back several centuries, the Czech newspapers have started to build or re-build their reputation only after the fall of the communist regime, which had centrally controlled every media outlet. Even though the independent media were initially believed to play a crucial role in democratization of the country, the faith in the emergence of quality journalistic practice proved to be naïve. Rather, “the essence of the transformation was not democratization of society but creation of a prospering and effectively functioning media sector” (Jirák & Köpplová, 2008, p. 18). The avid transition to capitalism and free-market economy coupled with large-scale privatization have shaped the nature of the appearing media outlets into first and foremost businesses in pursuit of profit, while the public role of press serving the society was rather forgotten (Jirák & Köpplová, 2008). Klvaňa (2004) even sees the Czech media landscape as a threat to the advancement of the civil society. He argues that infotainment has become the common, most powerful denominator of all major outlets, and in conformity with Jirák and Köpplová (2008) states that the Czech press landscape lacks a proper quality daily. Fawn (2002) adds that, “the extent and quality of investigative journalism seems limited in the Czech Republic” (p. 74).

None of the Czech newspapers under analysis (national daily *Mladá Fronta Dnes* [*MDF*], regional chain *Deník* and tabloid *Blesk*) adheres to a specific editorial stance and claims to be providing objective and transparent reporting. According to the dailies’ presentations for advertisers, their readers constitute a cross-section of the population; therefore any closer determination of specific target groups is not easy, confirming the prevalent profit orientation on the mass market within the Czech newspaper industry. As Klvaňa (2004) describes, the strategy of *MFD* and *Blesk* (but also others) is continuously more and more based on receding from analytical journalism to the entertaining content, in which the political commentary focuses on sensation, personalization and conflict. Thus, even though *MFD* and *Deník* present their coverage as serious, their growing range of soft topics aimed at mass audience prevent the media scholars to call them a quality press – a press otherwise greatly needed for the serious and in-depth coverage of minority issues.

Examination of ownership reveals that both *Deník* and *Blesk* were owned by foreign media corporations in 2013, namely German *VGP - Verlagsgruppe Passau* and German-Swiss *Ringier Axel Springer Media AG* – both operating on several markets in Central and Eastern Europe. The strong presence of the foreign investors from the early 1990's highlights the idea of the Czech press market as a blank canvas, which was immediately recognized abroad as a viable commercial investment (Jiráček & Köpplová, 2008) instead of maturing to serve the public interest. *MFD*'s ownership changed in the course of 2013. Formerly belonging to the portfolio of another German company *Rheinisch-Bergische-Druckerei*, which was according to Klvaňa (2004) responsible for its declining quality and commercialization, *MFD* was bought by the second richest man in the country, a successful businessman Andrej Babiš, whose consequent political campaign yielded him the post of minister of finances, shedding suspicious light on the independence of the Czech press.

The traditional division between quality broadsheets and sensationalist tabloids, as well as between Labour and Conservative affiliation is more pronounced in the UK. One of the outcomes, resulting from the differing business models, is that the detailed political coverage and analysis is concentrated in the newspapers aimed at readers' elites, whereas popular press, replacing its political content with entertainment in order to achieve mass circulation, underserves the rest of the public, mimicking the economic inequalities in the society (Curran & Seaton, 2003). According to the logic of these authors, the economic basis of the press dependent on advertising tends to create a dual system, where only two types of newspapers can survive – those which can target specific affluent, politically interested audience (broadsheets) and those which make up for the lack of exact targeting by mass circulation, therefore by vast reach (tabloids). In such a system, it seems difficult to imagine newspapers, which would challenge the dominant system in place or offer alternatives because they are dependent on its current arrangement.

Regarding the titles analysed in this paper, *The Daily Telegraph* represents the quality broadsheet with the circulation around four times lower than the other analysed title, the most read tabloid *The Sun*, which is closely followed by the third mid-market tabloid *The Daily Mail* (for detailed figures, see 3.4 Data Collection). Both *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Daily Mail* are long-term representatives of Conservative, right-wing line of opinion, whereas *The Sun*, historically pro-Labour, re-oriented its editorial stance to the right only after Rupert Murdoch purchased it in 1960's (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001). This shift especially highlights the influence of the proprietor on the newspaper's content since the decision went directly

against the title's readers (Curran & Seaton, 2003), the half of which is still pro-Labour or supports Liberal Democrats (Ipsos Mori, 2010, as cited in Wring & Ward, 2010). Similarly, as Akkerman (2011) shows in her research<sup>3</sup>, even though the common-sense function of popular press should be to appeal directly to the problems relevant to ordinary people and represent rather an anti-elite profile among newspapers, the tabloids “appear to be as much or even more strongly oriented to elite messages and authoritative sources than the quality newspapers” (p. 942) – potentially a bad message for any marginalized groups in the society.

Having already mentioned the influence Rupert Murdoch, the owner of one of the biggest world media conglomerates the *News Corporation*, has had over *The Sun*, it is not a surprise that the pro-Conservative *The Daily Mail* is owned by Jonathan Harmsworth, 4th Viscount Rothermere's *The Daily Mail and General Trust plc*, who is known as a supporter of David Cameron. Similarly to these two, *The Daily Telegraph* under the *Press Holdings* company is also owned by business moguls, Barclay brothers, with commercial interests far exceeding the media sector. This is not to say that editors have to succumb to their proprietors wishes and publish their opinions, but rather to point out that they may “influence the ethos of an organization in a cumulative way” (Curran & Seaton, 2003, p. 84) through choosing editors, determining financial resources and management of the news gathering or setting the tone of the paper's course. In the case of top-businessmen owning the conglomerates in question dependent on their privileged position in the society (and their relationships with politicians), such course can be potentially set to the detriment of alternative, challenging views.

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<sup>3</sup> She analysed British *The Sun* and Dutch *De Telegraaf*.

### 3 Research Design

#### 3.1 Method

As outlined in the introduction, the focus on racism calls for a specialized type of qualitative content analysis – specifically a critical discourse analysis allowing for analysis of discursive practices in the media, which may produce and perpetuate dominant ideologies. CDA has risen as a discipline and a research tool in the end of the 1970's, building on the theoretical insights from the newly established disciplines of the 1960's (e.g. linguistics, semiotics), which turned their research focus on everyday language, the context of its usage and linguistic phenomena overlooked by the academics until then (Van Dijk, 2007). The common ground of CDA, which crystalized in the works of the major critical discourse analysts (e.g. Van Dijk, Fairclough, Wodak, Fowler), is the stress put on the role of language considered crucial for creation, change and re-production of power relations. Consequently, seemingly the most ordinary practice penetrating all domains of human life – language use – is argued to have major implications for power holding within the society, and interconnects the study of discourse with other disciplines of humanities or social sciences naturally dependent on language use (Van Dijk, 2007), media studies being one of them.

According to Van Dijk (1991), media have near to absolute domination over the public consensus creation in terms of symbolical resources, and in conformity with Phillips & Jørgensen (2002), the discourse itself has the potential to recreate power inequalities. Consequently, the battle of shifting or maintaining the power in society is nowadays fought on the symbolical level of ideologies rather than by using means of enforcement (Van Dijk, 1991). Newspaper articles are a fine example of the everyday discourse, the underlying structure of which is taken for granted and left unnoticed by the majority of readers. However, it is precisely this ordinary type of discursive practice, which accounts for the major source of information we gain about the world and which could consequently turn into “a potentially powerful site for the dominance of minds” (Teo, 2000, p. 9). The mission of CDA then is to “demystify” (Wodak, 2002, p. 10) the ideology buried in the discourse. Therefore, along with Phillips & Jørgensen (2002), who see the political commitment of CDA as one of its distinctive features, the approach applied in this research is normative in nature and regards the reproduction of ethnically based social inequalities through media discourse as unacceptable abuse of power and as deserving criticism.

The foundations of this analysis build on the Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional model of CDA, which takes into account not only the textual analysis but also the discursive

and social practice. Practically, the focus is on examining the circumstances of the text production by the institution, as well as the linguistic structure and the broader social context the discourse is a part of. In other words, the context plays a crucial role in CDA's effort to examine not only the language itself but also the social practise it reflects (Wodak, 2002). The context analysis here draws on the secondary desk-research of the environmental context already outlined in the theoretical framework (see 2.4 Conceptualizing the Analysis).

Since a broad and heterogeneous number of approaches and methodologies can be gathered under the umbrella of CDA (Wodak, 2002), it is impossible to draw on all of them and it is inevitable to follow only selected few (see section 3.5 Data Analysis). Nevertheless, all of the approaches, as well as the eclectic one used in this thesis, build on the common ground of distinctive features, described by Phillips & Jørgensen (2002), which summarize the CDA's view on the nature of discourse:

The discursive practise, seemingly a mere utility tool to transmit meanings, is considered an important form of social practice contributing to the construction of social world, its changes or reproductions (e.g. of power relations). In Foucault's (1981) words, "discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized" (p. 53). However, this relationship with the social world is not unidirectional - the analyst cannot approach (media) discourse neither as a mere mirror of the society, nor an independent entity setting its own agenda lifted out of the context. Last but not least, CDA's approach puts emphasis on the fact that discourse has ideological effects, which both constitute the social power relations and promote interests of those in power. The power thus does not reside in the language but in its usage by those, who are in power, and consequently those, whose discourse is probed and criticized by CDA (Wodak, 2002). Regarding this thesis, the power to install unequal social relations or to change them emanates from media and the CDA will be used to critically evaluate its language use from the perspective of Roma minority.

### **3.2 Units of Analysis**

The dataset for the research consists of British and Czech national daily newspapers, both print and online versions (for details see section 3.4 Data Collection). The unit of discourse to be critically analysed corresponds to a newspaper article. Predominantly news reports or reportages and to a lesser extent also opinion columns and editorials have emerged in the final selection, unlike interviews, letters from the readers, advertorials, columns made available to public figures or photo and video reportages, which significantly lacked the

textual part. The aim behind this selection was to limit the research to the units reflecting the work of the internal editors, not external, occasional or paying contributors, the expressions of whom are not representative for the medium. Furthermore, the unit of one article enables the analysis of the language use on micro-level (e.g. lexis, rhetorical devices, transitivity), as well as on macro-level (e.g. headlines, structure, cohesion, quoting patterns).

The number of articles analysed in the scope of the research equals sixty units, which corresponds to thirty articles for each country respectively. Subsequently, given the three major newspapers analysed in each country, the number of units per relevant category (newspaper title) equals ten articles. Concerning the amount of analysed articles, sixty research units is arguably a maximal volume manageable regarding the time constraints of master thesis. Further, the number of articles per newspaper title was designated mainly due to the real amount of articles about Roma in the British press, in which similar reports were not overly frequent. Moreover, the focus on six newspaper titles in total is deemed to enrich the analysis in terms of variety of publishing outlets.

The initial criteria for an article to be selected in the beginning of the collection were not strictly set in advance in order not to exclude any potentially interesting units, however, the articles were bound to treat Roma as the major topic, to be of at least average length and to appear in the set time period either in the print or online version of the selected title. After preliminary scanning of the data available, specific patterns occurred (e.g. topics connected to Roma, highlighted events), which further guided the narrowing of the selection. Moreover, since the core of the research is a comparative study, a selection of the units from poorer British dataset to a certain extent influenced the Czech sample, so that a comparison on the basis of similar topics was possible.

### **3.3 Time Period**

The time period for the selection of the units was based throughout the year 2013 since this particular stretch of time was significant for the discussion about Roma in both countries. More specifically, the UK coverage in 2013 focused on the Roma immigrants, who dwelled in one of the London parks, lacking a proper accommodation, and their consequent repatriation. Another topic treated was criminality as illegal settling, squatting or stealing of both Roma and domestic Gypsies and Travellers. Another area exploited by the press was the coexistence of Slovakian Roma immigrants with the majority and other minorities in the English town of Sheffield. Further, several other articles focusing on Roma have appeared in the last three months of the year in response to the euro-sceptical debates and shared fears

about the borders opening to the citizens of Romania and Bulgaria. The same immigration debates were reflected in the coverage already in the beginning of 2013, speculating about the future opening of the job market in January 2014.

Concerning the Czech coverage in 2013, the newspapers mainly focused on numerous anti-Roma demonstrations, which started in May 2013 in various Czech cities after the physical attack on a couple committed by a group of Roma in the Czech city of Duchcov. In comparison to the British dataset, Czech media inform about Roma in larger quantity and in order to spot common themes within the one-year reporting, the content analysis by Newton Media (Vodochodský, 2013) served as a guide for the final sampling. According to the findings, the most reported topics consisted of the anti-Roma resentment of the public, the worsening situation of Roma's social problems and focus on their criminality. A thorough scanning of the outcomes of the search in the databases revealed other appearing issues that treated Roma culture, their fears from majority, affirmative actions of NGOs or efforts promoting social inclusion, as well as few positive stories about successful Roma individuals and critiques of rising racism.

Furthermore, the Roma were substantially covered by newspapers in the selected countries during 2013 not only in the connection with the local situation but also as meta stories informing about news from abroad, e.g. the debated French expulsions of Roma or the hyped story about a blond girl found in the Roma family in Greece.

### **3.4 Data Collection**

In order to gather newspaper articles from British press, a search through Lexis Nexis database was conducted, using a range of keywords<sup>4</sup> within the headlines and leads during the chosen time period. Concerning the Czech press, the content of which is not available in the database mentioned above, the collection relied on the Czech news monitoring service Newton Media Search, using corresponding keywords<sup>5</sup> in Czech language. The Czech search, however, did not enable the limitation of results only for headlines and leads and therefore yielded greater amount of data, which had to be processed. Moreover, all the articles from the Czech dataset were translated into English in order to make illustration of the results accessible to non-Czech speakers.

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<sup>4</sup> The keyword query for British press: HLEAD(Roma) OR HLEAD(gypsy) OR HLEAD(gipsy) OR HLEAD(tinker) OR HLEAD(Gypsies) OR HLEAD(Gipsies)

<sup>5</sup> The keyword query for Czech press: rom OR cikán OR cigán



The aim of the research was not to narrow down the area of interest to specific newspaper format and thus close the door to potentially valuable input for the analysis. The principal justification for the selection of the titles was based on their relative importance in reaching the vast public; therefore those with the highest readerships in their respective categories were selected. Additionally, in order to account for the inter-national comparison, an effort has been made to choose titles, which would ideally resemble one another in the respective countries – the most popular tabloid, the most popular broadsheet and the most popular mid-market newspaper.

In the case of the Czech Republic<sup>6</sup>, the dataset for searching consisted of the daily tabloid *Blesk* (1 million readers/month), the most read print newspaper in the country and its online version *Blesk.cz* (2 million readers/month); the most read broadsheet *Mladá Fronta Dnes* (800 thousand readers/month) and its online version *Zpravy.idnes.cz* (2 million of readers/month), and the regional mid-market dailies under the umbrella brand *Deník* (773 thousand reader/month) and its online version *Denik.cz* (1 million readers/month).<sup>7</sup>

The British<sup>8</sup> dataset included the most widely read daily tabloid *The Sun* (15 million readers/month combined), the most read mid-market *The Daily Mail* (19 million readers/month combined), one of the most read broadsheets *The Daily Telegraph* (11 million readers/month combined) and the online versions<sup>9</sup> *Dailymail.co.uk* and *Telegraph.co.uk*.

Except for the readership, which makes “the conservative or right-wing perspective on ethnic relations ... usually prominent in western countries” (Van Dijk, 1991, p. 247), the argumentation supporting the choice of these titles draws on the assumption that tabloids, as well as right wing, conservative titles are more likely to provide the space for a critique of embedded racist ideology either because of their profit-driven newsgathering routines or their editorial stance (conservative as opposed to liberal). Concerning the former, the specific political economy of the commercially founded newspapers or sites determine their routines,

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<sup>6</sup> The readership numbers in brackets were extracted from the Mediaprojekt (Median & Stem/Mark, 2013) survey for the print and from the NetMonitor report (SPIR, 2013) for the websites.

<sup>7</sup> In the case of *Blesk* and *Deník*, the final collected material includes articles solely from the online versions of the titles. The reason for this draws on the fact that the paper version articles are automatically copied to the websites and sometimes incorporate additional information. Thus, to use the online version of the articles was deemed to be more inclusive and enriching for the CDA.

<sup>8</sup> The numbers in brackets were extracted from the National Readership Survey Jan13 - Dec13, available on <http://www.nrs.co.uk/nrs-data-tables/> and they combine both print and online readership.

<sup>9</sup> The online version of *The Sun* was not available in the Lexis Nexis database in the time of the data collection and the website is protected by a paywall.

goals and functions, which go beyond informing the public towards entertaining the reader and catching his attention by sensations in order to gain profit. According to Van Dijk (1991), the common structure of tabloid discourse tends to reproduce racism to a higher extent than the quality press, especially the liberal one.

### **3.5 Sampling**

The sampling procedure drew on the qualitative nature of the research, as well as on the research question and sub-questions. Thus, while representativeness was not the primary issue, the relevance of the content to the Roma and the possibility to compare specific topics in the two countries played a significant role. After all, an ordinary reader of the newspaper is never exposed to all articles about Roma from certain publication, on the contrary, he or she focuses on one article at a given time – conditions simulated within the in-depth but not generalizable qualitative analysis. Consequently, given the principal interest embedded in the research questions, the guideline for the final selection was grounded in comparing the co-existence of Roma with the majority in both countries, once as immigrants and once as original citizens.

Regarding the British dataset<sup>10</sup>, the selected articles treated the lifting of free movement restrictions for the Romanian and Bulgarian citizens from January 2014 (7), focused on the claims of official political figures about Roma and immigrants (6), discussed the co-existence with majority and criminality of Roma community in London (5) and in Sheffield (5), as well as in Paris (3) and in Romania (3), and finally last article discussed the criminality of Roma in Europe in general (1). This selection is a fair representation of the articles treating the immigrant Roma from Eastern Europe in 2013, since the whole amount of retrieved data, after elimination of unsuitable and duplicate articles, was not much broader. Nonetheless, the final selection omits the meta-stories and focuses on the coverage of situation in or connected to the UK.

Unlike the British dataset, the Czech selection could not represent all the articles written in 2013 due to the big and diverse amount of articles in all three publications. However, an attempt was made to include the widest range of topics in relative proportion to their occurrence. Thus, articles treating criminality, both ascribed to Roma (8) and committed against Roma (3) were analysed, as well as articles focusing on the co-existence of Roma and

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<sup>10</sup> See Appendix A for a summary table or Appendix D for the complete material (digital version, separate file) or references (print version).

the majority in the Czech towns (9), on statements and strategic steps of majority's officials (4), on racial discrimination and segregation (3) and finally a couple of articles treating Roma as pro-active or successful members of the society (2) were included in the analysis. Hence, approximately the same topics, corresponding to the British sample (e.g. co-existence with the majority, officials' statements, criminality), were chosen as criteria to select relevant articles. However, exceptional topics treating Roma in positive or neutral way were selected as well in order to acknowledge instances of challenging discourse and prevent bias.

