

**SPINNING THE DISCOURSE FOR AMELIORATING
INTERETHNIC RELATIONSHIPS:
A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE “ALL DIFFERENT
ALL EQUAL” CAMPAIGN**

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Abstract

My research is an empirical study of the “All Different – All Equal” campaign, which was a large scale communication program. I use discourse analysis to assess (1) whether the campaign performed well as a PR discourse and (2) whether it was successful in creating a persuasive discourse. After the analysis of three main documents of the campaigns I concluded that the campaign did not succeed as PR discourse as it lacked the “PR identity” and in connection to that the measurement element of the PR process was missing. The answer to my second question is positive; the communication program used a discourse that was designed in a way that it was able to persuade a large number of citizens regardless of their political attitudes.

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1. Introduction

Since the rise of mass media, public relations (PR) techniques have often been used to strengthen interethnic cohesion. PR as a tool for building and ameliorating relationships served as the dominant communicative form of the complex process of nation-building in many well-documented cases. The examples of the use of PR for ethnic reconciliation projects can be cited from all over the world, like the Malaysian “Neighborliness Campaign” (Taylor 2000) or the European “All Different, All Equal” (ADAE) (e.g. Gorman 1996, Brander 2004, European Youth Foundation 2008) and “For Diversity. Against Discrimination.” (For Diversity. Against Discrimination. 2008) campaigns, each having an annual budget of dozens of millions of Euros. Despite the rich academic literature of prejudice, intercultural communication, public relations and nation-building, there is still no comprehensive social scientific theory in the field of nation-building/interethnic public relations. Given this under-researched nature of this field my thesis can not aim at creating an overarching theoretical framework or presenting an extensive evaluation of the whole field of the activity. In the first part of the thesis I deal with fundamental theoretical questions in order to be able to conceptually ground my empirical analysis. For both tasks I rely on the field of discourse analysis/discursive studies.

In the empirical analysis I examine the “All different – all equal” campaign using discourse analysis (DA). I’m interested in (1) whether the communication program performed well as a discourse of PR (2) whether it succeeded in creating a persuasive discourse. As I write from a political scientific point of view I mainly look for political functionings of the discourse in the analysis. In order to be able to answer these two questions first I define PR as multiple

interpretations of the activity exist. I perform this theoretical activity using two different angles: I deal with the definitions of public relations as a general activity then I switch to a more practical, campaign-oriented point of view and present different procedural models of PR programs. I then add the discursive element to the study: I examine what are the possible meeting points of PR and DA by first examining discursive PR as a potential emerging field then describing how interpretive theories are used, and can be used in public relations. I pay special attention to how discursive ideas as critical social theories can contribute to PR, and give an example of the PR-DA relationship: I describe the strengthening of organizational communication (the entering of PR into new fields, in this case interethnic-relationship amelioration) as the technologization of discourse. The second chapter includes the empirical analysis. First I describe the sources I use, then I situate my analysis in relation to different schools of DA in the “Methodology” subchapter.

The “Analysis” session includes several subchapters centered around main issues that I have spotted while analyzing the campaign. The first issues that I concentrate on are used to be able to answer my first question, so whether the communication program fits in the discursive genre of a “PR campaign”, whether it complies with its requirements. I examine the advertising-PR proportion, as there is no data in the campaign documentation that explicitly deals with this question this is already an analytical enterprise. I also consider the “identity” of the campaign, meaning the discursive and meta-discursive contents that situate it towards PR. To be able to answer my first question I address the issue of discursive output and outcome and the narrative of the reach of the communication program. I then proceed to search the answer for my second questions by mapping and analyzing the main discursive features that were used as tools of persuasion. I consider how the ideologies were used, what

the relation of the campaign's discourse is to racism, how the issue of difference was presented, what was the picture of the campaign on interethnic conflict and how was this picture used as a tool of persuasion. In the conclusion I sum up the findings of the subsections and answer the two questions.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Defining Public Relations

PR is in a dynamic relationship with classical social sciences like sociology, political science, or social psychology. Three major types of interaction can be spotted between social sciences and public relations. Social sciences (1) provide the intellectual technology, the know-how to design efficient PR programs, and they (2) critically analyze the role of PR in the community.¹ The third type of relationship (3) is when experiences of PR practice influence social sciences; when the analysis of PR practice helps in accumulating general social scientific knowledge. Thus my study relies on this tradition when I examine PR, more specifically to interethnic PR, from a political scientific point of view.

As PR has a wide range of self-definitions I have to specify which tradition of it I rely on. I. First I should not hide the conceptual plurality of it, that Hutton describes in negative term.

“From its modern beginnings early in this (the 20th) century, public relations has suffered from an identity crisis – largely of its own making. In terms both theory and practice, public relations has failed to arrive at a broadly accepted definition of itself in terms of its fundamental purpose, its dominant metaphor, its scope, or its underlying dimensions.” (Hutton 1999: 199). I doubt that this theoretical blurriness would be a feature that characterizes PR more than any other management science. Interdisciplinary fields as public relations naturally tend to be integrative and it would not be justified to require the same theoretical rigour and unambiguity from them as from classical, demarcated fields. I suppose that if we

¹ For example see the popular book on the social history of PR: Ewen 1996). Another fine example is the book entitled “Public Relations and Social Theory: Key Figures and Concepts“ (Ihlen – Ruler – Fredriksson 2009) that examines PR activity from the perspective of the oeuvre of Weber, Foucault, Beck, Luhmann, Habermas, Putnam, Giddens and many other influential social thinkers.

see the non-crystallized nature of the public relations definition in a historical context, then we face a much less serious problem than how it was presented in the above quote. PR was changing as its social context was doing so. Thus I should not be lost in the dozens of possible interpretations that the field had of itself, I should simply use the current dominant paradigm. Even naming the dominant paradigm involves somehow a value judgment, but I think this is not an extremely controversial issue, it is more or less clear what public relations is/was at certain periods.

A number of initiatives tried to typologize PR definitions to capture a theoretical common ground. The 'Defining Public Relations' wiki project identified some basic elements in various definitions: "relationship management", "reputation management", "serving the public interest", "strategic and tactical", "management function", "two-way symmetrical" (Flynn, Gregory and Valin 2009). After the recognition of these crucial elements they have created the following definition: "Public relations is the strategic management of relationships between an organization and its diverse publics, through the use of communications, to achieve mutual understanding, realize organizational goals, and serve the public interest." (Flynn, Gregory and Valin 2009). I think that the public interest element in this quote is a normative, not a descriptive one. (Hutton addressed this problem of PR definitions as being a usual one (1999)). I consider this to be a good working definition., but I think it is justified to leave out the "serving the public interest" part, as it is a much less common feature of PR campaigns than the other ones (see the critical approaches to PR in the further discussion about PR and public interest).

It is also possible to define PR from a procedural point of view: to analyze what are the common features of PR programs. Public Relations campaigns that follow the industry

standards (informally, or formally: in terms of compatibility with ISO² standards or criteria set by the professional bodies of the PR industry) are planned on multiple levels. The organization or group or person that the PR specialist or agency represents ideally possesses a strategic plan, a tactical plan and an action/campaign plan. The campaign level is the most relevant for me (as I analyze the ADAE campaign), but naturally any program can be seen in a broader strategic context too. The RACE model is one of the most used standards in the PR process (and in PR education); it entails Research, Action, Communication, Evaluation (the theory of Cutlip, Center, Broom paraphrased by Nyárády – Szeles 2005: 368-371). The meanings of most of these processes are quite banal. `Research` (R) designates the information gatherer function of public relations, it refers to PR as to the eye of the organization, as one of the main role of PR is to mediate between the represented and the society, which entail informing the represented regularly about its social/political context. The `Action` (A) part is about the planning of the activities/actions that are to be carried out (so it is designated by a slightly confusing term). The Communication (C) part is the actual practical work, the implementation of what was set out to be done before. Evaluation (E) is the activity of assessing the output and outcome using various social scientific tools. After the fourth phase the first one comes again, it is a circular process, as PR is by its nature a never-ending activity as the image of the represented is dynamic. There are alternatives to the RACE model, as the SMART one, composed of the words Scan, Map, Action, Roll-out, Track, proposed by John Ledingham at the conference of Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) (Nyárády, Szeles 2005: 372). The SPIN model includes Situation, Problem, Implication and Need pay off (Nyárády, Szeles 2005: 377). Even from this uncomplete list it is clear that there is no single protocol to follow in the industry, but also that there is pattern.

² International Organization for Standardization

The four main stages that the RACE model covers seems to be present (with some minor changes) in the other frequently used schemes.

2.2. Discursive Perspective

2.2.1. Discursive PR as a Possible Emerging Field

As it is not evident why a discourse analytical approach to PR is fruitful I elaborate in the following pages how these two fields are connected. Public relations (that can be perceived as part of the broad category of management sciences or as a professional field that uses scientific information as inputs)³ has been building up its own theories and research methods in the last century, but it still relies heavily on social sciences both conceptually and methodologically, and as an applied science it always needed time to incorporate findings of them. Interpretative social sciences had a long way to legitimize themselves. After they have been accepted in the social sciences some time was needed for their views and methods to infiltrate into public relations. Curtin and Gaither in their 2005 article published in the Journal of Public Relations Research write about “recent criticism leveled against dominant U.S. public relations theoretical perspectives. Critics charge that normative theories based on functional models of practice do not capture the dynamic characteristics of relationships and discursive nature of meaning, which form the core of public relations practice. Theory is needed that privileges the processes through which identities are made and contested and power differentials shift given situational variables to inform public relations practice in its

³Here I separated PR as a field from social sciences. I think when PR is depicted as a social science itself (for example as it was done when at the World Assembly of Public Relations Associations it was said that PR is "the art and social science of analyzing trends, predicting their consequences, counseling organizational leaders, and implementing planned programs of action, which will serve both the organization and the public interest." (Emerge Marketing and PR 2011)) then it is either literary a language that is used or it should be considered as a exaggeration that serves the high-positioning of the profession.

wide variety of forms.” (Curtin and Gaither 2005: 91-92). This quote shows that the discursive study of public relations as theory or as activity is not a common practice. Curtin and Gaither describe the organizational approach that they claim to be the dominant paradigm in the industry, and that mainly sees PR from the point of view of the management of a firm ignoring the broader, social perspective. The discursive point of view puts PR in a much more politicized position, where it should naturally become the subject of political scientific narratives. The possibility of the discursive turn is present in the analysis of the “standard case”, so for commercial PR, as public relations professionals working for for-profit companies do create meanings (relating to the products/services they communicate about, but in most case they do it in a way that strengthens some basic social/political beliefs in the society) that are politically analyzable. On the other hand public relations activity that aims to work for (pro)social goals (e.g. long-term interethnic peace) would fit in an even narrower frame-work of the political. I analyze interethnic PR from this political point of view relying on discursive theories to get a conceptual picture of the field (that is useful for the empirical analysis).

