

**CLASHES BETWEEN EAST AND WEST:
THE MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE EXPULSION OF THE EASTERN-
EUROPEAN ROMA FROM FRANCE IN THE BRITISH AND HUNGARIAN
PRESS**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the media coverage of the expulsion of Romanian and Bulgarian Romas from France in the British and Hungarian quality press. It identifies four main themes in the media discourse about this case and several discourse strategies that the newspapers use to get their ideological message through. Through examining these four main themes (crime, racism, role of the EU and the divide between East and West) this thesis offers data about the portrayal of ethnic minorities in the press and the identity creating power of East and West theorised by Attila Melegh, which leads to clashes in the media discourse between the older and richer Western members of the EU and the younger and poorer Eastern ones.

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Introduction

The media has always played a huge role in the discourse about crime, ethnicity and the notions of East and West. This role has even got bigger in the past twenty or thirty years. In our media saturated world, where the information reaches the other side of the world in a split second, the internet, newspapers, television channels and other media outlets have a huge effect on the discourse about the clashes between East and West, the issues with immigration, integration and the collisions between the customs of the white majority and ethnic minorities. The agenda setting power of the media is unquestionable, even though the way its message is perceived is subject to arguments. That is why it is important to analyse the media discourse about events where several social issues like crime, ethnicity, immigration, the role of the EU and the tension between East and West are all present.

The French policy, implemented by President Nicolas Sarkozy, to expel the Roma immigrants who arrived to France from poorer EU member countries like Romania and Bulgaria is definitely such an event. It involves the biggest ethnic minority in Europe and it brought major problems and conflicts between the majority and the minority and between East and West to light. All these issues are very important in modern day Europe, and therefore the media discourse about them can be very enlightening and revealing.

The Case

It all started with two riots in Saint-Aignan and Grenoble which were ignited by conflicts between the French police and the newly arrived Eastern European Roma. After the riots, in the beginning of August 2010, president Sarkozy announced the policy to crackdown on the illegal Roma camps, dismantle them and expel the inhabitants to their home countries. He justified the policy with rising crime rates around the camps and other statistics that showed that very high per cents of crime was committed by perpetrators with some kind of ethnic

background. He also argued that the camps were insanitary and a hotbed of criminal activities like petty larceny, prostitution and begging. Thus the crackdown started and the French government began to 'repatriate' the Roma. However the policy started to attract the attention of the UN, the EU, rights groups and last but not least, the Romanian and Bulgarian governments. The critics started getting louder and louder during August and they impugned the lawfulness of the deportation because of their collective nature and racial bias. The French government always refused these accusations by stating that they just enforce immigration laws which absolutely comply with the norms of the EU. The real scandal broke out when a French government memo got leaked which specifically stated that camps inhabited by Roma people should be targeted. The memo sparked huge outrage in the EU, especially because the French had denied any consideration of ethnicity during the demolition of the camps. This led to a month long row between the supranational organisation and one of its founding states which slowly died down by the end of September, although the issue is still far from being solved.

Research Problematic

This thesis is concentrating on crime, ethnicity, the EU's role and the East-West discourse in the media reportage of these events. It tries to elucidate the role of racism or racial bias in the reportage and to unearth how crime plays a role as a discursive strategy in the discourse about ethnicity. Also, it aims at discovering how the East-West divide acts as a beacon and identity creating notion in the media discourse about the deportations. All these discursive themes and aspects of the media portrayal reflect very important problems in the life of the EU and its old and new member states.

Background

Emergence of the Far Right

To understand the importance of the expulsions and the media discourse that surrounded them, the political and media background in the EU has to be examined. First of all, the emergence of the far right or extreme right parties is a phenomenon that can be traced all over Europe with no division between East and West (Ellinas 2010). The British National Party in the UK, Jobbik in Hungary and the Front National in France are all gaining popularity rapidly. Their anti-immigration stance, protectionist economic policy and sometimes not too subtle racism towards their own countries' ethnic minorities are all things that they have in common. Except for the BNP, these parties have seats either in the Parliament or in regional councils or municipalities. The effects of the recent economic crisis have helped these parties to get stronger, but what is even more important, their messages and ideas are slowly creeping in into the mainstream political discourse and the media. After decades of isolation, these parties were able to break out of their cocoons and based on their results in local and national elections their leaders have become persons of interest who show up in the mainstream media regularly (Ellinas 2010; Gimes et al 2008, 2009).

In reaction to the emergence of the far right all across the EU, the regular parties started to shift slowly. They still refuse to cooperate with the aforementioned political formations, but they started to draw on their policies and ideas and implement them in their own programme in a somewhat softened way. That is how we arrived to Angela Merkel (chancellor of Germany) and David Cameron (Prime Minister of the UK) stating that multiculturalism failed and some level of assimilation is expected from immigrants who want to enjoy the riches of the West. Thus, the far right parties may not be able to implement their policies directly through governing any of these countries by their influence in mainstream politics has grown to a level where they cannot be ignored. Since the socio-economic situation of a country plays

a huge role in strengthening the far right, the credit crunch also helped these ideals to reach the level of politicians who would not even consider articulating them beforehand. Hence, discourse about the failure of multiculturalism, issues of immigration and the connection between crime and ethnic minorities have become prevalent parts of both political and media discourse in the EU.

The Expansion of the EU

The other side of the story began when the countries belonging to the former Eastern Bloc joined the Union during the 2000s. They brought new markets to the EU, but they also brought problems of poverty, racism and the lack of integration of the Roma minority. All these things ensure that Europe still cannot get off the East-West slope and the divide between Western countries who pay huge sums into the EU and the Eastern countries who try to catch up with the West by getting huge financial support from the EU is still there 20 years after the Iron Curtain had fallen. Thus the East-West discourse is still prevalent in the media and it still has a sublime identity creating power that affected the reportage on the expulsions and the issues behind them too. Through the expansion of the EU huge populations of Roma people became EU citizens which meant that they were able to move freely between member countries and they could apply for jobs without special permits. When several CEE countries joined the Schengen Agreement this process became even faster and more worrying for countries of destination like Italy or France. Even though Romania and Bulgaria have not yet joined the Schengen zone of free borders, large groups of their Roma population left for Western countries to try their luck. This polarised the East-West discourse even further in the public sphere (Melegh 2006).

This is the context in which the French policy of forced repatriation exploded into. An economic crisis that forced many Western governments to implement austerity measures and make huge cutbacks in their welfare policies, a rise in the popularity of far right parties which

forced, hand in hand with the credit crunch, the traditional parties to draw on far right policies and slowly implement them in a softened way, and the expansion of the EU that did not dismantle the divide between the Western and Eastern half of the EU in which Central Eastern European (CEE) countries feel many times that they are treated as second-rate members and in which Western countries feel that they are abused as milk-cows by the newly joined states (Ellinas 2010; Melegh 2006). When we take a look at the case that this thesis examines, it becomes clear that it has all the characteristics to ignite a polemic that amalgamates all these issues and sparks a discourse that involves several controversial problems.

Changes in the Media

The changes in the media consumption and the media itself also give an important factor to this research. There have been several changes in the press during the past forty years when it comes to prejudice and reporting on immigration, crime and ethnicity. The Hungarian media was oppressed and centrally controlled by the socialist state before the 1990s so it has a different development history than the press in England. In England, up until the 60s/70s open racism was an everyday occurrence in the press. Newspapers did not try to hide their prejudices and stereotypes and politically correct discourse was virtually unknown. The first big change happened during the 1980s and 1990s when the idea of multiculturalism and political correctness became slowly prevalent in politics and thus in the media too. This did not mean that racism, or the racialisation of certain issues disappeared from the media. Rather it shifted and turned into a more subtle and discursive type of racism that van Dijk (2000) and Hall (2003) both defined and identified as new or inferential racism. This type of racism can be still traced in quality newspapers and it does not seem to disappear or change.