Even though the anti-Roma marches were highly mediatized throughout the year in the Czech press, their coverage did not fit the scope of the comparison in this study. Firstly, the number of articles treating the marches was too high to enable a justified selection – a study concentrating solely on the Czech coverage of the protests would be needed and its limited inclusion here would not do sufficient justice to the topic. Moreover, the aim of this study was to analyse the ordinary media discourse about Roma, which is perceived by the readers as “routine” and decoded automatically – in contrast to this, the marches represented a hyped coverage, likely resulting in a distorted approach to the articles from both journalists (e.g. careful not to use racist expressions) and readers (e.g. more attentive, well-informed).

### **3.6 Data Analysis**

The overall analysis (for a detailed table see Appendix B, table B1) is embedded in Van Dijk's (1992, 1993b, 1995, 2000) critical approach to ideological reproduction within the discourse, especially on the strategies and discursive tools stressing the positive presentation of Us and the negative presentation of Them, while mitigating the negative presentation of Us and the positive representation of Them (also known as ideological square). This approach is combined here with Wodak's (2001) discourse-historical approach, specifically her analysis of discriminatory discourse, which builds on the same foundations of in-group and out-group construction within the (media) discourse. Both these methods were used by the authors (also by Baker et al. (2008) and Khosravini (2009)) to examine discourses about ethnical minorities or immigrants and are considered well-suited to help uncover the narratives about Roma produced by journalists that justify the dominant position of the in-group.

In practice, the analysis will firstly concentrate on the macro-structure of the articles, specifically on the patterns that might be abused in terms of minority issues. At first, it is crucial to examine headlines and leads, which “encapsulate the newspaper's ideological values and attitudes” (Teo, 2000, p. 14). In other words, they serve as an orientation point for the reader and have the ability to guide his understanding by giving the sense to the

microstructure revealed further in the text (Teo, 2000; Erjavec, 2001). Secondly, it is essential to focus on the distribution of quotation patterns/quoted speakers. These might reproduce, legitimize or deny racist ideology in quite an explicit way, yet stay concealed as “private opinions”, distant from the perspective of the journalist, and providing the article with authenticity (Erjavec, 2001). In the same time, they remain to be intentionally chosen and arranged in a specific, potentially ideologically significant way. Thirdly, a special attention is devoted to lexical cohesion, over-lexicalization and generalization of the minority in the context of the article as a whole.

Moving to the micro level, in order to illuminate the relationship between the linguistic structure in the news about Roma and its ideological consequences, the analysis borrows from the classical model of critical linguistics created by Halliday as appropriated by Fowler (1991). Among his analytical tools, transitivity (see Appendix B, Table B2), along with verb nominalisation, plays an important role in representing events and ascribing agency to actors, having the power to represent one situation in different, ideologically significant angles (e.g. ascribing/obscuring responsibility, topicalizing/omitting actors). Furthermore, other discourse strategies described by Van Dijk informed the microanalysis procedure, as usage of rhetorical figures (e.g. metaphors) and local meanings of certain words, which might both imply racist discourse without explicitly using racist terms, as well as different strategies of denial (see the description of disclaimers in the section 2.3.2).

The analysis of discursive strategies of nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivation and intensification/mitigation created by Wodak (2001) is interweaving into this outlined procedure (see Appendix B, Table B3). This type of analysis - examining the usage of ideologically toned verbs, adjectives and nouns for different groups, their foregrounding or overshadowing, the arguments being used for justification of inclusion or exclusion and the expressions of the writer’s point of view - further uncovers the strategies of Othering and complete Van Dijk’s approach in systematic way.

In summary, the analysis in question is concerned by the linguistic and semantic choices made by the journalists and their ideological effects. Specifically, the aim is to examine if and how the Othering is discursively constructed in the text through the strategies described above, and if and how this discourse is justified, legitimized or on the other hand denied.

## 4 Results

In the following section, the results of the CDA are systematically reported, accompanied by referenced evidence from the collected material<sup>11</sup>. A general summary assessing the datasets is followed by the results of macro level analysis, shedding light on the ideological effects of language use within headlines and leads, of speakers' quoting and of overall referential patterns used in connection to Roma, specifically strategies of generalization, over-lexicalization and lexical cohesion. The microanalysis ensues with a closer look on ideological effects resulting from transitivity and verbs nominalizations, from employment of rhetorical devices, local meanings and the lexical choices journalists make when reporting on Roma. Finally, an insight into semantic strategies is encapsulated in the assessment of in-group and out-group creation and argumentation within the articles.

### 4.1 Standardized Approach to Roma Coverage across the Press Landscape

Even though it is not justifiable to draw precise conclusions about sum of the topics treated in the press without quantitative study of the whole population of the articles from the selected titles in 2013, the general pattern spotted during the material screening in the first stage of the units selection testifies rather large stress on negative themes in case the Roma minority is the main subject. In particular, none of the articles from the British dataset treats a positive issue. Given the fact that the British articles studied in this thesis constitute a major part of articles about Roma from Eastern Europe in a given year, such a stress on negative topics cannot be a result of a biased selection by the researcher. Further, although it is more difficult to accurately assess the distribution of topics within the Czech press due to its larger scope, the spotted emphasis on criminality, conflicts with majority or problematic integration and poverty issues outweighs neutral and positive matters – a tendency, which can result in a distorted unfavourable perception of Roma minority as a whole.

Some slight differences between the selected titles manifest itself in a bigger stress on political claims' reporting in *The Daily Telegraph*. Both *The Daily Mail* and *The Sun*, on the contrary, provide more space to the reportages in the field, characterized by storytelling and quoting people from the streets. These differences reflect the distinctive tabloids' and

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<sup>11</sup> Each illustration from the material is referenced back to its source in Appendix A (summary of the articles) and in Appendix D (full material, separate digital file), either using a date and source reference or an abbreviated superscript (e.g. <sup>S1</sup> for the article No. 1 from *The Sun*). Bold script within the examples designates that the text constitutes a headline of the article. The patterns illustrating a point, which is being discussed, are underlined.

broadsheets' orientation (high-status audience oriented towards political analysis and sensational orientation of the tabloids on human interest stories). *The Sun* also surpasses the other titles by the number of editorials devoted to the immigration related to Roma, living up to the tendency of UK tabloids to explicitly express opinions on Roma (see 2.4.2. Public Discourses about Roma). Regarding the Czech press, the *Blesk* tabloid stands out among the titles by the brevity of its articles, which along with the significant focus on topics concerning serious or fatal crimes, employment of familiar register resulting in illusion of proximity to the ordinary reader, and overuse of exclamation marks inciting the sense of urgency and significance of the reported events, characterizes the general style of the title and highlights its sensational character. On the contrary, both *Deník* and *MF Dnes* opt for a serious tone of news reporting, the standard length of which provides for broader analysis of the events, and extends their focus also on peripheral topics without sensational potential.

Nonetheless, the sum of the themes treated by all the titles and their processing reflect similar attitudes to the news values (e.g. negativity and conflict, presence of elite speakers), as well as professional routines (e.g. inverted pyramid favouring the majority, attractivization of headlines, assessment of credible sources), which result in only a scarce representation of an alternative perspective on the minority. Resembling headlines (A, B), quotes (C, D), rhetorical devices (see 4.3.2) and argumentation (see 4.4.2) in different titles throughout each of the datasets highlight their standardized approach, as well as, in case of the British press, common conservative editorial stance.

- (A) **It beggars belief**; SUN REPORT ON EUROPE'S IMMIGRATION CRISIS 20,000 <sup>S4</sup>  
**It beggars belief! Anger of shopkeepers at Roma gypsies who have set up camp at Marble Arch in London** <sup>DM3</sup>
- (B) **We don't want another ghetto in Cerveny Ujezd, locals are afraid** <sup>D8</sup>  
**Former refugee camp is turning into ghetto, local people are in despair** <sup>MF7</sup>
- (C) David Blunkett's quotes <sup>S9, DM7, DM8, DM9, DT6, DT7, DT8</sup>  
 Nigel Farage quotes <sup>DM7, DT7</sup>  
 Nick Clegg quotes <sup>DM10, DT8</sup>
- (D) Mayor Drahomira Miklosova's quotes <sup>D10, MF10</sup>  
 Mayor Jana Syslova's quotes <sup>D8, MF7</sup>

## 4.2 Leafing through: Macro Structure

### 4.2.1 Concentrated Othering within the Headlines and Leads

The British collection of headlines and leads proves to be characteristic in several ways, which lead to the construction of Roma as the Other, different from Us. Firstly, the minority is referred to as a homogenous group, nominated in plural nouns (e.g. *Roma migrants*<sup>DM9 DT5-8</sup>, *The Untouchables*<sup>S2</sup>, *Romanian beggars*<sup>S3 DM5</sup>, *Roma gypsies*<sup>DM3</sup>, *Roma Gangs*<sup>DM6</sup>). This portrayal of Roma is intensified by explicit references to the figures invoking their numerosity (e.g. *200,000 Roma migrants*<sup>DT5</sup>, *20,000 Romanians on streets of Paris*<sup>S4</sup>) and by using metaphors of size and quantity (e.g. *Roma invasion*<sup>DT3,4</sup>, *coming wave of immigration*<sup>DM1</sup>). Furthermore, as the examples above suggests, Roma are frequently referred to in negative terms and predicates (e.g. *the scourge*<sup>DT4</sup>, *sleeping rough, begging, blamed for rising crime*<sup>DT4</sup>, *cause riots*<sup>DT6</sup>, *giving offence*<sup>DT8</sup>, *living on landfill, poor, persecuted*<sup>S2</sup>).

The focus on the numerosity intensifies the perception of threat linked specifically to immigration and is not, understandably, employed in the scope of the Czech headlines. Similarly, the negative predicates appear only exceptionally (e.g. *Aggressive Roma*<sup>B10</sup>, *Roma taking over*<sup>D6</sup>) indicating a more careful approach to reporting about Roma from the part of Czech journalists, who have been criticized and warned about their failings to report correctly for many years. However, generalization to the whole ethnic group proves to be a thread prevalent within the Czech headlines, especially significant in texts treating criminal acts in the *Blesk* tabloid. In these instances, ethnicity repeatedly becomes the only identification of the offender/victim in the headline, implying that the ethnicity plays a decisive role in the act itself, and thus generalizing the negative behaviour to every member of the ethnic group (e.g. *Gypsy baron slit the throat of Martin*<sup>B2</sup>; *Roma stabbed a bouncer to death*<sup>B3</sup>; *He shot a Roma with a crossbow*<sup>B6</sup>; *group of Roma brutally beat up married couple*<sup>B7</sup>). Similarly to the British case, besides the criminal reports accusing single offenders, the rest of the headlines addresses the minority in plural forms as a homogenous mass, reducing the natural complexity of individuals.

One of the themes exploited by journalists in the headlines of the British titles is the topic of *threat* and *urgency*, when reporting on the January restrictions lifting, rendering the headlines more dramatic and further designating Roma as an external, dehumanized entity, which from the topicalized subject position within the sentence threatens Us in the object – victim position:

- (A) **ROM THEIR WAY**; 350 000 Romanians and Bulgarians heading to UK as EU lift restrictions <sup>S1</sup>
- (B) **'We want to get into your country before someone locks the door': Shocking investigation into the coming wave of immigration from Romania and Bulgaria** <sup>DM1</sup>
- (C) **The Roma invasion of Paris... next stop Britain**  
Romanian migrants are the scourge of Paris - sleeping rough, begging and blamed for rising crime. Is this what awaits Britain when they start crossing the Channel? <sup>DT4</sup>

The sense of urgency is grammatically induced by the continuous tense, as well as by the distorted modality, where the fact that Roma are coming “right now” or plan on coming “as soon as possible” is presented as a fact, while only being an assumption of the journalist. Moreover, the rhetorical figures (*metaphors* “wave” and “invasion” in B, C) and wordplays (*allusion to “on their way”* in A) intensify the semantic proposition of the headlines – Roma are an imminent threat to Us. Some of the Czech headlines exploit the same strategy of turning Roma into a threatening subject endangering the majority (D, E), while employing the continuous tense to mark the urgency of the situation (D) or choosing negative evaluative lexis (D, E), and therefore dramatize the headline:

- (D) **Roma taking over Boletice area in Decin!** <sup>D6</sup>
- (E) **Will the administered fines drive them away? Homeless [Roma] pester other citizens**  
<sup>D5</sup>

Moreover, a tendency to justify the creation of Roma as a threat by highlighting the concerns of the majority proves to be widespread (F-I). Such evaluative proposition within the headlines sides with the subjective perspective of the members from the majority and sets its tone as determining for the rest of the article:

- (F) **People in Upice dread new ghetto, crime rate rose by one third** <sup>MF6</sup>
- (G) **Former refugee camp is turning into ghetto, local people are in despair** <sup>MF7</sup>
- (H) **We don't want another ghetto in Cerveny Ujezd, locals are afraid** <sup>D8</sup>
- (I) **Attack on married couple in Duchcov: 500 people march through town** <sup>B9</sup>

Furthermore, worth mentioning is the usage of direct quoting within the headlines, which might seem as an objective device, but in fact serves the journalist to transfer the responsibility for a subjective opinion in the quote to its speaker, while making an



ideologically significant decision by including it in the headline. In this way, some politicians' and citizens' quotes stigmatizing Roma become the starting point of the articles, leading the reader to a specific ideological decoding within the micro-structure (e.g. *Roma migrants could cause riots in cities, warns Blunkett*<sup>DT6</sup>; *Nigel Farage: 'Blunkett right to warn Roma migrants could trigger riots'*<sup>DT7</sup>; *Roma migrants need to avoid giving offence, warns Clegg*<sup>DT8</sup>; *"When it goes off, it will be like an atom bomb here"*<sup>DT9</sup>; *Re-educating Roma? Foolishness, says mayor of Novy Bydzov*<sup>D3</sup>).

#### 4.2.2 About Them, Without Them: Quotation Patterns

Moving to the quotations in the rest of the article's bodies, the ratio of majority and minority speakers quoted (both directly and indirectly) is a telling sign of the majority dominance within the media discourse. In the case of British dataset, more than a half, in the case of the Czech one, a half of the articles, absolutely discard Roma speakers, resulting in a one-sided perspective of the treated issues and depriving the minority from a possibility of defence or challenge to the dominant discourse. Journalists' choice not to include Roma voices in the debate about Roma degrades the minority's perceived power not only to participate in the society but also to participate in influencing their very own fate, which is discursively controlled by the majority – such an omission is in itself racist.

In the British dataset, Roma speakers are predominantly quoted to personalize the storytelling of reportage and thus creating an illusion of authenticity and “realness” of the described situation (e.g. *Mail Online, Feb 16; The Daily Mail, May 25; Telegraph.co.uk, Oct 10; The Sun, Feb 8; The Sun, Oct 12*). In these instances, Roma are seldom asked to defend their position or to give opinions - the prevalent form of their quotes are experiences and feelings (e.g. of living conditions in their home countries), whereas the evaluative quotes are left to the majority speakers (e.g. British volunteers in Romania) or at most Roma non-profit organizations. Even though Czech coverage provides in comparison more space to Roma speakers and their opinions, the following patterns spotted in both datasets indicate that even quoting the minority might not ensure its objective portrayal.

Firstly, the selection of the quotes' content by the journalist follows his or her perception of the story and leads to perspectivation. Thus, Roma quotes can be used to justify the point journalist is making – in the British coverage, for example, highlighting their willingness to come to the UK and claim benefits:

(A) "Most of my 20 cousins have moved to the UK already. As soon as they lift the

- restrictions, I am sure even more of us will move there." ... "My brother gets child benefit and my mum gets disability benefit as she has a bad back." <sup>S2</sup>
- (B) "We get nothing there [Romania] - no job, no benefits. "We have a saying in Slovakia, 'You go where the money is' - and the money is here [UK]." <sup>S9</sup>
- (C) 'In this neighbourhood alone, I think hundreds will go,' he says ominously. <sup>DM1</sup>
- (D) "We may try to find another space like this in France but we have thought about going to England as we can get social benefits there. And now there is talk about the papers being sorted for Roma as well in January, so we hope to be able to go then." <sup>DT4</sup>

In the Czech coverage, stressing the Roma's innate culture and deviating behaviour:

- (E) When I grow up, I want to receive benefits, the poor children from Roma ghettos wish <sup>MF2</sup>
- (F) "Drugs are distributed in the streets there. Among the dealers are probably our people as well." <sup>MF9</sup>
- (G) "When there are so many Roma moving to one place, it always looks like this. It's in our blood. Gypsies have always been loud." <sup>MF5</sup>
- (H) "We want to motivate our people to go to work because this should be their priority," said Tancos. "It's impossible to have just fun, have an empty fridge and send unprepared children to schools," he added. <sup>MF8</sup>

Moreover, Roma quotes are being (*I-K*) opposed, (*L-N*) questioned or (*O-P*) bent by the journalist, so the story stays coherent to the dominant perspective of immigration and Roma as a negative phenomenon:

- (I) The Roma say they are proud to live in England and want to work, an opportunity denied in Slovakia. It is an attitude not shared by all. <sup>DT9</sup>
- (J) But Migration Yorkshire, which coordinates EU Roma inclusion, says Sheffield is actually one of the best examples of integration at work; an estimated 25,451 Roma are spread through Yorkshire (the third largest number behind the North West and London). Residents, however, still feel the authorities have their heads in the sand. <sup>DT9</sup>
- (K) "I regret it, I would like to apologize. We were all drunk," repented David in front of journalists. However, for local people an apology is not enough. <sup>B8</sup>
- (L) "I have a house at home. And work. We're tourists. We've been here three days. We'll stay for five days then go to England. For a week. As tourists." But he cannot say what sights he hopes to see in Britain. <sup>S4</sup>
- (M) Roma in Ostrava promise that they will reduce the number of offenders among them in

exchange for a stronger feeling of security. (...) Reactions have been cautious so far. It sounded quite bold. <sup>MF9</sup>

- (N) “These people would get salaries and the crime rate would definitely fall in these areas,” he said. He did not specify how they would be paid or by whom. <sup>MF9</sup>
- (O) Marius works 60 hours a week, and tells me he’d happily toil even harder, on weekdays and weekends, for a chance to earn the British minimum wage of £6.19 per hour. While he says he intends to pay his taxes and become a productive member of British society, he will also, like any other legal immigrant, be entitled to claim benefits. <sup>DM1</sup>
- (P) Now David (16) is facing prison time, so he takes pains to apologize, claiming that he regrets what he did. <sup>B8</sup>

Thirdly, the manner of introducing Roma speakers intensifies their deviation in contrast to the majority population. Taking a specific example, whereas majority speakers in the reportage from Sheffield (*The Daily Mail*, Nov 16) are regularly characterized in more detail and as productive citizens (e.g. *a local restaurant owner; former teacher, who runs a retail outlet; retail manager; head of the local community centre; community workers*), Roma speakers are characterized by their ethnicity, alleged inactivity or abnormal fertility (e.g. *members of the Roma community; a Roma; an unemployed Roma father with five children; a 58-year-old Roma man*). Similarly, Czech Roma speakers expressing their opinions are introduced in pejorative way – a Roma man accusing a deputy mayor from racism is introduced as *angry Roma businessman* (*Denik.cz*, Jun 14), a Roma woman complaining about majority *raises her voice so that she would be heard in the entire street* (*Denik.cz*, Aug 7), and statements of a Roma man complaining about racist insults are allegedly spoken *through clenched teeth and sound like a threat* (*MF Dnes*, Jul 11).