2.2.2. The Contours of the Field Of Discursive Interethnic PR

The Motion and Weaver approach to PR as a discursive practice fits well in my research as they state that “to establish, maintain, or transform hegemonic power, public relations discourse strategies are deployed to circulate ideas, establish advantageous relationships, and privilege certain truths and interests” (Motion-Weaver 2005: 53). I also rely on the thought that “clearly, public relations practitioners are central actors in these power/knowledge processes through their role as discourse technologists” (Motion-Leitch 2007: 9). The PR practitioner as discourse technologist is creating discursive nodes, important places, events in

the divided discursive space. They want to create meanings that dominate the discursive arena.

Social scientists who work in the field of discourse analysis or discourse theory are often interested in inequalities of power relations. For example it was a main concern in feminist theory (Mills 1997: 77-104) and colonial and post-colonial discourse theory (Mills: 1997: 105–130), one of Foucault's major interest was power/knowledge (Foucault 1980) and Fairclough also worked on power asymmetries when he analyzed interactional control features (like turn-taking, topic control, agenda setting) (Fairclough 1992). A traditional cleavage in the power structure of a society is the ethnic/racial one (if any); there is a long tradition of analyzing the role of communication in this power-struggle. In the beginning of the twentieth century when modern media effect research was in its very first wave, one of the main concerns was racial prejudice (McQuail 2003: 361). Later on the discursive perspective of communication and prejudice appeared too (see for example: Reisigl - Wodak 2001; or Wodak 2009).

The PR perspective of discourse underlines the communicative constitution of “objects” that – according to Foucault – are more formed by the “rules of some particular discursive formation, rather than existing independently and simply being referred to or talked about in particular discourse” (Foucault paraphrased by Fairclough 1992: 41). Thus a discourse perspective in this field positions PR as an act of (social) meaning creation. It focuses on communication as a creator, sustainer and changer of power relations in the society. This leads to a constructivist view on ethnicity/nationhood that claims that these are entities that are socially constructed by discursive acts (for an example of a constructivist theory on

nationalism see Anderson: 1991) . So PR is a social identity creator in this context. The thesis relies on the assumption that the roots of many social conflicts are in communication that create these identities, and that a public relations-way of handling of these issues can be fruitful.

Fairclough's account of discourse fits my research as he is interested in the dynamic relationship between discourses and social settings, so the critical points of discourse: "Discourse and Social Change" (Fairclough 1993). His perspective is adequate in the sense that I am interested in broad social aspects of interethnic PR, the campaign texts are only important because of its relationship with the society, so a textual analysis in the narrow sense, a (critical) linguistic-like analysis is not what I need. Fairclough's concept was to merge approaches of discourse analysis that concentrate on the macro level (the society) and the micro level (a "close up" textual analysis). To give a concrete example of the possible application of theories of Fairclough I address the issue of intertextuality. The PR practitioner when creating texts – for example a written press release – counts heavily on the 'intertextual chains' described by Fairclough (Fairclough 1992). The intertextual nature of discourse, the transformations that are performed to texts enable messages to be spread on different mediums quickly, to be cited or paraphrased. The usual "problem" with intertextual chains in PR is that they are really unpredictable, the route of the messages are much less designable than those of advertising.⁴

Furthermore I would like to distinguish between two possible types of the PR–discourse analysis relationship: one is from an epistemological, another is from an ontological point of view. The epistemological account is the "weak" version of the discourse-PR relationship,

⁴ Some unpredictability exists with texts of advertisements too. They can be uploaded to any site for example where they can get comments.

from this point of view PR is an activity that is analyzable in discursive terms. Discourse analysis is considered here as one useful method of inquiry among many others. The ontological discursivity is the strong version of the relationship, it would mean that public relations is a fundamentally discursive phenomenon. “Discursive” political scientists see social phenomena as texts, so from their point of view it is evident that PR activity is also a discursive phenomenon. But even from a less constructivist point of view: PR is communication, so it can be seen as composed of audio, visual, audiovisual and written texts, so from this point of view PR fundamentally a discursive phenomenon.

2.2.3. Discourse and Critical Approaches to PR

An important feature of the discursive approach of PR is that it is critical: it is interested in the inequalities of power in the communication processes. It is interesting to spot the very similar concerns scholars in the field of DA and PR. A critical view in DA is expressed as it follows. “If technologization of discourse does gather steam, as I have predicted, discourse analysts will be hard-pressed to prevent their well-intentioned interventions being appropriated by those with power, resources, and the money.” (Fairclough 1993: 240) “When public relations practitioners deploy successful discourse strategies, the resulting discursive change may achieve hegemonic (...) status...” (Motion-Leitch 2007: 9)

This topic is strongly related to the question of what function PR plays in a democratic society, and to which extent public relations is compatible with democracy. Foucauldian theories are often applied in these contexts (Motion-Leitch 2007, Motion Weaver 2005).

These concerns are also present on the level of non-academic, but socially critical books. Consider titles like “Toxic Sludge Is Good for You – Lies, Damn Lies and the Public

Relations Industry” (Stauber and Rampton 1995) or “Thinker, Faker, Spinner, Spy - Corporate PR and the Assault on Democracy” (Dinan – Miller 2007). Here I include a short quote to illustrate the narrative of these books: “Your worst cynism pales before reality in this (...) exposé of secretive, little known mega-firms such as Hill & Knowlton, Burson-Marsteller, and Ketchum PR-the “invisible men” who control our political debates and public opinion, twisting reality and protecting the powerful from scrutiny.” (Stauber – Rampton 1995: back cover)

So socially critical, Marxism-influenced accounts of PR exist, that come from very distinct intellectual traditions. Discourse analysis’ contribution to the field is that it provides interpretive tools for analyzing the ways in which power relations are influenced by PR activity.

2.2.4. A Critical Response to the Discursive Account

I think it is worth mentioning Hutton’s critique on theoretical initiatives that resemble the move towards a discursive perspective that I am suggesting.

“Complicating matters in the academic world are attempts by scholars to force-fit theory from other fields onto public relations. For example Gordons’s proposal that “public relations is the active participation in social construction of meaning” (1997) in keeping with Blumer’s “symbolic interactionism” (1979), lacks discriminant validity. Such definitions, which fail to distinguish public relations not just from other communication fields, but also from large areas of sociology, psychology and cultural studies, simply muddy the waters. They are akin to the problems associated with Bagozzi’s definition of marketing as

“exchange” (1979), which sounded promising at first blush, but was so comprehensive that it did not distinguish marketing from economics, communication and other fields.” (Hutton 1999)

I have several counter-arguments to this critique. First that PR is not a very demarcated field, at least not academically (it is also mentioned in this article by the author, and he considers this to be a problem), maybe its boundaries are more visible from a professional point of view. So the argument that there is a problem with force-fitting theories from other fields does is weak as PR is by its nature interdisciplinary, theoretically integrative. Moreover these kind of theoretical changes reflect well the general trend of scientific convergence that increasingly characterizes the social sciences also. Secondly, a discursive account can not be “water muddying”, as it puts the academic field and the profession in a very different theoretical framework from the one that is currently used. A change towards a discursive perspective has serious implications on the theories of the role of PR in the society, as it puts the activity in a much more politicized position. It accentuates the responsibility that PR professionals have as meaning creators. Another serious implication is on the industry, it makes qualitative techniques, more specifically the ‘family’ of discourse analysis necessary to be applied when assessing the organization’s position in the public narrative (for example when performing a media analysis). This naturally applies equally to pre-campaign and post-campaign analysis of the organization’s image. This different method of assessing the output/outcome of the activity again has an effect on the definition of the activity, so there is a positive feedback mechanism at this point. The move towards discourse also creates a new kind of competition on the market between those actors that decide to rely more and those who decide to rely less on discursive techniques. Naturally not only the professional evaluation method changes but academic inquiry having PR activity as its subject also needs to adapt. So my argument is that

one can accept or refuse the theoretical move towards a discursive account, but it can hardly be seen as “water-muddying”.

I claim that the problem is not with a broad framework imported from a different discipline, but if this framework is not be tailored to PR, if the definition of PR does not get enough specification. A definition that would position PR as the only meaning creator in the society would naturally give us not just a very underspecified but an even untrue concept of the profession, but if the discursive role is emphasized while keeping the general characteristics of PR (e.g. two- way, persuasive mainly organizational communication) then a theoretical development is made without any sacrifice in the specification. This theoretical development is also justified considering that PR had to react to the rise of interpretive social science as social sciences are the natural sources of PR theory and methods (Hutton also accepts PR’s sensitivity to scientific change as a reason why a crystallized definition was not born (Hutton 1999)).

However a different problem should also be mentioned. about the usage of discourse analysis for PR purposes: discursive theories are not as positivistic as those of mainstream media effect research. If discourse analysis would be seen as the best method of research in/on Pr (I personally do not believe that it should happen) than PR professionals would face a serious problem: they could not claim that they know well the result of their work. It would be hard to explain to the clients of PR agencies that they can not really estimate the impact they made, because the paradigm that discourse analysis fits in does not support the idea of a machine-like society that can be fully understood; that the paradigm does not support classical causal accounts of the media-society relationship. It is obviously the problem of the PR industry not of the social sciences that research PR activity, but we should be aware of this phenomenon if

we want to understand the connection between PR and discourse analysis/interpretive social science as industry problems can infiltrate into the academic literature.

