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Tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää miten rasismista, ja siihen läheisesti liittyvistä aiheista, 'rodusta' ja siirtolaisuudesta, puhutaan englantilaisessa sanomalehdessä *The Independent*issä. Aineisto koostuu artikkeleista, jotka on kerätty lehden yhden kuukauden numeroista. Huomio kiinnitetään erityisesti eufemismien käyttöön sekä siihen millainen *The Independent*in näkökulma on rasismiin.

Aineisto jaotellaan tutkimuksessa aiheenmukaisesti. Tutkielma on pääosin kuvaileva, taustateorianaan on käytetty diskurssianalyysia. Artikkeleista kuvataan niitä ilmauksia, joita käytetään puhuttaessa rasismista, 'rodusta' ja siirtolaisuudesta. Eri artikkeleiden kielenkäyttöä verrataan sen suhteen käytetäänkö eri yhteyksissä erilaista kieltä kun puhutaan rasismista.

Yhden kuukauden numeroiden perusteella *The Independent* –lehdessä siirtolaisuutta ei käsitellä suurena uutisena. Eniten huomiota saa laitton siirtolaisuus. Eufemismeja käytetään puhuttaessa siirtolaisuudesta joka on tapahtunut kaukana, joko ulkomailla tai menneisyydessä. Siirtolaisuus, jota esiintyy lähellä, eli nykyaikana Englannissa, kuvataan negatiivisemmilla termeillä. Rasismista puhutaan paljon, mutta rasismisyytökset esitetään epäsuorasti. Esiin nousivat ironian sekä passiivin käyttö tässä yhteydessä. Rasismisyytöksille annetaan enemmän tilaa kuin puolustuspuheenvuoroille. Rasismi liitetään paremminkin ala- kuin yläluokkaan. Eufemistinen kielenkäyttö on yleisempää lainauksissa ja yleisönosastokirjoituksissa kuin lehden omassa kirjoitustyylissä. Rasismi englantilaisessa poliisilaitoksessa on eniten palstatilaa saava keskustelunaihe, jota käydään *institutionaalisen rasism*in käsitteen avulla. Poliisin harjoittaman rasismin uutisointi perustuu pääosin asiantuntijalausuntoihin. Yleensäkin voidaan huomata, että lehden kirjoitustyyli muistuttaa lähteinä käytettyjä asiantuntijatekstejä ja –lausuntoja. Tämä tarkoittaa sitä, että *The Independent* on varovainen uutisoidessaan rasismista eikä helposti kyseenalaista autoritäärisiä lausuntoja. Rasismista puhutaan myös monilla eri nimillä mikä viittaa siihen, että keskustelu rasismista on jatkuva prosessi.

Asiasanat: racism. race. discourse analysis. euphemism. media.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Racism is a phenomenon that virtually affects everyone either directly or indirectly. If one does not have first hand experience of it, mass media is the channel which provides information on racism. Mass media has been studied, in relation to racism, especially on how it formulates opinions about other people and how minority groups are presented in the media. Racism is a concept that is considered as negative and not acceptable, it is against humanistic values and the moral and ethical values that the western world has. However, even if this way of thinking is generally accepted, racism still exists. It is thus a complex issue and therefore it can sometimes be difficult to talk about it. My interest is to study how racism is dealt with in the British newspaper *The Independent* and what it tells about the concept of racism itself and possibly the paper's attitude towards it.

In this study I will first explain the central terms that I will be using. The title of this study, *Discourse on racism in The Independent*, contains the word *racism*, which is a complex term and will be discussed in detail in chapter 2. The term *racism* has a close connection with the term *race*, which then will be looked at. The concept of *modern racism*, and criticism of it, will also be explained, because the concept has been invented to explain racism that is not as visible as straight forward, open racism. After explaining these central concepts of *racism*, *race* and *modern racism* the attention will be paid to the analytical value of discourse when studying racism. I will be mainly using studies made by Fairclough (1995), Wetherell and Potter (1992), van Dijk (1987; 1988; 1992; 1997) and Reeves (1983) to explain relevant aspects of discourse analysis. Attention will not only be paid to the discourse *on* racism, but also discourse *of* racism. As an example of discourse on and of racism I will then take the denial of racism. The denial of racism in discourse is explained differently by various researchers; for example, van Dijk sees it as a result of face-saving, whereas Billigt et al. consider it to be a sign of

competition between various ideologies. Discourse can thus be explained in two ways and this also affects the way researchers approach their data: discourse can be seen as reflecting the ideas and values of society (van Dijk) or discourse is seen as two-way process, reflecting society, but also having an effect on ideologies (Fairclough).

The role of the media will then be discussed generally in relation to racism. This is done especially because the data for the present study is collected from a representative of the mass media, from a newspaper. I will look at studies that report on how media presents minorities, how 'race'¹ is dealt with in the media, and what freedom of speech means when talking about racism. In the last section of chapter two the concept of euphemism is explained. I will look at the history of euphemisms as well as the use of euphemisms today. Also some aspects of the linguistic formation of euphemisms will be dealt with. The concept of euphemism is linked with the discourse on racism by showing how certain expressions are avoided and replaced with new terms when talking about 'race' and racism.

In the third chapter the analysis of articles that discuss immigration, 'race' and racism in *The Independent* will be carried out. The analysis is divided into three sections according to the topic of the articles. First the articles that deal with immigration are looked at. This section comes first because in these articles 'race' or racism are not discussed directly, but referred to through the concept of immigration. The articles that discuss 'race' and racism more directly are analysed later. The reason why the articles about immigration are included in the study is that discourse on immigration is part of the discourse on 'race' and racism. The two other sections of analysis are divided according to whether they discuss racism in connection with the police. First those articles will be analysed that do not discuss racism in the police, but deal with racism within various contexts. Thus the issues in that chapter are diverse, including, for example, adoption, Ku Klux Klan, German elections and 'reverse

¹ In his writings Robert Miles uses inverted commas when referring to the term *race*. This way the writer can indicate that the term is an ideological concept and used for certain purposes. I will also use italics when discussing the term *race* and inverted commas when using the word on its own.

racism'. In this part the letters from 'Letters to the editor' section that deal with racism are also treated. In the last section of chapter 3 analysis will be made of those articles that refer to racism in the police. I will use qualitative method to study the articles, i.e. the emphasis is not primarily on finding out the amount of discussion on racism in *The Independent*, but to study how racism is presented in the paper.

In the last part of the thesis I will draw conclusions of the way 'race' and racism were discussed in *The Independent*. The purpose of this study is to find out how *The Independent* deals with racism, and the issues that are closely linked with it, 'race' and immigration. I want to find out what kind of language is used when discussing and reporting these matters, and whether *The Independent's* position towards racism can be seen in the data. My interest is also to look at the possible differences and similarities between various articles in the way *The Independent* reports on and defines racism. In addition, I want to find out whether the use of euphemisms is prevalent when talking about immigration, 'race' and racism. If euphemisms are employed, attention will be paid to in what kind of context they are used.

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 The concepts of *race*, *racism* and *modern racism*

In this chapter the concepts of *race*, *racism* and *new racism* are examined. They are all concepts that need to be explained, because they are complex terms and often used without exact definitions. Even though the aim of this study is not to explore racist practices within contemporary western culture, but rather to examine the way these issues are talked about, i.e. discourse on racism, it is essential to clarify what the terms *race*, *racism* and *new racism* mean and how they are connected with each other.

In modern biology and genetics the existence of 'race' has been abandoned altogether and indeed it has been shown that the difference between old biological 'races' is smaller than the variation within any population. The idea of 'racial hierarchy', where for example the colour of the skin would be a distinguishing feature, is thus unscientific. However, the term *race* is still used at least in three different types of discourse in English. In the world of science it is used in biology, especially in genetics. In social sciences references to 'race' are also made. It is used in everyday talk, and for example in political discourse. *Race* is a part of common sense; i.e. the way people perceive the ideological patterns of the social world in order to be able to act in it. Discourse of 'race' is based on attributing significance to certain features of physical appearance. The colour of skin has been the marker that primarily distinguishes 'races' into 'blacks' and 'whites'. For example, the variation of the size of ears between people has not gained the same distinguishing meaning as colour and thus it can be shown that 'races' are a product of historical and social processes, not biological or natural reality. (Miles 1994:104, 106.) The popular ideology of racial difference has not thus simply resulted from the visible difference of skin colour, but the fact that these features are noticed and collectively shared, is the product of the history of Western cultures in which these differences are elaborated, articulated and applied (Miles 1989, according

to Wetherell and Potter 1992). British 'race' was seen as a lineage from the sixteenth to the late eighteenth centuries and with this view British national history and collective action was justified. It was only natural that British 'race' was something to be protected. Gilroy (1987:57) points out that "in contemporary Britain, statements about nation are invariably also statements about 'race'". The ambiguity that this offers is used especially by politicians.

The use of the term *race* has been under a lot of discussion both in popular and social scientific discourse (Solomon and Back 1996) because of the notion that 'races' as such do not exist. Another reason for questioning the use of 'race' is that the term bears so many negative connotations, for example the meaning and the use of 'race' in Nazi Germany. Some researchers refuse to use the term *race* in their writings and recommend the use of *ethnic group* instead of *race* (Miles 1994:68). In general, there have been demands that every time the term *race* is used in social scientific discussion, it should be bracketed in order to show the ambiguity of its meaning. Gilroy (1987) mentions the work of Robert Gray, who systematically avoids using the terms of *race* or *racism*.

In popular and everyday thinking of 'race' certain superficial physical characteristics gain meaning, which then categorise people according to these features. Also psychological features are associated with certain ideas of 'races', which is typical for racist discourse. Racist discourse is based on dividing people into social groups and it has assumptions about natural divisions between people (Wetherell and Potter 1992). 'Race' is a convenient means for this purpose. Lay talk changes more slowly than, for example, scientific discourse and therefore many ideas that were presented in earlier scientific work on 'race' and categorisations of people can still be found in everyday conversations about 'race', even though they do not exist in scientific discourse anymore (Wetherell and Potter 1992). This partly explains the consistent use of 'race' in everyday talk. It may also be an explanatory issue when interpreting the world. In general, it has been shown that the elites 'preformulate' the kinds of ethnic beliefs that become popular among common people (van Dijk 1992).

The term *racism* is derived from the term *race* and, in fact, the original meaning of the concept *racism* requires preceding discourse about 'race', which enables grouping of people according to it. The use of the word *racism* began around the time when it was scientifically proved that people could not be divided into different 'races', which would determine their behaviour, culture or civilisation. Another significant role in the formation of the term *racism* was the Nazis' discourse about 'race' and the opposition it received from researchers and political activists when they noticed that this discourse, using scientific terminology, was aiming to legitimate the discrimination and genocide of Jewish people. During the 1940's the scientific discussion about the existence of biological races did not reach unanimous opinion, but it was nevertheless clear that there was increasing criticism towards the concept of categorising people according to their 'race'. The word *racism* was thus introduced to describe the phenomenon of labelling people in this way. Therefore the concept of *racism* gained a lot of political and moral weight and all of those who were accused of racism were at the same time compared with Hitler and fascism. Racism thus included a value judgement; the researchers who started to use the term considered it to be morally condemnable and politically unacceptable. (Miles 1994.)

Traditionally, racism was understood to be an ideology that could clearly be seen in society, as for example in South Africa during the apartheid years. Racist ideology was thus openly practised and everything in society was constructed accordingly. In general, ideology can be defined as "the means by which the ruling class consolidates and reproduces its advantage through presenting its partial and sectional interests as the universal interests of the entire community" (Wetherell and Potter 1992:24). It is essential to notice that racist ideology is rarely practised as openly as in South Africa or Nazi Germany. In general, ideology works so that it conceals the real exploitative basis of social relations. Ideology thus governs all aspects of the society and it has visible results especially for the objects of racist ideologies. It can be found within institutions, and it is not only about ideas and beliefs, but affects practically the existence of people. When discourse is defined as ideology, the

connection can be seen in the concrete effects of racist talk. (Wetherell and Potter 1992.)

The term *racism* is often used vaguely and therefore it has lost a lot of its power as a scientific concept. Some researchers even hope that the term *racism* will lose its usefulness in the future (Evans 1992). Miles (1994) points out that the concept of *racism* should only be used when referring to the ideological phenomenon, which means that the value of the concept *racism* is determined by its usefulness in describing and explaining social processes. Racism should not be defined according to its functions, but according to its ideological substance. As an ideology, it differs from discriminating practice in that it has some biological distinctive mark according to which a certain group of people is recognised as natural, unchangeable and innately different. This group is presented with negative terms and seen as a threat. While representing the Other, racist ideology reflects the Self and its positive features. Racist ideology manifests itself also in everyday conversations, and, for some, it can be a useful method of explaining the problems in society, which would otherwise be difficult to understand. In this respect racism does not have negative value for everyone. (Miles 1994.)

According to Reeves (1983), racism is based on the assumptions that races of human beings exist and that these 'races' differ deeply and enduringly from one another. These differences are significant, possibly because they appear in themselves to be explanatory, or because explanations of other social features may be inferred from them. In addition, the differences between 'races' have social consequences, for example, for social policy. Reeves also classifies racism in three categories: the 'weak', the 'medium' and the 'strong'. 'Weak' racism emphasises the importance of a system of classification and possibly social consequences. 'Medium' racism is descriptive and evaluative, i.e. it divides races into superior and inferior 'races'. 'Strong' racism includes all the features of 'weak' and 'medium' racism, but in addition it entails the idea that superior 'race(s)' are entitled to more favourable and the inferior to less favourable treatment. In the most extreme cases, the inferior 'race(s)' are treated without any human rights.

Racism can be used to describe the beliefs, or ideas, of individuals, but when referring to the anonymous discrimination in organisations, professions or even in whole societies, it is called *institutionalised racism*. The anonymity of institutionalised racism enables individuals to deny charges placed upon them and put the blame of racism on more abstract levels of activity. (Cashmore 1994.) The term *institutionalised racism* was introduced when Afro-Americans started their political activity against discrimination in the U.S.A. Many researchers used the term vaguely and it suffered the same inflation as *racism* had done. Miles (1994:124-125) notes that the concept of *institutionalised racism* can only be used when it is connected with discourse. Earlier racist discourse still affects the practices taken, for example, by the government. In Britain after the year 1945 the discourse used in the immigration law does not include racist features; it does not mention 'races' nor does it refer to 'blacks'. Yet, racist ideology can be found in the political background of this legislation and this form of racism can be called *institutionalised racism*. Even though the language has changed, the structures promote racism. In other words, racist ideas are euphemised to something else.

The concept of *racism* is often limited to the discrimination of 'blacks' by the 'whites'. Miles (1994) criticises this view strongly, because it leaves out the various forms of racisms practised among whites. For example, in Victorian England racist terminology was used when describing Irish people (Husband and Chouhan 1985, Miles 1994). Thus racism is not simply a phenomenon in which darker coloured people are objects. Another form of racism is called 'black' or *reverse racism*. Even though the idea of 'race' has been abandoned in general, some black groups define themselves according to it and thus believe in the existence of different 'races'. This categorisation of people into 'races', which has been created by whites, does not, however, define blacks inferior, but implies that blacks are a superior 'race'. Cashmore (1994) criticises the use of the term *reverse racism*; it gives too simple a comparison with white racism, which is a result of long history of oppression, whereas the black version is a *reaction* to the experience of racism. The result is that the term *reverse racism* disguises the qualitative difference between these two

concepts. If the reaction to white racism is seen as a "photographic negative of white racism" (Cashmore 1994:292), it takes into account only the beliefs expressed by blacks and ignore the history of racism.

Racism as a phenomenon is adaptable to change. It can provide images about 'the other', which are simple and unchanging and at the same time adapt to the changing social and political environment. For example, in the late 20th century, during the 1980's the discussion about racism concentrated on nationhood, whereas in the 1990's it has moved to the issue of 'natural Europe home' and the inclusion and exclusion of different groups of people. (Solomon and Back 1996, Wetherell and Potter 1992.) The idea of European Community is to unite countries within Europe in order to be distinguished from the rest of the world for various commercial and political reasons. Inevitably this process excludes some groups of people. When the open forms of prejudice became punishable, it was considered that the old definition of racism was not sufficient enough to explain new, subtler forms of racism. The basic assumption was that since 'modern' racism is not based on racial categorisations, because it is not considered socially acceptable, the racist discourse has changed so that it cannot be directly recognised as racist (Brewer and Kramer 1985). This pattern of racism is described with various terms: 'modern racism', 'symbolic racism', 'new racism', 'aversive racism', 'racial ambivalence' or 'cultural racism'. All these new definitions of racism basically have the same underlying idea, namely that the 'old' definition of racism is not adequate enough to explain all the forms of racism today and therefore new terminology has to be implemented.

The *modern racism* approach has been used especially in social psychology: in the study of prejudiced attitudes, general ethnocentrism and also in the form of expression of racist attitudes (Brewer and Kramer 1985). The focus has been on the contradiction between the general idea that racism is not an acceptable phenomenon and the resistance of new social policies, which would improve the status of black people in society. For example, in the United States there has been opposition to affirmative action, the purpose of which is to secure the same rights for all the citizens by taking into account the

disadvantage the blacks have suffered over the years. People who oppose affirmative action do not regard themselves as racists, they are only against the new law. According to modern racism viewpoint, the status quo of power relations between 'races' would change and therefore whites oppose it. (Weigel and Howes 1985.) Another viewpoint given is that the legislation discriminates whites and that it is thus against constitution. Modern racism theory seems to be a good method in explaining racism today, and some researchers have even stated that modern racism is "the contemporary manifestation of racism" (McConahay 1986 as quoted by Wetherell and Potter 1992:195).

However, many researchers have criticised the analytic value of the concept of *modern* (or *symbolic*) *racism* (Miles 1994; Weigel and Howes 1985; Wetherell and Potter 1992). First of all, the difference between 'old' and modern racism has been exaggerated. The study made by Sears and Kinder in 1971 is reported to be the first one in which racism was divided in the categories of 'old' and 'new' (Weigel and Howes 1985). Miles (1994) points out that the new concept of *modern racism* was initially problematic, because it was based on the definition of *racism*, which had become an inexact term. Thus the term *racism* should have been better explained before introducing new terms that were based on it and examine what explanatory value the 'old term' had.

Another central point in the studies of modern racism is that they are closely connected with the study of discourse. The basic assumption is that racist opinions have not changed, only the way they are expressed and concealed has. It is assumed that racist ideas are expressed indirectly, symbolically and so that it is impossible to recognise them as racist without the concept of *modern racism*. Modern racism is thus seen as a theory, which could explain subtle racist discourse in society, in which public expressions of racism are considered to be unintelligent and unsophisticated. However, Wetherell and Potter (1992:196-200) bring out the fact that the idea of modern racism has to be dealt with critically if it is used in the study of discourse. First of all, modern racism tends to locate the conflict of expressing racist ideas in the psychological domain, whereas discourse analysis approaches the issue from

the structural level. This means that the question is not about feelings and values, but about "competing frameworks for articulating social, political and ethical questions". Billig et al. (1988) describe the same phenomenon as an ideological dilemma, which means that different ideologies compete in discourse. Thus discourse analysis does not study how individuals form their opinions, but how individuals use different types of discourses available in a given society.

Another problem that arises is that modern racism is defined as ambivalent and vague in its expression. This is, however, typical for more than just one group; it can be used by anyone regardless of their point of view. The fact that in natural discourse there is contradiction and variation, and has always been, also challenges the view of 'old' and 'new' racism. There just have not been sufficient methods to scale this variation and therefore it has been explained to be a contemporary phenomenon. Reeves (1983) talks about the deracialisation of discourse, meaning that issues that were earlier defined through 'race' are now expressed in other ways. This form of discourse was used long before the 'invention' of modern racism, namely in the 19th century colonial Britain. Instead of mentioning 'race' as the reason why certain groups of people could not enter the country, the boundaries were drawn with 'non-racial' terms; limiting entrance to those who could speak the language, who had enough property and who had taken an appropriate type of journey. The purpose of these rules was actually to diminish the amount of black people entering Britain.

2.2 Discourse and racism

In this chapter aspects of discourse analysis and the concept of discourse are discussed. Attention will be paid to features of two types of discourses: to the discourse that is recognised as racist and discourse used when talking about racism. These two overlap and sometimes it can be difficult to point the categories into which certain expressions belong. However, it is typical for the

nature of discourse that different discourses compete and that one text, oral or written, can contain several discourses.