The situation is slightly different in Hungary because of the aforementioned differences of the two countries' history. However, during the 1990s a fairly independent media sphere and field started to emerge that tried to adopt the Western ideas and thus talk about ethnic

minorities in a politically correct manner. This meant that stereotyping and passive prejudice were the main aspects of media discourse about minorities, especially the Roma, just like in the UK. On the contrary to the trends in England, however, a sudden shift occurred in Hungary during the second half of the 2000s. Since 2005/2006 active prejudice and old/overt racism started to gain ground. Firstly just in the 'underground' radical print media and internet sites, but it swiftly spread to newspapers more towards the quality end of the spectrum. Thus the racialisation of crime and negative stereotypes have begun to be propagated in an unveiled manner sometimes even in broadsheets. This tendency is still ongoing and there is no sign of turning back so far. The rightwing of the Hungarian media has become slightly radicalised whilst the leftwing tries to keep to the Western trend. This does not mean that no racism can be found in the leftwing newspapers, it just means that the leftwing printing press is much closer to the new type of racism than the rightwing (Gimes et al 2008, 2009; Hall 2003; van Dijk 2000; Enyedi, Fábián & Sik 2004).

These processes and phenomena give not just the context to my research, but also the reasons for it. In the light of these events and trends, it is important to study the media discourse of this case because it comprises of all these issues that burden both Eastern and Western countries and their relationship with their ethnic minorities.

Theoretical Framework

When one examines the media and conducts critical discourse analysis it is most important to embed that research into a theoretical background. This theorising process is very crucial since it elevates the objectivity, validity and reliability of the study. To fight the accusations of subjectivity, which are very common when it comes to qualitative research, one has to present theories based on prior studies in order to show, first of all, that other sociologists had found similar things during their inquiries and second of all and most importantly to use these theories as reference points which help the researcher to validate his or her findings. This process is always important when one conducts social enquiry, but it is especially important when one uses quantitative methods, such as I have done in this thesis. Therefore, in this chapter, I will present several theories that acted as beacons during my research and present a theoretical outline which makes my thesis grounded and embedded into the fibre of sociology.

News Production and Newsworthiness

Since there are several problems this thesis touches upon, the theories I had to use are very wide and divers. Firstly, it has to be said that when one studies the media it is very essential to define why studying the media is interesting and important. News does not grow on trees. In other words news does not happen out there, in the world completely independently from people. Events happen in the world that are later, or instantly turned into news through a long editorial process during which many aspects of given event are examined before it is 'served' to the people as news through media outlets. Therefore theories about media production and editorial processes are very significant in the understanding of a news text analysis. Furthermore, it is interesting and important to study the media because its immense and profound effect on modern society in producing and reaffirming discourses,

themes and schemas in the cognition of the members of society (Allan 2004; van Dijk 1998; Fowler 1991; Hartley 1982). We are living in a media saturated society where the media cannot tell us what to think, but it is very effective in telling us what to think about. Ergo, the media has a substantial agenda setting power which should not be ignored (Hall 1978, 2003; Miller & Wanta 1996). Therefore, examining the processes of news production, in other words how events become news, and theorising it, is crucial in order to give context to a study based on critical discourse analysis (CDA).

In the world of journalism journalists act as gatekeepers, they decide what counts as news and what not and even more importantly, how that news is presented to the consumers of the news stories. First of all, an event has to meet a bundle of criteria in order to be deemed newsworthy. Events that are violent, events that involve sex, death or some kind of scandal are always high on the journalistic agenda. Crime, immigrants and issues caused by ethnic minorities get into the news very easily too. Also, the agents, in other words people connected to or participating in the event are also very important. The threshold of penetration is considerably lower if someone famous is involved, such as a film star, a pop icon or a politician. These qualities of newsworthiness are very significant in order to understand why an event will show up in the columns of a newspaper or the screen of televisions (Lull 2003; Hartley 1982; Hall 1978; Fowler 1991; van Dijk 2000, 1998; Coleman 2003; Roshco 1999; Dayan & Katz 1999; White 1999).

Elite Discourse

To understand why CDA is a great method to analyse news text, it is crucial to examine how these events are presented to the consumers as news, since this news production process is the reason why social scientists have to read between the lines when analysing text. Journalists, and particularly editors, usually come from a middle or upper class background and belong to the ethnic majority of given country. Also, the majority of the definers and

sources they use come from the same background and by and large hold some kind of official status. For example, if a journalist wants to report on a crime story he goes to the local police, lawyers or politicians. Henceforth the story is defined and shaped by the opinions of these high status officials and their perception of the world and minorities (Allan 2004; van Dijk 1993; Banton 2000; Braham 1982; Ferguson 1998; Gordon & Rosenberg 1989; Law 2002). That is why social scientists like van Dijk (1987, 1991, 1993, 2002), Fairclough (1998) or Fowler (1991) argue that the media is dominated by an elite discourse defined by mostly white, mostly male and mostly well-educated middle or upper middle class agents. Obviously the diversity of these agents is not something that can be completely ignored. Politicians come from different backgrounds and they can belong to a plethora of parties in a democratic system. Civil leaders of social movements can also represent causes that clash with each other. Lawyers can have very different opinions on approaches to crime or human rights and civil liberties. However, it is arguably certain that they have more in common with each other than with the criminal whose rights and deserved punishment they argue about; or with the poor immigrant whose right to settling down they question of support. Hence, when conducting a research into a case where an ethnic minority is involved in the media one has to keep in mind that the media's reportage is dominated by the preconceptions, prejudices and perceptions of these people, thus some kind of racism is always traceable in the media, even in media outlets that consider themselves leftwing, liberal or pro-immigration.

Racism and the Press

Since racism in the press is a central issue in this thesis, theories about racism in the media have to be presented here. According to Teun van Dijk (1987, 1991, 2000, 2002, 2004), Stuart Hall (2003), Gimes et al (2008, 2009) and others there have been huge changes in the way the media presents ethnicity and race during the past thirty years or so both in the UK and in Hungary. This change has been even more profound in the past five years in Hungary.

During the 1950s and 1960s, after the first big immigration wave from the West Indies and other Commonwealth countries into England, the British press dedicated a lot of column inches and articles to issues related to the newly arrived African Caribbeans, the Irish and Asians. Racism was prevalent in those portrayals but it was very different from the type of racism that can be traced in the printing press nowadays. Van Dijk (2000) calls this type of racism old racism and Hall (2003) calls it overt racism. This type of racism is very obvious, blatant and open. Newspapers used racial slurs and did not shy away from ethnicising crime or inciting against ethnic minorities. They depicted the Irish, for instance, as subhuman brutes both in cartoons and articles, and they portrayed African Caribbeans as lazy people who are prone towards crime and violence.