2.3. Interethnic Public Relations and Strategic Discourse

In this session I examine how interethnic PR can be seen as a further step in the movement towards strategic discourse and how the lexicon (word use) of discourse is affected by this. The aim of this section is to provide a more concrete look on the field but still from a theoretical angle.

Fairclough (1992) writes about the “sister” of public relations, advertising, that it is “”strategic discourse par excellence, in the terms of Habermas’ distinction between “strategic” and “communicative” language. “It is the business of constructing ‘images’ in the other sense – ways of publicly presenting persons, organization, and commodities, and the construction of identities or personalities for them.” (Fairclough 1992: 210-211) “The technologization of discourse is associated with an extension of strategic discourse to new domains” (Fairclough 1993: 216) More and more organizations and even individuals realize the potential in discourse technologies; they start to manage their communication strategically.

We can look at the frequent use of public communication campaigns to achieve certain pro-social goals: education for a healthier lifestyle, for family planning, for interethnic reconciliation (Rice and Atkin 2001). The organizers of these communicative programs believe that discourse is somewhat seeable, measurable, so most importantly manipulable,

designable. The “same” therapeutic use of discourse is seen here as in psychological consulting, in this case communicators want to “cure” the society, not the individual.

Public Relations is planned communication, it uses multiple tools in a well coordinated, strategic way to influence people. There are discursive events that are PR-like activities but without the strategic component, so even if public relations tools are used in this case we can not speak of PR in the narrow sense of the term. A fine example of this phenomenon is the word-choice in everyday interpersonal and mediated discourses.

As Fairclough writes about critical linguistics : “The approach to vocabulary is based upon the assumption that different ways of ‘lexicalizing’ domains of meaning may involve ideologically different systems of classification , so there is an interest in how areas of experience may come to be ‘relexicalized’ on different classificatory principles, for exaple in the course of political struggle”. (Fairclough 1992: 28) Halliday also addresses the phenomenon of relexicalization (Fairclough 1992: 194). Szabó writes about discursive struggles of the usage of “synonyms” for the owners of means of production: employers, a (seemingly) neutral term or “exploiter”, the word that mainly communists use to refer to them (Szabó 2003: 224).

PR professionals are also concerned about the word use of the public regarding the organization or cause that they represent. They have a clear strategy in terms of word choice. For example Motion and Weaver writes in the discursive analysis of a PR campaign: “the very term *genetic modification* has been a matter of contestation and tends to be used by proponents of the science, whereas the term *genetic engineering* (GE) tends to be the preferred term of those opposed to the science” (Motion-Weaver 2005: 50). So, in this case,

PR professionals as discourse technologists at companies working in the genetic industry will use “genetic modification” in their communication while PR agents employed by some environmental NGO-s will prefer the usage of the term “genetic engineering” in their materials.

This type of symbolic struggle is nearly always present in the emancipation fights of ethnic/racial groups. Think about the negro/black/afro-American words for an example. The much contested “movement of political correctness” is also concerned about the word-choices in many spheres of life, in inter-ethnic communication too. A big proportion of this struggle is ad-hoc, it is not planned, not strategic. Even if someone is aware of her own word-use she usually does not use a PR perspective to do so.

There is a word-struggle over the terms for the Roma/Gypsy people for example. A special case of this is in Hungary where usually in the news they speak about the “Roma-Hungarian conflicts”. Of course many intellectuals prefer to speak about “Roma-Non-Roma conflicts”, because Roma people are Hungarians too, they do not form a different national group than the majority. Another well contested and politically significant word use in the country is the one of “gipsy-crime” that was one of the major topics of radical right party called Jobbik, and the introduction of this topic helped them a lot to get into the parliament. The case of the use of “gipsy-crime” seems as a PR effort in the sense that it is indeed a strategic communicative action that tries to bring in social change. Using the word “gypsy-crime” is a political statement. Some of those who oppose the notion do it strategically too.

In this section I presented some phenomena that could be seen in the framework of interethnic PR, and that are examples of strategic discourse (mainly in the lexical sense).

3. Case study - The “All different - all equal” Campaign

The reason why I have chosen this campaign to analyze is that it was a particularly large initiative; this is one of the communication programmes where professionalism is rightly required. I don't claim that this campaign is representative of the whole field, but as it was a major, international effort it should be regarded as a notable example of communication programs aiming at ameliorating intergroup, mainly interethnic relations by using communication means: PR and advertising. Another reason for the selection of this case is that this case is relatively well documented, campaign materials, documentation (e.g. Council of Europe 1996a, Council of Europe 1996b) are still accessible via the Council of Europe Archives, and the publications of the campaign (e.g. Gorman 1996, Brander 1995). can be found online, or at Council of Europe Information Offices. None of these are academic sources, I have not found any academic analyses of the campaign. Thus the object of my empirical study is a major campaign that is well documented, but not researched.

3.1. Data

Public relations is a theory and practice of (mainly organizational) communication, so even from a non-discursive point of view it could be seen as text. Many typical PR materials like informational brochures, press releases, press kits etc. are texts even in the narrow sense of the word. But we have to adopt the discursive perspective to consider some PR events (like concerts) texts. In the case of my analysis I used textual sources as data that it analyzable in its own right, but also texts that refer to an activity, an event (for example the European Youth Trains) that is the unit of analysis in this case. In the latter case I was naturally unable to deal

with micro-level issues (for example what did the train look like from inside, what did the organizers tell to the participants) as I could not reach this layer of the data, but I studied macro-level phenomenon (like the target group of the Youth Trains).

My knowledge of the campaign is based on three sources. To be able to describe the communication program's overall size, structure and process I relied on two official documents of the Council of Europe (Council of Europe 1996a, Council of Europe 1996b), the first one is the report of the evaluation conference of the campaign. The second document is the final report of the European Steering Group, the managerial body of the program. The third source is from Council of Europe Publishing (Gorman 1996), and is a guide for those who would like to run a similar campaign or participate in similar activities that the ADAE program featured. It gives a description of the campaign and features many materials from it (texts, pictures), it uses an engaged language and is written in a rhetorical way. In my discourse analysis I mostly relied on this text.

"The struggle must continue" - Report of the Evaluation Conference (European Youth Campaign against racism, xenophobia, antisemitism and intolerance) (Council of Europe 1996a)

The text is a report of the evaluation conference of the campaign that was held on 1-4 February 1996 at the European Youth Centre Budapest, the document was published on 1 March in the same year. The participants were officials of the Council of Europe, representatives of National Campaign Committees, representatives of non-governmental organizations of young people, minority and anti-racist groups, organizers of some of the Pilot Projects founded by the campaign, expert contributors, representatives of various international and Hungarian institutions (as Hungary was the host-country of the event). The event featured

plenary and workshop sessions. Some examples of the plenary sessions include: “Aims, achievements and problems of the European Youth Campaign – an overview.” (a presentation by Ulrich Bunjes, Director of the European Youth Campaign), “The European Youth Trains Project” (Yael Ohana and Alana Lentin, educational project-coordinators), “Communicating the message of tolerance” (a presentation by Jean-Paul Marthoz, International Federation of Journalists). The following are examples of workshop titles: “The campaign at local and national level”, “The campaign at international level”, “Tolerance education in out-of-school work” and “Workshop on future work at local and national level”. The publication itself is a 49 page long report, there is a full text of a speech (by the Hungarian Minister of Culture and Education), but mostly we can only find summaries the speeches and discussions that took place. Most parts of this text are classical meta-discourses (meaning texts are not worth of much attention themselves, the referred discourse is in the focus of my analysis), but the speeches given reproduce the rhetorical features of the campaign.

“Final Report of the European Steering Group (European Youth Campaign against Racism, Xenophobia, Antisemitism and Intolerance)” (Council of Europe 1996b)

It is a 24 page document issued in 1996 April (thus after the evaluation conference) describing and evaluating the campaign, including the local, the national and the European level. It presents the process by which the communication program was started, the activities of the campaign and its organisational framework. It features a rich appendix session including financial information, contacts to the National Campaign Committees and a bibliography. This text is also mainly a meta-discourse (in the sense explained in the description of the previous source).

“All Different – All Equal: A Sum of Experience” (Gorman 1996)

This is a book of Council of Europe Publishing released in 1996, examining the experience of the campaign. Its aim is to present the communication program as a case study that future-activists and campaign designers can rely on. The homepage of the Council of Europe includes this synopsis of the publication: “This book gives an overview of the "All different - all equal" campaign and proposes ways of continuing the original campaign in future daily activities. From a practical point of view it suggests how to mobilise people, the media and celebrities, how to design projects and how to raise funds. It will be of interest to non-governmental organisations working with young people, community workers, schools and all groups which wish to bring people closer together.” (Council of Europe 2011)

It is a hundred and one page long publication containing an overall, sketchy description of the campaign and that also focuses on particular campaign elements, for example on European Youth Trains. It presents the theoretical underpinnings of the communication program and it features examples of texts and images used in the framework of the campaign. It is both a description of the campaign and part of the campaign as it is a rhetorical text. Its informal and engaged language can be spotted in the following short quote: “In the midst of anger and frustration over visas or immigration controls which directly affected participation in the campaign, there was fun, laughter, music and dance.” (Gorman 1996:10) It gets the reader closer to the campaign but by staying in the campaign discourse, so not from a distanced, “objective” point of view. It creates meta-discourse, but it is also part of the campaign as it wants to educate. This book can be seen as the PR of a PR and advertising campaign. Thus this is a special type of inter-discursivity, where the original and the transformed discourse are not clearly separable, as the transformed discourse has the same aim, addresses the same people, and uses the same tools as the original one and even features texts and images of it. For the analyst it means that it is partly a referential text, so a meta-discourse, but also a

discourse that can be analyzed in its own right. This is the source that I rely on the most in my discourse analysis.