Today, talk about culture has replaced the discourse on 'race'. Cultural discourse is safer than discourse about 'race', because it does not remind us of the negative connotation the concept of *race* has. Similarly with 'race', culture has become a self-sufficient form of explanation and instead of explaining certain features of different groups as the result of genes, the emphasis is on traditional practices, attitudes and values. Within cultural discourse issues such as colonial history, conflicting interests, or exploitation are easier to forget. For example, the term *culture contact* sounds much nicer and humanitarian than conquest and oppression. (Wetherell and Potter 1992:137) In the discourse of 'race' as a cultural phenomenon, 'race' means the same as exclusive, collective identity. This ethnic identity does not, however, abolish the barriers created between 'races', it only explains them in cultural terms. (Gilroy 1987.)

One element in the study of racism is discourse analysis. It can show the complex relations between discourse, social structures, practices and processes. Norman Fairclough (1995) has studied media texts using critical discourse analysis. His approach to media discourse is that it reflects social and cultural change and that change can also be noticed in different discourse practices in media texts. Fairclough (1995:18) notes that the term *discourse* has often been used vaguely and that there are two different ways the term is defined. In language studies discourse is seen as social action and interaction, i.e. people interact together in real social situations. In post-structuralist social theory, which has been developed by Foucault, discourse is a form of knowledge, the way reality is socially constructed. Fairclough's definition of discourse includes both of these trends. His approach to media language is that it needs to be analysed as discourse. Media discourse analysis studies texts and practices, both discourse and sociocultural practices. The study of texts has three dimensions: representative, i.e. how media represents the world, what kind of identities are given for those who are in the text, and between the reader and the journalist, and what kind of relations are created between the participants. Discourse practices are "the ways in which texts are produced by media

workers in media institutions” (Fairclough 1995:16) and how they are received and socially distributed. Sociocultural practices include situational, institutional and social practices. In analysing discursive practices it is important to pay attention to relationships between social institutions/domains and how these orders of discourse influence each other.

van Dijk (1987; 1988; 1992; 1997) has also studied media texts using discourse analysis. He has concentrated on studying racism in the media, for example how racist ideology is repeated. van Dijk’s model, referred to as ‘social-cognitive’ model, differs from Fairclough’s approach. van Dijk concentrates on describing how social relationships and processes manifest themselves at micro-level, as in news. He is interested in how socially shared mental models, by which journalists interpret the material that later becomes news, manifest themselves in the news discourse. Fairclough, on the other hand, underlines the effect discourses have on producing power relations, ideologies and institutionalised practices. Discourse is not thus seen as merely an indicator of certain ideologies, it has also an active role in creating them. (Kantola et al. 1998.)

Wetherell and Potter (1992) have used discourse analysis in studying the language of racism in New Zealand. Their background is social psychology, and discourse analysis offers a new perspective in that area of study. In fact, Wetherell and Potter criticise social psychology, concerning the study of racism, because it has played a double role in investigating racism; it has also sustained some of the ideological aspects of racist discourse. Discourse analysis, according to Wetherell and Potter, focuses essentially on psychological activities such as justification, rationalisation, categorisation, attribution, making sense, naming, blaming and identifying. These features are communicated through discourse and they thus become a part of social action. In the study of racism discourse analysis can offer a way to examine how ”society gives voice to racism and how forms of discourse institute, solidify, change, create and reproduce social formations” (Wetherell and Potter 1992:3).

There are different approaches to study racist language. One is to relate the discourse to reality, in which scientific worldview is contrasted with ordinary,

lay people's worldview. In this representational analysis contrast is made between true and false accounts, between the scientific factual world and the speculative, biased world of common people. Another approach is that discourse is studied separate from 'reality' on its own terms. However, there is always the question of social and individual aspects of discourse that need to be addressed: how society is reflected in the discourse of an individual and how the personal being manifests itself in discourse. (Wetherell and Potter 1992.) Contrary to the approach by Wetherell and Potter (1992) and Miles (1994), some earlier studies have concentrated solely on the individual features of racists. The background assumption of these studies of prejudice is that racism is a 'problem' of an individual and the causes for racist behaviour and expressions can be found in personal characteristics, such as authoritative personality. One of the classical studies made in this area is *The Authoritarian Personality* by Adorno et al. (1950). Even though social conditions are taken into account, the stress is on the feelings of an individual and this way various forms of racisms from all around the world can be analysed as a result of a personal problem. Social conditions of racism are studied in order to find out what forms of expression prejudice can have. In their analysis of racist language, Wetherell and Potter (1992) approach racist discourse from several angles, not completely abandoning Adorno et al.'s approach. This way the contradictions and benefits of various methods give their part to the study of discourse. In their approach discourse is actively constitutive of both social and psychological processes. Through discourse these fields are constructed, defined and articulated. The discourse analysis used by Wetherell and Potter (1992) differs from Van Dijk's 'socio-cognitive' model. They follow the tradition of Foucault, but also use ethnomethodology and conversation analysis in their research.

Wetherell and Potter's study (1992) concentrates on racist language of white New Zealanders called *Pakehas* and how they narrate their history and their relationship with *Maori* minority, the aboriginal people in New Zealand. The basic findings of the study are that categorisations of people, for example according to the terms of 'race', 'nation' or 'culture', have historically

traceable origins and these categorisations are used when describing the relationship between Pakehas and Maoris. Furthermore, discursive acts create similarities, differences, emotions and interests; that is to say that discourse is part of constructing and reflecting the reality. Another finding is that academic and lay discourse overlap. Something that has earlier been proved to be a scientific fact, but later lost its value, can now be found out in the discourse of ordinary people. Some clearly racist ideas that were presented by the academic sphere, for example during the 1950's, serve now as a part of justification in the argumentation of ordinary people. Thirdly, racist and non-racist, prejudiced and tolerant discourses do not exclude each other. Only the very extremist groups use language that solely belongs to one of them. The discourse of ordinary people consists of both. This dilemma is also ideological, which can be seen in the way people are aware of the attitudes attached to biologically racist expressions. (Wetherell and Potter 1992.)

Reeves (1983) has studied British political discourse on 'race' and his findings indicate that the prevalent trend in discussing racial matters is to use deracialisation. He defines *racial expression* as something that makes use of racial or ethnic categories. This expression differs from *racist expression* in that the latter is considered to be hostile towards a certain group of people or attributing negative features to that group. Reeves (1983), like Wetherell and Potter (1992) and Miles (1994), links his study of racial discourse to the study of ideology. In the British ideology of discussing 'racial' matters, there has been avoidance to relate racial dimensions to social relations. *Sanitary coding* is one form of deracialisation, used by politicians who want to avoid being identified as racist. This method of communication comes close to the definition of euphemism, discussed in detail in chapter 4, since it "is the ability privately to communicate racist ideas with discourse publicly defensible as non-racist"(Reeves 1983:250). Reeves (1983) pays also attention to the justification of implementing new anti-discriminatory legislation. Based solely on the parliamentary discourse on Race Relations Bills in 1965, 1968 and 1976, it would seem that there is no need for the legislation, because the British public was presented as tolerant and fair minded. Prejudice and discrimination

were connected with only a small percentage of population, leaving the public in general out of responsibility of these issues. The justification of anti-discriminatory legislation did not thus challenge the self-image of the British, especially when the politicians stressed in various ways that Britain was a nation that wanted fair treatment for all people. Also, in general, when there is a legislation introduced, which discriminates certain part of the population, political discourse explains it in terms of public good thus legitimating the policy.

2.2.1 Denial of racism

The contemporary discourse on 'race' and racism has one common feature among various groups of people: the denial of racism (van Dijk 1992, Billig et al.1987, Wetherell and Potter 1992). The term *racist* is evaluated as a very negative description of a person. The discursive strategy of denial aims at preserving positive self- or group-image and most often it can be found in the form of sentence such as "I'm not racist, but..." Individual denial of racism is located in informal everyday conversations, while social denial is typical for public discourse, for example in politics, the media, education, corporations and other organisations. The social form of denial has the most damaging consequences since it affects large audiences and few members of the white group would have little interest to question it, because the denial does not have direct negative consequences for them. (van Dijk 1992:89)

In general, Van Dijk's approach to the denial of racism and the use of the phrase "I'm not racist, but..." explains it to be a result of *face-saving*. When researchers collect data for their studies on racism, the interview situation has also effect on the behaviour and the answers given by the interviewed; s/he wishes to give a more positive impression to the interviewer and thus formulates her/his answers to be suitable. Billig et al. (1988) examine this type of discourse from quite a different point of view. In their opinion the contradictory elements in the discourse about racism do not primarily result from face-saving, but serve as an example of competition between different

ideologies. Conflicting ideas appear in everyday thinking in general, and this shows that people do not have simple views about their lives, but actively process the problems of everyday life using opposing themes. This process can be observed in discourse, which is the place where people deal with the familiar issues of their lives. Billig et al. (1988) demonstrate this with an example of white British schoolgirls, who support a right-wing party, the National Front, and how they talk about their relationship with their black friends and the ideology the NF offers. The discourse of these girls is dilemmatic; it is filled with pondering about their relationship towards black people, because they are so familiar, and where they themselves stand concerning black people. The enlightenment ideas of tolerance and nationalist values of excluding those who are not British can be found simultaneously in their discourse; in principle they support the values of enlightenment, but they also support the ideology nationalism offers. One ideology does not completely exclude the other and discourse is the field where the interaction between them takes place.

The negative features connected with racism and prejudice have another relation with enlightenment: the belief in reason. Traditionally, the label given to prejudiced thinking is that it is unintelligent and cannot be justified with reasonable terms. Instead, the prejudiced pattern of thought is viewed as irrational and wrong. Naturally, people who realise that what they express is regarded to be prejudiced and racist by others, and thus labelled as irrational, want to formulate their expression in order not to present themselves in that way. The expression "I'm not prejudiced, but..." can also serve this purpose. In addition, prejudiced thought and actions are defended seemingly rationally in denial of freedom. This can be found in the expressions of politicians who say that they themselves do not favour restriction of non-white immigration, but are forced to do so because others have demanded it. The same discourse used by politicians can be found in the discourse of the young girls. The answer given by the same schoolgirl mentioned above, whether she would marry a black person contained opposing themes. She does not present herself as prejudiced, but places the responsibility of the situation outside herself: "I

suppose I might, you know, if I met somebody who I really liked. But, then it's gonna cause that much trouble that I think I'd say no. Because, you know my parents are going to resent me." (Billig et al. 1988:114.) The answer highlights also the ideological dilemma that presents itself in the discourse: on one hand she does not totally object the idea of marriage with a black person, but on the other hand she sees obstacles that would actually prevent it happening.

An example from British politics shows how politicians try to find balance between various ideologies regarding 'race' and the way it can be seen in their discourse. In 1965 and 1968 Immigration laws were passed that excluded Commonwealth immigrants from Britain. The rhetoric scheme of the Labour party, which is regarded to be more positive in their attitude towards foreigners than conservatives, to dissolve the consequences of the new legislation was to explain the situation with a term *balance format*. The policy was to reduce the amount of immigrants entering the country and to secure the rights of those immigrants that were already in the country. This was carried out by the Race Relations Acts. The balance format meant thus accepting right-wing views of racial animosity and socialist ideal of equality of treatment. (Reeves 1983.)

A study made by J. D. H. Downing (1985) examines British news media discourse on 'race'. He looks at the discourse of three newspapers, *The Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Economist*, and how they reported the publication of the official Scarman Report. The report discussed the policing of riots in 1981, which were classified as 'race' riots and suggested improvements in order to reduce 'racial' tension. However, the report denied the presence of racism among senior officers and the existence of institutionalised racism. Only *The Economist* challenged this view. *The Times* and *The Guardian* reassured that the police was there to protect social order, despite what they did. The media also concentrated mainly on Lord Scarman's statements about the police, giving less attention to the issues of racial disadvantage. However, the media discourse did not go deeper into the strategic debates within the police, for example into the issue as how suggested improvements actually work. Instead, attention was paid to the public order dimension. The discourse about 'race' in the elite media, represented by the three newspapers, was very contradictory.

On one hand, the police was viewed as a representative of British society, but on the other hand, the traditional image of Britain as a fair and humane society was challenged by black communities. Even though the media stood up for the police, it demanded measures to change the situation. This can also be categorised as an example of ideological dilemma, discussed earlier in this chapter. Downing (1985:320) concludes that the examination of the discourses in the newspapers showed that it is difficult "to generate content categories to summarise each article, which do not do violence to the actual material and its discursive contradictions."

2.3 Racism and the role of the media

As the mass media industry has become bigger, the consequences it has on people in general are being discussed more and more. Also in the research of racism a considerable amount of interest has been paid to media and what part it plays in spreading, strengthening and maintaining racism. Studies have been made to investigate how news present immigrants and those who are considered as 'others', both in home and foreign news (van Dijk 1988), how newspapers discuss racial matters (Downing 1985), or how ethnic minorities are presented in local radio (Husband and Chouhan 1985). Studies about racist or racial discourse in general refer to media to some extent since it is a forum which is a part of discourse culture in two ways. Fairclough (1995) notes that firstly, media discourse can be shaped by the social orders of discourse, and secondly, it can also influence various discourses such as that of education or private life. The relationship between media and private discourse seems to be dialectic. Many issues and forms of discourses that are discussed in the private sphere have originated in media discourse. For example, people who never have met foreigners, and thus have no first hand information about them, base their opinions partly on the information they have received through mass media. This would be evidence of the strong influence of media on the way people shape their opinions about foreigners and ethnic minorities. (van Dijk 1987.) However, it is argued that the media "may not have a powerful effect on

prejudice as conventionally defined in the literature on race relations, but they may well have an important impact on self perceptions.”(Cashmore 1994:206) Those who are discriminated in the media would thus be prone to form a negative self-perception. If the media does not have a significant role in shaping opinions about ethnic groups, the anti-racist campaigns on television and in newspapers would not have much influence either. However, these campaigns are considered to be important since they come up every now and then. Perhaps the real reason for showing them is to prove that the official attitude is against racism and discrimination.

Politicians rely on public support and therefore it is important for them to take interest in the current issues presented through press, television and radio. Reeves (1983:94) states that during the early 1960's the media's presentation of black people in Britain, that they were the reason for social problems, started to gain support. This had an effect on the Conservative and Labour parties; the attitudes were getting tougher and so they both moved rightward. Media has also taken 'race' as a defining feature in issues that were not fundamentally racial. For example, if there has been a fight and one of the parties involved is black, 'race' is easily taken as an explanatory theme. van Dijk (1988) has demonstrated how only 0.6 % of the headlines are about white violence against minorities even though the amount of that type of crime is proportionally larger. The Third World is represented in the media through its problems and this is partly creating a negative image of those who come from these countries as immigrants. Also voice is often given to representatives of the white majority group in the issues that directly affect minority groups; this manifestation of power structure indicates that those who are less quoted have less to say. When ordinary people of ethnic minorities appear in the news they are presented with negative terms: crime, victims and catastrophes, and when they are active agents, they are also defined negatively: complaining, protesting, demanding or going to court.

Even though media can have an influence on strengthening negative attitudes towards foreigners, also criticism appears among people on the way media presents ethnic groups, especially in 'ethnic crime' reporting. However,

the media rarely brings forth this criticism towards itself. Tolerant people view negative reporting of minorities as not acceptable, but prejudiced people easily remember those news and use them as arguments in justifying their points of view. It has been discussed whether it is worthwhile to mention the ethnic background of a criminal in crime reporting (van Dijk 1987). Although the concept of 'race' has been proved to be incorrect, it is still used by the media. The media has also questioned the existence of racism in a very indirect way; often racism is written with quotation marks, which indicates that racism is a subjective feeling, not a social fact. (van Dijk 1988.)

Solomon and Back (1996) define the post-war media racism as having two basic assumptions: black presence is seen to have a racially corrosive effect on British culture and the 'race'/cultural difference of black people makes them incompatible with the British way of life. Foreigners, immigrants and ethnic groups are thus viewed as a threat to society. For example, immigration is often described with 'flood' metaphors, which creates images of a situation that cannot be controlled. Downing (1985) notes that elite media discourse on racism overlaps with alternative discourses, thus diminishing the importance of the issue. Black people and the issue of racism can also be completely absent from certain media discourse, as if they were the great unmentionable. van Dijk (1987) describes the situation in Netherlands in 1982, when a small racist party got one seat in the national elections. Journalists were confused by how to write about the party so that they would not give them too much publicity and thus spread their message. The result was that the racist ideology of the party was not critically evaluated, but attention was paid to the incidents, conflicts, or fights in which the party was involved. A long discussion was also carried on whether such parties should be prohibited and what effect they had on democracy. Much less attention was given to the minority point of view and how these racist groups actually affect their lives.

Freedom of speech is one question that rises from time to time in the media discourse of racism. The expression of directly racist opinions is, or should be, punishable by law and therefore these opinions are often in public discourse dealt with indirectness and subtlety (van Dijk 1988). Clearly racist

and fascist groups plead to the freedom speech, which is one of the fundamental aspects of democratic society, in order to have their message published in the media. In this way fascists present themselves as if *they* were the good ones who defend freedom of speech and the media and rest of society are the bad guys preventing it. Today internet is the forum where racist and extreme right-wing ideas are published without restrictions of 'ordinary' media. The most extremist web-sites offer ideologies that totally segregate people according to 'race' and promote destruction of those who are viewed as worthless. There have also been debates on whether the content on the internet should be restricted in some ways. One response in the internet is the Blue ribbon-campaign which promotes freedom of speech. The web-sites supporting it can have a blue ribbon as a symbol for freedom of speech. It can be argued that in some cases 'freedom of speech' has become a euphemism for racist speech, since it is usually these extremist right-wing web-sites that have joined the campaign. Basically, the question is about competition of different ideologies; freedom of speech is a positive value, but when it is used against certain groups of people to promote discrimination, the issue becomes more complex. There is an ideological dilemma between democratic and nationalist values and the boundaries are hard to draw between them when it comes to the freedom of speech.

One way to avoid being accused of racism is the use of euphemistic expressions, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Because racism as a topic can also be difficult, euphemisms are also used when talking about it.

2.4 Euphemisms

2.4.1 Defining euphemism

It is not always possible to say everything directly and often one has to think about the words one is about to use. In these cases euphemistic expressions are naturally used, since euphemism basically means that something is not said directly, but it is softened or made more polite for the

other participant. The word *euphemism* comes from Greek. *Eu* means 'good' and *pheme* 'speech' or 'saying', and thus the word means literally "to speak with good words or in a pleasant manner" (Neaman and Silver 1983:3). Burchfield (1985:13) defines the Greek origin as "use of auspicious word for an inauspicious one" and "fair of speech".

Traditionally euphemisms have been linked to taboo subjects. Farb (1974:50) defines euphemism as a mere compensating strategy for taboo subjects. The word 'taboo' comes from Polynesian language Tongan and means avoidance of certain kind of behaviour. What is considered to be taboo varies across cultures. Taboos do not only control behaviour, but also the way taboo subjects can be talked about, if they are even mentionable at all. Arango (1989:4) points out that 'taboo' has two opposite meanings: sacred or consecrated and impure, prohibited, dangerous, or disturbing. Arango has a psychological insight into the topic and therefore he uses Freud's definition that taboo is anything that awakens 'a sacred fear' in us.

The link between euphemism and taboo thus has to be taken into consideration when defining euphemism. The basic division between different researchers is that some have studied euphemism in relation to taboo or linguistic taboo (Al-Khatib 1995, Farb 1974, Honxu and Guisen 1990, Kylä-Lassila 1993, Lahdensuo 1997, Rawson 1981), which means that every time a euphemism is found in text, in written or spoken, it is an indication of cultural, sociological or psychological taboo. But if euphemism is to be studied from the linguistic point of view, linking it to taboo is unnecessary and since euphemism can have so many forms and functions, it is also insufficient (Allan and Burridge 1991, Neaman and Silver 1983, Varis 1996). This becomes clear in Lahdensuo's (1997) pro gradu thesis, where she explains euphemism as a sign of taboo. However, her own findings indicate that this is not always the case. Euphemism can have a purely linguistic function: "A surprising element in euphemizing seems to be convention: that is, using euphemisms because they are conventionally used in connection with a given topic, not because it would otherwise be difficult to mention it." (Lahdensuo 1997:82) Lahdensuo (1997) explains that sometimes people use euphemisms in the same situation,

even in the same sentence where they have used direct forms. The speaker may also use euphemistic expressions without knowing it. In these cases it is obvious that euphemism is not an indication of taboo, but operates purely on the linguistic level.