However, this slowly changed. With the spreading of politically correct speech this type of discourse about ethnic minorities and migrants became unacceptable and it was deemed intolerable for the media to be openly racist. This did not mean that racism stopped appearing in the media, it just changed. During the 1970s and 1980s a different type of racism started to become prevalent in the British press. This type of racism is called new racism by van Dijk (2000) and inferential by Hall (2003). According to van Dijk (2000) new racism is highly discursive and therefore CDA is a great tool to study it. New racism puts on a benevolent facade and acts as the brave bearer of truth who dares to speak of problems that the 'loony lefties' try to hide behind their political correctness. Therefore, nowadays, journalists tend to criticise human rights groups, liberals and anti-racists as the roots of the problems with ethnic minorities and portray politicians and others who are anti-immigration and pro forced assimilation as the righteous warriors who try to speak the obvious truth but are silenced by the cowardly who would rather hide behind their ideals than act.

Hall's (2003) inferential racism is very similar to this but it is not completely the same. For him racism is inferential when it does not propagate racist or extreme rightwing ideas but strengthens or reinforces negative, or even positive stereotypes like black people are good at

sports, or Eastern European people have good work ethic. For him these positive stereotypes are just as bad as negative ones since they limit the social spheres where the participation of these ethnic minorities is widely acceptable for the majority and forces these groups into tiny boxes from which breaking out can be excruciatingly hard.

This change in racism in the media happened in Hungary too but very differently because of the historical background. During the socialist era the media was remote controlled by the state and therefore it only served as a tool in the hand of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. After the régime change the media went through a major metamorphosis naturally. Politically correct speech and discourse slowly tiptoed into the Hungarian newspapers and only radical rightwing papers operated with old racism, or what Gimes et al (2008, 2009) call active prejudice. However, during the past five or six years a change has occurred in Hungary that goes against the international trend in the racial discourse. Extreme rightwing ideas started to gain ground and that has had an effect even on the mainstream quality media. According to Gimes et al (2008, 2009) active prejudice is getting more and more prevalent and not just in radical media outlets or websites, but in broadsheet papers too, which means that they openly propagate ideas that would have been only propagated by extremist newspapers even just ten years ago. These concepts of racism and racist discourse combined are used in this thesis to give a foundation to the CDA that has been conducted.

East and West in the Press

However, since this study is not solely a racism study, other theories were used too. As it has been already mentioned in the methodology chapter, discourse about the role of the European Union and the clashes between East and West is very prevalent in the articles about the expelling of the Roma from France. With the Eastern and Central Eastern European (CEE) countries joining the EU and the Schengen Agreement that provides completely uninterrupted and free movement, now from Hungary to Portugal, several problems like the 'Roma issue'

that used to be localised one that had to be addressed on a national level have become international, but at the least EU wide that cries for a international overarching solution. Therefore the general and political discourse about East and West since the collapse of the iron curtain has to be examined also. As Attila Melegh (2006:189) puts it:

“[...] the East–West slope is a dominant discourse for the articulation of identities and political programs and the creation of institutions in the struggle for control and/or social or political recognition. It appears in almost all areas of social and political life: individual careers, family life, institutional frameworks, scholarly works and major global political programs, and it creates a web of discursive arrangements “normalizing” our lives in the latest phase of world capitalism.”

As Melegh (2006) argues, the East-West divide was supposed to disappear in the world-wide discourse about the countries of the former Eastern Bloc after market capitalism and democracy figuratively exploded in the CEE countries. However, instead of the dissolution of this divide, paradoxically its rehashing occurred:

“Central to this discourse is the interpretation of the events of 1989 and the subsequent social and political development presenting a hope/chance for a “return to normalcy.” Here normalcy means the “West,” a combination of ideals such as “diversity,” “freedom,” “democracy” and “market economy,” This “Europeanization,” prescribing radical “westernization” and “normalization,” supposedly meant the end of a distinct “Eastern” category in Europe, or at least the rapid evaporation of its unpleasant connotations and a gradual “reintegration” of Europe. But paradoxically, at least in the short run, this “normalization” has led to extremely “abnormal” and partly unexpected disintegrative tendencies around the shifting borders of “Europe (Melegh 2006:1).”

This discourse between the clashes of East and West, the identity creating power that it has and the conflicts that the East-West slope causes in the political and media discourse is one of the paramount theme in the articles I have analysed combined with the debate on the role of the EU in solving the 'Roma issue' on an international scale. Thus Melegh's (2006) findings about the discourse on the East-West slope are a good starting point for the purposes of this thesis.

Methodology

Mapping out the discourse about a certain topic is always a tricky task. One has to keep in mind several things, his or her internalised opinions and the different language types used by different news outlets. However there are several well defined and widely used methods in news text analysis that can be used as great tools to identify different types of discourses and read between the lines, so to speak, in order to unearth the hidden meanings, subtle hints and background agendas behind the stories that had been deemed newsworthy by the gatekeepers, in other words, journalists (Walker 1985; Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1998, 2003; Bell 1998; van Dijk 2004). Tools like content analysis, semiotic analysis and discourse analysis are all very capable methods to help the sociologist in the aforementioned endeavour. Since my chosen topic is one that involves topics that are highly discursive, such as ethnicity, racism or the clashes between East and West, I found that critical discourse analysis would be the best way to analyse the news texts I had chosen.

The two Countries

I have chosen the British and Hungarian media because of the immense contrast between the two countries. The Roma give the biggest ethnic minority in Hungary. There are no exact statistics about their numbers but it is assumed, based on sociological and demographic studies that their numbers are between 600,000 and 800,000 which means that 6 or 8 per cent of the Hungarian population is of Roma origins. On the other hand, in the UK the estimated number of the Traveller group is between 200,000 and 300,000 which makes them a tiny minority that gives about less than half per cent of the population. In Hungary the majority of the Roma population lives in deep poverty and absolute deprivation, mostly in segregated settlements, especially in Eastern Hungary and other countryside areas (Solt 2009; O'Higgins & Ivanov 2006; Mizsei 2006; Kocsis & Kovács 1991; Kertesi 2005; Kemény 2000; Dupcsik

1997; Domokos & Herczeg 2010).

In the UK Traveller communities mostly belong to the upper segment of the working class or the lower segments of the middle class (Cadger 2009). Despite of these differences, the negative racial stereotypes are just as strong against the Traveller/Gypsy community in the UK as against the Roma population in Hungary (Dencső & Sik 2007; Enyedi, Fábián & Sik 2004; Tóth & Turai 2003; Richardson 2005; Csepli & Örkény 1996). However, the contrast between the situation of the two groups is still staggering. Furthermore, the UK is an old member of the EU and the OECD and having not had a socialistic, communist era it is far richer than Hungary. The gross domestic product (GDP) per capita rate of the OECD countries shows that very well, where the UK ranks as the 18th and Hungary as the 30th out of the 34 member countries based on their GDP per capita (OECD 2011). Lastly, the United Kingdom is a country where capitalism and democracy developed organically during hundreds of years and this development has never been broken or suspended by dictatorships. Hungary, on the contrary, is a country where democracy did not exist until the 1990s and where capitalism was virtually absent for more than four decades. Because of these factors, there is a huge democratic deficit and a hiatus in people's understanding of the workings of the modern market economy. These have all led to severe disappointment in the régime change which has also led to prejudice, racism and negative stereotypes against ethnic minorities, especially the Roma (Dencső & Sik 2007; Enyedi, Fábián & Sik 2004; Tóth & Turai 2003).

Analysed Newspapers

I chose four newspapers to analyse their articles on the aforementioned issue; two broadsheet or quality newspapers from Hungary and also two from England. From Hungary I chose Népszabadság, as a leftwing newspaper, and Magyar Nemzet as a rightwing newspaper, because these still have the highest circulation numbers amongst quality papers.

Népszabadság has a circulation number around 67,000 and Magyar Nemzet's circulation is around 47,000 (Matesz 2011).