I use the above mention sources, so my study should not be seen as an exhaustive discourse analysis of the whole campaign. By following the official, published campaign documentation I let the campaign designers (or at least the designers of these publications) to lead my attention to those aspects of the campaign that the creators think that they deserve to be mentioned. In this way I am closer to the designers' ideas than I could get by examining the whole campaign. I let the creators to (re)emphasize the campaign elements. It is thus the analysis of the discourse of the campaign but mostly in the mirror of the meta-discourse that can be found in the official campaign documentation materials.

3.2. Methodology

As numerous social scientific schools have discourse in their focus of research and as they significantly differ from each other in their theoretical orientation and their methods in the next pages I will clarify my position towards these schools in terms of what I have been focusing on when analyzing the texts. I use Mills typology of the different kinds of interpretative analyses⁵ in human and social sciences that she employed in her book entitled "Discourse" to locate my discourse analytical study in relation to other kind of discursive academic investigations. She has a narrow view of discourse analysis (DA) that is her first category of discursive methods in her typology; she positions it as a linguistic technique (Mills 1997: 131). My analysis is not DA in the sense she presents it, as my focus is not that much on language, I am not really interested in micro-structures, for example I do not analyze

⁵ she does not use this term

grammar or word-choice (lexicon). This micro-world-oriented (of course not in the formal linguistic sense (Mills 1997:135)) definition of DA leads to the exclusion of more socially-focused approaches that are usually considered to be part of DA. She regards critical linguists/discourse theorists (this is her second group in the typology) as a distinct field from DA (even if critical discourse analysts are obviously there). The third group is described under the subtitle “social psychologists and discourse” (1997: 43).

Textual versus social orientation is the most important cleavage between the different schools in Mill’s typology. In this respect my analysis fits between the critical linguists and discourse theorists, I am further from real texts than the first, but closer than the second account. My analysis is not that linguistically systematic as Fairclough’s. On the other hand I am more concerned about the particularities of the text in question than it could be expected from a Foucauldian approach, I quote a large amount of texts when analyzing them. My study has also has some features in common with Mills’s DA at least to the extent that I analyze real texts, not artificially created narratives for the sake of linguistic inquiry. Still I am closer to Foucault than to Fairclough, that can be seen as certain a limitation of my research (from a text-oriented linguistic point of view). My study follows Fairlough in the sense that he left the framework of discourse analysts like Sinclair and Coulthard, he denied that the meanings of discourses would be clear and unambiguous, he stressed the importance of the interpretive work of the receptors of texts, the ambivalence of discourses (Mills 1997: 155). My commitment to the recognition of the ambivalence of narratives is the most visible in the discussions on the lack of proper measurement (see the dealing with the “measurement issue”). Furthering the discussion about the theoretical and methodological relevance of the “measurement issue” I should note that Mills claims that Foucauldian discourse theory has „difficulty in locating, describing and even accounting for (...) (the) individual subject who

resists power.” (Mills 1997). When I criticize the campaign in the sense that it did not measure properly as it did not research its reception it can be interpreted as a critique addressed at a communicative practice that seems to be directed by the Foucauldian discourse theory. But even if Foucault writes from the perspective of the “death of an individual” when his analysis concentrates on texts distanced from the individual, he does not claim that there is no resistance to text, so no measurement is needed as reception is unproblematic, uncritical.. In the contrary, he acknowledges that “where there is power there is resistance” (Mills 1997: 42). Still, Mills sees the Foucauldian discourse theory as less capable of taking into account the possible individual resistance to the discourse(s.).

The possibility of resistance is a major concern for Mills; it comes back in a different context. She claims that one major contribution of the feminist theory to the term “discourse” and to discursive analyses (in the broadest sense) is that it emphasized the importance of the individual as an autonomous and critical agent in the process of interacting with the discourse (Mills 1997: 102-103). She gives an example of this phenomenon from the field of drug-prevention. “By portraying drug use as dangerous risk-taking behaviour, drugs education runs the risk of emphasizing the aspect of drug use which appeals to adolescents’ intent on rebelling against the status quo. Many of the black and white, documentary-style posters produced by drug education bodies to warn adolescents that they could die if they engage in drug taking are used by young people to reaffirm their sense of identity as drug users.” (Mills 1997: 90) Feminist theorists recognized that women were able to use mainstream discourses about them that are usually seen as “repressive” to construct a counter-identity, they could use them as “sources” for their self-empowering discourses. “Therefore, discourses should not be interpreted at face values; individuals actively engage with discourses in order to forge particular positions of identity for themselves.” (Mills 1997: 91). This phenomenon is what

makes it possible for boomerang effects to occur, so in this sense when I am concerned about the possible boomerang effects that can not be recognized in the absence of proper measurement (see measurement section) I make use of the development that feminist theorist caused in the field of discourse analysis. Another way feminist theory is seen as a contribution to discourse theory by Mills is termed as the recognition of “discourses in conflict” (1997: 99). In every discourse there are more or less visible references to other discourses, as no discourse exists in a vacuum. It is in this spirit that I deal with the ideologies that the campaign enters in a dialogue with.

I should also note that Mills seems to be unsatisfied with Wetherell and Potter’s method:

“Thus, discourse analysis here simply seeks to rephrase at a more general level elements of rhetorical structure which consistently appear within a discourse and which seem to define that discourse. In essence, this is simply a form of analysis of the meaning of particular key terms within racism” (1997: 146) My analysis is not a mere abstraction of the ADAE discourse, but indeed a key part in it is to be able to find the more general meaning structures behind the text. This is what I first do in the “The Cult of Knowledge” subchapter than I go on by critically analyze the abstract contents that I spotted.

Based on the above discussion I can conclude that the discourse analysis that I perform is between Foucauldian discourse-theory and Fairclough’s discourse analysis in terms of social versus textual orientation, and it is closer to former as the social dimension gets more emphasis in my analysis than the textual one. This is the most important feature of my method. A further specificity of my study is that I assume the receptors of the discourse to be able to resist, to “counter-argue”, in this sense I made use of feminist theories of discourse

(see the The Discursive Output and Outcome section). I also use the practice of abstraction (for example in “The Cult of Knowledge” session) of Wetherell and Potter.

3.3. Analysis ⁶

The campaign known as “All different – all equal” (this name, that is usually used to refer to the program comes from its slogan and logo) was a major communicative effort of the Council of Europe to fight prejudice, discrimination, racism. The full name of the campaign was “European Youth Campaign against Racism, Xenophobia, Antisemitism and Intolerance” and the first wave of it (this is what I analyze) took place between 1994 and 1996. It was a large scale, integrated campaign, which means that it used both advertisement and PR techniques. The communication program was European, so international on one hand, but local campaign staff were also recruited and other local cooperators (e.g. NGOs, governments) participated in the processes.

As the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (also known as VDPA) (World Conference on Human Rights 1993) was the point where the campaign originated from it is worth examining the document to get a sense about the motivation of the launch of the communication program, the initial ideas behind it, the goals stated there. The text is a declaration adopted by the World Conference on Human rights on 25 June 1993 in Vienna. The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights has been created by this declaration. It is a reaffirmation of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the United Nations Charter. It features a discussion about human rights in general and elaboration on multiple specific human rights issues. Topics include: terrorism, poverty, right to

⁶ The first part of this chapter, which is a simple description of the campaign is based on Council of Europe 1996a and Council of Europe 1996b

development, women's rights and domestic violence, the rights of the disabled, and a racism. The Appendix III of this document is entitled "Declaration and Plan of Action on combating racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and intolerance" (World Conference on Human Rights 1993: 5-8) . A section of it comes up implicitly with the idea of a campaign: "Undertake to combat all ideologies, policies and practices, constituting an incitement to racial hatred, violence and discrimination, as well as any action or language likely to strengthen fears and tensions between groups from different racial, ethnic, national religious or social backgrounds. Launch an urgent appeal to European peoples, groups and citizens, and young people in particular, that they resolutely engage in combating all forms of intolerance and that they actively participate in the construction of a European society based on common values, characterized by democracy, tolerance and solidarity" (World Conference on Human Rights 1993: 6) It has a short, simple section where an explicit plan of a campaign is presented: "Launch a broad European Youth Campaign to mobilize the public in favour of a tolerant society based on the equal dignity of all its members and against manifestations of racism, xenophobia, antisemitism and intolerance. This campaign, coordinated by the Council of Europe in cooperation with the European Youth Organisations will have a national and local dimension through the creation of national committees. It will aim in particular at stimulating pilot projects involving all sections of society." (World Conference on Human Rights 1993: 6)