Arango (1989) notes that in primitive societies the use of taboo terms was regarded highly dangerous for the individual and society. It could harm the person severely, even lead to death. A person, and possibly his/her family, could get severe punishment for uttering taboo words. This was connected to the way the world was interpreted. The modern individual understands that words are only names for things, but in primitive societies words were directly connected to what they represented. Today, the avoidance of certain words is not caused by concrete physical fear, but the fear of losing face by offending hearer's sensibilities (Allan and Burrige 1991, Neaman and Silver 1983, Varis 1996). Allan and Burrige (1991:11) thus define the term euphemism according to the concept of 'face': "A **euphemism** is used as an alternative to a dispreferred expression, in order to avoid possible loss of face: either one's own face or, through giving offence, that of the audience, or of some third party." Today there is not a fear of punishment, if wrong words are uttered. Instead the public image has become increasingly important and as Honxu and Guiser (1990:83) point out, "inhibition, rather than prohibition is the key to understanding taboos in our time."

The opposite of euphemism is dysphemism. If euphemism tries to make things look better, dysphemism downgrades them. Dysphemisms are especially useful in making the opponent look worse, which makes dysphemism an especially worthwhile method for political or other groups. This can be seen when comparing the expressions "He is a freedom fighter" or "He is a terrorist". A "freedom fighter" is a euphemistic and "terrorist" dysphemistic expression. (Allan and Burrige 1991:26-27.) The extreme right wing and racist groups use also dysphemistic language when they want to degrade some group of people. In fact, it could be said that the nature of their language is dysphemistic since it is based on the ideology of downgrading, for example, ethnic minorities.

It is important to notice that euphemism is mainly defined according to its function, and therefore it belongs to the study of pragmatics (Varis 1996:153). The most important factor in defining euphemism is thus the context in which it appears. This means that the situation where language is used defines whether something is euphemistic or not. Context is a broad concept, meaning usually the situation where the communication takes place, but in its broadest sense the whole culture has to be taken into consideration. This brings us back to the question of defining euphemism as purely a linguistic form or a sign of taboo. Studying it from a linguistic point of view, and not only as an indicator of taboo, can reveal a lot about the people using it and the world we are living in.

In general, the origin of euphemistic use of language was religious. Gods' names were not allowed to be mentioned, because their names had the same power as gods themselves. Societies had specialised persons, like priests, who had the right to talk to gods. This task was considered to be dangerous, and therefore priests devised indirect forms in order not to awake the fury of higher powers. Death was also treated as a god in most societies. However, numerous euphemistic expressions of death served also another function: to know the many names of the feared opponent might give the namer more power in this battle against the inevitable. (Neaman and Silver 1983.) A major factor in the formation of euphemisms in English was the separation of the language between the upper and lower class. For example, a duchess *perspired* and *menstruated* and a kitchen maid *sweated* and *bled*. The language which could be used describing the lower class was not fine enough to be used with the upper class. Farb (1974) notes that the distinction between the upper class Norman-derived and the native lower class Anglo-Saxon words still remains. For example, things we buy in a fancy restaurant, French beef, veal, pork and mutton are cows, calves, swine and sheep for the farmer.

Even though euphemisms vary from one culture and period to another, their formation is basically the same both psychologically and linguistically. Psychologically the word gets its meaning from the connotations it has in our minds. After a while the sound of the word starts to remind us of the object, as

if it had the same properties. Words with negative associations are then substituted with new, better sounding words. This way new euphemistic expressions are emerging all the time and old euphemisms are substituted with the new ones. (Neaman and Silver 1985:9.)

Linguistic formation of euphemisms has, according to Neaman and Silver (1985:9-11), who cite Joseph M. Williams (1957), five general semantic processes. The first one is borrowing words from other languages. In English typically used languages are Greek and Latin and they are mostly used for describing body or its functions. By using these foreign words the negative associations can be more easily ignored. It sounds different if a person perspires than if s/he sweats. Also areas in human body, which used to be under a strict taboo, have today foreign names in Standard English such as genitals or genitalia for sex organs or vagina instead of cunt (Allan and Burrige 1991:19). It could be said that by using these foreign words a person gives an impression of a civilised person and that these words or what they represent are not a taboo as such, but only the way they are talked about. Borrowing is also common in other languages, for example in Finnish borrowing from English is quite typical. The influence of a certain language is stronger when the culture of that particular country has a high status in the borrowing society. Code-mixing, which means changing the language during the communication situation, is common even today when there is a need for euphemising. Highly educated Jordanians, when they are talking about sex, use this method frequently (Al-Khatib 1995:452).

The second technique is a semantic process called widening or general-for-specific, as Allan and Burrige (1991:17) call it. A typical example of widening is 'a growth' for a cancer. This way a painful concept becomes more abstract. In addition, words with negative connotations can be divided into two more abstract words to hide the meaning. For example syphilis is called 'a social disease' and faeces 'solid human waste'.

The third method mentioned by Neaman and Silver (1983), substitution of the part with the whole or semantic shift, is linked with widening, but its purpose is to substitute a part with the whole as in 'to go to bed with someone'.

Here the sexual activities, which are part of the whole process, are not mentioned. Neaman and Silver (1983) make the substitution of the part with the whole its own category. Allan and Burridge (1991:18) say that this category exists, but that it is relatively rare. They make the division somewhat different, since in their examples 'go to bed' is in the category of widening, in the subclass of usual-location-where-a-specific-event-takes-place. Another difference between Neaman and Silver and Allan and Burridge is that this category can also be called *metonymies* according to Neaman and Silver, and *synecdoche* according to Allan and Burridge.

Metaphorical transfer is the fourth category of euphemism formation by Neaman and Silver (1983). For example the word 'blossom' can substitute 'pimple' because of the flowering resemblance between them. Usually the euphemisms in this category are very poetic and romantic and they soften a harsh object. In this category I would also include the category of figurative expressions, which is used by Allan and Burridge (1991:15). They give the example of 'the cavalry's come' for periods, which is metaphorical since it represents indirectly the event taken place. It has to be taken into consideration that sometimes the euphemistic expressions of this kind can also be part of slang (Allan and Burridge 1991:15).

The fifth category for the creation of euphemisms is phonetic distortion. This includes eight subclasses: abbreviation, apocapation, initialling, backforming, reduplication, phonetic distortion of sounds, a blend word and a diminutive. Abbreviation is a shortening of a word, as in 'ladies' for 'ladies room' or a string of letters, which are pronounced individually and are not thus proper words, for example 'S.O.B.' for son-of-a-bitch or 'f____' for fuck. Apocapation is also a form of abbreviation, but here the meaning changes totally from that of the original, as in 'vamp' for vampire. 'Vamp' means a woman who seduces men, whereas vampire is an imaginative character, who lives on human blood. Initialling means that only the initials are used, as in JC for Jesus Christ. In acronyms the initials signify a whole sentence, as in 'snafer' which comes from the expression 'situation normal, all fucked up', and they are pronounced as proper words. An example of backforming is 'burgle'

which comes from 'burglar'. Children's bathroom vocabulary has a lot of reduplications, such as 'pee-pee' for piss. The reduplication can be that of a syllable or a letter.

Allan and Burridge (1991:15-18) have basically the same categories for the formation of euphemisms as Neaman and Silver. However, they have some additional groups, which are also useful to notice. These include hyperbolas and understatements. A hyperbole, an overstatement, for death is for example 'flight to the glory' and an understatement for to die would be 'sleep'. One way of euphemistic language is to use learned terms or technical jargon in the way for example doctors do or people in otherwise specific areas of work.

John Ayto (1991:3,6) has also some worthwhile notions about the formation of euphemisms, which are additional to the Neaman and Silver's and Allan and Burridge's classifications. The use of negative is the first one, as in 'not all there' indicating mad, 'not as young as they were' meaning old and if someone has 'never been a great reader' s/he might be low of intelligence or narrow-minded. This use of litotes is also mentioned by Howard (1984:115) and Varis (1996:158).

Ayto (1991) has also noticed the popular use of words like *interesting* "for anything so bizarre or indeed boring that a more honest opinion would seem rude." (Ayto 1991:6). In informal speech it is thus a safe way of talking about things when one does not want to give an honest opinion about, or does not know. Another vague word is 'mixed' for bad, represented in statements like 'mixed reviews' or 'mixed crowd'. In fact, the word 'mixed' in these cases includes both the good and the bad, but it is more polite not to mention about the bad. 'It', 'problem', 'situation' and 'thing' are also euphemistic in certain contexts and then they are referred to as "the lowest common dominator" (Rawson 1981:9).

Euphemisms can also appear otherwise than just verbally and they can be found everywhere people communicate. For example, facial expressions, body language and signs can be used to communicate a difficult matter. (Ayto 1993.)

2.4.2 Euphemisms today

Euphemistic language is connected to society and its values. There are some basic areas of language where the occurrence of euphemistic expressions is very high. The richest areas in the dictionaries of euphemisms seem to be sex, death and human body. In addition, a lot of euphemisms are used in politics, crime, medicine, war, 'race', ageing and work (Allan and Burridge 1991, Ayto 1993, Enright 1985, Neaman and Silver 1983, Rawson 1981). During the last few centuries the richest euphemistic expressions have probably been found when talking about peoples' private lives and parts. Today the shift is into the public sphere, political, military, commercial and social. Orwell's Newspeak is an example of this; things are made to look better by giving them nice names. (Enright 1985:3.) However, the collections of euphemisms give only a partial picture of the phenomenon; they leave out the meaning of context and the possibility of the same expression to be euphemistic in some cases and direct speech in others.

One area which seems to be euphemised a lot is death. In modern western society dying has been cleaned out from real life. Instead in films, on TV and in the news there is an overload of killing, but it rarely touches people deeper. Death is also a force of nature that people cannot control, possibly only postpone it, and therefore it arouses fears, since along with high technology people get a sense of controlling everything in life. The avoidance of mentioning death can also be seen in various places: in obituary notices, in the media and personal lives. People take *life* insurances, denying the fact that it refers to one's own death. Doctors inform their patients with a vague expression "I'm afraid it's bad news." Among friends it is quite normal to use the euphemism 'kick the bucket', but if a doctor uttered these words to a patient, it would be considered tasteless and not even a euphemism anymore. The importance of context in defining euphemism is thus seen in this example. (Allan and Burridge 1991:154, Ayto 1993:6 Gross 1986:204.)

It is said that death has replaced sex as the great forbidden subject (Gross 1986:203). Death is a subject which has been silenced, but sex seems to be a

topic which is discussed everywhere in society. This is probably the reason why some people have suggested that sex is also a topic where euphemistic language use cannot be found today. It is true that, for example, death seems to be a difficult subject for a modern individual and that there is a rich number of euphemisms found around death. Sometimes it seems that the western culture is obsessed with sex, and the talk around it is endless. This is the case at least if one looks at the magazines, where there are lists of things one should do, and when to do it and how (Lahdensuo 1997). Here 'things' and 'it' are, by the way, typical euphemisms for sexual activities. It is almost as if a person who does not talk about it, is somehow uptight and reserved. But even though private lives are talked about quite openly, it is an area, which still has euphemistic expressions left. This also confirms the theory that euphemism is not just an indication of taboo subjects.

van Dijk (1992) refers to the use of euphemisms when discussing racism. The word 'racism' itself has strong negative connotations and it is substituted with words like 'discrimination', 'prejudice', 'stereotypes', 'bias' or 'racial motivation'. If someone is labelled as racist in public discourse, it is always the others, not us. van Dijk (1992) notes that denial is the main source of euphemisms also in this case. Negative actions may be excused if they are explained to have resulted from *good intentions*. For example, if a newspaper repeatedly publishes reports about minority crime, it can deny the allegations of racism by claiming to publish 'truth'. Denials can also come in the form of *mitigations*. These strategies are used especially in social situations where the relevant norms are rather strong. For example, a person might say "I did not threaten him, but gave him friendly advice." A very strong form of denial is *reversal* used especially by the extreme Right: "We are not racists, *they* are the real racists." van Dijk (1992) notes that this form of denial is not about social defence, but a strategy used for counter-attack.

Politically correct language, PC, is an example of how language use is controlled in order to avoid insulting anyone. In the United States of America the concept of 'race', for example, is an issue that has to be talked about carefully, if one does not want to offend anyone. There are certain rules which

govern the language when people's 'racial' features are talked about, especially in public. Aho (1998:8) notes that the word 'negro' is used only in historical contexts, and the word 'nigger' arouses such strong connotations that there have been demands to remove it from older literature. When forced to mention the word 'nigger', one can use the euphemism 'N-word'. The word 'black' is still quite neutral, but if one wants to be sure, it is better to use 'African American'. Reeves (1983) states that Afro-Americans and Afro-Caribbeans have approved 'black' as the proper way to refer to their skin colour. Euphemism 'coloured' for black is, however, objected as a suitable definition. It is a reminder of South African expression 'mixed race' and it also implies that the person using this term cannot directly say the word 'black', but is ashamed of it.

The word *ethnic* has recently replaced 'race' in the discourse of 'racial' matters. The term *ethnic minority* originally meant any group that had shared cultural background. It is used especially because it does not underline the biological aspects of group formation. However, usually *ethnic minority* refers to dark-skinned ethnic minority groups and can thus be categorised as a euphemism. (Reeves 1983.) *Ethnic cleansing* is a euphemism, which today appears on the news from former Yugoslavia almost on daily basis. It is used to describe the phenomenon in which people are killed because of their ethnicity. Albanians, who are fleeing from the country, are referred to as *ethnic Albanians*. Assimilation, which usually means assimilation of a minority group into the dominant group, can be euphemised as *residual multiculturalism* (Bhabha 1990).

In this chapter I have looked at the concept of racism. Attention was also paid to the term *race* and how these issues are discussed in general, but also in media. A feature of discourse, euphemism, was also examined. The concepts of racism presented here, as well as forms of discourse and concept of euphemism will be used as basis for analysis of the articles in this study.

3. DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

The data for the present study were collected from August 1998 issues of *The Independent*, which is a broadsheet newspaper that is considered to be a quality paper. *The Independent* is one of the British newspapers that is published daily with national circulation. Other nationals are, for example, *The Guardian*, *The Observer*, *The Times* and *The Daily Mirror*. Each issue of *The Independent* consists of two parts: the first half of the paper covers home and foreign news, business and sport. The second half is called, depending on the day, *The Review*. On Saturdays it is called *The Weekend Review*. This part of the paper includes the leading article, letters to the editor, obituaries, features, arts, media, law, radio and TV. In general, the approach and issues placed in *The Review* are softer compared to the hard news and it also gives the opportunity to go deeper into background of issues and publish stories that would not get attention as news material. Because *The Review* comes second, after the first part which includes news, it does not have the same importance as the first half of the paper. Thus it can be said that the first half of the paper is factual, hard news, whereas *The Review* goes deeper into the topics. During August 1998 *The Independent* published also seven supplements. Six of them dealt with education and one with financial issues from around the world called "World Report".

I chose *The Independent* for this study because it is a fairly widely read newspaper, it has a national circulation and it does not represent extremist views. I considered that the material published in *The Independent* provides data that would give perception on how racism is dealt with in a paper that represents mainstream national press. In Britain there is an "alternative press", but it is relatively small and its impact on the national debate only marginal (Keeble 1994). Thus it can be assumed that the way issues, such as racism, are presented in *The Independent* shows some general aspects of the way of thinking in Britain. Another reason for choosing this particular paper as material for the study was very practical: its easy availability. It is subscribed locally by the University Library of Jyväskylä. Unfortunately, the issues

published on 2.8.1998, 16.8.1998, 23.8.1998 and 30.8.1998 were missing and I could not get hold of them. Thus the number of issues that were included in the study was 27.

The method of studying the data was to read carefully through the numbers of *The Independent* of August 1998. The period of publishing was chosen for the study randomly; I did not have in mind, for example, any specific news on the subject that would have caused the choice of this particular month. I looked for articles and stories on 'race', racism and immigration. Because my aim was to study discourse on racism, the articles that directly referred to racism were evidently included. Secondly, articles that dealt with 'race' were also taken, because 'race' is a subject that is closely linked with racism and therefore it could provide information on racism. Thirdly, articles on immigration were included because the issue is part of the discourse on 'race' and racism. Immigration is a topic that easily awakes discussion on, for example, who can enter the country, where certain groups of people belong or what their position is in relation to other inhabitants. The result was that there were forty-seven articles that were included in the study. It should be noted that 'article' here means any item published in *The Independent*. It is thus a general term for a heterogeneous group of material included in the study. Most of the articles, altogether nineteen, were *hard news* articles. *Features* and *soft news* articles comprised the second largest group, altogether ten articles. There were also nine letters to the editor, seven columns and one obituary that were included in the study. During August 1998 the biggest news stories in *The Independent* were US embassy bombings in Omagh and the search of Osama Bin Laden, who was accused of the event. Also the court case resulting from the affair of Bill Clinton, the president of the United States, and Monica Lewinsky, a White House trainee, was given much front page publicity. Racism was treated as front page news once.

After the articles were collected, they were divided thematically. Thus the contents of the articles defined the way the data was organised. The articles that stood out clearly were news articles that reported on racism inside the police in Britain. There were, including articles and letters to the editor, altogether

eleven articles that referred to racism and police in Britain. It was also the most visible area of discussion on racism since police and racism in Britain made it to front-page news. The racist action of the police was also paid attention to in two articles on racism abroad. The rest of the articles were divided into two groups: those that discussed racism, but did not refer to the police and articles that dealt with immigration. The chapter which discusses racism in general (3.2) is divided into five parts; four of them differ from each other thematically and in the fifth one, letters to the editor are looked at.

The task of including certain articles into the study and excluding others proved out to be more problematic than I had thought. 'Race', racism and immigration are subjects that seem to relate to all kinds of issues. In many articles 'race', racism and immigration were mentioned only incidentally. If all these articles had been included in the study, the amount of data would have increased to the extent that it would have been impossible to analyse them. Drastic measures were needed in order to filter the material so that it would serve the purposes of the present study. The articles that had 'race', racism and immigration, or equivalent terms, in the headline or discussed these topics were taken in the study first. This meant that the articles that only mentioned 'race' or immigration were excluded. It should be noted that even though the word racism was not always mentioned directly, but for example, if words such as *prejudice* or *discrimination* were used, the articles were taken into the study. Articles that dealt with, for example, issues that are also connected with 'race' and racism such as nation, British foreign policy in general, or news on the situation in former Yugoslavia were excluded, even though they all relate to the issues under study. During August 1998 *The Independent* published also news on Nazis and the compensations Jews were claiming for their suffering during the Second World War. These news relate to the discourse on 'race' and racism, but they do not predominantly discuss the issue. There would also have been plenty of material to study British nationalism and the attitude towards foreign countries by examining home and foreign news, but again that was not the aim of this study. It should be noted, however, that 'race' and racism are issues that are somehow connected with especially foreign news. For example,

conflicts and wars generally have some kind of ethnic dispute behind them. This conflict is, however, often created by some authority who uses it for their own purposes.

After the data were collected and the articles grouped according to their topic, they were analysed. One of the elements in language use I was especially looking for were euphemisms when talking about racism. Because *The Independent* is classified as a quality paper, and thus not promoting racism, my hypothesis was that there would not be euphemisms for *racist* expressions or ideas. Naturally, if they occurred in the text, they would be analysed. Thus the choice of data determined that this study would not be on racist language, but mainly on language used when talking *about* racism. The reason why I was interested in looking at the use of euphemisms, was that racism is a topic that is recognised as a problem, but also often denied. Therefore it can be a difficult subject to discuss and from this it could be assumed that euphemisms are used when talking about racism. Also the concept of 'race' is a complex one; it is a term that has lost its scientific value but is still used in various discourses, in science and in common speech. However, the data were collected from a newspaper in which spoken language expressions are not numerous. In general, the problem when studying euphemisms is how to find suitable data. When studying the discourse on racism in *The Independent* I noticed that limiting the study merely to euphemisms would not provide an adequate survey on the topic and therefore attention was paid to the way racism was generally reported, discussed and presented, i.e. the discourse on racism in *The Independent*.

The data consist of forty-seven articles, which differ from each other in size, approach and topicality. Also the tone of the articles varies depending on the contents. Thus some articles are only referred to and some discussed in length. Five articles are included in the appendix: "Police accused of 'racist culture'" (3.8.1998), "My ex-friend the neo-Nazi" (4.8.1998), "Social worker claims reverse discrimination" (11.8.1998), "PCA says London police are racist" (15.8.1998) and "Fraudbuster hero branded a racist" (16.8.1998). These five articles were chosen because they are discussed in length in the analysis

and because they represent different areas of discourse on racism in *The Independent*.