From the UK I chose The Guardian as a leftwing paper and The Daily Telegraph as a rightwing paper, also based on their circulation which is around 280,000 for The Guardian and 650,000 for The Telegraph (ABC 2011). I wanted to include left and rightwing newspapers in my analysis to cover the whole spectrum of the media discourse about this topic instead of only one segment of it, since these papers display very different political and social opinions. Although the left and rightwing classification of the newspapers can be based on different aspects in the two countries, these newspapers still have several similarities with their equivalents from the other country that makes it possible to group them based on these criteria and then compare or contrast them based on these similarities. Népszabadság and The Guardian are fairly liberal, pro-EU, pro-immigration and pro-human rights newspapers, whilst Magyar Nemzet and The Daily Telegraph represents the other side of the political spectrum with their EU scepticism, tough stance on immigration and crime and their critical stance towards the 'dogmatic' 'fundamentalist' liberal approach to human rights (van Dijk 1998; Gimes et al 2008, 2009).

Research Timeframe and Articles

I chose a two-month timeframe to collect my sample because I found during my research that August and September of 2010 were the two months when the topic was the hottest in the two countries' media. I collected 80 articles from Hungary and 40 articles from England. I included every article in my sample that was concerned with my chosen topic even if the deportations were not the main topic within the article but they were mentioned. I did not rule out editorials or letters to the editor either since, according to van Dijk (1998), editorials and letters of readers are very good indicators of the newspapers stance on given issue and they are also very useful when one tries to unearth the subtle hidden messages that signal the

approach of given newspaper to the examined news story.

During the analysis of these articles I managed to divide them into groups based on their stance on the issue and the main themes and aspects that appeared in them. I found that there were four main aspects that could be used as organising principles in my sample: clashes between East and West, the role of the European Union in resolving the 'Roma Issue', the emphasis of criminal activities amongst migrant groups and racism. Obviously most articles touched on all of these aspects of the case but the emphasis on them differed vastly based on country, newspaper and the political stance of the media outlet. After having divided the articles in my sample I was able to apply critical discourse analysis (CDA) to them in order to map out the media discourse surrounding the “repatriation”.

Critical Discourse Analysis

I chose CDA instead of content analysis for several reasons. Content analysis, as opposed to CDA, is a quantitative method which focuses on keywords as codes and then through the coding process draws up the findings. Since I was more interested in the discourse and racism in the chosen newspapers and I managed to identify several discursive themes that were prevalent in the newspapers, it seemed self-evident to choose CDA as my method. Furthermore, I also had to take language into consideration. When translating, even the tiniest differences in the connotations of words in two different languages can count, especially in sociological inquiry. Therefore it was a lot easier and it fit the research a lot better to identify discursive themes and analyse those.

The speciality of critical discourse analysis is that in CDA “*the link between texts and society/culture is seen as mediated by discourse practices*” (Fairclough 1998:144; 2003). Therefore there are several stages during the analysis of text that have to be followed and were followed by me during my analysis. First of all the text has to be analysed, then the analysis of discourse practices of text production, distribution and consumption has to be

conducted, and lastly the social and cultural practices have to be taken into account since these give the context to the analysed text (Fairclough 1998:144; 2003). During the first stage of the analysis, as described by Fairclough, one has to look for prevalent themes in the text, signifiers, metaphors, patterns and definers or agents that have a huge effect on how the story is constructed and delivered to the consumers. In the second part of the analysis one has to examine the way events become news stories based on the given newspaper's notions of newsworthiness. However, the distribution and the consumption of the news text have to be taken into account too. The newspapers that I analysed all have a well defined target audience that has certain habits when it comes to news consumption. If one wants to discover the full picture, the habits of the consumption of the target audience have to be considered too. The socioeconomic status of the target group is just as important as the aforementioned factors.

The newspapers that I chose are all quality or broadsheet papers; therefore their target audience is very similar to one another in the socioeconomic sphere. However, their political stance and ideological background vastly differ from each other so it can be assumed that their target groups are well distinguishable and they interpret given news stories differently. Finally, for Fairclough (1998, 2003), it is very important not to ignore the social practices that frame discourse practices because, even though discourse practices shape, change and reinforce social systems and structures, it also draws upon these social systems and structures when produced.

Since these papers differ vastly in their ideals and ties, a comparison between their reportage on the aforementioned issue is more than edifying. There are several enormous differences between these four newspapers that I identified during my critical discourse analysis, but also several meeting points where their opinions meet, or become even identical.

Empirical Chapter

The discourse about crime and the role of racism

Use of definers and their opinions and the use of headlines

First and foremost let us take a look at the definers used by the newspapers to get information from, and the discursive strategies they use to emphasise or discredit certain definers' opinions in line with their political stance.

Not surprisingly, all analysed newspapers mostly use high ranking officials and politicians in their articles which definitely shows that this polemic about the expelling of the Roma is an elite discourse in the media, mainly defined by upper middle class or upper class white male politicians both on the national and international level (van Dijk 1993). There are very few articles where actual Roma people are interviewed or asked about their opinion on their deportation back to Romania and Bulgaria. During the two months I have analysed, there was only one article that was solely based on remarks made by Roma people who had just returned to Romania, and two articles with leaders of Roma civil rights groups in Népszabadság, and two articles in The Guardian where they made a portrait of deported families and a couple of others where they used Roma rights activists as definers. All other articles are based on the elite discourse of national politicians, members of the European Parliament (MEPs) and commissioners of the EU. The information that makes the story valid and reliable is dominated by the opinions of President Sarkozy, Brice Hortefeux, Bernard Kouchner, Michèle Alliot-Marie, Emil Boc, José Manuel Barroso, Viviane Reading and other national and EU politicians.

Since the emphasis in these leftwing papers is definitely on the racist, discriminative, xenophobic and anti-immigration aspects of President Sarkozy's new policies towards the Eastern European Roma immigrants and 'foreign rooted' French citizens; Sarkozy's reasons - in other words, rise of crime in the country, high crime rates around the illegal Roma camps

and the riots that followed police actions in neighbourhoods populated by Africans, Arabs or the newly arrived Eastern European Romas - are usually questioned, mocked, criticised or presented with scorn. Both leftwing newspapers emphasise the official opinions that criticise the methods of the French government and the opinions and remarks of French politicians who try to emphasise the illegality of the camps and the high crime rates are downplayed, questioned and many times mocked. This can be clearly seen in the adjectives, patterns and formulas that The Guardian uses for example:

“[...] the French have demolished scores of Roma encampments and expelled nearly 1,000 members of the community, attracting string criticism from the Vatican, the United Nations, rights groups and opposition leaders in France. The Sarkozy policy has also split his own cabinet.”¹

This formula, in other words the collection of the groups and organisations that had criticised the policies implemented by Sarkozy, is a very frequently reoccurring one. The same one, or some slightly different version of it, can be found in most of the articles that report on the expulsions. Formulas or patterns like this are very prevalent in The Guardian and Népszabadság. They repeat the names of serious and respected organisations that criticise France over and over, thus discrediting the policy and its advocates at the same time.