Thus 1993 October is the starting point of the story of the campaign as it was at that time when at the Vienna Summit the Heads of State and Government of the member States of the Council of Europe decided to launch a communication program in the framework of the European Plan of action against racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and intolerance. "The European Youth Campaign was a broad initiative, which involved partners in almost all the

countries of Europe. Its overall shape was that of a web of distinct but often interconnected activities, run by many different partners, at local, regional, national and European level.” (Council of Europe 1996b: 2) The communication program was coordinated by the European Steering Group that worked under the authority of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe. “Campaign projects were realized by non-governmental organizations (mainly youth, minority, anti-racist and human rights organisations), by governmental agencies (such as youth and education ministries) and international bodies, trade unions and employers’ organizations, local and regional authorities, religious groups and churches, journalists and media, and by many others. The campaign actively involved members of many minority groups living in European societies from different racial, ethnic, religious, national or social backgrounds.” (Council of Europe 1996b: 2) The spectrum of the activities was very broad, including educational seminars, publications, various kinds of advertising, cultural and political events, exhibitions, public demonstrations, curricular activities in schools and universities, informal education by group-level work, peer-education, competitions, television programmes, local projects of community development and social work. The communication program was decentralized and open to many actors, this is why absolute numbers of the activities can not be given, official documentations only state approximations. More than 2.000 activities were realized, more than 100 million French Francs (that is 15.24 million Euros using the present, fixed conversion rate) were spent, eighty percent of it on the European and the national level, the remaining twenty percent was made available to support local projects, and considerable additional funds were provided by public bodies and private sponsors. More than 100 international NGO’s were involved, 94 “European” Pilot Projects run. The main European launching event took place in Strasbourg on 10 December 1994. The local projects included: “conventional summer camps, schools programmes, social and community work in deprived urban areas, cultural festivals, exhibitions, culinary

presentations, youth work, theatre productions, peer group education projects, newspapers, advice and information centres, poetry festival, games, and projects on the internet.” (Council of Europe 1996b: 3) The “target groups” of these projects were “Africans, Armenians, Asians, Black people, Brazilians, Filipinos, Indians, Moroccans, Pakistanis, Sintis and Romas, Tatars; Muslims, Jews, Behai; travelers, refugees, disabled people, gays and lesbians.” (Council of Europe 1996b: 4) From this list is visible that inter-ethnic relations was not the only target area, but ethnic discrimination, segregation, racism was of primary concern. I quote a short description of one of the most important events in the campaign to provide a description of a concrete action after this horizontal overview: “The “European Youth Trains” (In July 1995) was the single most complex project of the Programme of Activities. It consisted of six special trains, carrying some 800 young Europeans from more than 40 countries over a distance of altogether 13.000 km to the terminus in Strasbourg. During their travel, participants worked and prepared themselves for the European Youth Week. The trains stopped in 42 European cities in 24 countries, where events on the campaign issues were organized, in order to raise public awareness. One of the trains (“The Train of Memory and Future”) carried exhibitions and educational material on the holocaust. Another (the “Train of South – North Solidarity”) also brought a group of young people from North African countries to Strasbourg. The European Youth Trains turned out to be a very effective campaign tool, and the project which attracted the highest level of media coverage in almost all countries of Europe.” (Council of Europe 1996b: 6-7)

3.3.1. The Nature of the Discourse - Advertisement versus Public Relations Orientation

As I mentioned above, the communication program included elements of both PR and advertising. None of the official campaign documents describe the relation of the two

elements. In the respect it would be very valuable information if we knew the proportion of money spent on PR and on advertising, but this data can not be found in the session that describes the financial aspects of the program (Council of Europe 1996b: 20-23) neither at other parts of the documentation. Gorman in the “Sum of experience” book implicitly moves the campaign in the PR direction when she writes that “Its aim was to mobilize all sectors of society and to create new forms of co-operation to combat intolerance and promote tolerance.” (Gorman 1996: 7) This describes well the communication program, if we consider the wide range of people, group and organizations involved and that “mobilization” really happened at multiple events. In post-modern PR activities the accent is on the creation of relationships as opposed to advertisement campaigns, where the main aim is persuasion. Thus this feature, that was a basic attribute of the campaign, points towards the dominance of PR. A much simple way of looking at the PR-advertising proportion is to examine the level of individual actions. Judging from the official documentation events received the most emphasis, for example consider that the European Youth Trains were the most described of all the campaign elements, and they were depicted as the most complex and as one of the most successful project. This dominance of events (as opposed to advertisement messages) is a clear PR feature. It is also possible to judge the PR-advertisement relationship if we assess the level of participation. The participatory approach of the campaign also gives it a PR character, as public relations is much more capable of a two-way communication than advertisement.

3.3.2. The “Missing Identity” of the Discourse - The Absence of PR in The Self-Definition of The Narrative

In this subsection I deal with the problem of the self-definition of the discourse. Despite the clear public relations features and tools of the campaign there is very little mention of the term in the official documents. Gorman in the “Sum of experience” book avoids the use of the

term PR and related terms even in the “Mobilizing the media” session of the evaluation of the European Youth Trains (Gorman 1996: 33) (what is by the way one of the best examples of pure PR activity in the campaign). She manages to not use the term even when she speaks about “successful media strategies” that entails for example relationship-building with the media (1996: 35) that is a classical PR activity. One of the rare mentions of PR in the “Sum of experience” book is the following: “The Vienna Declaration performed a useful public relations exercise at the beginning of the campaign with government support across Europe. Of course, making a commitment is only the first step. The commitment of governments was tested when it came to following through the declaration with action” (Gorman 1996: 19) The author of these words is very skeptical about public relations, she belongs to the huge proportion of the public that thinks that PR can be “opposed” to action. She seems to share the opinion of those who look at PR as mere manipulation, as a process to create entities that seem like something, but truly are not meaningful (eg. pseudo events). This view is naturally seen as a common and serious misinterpretation, vulgarization of PR by PR specialists. This position is also problematic from a performative view of language that was expressed by Austin for example (Austin 1962). But most importantly it can not be accepted from a political discourse analytical perspective, as it fails to recognize the political relevance of symbolic action.

There is a different set of PR mentions: “Whatever methods are used, some public relations material will be needed – it not be glossy but it has to capture attention and imagination.” (Gorman 1996: 36). When discussing the European Youth Trains she claims that “In some cases the emphasis was clearly on public relations – promoting the trains and the campaign often with a strong role for holders of political functions at national or local level.” (Gorman 1996: 31) A very similar view on PR is expressed in the Report of the Evaluation Conference:

“The All different – all equal newsletter was first seen as an internal tool, but it soon developed into a successful large-scale public relations and information vehicle, with 20000 copies distributed.” (Council of Europe 1996a: 3) It is a positive sign that Gorman and in the latter quote the director of the campaign (Ulrich Bunjes) acknowledges the role of PR, but they still does not see the whole enterprise as a PR (and advertisement) campaign. Thus they only accept that PR is used to promote the campaign, but not to perform the task of establishing and ameliorating interethnic relationship for a more pluralistic society.

The problem is not that there are few mentions of PR, but that the campaign designers did not realize that their discourse is fundamentally a PR effort. Thus the “identity” of the discourse is missing, that means that the discursive functions and characteristics that a “PR campaign” as a genre has are not or not fully realized by the designers. This can be the root of problems that I will address later on (for example the problem of measurement and of the reaching of the audience).

3.3.3. The Discursive Output and Outcome – The Lack of Proper Measurement And Its Discursive Presentation

One important characteristic of strategic discourse is that its designers examine its effect. In the most cases it means using social scientific tools that were developed to measure media impact. The list can be long here from attitudinal measures by surveys, to behavioral researches like the analysis of the changes in the prevalence of hate crimes.

Gorman recognizes the risk that campaigns can have boomerang effects, “One of the achievements of the anti-racist movement in some countries has been to get to the recognition that superficial cultural exchange can be counter-productive. (...) Superficial celebrations of

cultural difference can do more harm than good, even with the best intentions ” (1996:23) However she comes up with a naïve response to her question concerning the spotting of possible counter-productive campaign or parts of a campaign . “So what makes one celebration of food, drink, clothes and customs superficial, and another a celebration of difference and equality? The main way to judge this is to assess to what extent the people whose culture is celebrated have planned the event themselves.” (Gorman 1996: 24) This could work as a proxy, but if we want more accurate answers for the question raised, we have to turn to knowledge collected in a systematic and controlled way: social scientific knowledge.

The measurement problem leads us to the issue that is referred to by PR specialists as confusing the output with the outcome (Nyárády, Szeles 2005: 433-437). Gorman sometimes refers to the assumed effects of the campaign, for example here “The successful impact of “all different – all equal” was greater than could have been expected in the short time span. This may have been due to the fact that the campaign logo and style were there from the beginning.” (Gorman 1996: 36) or for another example see the above mentioned case of boomerang effects). But in the majority of the “Sum of experience” book about the campaign (1996) she presents the output of the program (the materials made and distributed, the events organized, the press releases made etc.) if the outcome (the cognitive, attitudinal and behavioral answer of the recipients) was evident, it does not take into account that media impact is hardly foreseeable, as many factors influence the outcome of the process of the consumption of the media messages. In other words: from a media-impact-oriented view one can say that it is not the discourse of the campaign that counts but how the discourse was perceived (usually even transformed to another discourse) by the target population. Gorman presents enthusiastically the work done by those who participated in the campaign if it was

the evidence of the success of the campaign. When Gorman refers to the feedback of the target population she does it anecdotically (e.g. 1996: 21). Naturally from a social scientific point of view I should say that the evidence of success would be a precise research on the impact of the campaign that could present some real results of the program.

The Report of the Evaluation Conference also includes statements about results, and interestingly they contradict each-other. In the first quote the assessment is clear and positive. “Results achieved: The courses have created greater awareness of minorities issues among national campaign partners, and have provided a very good basis and starting point for future work.” (Council of Europe 1996a: 22) In the next quote the problems of the “output-centered” approach are recognized, and the idea of a macro-level measurement is introduced: “It is not easy to evaluate a campaign with so many different facets, so many different partners and aims, so many practical problems and frustrations – but also with so many positive results. The “results” of the campaign can certainly not only be measured mechanically by money spent; by the number of meetings and participants; by the number of press clippings; by the number of books published. The results of the campaign must be measured in political terms. The campaign must be viewed as a huge challenge, “to mobilize the public in favour of a tolerant society based on the equal dignity of all its members”, as set out in the Vienna Declaration.” (Council of Europe 1996a: 5) I suppose that even the best communication campaign has a smaller impact on interethnic relations than some important variables describing the political community where the ethnicities live (e.g. the degree of social inequalities, the economic situation of the country). If it is true then it means that it is practically impossible to measure the impact of campaigns of this kind by a research that compares the macro indicators of interethnic relationships (eg. social distance measures, levels of interethnic trust, occurrence of hate-crimes) before and after the campaign. It would

be possible if the campaign was of local character, but it is very dispersed in this case. So specific measures are needed to be conducted, for example the usage of panels of the targeted populations and also control group panels. So a macro-approach to measurement (that was suggested in the above quote) is not likely to work with a campaign that's activities were as dispersed on dispersed as in the case of ADAE.