3.1 Discourse on immigrants

In this chapter I will analyse articles in *The Independent* that discuss or refer to immigration either in United Kingdom or abroad. These articles are included in the study since discourse about immigration is part of the discourse of 'race' and racism. For example, Solomon and Back (1996:55) point out that " "Immigration" has become, par excellence, the name of race, a new name, but one that is functionally equivalent to the old appellation, just as the term "immigrant" is the chief characteristic which enables individuals to be classified in a racist typology." Often when immigrants or illegal immigrants are mentioned in the news, their personal characteristics do not play any part in the reporting, but they are mainly presented as numbers and as a problem to be solved. Flood metaphors, illegality and the question of real versus "economic" refugees are also recurrent themes in immigration reporting (van Dijk 1987: 372-375). *The Independent* reports on the rise of illegal immigrants trying to enter the country. This piece of news belongs to the section 'In Brief', which usually consists of four to seven short news.

More illegal immigrants caught.

The number of illegal immigrants seized at Dover has risen nearly five-fold, according to the latest figures. Between January and last month 1,484 people were caught trying to enter the country illegally at the Channel port, compared to 317 the same time last year. Arrests of illegal immigrants across the country have risen from 330 a month last year to 550.

The Independent 6.8.1998

The writer of the article is not named and the exact source is left unmentioned; the report is based on "the latest figures", which indicates that these figures have been published recently, but again it is not said who has published them. The only information given in the article is the rise of the amount of illegal immigrants caught in one frontier station. Even though this

piece of news is very short, the increase is stated in all five times, of which two are presented with numbers. The reason of why these immigrants want to come to England or who they are is not specified. In this case, *The Independent* publishes figures it has received without commenting on their background and treating illegal immigrants only as threatening numbers. However, this piece of news was not given much space in the paper, which indicates that the issue was not considered to be especially important.

An article that discusses immigrants with negative terms also is "Police plan UK-wide roadblocks" (12.8.), which is a front page story about the operation by the police attempting to catch "hundreds of criminals, alcohol smugglers, illegal immigrants and benefit cheats." *The Independent* also brings forth alternative viewpoints, expressed by Liberty, the human rights group, which condemns the tactics. However, at the same time *The Independent* also notes that "other authorities are embracing the tactics" and therefore it is difficult to tell which side *The Independent* takes. The discussion continues after a few days in 'Letters to the editor', where a letter is published from the assistant commissioner from the Metropolitan Police defending their strategy:

As part of this nationwide operation, we have invited colleagues from other agencies to join us to tackle issues including fraudulent benefit claims, immigration matters and alcohol and tobacco smuggling. They too have had impressive results.

The Independent 17.8.1998

Instead of referring to *illegal immigration*, he uses a milder term, a euphemism *immigration matters*. This vague expression has no apparent connection with criminality, and thus it is safer to use than *illegal immigration*, which is almost a fixed term, repeated in media over and over again, and which has a direct reference to illegality. The assistant commissioner from the Met tries to avoid too negative connotations with the road block operation and immigration, and therefore he prefers a more vague term. This example thus shows how the choice of words can affect the seriousness certain issues have.

Perhaps immigration is also a bit touchy issue, since with other examples more negative terms are used ("fraudulent" and "smuggling").

Another article titled "Gypsies fly in to appeal for asylum" (29.8.1998) emphasises also the amount of asylum seekers: "The numbers reached a peak three days ago when 105 people, 31 heads of families and 74 women and children arrived at the airport Terminal 2 on flights from Prague." It seems that it is important, for some reason, to publish exact numbers of arriving immigrants. However, there is also general discussion about the situation in the country they are fleeing from and the ability of Britain's immigration officials to cope with the situation. The 'flood' metaphor is also used, but it appears in an indirect quotation from Home Office. The reason why gypsies have left their country is explained by *The Independent* to be reoccurring attacks by "skinheads". The explanation directly quoted from a Home Office spokesman is more evasive and euphemistic: "*I understand the general claim is that they are fleeing from attacks by skinheads in their own countries.*" *The Independent* had reported on the situation of the Roma in their home countries previously ('Battle to save Gypsies from the forces of law and order', 19.8.1998 and 'Strangers in their own land', 6.8.1998). *The Independent* has thus acknowledged the problem, but it is treated differently when it comes closer. 'Gypsies' are in the article "Gypsies fly in to appeal for asylum" (29.8.1998) only numbers, whereas in the two above-mentioned articles they are individuals and their problems are discussed on a more personal level.

People moving from one country to another are named in various ways depending on the reason of why they move and the reception they receive from the country into which they move. In the data *illegal immigrant* is the most often used term. According to *The Independent*, in England a standard definition for a person coming into the country without permission thus seems to be an *illegal immigrant*. In the USA *illegal immigrant* or *illegal alien* are considered to be too negative terms, especially in diplomatic language, and they are replaced with the definitions *undocumented person* or *undocumented resident* (Ayto 1993). This naming highlights the fact that a person has to go through legal formalities when entering a country and without this procedure

s/he has no identity. This goes with the tendency of describing illegal immigrants with numbers rather than persons. And when people are called *illegal immigrants*, they are associated with criminality, even though their background and the reasons why they move are very different. The data seems to indicate that in England the definition *illegal immigrant* is not euphemised as in the US. *Illegal immigrant* could rather be defined more dysphemistic in nature because it emphasises the negative images connected with immigration. Of course, *illegal immigrant* is a suitable definition in some cases, but the way it is excessively used easily associates the whole issue of immigration with illegality and crime and thus a threat.

The Independent published also articles which present the view point of illegal immigrants. For example, in the article "These families are survivors of a savage civil war" (The Independent 25.8.1998) the poor conditions illegal immigrants are faced with during their journey were described. Those who smuggle people treat them very badly, and thus illegal immigrants are reported to be *cargo* for them. The whole process is referred to as *industry*, which also emphasises the cold attitude illegal immigrants get. Rather than portraying illegal immigrants as criminals, in this article they are perceived as victims, because the role of the criminal is given to smugglers.

Contrary to the general presentation of illegal immigrants as a problem, in one article illegal immigration is presented as a productive project (The struggle for a Jewish state, The Independent 12.8.1998). This was the case of founding a Jewish state in Palestine. However, the article is not a news story but a historical article about something that happened fifty years ago and therefore the outcome of this process was known at the time the article was written. Illegal Jewish immigrants are generally referred to in this article euphemistically as *Jewish Displaced Persons* or with abbreviation *DPs*. Once they are also called *human objects*, which comes from the idea that *Jewish DPs* were merely used as pawns by the Zionist movement, i.e. the Jewish national liberation movement. The use of *displaced persons* for Jewish people instead of *illegal immigrants* is due to the delicate situation in which the western world was after the Second World War regarding the Jews. It would not have been

correct to call them with a negative term *illegal immigrants* because of the suffering they had gone through. But all illegal immigrants have usually suffered. The difference in this case is that the situation of the Jews was well known and the general opinion was on their side. In general, *illegal immigrants* are considered to be strangers, whereas Jewish people are more familiar. Also Europe was the place they were fleeing from. Nowadays illegal immigration is predominantly understood as an opposite phenomenon, in which immigrants are the problem, consuming the resources of the receiving European country.

The term *exile* is used in three articles to describe a person living outside her/his homeland. The connection between two of the stories is that in both of these *exiles* have brought something to the country into which they have moved, either financial or intellectual capital. The exiles are also whites in both articles. In the third article "Cops get their skates on" (5.8.1998) the term *exile* is used for Cubans staying in Miami, USA. The first story is about an exiled Czech philosopher (20.8.1998), the second about Russians who have made it in Russia, but who have moved to the West and brought money with them (29.8.1998). The Russians are also referred to as *survivors*, and the main focus in the article is to describe how enormously rich these people are and how there is always something illegal in the way they have become wealthy. The police do not concern themselves with this type of immigration, explaining that it is the problem of the country where the money is flying from. As a word *exile* does not have such a negative tone as for example *foreigner* does. The attitude is also different towards exiles in two of these articles compared with the general presentation of people moving into a country. They themselves are not presented as the problem, it is the system in their countries that is the problem and has forced them to leave. In "Cops get their skates on" the police does not interfere in the Cubans' lives either, but the attitude is nevertheless negative towards them. Contrary to the exiles from Russia and Czechoslovakia, these exiles are poor and have no place to go and they are thus more visible for the average citizen, because they sleep in parks and live on the streets. However, the attitude towards exiles in these three articles is relaxed and generally positive.

A formal word *émigré* occurred once in the data (22.8.1998). It was used in an obituary of an American born musician, living in America, whose parents were Russian. This formal expression means the same as *immigrant*, but it has a more exquisite sound and it makes the whole issue more exotic. It is thus a euphemism and belongs to the subcategory of borrowing, because it comes from French. The time to which the word *émigré* refers here is the early 20th century, and therefore it has absorbed features that are not connected with today's immigration as easily. The results of immigration of that era are now known; many musicians, artists and scientists are descendants of emigrant parents and being a foreign descendant is in this case an especially fine trait. It seems that, like the term *exile*, *émigré* is used when immigration is presented as a more positive than a negative trend.

"The black middle class has a history" is an article under the title "Historical notes" and it is written by Jeffery Green, who has written a book on the subject. The article challenges the view "that black people in Britain are migrants" (31.8.1998). The central issue in the article is that there has been for a long time a black middle class in Britain and that the black people have not done only manual work. The word *migrant* is used only in this article. According to the Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary (1987), it refers especially to those who move in order to find work. The article differs from the other articles that discuss the lives of black people in that, in this article, they are portrayed as active members of society. In this context it is suitable to use the word *migrant*, since the traditional concept of black immigration itself is abandoned here.

A good example of the different language use when discussing immigration at home and abroad comes from the article "Island of dreams turns into a jail" (The Independent 14.8.1998). It is a story published under the subtitle *European times* and it tells about illegal immigrants that come from North Africa to an island located south of Italy. In general, in home news the term referring to immigrants that have no permission is *illegal immigrant*, but in this article they are called with the term from Italian, *clandestini*. It is thus a euphemism for *illegal immigrant* and belongs to the subcategory of borrowing.

In the piece of news "More illegal immigrants caught" (The Independent 6.8.1998) immigrants are *caught* or *seized*, but in this article they are *detained*. In England, illegal immigrants are *deported*, but the same phenomenon is described, euphemistically, as *repatriation* when it happens in Italy. This choice of words reflects the overall image the article gives on illegal immigration on the island; it is not defined as a problem, but immigrants are presented as part of the scenery.

In the August of 1998 there were not any articles published in *The Independent* that criticised or discussed asylum policy in Britain. The articles on immigration were mainly news, reporting how many illegal immigrants or asylum seekers were entering the country. However, there was one letter published in the section 'Letters to the Editor' (Asylum policy, 5.8.1998), which criticised the government's policy to reduce immigration. This letter brings out the question of how the government tries to give a more immigrant friendly image than it actually has. According to the letter, The Government has outlined its asylum policy as "Fairer, Faster and Firmer", which sounds very promising. However, the reality is described to be rather different; people are sent back to dangerous countries and refugees are jailed for no reason. The writer of the letter suggests that the government's slogan should be replaced with more honest terms "Cost-cutting, Crackdown and Control". The language of the government reflects the general atmosphere when talking about immigration: it has to euphemise the message because it cannot openly oppose immigration and therefore the methods used against immigration have to be described with terms that have almost the opposite meaning and thus draw the attention away from the harsh reality. "Fairer, Faster, Firmer" is an example of the policy that promises positive consequences for the public. However, in reality it has negative consequences for the minority groups and especially when this procedure is described as "fair" for the majority group, it allows various forms of implicit discrimination (van Dijk 1987:370). "Fairer, Faster, Firmer" is also a good example of the euphemistic language used in politics. Although the letter criticises The Government's treatment of asylum seekers and foreigners, once again direct accusations of racism cannot be found in the

writing. For *The Independent*, publishing these types of letters is also safe; the critical voice does not belong directly to *The Independent*, but to the reader who has send the letter and therefore takes part of the responsibility. *The Independent* can promote itself as tolerant and critical towards intolerance by publishing these kinds of letters.

3.1.1 Immigration and German elections

Foreigners and immigrants are often blamed for their situation in a foreign country. In this way racism is denied. Sentences such as "foreigners do not want to adapt themselves to the local way of life" or "foreigners are too visible" include reasoning that "we are not racists, but the foreigners' behaviour is unacceptable. If they changed, things would be different." *The Independent* publishes these sorts of statements, but only as examples of the discourse of others, which it does not itself support. This discourse was found especially in the articles that dealt with German elections; it is thus located in a foreign country and is part of electoral campaigning. The following example is from an article "Kohl set to slug it out to the end" (*The Independent* 19.8.1998). The German Chancellor Helmut Kohl is touring the country in order to win votes.

He scores a few more points by praising the police and sticking up for the armed forces then takes a swipe at the foreigners. They had better behave, otherwise out with them, is the gist of the message. The audience go wild.
The Independent 19.8.1998

The tone of the article is that Kohl is desperately trying to win votes in the coming election. He has chosen unemployment and immigration as the themes of his electoral campaign, which are subjects that can usually trigger response from people who are not otherwise interested in politics. This is evident in the way the writer of the article, Imre Karacs, comments on the response of the

audience when Kohl is talking about foreigners: "The audience goes wild." and further in the response when he switches to economy: "The applause dries up."

Kohl's performance is generally described with irony, which is an indirect method of showing that the writer does not support his statements or think they are to be taken seriously. First of all, when Kohl comes to the stage he is described as a prize-fighter entering the ring. His speech is also described metaphorically with the terms of fighting, in which sharp comments are "punches", he "scores a few more points" or "takes a swipe". Kohl's persistence is recounted as he "is not about to throw in the towel". As part of the show, the audience's reactions are also included in the article: "the crowd laughs", "the audience goes wild" and "the applause dries up." If the writer firmly believed in Kohl's message, he would hardly report about his campaign as a scene of shadow-boxing. Karacs suggests with this that Kohl is only using unemployment and immigration as subjects to win votes, as "punches" and "swipes" in the game, with only winning in mind. Even though irony is an effective method of showing doubt to what others are saying, using it can easily draw attention away from more complicated issues. In this case, it is not directly mentioned that, what Kohl is saying is clearly racist and that he is provoking these ideas. It seems that the use of irony makes it impossible and inappropriate to refer directly to *racist* or *racism*. The main issue in the article is the effort Kohl is making in order to succeed, the questionable means he uses are left unanalysed or commented on.

In another article, which is written by the same journalist Imre Karacs, "Kohl scrabbles for votes on immigration and workfare." (The Independent 13.8.1998) Kohl's anti-immigrant attitudes are also clearly presented. However, the headline suggests that his strict views on immigration are caused by the coming elections, and issues such as unemployment and immigration are merely tools to get votes. In the same article *The Independent* publishes Kohl's party's official and unofficial statements on immigration: *The Independent* reports how the statement "Germany is not a country of immigration" was excluded from the party programme. The party expresses the official stand more euphemistically: "Immigration must be restricted as tightly as possible.

Anyone who calls for immigration to our densely populated country endangers its inner peace.” The statement could be interpreted in two ways: it means either that foreigners will cause troubles in the future or that the existence of large immigration population would spark violence against them. Also in this case the writer of the article, Karacs, is not interested in analysing Kohl’s anti-immigrant and anti-foreigner views or the impact they may have. The focus is on the elections and the competition between Kohl and Schröder.

Both of the articles, ”Kohl scrabbles for votes on immigration and workfare” and ”Kohl set to slug it out to the end”, would serve as an excellent opportunity to discuss why these issues are raised, what part Kohl is playing in spreading and strengthening racism and how important these issues actually are. Perhaps one reason why Kohl’s views are not criticised directly is that he is a well-known politician, who has a fairly good reputation. The avoidance of the word *racist* or *racism* in the article ”Kohl set to slug it out to the end” can be explained by the fact that Helmut Kohl is an internationally recognised politician and labelling him as a racist would be in contradiction with his image. The use of irony in this case is the writer’s reaction to the problematic situation. In the article ”Kohl scrabbles for votes on immigration and workfare” Kohl and his party’s politics are only commented on once: ”...but the new harder line is nevertheless clearly discernible.” In this case *harder line* is a euphemism for politics that are against immigrants. The situation might also be different in dealing with his statements if he was winning the elections. The article repeats that he is losing, which makes it ‘safe’ to ironize his anti-foreigner views as a poor and easy attempt to win votes. Moreover, the audience is given a fairly large part in the article ”Kohl set to slug it out to the end” and the implication from this could be that Kohl is only saying things the audience wants to hear.

According to good journalistic style, it should be clear who the speaker is in articles. But sometimes the person who is speaking is not mentioned, or is presented very vaguely. For example, in the article ”Kohl scrabbles for votes on immigration and workfare” (The Independent 13.8.1998) in one chapter the speaker is not specified. Since the preceding chapter refers to the party

programme it can be assumed that also the following chapter is quoted from the same source. However, it is left unclear. "Foreigners living in Germany, estimated at 7 million, must adjust their lifestyles to the social and legal order of Germany." The informative clause "estimated at 7 million", could belong to the journalist, while rest of the sentence is from the party programme. However, the idea behind this statement is the fear of losing something that is German. Solomon and Back (1996:27) state "As a result the champions of this racism can claim that they are by no means racist but merely interested in protecting their way of life and that the issue of colour or phenotype is irrelevant to their arguments." According to Kohl's party programme, the majority decides how foreigners should behave in Germany and especially the reference to *legal order* indirectly hints that foreigners are prone to criminal activities. In the discourse of immigrants and foreigners the link between foreigners and criminality justifies the demands of tougher control on immigration and Kohl's statements serve a good example of this.

3.2 References to racism

In this chapter the discourse on racism in general in *The Independent* during August 1998 will be analysed. The articles chosen for this part all have *racism* or similar terms, such as *discrimination* or *prejudice*, used in them. Articles which have references to racism, even though the actual word *racism* is not used, are also included. Also discourse on 'race' in general is dealt with in this chapter. The articles dealing mainly with immigration have been studied in the previous chapter and articles which deal with police and racism are analysed in the following chapter since they stand out from the data as the most noticeable area of articles on racism.

In August 1998 there were altogether 13 articles in *The Independent* that referred to *racism* under the headings of "home" or "foreign news". Seven of these, which is more than half, deal with racism in the police. From the rest of six news articles on racism, three belong to 'hard' news stories. Two of the articles consist of news articles, but the story is presented in them using almost

literary style and personal experiences. One piece of news does not belong to either of these categories. It is a piece of news about the increase of offensive and racist chanting in football matches, placed under the title "Miscellany: News of the weird. Stories around the world that failed to make the headlines" (The Independent, 8.8.1998). The official attitude towards racist crime is in today's society highly disapproving. However, it is interesting to notice that even if this is the case, sometimes news about racism can be dealt with in a totally different manner from the non-racist approach of the media. The headline ("News of the weird") leads the reader to expect that these articles have something peculiar in them and possibly something to be laughed at. However, racism has not been news material that is commonly regarded to be entertaining and funny. Thus it is surprising that the following piece of news was published under the heading "News of the weird":

London: The number of people arrested for offensive and racist chanting at football matches increased last season from 10 to 33 according to official figures.

The Independent 8.8.1998

The piece of news is very short, because the section "Miscellany" presents its issues without further commenting. Thus the reader can draw her/his own conclusions. Other topics in the section of "Miscellany" include issues such as masochism, urine being used as a perfume and a man called Free R Cannabis. All these news were supposed to be somehow weird and the other topics seem to meet the standard, but considering news about offensive and racist chanting as "weird" can be seen as belittling the topic. In another context this piece of news would have been quite direct in its message, but here the euphemistic aspect comes from the headline, because it defines these news items as funny.

The three hard news on racism in the data were "Social worker claims reverse discrimination" (The Independent, 11.8.1998), "Fraudbuster hero branded a racist" (The Independent 16.8.1998) and "Ban on inter-racial adoptions lifted" (The Independent 28.8.1998). "Social worker claims reverse discrimination" is about an Irishman who has been dismissed from work. He has taken the case to the industrial tribunal since he believes he has been

"racially discriminated". The story "Fraudbuster hero branded a racist" is also based on industrial tribunal's decision that a housing official has been discriminating against his colleague. "Ban on inter-racial adoptions lifted" reports the government's coming announcement to advise social workers to pay more attention to inter-racial adoptions.