Majority speakers also predominantly represent power in the social hierarchy (e.g. politicians, police, officials), whereas Roma are scarcely represented by an elite speaker, especially in the British press (out of 30 articles, one Roma journalist was cited in *The Daily Telegraph*, Oct 31). Moreover, when looking closer at the patterns of politicians’ quoting, mostly Conservatives are quoted, with the exception of those Labour representatives, who are criticizing immigration policy, leading to a largely one-sided presentation of the situation omitting alternative viewpoints entirely. The same biased outcome appeared in many Czech articles entirely constructed upon the quotations of people from the majority. It is not their quoting, which is ideologically problematic, but the fact that their subjective opinions and often unfounded assumptions are neither questioned by opponent speakers, nor by the

journalist, who by choosing not to provide broader context reproduces unchallenged prejudice and essentially silently approves of their statements. The following excerpt illustrates ideologically significant selection by a journalist:

“We are scared, we would like to live in peace, not to be afraid to let children out, not to fear who will steal something from us. Do not allow the establishment of a new ghetto, into which gipsy families and unadaptable people will move, or we’ll end up like in Chanov!” This most often sounded from the mouths of the people who gathered in Merunice on Monday evening. <sup>D8</sup>

Not only the journalist compiles the stigmatizing content of the quote by himself but he also ascribes it to all the people from the town by the underlined generalization. Further, in the case of crime reporting, the preference for majority speakers and assessing them as more credible greatly distort the scene of a murder:

Sebesta fired on a car with four Roma crew in it. Allegedly, they came to collect scrap iron. However, the shooter is convinced that they intended to rob him. He says he was scared, so he grabbed the crossbow, stretched the bowstring and went out of the house. <sup>B4</sup>

In the first sentence, the journalist copies the testimony of Sebesta and transform it into an objective fact, whereas in the following sentences questions the testimony of the Roma. Given the fact that it emerged later on that Sebesta did not fire on the car but aimed directly at a Roma man, whom he killed on the grounds of his race, the use of categorical modality for Sebesta’s claims and a priori doubting Roma’s statements illustrates deep-rooted prejudice and tendency for mitigation in case Roma are victims of majority offenders.

Another pattern, which emerges primarily from the Czech dataset, is the extensive quotation of the police representatives within the articles (16 in total), stressing the powerful discursive position of the repressive state force. Following example comes from an article about homeless Roma solely built upon police quotations, favouring a single perspective on the situation:

“There are gatherings of many people and that is never a good thing,” he adds. <sup>D5</sup>

This quote – unchallenged and followed by similar ones - serves as an illustration of the underlying anti-democratic, hegemonic discourse, portraying the police as a rightful force

protecting citizens from deviating Others, while ideologically reproducing the system of repression and surveillance as desirable. Analogic discourse was reproduced in the British articles about Roma sleeping in one of the London's parks (e.g. *The Sun*, Jul 20; *The Daily Mail*, May 25; *The Daily Mail*, Jul 20). The actions of the police, as confiscating Roma's duvets, are never questioned by the journalist, similarly to the actions of the Czech police detaining children of Roma homeless parents. Instead of contesting these questionable repressive practices, the discourse of the powerful player is only strengthened through the police quotes, framing their procedures as standard.

Lastly, looking at the common patterns in macro-structure of the articles as a whole, if Roma or representatives of Roma organizations are given space for expression, it is often not until the second half or the end of the article, the front part being reserved to the majority speakers, indicating the inequality of the speakers' significance in the light of inverted pyramid rule.

#### *4.2.3 It Is Not Easy Being Called Roma: Generalization, Over-Lexicalization and Lexical Cohesion*

The examples cited above also testify the on-going generalization of individual cases to all Roma by constant referring to their ethnicity as the default identification, which is sometimes the only characteristic provided. Hence, if we compare the minority, which is referred to simply as *Roma* and the majority, which is usually referred to as *people* or *locals* or *British/Czech*, the lexical exclusion of the minority from the realm of persons, humans or society becomes evident. An interesting generalization appears in the Czech articles employing terms as *Roma ghettos*<sup>MF2</sup> or *Roma children*<sup>D9</sup>. In these instances, the usage of the restrictive modifier instead of the non-restrictive (e.g. ghettos where Roma live, children who are Roma) implies that being Roma is a kind of fixed property, which determines one's personality or the fact that part of the city is called ghetto. The complex and varied personal characteristics of children, who also happen to be of Roma ethnicity, or the fact that ghettos originate mainly due to poverty of its inhabitants, who also happen to be mainly Roma, are concealed due to the employment of the ethnicity as the only identification in the position of the restrictive modifier.

However, it is only by combining other discourse devices along with the generalization, which in the end create the coherent portrayal of Roma as the Other. For instance, Roma are over-lexicalized in both British and Czech articles. The most frequent predicates accompanying the word Roma are words designating their elevated number (e.g. *community*,

group, gang, a number of, network, influx, families, flood, band, clan, gathering, mob, ghetto, crew), evoking a picture of the minority as an undistinguishable mass of homogenous individuals. Among overused predicates in the British dataset, migrant(s) and immigrant(s) were the most common. Even though these might seem neutral, objective terms, the high frequency of their usage in referencing to Roma is telling. This referential strategy, automatic to such an extent that probably neither the journalist nor the reader realizes it, juxtaposes Roma as only temporary or new arrivals to the local, indigenous residents. The following headline illustrates the significance of the over-lexicalization:

**After Blunkett's warning over Roma migrants, residents on patrol in his city: Fears of growing civil unrest as 'angry' locals take action against new arrivals.** <sup>DM9</sup>

By calling Roma *migrants*, their uncertain position within the city's community and in the country in general is drawn forward, implying the possibility (or a hope) that they might leave again, while the rest of the people in the community, marked as locals, are discursively entitled to the right of residence. The Czech articles, on the other hand, at times address Roma as *socially weak*<sup>D6,8,10 MF7</sup> or *socially disadvantaged*<sup>D9,10 MF5</sup>, automatically designating the rest of the people as "socially powerful", thus explicitly revealing the nature of power relations within the society, yet through euphemisms (Roma are rarely referred to as discriminated), which conceal the true nature and reasons for their alleged weakness or disadvantaged position within the society.

Last but not least, a lexical cohesion enables the discourse within an article to "hold together", principally by applying specific epithets to Roma, which co-create their coherent image in the text as a whole. More importantly, after assessing the analysis of collected data, it has become clear that the lexical cohesion does not concern only one unit of analysis at a time but that the whole datasets embrace the same lexical epithets for Roma, creating rather a complex cohesive structure of Roma portrayal across the press landscape.

**Table C1:** Overview of lexical cohesion (see also in Appendix C)

Overview of lexical cohesion		
Numerous, invasive	British	<i>the Roma numbers have rocketed</i> <sup>DT9</sup> ; <i>the thousands of Roma migrants</i> <sup>DT9</sup> ; <i>Roma youths and adults hang around in groups, dozens at a time</i> <sup>DT9</sup> ; <i>hundreds of Roma families</i> <sup>DT8</sup> ; <i>growing number of Roma</i> <sup>DT5</sup> ; <i>ever-expanding Roma community</i> <sup>DM9</sup> ; <i>one of the largest Roma populations in</i>

		<i>Europe<sup>DM7</sup>; gang of 27 men and women<sup>DM6</sup>; More than 60 Roma squatters<sup>DM4</sup>; gangs of Romanian beggars<sup>S4</sup>; crowds of unruly men<sup>DM10</sup>; hordes<sup>DT9</sup>; droves<sup>S6</sup></i>
	Czech	<i>large Roma communities<sup>D3</sup>, large mourning gathering<sup>D4</sup>, mob of homeless and Roma<sup>D5</sup>, entire Roma families<sup>D5</sup>, at least several dozens of new Roma<sup>D6</sup>, the influx of Roma people<sup>D6</sup>, tens of Roma<sup>D7</sup>, hundreds of Roma<sup>D8</sup>, quartet of Roma<sup>B10</sup></i>
Number game	British	<i>Britain is now home to 1,114,368 Eastern Europeans<sup>DM1</sup>; an extra 23,000 Romanians and Bulgarians have been working in Britain, a jump of nearly 21 per cent<sup>DM8</sup></i>
	Czech	<i>1,100 of them are crammed in there<sup>MF2</sup>, one of more than 360 Roma<sup>MF4</sup>, among the total of 20 thousand inhabitants 400 are Roma<sup>MF5</sup>, five women sitting and twenty children running around<sup>MF5</sup>, seven Roma families<sup>MF7</sup>, ninety people in total<sup>MF7</sup>, Roma people make up to a half of the population of 2,500 inhabitants<sup>MF10</sup></i>
Criminal, illegal	British	<i>thieves, beggars, offenders; making a nuisance of themselves<sup>S4</sup>; responsible for aggressive begging and petty criminality<sup>S4</sup>; marauding gangs of unwashed children<sup>DM1</sup>; drug-dealers<sup>DM1</sup>; street prostitutes<sup>DM1</sup></i>
	Czech	<i>thieves, offenders<sup>MF9</sup>; murderer<sup>B1-3</sup>; attackers<sup>B7,9 MF3</sup>; aggressors<sup>B7,9</sup>; released prisoners<sup>D8</sup>; steal food and even soap<sup>MF2</sup></i>
Inactive	British	<i>homeless people lounging around<sup>S3</sup>; Roma passing their day sitting in or around their cars<sup>S4</sup>; loiter at Marble Arch, playing dice and chatting<sup>S4</sup>; jobless<sup>S4</sup>; drinking apple brandy and waiting for his mobile phone to ring<sup>DM1</sup>; walk the streets, content to pick up benefits<sup>DT9</sup></i>
	Czech	<i>the incomers don't work<sup>MF6</sup>; they gather in front of a club and disturb night time<sup>MF6</sup>; they take out chairs and tables and simply hang around<sup>D6</sup>; the Roma sit in front of the panel houses on their chairs and make noise, celebrate or yell at each other<sup>D7</sup>; they are lazing around<sup>D7</sup></i>
Uncivilized, under-developed	British	<i>have no qualifications<sup>S2</sup>; illiterate<sup>S2</sup>; living on the streets<sup>S4</sup>; poor hygiene<sup>S4</sup>; ethnic underclass<sup>DM1</sup>; dumping rubbish on the streets<sup>DM7</sup></i>
	Czech	<i>camping in front of her house and were leaving mess<sup>D10</sup>; instead of ringing the flats' doorbells they honk<sup>MF5</sup>; they scream, sway on the clotheslines<sup>MF5</sup>; the benches become a boarding house of entire Roma families<sup>D5</sup></i>
Discriminated, poor	British	<i>Gypsies face constant racism and violence in Romania<sup>S2</sup>; are treated worse than animals<sup>S2</sup>; Roma may be unpopular here but they are almost</i>

		<i>as unwelcome in their homeland<sup>S6</sup>; Roma in Romania are "poverty-stricken, persecuted and outcast"<sup>NS6</sup></i>
	Czech	<i>people from the edge of the society<sup>MF2</sup></i>
Young age foregrounding	British	<i>Roma lad<sup>S8</sup>; he was offered a baby for £250 by a teenage migrant<sup>S8</sup>; a group of teenage girls<sup>DM10</sup>; Children looking as young as five or six<sup>DM10</sup>; aggressive gangs of youths<sup>DM10</sup>; gangs of under-16s<sup>DT9</sup>; hordes of young Roma<sup>DT9</sup></i>
	Czech	<i>young man (16) attacked married couple<sup>B8</sup>; the youngest one from the group, the sixteen-year-old David<sup>B8</sup>; two young Roma girls attacked them with especially great intensity<sup>B8</sup></i>
Criminality intensification	Czech (Blesk)	<i>massacre at the disco<sup>B1</sup>; an incredibly treacherous murder<sup>B1</sup>; insidious attack<sup>B1</sup>; brutal murder<sup>B2</sup>; kitchen knife used by the Roma to treacherously inflict five stabs<sup>B2</sup>; aggression of the female attackers was especially shocking<sup>B7</sup></i>

First and foremost, the epithets predicating Roma as numerous and invasive have found their way in nearly every British unit, as well as into several Czech units. These epithets are routinely accompanied by the estimates of total numbers of the UK immigrants written out in full numbers, similarly to the counting of Roma in the Czech towns. This over-completeness and exaggerated explicitness of the “number game” highlights and dramatizes the Roma as a threat, while in fact do not serve the reader, who might not remember any of these precise figures or have a valid comparison to evaluate whether they truly are high or not. Moreover, the allusion to Roma’s numerosity (e.g. *large Roma community<sup>MF1</sup>*) in the Czech cities is marking their deviation from other Czech citizens, who are discursively given the right to live in the country if only because of the fact that there exist no mentions of “large communities of whites” – in other words, whites do not have to be over-lexicalized, they are entitled to be numerous.

Second, the negativization spreads extensively as another common thread throughout both datasets, mostly predicating Roma as criminal and illegal, inactive, uncivilized and underdeveloped or discriminated and poor. Moreover, journalists in some instances tend to intensify some of these predicates by exaggerated foregrounding of the young age of participants in alleged criminal behaviour in both British and Czech datasets. The *Blesk* tabloid especially employs epithets intensifying the perceived negativity of Roma’s actions, hence explicitly establishes ideologically significant perspective on reported crimes, ignoring presumption of innocence.



Lastly, a systematic problematization of the reported events leads to reducing Roma as individual persons with their personal histories to an impersonal entity in a media discussion or political debate – in other words, Roma become reified in the stream of the British press discourse and frequently referred to as, for instance, *a serious problem*<sup>DM9</sup>, *Roma crisis*<sup>DT4</sup>, *problem of the Roma population*<sup>DT2</sup>, *the ultimate problem*<sup>DT4</sup>, *a real dilemma*<sup>DT8</sup> or *the issue*<sup>S2,4 DM9,10 DT1,2,7,10</sup>. In the Czech dataset, the problematization expands in the discourse to designate *problematic person*<sup>D8</sup>, *problematic individuals*<sup>D6</sup>, *problematic behaviour*<sup>D6</sup> and *problematic areas*<sup>D10 MF2</sup> – terms all linked to Roma, stressing their deviation, while suppressing their human qualities.

### 4.3 Browsing through with Magnifying Glass: Micro Structure

#### 4.3.1 Hide and Seek: Tracking down the Context and Responsible Agents

The analysis of structure on the sentence level in terms of clause transformation, foregrounding or sidelining actors, as well as usage of verbs' nominalization is revealing in several aspects. Both majority and minority actors appear frequently in the subject position of the sentence, however, Roma, especially in the British coverage<sup>12</sup>, are predominantly activated in order to be ascribed responsibility for negative action, whereas the activation of the majority actors is instrumental for foregrounding their determination and firmness (see Appendix C, Tables C2-5 for extended illustrations of transitivity).

<i>The Daily Mail</i> 3/10	Romanian gangs {actor}	control {action}	the north, including Britain
<i>Denik.cz</i> 6/8	Roma {actor}	are taking over {action}	Boletice area in Decin!

For instance, in the examples above, Roma are activated and attributed powerful verbs *to control* and *taking over*, whereas Britain and the Czech town of Decin are objectified as powerless. This clause transformation – enabling the victim reversal - implies Roma have a

<sup>12</sup> In the Czech coverage, journalists seem to approach the ascription of responsibility more carefully. For instance, the proposition that Roma's arrival has caused a rise in crime rate is expressed through following compilation: *Recently, however, socially unadaptable Roma have started to move there in large numbers and the crime rate is rising*<sup>MF6</sup>. Hence, the causality is only indirectly implied. In addition, it is necessary to acknowledge that several articles, especially in the coverage of *MF Dnes*, activate Roma in a positive way. Lastly, regarding the *Blesk* tabloid coverage, the analysis of transitivity could not have brought results due to the simple, straightforward language use, usually consisting of short, active sentences and only sporadic clause transformations.

real power to control the northern part of Europe or a whole area in a town – an illusion, which serves to create an image of majority as threatened by Roma, who, in fact, do not possess any real power to control or divide continents and towns. On the other hand, Roma are grammatically passivized and therefore rendered powerless and “acted upon” by majority actors, whereas majority is being passivized in order to be ascribed the status of a victim:

<i>Zpravy.idnes.cz</i> 4/4	1,100 of them {carrier}	are crammed {relational}	in there
<i>The Sun</i> 20/7	They [Roma] {carrier}	were quizzed {relational}	over their immigration status
		were offered {relational}	free tickets
		were bussed {relational}	to Heathrow
		were issued {relational}	enforcement notices
<i>Denik.cz</i> 19/9	Roma children {carrier}	are significantly often placed {relational}	outside the mainstream of education
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> 26/9	The Roma {carrier}	should be integrated {relational}	over there
<i>The Sun</i> 12/10	tourist areas in the centre of the French capital {carrier}	are plagued {relational}	with Roma beggar gangs

In these instances, Roma are grammatically deprived of an independent influence over their own fate. Moreover, as is evident from *The Daily Telegraph* example, they are not even considered to be capable of directing their own integration – they have to be integrated by the majority. A similar tendency of Roma objectification appears in the articles of both *Deník* and *MF Dnes* treating the awarded mayor of the Czech town of Obrnice:

- (A) The mayor Drahomira Miklosova received a medal from the Council of Europe for exemplary integration of Roma into the majority. <sup>MF10</sup>
- (B) How has the small village managed to improve the view on the often-criticised Czech Republic? <sup>MF10</sup>
- (C) She wanted to run away. Now the mayor is awarded for Roma integration <sup>D10</sup>

It is worthwhile to point out that, following the logic of both articles, Roma do not play any

role in their integration other than being the *objects to be changed/integrated* by the mayor. Even the village, an abstract subject, is praised more for improving the image of the Czech Republic than the integrating Roma (notice the mitigation/concealment of the majority racism in *B* by criticizing the state – an impersonal entity - instead of the Czechs).