As I wrote in the above chapters discourse analysis is well suited to research a communication campaign like the one in question as these initiatives are symbolic political actions. However, as members of the audience can resist the discourse (see the methodology session about resistance to narratives) DA is not a substitute for impact-oriented studies. The problem in the case of the ADAE campaign is that it not only lacks this kind of measurement but the official documents at multiple places contain references to the impact that they can not back-up by the needed studies. As the "Sum of experience" book is written for future campaign designers this discourse can possibly be harmful.

3.3.4. "Preaching to the Converted" - The Discourse and Its Audience

A very common problem of PR events is that the participants of them are usually those who already agree with the goals of the campaign; this phenomenon makes the conversion of people unlikely by these methods. This issue came up in the evaluation of the European Youth Trains project. "One of the more ambitious aims was to recruit young people with no previous experience of youth organizations and initiatives. This was not the case. Members of the educational teams had the impression that the vast majority of participants brought with them at least some experience of youth work or anti-racist, pro-tolerance activities." (Gorman 1996: 31) The next quote is from the Evaluation Conference where a discussion took place on

the issues of the European Youth Trains and the European Youth Week. “Several remarks were made regarding the selection procedure for the participants. For example, Mteja Demsic (NCC Slovenia) criticized the participation of a youth representative of an ultra-nationalist party from Romania. Some participants had shown expressions of homophobia, sexism and racism, and had thereby created difficult situations during the week.” (Council of Europe 1996a: 19) The “preaching to the converted” phenomenon is very visible here. The representative of the national campaign committee in Slovenia criticized the presence of ultranationalists, homophobes, sexists and racists at an open campaign event. These people were not in the campaign crew, they participated in an event that was designed to change exactly those kinds of beliefs that they were sharing. There are extreme cases when it is not possible, or when the behavior of these people destroys the ambiance of an event but the mere presence of them should not be a problem in a campaign that’s aim was to persuade these citizens (among others).

This of course doesn’t mean that an event of this kind would be surely unsuccessful, but its role would not be to convert people, but to strengthen the already existing attitudes, and to establish new connections between participants (i.e. networking). The strengthening of anti-racist attitudes could result in more committed, more vigorous activists. These motivated people could for example intervene positively in interethnic conflicts that they would have overlooked previously.

3.3.5. Decentralization and the Concreteness of Messages

A distinctive feature of the campaign is that it was decentralized (as it was mentioned above). This is a great value because like that much local knowledge could be integrated in the

program. Usually local communities are more trustful towards initiatives that incorporate local entities (NGOs, for profit corporations etc.). I assume that there is a link between the decentralized nature of the campaign and the very broad main slogan (All different – all equal). As local initiatives can go in many different directions, a particularly broad slogan had to be chosen. The autonomy of localities was established like that, but it reduced the possibility of a strong communication synergy. As I mentioned above, the campaign designers were not even capable of giving an exact number of the projects created in this framework, so even the synchronization or a loose cooperation of all the projects was not possible.

”Equality” in general as an abstract concept is harder to be enthusiastic about than about equality between two given groups in a given political context. This phenomenon is based on the concentric circles of the own groups that were described by social psychologists (for example Allport 1999: 77). The smaller the own group, the more people care about its members. If equality is used as a universal concept than it refers to an own group circle that is weaker than a local one. Thus I argue that there is a trade-off between decentralization and strong, concrete messages that can easily mobilize people. So the concreteness of messages as a discursive feature that was permitted by the decentralized, subsidiary nature of the campaign was a great asset.

3.3.6. The Discursive Tool of Naturalizing Ideologies

It is worth to examine how political ideologies appear in the discourse of the communication. Teun Van Dijk in his discussion on Political Discourse Analysis defines ideologies in the following way: “What political systems are at the level of the social and economic organization of power, political ideologies define the socio-cognitive counterpart of such

systems. They are basic belief systems that underlie and organize the shared social representations of groups and their members.“ (Van Dijk 1995: 17)

The definitions and interpretations of key concepts related to the campaign (as racism, intolerance, xenophobia, antisemitism etc.) (Gorman 1996: 27-29) are telling examples of the relationship of the communication program to ideologies.

“Egalitarianism

Simple. A human being is a human being. All have the same rights as you. You allow everyone to do what you are allowed to do. You do not demand anything from others that you would not demand from yourself. You are not angry if you are different from them. You possess the same opportunities as everyone else. You are able to stand up for what you believe in. Nobody is your enemy merely because he or she thinks differently from you. You discover that you have very few enemies. A lot of friends. It’s a wonderful world.” (Gorman 1996: 29)

“Democracy

Democracy is a word from the language of ancient Greece, which means government by the people. This means more than just voting for representatives in an election. Democracy also means being able to participate in society with the same rights as other people. Participation is taking part in an activity together with other people, such as in youth organization, and being involved in making decisions.

Democracy

It is similar to football or other team sports, but we call its players “society” and its rules the “constitution”. The rules of the game are the same for each player. There is never a little more for some or a little less for others. Everyone possesses as much freedom as everyone else. The freedom of one person ends at exactly the same place as the freedom of another. That’s why there are no underprivileged. We all co-operate. Everyone has the same opportunities. Everyone can be a winner. You too. It’s a wonderful world.“ (Gorman 1996: 29)”

The main goal of the campaign, a peaceful plural society, is typically desired by people possessing favorable attitudes towards multiculturalism or cosmopolitanism. These ideas are classically linked to liberalism, but the campaign did not intend to emphasize this relationship as it wanted to address a wide spectrum of people regardless of their position towards political ideologies. For example the emphasis on difference can be perceived as a tool to make the campaign acceptable for communitarians and conservatives

In the end of the definition of egalitarianism it is written that: “You discover that you have very few enemies. A lot of friends. It’s a wonderful world.” (Gorman 1996:29). In the final part of the subjective account on democracy (there is a more objective, more academic one also) we find this: “Everyone has the same opportunities. Everyone can be a winner. You too. It’s a wonderful world.” (Gorman 1996:29) There is a visible tendency in these texts to naturalize these concepts, too distance them from their direct political meaning, to present them as simply human not as political. For example in the egalitarian article it is not mentioned that it is an ideology that is usually more embraced by the political left than the right. Concepts are presented as banal truths that are almost impossible to be opposed to.

Democracy receives emphasis in the campaign, as it is the common point in very different contemporary political ideas (all of them but the anti-system ones). Thus the campaign avoids political polarization that could distance people from its message.

Nationalism is another discourse that is reflected upon explicitly. “Consideration of what nations and nationalism meant in Europe today surfaced in the course of the campaign. “Nationalism” was chosen as a theme by one of the workshops in the “all different - all equal” campaign in Austria. The Austrian Campaign Committee was concerned about the way that nationalistic attitudes were gaining strength in Europe today and organized an International Seminar on Nationalism, which took place in June 1996. The seminar attempted “to analyse the European past and present, to define the roots of nationalism, detect its causes and see if there are ways for the young generations to avoid stepping into the traps of nationalism.” The new and larger Europe faces the challenge of creating a space where we can have the freedom to work out the rights of all to express language, culture and traditions without being intimidated by others. Developing theory on paper may look fine, but in practice this is more difficult as it means taking action and initiative at a personal and political level. There is work to be done in creating a safe place where the different parts of identity can be explored. It was an ambitious project to adopt a campaign that embraced all forms of intolerance.” (Gorman 1996: 48)

Notice that the way nationalism is presented here is far away from current theories in nationalism studies. It is not for example Billig’s banal nationalism (1995) that is featured here, it is neither represented as a way of communitarian thinking and acting. The text goes from discussing nationalism to speak about intolerance without a transition. These two terms are used as synonyms. “Nationalism” and “intimidation” are also employed as words with

quasi the same meanings. At this place nationalism is discussed in an anti-nationalistic framework, but this orientation is not explicit, thus it is a naturalizing way of presenting anti-nationalism. When she writes about she writes about aggressive nationalism or extreme nationalism or ultranationalism, but she is not explicit about it. This resembles a straw-man strategy of argumentation.

The discourse of racism and the relevant meta-discourses are also narratives that the campaign enters in a “dialogue” with. The “all different – all equal – A sum of experience” book features this text: “Too often the problems associated with racism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and intolerance are identified only in relation to the minority. The attitude “we don’t have a problem” may simply be an unwillingness to face up to the problems that all European societies have in coping with difference. It may imply “we do not have the problem of racism because we have no black people”. Comments such as this are in themselves an indication of racism and intolerance, as they make black people out to be the problem.” Based on this quote the campaign designers were not aware of the two main and contradictory scientific views on interethnic contact. One of them claims that the interethnic tension increases with contact, the other one claims that it decreases (for a description of classical theories of inter-group contact see (Allport 1999: 317-338). Claiming the first one has nothing to do with racism. This view is backed up by empirical evidence (as well as the other one) and it did not claim that the conflict is caused by the minority group, this claim would work well in a structuralist framework where the root of the conflict is in the interaction of the two groups. So we can conclude that the above statement (knowing the different schools of interethnic contact) is an example of a very politically charged language use. This position however is not made clear by the author.

The designers of the communication program were naturally aware of the narratives that their discourses resonate with. Multiculturalism, racism, narratives on social conflict are the kind of discourses that this campaign automatically enters in a dialog with. This move is not made explicit in the texts. Even when the campaign designers had a clearly politically engaged attitude they presented their ideas in a naturalizing way. This made possible the communication of ideas without the possible alienation of citizens who would react negatively if a more politicized, ideologically more explicit language were applied.

3.3.7. “The Size of the Racist Brain” – Reversing the Discourse of Racism

The example of the advertisement about the size of the racist brain is very problematic from different aspects that are worth to be discussed. I am interested in interethnic PR, but of course when assessing an integrated campaign it is necessary to take into account advertisement material as it also has an effect on the recipients. The picture (can be seen in Gorman 1996: 34, see Picture 1. in the Appendix) consists of the image of four brains, three of them having the same size, the fourth one is considerably smaller than the others. The text says that the first three brains are of African, European, Asian persons’ and the fourth, the small one is the brain of a racist. It is not easy to decide how symbolic the message is, I assume that the campaign designers haven’t wanted to suggest that the brain of a racist is actually smaller than that of other people, and it is unlikely that adults would perceive this as the point. What could be seen as the message is that racist people are less intelligent, or they are cognitively primitive. It is true that the stereotypical cognition of an object (in this case of a group of people) is less demanding than perceiving more openly, more complexly, but it is of course not true that racist people are generally less intelligent than non-racist ones (it is enough to think about the most known racists of the world, dictators, who were highly

intelligent). Racism is an ideology, it can be believed in by people with very different intelligence levels. To put it simply: suggesting that racists are less intelligent (and especially that there is a causal link) is a lie.