The other two 'softer' news articles are "My ex-friend the neo-Nazi" (The Independent 4.8.1998) and "The trials of a Southern state still haunted by its racist past" (The Independent 17.8.1998). "My ex-friend the neo-Nazi" is a personal story written by a British woman who is living in Russia. She describes the end of her friendship with Sergei, who has become "an extreme Russian nationalist". "The trials of a Southern State" is a story from Mississippi, U.S.A. where a Ku Klux Klan leader is being prosecuted for the crimes he made during the sixties. Compared to the 'hard' news articles, both of these feature articles include pictures which give additional information for the reader.

Other articles that refer to 'race' or racism that do not belong to the category of news in *The Independent* on August 1998 are "The hobby horse of race war" (The Independent 6.8.1998), which is a book review, "A homage to xenophobia" (The Independent 21.8.1998), another book review, "Political correctness has not gone nearly far enough yet" (The Independent 26.8.1998), a column by Ken Livingstone on racism, and "The black middle class has a history" (The Independent 31.8.1998), a column by Jeffrey Green, who has written a book on the subject. In addition, there is an interview of a black female director about her new film ("I didn't want to make another 'hood film'", 6.8.1998) and of the actor Samuel L Jackson ("From stand-in to superstar", 10.8.1998), in both of which the issue of 'race' is raised. Also the foreign news on coming German elections "Kohl scrabbles for votes on immigration and workfare" (13.8.1998), "Kohl set to slug it out to the end" (19.8.1998) and "East Berliners prepare to repel Bonn invaders" (22.8.1998) have references to racism, but concentrate mainly on the elections. In the article "German's invade Poland for food" (27.8.1998) comments are also made on the popularity of the right-wing movement in the elections in Germany.

Discourse on racism in *The Independent* can be found in various sections of the paper. First of all, issues on 'race' and racism are news material. When this is the case, it seems that the source of the news comes from some official quarter, for example, from court decisions, government reports or from persons with high authority. The emphasis is thus much on the specialist statements, which are reported as news. Racism can also be dealt with a humane touch, when court decisions have a lesser role and, for example, description of feelings and personal experiences have an important part in the reporting.

Secondly, discourse on racism is not limited only to the "home" or "foreign" news sections. As racism can affect every aspect of society, some kind of discourse on it can be found virtually in every section of the paper. During August 1998 art reviews, obituaries, television commentaries, historical notes, comics and columns are places where 'race' and racism are mentioned at least a few times in *The Independent*. In fact, it seems that ethnicity and thus 'race' is mentioned every time when the question is about a person or a group that is not white. 'Finance' is the section that stands out from the other sections of *The Independent*, since under that title there are no articles that has references to racism. In August 1998 racism was not discussed in leading articles either.

3.2.1 'Hard news' on racism

In the article "Social worker claims reverse discrimination" (*The Independent* 11.8.1998), which belongs to 'Home news', Patrick Reynolds is reported to be claiming justice for his unfair dismissal. (Appendix 3.) In the sixth paragraph Mr Reynolds is quoted directly about the reasons he was dismissed: "I was discriminated against because of my Irishness. I was quite clearly treated differently from other members of staff." The language of the first paragraph differs from rest of the article. In it the other members of staff are referred to with a generalisation "black and Asian workers", whereas in the second paragraph they are referred to more specifically as "Afro-Caribbean colleagues". Also in the first paragraph Mr Reynolds is told to have been

"sacked", which is quite a colloquial expression. In the second chapter he is described as having been "dismissed" and later in the article the process is called "restructuring" and "reorganisation". Mr Reynolds is the only one being quoted in the article, so the story is based only on his point of view. The quotations are from his statement for the tribunal, except at the end of the article where he is quoted "outside the tribunal", which indicates he was talking to journalists, perhaps unofficially: "I was the only non-British citizen and non-coloured person in my unit who lost his job". Because the article consists of indirect and direct quotations from Mr Reynolds, *The Independent* does not directly have to take a stand on what he says. Indirectly the paper shows doubt to what Mr Reynolds says by using the verb *claim*.

In the article "Social worker claims reverse discrimination" (11.8.1998) different expressions for racism can be noticed. The act of discrimination is: "to racially discriminate", "to treat differently", "to discriminate against", "unfair dismissal" and in the headline "reverse discrimination", which is an expression that was not probably used by Mr Reynolds himself because the term does not appear anywhere in his statements in the article. It is also without quotation marks in the headline, which further emphasises this fact. That there were not quotation marks or apostrophes in the headline also implies that *The Independent* does not question the validity of the term *reverse discrimination*. Yet, the word *racism* is often apostrophised in newspaper language. *Reverse discrimination* is a term that is often employed when referring to the discrimination of whites. What makes it *reverse* is the fact that the subject of discrimination or racism, not its object, is white. However, the issue is more complicated: because the term *reverse discrimination* is inexact, it makes the whole article unclear. For example, in this case the ethnic origin of those who have discriminated against Mr Reynolds is not specified in the article. The use of the term *reverse discrimination* is based solely on the fact that Mr Reynolds has been treated differently from his colleagues, who are all not white. However, it is not stated whether Mr Reynolds' employers, i.e. those who dismissed him, are white. Mr Reynolds thus accuses indirectly his fellow workers of racism, because it is the colour of *their* skin that determines racist

behaviour against him. It could be assumed that since the colour of his employer(s) is not mentioned separately, s/he or they are white. The same pattern of thought can be seen in the discussion in which whites believe they are discriminated in favour of other 'races'. For example, in Britain and the US, there is an attempt to decrease discrimination of black people in working life. Because of this, black people are labelled as racists, instead of those who make the laws, and seen as a threat for protecting their fundamental legal rights (Dijk 1988:184). In the United States of America the policy of improving the conditions of coloured people by legislation is called affirmative action.

The editorial line of *The Independent* allows clearly racist comments to be published, if they are presented in a suitable way. The article "Fraudbuster hero branded a racist" (The Independent 16.8.1998) is about industrial tribunal's decision that a housing director Bernard Crofton and Hackney Council "have discriminated four times against a colleague". (Appendix 5.) If the following statements had not been part of court evidence, probably they would not have been published at all, since they label a group of people in a racist way and thus belong to the category of political incorrectness. But when there has been a trial where racism or relevant issues are being handled, these expressions are published.

The report said: "Certain individuals exhibited the corporate view that 'too many bloody Africans' were being appointed to jobs in Housing. 'African' became synonymous with fraud...which in turn fed the myth of a great West African conspiracy.

The Independent 16.8.1998

The above example is the only part of the article that is quoted directly from the report given in court. This way the paper distances itself from the views and, since these statements are part of court evidence, it is politically correct to publish them as an example of racism. However, the news here is not the issue of racism in a workplace, but the fact that "a housing official lauded by MP's for flushing out benefit fraud has been branded racist by an industrial tribunal." The news is thus that Mr Crofton has had a good reputation in the

fight against benefit fraud and therefore been praised for his actions. His racist methods were obviously unclear for many or secretly approved of and without this court case raised by one of his former employees, he would have probably continued his work with the quiet acceptance of his fellow workers. The article mentions only once that industrial tribunal found *both* Mr Crofton and Hackney Council to have racially discriminated against a colleague. Mr Crofton is mentioned four times as the guilty one, and especially when the headline states this, the reader easily assumes that he is the only one to blame. Racism is thus identified with Mr Crofton, not Hackney Council.

The Independent explains Mr Crofton's work history, which has been exemplary. On the other hand, it is reported that he has been dismissed earlier (in 1996). *The Independent* quotes directly the Macdonald report from the internal inquiry on that case from 1996, which found that he had "gravely wronged and shabbily treated" his employer. From the Macdonald report a euphemism *a witch hunt* is used to describe the way Mr Crofton treated black employees. The expression *witch hunt* is used here as a *metaphorical transfer* for racism, indicating that black employees have been a target of systematic persecution. Today it is known that the witch hunts that took place about hundred years ago were conducted by people who were afraid of those who were somehow different. Those who were persecuted had nothing to do with the charges placed upon them, and only afterwards was it realised the witch hunt was based on imagination and will to oppress certain groups of people. Thus *a witch hunt* is a suitable euphemism for racism as they both have same features.

The Independent thus follows the language used in the earlier inquiry from 1996, which euphemistically accuses Mr Crofton of racism. But now that the industrial tribunal directly states that he had been racially discriminating against Mr Yeboah, *The Independent* also uses similar straightforward language.

The contradictory elements of the article can be seen in the language of the headline "Fraudbuster hero branded a racist". Instead of *a housing official* or *Bernard Crofton* he is referred to with a colloquial and sensational term

"fraudbuster hero", which is not used anywhere else in the article. His achievements as a housing official, and the support he gained from authorities, are also ridiculed by calling him "a fraudbuster hero". The contradiction comes also from the word pair "hero" and "racist", which can be regarded as opposites; *hero* is someone who is respected for her/his good actions, whereas *racist* is someone who is generally looked down upon. Same ironical elements were also found in the reporting of Kohl's anti-immigrant statements. It thus seems that irony is used when describing racism, which is somehow confusing and contradictory.

The article is based on the report given by an industrial tribunal and the comments from Mr Yeboah who has been discriminated against. It is stated that Mr Crofton "failed to return calls yesterday" and the council "refused to comment" until full findings will be followed. Thus it is suggested that they were given a chance to give their point of view on the case, but they refused to do that. Those who are quoted in the article are the discriminated Sam Yeboah, the Macdonald report from the internal inquiry and the industrial tribunal. Thus expressions of denial of racism cannot be found from the article.

In the article "Fraudbuster hero branded a racist" (*The Independent* 16.8.1998) the accusation of racism is expressed very directly. However, it is not *The Independent* who says this, but the report they refer to. In the article "Ban on inter-racial adoptions lifted" (*The Independent* 28.8.1998) accusations of racism are expressed more vaguely. The problem presented in the article is that social workers will not let children to be adopted by couples from another ethnic background. It is thus implied that social workers judge people by their colour. However, the headline gives different information, namely that there has been "a ban" on inter-racial adoptions, which indicates that some higher authority has been the obstacle preventing inter-racial adoptions. The article begins with a summary, which labels social workers as racists and the government as anti-racist: "The government will today announce guidelines to stop social workers blocking adoptions on the grounds of race. It will also tell them to put the issue higher on their agenda." However, in the fourth paragraph it is said: "In the past, some social services have interpreted the guidance too

rigidly.” Thus the role of the guidance and social services is unclear in this case and either of them cannot be directly accused of racism.

The government’s guidelines are quoted as well as the junior health minister. Also results from a report are referred to, which shows that “local authorities were providing a poor adoption service”. The issue is thus not only the inter-racial adoption, but that adoption process is itself slow and poorly managed. However, it is the issue of ‘race’ that is given most emphasis. At the end of the article, a representative from British Agencies for Adoption and Fostering is quoted indirectly: “However, she said it was a myth that black children languished in children’s homes because same-race parents could not be found.” This is the first time in the article that it is mentioned that the talk was about black children and that they were victims of the situation. Throughout the article terms such as *race*, *ethnic background*, *same-race* or *colour of the parent* are used, which do not specify the colour. It could be said that these terms are used as euphemisms when avoiding direct reference to black people.

The most controversial statement in the article is a direct quotation, but presented so that it is not clear who has said it. This quotation expresses, although conditionally, the view that ‘race’ is a meaningful category.

”Same-race couples may be the best solution,” said a spokesman. ”But if they are not available, then another couple who in all other respects could provide love and care for a child should get full consideration.”

The Independent 28.8.1998

The information given before this statement could mean that *the spokesman* is representing social services or the government. It is interesting that this is the quotation in which the controversial issue of adoption is expressed, because the speaker of the quotation is unclear. In this article no-one is directly blamed for racism; indirectly in the headline it is suggested that the government has banned inter-racial adoptions and in the article social workers are to be blamed. The reasons why no-one is directly labelled as racist could be that the source of the article, the government’s guidelines, does not do that. It is also stated that the question is not only about inter-racial adoptions, but the

other problems inside adoption services. It can be thus difficult to show difference between racism and poor adoption service.

3.2.2 'Soft news' on racism

Contrary to the news discussed above, two news articles in *The Independent* approach the theme *racism* with almost a literary style ('My ex-friend the neo-Nazi' 4.8.1998 and 'The trials of a Southern state still haunted by its racist past' 17.8.1998). Both of the stories differ from other news on 'race' or racism in *The Independent* in that the setting is outside Britain: in Russia and U.S.A.. The personal style of the writers is also more noticeable than in hard news. In 'My ex-friend the neo-Nazi' the story is written using first person singular since the story is based on writer's experiences and she describes her feelings when she realised that her friend Sergei hates Western world, which she represents. (Appendix 2.) The outward features of the article also suggest that it is not a regular news story; it has frames and a subtitle Street life, Samotechny lane, Moscow, which separate it from other news stories. The article is based on a personal discussion of the writer, Helen Womack, and her friend, Sergei (his last name not mentioned). The writer describes especially her negative feelings when she realises Sergei's political stance. This can be noticed with the use of the expressions "I was stunned", "I was shocked" and "I felt stone cold". Womack also reveals her own prejudiced thinking since she does not associate racism with higher education and respectable background:

I was stunned. If I had heard that argument from some shaven-headed black-shirt in Alexander Barkashov's Russian National Unity Party, I would not have been surprised. But Sergei is a highly educated man whose father was a famous writer who advised Mikhail Gorbachev on literary freedom.

The Independent 4.8.1998

Racism is generally considered to be irrational and those who are seen as racists are depicted as stupid. The writer tries to explain Sergei's motives, but cannot call them reasonable. Sergei's actions are rather associated with

emotions and feelings, i.e. irrational aspects of thinking. This may be another motive, in addition with story's personal style, for the language of the article to contain a great deal of description of feelings. In fact, in the beginning of the article Womack tries to explain Sergei's behaviour with psychological terms: "I wish I knew who or what has *hurt* Sergei for, as I keep telling myself, it is *hurt* that lies at the root of hostility." Because this is a personal story, the reader is given a considerable amount of information on the individual, Sergei, who represents *the racist* in this story. However, Sergei's actions are not discussed, only the ideas he has. In this respect, the story operates on an ideological level and the actual consequences are not addressed. Thus there has not been an act of racism, in which there are victims and criminals. Neither does Womack refer to Sergei as "racist"; once she calls him "an extreme Russian nationalist", but otherwise he is just Sergei. Sergei represents the situation in Russia and when it is done on personal level, simple answers are hard to come by.

The almost literary style of the article "The trials of a Southern state still haunted by its racist past" can be seen in the beginning of the article:

The ceiling fans are turning slowly in the Forrest County Court House, stirring the dust-laden air with its scent of old documents and floor polish. It seems a tranquil place. Yet this room, in the centre of the old Mississippi town of Hattiesburg, has witnessed pitched battles in the war between the state's white supremacists and black citizens who simply wanted their rights.

The Independent 17.8.1998

The introduction describes the scene as calm and very still, which easily associates it with the past. The choice of the word *haunt* in the headline also refers to past, but negatively. A contradiction is immediately brought up: the tranquil scene is merely a facade and behind it there is "a war" going on. Racism is thus described as a war and the cases referring to it as battles. There is good and evil, victims and criminals. In this story racism is not something abstract, but very concrete, since there is a murder case, in which a black civil rights activist was murdered in the sixties by white supremacists. *The racist* in the story is thus clearly pointed out, described as "the Imperial Grand Wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" or "the Imperial Wizard". The

discussion on the public and its part in racism in general is left to only a few references. It is stated that "Mississippi has changed a lot in 30 years", but then later it is brought up that "there are still some people in town who do not see why the case should be exhumed" and "of course, there are quite a number of people that don't want it opened up." On the other hand racism is presented as a thing belonging to the past, but at the same time it is suggested euphemistically that there are still some who have not changed their opinions. The present situation is only referred to in the final paragraph. The sceptical voice does not belong to the writer, in fact, it is not exactly told who is speaking. All the others quoted or paraphrased in the article are named. However, the writer wants to address the issue and because there is a contradiction between the past and the present, perhaps that is why there is vagueness in the reporting of who is the speaker:

Some in the civil rights community are sceptical, however saying that whatever they may think of Mr Bowers, he may not get a fair trial. Besides, they say what about the crimes that continue, and which the law and enforcement agencies do not pursue?

The Independent 17.8.1998

3.2.3 Racism and German elections

Discourse on racism in *The Independent* is also part of the reporting of German elections. The beginning of the article "East Berliners prepare to repel Bonn invaders" (22.8.1998 *The Independent*) introduces the reader with a scene in a pub in former East-Berlin. The article is about coming German elections and reports on the atmosphere in "unsettled" Mitte. Racism is not the main issue in the article, but it is referred to indirectly when discussing the problems in the area. One of the interviewed, landlord Ralf Jackel, predicts the outcome of the elections: "People here will vote for the PDS, or the extreme right *out of frustration*. They are the parties of protest". The writer comments the statement: " There is so much to protest about. " and lists the problems in the area: unemployment, high rents. Jackel's daughter feels she is discriminated for

being an Ossi (an easterner). Another interviewee Frank Stiller, "a toothless janitor", describes Wessis as arrogant and taking everything over, "not to mention all the foreigners who work on the local building sites." The strongest comment on foreigners is given anonymously by "a customer in a blue shirt". The speculation of this comment is reserved for the landlord, who represents reasonable thinking and political correctness.

Seething silently until now, a customer in a blue shirt cannot hold his tongue any longer. "The foreigners who were before the unification can stay, but those who have come since should be chunked out," he said loudly. He lost his job on a building site in March. Gone to some Irishman or Pole, he reckons.

The landlord looked embarrassed, and explained once again that frustration runs high. He is not surprised that the racist DVU (the German People's Union) got 12 per cent in the eastern *Land* of Saxony-Anhalt. The Republicans, another xenophobic party, will do well in east Berlin, he predicts.

The Independent 22.8.1998

There is no further discussion on racism or what it actually means that "a xenophobic", a euphemism for racist, party has a lot of support in east Berlin. The rest of the article is reserved for the speculation of how politically "red" the area will stay. Racism as a problem is ignored in this article, it is treated merely as a response to other problems. The scene of the article is chosen to be a "working man's pub" and racist expressions fit the scene; the customers are described as bitter, frustrated and resistant to change, which are typical features when racism is described as part of personality. Racism is linked with lower class, unfavourable circumstances and certain type of personality.

In another article, which refers to German elections, reasons for racism are also given ("Germans invade Poland for food", 27.8.1998):

With so much time on their hands and so little hope, many of the local youths have shaved their heads and taken to wearing black uniforms. As in much of Brandenburg, neo-Nazi activity is soaring. According to a poll taken last week, one in ten in Brandenburg is prepared to vote for the extreme right in the coming elections.

The majority of the population do not believe, however, that everything is the fault of foreigners. But despite the obvious improvements, a vast proportion feel that the way reunification was carried through was a disaster.

The Independent 27.8.1998

In the above example certain outward features are mentioned, which define the way right-wing supporters look: shaved heads and black uniforms. This stereotype was also mentioned in the article "My ex-friend the neo-Nazi" (The Independent 4.8.1998). It is also suggested that in Brandenburg extreme right is very popular.

3.2.4 'Race' and black film makers

The issue of 'race' and racism is often lifted when successful black people are being interviewed. An article about the black film maker Kasi Lemmons discusses her new film ("I didn't want to make another 'hood film'", 6.8.1998). It is stated that the film differs from the traditional 'hood' films and portrays life of ordinary black people. 'Hood film' is a slang word for gang film and thus does not belong to euphemisms. Lemmons is introduced as bringing fresh experience to white arthouse audiences. The writer uses the term *black experience* inside quotation marks. Later in the text Lemmons comments on the term *black experience* by saying that it is used by whites. Perhaps this is the reason why the writer uses quotation marks; he has not come up with a better term and since he uses it, it is safe to put quotation marks around it. One of the central themes in the article is the issue of 'race' and how it affects film making and marketing. Lemmons says that the film 'Eve's Bayou' "could have been about any race", but immediately after this statement readers are reminded of the fact that the film was marketed differently to black and white audiences. This fact is also mentioned in the caption, which indicates that it has some importance in the reporting on the film. Even though the film does not portray the usual problems blacks are faced with in general in films, readers are reminded of the fact that in real life 'race' divides people, or at least distributors have this opinion.