Expanding on the examples above, the referential strategy of designating Us as victims often exploits the rhetorical tool of personification – e.g. cities, countries, suburbs or areas are used to refer to people, generalizing all the citizens living there as the majority and topicalizing inanimate places opened to all as Our territory, only available to Us:

<i>The Daily Mail</i> 16/11	ordinary suburb, which {carrier}	has been utterly overwhelmed {relational}	in the past three years by Roma migrants
<i>Blesk.cz</i> 16/7	Duchcov {senser}	is buffeted {mental}	by fear
<i>Denik.cz</i> 6/8	the town {senser}	is seriously worried {mental}	about the influx of Roma

Another common usage for clause transformation is the hiding of the responsible actor. Hence, the journalist can imply through a passive construction that Roma burgled a house without explicitly accusing them since there was no proof (*A*), or let the responsibility for drawing battle lines or for tensions share between both the Roma and locals (*B, C*), even though it is the locals who express complaints, set the street patrols or organize demonstrations. Similarly, the fact that police autonomously decided to give flight tickets to Roma is hidden in favour of stressing the fact they were paid from taxpayers' money (*D*). The examples *E-G* illustrate the usage of passive construction and topicalization of pronouns in order to generalize certain claims as a common sense accepted by everyone, while masking their actual unfoundedness or journalist's biased view.

<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> 16/11	(A) Their home {carrier}	has been burgled {relational}	three times in the past three months
	(B) Battle lines {carrier}	are being drawn {relational}	between the Roma and locals
<i>Denik.cz</i> 20/6	(C) permanent social tension which {carrier}	is brought about {relational}	when the whites and the blacks live together

<i>Mail Online</i> 29/9	(D) Romanian beggars who {carrier}	were given {relational}	taxpayer-funded tickets home in July
<i>Mail Online</i> 8/6	(E) It {carrier}	is believed {relational}	that some of the Romanians beg on the streets of the West End
<i>Denik.cz</i> 8/8	(F) No one {behavior}	dares to estimate {behaviour}	their number
<i>Mladá fronta</i> <i>DNES</i> 11/7	(G) It {actor}	makes {action}	one scared

Besides personification of the geographical areas, topicalization of inanimate subjects proves to be a repeatedly used technique of agent concealment, especially in the Czech dataset. Hence, it is not the police that expels people but *finés* (H), and it is not the discriminatory social system but *poverty* and *low education*, which are responsible for the existence of ghettos (I). Similarly, majority citizens did not attack Roma during the anti-Roma demonstrations; the *stones*, *bottles* and *containers* (J) were responsible. Finally, the camp is *turning into ghetto* on its own without mentioning the contribution of its owner, who moves the Roma in (K).

<i>Denik.cz</i> 27/7	(H) Will the administered <u>finés</u> {actor}	drive {action}	them away?
<i>Zpravy.idnes.cz</i> 4/4	(I) It was mainly <u>poverty</u> and <u>low</u> <u>education</u> that {actor}	got them to {action}	the ghetto.
<i>Mladá fronta</i> <i>DNES</i> 11/7	(J) <u>stones, bottles and bangers</u> {actor}	were flying {action}	in the air with
	<u>containers</u> {actor}	burning {event}	in anti-Roma demonstrations
<i>Zpravy.idnes.cz</i> 28/8	(K) Former refugee <u>camp</u> {actor}	is turning {event}	into ghetto

Similarly, the usage of nominalized verbs is widespread in the newspaper discourse. Besides its obvious shortening ability, the nominalizations can have the same effect of generalization and agent or context concealment as clause transformations described above.

Hence, while the nominalization saves the space by omitting the context (e.g. *their fears*<sup>D8</sup>; *there are worries that*<sup>D6</sup>; *tolerance of most British*<sup>S10</sup>; *it is a major concern*<sup>S4</sup>; *there's also a sense of intimidation*<sup>DM2</sup>; *story was followed by claims*<sup>DM10</sup>; *[camps] have brought complaints*<sup>S4</sup>; *allegations of widespread petty crime*<sup>S4</sup>; *there might be trouble afoot*<sup>S7</sup>; *the trouble in the Maj housing estate will be sorted*<sup>MF4</sup>) – it is concealed who exactly fears, worries, tolerates, is concerned about, senses, claims, complains, alleges or troubles what or whom, why and how. The reader is forced to re-create the ideological meaning himself and fill in the gaps skipped by nominalization. Since this process is largely unconscious, it is unlikely that the reader would stop after each sentence to think about possible alternative perspectives he could apply – for instance that the fears and worries are not shared by everyone as the generalization implies or that all British are not tolerant to all immigrants or to think about how exactly Roma (will) trouble the majority, why and how in the first place and whether it is not exaggerated. Furthermore, nominalizations as *fight*, *tension*, *trouble*, *riot*, *confrontation*, *discord*, *row*, *dispute* or *altercation*, predominantly used in the articles treating the coexistence of the minority and the majority in the British and Czech cities, enable to describe the events in fairly neutral manner, concealing the fact that there are always two parties responsible for a conflict situation:

- (A) Racial tension and fear of civil unrest is growing <sup>DM9</sup>
- (B) Recent rows in the Northern Bohemian Duchcov or fights in Novy Bydzov in the Hradec Kralove region which took place three years ago are just occasional explosions among bubbling disputes <sup>D3</sup>

In example A, the context is absolutely hidden, leaving the reader to deduce its ideological meaning. Consequently, the rest of the article implies that Roma's behaviour is responsible for the tensions (not the majority) and that the fear is widespread among the majority (not the minority). In the case of sentence B, the numerous nominalizations enable to describe the situation without explicitly naming participating sides of the conflict, while the rest of the article clearly designates Roma as responsible – the initiation of the marches by the majority is thus never mentioned.

Especially in the British articles, the frequently used and seemingly neutral nominalizations as *impact*, *change*, *dislocation* or *cultural shift*, are used in an automatic manner without explaining their context and are considered as generally negative when linked to immigration – an alternative perspective relating the immigration with positive

changes/impacts/shifts is never addressed. Moreover, being used in the majority of the articles, these nominalizations, which renounce contextual explications, result in a portrayal of immigration as negative per se, not necessarily justified but presented as a common sense. The same applies to nominalizations with dramatic effect as *explosion*, *constant battle* or *danger*, the purpose of which is to amplify the negative image of the situation, while completely leaving out what and how will explode, who battles whom and why or where the danger resides and why we should fear it. The journalist is thus creating a discourse of abstract, unknown, poorly defined negativity and fear linked to Roma, while avoiding the context, which would potentially reveal the situation as less dramatic. The term *situation* is employed to a similar purpose throughout the Czech dataset. Labelling the reported event as a *situation* provides the article with importance and serious tone, while the detailed explanation of such a *situation* is not included, potentially concealing vital pieces of information, which could serve the reader to create his/her considered opinion:

In such a precarious situation are the mayors in Eastern Bohemia. <sup>D3</sup>

The town police reacted to the situation by reinforcing their patrols. <sup>D6</sup>

Although the situation is not critical yet, local residents are not particularly happy about the influx of Roma people, and especially about their behaviour. <sup>D6</sup>

Mostly they agree that the situation in the town has worsened in the recent years with arrival of newcomers. <sup>MF3</sup>

Moreover, nominalizations can serve as a tool to reification, as well as mitigation of the otherwise questionable acts by the majority. The most frequent and seemingly trivial nominalization in the British dataset is the term *immigration* itself, which reifies the action of actual people, who are moving from one place to another following a clear goal. *Immigration* dehumanizes the whole process, so that it can be further reified as an issue, problem or a political topic, where the original link to the real human beings is replaced by an abstract phenomenon. The same consequences apply to nominalizations as *removal*<sup>DM4</sup>, which lowers the status of Roma to “removable items” and in the same time mitigate the fact, that Roma are being deported by force and against their will. Following example illustrates the downgrading of Roma by using register suitable rather for material things than persons:

The ultimate problem - the same as the one causing concern in London - is that it is impossible to return the Roma to Romania effectively. <sup>DT4</sup>

Further, *border controls*, *access to benefits* or *limits* on immigration can be considered neutral, general terms but the nominalization conceals the fact that the discourse in reality excludes and includes people. Journalist, if using the verb, would have to express who will control and limit whom, who can access the benefits or who will be limited, revealing the gap between those, who are not concerned (e.g. British, tourists, students, high-skilled employees) and those who are (e.g. Roma, immigrants from Eastern Europe, refugees) and thus confess the racist ideology and inequality of treatment.

In the Czech dataset, fairly ordinary nominalizations as *demonstrations* and *protests* perform the mitigation of negative majority's actions in a similar manner:

The tension at the housing estate is growing stronger and after two demonstrations it is just a matter of time when the next protest comes. <sup>MF5</sup>

This example illustrates hiding the responsibility by the topicalization of *tension* and absolute concealment of the fact that these are members of the majority who march through the city to express their anger based on the racial difference.

Finally, the nominalization of the verb *to discriminate*, only scarcely used in both datasets (revealing the underlying denial), enables the journalist to simultaneously acknowledge Roma's discrimination and create thus an impression of "humanitarian" discourse and to conceal the source of the discrimination. The fact that it is the majority, who discriminates Roma, is systematically avoided and an idea of discrimination as of an abstract negative phenomenon, which does not concern Us, is constructed. Moreover, the term discrimination in the Czech articles is used predominantly in instances that deny discrimination (e.g. *positive racial discrimination*<sup>D3</sup>; "*racial discrimination*"<sup>D2</sup>; *discrimination moralists*<sup>D2</sup>), and only once in its original meaning when treating segregation in ghettos.

#### 4.3.2 Flood of Subtle Allusions: Are All Roma Unadaptable Beggars?

The employment of rhetorical figures is rather sporadic within the Czech coverage and does not reveal a significant unifying thread for the whole dataset. However, looking closely at the rhetorical devices employed throughout the British articles, two significant tendencies come to the surface. Firstly, text producers in all the titles use metaphors ascribing the impact of uncontrollable, dangerous or fatal natural forces to the minority, and thus dehumanizing it

(e.g. *wave; influx; source; flood; scourge; flock in; flood in; to plague*)<sup>13</sup>. Such rhetoric of size and threat (even death) is accompanied and amplified by the metaphors of Roma as a heavy burden (e.g. *our health and housing infrastructure creaking under the weight*<sup>S7</sup>; *Paris is bearing the brunt of the influx*<sup>DT4</sup>) or by similes of quantity, which help to trigger readers' imagination (e.g. *increasing our population by 'the same as a city the size of Plymouth or Newcastle'*<sup>DM1</sup>; *equal a city the size of Leicester*<sup>S1</sup>). Secondly, a discourse dividing world into parts, which are clearly assigned to specific people, and hence a discourse not providing for mixing of different nationalities, is recognizable in the metaphors and synecdoches referring to the UK. Therefore, Britain is portrayed as a closable entity belonging to majority (e.g. *padlock the door*<sup>DM1</sup>; *throwing open Britain's borders*<sup>DM7</sup>; *opening the door*<sup>DM7 DT7</sup>; *open our borders*<sup>DM8</sup>; *head to our shores*<sup>S2</sup>; *our corner of the EU*<sup>S4</sup>). Likewise, the states of the Eastern Europe are endowed with similar denominations, which subtly imply that their inhabitants should not leave the country of their birth (e.g. *helping the penniless Roma in their own backyard*<sup>S6</sup>; *their own goat-infested corner of Europe*<sup>S10</sup>). This division between Us and Them functions as an amplification for Othering, sometimes dramatized even more by the journalist, as through a metaphor of nearby threat (A) or through exaggerating the real situation by employing pejorative epithet to the EU policy of free movement (B):

(A) ...the travellers might be coming to a street near you...<sup>S6</sup>

(B) Race row boiling in borderless Britain<sup>S9</sup>

Picking up the thread of the last example, the lexical choices regarding the EU legislature debate deserve a more detailed examination:

The EU freedom of labour rules are expected to prompt another wave of emigration.<sup>DM4</sup>  
 Welcome to a very modern European dilemma: how to deal with the increasing numbers of Roma using European freedom of movement rules to leave Romania and gather in the biggest and wealthiest cities of the West, where they turn to begging and, according to the authorities, crime.<sup>DT4</sup>

The examples from *The Daily Mail* and *Telegraph.co.uk* reveal the underlying framing of the

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<sup>13</sup> The amount of these metaphors in the dataset makes inclusion of the references to the original material redundant and is therefore omitted in this particular case.



immigration. To move freely within the EU is not discursively constructed as a *right* that one is *entitled to* but rather as a *rule imposed* on the UK by the EU, and thus its epistemic value is changed. Hence, ironically, Britain is victimized and Roma/immigrants, instead of being portrayed as *enjoying* their legal *right*, are depicted as (*ab*)using the *rules*. Following example treats a similar lexical choice:

Under a loophole in EU immigration rules, Big Issue sellers can claim ‘self-employed status’, thereby gaining a National Insurance number and, with it, an instant legal foothold in the British labour market. <sup>DM1</sup>

Journalist here clearly applies the frame of abuse by Roma Big Issue sellers, transferring the blame for the loophole from the British labour market system that enables it to the immigrants, whose actions are in fact legal. Moreover, by opting for the terms as *loophole* and *foothold*, the journalist discards any alternative reading, which could be framed, for instance, as “an opportunity for Roma to come out of illegality and take part in the British society”. In a similar way, referring to social aid as *benefits* and *handouts* (e.g. *The Daily Mail*, Nov 16) and describing Roma as *content to pick them up* (*The Daily Telegraph*, Nov 16) stigmatizes the whole concept of help to the poor, the implication being that Roma are using such an aid to live light-heartedly without having to work – a false image, which ignores their living conditions due to which they are entitled to the aid in the first place. Identical ideologically significant framing of the help to the poor as “unfair wasting” is transmitted in the Czech newspapers:

The mayor, who denies that she would be recklessly giving away free advantages to the socially weaker, claims that the town is ruled by clearly defined rules, which are being respected by vast majority of the people who appreciate the offered help. <sup>D10</sup>

The underlined lexical choice, which serves as a part of mayor’s disclaimer within an argument, cannot be more telling. Thus, providing Roma with financial counselling because of their elevated debts or providing their children with a better chance to acquire education is framed as an *advantage* rather than an *equal chance* and the assistance to the poor inhabitants is framed as *recklessly giving away free advantages* rather than *investing in the town’s community*. The fact that the mayor felt the need to defend her positive approach to Roma only points out the prevailing stigmatized reputation of the social welfare and affirmative

action.

Other lexical choices, the outcome of which is a one-sided negative portrayal of Roma and positive or mitigated portrayal of majority, are not scarce throughout the rest of the British dataset. The Roma are not looking for an opportunity for a better work or education for their children, on the contrary, they *gather in the biggest and wealthiest cities of the West, where they turn to begging* (*Mail Online, Feb 16*). The immigrants were not a welcomed help, contribution or enrichment of the British society, on the contrary, it was Britain, who *has been able to absorb the largest wave of migration* (*The Sun, Dec 15*), in other words assimilate it. Young Roma do not walk down the street but *a group of Roma youths swagger past* (*The Daily Telegraph, Nov 16*) and Roma are not selling but *hawking The Big Issue* (*Mail Online, Feb 16*). Britain does not install common European law as the rest of the EU members but *British roll out the red carpet for Romanians on January 1* (*The Sun, Dec 15*). Roma are not assaulted by the police and pressured to return to the slums they tried to escape, on the contrary, they were *offered a free flight back* (*The Daily Mail, Jul 20*), hence *Britain was effectively funding short holidays for beggars in Romania* (*Mail Online, Sep 29*).

Likewise, in one of the Czech articles from *Deník* (*Sep 19*), the journalist manages to entirely change the semantic proposition of a law, the goal of which is to reduce racial segregation in Czech schools, solely by specific lexical choice:

[T]he Ministry of Education has been preparing a regulation, which would tighten up the rules for sending children to the special schools.

A number of Roma children “opt to hide away” from the classic elementary school to the special institution where they are better off. They get less to learn and better grades. The new regulation should be sending such pupils to the normal classes.

In the writer’s logic, instead of getting rid of the racist practice, the new regulation tightens up the rules for schools, and children from Roma families are not prevented from participating in the mainstream education due to racial prejudice but they consciously choose to be placed in the schools for mentally handicapped. Hence, the subtle proposition of the text is a large mitigation of majority’s actions, reversal of the blame to Roma, and, in addition, Othering highlighted by the juxtaposition of special (for Them) and normal (for Us) classes.

Another interesting contrast in lexical choice revealing unequal treatment of Roma presents itself in a comparison of two of the crime reports from *Blesk*. Specifically, in the articles treating a killing by Roma man (*Feb 25, Mar 9, Dec 11*), the act is referred to as *an*

*incredibly treacherous murder*, the perpetrator is referred to as *murderer*, who *was planning his insidious attack*, who *watched the victim bleed to death*, and during the trial, *the prosecutor had a meticulously prepared closing argument with a brilliant summary of all evidence*. By way of contrast, in the articles treating racially motivated killing of a Roma man (*May 20, May 22, May 31*), the journalist questions the nature of the act until the verdict of the court (*Accident, intentional bodily harm or even murder?; Was it an accident or just a well thought-through lie?*), addresses the perpetrator *accused*, and instead of victim he calls the killed Roma an *alleged thief*. Thus, it seems that presumption of innocence does not apply to all equally and the need to clarify the motive/justification of the crime applies only to instances when the offender comes from majority. Another lexical contrast appeared in the article about the co-existence of Roma and majority in the Maj housing estate:

The “white” are afraid of the Roma revenge and the “black” fear further demonstrations.<sup>MF5</sup>

The phrase seems to impartially evaluate the situation and divide the responsibility between both sides but whereas the members of the majority are discursively constructed as organizing demonstrations (= a rightful democratic mean of civilized resistance), Roma are only capable of revenge (= an anachronism, mark of immoral, uncivilized behaviour). The fact that the racially motivated demonstrations are led by majority against Roma or that Roma did not resort to revenge is omitted.

Finally, concerning local meanings, which enter the general press discourse, the *anti-social behaviour* and *Romanian beggars* are among the most frequent, seemingly neutral words used to address Roma and their actions in the British dataset. Both have a concealed racist subtext since they are applied solely to Roma, yet without being explicitly linked to the minority. Thus, Roma are used as a negative frame in order to stigmatize the immigration from the whole *Romania* and in the same time the whole minority is reduced to *beggars*. Regarding the *anti-social behaviour*, it is a generalized reference to Roma’s allegedly negative conduct, which is rarely fully explained. The term excludes Roma as Other since anti-social in fact implies only “anti-majority” behaviour, resulting in negative framing of all the behaviour that deviates from the norm (e.g. gathering on the streets and talking loudly or begging). The repetitive occurrence of this local meaning in all three titles constructs a negative depiction of Roma as excluded from the society (= majority), while omitting the possibility for alternative perspectives and questioning (e.g. Can a different behaviour be a contribution? Does the difference threaten Us? Is the norm the only right way?). Likewise,

the Czech press, as expected, employs local meanings with similar epistemic value – most frequently (*socially*) *unadaptable*, *problematic individuals* or *socially weak/disadvantaged* – thus discursively directing Roma to the edge of the society. Once more, the employment of these adjectives as restrictive modifiers negatively typecasts the whole ethnic group and its individual members. Such an attribution stigmatizes them permanently: A person can have or cause problems/have difficulties in adapting, and these problems/difficulties can be resolved. However, a problematic/unadaptable person is discursively constructed as if the problems (incapability to adapt) were part of his/her nature, and therefore irreversible and linked to the race.