This is one of the basic discursive strategies that are used by all analysed newspapers to get their message through. They question, mock and discredit the definers' opinions if it goes against the ideologies given newspaper holds as important. This can be clearly seen if we just take a look at the headlines of the articles in Népszabadság: *'Roma Shuffle'*, *The Roma are Unwanted Everywhere*, *'Have the Ideas of the Extreme Right Reached the Élysée?'*, Or if we take a look at headlines in The Guardian: *'Populism fear for France as Roma expelled'*, *'No one wants us. No place for us – not in Romania and not in France'*, *'EU official likens Roma deportations to France's war treatment of Jews'*, *'Kick France out of the EU'*, *'Shame of a*

¹ September 8th 2010

continent', 'Europe's pariahs'. These headlines all emphasise the racial bias and counter productivity of Sarkozy's policies and question their motives. Furthermore, even when the headline is not critical, the subheadings in Népszabadság usually bring in some negative aspect of the deportations: *'Fingerprints are recorded so the aid is not claimed twice', 'Even the French have become censorious about the government's Roma policies', 'EU commissioners: no minority can be stigmatised', 'Harsh debate at the EU meeting about the deportations'*. All these headlines and subheadings ignore or question crime as the root of the deportation policies, put discrimination and the disregard for EU policies in the nucleus of the debate and accusing Sarkozy with trying to elevate his poll rating through these populist measures.

Magyar Nemzet and The Daily Telegraph used the same definers as the leftwing newspapers but from a vastly different stance. They more or less accept the reasons given by the French government for the deportations and emphasise the crimes and riots committed by the African, Arab and Roma immigrants in France.

These aspects are mirrored in their headlines and subheadings: *'Notorious French can be Deported', 'Fortress Europe Collapsing', 'Roma are being Sent Home', 'Right to Safety', 'Paris demands right to safety', 'More and More Immigrants commit Crimes', 'The Romanians are Worried by the Deportations', 'Leftwing Crossfire', 'Merkel in the Footsteps of Sarkozy', 'There are legal limits to the Freedom of Movement'*. These articles are about the same events as the ones in Népszabadság and The Guardian but they clearly emphasise a different aspect, a different take on them.

The Daily Telegraph's use of definers is not as similar to Magyar Nemzet's as Népszabadság's reportage to The Guardian. They are much more subtle and less blunt than Magyar Nemzet. However, the two rightwing papers take Sarkozy's reasoning about being tough on crime on face value and they are a lot less critical with the French methods than the leftwing media. The racial and discriminatory aspects of the story are downplayed in the

articles and minority criminality is overemphasised. When racism or xenophobia gets mentioned it is usually there to mock civil rights NGOs and the leftwing parties both in France and in the European Parliament.

Several examples of discrediting definers can be brought up about from the reportage of Magyar Nemzet to show that they have no problems with the French policy, they only have problems with the double standards of the EU who strongly criticises CEE countries for being racist but turns a blind eye to the French policy, at least till the end of August. That can be traced in articles where they draw up a portrait of Viviane Reding, the vice-president of the European Commission, who became the strongest critic of the French expulsion policy after the memo had been leaked. They placed the portrait article right under another article about the row between the EU and France about the expulsions. The headline reads: *'The woman in the red dress'*, and they placed a caricature of Reding in the middle of the article. The bold introduction reads:

“Who is this European Commissioner lady, who managed to peak the tension between the leaders of the European Union and France with her outraged comments, moreover lies? Viviane Reding is an old piece of furniture in Brussels.”²

It is absolutely clear that the journalist tries to discredit Reding in this article. He calls her a liar and, even though he acknowledges her merits, the whole article portrays the commissioner as a renegade strongman of the EU who probably had only been appointed by the Prime Minister of Luxembourg several times in a row only because Jean-Claude Juncker was afraid that she could not be handled at home.

The caricature also gives a ridiculing, scornful undertone to the article. Through these measures Magyar Nemzet discredits the biggest opponent of Sarkozy in the EU, whilst on the other hand; they interview the French ambassador of Hungary a couple of days later in a very respectful and supporting manner. René Roudaut, the ambassador, naturally backs the French

² September 18th 2010

government's policy and the newspaper does nothing to question that. The half a page interview is accompanied by a picture of him in the middle that shows him in a suit and gives the impression of a man that has to be taken seriously. The headline says: *'There are legal limits to the freedom of movement'* and underneath the bold summary says:

“France continues to dismantle the illegal camps. René Roudaut [...] told us that these are measures that completely meet the norms of France and Europe. About the critics of the expulsion of the Roma the diplomat noted that it is easier to be critical when one is not affected by the problem.”³

The journalist who conducted the interview also asks questions that favour the French like: *“Leaders of countries that do not have a Gypsy population are the most critical with the measures of Paris. Is this not a hypocritical reaction?”* The ridiculing of Reding and the friendly approach to a French official summarises very well the stance of Magyar Nemzet on the issue. They sympathise with the measures Paris had taken, especially because they would like to see Hungary taking similarly firm steps to integrate the biggest minority group on the continent and in Hungary.

Othering the Roma

Othering the Roma ethnic group is a phenomenon that occurs in all four newspapers. This othering can happen both through positive and negative stereotyping. The Guardian and Népszabadság usually cannot sidestep the pitfall of positive stereotyping. They try to be sympathetic towards the deportees, but during that process they tend to focus on the differences between the majority and the minority just as much as the rightwing papers. For instance, there are several pieces in The Guardian that is aimed at sparking empathy towards the deportees such as the following:

³ September 23rd 2010

“It would be a bitter irony if Europeans as a whole cannot find a way to reconcile their cherished right to free movement with a community of their fellow citizens whose one great sin is a tendency to move freely.”⁴

It is clear that this article criticises the French policy and it tries to spark empathy towards the Roma, but it also highlights aspects of the events that can be conceived as positive stereotyping and othering. By focusing on the different, nomadic, lifestyle of Europe’s Roma population it distances the Roma from the majority. It also disregards the differences between the Travellers of Western Europe and the Roma of Eastern Europe. Travellers tend to lead a nomadic life in the UK and in France, travelling around the country with trailers. However, the Roma populations in CEE countries were usually forcefully settled down by the socialist state, hence they live mostly in segregated villages and town parts without travelling (Domokos & Herczeg 2010; Kemény 2000).

There are several other aspects in the reportage of Népszabadság and The Guardian that shows that the newspapers are following the ideals of political correctness and that they are very critical about the deportations which they consider unlawful, racially biased and politically motivated. Népszabadság and The Guardian mostly use the word ‘Roma’ to identify the subjects of the news stories. This is especially important in the case of Hungary where the word ‘Cigány’ (Gypsy) has several negative connotations and stereotypes attached to it, therefore ‘Roma’ has become the politically correct term to signify this ethnic group. Népszabadság also firmly distinguishes between the Roma from CEE countries and the Roma population of Spain that they call Gypsies, or the similar population of France which they call gens du voyage, in other words travellers or nomads.

The othering comes in when the newspapers discuss the lifestyle of the Travellers and when they bring up positive examples about Roma integration in different countries. The articles mention several positive examples for Roma integration in the European Union such as Spain, Austria or Sweden. According to the articles the integration programmes were very

⁴ September 16th 2010

successful in these countries and the Roma population settled down and live on a lower middle class, upper working class level. However, through these articles they suggest that settling the Roma down is the only solution to the problem, thus portraying the majority's lifestyle as normal and the Roma, nomadic lifestyle as outdated.

On the other hand the two rightwing newspapers and especially Magyar Nemzet uses the word Gipsy far more often than Népszabadság and they do not distinguish the new-comers that firmly from the travellers, nomads and Gipsies of France or other European countries. Furthermore, they emphasise the problems with the gens du voyage and the resemblance between the problems with the travellers who are French citizens and the Roma from the CEE countries (criminal lifestyle, travelling, unemployment etc.). Through these discursive strategies they label the Roma as the other and move the direction of the debate towards the racialisation of crime.