As mentioned in the review of literature (chapter 2.4.2), black people are referred to with various terms. In this article the use of various terms, euphemisms, for black people can be seen clearly: *Afro-American*, *black*,

people of colour or *coloured*. These terms are used by both the writer and Lemmons and thus it cannot be said unequivocally whether, for example, the use of the term *coloured* is appropriate or not. However, Reeves (1983) states that *coloured* is a euphemism that is not accepted by black people.

The interview of Samuel L Jackson ("From stand-in to superstar", 10.8.1998) discusses also the problem of being a black actor in predominately white movie business:

He has attained such a status that he can now bypass the outmoded stereotypes of pimps and pushers to be cast in "colourblind" roles. Indeed, the part he played in the action, *The Long Kiss Goodbye*, was originally written for a white actor.

Junior Simpson, a young, black British performer admires for one what Jackson has achieved: "I look at Samuel L Jackson and see someone who has made the transition from being a black actor to an actor who just happens to be black."

The man himself confirms that "I read a lot of roles that aren't race-specific. My agent sends me a lot of scripts that are just guys, not specifically African-American or West-Indian."

The Independent 10.8.1998

The writer of the article uses the euphemism *colourblind* when referring to roles that are not race-specific. However, Jackson himself uses the term *race-specific*. In general, these two articles ("I didn't want to make a 'hood film" and "From stand-in to superstar") show that black people have to explain the 'race' issue especially when they have succeeded to break traditional stereotypes.

Compared with the use of apostrophies in the headlines in the articles about racism and police in Britain, which will be discussed later, apostrophies are used once in the headlines of general discussion about racism. The headline is "Anti-Semitic" letter referred to DDP" (2.8.1998) and the apostrophies around anti-Semitic indicate that the journalist doubts whether the letter is really anti-Semitic. The article begins with the following words: " Jewish leaders are calling for the leading British supporter of controversial black leader Louis Farrakhan to be prosecuted over a letter they *claim* is anti-Semitic." The use of 'claim' thus further emphasises the idea the headline has

given, which is that the paper questions the judging ability of the Jewish leaders, even though one would assume that Jewish people have the best ability to evaluate what anti-Semitism is. Keeble (1994) notes that in newspaper language attention should be paid to the use of the verb *claim*. It should only be used for controversial statements when there is reasonable doubt over them. The term *anti-Semitic*, first recorded in 1881, is itself a euphemism for anti-Jewish, which is considered to be too frank an expression (Ayto 1993:320).

3.2.5 Discourse on racism in 'Letters to the Editor'

The Independent published altogether seven letters from readers on the topic of racism during August 1998. Three of them discuss the controversy aroused by the statements given by African bishops visiting Britain, who had said that homosexuality is a sin. This statement spurred counterarguments, in which a representative of Anglican church labelled African bishops as "being one step away from witchcraft", which further lead to defining Bishop Spong as "the arch-racist". Some considered the statements as racist, others accused the defenders as homophobic bigots. In one letter (12.8.1998) the situation between the churches is described as *a culture clash*, which is an understatement for racism. In another letter (13.8.1998) *The Independent* is accused of implicit racism, because of the front page headline "Wealthy Arab who hates the US". It is questioned whether the term *wealthy* would be used similarly with the Jewish Netanyahu as "Wealthy Jew" or with Jesse Jackson as "wealthy black". The criticism towards *The Independent* is, however, carried out indirectly with passive voice: "This *implicit racism* is now reserved for the Arabs". It does not specify that *The Independent* uses racist language, even though the example is from the paper, but uses passive voice to make the statement more general.

Letters published in the 'Letters to the editor' section are basically the only way to respond to otherwise one way communication. The letter "Czech 'racism'" is a response to an article that described the situation of the Roma minority in the Czechs. Also institutional racism, in connection with the racism

in the police, is discussed in one letter ("Racist healthcare"). The following example is from the letter *Racist healthcare*.

Sir: It is well known that people who experience mental health services and many people from black and ethnic minority communities have grave reservations about the clinical practice of psychiatry.

Basically, the system of (Western) psychiatry used in the mental health services is both insensitive to the cultural diversity of our society and fails to counteract problems arising from institutionalised racism.

The Independent 4.8.1998

The writer of the letter, Dr Suman Fernando, prefers to use the expression *grave reservations* instead of saying that the black patients do not trust Western psychiatry. In fact, he does not simply talk about *many blacks*, but euphemises it with longer expression *many people from black and ethnic minority communities*. The expression *grave reservations* can also be classified as a euphemism, an understatement. The writer does not want to say directly that there are people who cannot consider western psychiatry reliable, but that there are problems that need to be solved.

In the example above, the second paragraph shows how the writer avoids using *racism* as a part of his vocabulary. Instead, he uses the understatement "insensitive to the cultural diversity of our society." Even though he is not talking about himself, and thus trying to avoid labelling himself as a racist, he still prefers to euphemise racism with an alternative expression. In discourse the same forms of expressions that are used by those who try to make themselves look better, are used by the opposite party as well when they try to point out the people or structures that are racist.

The letter 'Rooted racism' (The Independent 7.8.1998) refers to racism in the police, but discusses mainly racism in the healthcare system. The writer has been studying the subject and the result is: " We concluded that there was racism in Broadmoor, but not on the whole deliberate or necessarily conscious; rather it was an extreme lack of sensitivity to the needs and cultural difference of ethnic minority patients." Racism is thus addressed, but it is alleviated and excused. The word *race* is not mentioned; the writer talks euphemistically about *cultural difference* and *ethnic minority patients*. In this letter it also

becomes clear what the word *ethnic* actually means. The writer mentions *ethnic issues* and then lists them; appointing black staff and black representation in management. Thus the word *ethnic* refers euphemistically to black people and, in general, people other than white.

In the sports section of *The Independent* there were not articles on racism. However, in 'sport letters' one letter dealt with racism. (The Independent 19.8.1998, "Rotten banana?").

Thankfully, racism is being stamped out of the game. But I ask myself, what is worse, a campaign to "show Beckham a red card" or having banana thrown at you? Surely, our perspective is badly skewed when we debate Beckham at length and leave that banana to rot.

The Independent 19.8.1998

The writer talks about racism directly, but he also euphemises it. If he had not mentioned the word *racism* in the beginning, it would have been impossible to know the topic especially when the earlier discussion is not known. The metaphorical transfer is in the last sentence "leave that banana to rot", which means that racism should not be ignored. This can be interpreted from the last sentence, where "to leave that banana to rot" is equal to "debate Beckham at length". The point is which issues are talked about and which are not given attention. It is essential to notice that the word 'racism' is not a taboo word here since the writer uses it, even though in the same chapter he has a euphemism for it. The use of euphemism, in this case metaphorical transfer, enlivens the text and is wider in its meaning than the direct form.

In several articles in the data the terms 'political correctness' or 'political incorrectness' are mentioned. This phenomenon means that there are two ways things can be expressed; if the language is politically correct, its purpose is not to offend anyone and it is widely accepted as the proper way to express oneself. *Politically incorrect* means that a person speaks directly, without euphemisms and in most cases offending some party. These terms are thus themselves euphemistic expressions for a very common feature in our speech. The following letter from 'Letters to the editor' is an apt example of the debate that goes around when things are being named and renamed. On 26th of August Ken

Livingstone had written an article "Political correctness has not gone far enough yet" and the following is a reply for it, published three days later:

Sir: Bravo Ken Livingstone. "Political correctness" is indeed one of the most insidious phrases. "Politically incorrect", ostensibly synonymous with originality and irreverence, is in fact a euphemism for "racist", "misogynist" or "homophobic". Anthony Hasseldine, London SE22.

The Independent 29.8.1998

The above letter addresses a current question of language use. It also reveals euphemistic meaning of the term *politically incorrect*. When talking about racism and euphemisms, the issue of political correctness is central. As the writer of the above letter mentions, politically incorrect language has also been considered to indicate originality, which is valued as positive trait. Liebkind (1988) has also noticed that even though the use of politically correct language has been the tendency in recent years, an opposite way of expressing opinions has also been emerging. For example, in the media coarseness is more easily accepted (Slotkin 1994). Women also use more impolite and derogatory language than earlier (Klerk 1992). The language of *The Independent* should not offend anyone and therefore the paper tries to avoid using politically incorrect expressions. A forum for politically incorrect expressions is provided in the Internet where language is not controlled by the same rules as in, for example, mass media. For many, the term 'political correctness' equals something negative, meaning that there is not an opportunity to express one's true feelings. For example, when talking about difficult matters and, especially when there is a chance that some party will be offended, an effort is made to use politically correct language in order not to offend anyone. As the writer in the above example notes, some prefer to use politically incorrect language deliberately. Probably those who do that have a need to protest the accepted way of communication and show that politically correct language hides some facts behind the veil of pretty talk. On the other hand, it can be a sign that racist, misogynist or homophobic talk is being more easily accepted in society as a common way of speaking. These same themes are also the material for

many products of contemporary popular culture, where instead of euphemistic, dysphemistic expressions are favoured.

3.3. Racism and the police

This chapter consists of two parts. First, the articles that discuss police action abroad are looked at, i.e. how this action is described in relation to 'race' and racism. Secondly, the articles dealing with racism and police in Britain are analysed. In August 1998 there were two articles in *The Independent* that discussed police action abroad in connection with racist crime ('Strangers in their own land' 6.8.1998 and 'Battle to save gypsies from the forces of law and order' 19.8.1998) and a letter published in the 'Letters to the editor' section (7.8.1998) as a reply to 'Strangers in their own land'. Police action abroad is also featured in the article 'Cops get their skates on' (5.8.1998). In that article the question is not about racist crime, and therefore it is not included in the study, but it refers to police work on a more general level. However, 'Cops get their skates on' (5.8.1998) is an article that presents the police in a favourable light.

3.3.1 Police abroad

The article "Strangers in their own land" (The Independent, The Thursday Review 6.8.1998) is a long description, covering over half of a page, of the situation of the Roma people in the Czech Republic. The subtitle "Despite its liberal president and civilised image, the Czech Republic harbours a violent and ugly fascism" does not specify who the fascists are or what kind of fascism there is, but generalises it concerning the whole of the Czech Republic. In the article it becomes clear that the "strangers" are the Roma. Fascists are in the article primarily skinheads, but also the police. It is also stated that "one survey" showed that 45 percent of Czechs want to expel all gypsies from the country and examples of racist behaviour of ordinary people are given. Thus the article depicts racism everywhere in the Czech Republic.

The article begins with a description of the situation of one Romany family and how they have suffered from poor housing, skinheads and discrimination. Later the situation in the Czech Republic is described. One of the interviewed says the police is against the Roma. The situation the Roma are faced with is emphasised by the fact that official attitudes towards non-Roma immigrants are positive. In general, the life of the Roma is described to be very bad: they cannot go out after dark, skinheads attack them, the police or ordinary people will not help, they are terrorised and discriminated against at every level of society. The following example of racism is given in the article because the attackers were released on the grounds that they were drunk. It describes racism on two levels: of the extremists and the judiciary.

In February a Roma woman was beaten over the head by skinheads who forced her into the icy, swollen river Elbe "for a wash". The woman drowned. Four months later, the charges against her attackers were reduced from racially motivated murder to "extortion resulting in death"

The independent 6.8.1998

In the description of the case, the writer uses quotation marks twice. In this context quotation marks indicate that the expressions inside them are doubtful. Quotation marks could be translated to "as if": as if the question was about *a wash* or as if the question was about *extortion resulting to death*, when everybody knows this is not the case. Both expressions are euphemisms that the writer does not actually use himself, which is indicated by the quotation marks, but are from the terminology of the skinheads ("for a wash") and the court ("extortion resulting in death"). They both describe something bad, a drowning and a murder, with milder terms and the purpose of putting these expressions in the text together with the description of the cruel reality is perhaps to show how they just cover up the true meaning. The two euphemisms differ from each other; "a wash" is used in informal speech, whereas "extortion resulting in death" is official court language.

At the end of the article a person in charge of the police is interviewed because of the situation. His answer is directly quoted and commented on as "vehemently" denying racism or "partiality", which is a euphemism for racism within the police or legal system. His answer is the clearest case of denial of

racism in the data. It differs from the answers given by the British police authorities since racism is denied in this completely.

"It is a myth that the police don't intervene in situations of racist violence. The problem is almost the opposite - the police almost fall short of their legal duties because they try so hard not to arrest Romanies. It is completely untrue that there is lenience for racist violence towards Roma"

The Independent 6.8.1998

The whole article before this statement has given information about the mistreatment of the Roma and the part the police has in it. Gjuricova's denial or the side of the police are not explained any further. His opinion is presented as a direct quotation and because it is not commented on, *The Independent* keeps it quite separate from the rest of the article and thus withdraws from responsibility. Gjuricova's statements are not directly criticised, but the reader can make her/his own conclusions based on the information given in the article otherwise.

The writer of the article "Strangers in their own land", Hettie Judah, pays also attention to the media and its way of presenting Czech and Slovak Roma.

The media coverage that greeted the Czech and Slovak Roma as they arrived in Dover last autumn portrayed them as hell-bent on ravaging our social system, illiterate, disorganised and threatening. Little attention was paid to the country they were fleeing.

The Independent 6.8.1998

This is just the way *The Independent*, as an anti-racist newspaper, should present itself: condemning prejudiced presentation of minorities, because it is the right way to do. However, it is vaguely stated that "the media" did this and left unsaid whether *The Independent's* presentation was any different at the time the Roma arrived. It is neither specified who "the media" is and thus the accusation of prejudice or racism is safely done since no one specifically is labelled as racist. The purpose of this paragraph is perhaps to say that this article differs from the usual presentation of the Roma in the media, because attention is paid to the life of Romas in their country and thus *The Independent* is not a prejudiced newspaper.

Even though the minority aspect is well taken care of in the article "Strangers in their own land" (The Independent 6.8.1998), the presentation of the Czech Republic is carried out using only negative definitions. On 10th of August *The Independent* published a letter in the 'Letters to the editor' section, which proclaimed that the information given in the article was untrue. The attitude of the writer of the letter can be seen in the title, "Czech 'racism'", in which *racism* is apostrophised and thus the concept questioned. Instead of saying that the statements published in the article are lies, the writer euphemises politely that the article is "unfair and misrepresentative, and several points are in need of clarification." He points out that "the report is particularly biased", which is a euphemism, an understatement, for lying. He also has a different viewpoint on police in the Czech Republic.

The Czech police, in common with other police forces in central Europe, are unpaid and overworked, but try nonetheless to give these incidents the attention they deserve.

The Independent 10.8.1998

Racist attacks towards Roma are in the writer's vocabulary euphemistically reduced merely to *incidents* and the attacks are belittled by saying that they get *the attention they deserve*, thus indicating that the police deals with racist crime as it should. The language used in the article concerning Romany children's education spurred also strong counterarguments.

Education is as available to the Romany as it is to Czechs, but for a variety of complex social reasons, Romany children are often unable to cope with the demands of school. Children who cannot keep up are sent to special schools - NOT "schools for the mentally handicapped".

The Independent 10.8.1998

One of the key elements in improving the life of the Romany is mentioned in the article to be the education. When *The Independent* states that minority children are sent to "schools for mentally handicapped" it further emphasises the fact that the Roma are mistreated in the Czech Republic, whereas euphemism "a special school" would have given the impression that the school is designed for children's needs. It sounds much worse if healthy children are in a school for retarded, euphemised here as *mentally handicapped*, than if they are in *special schools*.

The same situation that is presented in "Strangers in their own land" (The Independent 6.8.1998) appears also in the article "Battle to save gypsies from the forces of law and order" (The Independent 19.8.1998). The discrimination of the Roma people in Hungary is reported to be institutional and especially the police, but also skinheads and "even the educated young", are accused of racism. The role of the police is emphasised, because it is chosen to be in the headline, in which it is identified as the "law and order". The headline does not thus directly mention the police, but a euphemism *law and order* is used instead of it. Another feature in the headline, which appears also in the text, is the use of *battle* to describe the activities which help the Roma when they have faced with discrimination. The use of the word *battle* dramatises the issue. Racism is located in the police on lower rank: "problem is not so much the senior police officers, who accept the need to change racist attitudes, but the police men on the ground who have to implement new rules." Also an example is given of how the Hungarian police tortured four Romas in custody and how the police did not face any disciplinary actions because of this. In general, the writer explains reasons for prejudice: after communism, living standards have fallen and there is a need for a scapegoat, social changes have not reached the former soviet bloc countries. However, it is not actually explained why these reasons affect the police so strongly.

The words *racist* or *racism* are less used in the article, instead *prejudice*, *anti-Roma discrimination*, *institutionalised prejudice*, *endemic prejudice*, *oppressed Roma* and *hostile environment* are used to describe racism in Hungary. Mostly, it is the writer, Adam Lebor, who is speaking and only one person is being interviewed, Imre Furman, who represents Hungary's civil rights legal office. Thus the voice of the police, i.e. those who are accused of racism, is not heard. It is interesting that even though the writer clearly stands for the Roma, he calls them also *gypsies* against their wish to be called as *Roma*. Jean-Pierre Liégeois (1994) points out that the naming of gypsies varies a great deal from country to another, but also in one country also. For example, in England the term *Travellers* is used to describe groups that are "indigenous", not Indian origin. Because these groups themselves use the term it is an

acceptable term. Liégeois (1994) considers that the term *Gypsies* is also usable, since it is less stained than other pejorative designations. It was regarded as pejorative until recently, but rehabilitated by the development of Gypsy organisations. The line between *Travellers* and *Gypsies* is not always clear and, rather than excluding each other, they should be looked at as in terms of complementary and continuity. In official texts they come as synonyms. The term *Rom* or *Roma* is used increasingly in political contexts by Gypsy organisations. The advantage of the term is that it is clearly distinct from the stereotypes attached to Gypsy groups by outsiders, because often Gypsies have been associated with groups held in low esteem, vagabonds and rovers. Administrations have also given new names for the Gypsies to replace pejorative words. For example, in Ireland *tinker* was replaced with *itinerant* or *trader*. The most extremist case is from Socialist Bulgaria, where the word *Gypsy* became a taboo in official contexts, and was euphemised with "Bulgarian citizen of Gypsy origin" and later "dark-skinned citizen". By changing terminology, it seems that the pejorative ideas are denied. Ambiguous terms assimilate and stigmatise simultaneously, they deny particularity, but at the same time, highlight it. It should be emphasised here that the question in the articles that I have studied is about the Roma in Eastern Europe and therefore they are not called as travellers, which is a designation used in England.

3.3.2 The Police in Britain

In August 1998 *The Independent* published a series of news stories on racism in the police in Britain. Traditionally, in the British press, racism has not been dealt with institutions such as police (Dijk 1988:189-190). However, on the third of August on the top of the front page, a headline across the page said "Police accused of 'racist culture'". Racism in the police was clearly treated as major news. Earlier on (1.8.1988) a small article was published with the headline "Met to test recruits on racial awareness". This piece of news was

based on the point of view of the police and had nothing dramatic in it; the police was fighting against racism within the force. Thus the news in 'Police accused of 'racist culture' is not a fact, i.e. that there is racism in the police, but that some authority actually claims it publicly. Other articles that followed on the subject during August 1998 were "Racism in the police 'endemic'" (4.8.1998), "PCA says London police are racist" (15.8.1998), "Police urged to release fatal racist attack report" (19.8.1998), "'Blacks arrested on thin evidence'"(21.8.1998) and "Lawrence inquiry to visit regions" (29.8.1998). All the articles refer to the investigation of the murder of Stephen Lawrence, which has brought the issue of racism in the police into daylight.

The article "Met to test recruits on racial awareness" (The Independent 1.8.1998) is based on Metropolitan Police Commissioner Sir Paul Condon's statement in the Lawrence Inquiry. The message is twofold; there will be new measures to combat racism within the force and improvement to the way it handles racially motivated crime. The short article is otherwise an indirect quotation except one paragraph, which is a direct quotation. This quotation differs from the rest of the article since it does not explain the recruitment issue, but is a defence for the accusations of racism.

Sir Paul Condon said: "We recognise that, in the eyes of individuals and communities in London, police action may be perceived and experienced as racist, regardless of the intent behind the actions. On some occasions the racist behaviour may be intentional on the part of the police officers."