## 4.4 Semantic Strategies of Racist Discourse

### 4.4.1 *Worlds apart: Creation of in-group and out-group*

The tendency to generalize individual behaviour, values or opinions to the whole ethnic group was already described in the lexical part of the analysis. Interestingly, the British dataset reveals even further generalization – firstly from Roma to all Romanians and Bulgarians and secondly to the Eastern Europe as a whole. Concerning the former, Roma frame is applied to negativize immigration from both Romania and Bulgaria – as if the Roma themselves are sufficient and logical justification for Othering against Eastern European migrants. This tendency to reduce the situation by picking out Roma as “the threat” is reflected by often leaving out the mentions of Bulgaria, substituting it for Romania, which lexically better evokes Roma and also has a bigger percentage of Roma in the population, or arguing by the negative portrayal of Roma against the opening the borders to all citizens of Bulgaria and Romania (e.g. in *Telegraph.co.uk*, Oct 6; *Telegraph.co.uk*, Nov 19; *The Daily Mail*, Nov 13; *The Sun*, Nov 17).

Concerning the latter, the dichotomy between West and East represents one of the numerous threads of Othering within the studied material. The countries of Western Europe in the articles about Roma are discursively constructed, for instance, as *wealthy countries in Western Europe*<sup>S2</sup>, *the Promised Land*<sup>DM1</sup> or *the biggest and wealthiest cities of the West*<sup>DT4</sup>, whereas the Eastern Europe is portrayed as *freezing Transylvania*<sup>S2</sup>, *former Soviet bloc nations*<sup>DM7</sup> or *downtrodden village or woodland*<sup>DM7,10</sup>. A strong sense of significant difference between West and East that runs through the articles helps to construct not only Roma but also all Eastern Europeans as Others, sometimes amplified through generalization (e.g. *five eastern Europeans were arrested in Paris last weekend*<sup>S4</sup>; *the Eastern Europeans are slowly taking over*<sup>S9</sup>; *crisis of Eastern Europeans living on the streets*<sup>DM2</sup>; *heads in the*

*sand over Eastern immigration*<sup>DT1</sup>).

Several other cleavages discursively employed by the journalists help the construction of in-groups and out-groups. The illusion of two diametrically different worlds is stressed by referential strategy portraying Britain as wealthy and luxurious (e.g. *popular destination*<sup>S2</sup>, *good standard of living*<sup>S2</sup>, *posh Park Lane*<sup>S3,4</sup>, *luxury car showrooms and pristine Georgian terraces*<sup>DM2</sup>, *the most affluent neighbourhoods*<sup>DM2</sup>, *London's most desirable addresses with five-star hotels and fabulous views over Hyde Park*<sup>DM3</sup>, *Britain's most exclusive streets*<sup>DM4</sup>, *London's most expensive homes*<sup>DM4</sup>), whereas Romania is referred to as uncivilized (e.g. *the barbaric conditions*<sup>S2</sup>, *we cannot get a doctor there*<sup>S2</sup>, *Pata Rat is a virtual hell on earth*<sup>S2</sup>, *the filthy streets, filled with packs of stray dogs, mountains of rubble and litter, potholes, and the occasional burnt-out car*<sup>DM1</sup>, *no toilets or litter collections*<sup>DM7</sup>). Furthermore, the majority is depicted as productive and problem-free (e.g. *young British workers*<sup>S1</sup>, *taxpayers, a productive member of British society*<sup>DM1</sup>, *early morning joggers in Hyde Park*<sup>DM2</sup>, *traders in the area*<sup>DM3</sup>, *civilised community*<sup>DM10</sup>, *dedicated community-protection team*<sup>DT4</sup>, *law-abiding people*<sup>S4</sup>), whereas the minority as illegal and intimidating (e.g. *begging and rough sleeping*<sup>S3</sup>, *shouting, smoking, fighting*<sup>DT9</sup>, *dumping rubbish on the streets*<sup>DM7</sup>), which in the same time leads to the victimization of the majority, contrasted to the often cited criminal behaviour of the minority.

Moreover, while the majority is constructed as tolerant and offering help (e.g. *offering them the ability to go voluntarily*<sup>S3</sup>, *Britons helping the penniless Roma*<sup>S6</sup>, *gave up their teaching jobs to help the local Roma*<sup>S6</sup>, *politely tell*<sup>DM9</sup>), the minority refuses to or even cannot change (e.g. “*The Roma are a difficult issue. They encourage them to integrate with society but I believe they have no intention to aspire to that, or would find it difficult if they want to hold on to their traditional values.*”<sup>S6</sup>; “*But when we came here we integrated. We respected your way of life and your rules. But these people, they don't want to integrate.*”<sup>S9</sup>). Further, the majority has the right to dictate the rules or complain because it is discursively entitled to by their origin (*the people who were born here*<sup>S9</sup>, *there's no jobs for English people*<sup>S9</sup>, *the welfare of British people*<sup>S9</sup>, *my family have lived in the area since the 1800s*<sup>S9</sup>, *existing residents*<sup>DM7</sup>, *local people*<sup>S7 DM8 DT6,7</sup>, *white Britons*<sup>DM8 DT6</sup>, *shrinking number of indigenous English people*<sup>DM10</sup>, *white neighbourhood*<sup>DT6</sup>, *the settled community*<sup>DT6</sup>, *established communities*<sup>DT8</sup>), whereas the minority does not possess such power and have the duty to assimilate because it has arrived recently (e.g. *new arrivals, immigrants, migrants*) – the responsibility for improving the situation is thus entirely left to Roma, while the majority

does not have to adapt because its way of life is considered the norm. Last but not least, the past is depicted as the ideal, uncomplicated world (e.g. *Such things would have been unimaginable in Page Hall 30 years ago, when this was a smartly scrubbed area that shared homogenous values.*<sup>DM10</sup>; *Welcome to a very modern European dilemma: how to deal with the increasing numbers of Roma*<sup>DT4</sup>; *The spectre of the race riots that blighted the North 12 years ago has this week reappeared over the narrow terraced streets of Page Hall, the former estate of 19th-century magnate Mark Firth, one of the kings of this steel city.*<sup>DT9</sup>), creating a nostalgic, romanticized image of the white Britain, while leaving out its racist foundations, whereas the present is tormented by multicultural blending of people (e.g. *It is a potent mix - and one some fear could spark a repeat of the race riots that broke out in the north two decades ago.*<sup>S9</sup>).

The group division within the Czech dataset proves to be more varied since the articles do not oscillate around a unique topic of “new vs. old residents” as in the British immigration discourse. However, surprisingly even this cleavage occurs in the reports, when treating opportunistic moving of Roma families to the privately owned houses in several Czech towns, which enables the owners to profit from a loophole in the social benefit system. Interestingly, the discursive entitlement to the right of residency (e.g. *old residents*<sup>D6,7 MF3,6,7</sup>; *local residents*<sup>B9 D6 MF6,7</sup>; *people from Boletice*<sup>D6</sup>; *citizens from that neighbourhood*<sup>D6</sup>; *inhabitants of Boletice*<sup>D7</sup>; *people; the locals*<sup>B7, D6,8 MF3,7</sup>) is expanded to *local Roma* as well, similarly to the extension to Pakistani residents in Sheffield, while using the same discursive devices of inclusion based on the time spent in the area (e.g. *Roma woman who has been living in the area for 25 years*<sup>D7</sup>; *the local Roma, who have lived in the town for several years*<sup>MF6</sup>). However, the temporary inclusion of the local Roma to the realm of Us is employed only as a guarding term (e.g. *Even local old Roma residents are bothered.*<sup>D6</sup>) to deny racist attitude and to legitimize the negative portrayal of the Other/new Roma (e.g. *influx of Roma*<sup>D6</sup>, *newcomers’ problematic behaviour*<sup>D6</sup>, *problematic individuals*<sup>D6</sup>, *socially unadaptable and released prisoners*<sup>MF7</sup>).

Another interesting discursive inclusion of a Roma into the majority appears in the article from *MF Dnes* (Mar 22). Generally positive text, greatly praising a Roma police officer, constructs a portrayal of an ideally integrated Roma - exaggerated to such an extent, so that it enables the journalist to mark him as an exception, which further typifies the Otherness of the rest of the Roma. Thus, Patrik Bandy is described both by the journalist and the quoted speakers as *bright and trouble-free, a quiet, smart and balanced person, having a*

*pleasant demeanour and natural intelligence*. Moreover, the ascription of positive powerful verbs to Bandy (e.g. *be in charge, manage, administer*) and highlighting his acquirement of symbols of majority power (e.g. *gun, uniform, high-school certificate*) is juxtaposed to the following excerpts from the text:

It is the first such case in the Czech Republic.

He only knows one Roma in the town who made it so far.

The previous Roma officer proved to be a disappointment.

He is the first Roma officer in the local police in a long time.

Hence, the discursive inclusion of Bandy to the majority (which happened only after he acquired social capital and power) provides for a further Othering, this time between one assimilated/successful/exceptional Roma and the rest who remain non-assimilated/struggling/typical.

Other demarcation lines between Us and Them reveal itself in the Czech dataset. For instance, *mob of homeless and Roma*, who are described as an *eyesore*, are discursively juxtaposed to *other citizens*, who spend their time *around the shopping centre* – highlighting the gulf between the poorest strata of the society and economically valuable consumers *pestered* by the former (*Denik.cz, Jul 27*). Moreover, journalists reproduce the stereotypes about Roma's different, innate cultural characteristics by generalization of claims and therefore present the prejudice as an accepted common sense (*underlined terms in A, B, D, F*). In the same time, the employment of subjective, evaluative terms by the journalist tints the narrative of the article in his or her personal perspective, which in the cases below (*terms in italics*) picture Roma as inherently too emotional (A), criminal (C), naturally outcast (D) or untidy (E).

(A) Traditionally, this death has caused *great emotional explosion* within the Roma community. <sup>D4</sup>

(B) Since it usually takes several days for the Roma community to say goodbye to their dead members, the police forestalment is going to last for the whole period of time, at least until the funeral. <sup>D4</sup>

(C) *If this really happened*, it would be a *remarkable change* in the current model in which relationships within the Roma community are more important than the law. <sup>MF9</sup>

(D) *Logically – let's face that* hardly anyone wants to live in the houses with Roma residents.

MF5

- (E) He didn't expect the visit but had the flat tidy all the same. *Is he an exception or do all the flats look similar?* <sup>MF5</sup>
- (F) Now and then we hear the opinion that Roma are incapable of adapting into the majority society. <sup>MF10</sup>

Finally, contrast between referential strategies employed to address Roma and non-Roma criminals or victims throughout the collection from *Blesk* is telling. While a Roma murder victim is portrayed as *alleged thief* or *one of the Roma*, the majority victims are pictured as *innocent* and through personified storytelling (e.g. "*He was this good-hearted giant with sense of justice. He didn't like violence.*"<sup>B1</sup>). On the contrary, a Roma perpetrators are portrayed simply as *murderer*<sup>B1-3</sup> or *aggressors*<sup>B7,9</sup>, who attack their victims *for no reason*<sup>B10 MF3</sup>, whereas the killer of a Roma is given incomparable space within the articles and besides obvious condemning attributes, he is also portrayed as *scared*<sup>B4</sup>, *decent neighbour*<sup>B4</sup>, *believing that four Roma want to burgle his house*<sup>B5</sup>, who might have acted in *fear*<sup>B5</sup> and who *didn't want to murder anyone*<sup>B6</sup>. Such a discourse reveals journalists' sense of in-group membership, which results in mitigated (in case of the majority) or intensified (in case of the minority) portrayal of reported events.

In sum, the semantic construction of Us as the good norm the deviant Others should aspire to supports the acceptance of the underlying racist discourse by the reader. The above mentioned dichotomies ascribe the members of the majority with a sovereign right to set the standards and rules, while the portrayal of Roma as powerless and weak leads to ideological reproduction of this state as normal. Moreover, the repetition of solely negative stereotypes incite an idea that these patterns are inborn or part of Roma culture and that Roma in fact indulge in abusing system, criminal activity or sleeping rough and begging. The references to the *cultural gulf*<sup>DM8 DT6</sup>, to community feeling *polarised*<sup>DT9</sup>, to *cultural tradition back home in eastern Europe*<sup>DM9</sup> and describing Roma's behaviour as predetermined and identical across the whole ethnic group point out the embeddedness of racism within alleged cultural characteristics. Even though several articles made an attempt of humanitarian discourse (e.g. by describing the dire situation of Roma in Romania and thus justifying their rational decision to emigrate in British dataset or the conditions in ghettos in Czech dataset), both in the discourse of their defenders and of their opponents Roma remain "an issue" to be treated - a homogenous mass, no matter whether portrayed as oppressed or as oppressors, but always incomparable with the rest of the population.



#### 4.4.2 Illusion of Equal Society within the Argumentation

Besides Othering, which justifies distinct treatment of minority by constructing it as an out-group, argumentation provides the foundation for legitimization or denial of racist talk or action. Within the studied dataset, both argumentation by journalists and argumentation through speakers' quotes, lays the grounds for justification or denial of negative attitude towards Roma. Even though it could be argued that quoted opinions cannot be considered journalists' responsibility, it cannot be discarded that the quotations, in addition to creating illusion of credibility, frequently constitute the core of the text and forward the main arguments against Roma - allowing the journalist to preserve his seeming neutrality, while not reducing the bias of the message. Thus, for instance, in the articles of *Mail Online* from June 8 or *Zpravy.idnes.cz* from August 28 (also *The Daily Telegraph*, Nov 16; *The Sun*, Nov 15; *Denik.cz*, Aug 6; *Blesk.cz*, Jul 16) the Roma are portrayed solely through the quotes of the majority, which create an illusion of authenticity, yet are subjective and not verifiable as in the case of the following examples:

Other traders in the area say they are being forced to keep their stock in full sight for fear of it being swiped by the travellers. <sup>DM3</sup>

“Not long ago one of them paid a visit to my neighbour. She came out of the shower and there was a gipsy in her house. Fortunately, he didn't steal anything and ran away,” adds another man, who is currently building a house near the camp area. <sup>MF7</sup>

Such examples of argumentation through anticipated or alleged bad behaviour seemingly justify the resentment against Roma; while there exists no proof the aforementioned ever stole anything. Thus, along with the rest of the quotes in the articles based solely on majority's assumptions, they create an image of Roma as a criminal threat and illustrates the power of argumentation embedded in the quotations.

Significant threads of justification in both datasets lean on the topoi of burdening, uselessness, abuse, culture, and threat. Concerning the first one, it is argued that Roma immigrants in the UK overwhelm public services, are costly to state/taxpayers and cause loss of profits from tourism, rise criminality and represent an extra competition for British job-seekers, whereas the Czech Roma burden the towns principally by their noisiness, are ascribed responsibility for rising crime rate, violence and are also accused of slowing down majority's children in schools. The topos of uselessness stands in contradiction to the argument about job competition, since Roma are deemed not valuable for the economy

(illiterate, uneducated, unemployed, unqualified), and therefore unwelcomed. Hence ironically, both situations - Roma working or Roma not working - can be used as an argument justifying their negative impact on the British majority, revealing the racism and discarding the alleged economic logic of such argument. Following excerpt from Czech dataset illustrates the construction of a whole Roma generation as useless to the society (discursively depriving it of a chance for change), unfortunately supported by a quotation from a Roma representative:

According to experts, there's not much that can be done with the preceding generation, i.e. the people who are now in their thirties. Karel Holomek, the chairman of the Roma Association in Moravia, even calls them lost generation. They have never seen their parents work and they have little chances of escaping life's misery. <sup>MF10</sup>

Further, the topos of abuse implies that Roma consciously exploit the social benefit system of both countries, the British labour market system or even European low-cost airlines prices – their legal entitlement to all these practices is discursively constructed as an abuse of privileges that should be available only to the British or as unfair avoiding of work, not acceptable for the dutiful Czechs. The following example from The Sun illustrates the perspective of the journalist, who decided to use capital letters in order to intensify the proposition and thus marked its deviance from the norm:

The migrants will be entitled to claim the SAME benefits and NHS care as British citizens. <sup>S4</sup>

The topos of culture appears in the instances when the negative stereotypes about Roma are presented as a part of their cultural tradition, which does not correspond to the way of life of the majority. The following examples illustrate the negative construction of alleged “Roma culture”, which enables to forward the idea that Roma do not want to or cannot integrate because it is part of their tradition to behave unacceptably:

They gather on the streets after dusk, 'making noise, dropping litter and being a nuisance'. But the ever-expanding Roma community don't understand what the fuss is about. Hanging around outside in the evening is part of their cultural tradition back home in eastern Europe. <sup>DM9</sup>  
In order to soothe difficulties, Roma migrants must "change their culture" and send their children to school, stop dumping rubbish and loitering in the streets, he [Blunkett] said. <sup>DT6</sup>

“They are creating seating in front of the blocks of flats. They take out chairs and tables and simply hang around. You can’t say that they scream, but when twenty people talk at once, it creates some noise,” said one of the locals who spoke on condition of anonymity. She also says that Roma people celebrate weddings very loudly. Almost the whole of the neighbourhood takes part in the celebrations. <sup>D6</sup>

The worst situation is at night. During the nice summer nights, the Roma sit in front of the panel houses on their chairs and make noise, celebrate or yell at each other. <sup>D7</sup>

Finally, the topos of threat creates basis of an argument on the fact that Roma cause resentment of the majority, which can lead to the support of far-right parties or riots in British and Czech cities. Ironically, such a construction justifies racist ideology against Roma by warning about potential racism against Roma. The following example illustrates three argumentation devices - a disclaimer, topos of burdening and finally the topos of threat, which not only illogically implies a blame of minority for the majority resentment but also constructs Roma as a topic of populist political debate:

*While many of the new arrivals contributed to the economy, they also put intolerable stresses on unprepared public services and stoked such resentment that immigration became one of the most pressing (and most toxic) issues in politics.* <sup>DT1</sup>

The part of the sentence in italics serves as a guarding term, specifically an apparent concession, which recognizes immigrants’ contribution to the British society, only to be later refuted by putting stress on their negative impact. Similar disclaimers occurred in the dataset:

Of course, many of them have made an enormous, sometimes indispensable, contribution to British life, but there have also been tensions of the sort Mr Blunkett so graphically describes.