The role of crime and the ethnicisation of crime

Crime plays a huge part in the media discourse about the deportations, since the French government used the claimed rise of crime rates around Roma encampments and the race riots in Saint-Aignan and Grenoble to justify their policy of immediate dismantling of camps and expulsion of the Eastern European Roma back to Romania and Bulgaria. The four analysed newspapers are quite divided in the way they adjudge Sarkozy's reasons for the expulsions. The leftwing papers question the honesty of the reasons the French government gave and emphasise Sarkozy's dropping popularity and the economic problems of France that led the government to implement austerity measures that caused outrage in the French general public and led to general strikes and protest all over the country.

On the other hand, the rightwing papers do not question the criminal aspect of the case; moreover they use several techniques to magnify it. Therefore the ethnicisation of crime as a discursive strategy is very prevalent in Magyar Nemzet and it can be traced in The Daily

Telegraph too. They bring up the riots that sparked the government reaction several times and Magyar Nemzet even mixes in 'Gypsy criminality', a highly controversial expression, and the problems with the gens du voyage and 'foreign rooted' people in France. Thus they blur the borderlines between the problems of crime, immigration, integration of minorities who had been living in France for a long time and the newly arrived Roma people. They lump together these very different problems only because they have one thing in common, they involve ethnic minorities.

Magyar Nemzet ethnicises crime through these measures and The Daily Telegraph are not far from doing this either. For instance, Magyar Nemzet draws up a parallel between the criminality of the CEE Roma, who freshly arrived to France, and the lifestyle of the gens du voyage who live a nomad life with trailers pulled by “*expensive cars*” that nobody knows how they were able to afford. Thus they emphasise the shadiness of this group and link the two groups together even though they have very few things in common.

The Telegraph uses same measures when they write the following under the headline: *'What else should Sarko have done?'*

“On the subject of tolerance, I start to feel sorry for poor old Sarko, being lambasted by the EU for his popular policy [...] of expelling illegal immigrants who happen to be Roma gypsies. For years, a visitor to Paris leaving the Eurostar terminal has faced the choice of running the gauntlet of Roma muggers at Gare du Nord in heading for the taxi rank, or braving their gangs of organised pickpockets on the Metro. What is gained by pretending this isn't happening? I know Sarko is desperate for ways to improve his standing, but enforcing the law on immigration and dealing with pernicious street crime by paying often criminal illegals to go home seems a remarkably sensible and humane way of governing.”⁵

In this editorialising piece that was published days after the real scandal had broken out because of the leaked memo that made it clear that the French authorities targeted the Roma collectively, the author more or less summarises the stance of the two rightwing papers. The

⁵ September 18th 2010

Sarko nickname and the adjectives he uses sparks empathy for the French president and the way he describes the row between him and the EU makes the reader think that Sarkozy is a lost small man being bashed by the EU bullies. On the other hand he completely ignores the consequences of the leaked memo and the portrayal of his experiences with the Roma in Paris suggests that the whole CEE Roma population of France are criminals.

Also, as it can be seen from the above quote, they present critics of Sarkozy's policy as people who turn a blind eye to the real problems of the real world and who are not willing to step out of their lefty liberal comfort zone. Basically they state that people who criticise this policy are just pretending that the problem does not exist. This connects the discursive strategy of discrediting definers and the ethnicisation of crime clearly together, since one of them is used to strengthen the other.

On the contrary to that, both Népszabadság and The Guardian put the emphasis on the racialising nature of the French policy and accuse Sarkozy with ethnicising crime and taking a law and order approach to boost his ratings. They portray the policy as going against the freedom of movement, which is one of the basic rights and cornerstones of the EU according to them. They never try to ridicule Reding or any other critics of the policy but they emphasise the hardships and troubles the Roma face in France (and Italy) when they arrive and their situation in their own countries, where they are being forced to go back to, that is beyond hope. The Guardian gives a couple of portraits of Roma families who had been expelled back to Romania where they vividly describe their situation which is basically deep poverty, squalor and utter hopelessness. The interviewees tell the newspaper that, even though France was not an easy place to live and get by somehow, but at least they were able to make enough money to eat and their children could go to school which is not always the situation in Romania. Hence, the racialisation of crime is a discursive strategy that is absent in both leftwing newspapers.

Piggy-back stories and editorial techniques

All four newspapers use the technique of auxiliary or piggy-back stories to highlight the aspects of the events they want the reader to focus on. I call a story auxiliary or piggy-back when it is placed in a small box right underneath the main article with a clear separation from it but without a separate headline, or when it has a separate headline but it emphasises a certain aspect of the original story in the reader.

The Guardian and Népszabadság placed articles around the main story that are about discriminatory policies against the Roma or other minorities in France or other countries like Slovakia. For example, The Guardian published an article about France banning the wearing of veil for Muslim women in public places right next to the article about the Roma deportations and Népszabadság published a small piece without separate headline about walls being built in Slovakia around segregated parts of towns where only Roma people live so the majority do not have to see them and they are 'protected' from them. Since both of these policies can be seen as racist, the auxiliary article strengthens the message that the newspapers try to communicate. Népszabadság uses these techniques several times which makes their criticisms towards Sarkozy's policies much more emphatic and highlights their alleged counterproductive nature. Also, both newspapers mix news stories about the deportation with other stories about the popularity of the president and the economic state of France. They do this to argue that Sarkozy only uses this scandal about the deportations to divert the attention of the French public from the unavoidable austerity measures that the government had to implement, and to gain some popularity with the only message that he really knows and that had gained huge popularity for him in the past: law and order.

Magyar Nemzet also uses auxiliary stories as a discursive strategy. However, they did not publish piggy-back stories on racism or negative examples about the failure of Roma integration in different countries. They embedded articles that are concerned with the problems of immigration and other countries that might follow Sarkozy's lead and start expelling Roma immigrants. Thus, for instance, they printed an article about the high level of

immigrants all over the EU and especially in Britain, and another one about Germany where they argue that Chancellor Merkel might follow Sarkozy's lead and start repatriating the Roma en masse.

Clashes between East and West

The media discourse about the deportation of the Roma from France has several levels in the four newspapers and it is very multifaceted. There are several breaking-points between the British and the Hungarian media on almost all of these levels. The main themes that are discussed in these chapters can be discovered in all newspapers no matter which country they are from, but their standpoint and stance on the issues are very varied and diverse. The third and fourth biggest themes, after crime and racism, of the media discourse about the French crackdown on the Roma camps and the 'repatriation' of these Romanian and Bulgarian citizens of the European Union, is the role of the EU in solving the 'Roma issue' by developing integration programmes; and the divide between East and West, in other words what Melegh (2006) calls the East-West slope.

The divide between the former Eastern Bloc and the old Western democracies is palpable in the analysed articles, especially in the rightwing media in both countries. However, it is far the strongest in Magyar Nemzet which I have chosen as the representative of the Hungarian quality, in other words not tabloid, rightwing journalism. As it has been discussed in my theoretical framework, Attila Melegh (2006) argues that after the Iron Curtain had collapsed the divide between East and West was supposed to disappear, whilst the countries that belonged to the former Soviet sphere of interest were supposed to slowly become members of the West through developing their democratic constitutions, implementing human rights and putting down the fundament of a free market economy. However, even though the Cold War ended and the East had become very similar to the West on the surface, the East-West slope did not disappear, it just transformed. The West still means the 'normal' and the 'example' that

Eastern countries should aspire to mimic.