The Independent 1.8.1998

Condon's statement is included in the article because it explains the major reason why the Met is improving its training and recruitment: it has a poor reputation. During August 1998 there was considerable a number of other news that reported misconduct among police and in one column the reputation of the police was told to be at its all time low. Racism is recognised as a problem, but Condon euphemises his answer indicating that whatever the outcome of the policing has been, the intentions have been good. He also uses the auxiliary *may*, which further reduces the seriousness of the accusations. Thus *The Independent* avoids labelling the Met as racist by letting the Metropolitan police Commissioner Condon express the idea himself.

Also in the article "Police accused of 'racist culture' (The Independent 3.8.1998) *The Independent* does not itself accuse the police on racism, but reports accusations made by others. (Appendix 1.) The headline is written in the passive voice and in the first paragraph it is specified that it is "one of the Metropolitan's most influential advisers on race" who has given the statement. Metropolitan Police is not interviewed in the article, but *The Independent* analyses their reaction: "His views will come as a severe blow to the Met, which has admitted that its officers were grossly incompetent but strongly denies allegations of racism." Thus *The Independent* speaks for the Met, who denies racism and euphemises the situation as resulting from *grossly incompetent* staff. For example, *The Observer* published a news story on the same subject, in which the headline gives information more directly: "Chief constable admits police display institutional racism" (*The Observer*, 9.8.1998). Thus the voice is given for the police, whereas *The Independent* uses basically direct and indirect quotations from the statement given by Dr Oakley, who accuses the police. *The Independent's* voice can be heard in the headline, in which *racist culture* is apostrophised, which suggests doubt. Dr Oakley's language, which is quoted in the article, contains a great deal of euphemistic expressions when he talks about 'race' and racism. For example, he is indirectly quoted saying that the problem is not "a few rotten apples", but the question is about much wider phenomena. This euphemistic expression belongs to the category of metaphorical transfer. The following example shows how Dr Oakley avoids certain words.

It is quite unrealistic that minority concerns about differentials in stop and search, about the police response to racial attacks, and about police demeanour towards visible minorities generally, could be the result of actions solely of a small number of individuals.

The Independent 3.8.1998

First of all, Dr Oakley uses the word *concern* to describe the *minority* view of the police. Instead of *concerns* words such as *worries*, *fears* or *suspensions* could have been used in this case. The relationship between the public and the police in Britain has been very bad and therefore it can be assumed that the use of the word *concerns* is an understatement for the words with more negative

meaning. According to Cashmore (1994) the word *minority* is often used as a euphemism to describe people in terms of disadvantage, underprivileged, political oppression, economic exploitation and social discrimination. Dr Oakley also uses euphemism *visible minorities*, which belongs to the category of widening. It can be seen as inoffensive to any particular group of people since it does not directly say to which group it refers. The presupposition is, however, that there are people whose appearance is different from the average police officer and this visibility can be explained by skin colour. In Britain, immigration has for a long time been seen as a problem and it has been defined especially as a problem of colour (Husband and Chouhan 1985). Young (1996) points out that "the opposition drawn between 'white and non-white' originates from a focus upon skin as the visible marker of race." The skin, and thus the body, becomes a sign of identity. Thirdly, Dr Oakley refers to *differentials* when talking about the fact that blacks are being arrested unnecessarily.

Dr Oakley talks directly about *racism* in general in the police, but he also uses a euphemism "biased actions" when referring to a particular case. Even though Dr Oakley accuses the police on racism, he also defends the police, as is seen in the following quotation.

Dr Oakley says that while subliminal racist attitudes can affect all large organisations, the police service is particularly vulnerable. He says: "Police work, unlike most other professional activities, has the capacity to bring officers into contact with a skewed cross-section of society, with a well-recognised potential for producing negative stereotypes of particular groups."

The Independent 3.8.1998

Dr Oakley tries to give reasons of why there is racism in the police. However, in this case, he does not directly refer to *racism*, but euphemises it as *negative stereotypes*. He does not either specify of which groups of people there are negative stereotypes, but mentions only *particular groups*. Again, this expression does not classify anyone with negative terms. However, he later mentions that most of the policemen are white and their experience with *visible minorities* comes predominantly through work, and so this would indicate that *visible minorities* belong to *particular groups*.

The following day after the front-page news article "Police accused of 'racist culture'" (The Independent 3.8.1998) was published, the discussion in *The Independent* on racism in the police continued with an article "Racism in the police 'endemic'" (4.8.1998). The contents of the article are about the same as the day before, i.e. that there is institutionalised racism in the police and something needs to be done, but now the statement is given by the chairman of The Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) Sir Herman Ouseley. Now the headline states that there is racism in the police, but its quality is apostrophised, which shows that *The Independent* does not necessarily support the definition *endemic*. The continuity with the earlier discussion, and the metaphors used by Dr Oakley, can be noted in the language Sir Herman uses when describing the situation within the police:

...the traditional response to allegations of racism has been to blame a few "bad apples", suggesting that "only a little tinkering...is needed, instead of disinfecting the whole barrel."

The Independent 4.8.1998

Sir Herman makes use of the old expression and explanation when explaining the "new" concept of racism. Earlier racism was considered to be a problem of few individuals, i.e. *bad apples*, but now racism is described to be *institutional*. The use of old metaphors makes the "new" approach more understandable, but at the same time it indicates that images associated with racism have stayed the same: racism is explained with the terms of "disinfection", thus linking it with dirt and disease. Disinfection is needed when there is dirt somewhere where it could cause problems, such as disease or poisoning. Another suggestion is that perfectly clean and good "apples", i.e. individuals could be contaminated and thus the idea is that racism has the property of spreading if nothing is done. Indirectly it suggests that every individual can become racist in a certain environment. Also there is the idea that those who are "bad apples" are harmful for society. Later in the article Sir Herman's description of the police is quoted directly; the description gives reasons of why there is racism in the police: "Police internal power structures and everyday 'canteen' cultures remain white, male, macho-dominant and

hostile to radical overhaul.” (The Independent 4.8.1998). Racism is thus linked predominantly with manly features.

Eleven days later a headline in *The Independent* ran ”PCA says London police are racist” (The Independent 15.8.1998). (Appendix 4.) Now the word *racist* is used without apostrophes, which means it is taken more seriously, but again the statement is given by PCA, not *The Independent*. The writer of the article, Jason Bennetto, is reported to be a Crime Correspondent. The article mentions many of the same issues as the two articles published on third and fourth of August and even the same expressions are used (” a severe blow”, ”grossly incompetent” ”strongly denies allegations of racism”). This time it is the head of the Police Complaints Authority (PCA), Peter Moorehouse, who has given the statement. PCA has investigated the murder inquiry of Stephen Lawrence and the result is that ”a culture of racism was partly to blame for the failure of the inquiry”. However, the concept of racism is complex and needs clarification, which can be seen in the statement:

”We did not find hard evidence that overt racism impeded the investigation.” But he added: ” That’s not to say there’s not institutionalised racism in the Met.”

The Independent 15.8.1998

Mr Moorehouse does not directly say that there is racism, even though earlier he is reported to have referred to ”racist attitudes by some Scotland Yard officers”, which is quite a direct expression. There seems to be a contradiction between his statements; sometimes the question is about few individuals, sometimes racism is a *culture* or *institutional*. An example of institutionalised racism is given by Mr Moorehouse: ”There was no appreciation that there was a different culture in areas, such as grieving within different communities...often in Afro-Caribbean communities...” Mr Moorehouse is the only one giving statements in this article and he also speaks up for the Lawrence family and the whole community they belong to. Lawrence family or representatives from Afro-Caribbean community are not interviewed. In the final chapter Mr Moorehouse is also reported to be concerned ”that some ethnic minorities are afraid to make official complaints because they fear being

harassed by officers.” Again, this matter is expressed presumably by a person who does not belong to “ethnic minorities”.

PCA’s statement is again the source of the news is the article “Police urged to release fatal racist attack report” (The Independent 19.8.1998). The article reports on how PCA wants the Met to give permission to give police reports, which are otherwise confidential, for the family of Lakhvinder Reel who was “racially abused and attacked” and drowned. The police is not directly accused of racism in this article, but an authority, PCA, questions their line of action. Lakhvinder’s mother is quoted and she does not talk about racism either, but wants “justice” for his son and needs “to know why *mistakes* were being made and what has been done about them”. The Met’s representative is referred to as “a spokesman”. S/he is reported to have accused the PCA of “moving the goalposts”, because of the new request. PCA answers that “the Reel family should be given relevant material to ensure a “level playing-field” at the inquest. The Met uses euphemism *moving the goalposts*, which belongs to a subcategory of euphemisms of figurative expressions and is sport terminology. PCA answers with similar language when describing the situation. It means that making goals can become easier or more difficult and in this case the goalposts are moved wider apart since the Reel family is given *a level playingfield*, indicating that coloured families have earlier had a disadvantage in the legal system and they need an advance to be treated fairly.

Two days later after the above article was published the police was again presented as racists. However, now the headline does not mention the police, but passive voice is used instead: “ ‘Blacks arrested on thin evidence’ ” (The Independent 21.8.1998). The source of this small article is a Home Office research, which is not analysed further by *The Independent*. The paper distances itself from the outcome by using apostrophes in the headline, which emphasises that it is someone else who has said this. The study shows that black people are arrested on weak evidence and that the number is up to seven times their proportion of the local population. *The Independent* quotes indirectly the report, which said “that the data did not definitely point towards

racial discrimination among officers.” The next paragraph after that is a direct quotation from the research:

But it concluded: ”The possibility must be considered that, where the defendant was from an ethnic minority group, the police were more likely to submit for prosecution cases in which the evidence was weaker than average, or where the public interest was against prosecution.”

The Independent 21.8.1998

Accusations of racism against the police are in this article presented very indirectly. If the report uses euphemistic language when dealing with racism, *The Independent* follows the same pattern and does not address the issue either. In fact, it only reports what is published in the report.

The last news published on August 1998 on racism and the police was a short item under the heading ”In Brief” (”Lawrence inquiry to visit regions” *The Independent* 29.8.1998). It states that the inquiry into the murder of black teenager Stephen Lawrence is to visit major cities as ”a lesson to be learned for investigation and prosecution of racially motivated crimes”. The source is not mentioned. However, the role of the police is only partial in this piece of news; half of it describes the event of the murder. It is even commented on that it ”raised racial tensions in the area”.

In addition, a television review published on 5th of August handled also the question of the police and racism. A television programme called ”Marsie Raine” was criticised of the way it had presented the issue, namely that ”the only problem with policing the black community is their own lack of co-operation”. The reviewer was extremely irritated by this and suggested that the makers of the programme should ”stick to cosy dramas about country vets” if they cannot do better. This review shows that there are opinions that do not think police is the problem. The reaction of *The Independent* to this is highly disapproving, which proves the fact that public expressions of racism get strong reactions.

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this study I have looked at the discourse on 'race' and racism. The data were collected from *The Independent*, which is a quality paper with high amount of news and a national circulation (Internet: Express newspapers research department induction). The articles, which dealt with immigration, discrimination and racism in August 1998, were chosen for the study. This included news stories, columns and film reviews. However, the majority of the articles were news stories. The data for the study of discourse on 'race' and racism was taken from an English newspaper and the stories collected for the study discussed 'race' and racism in Britain, but also in countries such as the Czech Republic, Hungary, the US, Russia, Italy and Germany.

First, I looked at the articles that referred to immigrants and how they were presented in *The Independent*. Attention was also paid to the various names people are given when they move from one country to another. Studies have shown (van Dijk 1987; Young 1996) that immigration is often presented with *flood* metaphors, defining it thus as uncontrollable and threatening. *The Independent* published news stories on the increase of (illegal) immigration in Great Britain (6.8.1998, 12.8.1998, and 29.8.1998), in which immigrants were presented mainly as numbers and a problem. However, this news was not given a lot of space in the paper and they were not front-page news in August 1998. In general, it can be said that during August 1998 immigration was not treated as major news.

However, the nature of immigration that receives most attention is illegal immigration. This was also evident in *The Independent* since the term *illegal immigrant* was most often used, compared with other names given for people moving from one country to another. Other designations found in the data were *Displaced Persons* or *DP's*, *exiles*, *survivors*, *clandestini*, *emigrés* and *migrants*. *Illegal immigration* was a term used predominately in the discourse of present-day domestic affairs, whereas in the discourse of historical events and immigration outside Britain, immigration was described with other, better

sounding terms. The euphemistic method of borrowing was most commonly used, of which the best example was *clandestini*. The implication that can be drawn from this is that immigration that is close and present, i.e. today in Britain, is treated more negatively than immigration that is distant either in time or geographically. Thus the articles that discussed immigration as a historical event focused more on the positive outcome of immigration than news articles that treated the subject in terms of *problem*. The asylum policy of Britain was not criticised or discussed in *The Independent* in August 1998, only one letter was published on the subject.

Immigration and foreigners were also a part of the discourse of political campaigning reported from Germany. Especially Helmut Kohl's anti-immigrant statements were given space, but what is interesting was that they were not directly criticised nor was their impact on attitudes analysed. Even though the substance of Kohl's campaign was racist, he was not directly designated as a racist. Instead, Kohl's campaign was described with irony, which indirectly shows disagreement with his statements. Van Dijk (1987) also noticed that media avoids directly discussing racist opinions if they are presented by a popular person or a group. Instead, attention is paid to trivial issues.

The discourse on racism in *The Independent* showed that racism was associated mainly with masculinity. Those who were being accused of and labelled as racists in *The Independent* were men. The police, which includes both women and men, was described as racist because it is "macho-dominant". Racism was also connected with the lower class rather than the upper class, with uneducated and extremists rather than educated and ordinary people. In the article on the Roma in Hungary it was stated that "even the educated young" discriminate the Roma. The presumption was thus that education, and civilisation, would normally prevent racism. Another feature in the discourse on racism was that explanations were given for why racism appears in particular cases. The reasons can be psychological when racism was the result of certain personality and when feelings were given a major role in forming racist opinions. Other explanations were also poor social conditions and social

upheaval in general. Racism in the police was explained to be *institutional*. Thus the whole police force was labelled as racist, which makes the whole issue abstract and anonymous, thus enabling individuals to withdraw from responsibility.

The language of *The Independent* when discussing 'race' or racism was not particularly euphemistic. Commonly used expressions such as *ethnic* instead of *race*, *coloured* instead of *black* or *anti-Semitic* instead of *anti-Jewish* were employed. However, this did not necessarily exclude the use of the other term; both names were used in the same article. The richest language regarding euphemisms in *The Independent* was, however, found in the quotations of interviewees and in letters to the editors. Those who talked about racism used euphemisms like those who denied racism or defended themselves against the accusations of racism. For example, racism was referred to as *biased actions*, *negative stereotypes*, *discrimination*, *insensitivity to cultural diversity* or *culture clash*. In general, the more there were quotations in an article, the more euphemisms were found. This could be a result from the fact that most of the data were news articles. Language in them should be clear and informative. Quotations in a news article serve the purpose of enlivening the text, giving it a sense of authenticity and thus making it more interesting (Keeble 1994). The inclination for clarity is not threatened when euphemistic language use takes place in quotations and letters to the editor. However, in some cases *The Independent* showed euphemistically its attitude towards the issues it was publishing. Examples of this are the use of apostrophes and the word *claim*.

News on racism in the police in Britain were based on specialist statements, whereas in the articles that presented Czech and Hungarian police as racist, the voice was also given to those who were being discriminated. Fairclough (1995) notes that in news, private persons are interviewed for their experiences and public persons for their opinions. This was evident also in *The Independent*. News production is largely based on official and otherwise legitimated sources and this was especially clear in the news on racism in the police in Britain. In fact, because these news reported only what specialists have said, it was difficult to hear the voice of *The Independent*. However,

headlines and the use of apostrophes in them gave some indication of how the paper approached the subject. In the first item of news "Police accused of 'racist culture' (3.8.1998), the *racist culture* is inside apostrophes, which means that the concept is not accepted as such or that the paper has some reservations over the definition *racist culture*. In the second article on the subject, "Racism in the police 'endemic'" (4.8.1998), *racism* is not anymore within apostrophes, only the adjective *endemic*, and thus it can be assumed that the concept is now more acceptable.

Another observation was that the language of *The Independent* reflects and resembles the language of the source. For example, euphemistic expressions in the text were often marked with quotation marks, thus signalling that the source had used them. The writer (*The Independent*) did not thus come up with better expressions than what the source had used. In one article (Fraudbuster hero branded a racist, 16.8.1998), in which there were two sources, two court decisions, the language of *The Independent* followed the language of those sources. This may be an indication that authoritative statements are not dealt with critically but published as such. *The Independent* did not want or did not have the courage to question these statements.

Racism in the police and public discussion about it can also be a rather sensitive issue, because the police is part of social structure. In fact, the role of the police is to take care that a society's laws are respected. Traditionally, the press has not blamed police on racism, the problem has always been somewhere else. Now that it is publicly announced that there is something wrong in the police in relation to ethnic minorities, it is safer to report these statements as such. On the other hand, it is very simplistic to talk only about *institutional racism*, because then the whole of the police is defined as racist. Again, researchers have presented this view and it was not criticised by *The Independent*. It seems that the real news value is the fact that authorities publicly announce that the police is racist. These authoritative statements were given most space, concrete examples of racism are less discussed. Almost the only example given is the investigation of the murder of Stephen Lawrence.

The Independent very rarely accused anybody directly on racism. This was evident in the headlines, which showed that it was always some other quarter that accused or labelled someone as racist: "Police accused of 'racist culture'", "Fraudbuster hero branded a racist", "PCA says London police are racist". *The Independent* only reported these statements. Only once did *The Independent* define something as racist and this was carried out in the article "East Berliners prepare to repel Bonn invaders", in which a German party DVU (the German People's Union) was described as racist and another party, the Republicans, as xenophobic. However, in the articles about Kohl's electoral campaign he was not defined as racist, even though the substance of his speeches, especially when referring to immigration, reported in *The Independent* would give justification to do so. The use of irony was what separated the style of reporting Kohl's racist views from other articles that dealt with racist opinions.

The general tendency of not accusing anyone directly on racism was seen in many other contexts also. In letters to the editor the Government and *The Independent* were criticised of their attitude on foreigners, but not directly accused on racism. *The Independent* disapproved of the way *media* had presented the arrival of the Roma in England, but did not specify who the media was, i.e. which newspapers, television companies or radio stations *The Independent* blamed for racism. Also those who were interviewed or quoted seem to avoid direct accusations of racism. For example, the Met's line of action is questioned by PCA and in the same article a plaintiff wants "justice" and needs "to know why *mistakes* were being made" in the Met. Also, when Dr Oakley accused the police of racism in general, the word *racism* was used, but when referring to particular case(s), he euphemised racism to "biased actions". These examples on the discourse on racism seem to demonstrate that it is important to show that racism is disapproved of, a fact the majority of people agrees with, and that *The Independent* represents this view. However, closer examination shows that discourse on racism in *The Independent* did not go any deeper. Racism exists, but it is actually difficult to defined someone as a racist. The norm against racism and its strong negative meaning are perhaps reasons why it is safer to avoid labelling one person as racist. Because *The Independent*

is a mainstream newspaper and designating, for example Kohl as a racist would be quite risky since he is otherwise considered to be a respectable politician, at least in Europe, and the majority of the readers of *The Independent* presumably share this view. Also, if someone is publicly categorised as racist, the accusation is very strong and the person is defined very negatively. Therefore, it can be safer to euphemise the accusations and thus withdraw from responsibility.

Naturally, *The Independent* did not completely avoid referring to racists. However, those who represented racists in the discourse on racism were people who belonged to the 'strong' form of racism. A leader of the Ku Klux Klan in the US or a member of the neo-Nazis in Russia were clear examples of racist behaviour, which made it easy for *The Independent* to also publish stories on these individuals. They were not 'hard news' stories, but rather belonged to features or soft news category. The point of view chosen in these articles concentrated on individuals, whereas in the articles on racism in the police in Britain, the issue was dealt with on a more abstract level, through *institutional racism*. The two examples of racist individuals did not represent an average person, but belong to groups that openly define themselves as racists. Thus racism is not for them as negative as for people in general. Readers also have previous knowledge of the nature of these groups. Therefore *The Independent's* 'face', or that of people who are referred to, is not threatened even though the issue is presented through individuals. In addition, since these two stories were located outside Britain, it further distanced the issue away from average reader.