My second objection to the ad concerns not the content of the knowledge that it tries to disseminate but the structure of it. The creators of the picture use a generalizing, homogenizing argument; they try to say something about a group of people (racists). Of course, from a social scientific point of view it makes sense to speak about groups of people, but one important goal of interethnic PR campaigns is to help to reduce the generalizing cognitive tendencies of people to decrease the prevalence of stereotypical images of groups. The idea is to motivate the citizens to engage in the demanding cognitive task of perceiving members of other groups as individuals, not just group members, and to invest in the mental task of having a complex picture of the group. The stereotype as the type of knowledge (although it is known that we need some stereotypes for our cognitive system to work effectively (Allport 1999: 498)) addresses the issue of inversely-bigot people who perceive as stereotypically and hatefully racists as racists see different ethnic/racial groups. A campaign should naturally avoid to be inversely-bigot as it would become dishonest and untrustworthy.

Another issue that should be addressed is that this is a strategy of attacking (symbolically of course). It is debatable whether we can fight against aggressivity towards certain groups (different ethnicities/races) by being aggressive towards other groups (racists.) There are certainly situations when one needs to be intolerant with the intolerant, but it should be strongly justified why this is a case like that.

Gorman has included a short comment that can be used against the criticism that I have just levelled. She claims the following about the potential “over-planning” of a campaign: “There is a need to be vigilant about the use of language. There is an equal need to be vigilant about the dangers of getting bogged down by the correct interpretation of words, while around us extremists are carrying out acts of racism and xenophobia.” (Gorman 1996: 22) What she fails to recognize at this point is that the search for the “best words” to use is done because of an instrumental reason, it is not an unnecessary intellectual exercise, it is in the core of a successful campaign. I should note that the picture that I analyzed in the subsection had the most extreme message in the documentation of the campaign; it is a typical example of exaggeration but an atypical case in its extremism. On the other hand the fact that this advertising could get into the “Sum of experience” book that features selected materials for future campaign designers is worrying.

In this subsection I argued that the “Size of the Racist Brain” picture in the sense of the content of its message (“racists are not intelligent”), the structure of its message (stereotyping) and the discursive strategy (aggression) is a highly problematic one. It reproduces the discursive features of racism in the fight against it.

3.3.8. “Inside we are equal” – Dealing with Difference

The campaign material featuring the following statement in Catalan “inside we are all equals” (Gorman 1996: 69, see Picture 2 in the Appendix) portrays the X-ray picture of two persons, the two people look quite similar, but they are not identical. Now the interpretation of the picture depends again on how serious we take the metaphor. Evidently the actual X-ray pictures of two persons of different ethnic group show fundamental differences. The size and

the general shape of the body, the proportions of body-parts all differ significantly. So it is possible to read this picture in a way that it slightly overemphasizes the similarities, underestimates the differences of people. I would consider this picture to be absolutely acceptable, but the issue it raises is worth to be concerned about. A frequent objection to campaigns of this kind and to multiculturalism or inter-ethnic tolerance in general is that people believing in these ideas deny the actual differences that exist between people. These critiques claim that in order to make people “more acceptable” for each other, multiculturalists symbolically homogenize the society; they want make others to underestimate the importance of groups, the importance of the differences in biology and culture. The name of the campaign underlines that it is not in the intention of designers to participate in these kinds of homogenizing discourses. Several “pro-difference” or “differentialist” quotes can be cited:

“Many people find the idea of a European identity threatening. They see it as diluting or destroying their national or ethnic identity – creating one great melting pot, where differences are submerged. The Youth Campaign demonstrated, that differences can be our strength, and can be a way to unite people rather than divide them. It is important to value and celebrate those differences. To value differences means valuing group identity. People’s sense of identity is strongest within their peer group, families and communities.” (Gorman 1996:10)

“First, take a good look around yourself. Anyone watching? Peeking secretly in your direction? No? Good. We can start with the message. Now look around again. Look around you. Take a good look at everyone that’s there. Check out their figures and take in their looks. Anyone hiding? Is everyone counted? Okay. How many of them are the same person? How many people do you see on the street each day that are just like you? Look closely. Well?

How many are really the same? None. We're all different. That's what this booklet is about"
(Gorman 1996: 27)

"Compassion for the suffering of another is based on the recognition of the integrity of others, regardless of their attitude to you. This does not mean denying yourself – in fact it requires you to have a strong sense of identity so that you can emphasise without losing your sense of yourself." (Gorman 1996: 44)

As the pro-difference approach that was presented in this subsection is a discourse that is acceptable for a wide range of citizens, including conservatives communitarians, who are often skeptical towards pro-multiculturalism narratives, this discursive pattern (that was dominant in the campaign documentation) is an asset of the campaign.

3.3.9. "The Cult of Knowledge" - The Dominant View on Social Conflict in the Discourse

The following quote represents a typical position of the campaign designers: "Intelligence, based on a positive and courageous assessment of the best possible outcome of a situation, can overcome fear." (Gorman 1996: 45) The next sentence makes explicit the underlying knowledge-principle: "The link between the development of individual awareness, knowledge and skills, and the broader experience of exchange between culture is evident in all aspects of the campaign." (Gorman 1996: 55) A slightly different variant of this knowledge-centered view can be recognized in the following quote: "To develop the skills and awareness to be able to recognize and appreciate another culture, it is important to be conscious of your own." The part of the sentence that deserves attention here is the first one. The recognition and appreciation of another culture is presented as a skill. Thus in this discourse it is a question of

learning to get closer to another group of people. Learning requires the intellectual capacity and willingness to learn. The following quote presents a more moderate account of the knowledge-centered view: “The underlying principle was that the dynamic exchange between cultures, societies, communities and peoples was one way of conquering racism and intolerance”. (Gorman 1996: 11)

Knowledge plays a crucial role in the discourse of the campaign and in the campaign’s own meta-discourse also. It can be seen on an individual/psychological and on a social level too.

There is an underlying assumption about the relationship of knowledge, attitudes and behavior. The supposition of the campaign designers is that by providing a cognitive input, the attitudinal and behavioral reaction is somehow automatic. This is a very outdated psychological description. There is also a strong underlying view about the social dimension of knowledge. The campaign designers suggest (usually implicitly, but not there are some explicit mentions also) that social conflicts are mainly due to ignorance; thus if people would know more about each-other they would live in peace. This is surely a problematic statement from a Marxist, social conflict theoretical point of view as it fails to account for the differing interests of different classes. But even when stepping away from Marxist ideas about the society, it sounds as a naïve assumption that social conflicts are mainly due to knowledge gaps, not to the differing interests of people. In this discourse there is a linear relationship between knowledge and tolerance. The main factor in interethnic conflicts is individual knowledge of the people involved. This is a non-structuralist point of view as it denies the importance of social stratification; it can be also considered to be ontologically individualistic, or simply asocial. This knowledge-centered view on social conflicts does not need the social/political events of the past to explain the present inter-group situation; it is an ahistorical explanation. This perspective on knowledge relates well to the racist’s image in the

campaign (for example see “The Size of the Racist Brain” session). In this realm: if knowledgeable people are tolerant than racists are not intelligent. Racism is a matter of information dissemination in this narrative. This view excludes ideology as an independent factor from the equation, as it presumes that a given amount of knowledge corresponds to a certain attitude towards the ideas of egalitarianism, multiculturalism etc. The narrative of the communication program suggests that ideological groups (at least those that identify themselves mainly on the basis of their relationships to intercultural, interethnic issues) form along knowledge cleavages. There are naturally some cases where there is demonstrable correlation between the attitude/ideology of someone and her knowledge of a given topic (like pro-gun sentiments in the US gun-control debate and knowledge about how to shoot a gun), but this connection is overemphasized in this discourse.

Logically some other underlying assumptions in the knowledge issue should include that it is (1) homogenous, (2) banal and (3) its transmission is non-problematic. As its accumulation leads to the same result in the case of each individual it follows that there is one type of knowledge (it is homogeneous), so a qualitative account of it is not necessary, the quantity of it gives a full description. Moreover if knowledge produces the same outcome in every case then it is non-contested (banal), and its transmission is a relatively simple process, it is easily addable to the already existing mental set. The first assumption would fit in a positivist account of knowledge, contemporary philosophy of science’s claims are totally different from that. The assumption about the transmission is refuted by modern psychological theories, the new information does not enter one’s mind uncritically, and as it interacts with the already existing ones; and every individual cognitive systems differs from others, so the same information leads to very diverse outcomes if the recipients are different. When I am critical towards this knowledge-centered view and I use social scientific arguments I do not claim that simple communication would be a problem. The nature of communication programs make

simplicity necessary, I am interested in how this simplification is made. The knowledge-centered explanation of social conflict positions the campaign designers and the staff of the communication program as teachers, or even parents. Those who possess the knowledge about society (and who are consequently tolerant) provide information to those who don't, and who ideally become converted by this process. This is a top-down, one-way, very hierarchical model of communication that mostly resembles to the very old propaganda model of public relations.

The knowledge-centered view is the dominant one in the campaign, however there are counter-examples to that in the very same publications where the above mentioned view is very strongly present. "There is a common view, expressed in the campaign video, that hatred and fear are based on ignorance. This is partly true, but it fails to explain how increased knowledge can also result in increased fear." (Gorman 1996: 44) There are also instances when the problematicness of persuasion is recognized: "There is acknowledgement that prejudice can only be tackled if both the personal and the political dimensions are understood. Attitudes are deep-seated and personal. When prejudice is embedded in the structure and organization of the state, any challenge to it becomes highly political."