The case of the expelled Roma gives a great opportunity to explore the East-West slope discourse in the European media since it stirred up something between the old and new EU countries and shone a light on a huge problem that suddenly became EU wide after having been a national problem for the Eastern countries for decades; a problem that they were not able to deal with or find any kind of real solution for. The internationalisation of the so-called 'Roma issue' brought up several problems within the political sphere of the EU and it definitely generated a clash between the East where the poor and deprived Roma immigrants came from and the West where they arrived in a hope of a better new life.

East and West as identity creating signifiers

The signifiers 'East' and 'West' are still very strong identity forming notions that have several connotations in which the West is usually the positive example and the East is a collective noun for countries that have a lot of westernisation to do before they can become 'normal' and fully accepted members of the EU, not just 'clumsy little siblings' who are slightly condemned by the big old brothers because they cannot or do not want to learn and completely implement their ways. Thus the East-West slope is still alive and well on every level of discourse in Europe; on the political level (the EU for example), on the social level and, naturally, in the media too (Melegh 2006).

This identity creating power of the East-West divide and the clashes it causes can be seen in the media discourse too where the British press, although subtly, but clearly blames the Eastern countries for being incapable of solving the issues of their own ethnic minorities and exporting their problems to the West, and in the Hungarian media, where clear resentment can be traced in the discourse towards the West and especially the EU for its silence when it comes to the treatment of the Roma by the French authorities.

Since the leftwing media in Hungary is very pro-EU, *Népszabadság* does not really

participate in blaming the supranational organisation for the lack of intervention on behalf of the deported Roma. On the other hand, Magyar Nemzet criticises the EU very harshly for not raising its voice against the 'repatriations'. This criticism is not based on a pro-immigration stance or on human rights. Magyar Nemzet does not criticise the EU because they think the methods of the French government is racist and goes against international and EU law. On the contrary, as it has been discussed, Magyar Nemzet accepts the reasons of the French for the deportations and even sympathises with their struggles. The rightwing newspaper does not question the arguments that the illegal settlements had to be dismantled because of the rising crime rates and unsanitary conditions and squalor. However, they attack the silence of the European Union in the matter because they argue that there is a double standard when it comes to old EU member countries (the 'West') and their not so politically correct methods in dealing with minorities and new members of the EU (the 'East') when they try similarly harsh methods to solve the 'Roma issue'. Let us take a look at this excerpt from Magyar Nemzet that was published in early August when the deportations began:

“The war has begun though, with the dismantling of the first Gypsy camp. Interestingly, the EU seems to have gone blind, just like when Italy dismantled the Roma camps. “We have no say, they say, in how a country deals with people whose right of abode has expired.” The voice of the human rights fighters is quieter this time. If one would want to try to change the way of life of the Gypsies in Eastern-Europe by force, the Western liberal press would be in uproar, accusing the given country with racial hatred”⁶

Or this other excerpt from the same article:

“If Europe, nonchalantly, was not willing to deal with the Roma issue, now they will: one of the founding members of the Union, Paris, has grown impatient because of the belatedly recognised problem. This problem will hardly be solved in peace. As if they had only realised that there are 10 million Gypsies on the continent. The French media is full with articles about the dire situation of the Roma in different Eastern-European countries. Beginning with the wall in the Czech Republic, the “hunger riots” in

⁶ August 7th 2010

Slovakia, the overpowering racism in our country against which only the foreign land can protect them; they can even pay attention to things like that the Gypsies from Sophia are different than the others. They did recognise something though, that this is a European problem which can show up anywhere with the dismantling of the borders.”⁷

These quotations show the direction of the rightwing media discourse about this issue very well. The East-West slope is right there with great resentment towards the EU. From the articles of Magyar Nemzet a picture emerges where the belittled Central Easter-European (CEE) countries are attacked and battered by the Western liberal press and the institutions of the EU when they do not follow the supposed Western ways, but where the West is allowed to do anything to solve similar issues because the same institutions who criticise the 'East' will turn a blind eye to the same measures if they are taken by France or any other country that belongs to their own 'pack', the 'West'.

Central Eastern-Europe as a 'Partium' of the EU

The other theme that can be clearly traced in articles from Hungary, and that can be found in Népszabadság too, is a certain level of gloating over the fact that the, hitherto localised Eastern 'Roma issue', has become international and EU wide with the 'East' joining the Schengen Agreement. The hopes that emerge in the articles are twofold; firstly they hope that the EU will draw up programmes to integrate the more than 10 million Roma of the continent, and secondly, and that is especially true about the right side of the media spectrum in Hungary, they hope that the EU will finally realise and see that liberalism, human rights groups, anti-racism and politically correct speech will not lead us anywhere and instead of resolving the issue they just deepen it. This fits well into the rightwing media discourse about the problems with immigration and ethnic minorities in Europe that has been discussed previously in this chapter and that can be well circumscribed with van Dijk's (2000), Hall's

⁷ August 7th 2010

(2003) and Gimes et al's (2008, 2009) classification of the types of racism that can be observed in the media.

On the other hand, the British media, and the Western definers that they use tend to blame the CEE countries for the escalation of the 'Roma issue'. The idea that the former socialist countries export their problems to the West is quite common amongst the politicians who commented on the 'repatriations' on behalf of France and their opinion mainly remains unchallenged by any kind of discursive strategy. Several articles mention, especially by quoting French officials, that Eastern-European countries should aspire towards solving the problems of their ethnic minorities on their own soil instead of exporting the issue to Western countries that are better off and hope that the problem will simply disappear. Both The Guardian and The Daily Telegraph give voice to these concerns of Western politicians. Let us examine the words of Eric Besson, the French immigration minister, quoted by The Guardian:

“Targeting the Romanian government, Besson argued that no country in the EU could forfeit its welfare duties and *dump* [emphasis by me] its citizens on another member state. Lellouche [the French Europe minister] said that France contributed €5bn net a year to the EU budget while Romania received €4bn, but spent a mere 0.4% of that on its large Gypsy minority.”⁸

This type of discourse that handles the CEE region as very different and somewhat separate part of the EU; as a Partium which is part of the EU but does not really fit in with the West, is very prevalent, especially on the French side. It is clear from this paragraph that the East-West slope appears strongly in the mind of the definers and agents.

First of all, the two French ministers suppose some kind of intentionality on the Romanian, or Easter-European side of the issue by stating that they dump their citizens on other member states. Second of all, they deepen the divide between Eastern and Western countries by emphasising the differences in financial contribution to the EU. Sentences like

⁸ September 1st 2010

this sharpen the antagonisms between the richer and older EU members and the younger, poorer ones. Lellouche did not just patronise Romania by stating these numbers but also criticised it for not spending the money they get from the EU adequately. Also, this discourse turns certain EU citizens into second-rate citizens because it suggests that when someone, coming from a poorer EU country, tries to settle down in France only means that his or her own country is dumping him/her on a richer one.

From these excerpts, comments and editorialising pieces it can be seen that the East-West slope is still alive and well both in the media and the political sphere. The divide between East and West did not disappear, it has only changed. Melegh's (2006) findings about the identity forming powers of this discourse and its prevalence in political struggles still stand. On one hand, both the Hungarian rightwing and leftwing media urge the EU to intervene and try to solve the problems of integration. Furthermore, the rightwing media harshly criticises the EU for not helping but bluntly criticising the East from the foxhole of liberalism and political correctness when CEE countries try to deal with their Roma minorities, but they pretend to be deaf and turn a blind eye when a Western country does the same. These critical voices are especially strong in the articles of Magyar Nemzet in August. After the memo had become public and the EU got involved strongly through Viviane Reding the critical voice of Magyar Nemzet cooled down a bit but did not disappear completely.