In general, when talking about racism in *The Independent* the voice was not given to those who represent racists, but to those who accused or have themselves experienced some form of racism. Therefore *denials of racism* were scarce in the data, which may partly explain the relatively small amount of euphemisms found. When someone is accused of racism, natural reaction would be an attempt to deny it, because the definition 'racist' is a very negative qualification. Van Dijk (1992) notes that these explanations, denials, are a rich source for euphemisms. Even though in the data there were not many quotations from people who were trying to respond to accusations placed on

them, euphemistic expressions were found from the 'opposite party': for example, the authorities that accused the police on racism softened their message with euphemisms. This finding goes together with the earlier notion that direct accusations of racism are not common in *The Independent*, especially when they are targeted to social structures, such as the police. Racism was not, however, an unmentionable subject. The police was accused of *racism*, but at the same time the message was alleviated and excused. Perhaps a reason for this is that those who have investigated the behaviour of the police are also somehow close to them and do not want to completely denigrate the police. Euphemisms and direct expressions were thus used together when expressing accusations against the police. Another explanation for this phenomenon can be drawn from the theory of 'face', namely researchers try to save the 'face' of the police as well their own. This was also an example of different ideologies and discourses competing: the police was associated with both positive and negative features. Since the police is part of the social structure, the issue is not about 'race'. Euphemising accusations against the police is not only an indication of a difficult subject, but also a sign of a complicated issue. In fact, racism can be one sign of wider problems within the police. Thus the notion that racism is often taken as an explanatory feature for many other (social) problems (Miles 1994;Reeves 1983) seem to be valid here.

Some results of this study concerning the discourse on racism in the police were similar to those by Downing (1985). As mentioned above, discourse on racism in the police was a contradictory process. Downing (1985) reports that after the publication of Scarman report, media stood up for the police, but at the same time there were demands of improvements. The difference between the results of this study and Downing's results was that voice is now given for those who accuse the police, not for the police itself. However, in an article on racism in the Czech Republic, a representative of the police was interviewed and his response was similar to those reported by Downing (1985) on the response of the police in Britain. The term *institutionalised racism* was thus appropriate to describe the situation in the police: structures may still be racist,

but language has changed so that racism is not obvious. Euphemistic language use can in this case become prevalent. Term *new* or *symbolic racism* are not used in the data to describe racism in the police, but it is described as *insidious*, which has basically the same meaning.

This study has shown also that some designations that are considered to be offensive and not suitable according to the literature of 'race' and racism were employed in *The Independent*. However, it was not only *The Independent* that used them, but they were also used by those who were interviewed and quoted. A black director as well as the reporter from *The Independent* used for example the term *coloured*. Reeves (1983) claims that politically conscious blacks object the use of the euphemistic term *coloured*. According to the data, the term *coloured* may not be as offensive as Reeves (1983) claims it to be. Reeves (1983) points out also that the expression *ethnic minority group* should be replaced with *racial minority group*. However, it seems that the former expression is still used more.

Even though the term *race* is often replaced with the word *ethnic*, 'race' is still used in many connections. It seems that 'race' is a category that is suitable when explaining, for example, social problems or when talking about people in general. Thus, it can be said that while 'race' is not accepted anymore as a scientific concept, in everyday discourse it is still employed. References to one's 'race' are made almost every time when talking about people who are not 'white'. This has been questioned in relation to 'ethnic crime reporting' because it easily defines minority groups in negative terms, especially because it is often the only place minorities are given space in the media. The issue of 'race' is thus paid attention to especially when others than white people are subjects in the stories and articles. Black people are easily given the role of expert in racial issues and their opinions are asked. For example, in two articles on black film maker and an actor, 'race' and discrimination were central themes. Of course, it is important to discuss racism, but it can be asked whether it serves a purpose to bring up the issue every time when, for example, black people are interviewed for some other reasons. 'Race' can also be highlighted in another way. In the article on poor adoption service it was only mentioned

that the system itself is inefficient. Instead, the issue of 'race' was paid more attention to, which is evident also from the headline "Ban on inter-racial adoptions lifted".

During August 1998 the most discussed topic on racism in *The Independent* was the accusations of *institutionalised racism* placed on the police, especially the Metropolitan Police in London. It was the only time racism was front page news. Racism in the police has undoubtedly lasted very long and many have probably known this fact. However, an authority was needed to express these views in order to make them news. Racism in the police is not the same kind of racism as, for example, neo-Nazis or the Ku Klux Klan show; it is part of the social structures. Discourse on racism in the police was very one-sided: only those who were accusing the police were given opportunity to express their views. Representatives of the police were not heard as much. Those who had experienced racism on the part of the police were heard even less. *The Independent* treated reports of the statements given about the investigations as hard news without commenting or analysing the topic. Even though several articles were published on the issue during August 1998, their contents did not vary much, only persons who had given the statements varied.

Racism is an issue that is discussed and debated continuously. Boundaries are drawn to what is considered to be racism and what is not. In the light of only one newspaper and a short period of publishing, which was chosen randomly, discourse on racism seems to be ongoing. Racism does not come only in one form, but manifests itself differently in different circumstances. That is why it has so many names: prejudice, discrimination, partiality, new racism, symbolic racism, institutionalised racism or reverse racism. However, all these names signify basically the same thing, namely that people are not equal and that some are treated differently. The concept of racism includes many questions, and is therefore difficult to define and understand. The issue of 'race' has the same features. For example, I noticed that it is difficult to refer to groups of people who have traditionally been separated from 'whites' by the colour or shade of their skin. Generalisations, such as 'black people' or 'ethnic

groups' had to be used because there are not any better terms available to describe very a heterogeneous group of people. The various designations and euphemisms employed to describe 'coloured' people are an indication of an area of discourse that is sensitive and important.

In this study discourse on racism in one newspaper during one month was examined. For further studies there are many possibilities. For example, it would be interesting to study to the way racism in the police was dealt with earlier, during the time when the police was not yet accused of racism, and whether newspapers commented on it. Also the approach of different newspapers could be compared: what aspects are paid attention to and what is left unsaid on certain areas of discourse on racism. For example, a comparison of the newspapers that differ from each other in their political views, that belong to quality and popular newspapers or are published nationally and locally would provide fruitful approach to the issue.

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Appendix 1

"Police accused of 'racist culture'". 1/2
The Independent 3.8.1998

Police accused

ONE OF the Metropolitan Police's most influential advisers on race says there is a culture of institutional racism in the police service.

In a submission to the Stephen Lawrence inquiry, Dr Robin Oakley, an independent consultant, says this insidious form of racism may have affected the actions of every officer who investigated Stephen's murder in 1993.

His views will come as a severe blow to the Met, which has admitted that its officers were grossly incompetent but strongly denies allegations of

BY KATHY MARKS

racism. Dr Oakley, a former academic, is eminent in race training. He has worked with the Home Office, the Met and other police forces for many years.

The public inquiry into Stephen Lawrence's death will reconvene next month to examine the lessons to be learnt from the abortive police investigation.

Dr Oakley says definitions of racism need to be re-examined, and that the problem is not - as is believed by many in

the police service - confined to "a few rotten apples".

This concept, which gained widespread acceptance after Lord Scarman's report into the Brixton riots in 1981, is at odds with such phenomena as the disproportionate numbers of black men stopped and searched on the streets by police, he says.

"It is quite unrealistic that minority concerns about differentials in stop and search, about the police response to racial attacks, and about police demeanour towards visible minorities generally, could be the

result of actions solely of a small number of individuals.

"At the very least, they will be the result of tendencies among a much larger number of officers, if not the outcome of 'normal policing'."

Dr Oakley says institutional racism lies at the heart of the problem, and was "potentially - though not necessarily actually manifest in the actions of every officer involved in the events following Stephen Lawrence's murder".

He goes on: "What were the images of Stephen as a young black person in the minds of

"Police accused of 'racist culture'" 2/2
The Independent 3.8.1998

of 'racist culture'

those who attended the scene, and did they check out any possible tendencies to make assumptions of a racial nature?

"Did they routinely consider and also prioritise the possibility that racism could have been his attackers' motivation? Did they appreciate and respond to the concerns that a black family in particular might have when dealing with police in these kinds of circumstances?"

Dr Oakley says it is not surprising that the Police Complaints Authority, which reviewed the murder investi-

gation last year, found no evidence of overt racism.

"Whether there should be confidence that no racially discriminatory treatment of any kind took place, eg of a more subtle and unintended nature, is an entirely different matter," he says. "In general, there are sound reasons to suppose that biased actions could have occurred."

Dr Oakley says that while subliminal racist attitudes can affect all large organisations, the police service is particularly vulnerable. He says: "Police work, unlike most other pro-

fessional activities, has the capacity to bring officers into contact with a skewed cross-section of society, with the well-recognised potential for producing negative stereotypes of particular groups.

"Such stereotypes become the common currency of the police occupational culture. If the predominantly white staff of the police organisation have their experience of visible minorities largely restricted to interactions with such groups, then negative racial stereotypes will tend to develop accordingly."

Sir Paul Condon, the Metro-

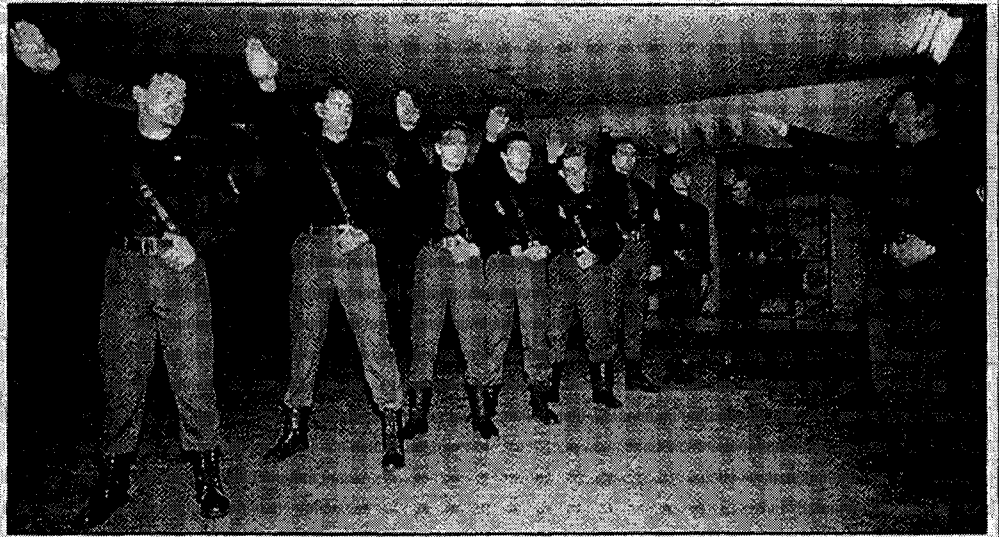
politan Police Commissioner, has said the Met plans to improve training and recruitment procedures to combat racism.

Dr Oakley says an "overall strategic approach" is needed, "implemented at all levels, with the lead visibly from the top".

Last weekend, Dr Oakley said: "It's not about dealing with a small number of bigots; it's about dealing with an organisational culture. Some of these issues are being addressed and some progress has been made, but there is an urgent need for more to be done."

Appendix 2

"My ex-friend the neo-Nazi"
The Independent 4.8.1998



For Russian Nazis, America is the Great Satan

Rex Features

My ex-friend the neo-Nazi

I WISH I knew who or what has hurt Sergei for, as I keep telling myself, it is hurt that lies at the root of hostility. But I will probably never know, as he has stopped visiting me at Samotechny Lane and now regards me as an enemy.

It was not always so. On the contrary, 11 years ago he was such a good friend that my husband, Costya, and I invited him to our wedding. But for Sergei, who has become an extreme Russian nationalist, the honeymoon with the West is over, and so, therefore, is his friendship with me.

Sergei had unnerved me before with odd, anti-Semitic things he said. But it only became clear how far apart we had grown when he dropped in for a drink a few weeks ago and we ended up having an argument. The conversation began harmlessly enough, with a few jokes, but before I knew it we had plunged into politics.

"It's all the fault of the foreigners," said Sergei.

"Pardon?"

"The West is to blame."

"Well, yes," I said, "the West has made some mistakes, raised expectations that life after Communism would be easy. Unfortunately

STREET LIFE SAMOTECHNY LANE, MOSCOW

Russia has not always seen the best side of the West. You've seen our unscrupulous businessmen, our cheap products in the kiosks; but surely Russians themselves must bear some responsibility for their problems. After all, Yeltsin, the members of the government, are Russian."

"They're traitors," said Sergei. "They have got us into debt with the IMF. The only mistake we Russians have made is not resisting the aggression of the West."

I was stunned. If I had heard that argument from some shaven-headed black-shirt in Alexander Barkashov's Russian National Unity Party, I would not have been surprised. But Sergei is a highly educated man whose father was a famous writer who advised Mikhail Gorbachev on literary freedom.

In the heady days of perestroika and glasnost, when Russians and Westerners met with excitement, we used to sit in Sergei's flat, speaking

French because my Russian was still rudimentary, and Sergei would talk of dreams of knowing the wider world.

"Yes, then I only wanted to listen to Western rock music," he said, when I reminded him. "But now, I get tears in my eyes when I hear the balalaika on the radio."

There is nothing wrong with Russian folk music, but something disturbing about Sergei's new-found appreciation for Stalin. And his hatred-filled form of Russian Orthodoxy seems very far from true Christianity.

Most of all, I was shocked by Sergei's definition of the West. It was, he said, not a place, but a world-view based on respect for democracy (to him, a pejorative word), women's liberation (also negative) and a positive attitude to Jews (very bad indeed).

I said I would like to think of the West as a community of countries where everyone counted, man or woman, black or white, Christian or Jew. He called me a "rootless cosmopolitan".

He said that once England, France and Germany were countries with a strong national identity but "the

West" had "colonised" them. Russia was falling, too. The Great Satan was America.

"It is an incredibly corrupt and decadent place. It is not only the enemy of the Arabs but of the whole world. But you mark my words, soon it will be destroyed. The Statue of Liberty will be shattered in a thousand pieces."

"I think you really want to see that, don't you?" I said incredulously, remembering how a few years ago Sergei had gone in great excitement on a business trip to Florida. (He also spent two weeks in my family home in Yorkshire, and ought to know that we in the West are human too.)

"Yes, I do," he said, "I dream of seeing America on its knees."

At that, I stopped debating. I felt stone cold, despite the summer heat.

"Well, I'm sorry," I said. "I came to Russia to learn, to help if I could, I did not mean any harm."

"We do not need your help. It's nothing personal, Helen, but you represent the enemy. You are on a Masonic mission."

He was my friend. Those were his parting words.

HELEN WOMACK

Appendix 3

"Social worker claims reverse discrimination"

The Independent 11.8.1998

Social worker claims reverse discrimination

AN IRISH social worker yesterday claimed he was sacked by a London council because he was racially discriminated against in favour of black and Asian workers.

Patrick Reynolds told an industrial tribunal he was dismissed as a community development officer with Southwark Council after being treated differently from Afro-Caribbean colleagues.

Mr Reynolds, 48, from Wood Green, north London, represented himself at the hearing in Ashford, Kent, where he is claiming unfair dismissal and racial discrimination.

He said that after restructuring of the equalities depart-

BY MAXINE FRITH

ment in 1996 he was left without a job.

He was turned down for two posts and was not offered other suitable alternatives but other workers in the same department were spared the loss of jobs or redeployed elsewhere.

Mr Reynolds said: "I was discriminated against because of my Irishness. I was quite clearly treated differently from other members of staff. In my unit one Asian chap was left entirely out of the restructuring. An Afro-Caribbean woman was given another job, an Asian woman was also left out of the reorganisation and another

Asian chap was offered alternative employment."

Mr Reynolds said he believed score sheets completed at his interview for one job had been tampered with to "deliberately" fail him. He also said that after leaving Southwark Council personnel officers wrecked his chances of another job with Hackney Council by providing unfair references.

Mr Reynolds said outside the tribunal: "I was the only non-British citizen and non-coloured person in my unit who lost his job." Mr Reynolds, born in Longford, Ireland, in 1950, moved to London in 1974.

The tribunal is expected to last four days.

Appendix 4

"PCA says London police are racist"
The Independent 15.8.1998

PCA says London police are racist

A CULTURE of racism within the Metropolitan Police was partly to blame for the failure of the Stephen Lawrence murder inquiry, according to the head of the Police Complaints Authority.

Peter Moorhouse, chairman of the PCA, claimed that racist attitudes by some Scotland Yard officers were responsible for the break-down in relations with Stephen's parents, Neville and Doreen. He said detectives gave the impression that the 18-year-old was probably involved in drugs or gang fighting.

Mr Moorhouse's comments, in an interview with *The Independent*, are a severe blow to Sir Paul Condon, the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, and his force, which is still reeling from the catalogue of blunders revealed at the public inquiry into the Lawrence affair.

Stephen was stabbed to death at a bus stop by a white gang in Eltham, south-east London, in 1993. While the Metropolitan Police has admitted that its officers were grossly incompetent, it strongly denies allegations of racism.

Mr Moorhouse said: "If the you ask the [Police Complaints] Authority is there a racism problem in the Metropolitan Police, the answer has to be yes. I suspect most large urban police forces have that same problem to a greater or lesser degree."

Commenting on the PCA's examination of the Lawrence murder inquiry, he said: "We did not find hard evidence that overt racism impeded the investigation." But he added: "That's not to say there's not institutionalised racism in the Met."

Mr Moorhouse cited exam-

BY JASON BENNETTO
Crime Correspondent

ples in the Lawrence case. "There was no appreciation that there was a different culture in areas, such as grieving within different communities ... often in Afro-Caribbean communities sympathy is expressed by family and friends gathering at the home of the deceased relatives," he said.

"So when the liaison officer turned up and there were family and friends there it was seen as a form of preventing the police having access to the family."

He said the police expected the family to make themselves available on their terms. "This was the wrong way round."

The Scotland Yard detective who led the murder investigation did not meet Stephen's parents until more than a year after he was killed, he said.

Mr Moorhouse added that the police also failed to make it clear that they viewed the murder as a racist attack and that as a routine part of the inquiry they needed to make inquiries into the background of the victim.

"Instead that was taken by the Lawrence family, probably with some justification, [as alleging] that their son was involved in drugs or a gang. The family felt there was some kind of slur on Stephen. The police failed to get across that they knew their son was a fine upstanding young man."

Mr Moorhouse is also concerned that some ethnic minorities are afraid to make official complaints because they fear being harassed by officers.

Appendix 5

"Fraudbuster hero branded a racist"

The Independent 16.8.1998

Fraudbuster hero branded a racist

A HOUSING official lauded by MPs for flushing out benefit fraud has been branded racist by an industrial tribunal.

Bernard Crofton, whose tenure as housing director in Britain's poorest borough was plagued by controversy, was found to have discriminated four times against a colleague.

During his seven years at Hackney Council in east London, Mr Crofton devoted his energies to rooting out housing benefit fraud but he caused a major split when he claimed Sam Yeboah, the council's personnel director, was failing to tackle recruitment irregularities among west Africans.

Mr Crofton was dismissed and later re-instated but an internal inquiry in 1996 by Ian Macdonald, QC, accused him of being a liar and gaining re-instatement to his £70,000-a-year job by deception. The inquiry found Mr Yeboah had been "gravely wronged and shabbily treated"

In spite of that, Mr Crofton continued to be

backed by some newspapers, was portrayed as a victim in a number of BBC documentaries and earned generous support from the cross-party Commons Social Services Committee, whose chairman, Frank Field, said it was "vital" Mr Crofton remain.

Mr Yeboah took Mr Crofton and Hackney council to an industrial tribunal after leaving his job because of the recruitment allegations. Yesterday, after 103 days, the tribunal found unanimously that both had racially discriminated against him on several counts.

The full findings and the damage to be awarded will follow. The council refused to comment until then but it is understood there is relief that a further claim that the chief executive, Tony Elliston, discriminated against Mr Yeboah was rejected.

"I feel completely vindicated," Mr Yeboah said last night.

"I was always confident that the tribunal

would deliver justice. It has been a nightmare, a most harrowing experience. I believe my career has been completely ruined...The chances of another employer employing me are very slim."

In the Macdonald report, Mr Crofton was accused of fostering an atmosphere in which black employees were subjected to witch hunt and where, on one occasion, the names of 600 employees were secretly passed to the Immigration Department for checking.

The report said: "Certain individuals exhibited the corporate view that 'too many Africans' were being appointed to jobs in Housing. 'African' became synonymous with fraud...which in turn fed the myth of a great West African conspiracy. "I have...come to the conclusion that the allegations are without foundation."

Mr Crofton failed to return calls yesterday.