DM8

It is a major concern. It is not just Romanians - but a significant number are - responsible for aggressive begging and petty criminality, with no sense they have any job to go to or are seriously seeking work. (*Mark Field cited in* <sup>S4</sup>)

Further, the strategy of apparent denial seemingly refutes the negative attitude towards immigration only to later accuse the minority from abuse or burdening:

The Sun is firmly behind those immigrants who arrive here to add value to our economy, who

work hard and pay taxes. But if all they want to do is beg, steal and con: we say a big no thank you.<sup>S5</sup>

Europeans are obviously welcome to come here, but we will not have people taking the mickey. (Paul Wylie cited in <sup>DM4</sup>)

Moreover, apparent empathy recognizes the unenviable position of the minority only to later highlight their negative impact:

The 12 million Roma are the largest ethnic minority in Europe, but often live in poverty and are subject to discrimination. The harsh conditions they find in other countries are a "push factor" when deciding to come to Britain, the research suggests. However, the rapid increase in numbers has posed a challenge for local authorities, it was found.<sup>DT5</sup>

After a thorough assessment of the Czech dataset, it has been revealed that specific types of denial, different from the classical ones illustrated above, are present. Firstly, it seems that the term racism is repeatedly stripped of its original value (repressive system of a dominant group over the marginalized one) in order to be framed as a tool used by the anti-discrimination activists to criticize majority. In these instances, discrimination is not constructed as a real phenomenon and it is implied that no system of dominance exists. In other words, racism is not deemed a structural problem to be solved and even if it is acknowledged, then only in its reversed form – by troubling majority through alleged prevention of free speech. For instance in the article of *Denik.cz* from *June 15* treating accusation of town's mayor from discriminatory practice, discrimination is reduced to a mere attractive topic for press coverage instead of being acknowledged as a systemic problem within the society (A). Further, the employment of quotation marks to the term *racial discrimination* marks the actual accusation of racism as overstated and denies dominance of the majority, while the whole excerpt is an exemplar of victim reversal, which positions the accused mayor as a victim of his critics (B). Finally, the reaction to the accusations in C only highlights the framing of the anti-discrimination movement as unfounded or superficial and causing inconvenience to Us.

(A) If it weren't a part of the "black versus white" dispute, the case of rejection of an offered help to the flooded Rudnik in the Trutnovsko district for vague reasons would have most likely remained unnoticed by the press.

- (B) Nevertheless, the case and the calls of journalists seem to be troubling him. Like anyone, who might be even merely suspected of “racial discrimination”, in today’s Czech Republic.
- (C) “In any case, the racial equality, or more precisely discrimination, moralists may be *in their element* when it comes to this case.”

Two following examples further illustrate the usage of the term *racist* as a meaningless insult, since the quoted speakers do not recognize the existence of a discriminatory social system:

“We expressed our disillusionment to the headmaster and we weren’t the only ones. The headmaster organized a parents’ evening for all the parents where everyone ended up arguing, our white half was called racist and nothing got sorted,’ says one of the parents Petr Vostrel.<sup>D9</sup> On the other hand, the residents of Privoz compare the promises to science fiction. “This makes me laugh. They usually say that they didn’t see anybody, and when you blame someone, you’re a racist,” said a man close to the main train station. He refused to have his name published.<sup>MF9</sup>

Lastly, the crime report from *Blesk* (May 22) renounces criticizing the act of *committing* a racial murder; on the contrary, the journalist concentrates in the article (including headline) on the act of *confessing* the racial motive. Ultimately, the racism is once again reduced to a mere problem of discourse – to admit racial motive becomes the sensation, not the actual racist behaviour, which became sidelined:

Jaromir (39) who shot Martin (39) let slip in the court: I shot from the crossbow because he was a Roma!

Probably unintentionally Jaromir S. (39) admitted to committing a racist murder to the judges of the Regional Court in Ostrava after he shot through the head of Martin H. in Chotebuz. “I reacted in that way because they were Roma, otherwise I would certainly not have taken the crossbow and shot,” Jaromir S. shocked the judges.

Furthermore, contrary to the British, whitewashing form of apparent denial is often present in the Czech dataset, denying discrimination based on the colour of the skin only to blame entire Roma ethnic group later on for abuse of the social system (A), for not trying hard

enough (*B*), or for disturbing majority (*C*)<sup>14</sup>:

- (A) “There aren’t problems with the older Roma, but it’s not the same case with the youth. In my opinion, the majority society doesn’t care whether someone’s black, yellow or white. What they care about is when Roma people take full advantage of the social system,” said Adamec.
- (B) “He serves as an example and motivation for other Roma who say that they are black and they will not be accepted to work anywhere. There are also some who managed. They need to try hard.”
- (C) “Now it’s a different time than during the Communist era, all of us have to respect laws, regardless of the face colour, keep our surroundings in order and not disturb other people’s lives,” said the Roma Party’s leader.

In addition, the example *B* represents another important thread discovered within the Czech argumentation – transfer of responsibility for the bad situation of Roma to Roma or in other words “fighting the consequence instead of the cause” (e.g. not criticizing the discriminatory system resulting in the very difficult position of Roma on the job market but criticizing their lack of efforts, which have to be proportionately augmented due to discrimination). Further, Roma are criticized for not having sufficient education, while the racial segregation in the Czech educational system is ignored (*A*), and Roma need to regain confidence in the authorities, while it is potentially their discriminatory approach that results in the mistrust (*B*).

- (A) Now the Roma want to present the idea to the town hall. However, it remains sceptical. Already years ago it was trying to get Roma among the municipal police. They didn’t have education and clean police record.<sup>MF4</sup>
- (B) According to Vishwanathan, it is necessary that Roma people overcome their distrust in authorities and especially in the police.<sup>MF9</sup>

Finally, victim reversal or transfer of racism appears in the British dataset as well. Firstly, several articles including an editorial reacting to David Blunkett and Nigel Farage forward the idea of the claims aimed against Roma minority as courageous step from the politicians’ part. Hence, these politicians are portrayed as victims of censorship and their

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<sup>14</sup> The example *C* illustrates that this type of discourse about Roma is spread to such an extent that Roma representatives themselves adopt it as well.

decision to openly stigmatize Roma is framed as bald defence of the truth (C) - similarly to the Czech general argument about binding political correctness, which additionally stigmatizes human rights activists as extremists and denies racism of the majority by transferring it to the abstract “real racists” (D):

(C) The Roma are a proud and noble people renowned for their hard work, hospitable nature, incredible eagerness to pay taxes and high level of educational achievement. That's right isn't it? That's the view of the last Labour government, of which you were a senior member, matey. Anyone who said different was greeted with the massed bleat of raaaaaacist from your lot. <sup>S7</sup>

(D) However, when someone raises their voice, criticism will immediately pour down on them, from the real xenophobes on the one side and from human rights protectors on the other. Open communication about the majority living together with the Roma community has come to a deadlock tied by political correctness. <sup>D3</sup>

In the illustration from *The Sun's* sarcastic editorial above, the author frames the term *racist* as an insult, which is used to discriminate members of the majority, who are not allowed to express themselves freely, and therefore turns them into victims. This line of reasoning is supported by quotations of Nigel Farage in several articles, for instance:

Mr Farage said: Mr Blunkett should be admired for the courage he has shown by speaking so plainly. <sup>DM7</sup>

Finally, racism is transferred to third parties in British discourse as well – to Roma's home countries, Europe as a whole, the local residents of British cities and far-right movements – an illusion that both the journalist and the majority are somehow excluded from the realm of racism is created:

Whole extended families have moved over, fleeing from the prejudice and hostility to which Europe's estimated 10 million Roma have long been subjected. <sup>DT9</sup>

On Tuesday afternoon a spokesman for Mr Blunkett said he had spent years working with the Roma community and Sheffield City Council on the issue, as well as visiting Bulgaria to ensure migrants are integrated smoothly. "Any association with the views of Nigel Farage is entirely inappropriate," the spokesman said. <sup>DT7</sup>

## 4.5 Recapitulation

The CDA carried out in three steps - assessment of the macro patterns, detailed account of lexical devices within the text flow and tracking of legitimizations of racist discourse – has revealed rather stable portrayal of Roma in both datasets with less differences than similarities among them.

The macro structure analysis served as an attempt to simulate readers' experience when briefly leafing through the newspapers, paying attention primarily to headlines and leads and quickly skimming through the articles' bodies. In these instances, Roma emerge principally as posing a threat to the majority, to which they discursively do not belong. They are often deemed not credible enough to express opinion on topics that directly address them and if they are given space for expression, the manner of quoting often forwards the dominant perspective of the journalist. Even though the Czech coverage, unlike the British one, includes elite Roma speakers, they are principally forced to defend or explain themselves in their utterances, and the content of their quotes only rarely introduces an alternative viewpoint or even successfully reproduces the discourse of the majority. Finally, the way Roma are predicated throughout the datasets makes their portrayal as deviated and not fitting in the society coherent. Although the referential appellations differ due to dissimilar perception of Roma as immigrants and citizens, the outcome is stigmatizing nevertheless, creating a figure of the Other.

The microstructure testifies the importance of transitivity and nominalizations when analysing group divisions within society. The clause transformations prove to be essential in constructing an illusion of powerful Roma as being detrimental to the majority, further in objectification of the minority – rendering it powerless, and finally in discursively assigning countries or towns to the majority through personification. Moreover, the topicalization of inanimate objects serves to transfer the responsibility for majority's questionable acts, as in the example of the Czech anti-Roma demonstrations. It has been revealed that both clause transformations and nominalizations are employed to conceal or mitigate majority's actions, as well as enable omitting the contextual information, resulting in reduction of the ethnic situation. Repetitive usage of rhetorical devices proves to be characteristic solely of the British dataset, forwarding the idea of Roma as a threat and supporting the idea of a homogenous society as an ideal. Lexical choices in both datasets leave the minority negatively stigmatized – e.g. by constructing the immigration as a threat in the British, by blaming Roma for their situation in the Czech and by negatively framing social aid as abuse,



not entitlement, in both datasets. Finally, Roma are discursively predetermined in both datasets through employment of local meanings, which permanently assign negative characteristics to the whole ethnic group.

Lastly, it has been demonstrated that the semantic strategies of Othering and argumentation within the texts legitimize different perception and treatment of the Roma minority members by juxtaposing the positive portrayal of Us to the negative portrayal of Them and by including journalists' or speakers' reasons for such inequality.

## 5 Conclusion

This thesis has uncovered subtle and covert manifestations of racist ideology embedded in the British and Czech press discourses about the Roma minority during 2013, gained an insight into the ideological effects of the language use on the portrayal of Roma, and juxtaposed these two discourses in view of the countries' different political and media contexts. In both datasets, Roma are portrayed as an essentialized group with innate characteristics and constructed as a threat to the majority on basis of economical abuse, criminality and social deviation, while these negative attributes nourish and legitimize the larger narratives of individualistic neoliberalism and of exclusive idea of society consisting of people with identical values, which are considered the norm. Roma, even though in different environments, discursively become foreigners both abroad and at home, being left with no option but to change into "non-Roma" or explain themselves in a defensive mode when given the occasion for expression. The acknowledgement of the dominant social system's responsibility for their situation is often concealed, mitigated, transferred or reversed.

The CDA indeed identifies the pervasive reproduction of racist ideology resulting in racialized, negative portrayal of Roma – thus confirming the trend observed repeatedly in the past research (e.g. Erjavec, 2001; Fox et al., 2012; Klimkiewicz, 2002; Madroane, 2012; Morris, 2000), and not announcing a positive change. The analysis yields strikingly similar results for both datasets, highlighting the standardized approach of the studied press to portraying Roma and its adherence to the majority perspective on social order. The contextual dissimilarities in the countries' environments account for several differences in the discourses, however, the general strategies of racist discourse paint a very resembling portrayal of the Roma as the Other.

The concept of race was introduced as fluctuating and racial relations as dependent on the current, actively shared cognitions about different groups in the society. Hence, one of the outcomes of the analysis is an overview of major detected press narratives, which represent and co-create socially constructed image of the Roma and form basis for their Othering. In the following section, these narratives, their comparison and implications for the theory about the role of media in the reproduction of racism will be discussed and will conclude the thesis.

### 5.1 Media Narratives about Roma in Perspective of the Research Questions

Returning to Gramsci's (1971) conception of hegemony and to the assessment of the language role in sustaining an ideology as organizing system of thoughts supporting the dominant system in place, the fundamental narrative in the studied material is that of

neoliberal values and individualism, confirming the perspective of Goldberg (2009), who sees neoliberalism as the main drive of racism in today's society. In other words, the major value of human beings arising from the texts is the economic value (or threat) to the market economy. The crucial postulate detected is the stress on individual responsibility for one's own fate, subtly constructing the idea of (governmental) affirmative action as unacceptable. Hence, the inferior position of Roma is framed as their own responsibility, and as only solvable by self-help, while such a discourse conceals the shortcomings of the discriminatory system, which renders the desirable self-help in case of Roma difficult to attain. Bonilla-Silva (2006) highlights the danger of such "colour-blind racism" since it perpetuates the false idea of equal opportunities among individuals and consequently enables the reversal of racism.

Indeed, obscuring the significance of social inequalities is a major pattern present in both datasets. Journalists do not write about race – arguably a crucial topic for fighting discrimination – and render it essentially invisible, along with the notion of majority's dominance. Rejection of the concept of race was identified as one of the dangers of current expressions of racism, which in fact reproduces the discriminatory system, only with more subtlety through a denial of inequalities (e.g. Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Goldberg, 1993, 2009; Guillaumin, 1995/1999; Lentin, 2011; Martínez Guillem, 2011; Miles & Brown, 2003; Petrova, 2003). In the British coverage, the words racism or discrimination are used predominantly in connection to the reverse racism criticized by Van Dijk (1992), presenting racist expression as courageous gesture of majority, which is otherwise ripped off the right to speak freely. Similarly, racism in the Czech coverage becomes an abstract term detached from its structural, systemic consequences. In sum, instead of being acknowledged/criticized as an unacceptable system of group domination, racism is being downgraded to the level of a mere term used for accusing majority, reduced to a problem of racist discourse perpetuated on a personal level among individuals, or serves as an attractive issue in political debates in order to appeal to voters. Lentin (2011) identifies these tendencies as relativization of the term, which results in perceiving racism as universally applicable to all those, who are marginalized in any way. Consequently, this whitewashing ultimately renders the concept of racism redundant, transforming it in a generally employable insult disconnected from the hierarchical power structure surviving in the society.

The panic constructed around the figure of unwanted Roma beggar on the streets of London, a homeless eyesore of shopping centre or the inhabitant of ghetto further shows the majority's fears of any signs enabling alternative reading of the current system and

uncovering its deficiencies. Consequently, the solution to the situation of Roma, presented in the press in both Britain and the Czech Republic unanimously, corroborate the dominant discourse of neoliberalism: the fight against poverty is replaced by repressive action against poor (e.g. Roma, immigrants, homeless, refugees) and their alleged abuse of welfare, promoting the discourse of social control and securitization, which, by constructing these individuals as a threat, leaves the majority in the largely unquestioned position of power and surveillance instead of assistance, sustains the existing power relations and strengthens the national/majority identity (see Buonfino, 2004; Goldberg, 2009; Huysmans, 2000). It is thus not surprising that the scarcely mentioned alternative approaches - actually supporting help to the poor - are presented as rare exceptions instead of being framed as the logical step to take.

Moreover, the position of Roma as immigrants or citizens does not play a role when grounded in the larger perspective of neoliberal view, which is favourable only to successful individuals complying with and benefiting (from) the dominant system – conditions only negligible number of Roma fulfils. Similarly, if any historical legacy from the times of communism could have played a role in the different racial discourse about Roma, it seems that the swift transition to capitalism in the Czech Republic during the 1990's has resulted in adoption of the same neoliberal values as in the Western Europe, bringing the British and Czech discourses closely together. That being said, it is necessary to acknowledge that this embeddedness of the Othering within people's (socio-)economic status is the primary basis for racist discourse in the British dataset, while in the Czech coverage, the notion of race also distinctly correlates with cultural predispositions of Roma, framed as permanent, implying that even rich Roma would probably remain the Others. The potential explanation for this difference might spring from greater racial diversity of the British society<sup>15</sup>, as well as from specific Czech conception of nationality, which is, according to Holy (1996), built upon "cultural construction of the nation as a naturally constituted entity" (p. 321). In other words, in alignment with Pettitt (2009), the belonging to Czech nationality is conditioned by historically and culturally dependent characteristics along with relational ties instead of citizenship (e.g. Roma citizen of Czech Republic is not perceived as Czech). Hence, the ethno-nationalist tendency to perceive the state as reserved to the ethnic majority (Connor, 1993) may account for the focus on Roma's alleged cultural deficiencies in the Czech

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<sup>15</sup> The percentage of people with different than Czech nationality in the Czech Republic amounted to marginal 2,8 % in 2011 (Český Statistický Úřad, 2011), while the number reached 7,8 % in 2012 in the UK (Office for National Statistics, 2013).

discourse.

Hence, neoliberalism and the necessity to reproduce its ideology serve as a stepping-stone for other narratives. In conformity with the studies on immigration discourse (e.g. Buonfino, 2004; Huysmans, 2000), the inclination towards homogenous society and maintaining the current status quo, while framing Roma as a threat, represents a major thread within the British texts. Moreover, both native British inhabitants and ethnic Czechs are discursively constructed as having the monopoly on social norms, while the deviating manners of Roma are amplified in order to justify the resentment against them. Both datasets alike are clear on one thing – it is rather impossible to live with Roma unless they change their nature and fit the standard social order. Such a discourse, however, obscures the necessity of changes within the dominant system, which underserves the poor and minorities.

Arguably, the major shortcoming of journalistic practices in both datasets was the lack of context and in-depth analysis of the complex situation of Roma. After assessing the material, it has become evident that negative attitude towards Roma in the press does not always need to be justified by argumentation, confirming the conclusion of researchers as Goodman and Rowe (2014) or Turner (2002), who state that prejudice against Roma is often accepted as justified *per se*. Hence, within the British press discourse, the immigrating Roma are often framed as threat solely on the basis of their alleged large numbers, while in the Czech coverage, the rumours about several Roma families moving in to town justify whole reports grounded in the quoted fears of majority, and one incident perpetrated by a group of Roma serves as the only explanation for racist marches. The fact that journalists consider any explanations surpassing this narrow perspective pointless implies how deep the prejudice against Roma runs, when no sound justification for their stigmatization is needed.