On the other hand, the British press emphasised the opinions of the Western side and, even though their reportage showed several similarities with the Hungarian papers, they gave way to the idea that the Eastern countries export their welfare problems to the West dumping it on them so they do not have to deal with the deep poverty and squalor they keep the Roma minority in at home.

Conclusion and Main Findings

To conclude, it can be stated that there are several rupture lines between the newspapers I analysed. There are huge differences between The Guardian/Népszabadság and The Daily Telegraph/Magyar Nemzet, but there are also other divisions that became clear during my analysis. There are points where the two British papers have a lot more in common with each other than with their Hungarian counterparts. Furthermore, there are several issues and questions which divide the two leftwing and the two rightwing papers in their approach and ideological stance.

Crime and Race

If one takes a look at the first main theme, it is clear that the differences between reportage lies betwixt the left and the rightwing papers. Both The Guardian and Népszabadság approached the issue of criminality, as a main argument for the deportation, with caution and doubt. Although they mention it as Sarkozy's reason, but they always question it by emphasising other aspects that can be just as good reasons for the expulsions as rising crime rates. Hence, they mention the decreasing popularity of the French President and the worrisome economic situation of France that led to austerity measures. In their approach Sarkozy tries to boost his ratings and divert the attention of the public from the welfare cuts by pressing law and order as an overpowering topic to set the agenda towards a favourable direction for him. Even though they usually mention that the camps were built illegally and that most inhabitants exceeded the three months that they could stay in the country without papers, but they still emphasise the collective and ethnicising nature of the French policy that groups together the whole of the Roma immigrants as criminals and kicks them out of the country without individual deliberation.

They also try to induce empathy and sympathy towards the Roma through the pictures

they publish to accompany the articles and with emphasising the grave situation of the Roma both in France and in Romania/Bulgaria. The photographs usually show great squalor and poverty and broken people mostly with children. Whilst doing this, the leftwing papers sidestep the trap of racism almost completely. Some stereotypes pop up in the reportage and othering and romanticising the Roma is not foreign, especially to *Népszabadság*, but old/overt racism is definitely absent (van Dijk 2000; Hall 2003).

On the contrary to that, the rightwing media, and *Magyar Nemzet* particularly, take the reason of rising crime rates as the main reason for the deportations at face value. The problems with ethnic minorities within the EU and France and criminality within the camps and the neighbouring towns are emphasised with statistics and reports about race riots. They recognise the troublesome status of the Roma minority on the continent, but they portray their tendency towards criminality as a self-evident fact. Since they do not elaborate the connections between the socio-economic situation of the Roma and the crimes they commit (petty larceny, prostitution, begging), their criminality gets racialised in their reporting. They depict their nomadic way of life as unsuitable for the challenges of the 21st century and thus deviant, whilst they portray the way of life of the not Roma as normal and a lifestyle that the Roma population should aspire to implement.

East and West

When we examine the other two main themes (role of the EU and the East-West discourse) we find that the rupture line lies mainly between the two British and the two Hungarian newspapers. They all agree that the role of the EU, in the integration of the biggest minority in Europe, has to be strengthened and more money is needed to develop an EU wide Roma integration programme. However, there is a strong conflict between the British and the Hungarian press when it comes to responsibilities. *Népszabadság* is not too critical with the EU and its role in the events. They always emphasise that the Commissioners took actions

from very early on to monitor the French policy and this emphasis on EU criticisms gradually grows as the scandal breaks out about the leaked memo.

However, Magyar Nemzet takes a completely different approach and criticises the EU very firmly. Their main criticism lies in the East-West discourse explored by Melegh (2006). For them, the EU is a hypocritical organisation which treats the CEE members as second-rate countries that can be labelled and stigmatised as racist and less evolved in their ways of treating their minorities whilst France can do whatever it wants with the Roma. It has to be understood that this outrage is not rooted in the condemnation of the French policy; Magyar Nemzet is more than sympathetic towards the French in this whole issue. Their outrage is rooted in the double standards of the EU that leads to harsh criticisms when CEE countries try to integrate their Roma population and try to deal with the problems they cause, like crime; whilst they turn a blind eye when the West does the same thing. This outrage cools down by September when the real scandal broke out, but it never disappears completely.

Obviously, the British papers do not have this critical edge towards the EU. Their approach and stance is completely different. They emphasise the opinions of definers who clearly blame the Eastern countries for the escalation of the 'Roma issue' and give way to views that suggests that the East, instead of dealing with the problem on its own, exported their troubles to the West. The several editorialising reports and portrait articles that show the hopelessness of the situation of the Roma in Romania strengthens that view too. Their interviews with 'repatriated' families show a picture in which the Romanian government does nothing for the Roma minority which is the second biggest minority group in the country. The comments of French officials portray Romania as an EU member who only takes out from the pot but does not do anything to remedy the problems of the Roma and thus exporting it to the West. These arguments are turned even more bitter because of the effects of the economic crisis. Western countries had to cut back their welfare measures quite extensively and therefore they resent Romania for their lack of integration doubly.

The identity generating effect of East and West becomes clear through this media and political discourse. In this discourse the West is the breadwinner of the EU abused by the East, whereas for the East the West is the bully that tries to force its ways (liberalism, political correctness and too extensive interpretation of human rights) on the CEE countries while not knowing anything about the severity of their problems. Magyar Nemzet is empathic towards France because it interprets its situation as a Western country that finally sees the problems CEE countries had had to face for decades. On the other hand it is very critical with the EU, in other words the West, because, according to Magyar Nemzet it uses double standards.

In this whole East-West discourse Népszabadság is the odd one out. They do not criticise the EU or accusing it with having double standards. They do not blame the East either for exporting its problems, they simply acknowledge the fact that with the expansion of the EU, these problems were bound to surface sooner or later. They found the criticisms of the commissioners valid and they argue for an EU funded continent wide Roma integration programme that could deal with the problem in the long run. In this manner Népszabadság stands closer to the British media than Magyar Nemzet but, by not over-criticising Romania for their incompetence, Népszabadság takes a somewhat middle-ground in the discourse which is probably due to its leftwing, anti-racist and pro-EU stance which makes it friendly towards the West while still being part of the East.

Theoretical Implications

A lot has changed in the distribution and consumption of news since the 1980s. The rise of electronic media and the tabloids that dominate the public sphere altered the ways people consume news. However, quality journalism and broadsheets still play an important, although diminishing, role in news production. On the other hand, as far as theory goes, based on my analysis, not much has changed in the past two decades when it comes to the representation of ethnicity in the news or the differences between East and West (Hall 1978; van Dijk 2000,

1987, 1881, 1993, 2002, 2004; Melegh 2006; Barker 1981; Braham 1982; Coleman 2003; Ferguson 1998; Law 2002). The theories about racism in the press that I have presented in my theoretical chapters still stand. Broadsheet newspapers still have a tendency to ethnicise crime and depict minorities as the others. Prejudice in the British media is still very discursive and subtle, just as van Dijk argues (2000). However, in the rightwing Hungarian media prejudice boards on old racism and active prejudice.

Melegh's (2006) findings about the East-West discourse can only be strengthened by my findings too. The East and the West still have a great identity creating power and it is a divide that is clearly used by both the British and the Hungarian media. The two parts of the EU were clearly confronted with each other in the two countries' media and the row about immigration was led by this line of division.

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