In this subsection I presented the knowledge-centered explanation of social conflicts that the campaign (on the discursive and also on the meta-discursive level) strongly communicates, although there are also counter-examples to it. Typically knowledge is depicted as the main factor in interethnic relationships which gives a false impression about the extent to which communication can be a tool of ameliorating them. This discursive feature serves as the strengthening of the legitimization of the campaign, as it exaggerates the possible effects of

it. It can also be useful in motivating people to join the campaign as the future success seems much surer than it is in reality.

3.3.10. Implicit Functions of the Discourse

A discursive study can reveal functions besides the stated ones that the narrative serves. This does not mean that these functions are intended to be there, but of course it can not exclude this possibility, it is silent about that. There is a function that closely relates to the main (anti-racist, pro-tolerance) one but it still should be distinguished from it. The discourse strengthens the common European narrative. It is the same pro-tolerance discourse to a certain extent, but it specifically refers to an international social and political place. Even a campaign that has nothing to do with antiracism would perform this function; the emphasis is on the symbolic moment of belonging to a group that is made visible by a campaign that is present in the distant localities of the community. It creates an “imagined community” in the Andersonian sense (Anderson 1991), but of course this is a much weaker effect than what Anderson wrote about when he analyzed the role of printing press in the rise of the nation and nationalism.

The text positions the Council of Europe as a positive political actor. It is presented as a wise teacher of the society. The naturalizing, depoliticizing discourse enables the Council of Europe to show itself as a force of uncontested social progression. This discourse also presents it as an organization that is open to the youth, and that is ready for cooperation with a wide range of actors. On one side it teaches as an authoritative elementary school teacher (see the content of the messages), but at the same time it also calls for participation, it empowers people (consider the decentralized and participatory nature of the campaign). The Council of

Europe is also depicted as a body that is a serious and powerful political entity that is brave enough to combat racism.

4. Conclusions

4.1. Assessing Performance as a PR Discourse

The ADAE campaign was a major, integrated communication campaign, with many PR components. A striking feature is that despite the clearly public relations components (eg. “Youth Trains”, “Kick Racism out of Football”) the documentation that I worked with did not depict the campaign itself as a PR activity; we can speak of a lack of a proper identity of the discourse. I above presented and analyzed multiple statements about the role of PR, none of them realized that public relations was the discursive genre of the campaign. Most possibly other problems followed from this absence of identification with the PR industry. As I have presented in the theoretical session, a minimal requirement of a PR campaign in the procedural sense is to include an evaluation session, to measure the outcome of the program. This move was completely absent, the output (events, brochures, media releases etc.) of the campaign, is presented as if it were the outcome (cognitive, attitudinal and behavioral change of the receptors). We can not know then if the campaign had any actual effect, and if it had, was it an effect in the intended sense. The absence of the proper measurement in the program is a serious problem especially because based on the documentation it is possible that a large proportion of the program only reached the already “converted” citizens, so those who already had favorable attitudes towards the values of multiculturalism and tolerance. This problem is quite common with programs like this and it does not necessarily mean that those events (for example the Youth Trains) that mainly reached the already converted and that strengthened the pro-tolerance, anti-racist identity of the participants are not productive. The participants can act as ambassadors for the program; they can be actors in a two-step conversion process.

Based on all these findings I can conclude that the answer for my first question is: no, the campaign did not perform well as a PR discourse as it lacked the “PR identity”, in relation to this: it did not possess all the procedural features that PR campaigns have, it lacked the proper measurement session. Even in the absence of this we can suspect based on the documents that in the case of many events the communication program “preached to the converted”, it failed to persuade citizens as it rarely reached those who shared racist attitudes. This is a typical problem of communication programs, but it is critical in this case, as due to the lack of proper measurement we can not know about the proportion of the “converted” and “unconverted” people that were reached.

4.2. Assessing Discursive Techniques of Persuasion

Some discourses that the narrative of the campaign entered in a “dialogue” with were for example that of multiculturalism, egalitarianism, cosmopolitanism, nationalism, and racism. The communication program by connecting to these discourses in a normative way was deeply political but used a naturalizing discourse that intended to present itself as an actor promoting commonsensical, humanistic ideas without a political engagement. This way the narrative was built up to be one that can be reacted positively to by people of different political beliefs.

A fundamental problem is that the campaign – probably in order to be politically more effective – used social scientifically absurd statements (see Mills 1997:60 for a description of the Foucauldian usage of statement as a discursive structure), however very few of them were possibly harmful. The “Size of the Racist Brain” example used the “racists are unintelligent”

stereotype, which technique (using stereotypes to combat others) is not only an aggressive strategy, that is very strange from a tolerance campaign, but the message it spread is not true. The “Size of the Racist Brain” picture used a “reversed-racist” discourse, but based on the documentation it was not a typical technique. It still deserves attention because of its extremity and because it was selected to be in the “Sum of experience” book.

One of the most important features of a tolerance campaign (in general and also in this case) is how it can deal with the issue of difference. I consider a major asset of this communication program that apart from some rare examples it represented a differentialist approach, not a universalist, or an assimilationist one. The slogan “All different – All equal” is a fine example of that. A differentialist approach is a good choice in the sense that it does not scare away communitarians from the campaign. It suggests that one can have its own strong identity and still be tolerant. Like this tolerance does not mean a sacrifice identity-wise. On the contrary, the recognition of different cultures can contribute to the strengthening of the own identity of the individual or group.

The decentralization of the campaign was another positive feature as it made it possible to create not only internationally distributed general messages about tolerance, but persuasive messages on the local level with very concrete and strong meanings.

I labeled the dominant view on social conflict in the program’s narrative as the “cult of knowledge”. The campaign’s discourse and meta-discourse presented inter-group conflict as mainly a question of knowledge. In this naïve view if people knew more about each other, than they would be significantly more tolerant, conflicts would diminish or disappear. It is a non-structuralist point of view that goes against the conflictual tradition of social theory (eg.

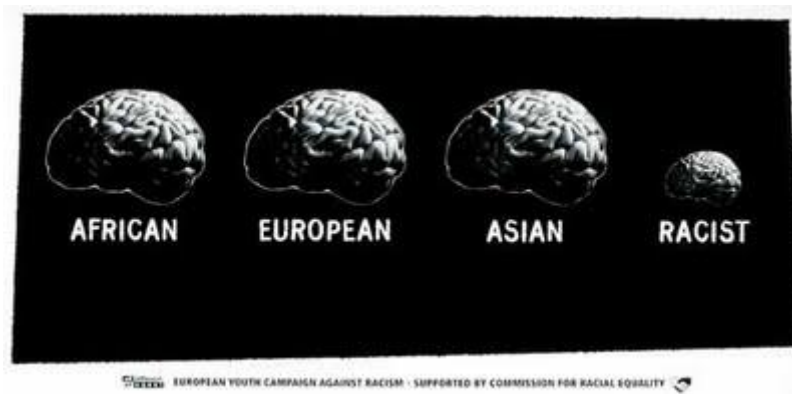
Karl Marx, Max Weber). Conflict resolution becomes a question of information dissemination. This perspective uses a very outdated psychological description of the knowledge-attitudes-behavior relationship, as it assumes a nearly automatic and linear chain of causation between these variables. The above described view is the dominant, but not the only image on social conflict that can be found in the campaign, for example it is possible to find clearly structuralist descriptions on social conflict, this is why I concluded that a coherent view on multicultural societies and social conflict is absent from the program. The knowledge-centered view can also be considered to be an asset in the sense that it had the potential to legitimize the campaign and to motivate people to join as it overemphasized the role of communication in inter-ethnic relationships. However it is ethically questionable whether the fight for equality can include dissemination of false information.

The discourse apart from its explicit one had an implicit function also: it created a European narrative by spreading messages in the whole continent in the name of the Council of Europe. In positioned the organization (that naturally was not unknown before neither) as a competent political actor having the courage to and means to address the issue of racism.

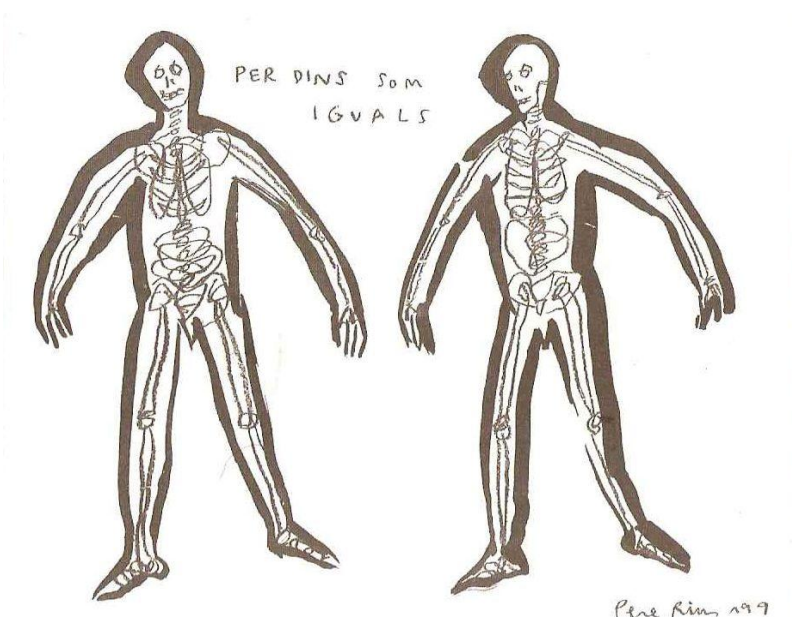
In conclusion the answer for my second question is: yes, the campaign was successful in creating a persuasive discourse as it used techniques (narrative naturalization of ideologies, decentralization of the campaign, the overemphasizing of the role communications) that made it possible for citizens sharing very different ideologies to connect to the campaign and to get mobilized by it.

Appendix

Picture 1.



Picture 2.



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