Extending on all the narratives above and especially the lack of context within the articles, one final pattern (also the main point of criticism of Norbert Mappes-Niediek (2013) towards the international Roma policies) suggests itself in both datasets alike: The discursive reduction of the situation solely to Roma, as if they were somehow excluded from the course of the rest of the world, overlooking the structural problems (e.g. widening gap between the rich and the poor, inflexible state administration and flawed educational system, lack of social housing), which concern many more people than exclusively Roma (yet not all of them), who are affected by the majority of the problems and therefore are the most visible outcasts. The structural solutions to tackle these larger systemic problems the Roma are only a small part of are therefore substituted by solutions to tackle the “Roma issue”, which are framed

predominantly in the repressive and surveillance approach, subtly forwarding the idea that majority (e.g. police, government, local citizens) needs more power to “dominate the situation” – an exemplar of Van Dijk’s (1991) definition of racism. Moreover, the sporadic anti-racist criticism presented in the articles (e.g. of EU representatives, human rights activists) is limited to vague comments about unacceptability of racist expression and does not bring new viewpoints into the pool of otherwise narrow possibilities. This approach of omitting any alternative viewpoints confirms Bennett’s (1990) assumption that journalists’ conception of objectivity is limited to the dominant discourse, not accounting for the real alternatives, which, along with challenging, questioning and analysing the reported utterances, should be the core of the responsible journalism.

## **5.2 Limitations, Practical Implications, and Future Research**

Finally, it is necessary to acknowledge the research’s shortcomings. The selection procedure and representativeness is the logical Achilles heel of CDA, highlighting the researcher’s alleged subjective and therefore biased judgement within both the selection of the suitable articles to analyse and within the analysis itself in terms of justifying its results – it can be never clearly proved whether the researchers truly “read the ideology off the texts” (Stubbs, 1997, p. 103) or whether the analysts, powered by the urge to unmask the ideology, *read in* the desired meanings they want to find (Stubbs, 1997). Hence, the results of the analysis presented above are limited due to the selection procedure of the articles, which were not selected randomly but consciously according to the comparability and assumed representativeness of the topics. Hence, the researcher might be accused from choosing only specific articles to demonstrate what she wants to prove and thus obscure texts containing challenging discourses (Baker et al., 2008). However, the selection for the research in question tried to eliminate this danger by inspecting sufficient number of articles (major part of the population in the British press), as well as by including exceptional examples if they were available (e.g. positive or neutral reports about the Czech Roma). However, despite the efforts made to carry out the analysis in a systematic way and according to the standard tools in use by CDA researchers in the area of racist discourse (see 3.6 Data Analysis), the in-depth qualitative analysis cannot but remain influenced by the researcher to a certain extent, if only because of the inevitable hold of normative stance within the critical discourse studies. The mission of CDA is not a mere observation but a critique of power relations, reflected both in the selection of the material (looking into sources expected to reproduce power structures) and in the interpretation of the text, which automatically takes the side of the “weaker”.

It is assumed that the role of the press in institutionally co-forming the image of minorities might play a significant role in subtly mediating the racist ideology to its readers, following the assessment of discreet power of media discourse over the public discourse and shared social cognitions (e.g. Fairclough, 1989; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Miles & Brown, 2003; Van Dijk, 1993a). Although the scope and nature of this research renders it impossible to infer the effects of the studied discourses on audience perceptions or to generalize to the whole press landscape, the results yielded by the analysis prove the presence of the racist discourse and clearly point out that the titles in question can serve as a basis for influencing the reader's notions about Roma in a negative way. However, both qualitatively and quantitatively driven studies (e.g. interviews, questionnaires, experiments) focused on the readers' reactions to the articles, both Roma and non-Roma, as well as studies of other types of media (e.g. the role of the Internet in perpetuating racist discourse), would be all undoubtedly valuable contributions to the future research. Furthermore, it has been spotted that especially the online versions of the articles about Roma dedicate a significant space to the visual depiction of the minority – a qualitative semiotic analysis of the pictures accompanying the reports would certainly enrich the results of solely textual analysis since both elements combined affect the reader. Last but not least, I argue that research of the media discourses concentrated not primarily on Roma as a solitary research focus but rather on broader social topics Roma are part of (e.g. construction of poverty in the news) could bring an interesting, fresh viewpoint on the portrayal of the Other in the current society, freed from the narrow perspective and leading the way out of the persistent need for categorization.

Looking closely at the journalistic practices, a major step to improve the reporting, so that it helps to dismantle the racial prejudice instead of perpetuating it, deserves to be pointed out. I argue, along with Klimkiewicz (2002), that the need for responsible contextualization arises as the most necessary. Roma need to be put into context as part of the society and not as the outcasts. This is not to imply that journalists should not report on Roma's problems and instead paint them in positive colours – on the contrary, the dire reality of Roma's living conditions, poverty or criminality has to be mediated to the reader, however, it is crucial to provide broader social context in order to avoid the bias by reducing it to the "Roma issue". Hence, the historical account of discrimination, critique of the shortcomings of the current system, broader viewpoint on other members of the society who might be concerned with the same problems as Roma – all this information and more can potentially prevent the reader from creating a racialized mental image of Roma. Whether the reasons for the lack of

investigative in-depth reporting are, as Lewis et al. (2008) suggest, the accelerated media environment, or whether the negative portrayal of Roma is in itself a good sensational news value<sup>16</sup>, which increases readership, is another potentially significant topic for a future research to be carried out, this time informed by political economy of media and executed inside the actual media institutions.

In closing, if a ramification of the thesis for the broader scope of social world surpassing the press discourse was to be highlighted, it would be the gradual decomposition of the terms *racism* and *racist* in the public discourse, which is reflected in the acceptance of the racist thoughts within political discourse in current Europe, based on the victimhood ascription to the majority, pictured as threatened by Others<sup>17</sup>. In the Czech Republic, the anti-Roma marches, presented as justified by the need of the locals to defend themselves, can be observed along with the populist and xenophobic political discourse aimed at Roma and immigrants. In the United Kingdom, not only Nigel Farage of the Ukip or members of BNP, but also mainstream politicians adapt subtle anti-immigration and anti-multicultural rhetoric, drawing on the narrative of handicapped majority being stripped of its rights (Fekete, 2013). It seems that similar narratives, partly perpetuated by media, have penetrated the common sense perception of the minority issues to such an extent that it becomes increasingly difficult to accuse someone from racism. Consequently, the term racism used in a humanitarian context by anti-racist fighters might be losing its value.

In example, the anti-racist discourse in the studied media tended to be reduced to accusations of racist rhetoric and failed to address real structural inequalities, therefore appeared to be fairly abstract in comparison with the discourse of their opponents, who addressed clear issues relevant to people (e.g. unemployment, security). The question worthy of future research suggests itself: If the current anti-racist discourse cannot effectively compete with the trend of reverse racism, what changes in strategy should the movements consider in order to be truly heard and respected? A research analysing the anti-racist discourse in the European media landscape would certainly shed light on the possible reasons for its current lukewarm presence and for losing the battle with populists.

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<sup>16</sup> A few articles in the Czech dataset have showed signs of unnecessary creation of reports, the informational value of which is built solely on the fact that they include Roma. For instance, an article from *Denik.cz* (Jul 19) was an exemplar of pseudo-reporting, potentially exploiting the attractiveness of the “Roma issue”.

<sup>17</sup> According to the report of ILGA-Europe and ENAR (2014), the victims of the public hate speech of the candidates for the EP elections in 2014, were Roma, LGBTI, migrants, foreigners, refugees and Muslims.



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## Appendix A

**Table A1:** Overview of the material collected.

<i>Superscript</i> <i>Source</i> <i>dd/mm</i>	<b>Headline; Lead</b>	<i>Summary</i>
<sup>S1</sup> <i>The Sun</i> 17/1	<b>ROM THEIR WAY;</b> 350 000 Romanians and Bulgarians heading to UK as EU lift restrictions	(172 words) News piece treating the estimates of annual numbers of immigrants from Romania and Bulgaria, who could come to the UK from January 2014.
<sup>S2</sup> <i>The Sun</i> 8/2	<b>The Untouchables;</b> LIVING ON LANDFILL, POOR, PERSECUTED AND HEADING FOR BRITAIN	(1271 words) Reportage from Romanian slum Pata Rat, where Roma live segregated from the majority.
<sup>S3</sup> <i>The Sun</i> 20/7	<b>ROMANIAN BEGGARS GET FREE FLIGHT HOME;</b> 4am raid on West End camp	(346 words) News piece treating deportations of homeless Roma from London back to their home countries.
<sup>S4</sup> <i>The Sun</i> 12/10	<b>It beggars belief;</b> SUN REPORT ON EUROPE'S IMMIGRATION CRISIS 20,000 Romanians on streets of Paris. They want to come to UK but can't stay more than 90 days. Those EU restrictions end in January	(1201 words) Reportage on Paris Roma minority, which emigrated there from the Eastern Europe.
<sup>S5</sup> <i>The Sun</i> 12/10	<b>THE Sun SAYS Migrate Britain</b>	(56 words) Editorial complementing the reportage from Paris.
<sup>S6</sup> <i>The Sun</i> 2/11	<b>Persecution and poverty driving the gypsies of Romania to Britain;</b> SUN SEES SQUALOR ROMA CAN ESCAPE FROM NEXT YEAR	(1051 words) Another reportage from Romania, this time through the eyes of British charity workers, who help Roma there.
<sup>S7</sup> <i>The Sun</i> 14/11	<b>Brontosaurus Blunkett was wrong about immigration</b>	(476 words) Editorial expressing stance on the claims of David Blunkett and Jack Straw on immigration policies.
<sup>S8</sup> <i>The Sun</i> 15/11	<b>Roma lad £250 for a baby offer</b>	(110 words) News piece reporting on the testimonial of a shopkeeper, who was allegedly offered to buy a baby from a Roma boy.
<sup>S9</sup> <i>The Sun</i> 17/11	<b>Race row boiling in borderless Britain;</b> LABOUR WARNS OF TENSION...SUN REPORTS FROM THE STREETS	(1600 words) Reportage from Sheffield and Blackburn, constituencies of David Blunkett and Jack Straw, who warned against the tensions between Roma minority and the majority.
<sup>S10</sup> <i>The Sun</i> 15/12	<b>END BIG FAT GYPSY BENEFITS;</b> Warm heart, acid tongue	(219 words) Opinion column focusing on the lifting of restrictions for Romanian and Bulgarian citizens from January 2014 and the consequences for the UK.
<sup>DM1</sup> <i>Mail Online</i> 16/2	<b>'We want to get into your country before someone locks the door': Shocking investigation into the coming wave of immigration from Romania</b>	(2399 words) Reportage from Romania and Bulgaria with a focus on the life of its Roma minority.

	<b>and Bulgaria</b>	
<i>DM2 The Daily Mail</i> 25/5	<b>THE ROMA GIPSY BEGGARS OF PARK LANE</b>	(755 words) Reportage from Park Lane in London, where a group of homeless Roma settled after their arrival in the UK.
<i>DM3 Mail Online</i> 8/6	<b>It beggars belief! Anger of shopkeepers at Roma gypsies who have set up camp at Marble Arch in London</b>	(695 words) News piece covering the resentment of the London shopkeepers against Roma.
<i>DM4 The Daily Mail</i> 20/7	<b>POLICE SWOOP ON CAMP IN CENTRAL LONDON AND OFFER ROMA FREE FLIGHTS HOME (BUT ONLY IF THEY FANCY IT)</b>	(656 words) News piece treating a police intervention against Roma camp in London with a goal to repatriate them.
<i>DM5 Mail Online</i> 29/9	<b>Romanian beggars given taxpayer-funded tickets to go home this summer already back on streets of London</b>	(696 words) News piece – a sequel to the articles about Roma in London, treating the fact that some of them have returned from their countries back to London.
<i>DM6 The Daily Mail</i> 3/10	<b>ROMA GANGS USE NO-FRILLS FLIGHTS FOR CRIME SPREES</b>	(668 words) News piece focusing on the organized crime groups operating from Romania and Bulgaria.
<i>DM7 The Daily Mail</i> 13/11	<b>A SPECTACULAR MISTAKE ON IMMIGRATION</b>	(874 words) News piece with characteristics of an opinion column treating the comments of David Blunkett and Jack Straw on the immigration policies.
<i>DM8 The Daily Mail</i> 14/11	<b>IMMIGRATION, TALK OF RACE RIOTS AND WHY MINISTERS CAN'T CLAIM THEY HAVEN'T BEEN WARNED</b>	(1169 words) News piece with characteristics of an opinion column treating the comments of David Blunkett and Jack Straw on the immigration policies.
<i>DM9 Mail Online</i> 15/11	<b>After Blunkett's warning over Roma migrants, residents on patrol in his city: Fears of growing civil unrest as 'angry' locals take action against new arrivals</b>	(1013 words) Reportage from Sheffield, constituency of David Blunkett, who warned against the tensions between Roma minority and majority.
<i>DM10 The Daily Mail</i> 16/11	<b>FEAR, LOATHING &amp; PREJUDICE IN BLUNKETT'S BACK YARD</b>	(2286 words) Reportage from Sheffield, constituency of David Blunkett, who warned against the tensions between Roma minority and majority.
<i>DT1 Telegraph.co.uk</i> 17/1 ed.	<b>Heads in the sand over Eastern immigration;</b> The chaos of 2004 when more than a million migrants flooded into Britain must not be repeated with Romanians and Bulgarians	(478 words) Editorial expressing opinion on the Eastern European immigration and on the lifting of restrictions to Romania and Bulgaria from January 2014.
<i>DT2 The Daily Telegraph</i> 26/9	<b>EU should help Roma migrants go home, says French minister</b>	(556 words) News piece treating the claims of French minister, who appealed to Roma in France to return to their home countries.
<i>DT3 The Daily Telegraph</i> 2/10	<b>Clarke: Roma invasion a myth; IMMIGRATION</b>	(150 words) News piece focusing on claims of Kenneth Clarke, who dismissed the fears of significant numbers of Roma arriving to the UK as unfounded.
<i>DT4 Telegraph.co.uk</i> 6/10	<b>The Roma invasion of Paris... next stop Britain; Romanian migrants are the scourge of Paris – sleeping rough,</b>	(1499 words) Reportage on Roma living in Paris, who came there from the Eastern Europe.

	<b>begging and blamed for rising crime. Is this what awaits Britain when they start crossing the Channel?</b>	
<i>DT5 The Daily Telegraph 31/10</i>	<b>Britain's population of 200,000 Roma migrants among Europe's biggest</b>	<i>(563 words) News piece drawing on the new study revealing the number of Roma living in the UK and on the situation in Sheffield.</i>
<i>DT6 The Daily Telegraph 12/11</i>	<b>Roma migrants could cause riots in cities, warns Blunkett</b>	<i>(440 words) News piece treating the comments of David Blunkett on the immigration policies.</i>
<i>DT7 Telegraph.co.uk 12/11</i>	<b>Nigel Farage: 'Blunkett right to warn Roma migrants could trigger riots'; Ukip leader says former home secretary "should be admired" for speaking out about issue</b>	<i>(583 words) News piece further focusing on the political debate started by Blunkett, which incited other politicians to react (Nigel Farage).</i>
<i>DT8 The Daily Telegraph 15/11</i>	<b>Roma migrants need to avoid giving offence, warns Clegg</b>	<i>(477 words) News piece treating another voice that joined the debate, this time Nick Clegg.</i>
<i>DT9 The Daily Telegraph 16/11</i>	<b>"When it goes off, it will be like an atom bomb here'; Is the North facing race riots again? Relations between Roma immigrants and the locals in Sheffield are poisonous and worsening by the day Joe Shute feels the tension on the litter-strewn streets</b>	<i>(1503 words) Reportage from Sheffield, constituency of David Blunkett, who warned against the tensions between the Roma minority and the majority.</i>
<i>DT10 Telegraph.co.uk 19/11</i>	<b>Tory MPs to challenge PM's stance on Romanian immigration; Dozens of Conservatives likely to back measure calling for five-year delay to imminent border control change</b>	<i>(415 words) News piece focusing on the objection of the Conservative deputies against the current policy on the Romanian and Bulgarian immigration.</i>
<i>B1 Blesk.cz 25/2</i>	<b>Massacre at the disco: The murderer slit Martin's (34) throat and watched him bleed to death</b>	<i>(359 words) News report informing about a murder of a man, member of the majority, committed by a Roma man at a disco in the Czech town of Moravske Budejovice.</i>
<i>B2 Blesk.cz 9/3</i>	<b>Gypsy baron slit the throat of Martin (34) and let him bleed to death. Police found the murder weapon!</b>	<i>(255 words) Follow-up article on the previous report, revealing new information about the case.</i>
<i>B3 Blesk.cz 11/12</i>	<b>Roma stabbed a bouncer to death: He'll land in jail for 17 years!</b>	<i>(281 words) Follow-up article on the previous report, informing about the verdict of the court on the accused, closing the case and the story.</i>
<i>B4 Blesk.cz 20/5</i>	<b>He shot alleged thief with crossbow: Arrow passed through his head, but it happened by accident, claims accused Sebesta</b>	<i>(419 words) News report informing about a murder of a Roma man by a member of the majority in the Czech town of Chotěbuz.</i>
<i>B5 Blesk.cz 22/5</i>	<b>Jaromir (39) who shot Martin (39) let slip in the court: I shot from the crossbow because he was a Roma!</b>	<i>(978 words) Follow-up article on the previous report, revealing new information shedding light on the process with the accused.</i>
<i>B6 Blesk.cz 31/5</i>	<b>He shot a Roma with a crossbow: He'll land in jail for 10 years! He won't get away with an accident claim</b>	<i>(360 words) Follow-up article on the previous report, revealing the final verdict of the court, closing the case and the story.</i>
<i>B7 Blesk.cz 28/5</i>	<b>Tension in Duchcov: group of Roma brutally beat up married couple</b>	<i>(299 words) News report informing on the incident in the Czech town of Duchcov, where a group of Roma attacked two members of the majority. The article discusses the health</i>

		<i>consequences of the attack and reaction of the town leaders.</i>
<sup>B8</sup> <i>Blesk.cz 28/5</i>	<b>This young man (16) attacked married couple in Duchcov: I regret it, he says</b>	<i>(296 words) Follow-up article on the previous report, revealing the identity of one of the accused, treating the testimony of the attacked and the behaviour of the police officer, who was present to the incident.</i>
<sup>B9</sup> <i>Blesk.cz 29/5</i>	<b>Attack on married couple in Duchcov: 500 people march through town</b>	<i>(341 words) Follow-up article on the previous reports, focusing on the reaction of the majority inhabitants in Duchcov to the incident and on the measures adopted by local police.</i>
<sup>B10</sup> <i>Blesk.cz 16/7</i>	<b>Aggressive Roma from Duchcov: Three ended up in custody, one was sent directly to slammer</b>	<i>(383 words) An article re-visiting the topic of the incident from May by linking it to another, new incident, committed by relatives of the previously accused Roma.</i>
<sup>D1</sup> <i>Denik.cz 11/6</i>	<b>Officials check flats in Duchcov. Policemen are at theirs back</b>	<i>(462 words) Article treating official inspections of flats and their inhabitants initiated by the Duchcov town hall, focusing on the areas with larger community of Roma, and re-visiting the incident from May.</i>
<sup>D2</sup> <i>Denik.cz 14/6</i>	<b>“I offered the town an assistance for free. They rejected me for being a Gypsy.”</b>	<i>(563 words) Article treating an issue of accusation from racial discrimination by a Roma businessman against the town’s Mayor.</i>
<sup>D3</sup> <i>Denik.cz 20/6</i>	<b>Re-educating Roma? Foolishness, says mayor of Novy Bydzov</b>	<i>(472 words) Article treating the general issue of the possibility of integration of Roma into majority society reveals opinions of several majority figures from the areas of the recent conflicts.</i>
<sup>D4</sup> <i>Denik.cz 19/7</i>	<b>Public order unit has to guard the old Sumbark again</b>	<i>(495 words) News report on the measures taken by a police in the Czech city of Sumbark in response to the suicide of a Roma man.</i>
<sup>D5</sup> <i>Denik.cz 27/7</i>	<b>Will the administered fines drive them away? Homeless pester other citizens</b>	<i>(321 words) News piece focusing on the measures taken by a police in order to expel homeless and Roma from the area of a shopping centre.</i>
<sup>D6</sup> <i>Denik.cz 6/8</i>	<b>Roma taking over Boletice area in Decin!</b>	<i>(531 words) Article treating the moving-in of members of the Roma minority into a Czech town of Decin, the reactions of the inhabitants and the town leaders.</i>
<sup>D7</sup> <i>Denik.cz 7/8</i>	<b>We want to live a decent life here, say the Roma from Boletice</b>	<i>(944 words) A reportage from the above mentioned area of Decin, where Roma moved-in, focusing on the statements from the inhabitants on the streets.</i>
<sup>D8</sup> <i>Denik.cz 5/9</i>	<b>We don’t want another ghetto in Cerveny Ujezd, locals are afraid</b>	<i>(1001 words) A reportage treating the reaction of the majority inhabitants in response to the possibility of a creation of a boarding house in the town for, among others, members of the Roma community.</i>
<sup>D9</sup> <i>Denik.cz 19/9</i>	<b>Roma children won’t be placed in special schools anymore</b>	<i>(703 words) News piece treating the future change of the education law, which should ensure greater equality and inclusivity within</i>

		<i>the Czech educational system regarding children, who are Roma.</i>
<sup>D10</sup> <i>Denik.cz</i> 30/10	<b>She wanted to run away. Now the mayor is awarded for Roma integration</b>	<i>(655 words) News piece informing about the winner of the prize for Roma integration awarded by Council of Europe, focusing on the changes she introduced in her town.</i>
<sup>MF1</sup> <i>Zpravy.idnes.cz</i> 22/3	<b>Sokolov town has a Roma municipal officer. He proved himself, got a uniform and a weapon</b>	<i>(660 words) Article focusing on the portrayal of the first municipal officer of a Roma ethnicity.</i>
<sup>MF2</sup> <i>Zpravy.idnes.cz</i> 4/4	<b>When I grow up, I want to receive benefits, the poor children from Roma ghettos wish</b>	<i>(614 words) News piece drawing on the report from ghettos with Roma inhabitants, treating primarily the living conditions in such places through the opinions of quoted experts.</i>
<sup>MF3</sup> <i>Zpravy.idnes.cz</i> 29/5	<b>Incomers are the source of problems in Duchcov, old residents including the Roma say</b>	<i>(569 words) News report on the atmosphere in the town of Duchcov, focusing on the opinions of the old residents towards the newcomers, and revisiting the incident from May.</i>
<sup>MF4</sup> <i>Zpravy.idnes.cz</i> 1/7	<b>The trouble in the Maj housing estate will be sorted by our patrols, reassure the Roma from the housing estate</b>	<i>(560 words) Article on the proposition of Roma activist to launch official Roma patrols in the Maj housing estate, which experienced several demonstrations against the minority.</i>
<sup>MF5</sup> <i>Mladá fronta DNES</i> 11/7	<b>Black and white Maj</b>	<i>(1231 words) A reportage from the Maj housing estate describing the atmosphere and history through claims from the inhabitants.</i>
<sup>MF6</sup> <i>Zpravy.idnes.cz</i> 20/8	<b>People in Upice dread new ghetto, crime rate rose by one third</b>	<i>(623 words) News report on the situation in the town of Upice, focusing on the reaction of old residents and police to the newcomers of Roma ethnicity.</i>
<sup>MF7</sup> <i>Zpravy.idnes.cz</i> 28/8	<b>Former refugee camp is turning into ghetto, local people are in despair</b>	<i>(568 words) News report treating the reaction of old residents, police and the Mayor of Cerveny Ujezd to the moving-in of several members of Roma community into a complex within the town.</i>
<sup>MF8</sup> <i>Zpravy.idnes.cz</i> 5/9	<b>Roma heading for elections. They want jobs, order and change in the social benefits system</b>	<i>(533 words) The article introduces the vision of the Roma party for next elections through the citations of its leader.</i>
<sup>MF9</sup> <i>Zpravy.idnes.cz</i> 6/9	<b>In exchange for protection against racists we will turn offenders in, promise Roma in Ostrava</b>	<i>(694 words) News piece focusing on the proposition of a Roma activist regarding better cooperation between Roma and the police, evaluating the viability of such a model.</i>
<sup>MF10</sup> <i>Mladá fronta DNES</i> 6/11	<b>Miracle of Obrnice</b>	<i>(1321 words) News piece informing about the winner of the prize for Roma integration awarded by Council of Europe, focusing on the changes she introduced in her town.</i>

## Appendix B

**Table B1:** Overview of the analytical steps applied to each article in the dataset. The eclectic approach presented here draws on the tools previously used by these CDA researchers: Fairclough (1989), Fowler (1991), Halliday as appropriated by Fowler (1991), Van Dijk (1992, 1993b, 1995, 2000), Teo (2000), Wodak (2001), Erjavec (2001), Baker et al. (2008) and Khosravini (2009).

Level of Analysis	Pattern Analysed	Ideological Significance
<b>Macro Level</b>	<i>Headlines &amp; Leads</i>	Setting the tone for the rest of the article, influencing the reading of micro-structure, evaluative charge
	<i>Quotation Patterns</i>	Providing space for expression to different speakers, mean of argumentation the journalist is not accounted for, ideologically significant selection of quotes
	<i>Lexical Cohesion</i>	Creating a coherent image of a group within the article's body through the repetitive use of certain epithets
	<i>Over-lexicalization</i>	Marking group's deviance from the norm by employing surplus of lexical epithets, which are otherwise not employed to the dominant group
	<i>Generalization</i>	Simplification, essentializing the members of a group, rendering individuals less complex, creating illusion of a homogenous group
<b>Micro Level</b>	<i>Transitivity</i>	Clause transformation: ascribing/concealing responsibility, activation/passivization of subjects, topicalization, objectification, mitigation
	<i>Nominalization</i>	Context concealment, reification, mitigation
	<i>Rhetorical Figures</i>	Leading rhetorical devices (metaphors, personification, synecdoche, euphemism), providing evaluation, amplification/mitigation of the propositions
	<i>Lexical Choice</i>	Evaluative choice of the journalist, leading subjective selection
	<i>Local Meanings</i>	Seemingly neutral words designated for a group, its behaviour, characteristics – in fact pejorative or inciting Othering
<b>Semantic Level</b>	<i>In-group and Out-group Creation</i>	Positive representation of Us and negative of Them, mitigating negative portrayal of Us and the positive of Them, stressing dichotomies between groups in the society
	<i>Argumentation</i>	Justification/denial of discrimination/racism/inequalities

**Table B2:** Model of transitivity (adapted from Halliday, 2004, and from his adaptation by Teo, 2000, and Erjavec, 2001)

Participants	Process	Meaning	Example
Actor, Goal	<b>Material</b> - Action - Event	<b>doing</b> <b>doing</b> <b>happening</b>	Migrants came into Britain Britain opened its borders
Behaver	<b>Behavioural</b>	<b>behaving</b>	He refused to apologize
Senser, Phenomenon	<b>Mental</b> - Perception - Affection - Cognition	<b>sensing</b> <b>seeing</b> <b>feeling</b> <b>thinking</b>	He noticed The council fears Some forecasters believe
Sayer, Target	<b>Verbal</b>	<b>saying</b>	One young man said
Carrier, Attributive Identified, Identifier	<b>Relational</b> - Attribution - Identification	<b>being</b> <b>attributing</b> <b>identifying</b>	The schools are full Tonight is a quiet night
Existent	<b>Existential</b>	<b>existing</b>	It was a failure

**Table B3:** Discursive strategies of positive self-representation and negative other-representation (adapted from Wodak, 2001, pp. 73-74)

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
<b>Referential/Nomination</b>	Construction of in-groups and out-groups	Membership categorization; biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing metaphors and metonymies; synecdoches
<b>Predication</b>	Labelling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively	Stereotypical, evaluative attribution of negative or positive traits; implicit and explicit predicates
<b>Argumentation</b>	Justification of positive or negative attributions	Topoi used to justify political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment (e.g. topoi of culture, abuse, burdening, threat)
<b>Perspectivation/Framing/Discourse Representation</b>	Expressing involvement, positioning speakers' point of view	Reporting, description, narration or quotation of events and utterances
<b>Intensification/Mitigation</b>	Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition	Intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force or (discriminatory) utterances

## Appendix C

Table C1: Overview of the lexical cohesion

Overview of the lexical cohesion		
<b>Numerous and invasive</b>	British	<i>the Roma numbers have rocketed<sup>DT9</sup>; the thousands of Roma migrants<sup>DT9</sup>; Roma youths and adults hang around in groups, dozens at a time<sup>DT9</sup>; hundreds of Roma families<sup>DT8</sup>; growing number of Roma<sup>DT5</sup>; ever-expanding Roma community<sup>DM9</sup>; one of the largest Roma populations in Europe<sup>DM7</sup>; gang of 27 men and women<sup>DM6</sup>; More than 60 Roma squatters<sup>DM4</sup>; gangs of Romanian beggars<sup>S4</sup>; crowds of unruly men<sup>DM10</sup>; hordes<sup>DT9</sup>; droves<sup>S6</sup></i>
	Czech	<i>large Roma communities<sup>D3</sup>, large mourning gathering<sup>D4</sup>, mob of homeless and Roma<sup>D5</sup>, entire Roma families<sup>D5</sup>, at least several dozens of new Roma<sup>D6</sup>, the influx of Roma people<sup>D6</sup>, tens of Roma<sup>D7</sup>, hundreds of Roma<sup>D8</sup>, quartet of Roma<sup>B10</sup></i>
<b>Number game</b>	British	<i>Britain is now home to 1,114,368 Eastern Europeans<sup>DM1</sup>; an extra 23,000 Romanians and Bulgarians have been working in Britain, a jump of nearly 21 per cent<sup>DM8</sup></i>
	Czech	<i>1,100 of them are crammed in there<sup>MF2</sup>, one of more than 360 Roma<sup>MF4</sup>, among the total of 20 thousand inhabitants 400 are Roma<sup>MF5</sup>, five women sitting and twenty children running around<sup>MF5</sup>, seven Roma families<sup>MF7</sup>, ninety people in total<sup>MF7</sup>, Roma people make up to a half of the population of 2,500 inhabitants<sup>MF10</sup></i>
<b>Criminal and illegal</b>	British	<i>thieves, beggars, offenders; making a nuisance of themselves<sup>S4</sup>; responsible for aggressive begging and petty criminality<sup>S4</sup>; marauding gangs of unwashed children<sup>DM1</sup>; drug-dealers<sup>DM1</sup>; street prostitutes<sup>DM1</sup></i>
	Czech	<i>thieves, offenders<sup>MF9</sup>; murderer<sup>B1-3</sup>; attackers<sup>B7,9 MF3</sup>; aggressors<sup>B7,9</sup>; released prisoners<sup>D8</sup>; steal food and even soap<sup>MF2</sup></i>
<b>Inactive</b>	British	<i>homeless people lounging around<sup>S3</sup>; Roma passing their day sitting in or around their cars<sup>S4</sup>; loiter at Marble Arch, playing dice and chatting<sup>S4</sup>; jobless<sup>S4</sup>; drinking apple brandy and waiting for his mobile phone to ring<sup>DM1</sup>; walk the streets, content to pick up benefits<sup>DT9</sup></i>
	Czech	<i>the incomers don't work<sup>MF6</sup>; they gather in front of a club and disturb night time<sup>MF6</sup>; they take out chairs and tables and simply hang around<sup>D6</sup>; the Roma sit in front of the panel houses on their chairs and make noise, celebrate or yell at each other<sup>D7</sup>; they are lazing around<sup>D7</sup></i>
<b>Uncivilized and underdeveloped</b>	British	<i>have no qualifications<sup>S2</sup>; illiterate<sup>S2</sup>; living on the streets<sup>S4</sup>; poor hygiene<sup>S4</sup>; ethnic underclass<sup>DM1</sup>; dumping rubbish on the streets<sup>DM7</sup></i>
	Czech	<i>camping in front of her house and were leaving mess<sup>D10</sup>; instead of ringing the flats' doorbells they honk<sup>MF5</sup>; they scream, sway on the clotheslines<sup>MF5</sup>; the benches become a boarding house of entire Roma families<sup>D5</sup></i>
<b>Discriminated and poor</b>	British	<i>Gypsies face constant racism and violence in Romania<sup>S2</sup>; are treated worse than animals<sup>S2</sup>; Roma may be unpopular here but they are almost as unwelcome in their homeland<sup>S6</sup>; Roma in Romania are "poverty-stricken, persecuted and outcast"<sup>S6</sup></i>
	Czech	<i>people from the edge of the society<sup>MF2</sup></i>
<b>Young age foregrounding</b>	British	<i>Roma lad<sup>S8</sup>; he was offered a baby for £250 by a teenage migrant<sup>S8</sup>; a group of teenage girls<sup>DM10</sup>; Children looking as young as five or six<sup>DM10</sup>; aggressive gangs of youths<sup>DM10</sup>; gangs of under-16s<sup>DT9</sup>; hordes of young Roma<sup>DT9</sup></i>
	Czech	<i>young man (16) attacked married couple<sup>B8</sup>; the youngest one from the group, the sixteen-year-old David<sup>B8</sup>; two young Roma girls attacked them with especially great intensity<sup>B8</sup></i>
<b>Criminal acts' intensification</b>	Czech (Blesk)	<i>massacre at the disco<sup>B1</sup>; an incredibly treacherous murder<sup>B1</sup>; insidious attack<sup>B1</sup>; brutal murder<sup>B2</sup>; kitchen knife used by the Roma to treacherously inflict five stabs<sup>B2</sup>; aggression of the female attackers was especially shocking<sup>B7</sup></i>



**Table C2: Transitivity: Majority activated as firm, powerful agents**

<b>Transitivity: Majority activated as firm, powerful agents</b>			
<i>The Sun</i> 17/1	young British workers {actor}	face {action}	[competition]
<i>Denik.cz</i> 11/6	officials {actor}	check {action}	flats in Duchcov
<i>Blesk.cz</i> 28/5	the locals {sensor}	plan on taking {mental}	to the streets
<i>The Sun</i> 20/7	police and immigration officials {actor}	handed out {action} swooped {action}	FREE flights home the squalid camp of Roma gypsies
<i>Denik.cz</i> 27/7	the city police {actor}	clamped down on {action}	a mob of homeless and Roma
	he and his colleagues {actor}	set to “fight” {action}	the people who are an eyesore of the surroundings
<i>Denik.cz</i> 6/8	the police {actor}	have reinforced {action}	the patrols.
<i>The Sun</i> 2/11	police, immigration officials and Westminster City Council staff {actor}	are fighting {action}	a constant battle to get a persistent band of Roma gypsies to return to their east European home.
<i>Mail Online</i> 16/2	Britain {actor}	must do {action}	more to deter immigrants by cutting their benefits and access to services
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> 12/11	locals {actor}	have set up {action}	"street patrols" in response to anti-social behaviour by migrants

**Table C3: Transitivity: Roma activated for ascription of responsibility for a negative action**

<b>Transitivity: Roma activated for ascription of responsibility for a negative action</b>			
<i>The Sun</i> 17/1	Romanians and Bulgarians {actor}	[are] heading / could flock / could arrive {action}	to UK
<i>The Sun</i> 20/7	Romanian travellers {actor}	have been blighting {action}	the area
<i>Denik.cz</i> 27/7	a mob of homeless and Roma who {actor}	pester {action}	the life around the shopping centre
	they {actor}	hassle {action}	everyone who pass around the centre
<i>Blesk.cz</i> 9/3	Gypsy baron {actor} and	slit {action} watched him {action}	the throat of Martin (34) bleed to death
<i>Denik.cz</i> 19/9	a number of Roma children {actor}	“opt to hide away” {action}	from the classic elementary school
<i>The Daily Mail</i> 3/10	Romanian criminals {carrier}	are specialists {attribution}	in pickpocketing and card-skimming
<i>The Daily Mail</i> 13/11	they [Roma] {actor}	were dumping rubbish {action}	on the streets
		loitering {action}	late at night
		causing {action}	friction' with residents
<i>Telegraph.co.uk</i> 6/10	Roma {actor}	[are] boomeranging back {action}	

**Table C4: Transitivity: Roma in passive constructions – rendered powerless, acted upon**

<b>Transitivity: Roma in passive constructions – rendered powerless, acted upon</b>			
<i>The Sun</i> 8/2	[Roma] {carrier}	[are] being forced out / being ordered / are hated / are barred from / are discriminated against {relational}	
<i>The Sun</i> 20/7	the gang {carrier}	[was] herded {relational}	to a mobile police station
	they [Roma] {carrier}	were quizzed {relational}	over their immigration status
		were offered {relational}	free tickets
		were bussed {relational}	to Heathrow
		were issued {relational}	enforcement notices
<i>The Daily Mail</i> 20/7	more than 60 Roma squatters {carrier}	were detained {relational}	
		and questioned {relational}	
	the camp {carrier}	had been blamed {relational}	for a rise in petty crime, begging and anti-social behaviour
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i> 26/9	the Roma {carrier}	should be integrated {relational}	over there

**Table C5: Transitivity: Majority in passive constructions – victim reversal**

<b>Transitivity: Majority in passive constructions – victim reversal</b>			
<i>The Sun</i> 12/10	tourist areas in the centre of the French capital {carrier}	are plagued {relational}	with Roma beggar gangs
<i>The Sun</i> 14/11	our local people {carrier}	[are] priced out {relational}	of the job market
<i>The Daily Mail</i> 3/10	Europe's free travel rules {carrier}	are being exploited {relational}	by Romanian gangs to target Britain
<i>The Daily Mail</i> 16/11	ordinary suburb, which {carrier}	has been utterly overwhelmed {relational}	in the past three years by Roma migrants