

This book is prepared within the scope of project "Common cirrucula for diversity: education in media and integration of vulnerablegroups" and coordinated by the Communication and the Media Department of

# **STEREOTYPES & PREJUDICES: XENOPHOBIA & RACISM**

COORDINATED BY TİRŞE ERBAYSAL FİLİBELİ EDITED BY YASEMIN GIRITLI INCEOĞLU, SINAN AŞÇI, FIGEN ALGÜL











# STEREOTYPES & PREJUDICES: XENOPHOBIA & RACISM

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# STEREOTYPES & PREJUDICES: XENOPHOBIA & RACISM

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# STEREOTYPES & PREJUDICES: XENOPHOBIA & RACISM

## INTRODUCTION

This text-book is being prepared for ERMIScom, a KA2O3 – Strategic Partnerships for Higher Education project which aspires to develop a common Master curriculum among the involved Higher Education Institutions that will enhance the efficacy of media courses to counter fake news and hate speech spread online on social media in order to facilitate the social integration and inclusion of vulnerable social groups. We chose the content according to improve an effective curriculum in order to cover the transformative methodological education approaches to be applied. The diversity of this consortium of 6 partners National Kapodistrian University of Athens (Higher Education Institution) EKO(NGO), Vrije Universiteit Brussels, University of National and World Economy, Bahçeşehir University, Metropolia Ammattikorkeakoulu enables simulating the whole master curriculum in an intensive and interdisciplinary way.

This book is designed and developed approximately according to 42 teaching hours, to pilot this course as an elective to currently enrolled master students and to ensure an effective evaluation in light of the coherence of the final common master curriculum.

Stereotypes and Prejudices:Xenophobia Racism module, which consists of two basic parts, examines the concepts of stereotype, prejudice, otherness, xenophobia, racism, discrimination, nationalism, which form the basis of academic studies on vulnerable groups, and deals with disability studies, gender studies, migration studies in the context of minorities and disadvantaged groups.

In the second part of the module, alternative answers to the question of "How to overcome being the other?" by tackling stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination in society within the framework of historical and collective memory, multiculturalism, interculturalism, media pluralism and diversity, media freedom and democracy, and media literacy.

Chapter One entitled "Stereotypes and prejudices: Xenophobia and Racism" examines the concepts of stereotype, prejudice, xenophobia and racism .It focuses on understanding how our perception and interpretation of the social world is affected in the formation of stereotypes and prejudices by giving examples of racism and xenophobia in Covid-19 pandemic times.

The aim of Chapter Two "Basic Concepts: Otherness, Discrimination & Discriminative Discourse" is to provide a contextual outline of three key concepts regarding the study of prejudice, namely "otherness", "discrimination" and "discriminative discourse and actively pave the way to combat media mistreatment of persons belonging to vulnerable social groups, who are usually victimized on the account of their social group membership.

Chapter Three "Historical and Collective Memory: Social Categorization of Scientific Approach " emphasizes on how collective memory is shaped by new media by establishing the relationship between memory, culture and history.

Chapter Four "Racism and Ethnicity in the Media" examines both the historical construction of national identity and the emergence of racial identities and hierarchies through media representations and how media representations of race and ethnicity tend to misrepresent and underrepresent certain social groups, reinforcing pre-existing stereotypes and discriminations.

Chapter Five "Nationalism as a Media Discourse" argues that nationalism and media content constitute the nationalistic discourse bidirectionally by analyzing how media and nationalism shape each other.

Chapter Six "Media Representations of Disability" focuses on how disability is constructed in the media and concludes by suggesting ways to combat discriminatory media discourse in an effort to enhance the integration of disabled people in mainstream media and promote a more balanced and accurate portrayal of disability.

Chapter 7 "Gender Studies: Media Representation of Minorities and Disadvantaged Groups" explains how gendered minorities and disadvantaged groups are represented in media, and defines the possible reasons and methodologies to analyze gender-based and disadvantaged groups experiences reflected in media.

Chapter 8 "Migration Studies: Media Representation of Refugees and Asylum Seekers examines the media representation of refugees and asylum seekers through different channels, while highlighting the importance of building a critical approach to address the migrant issue today across the countries.

Chapter 9 "Media Pluralism and Diversity: Old and New Challenges to Media Freedom" aims to clarify what are media pluralism and media diversity, why only sustaining media diversity is not enough to guarantee media pluralism, why we need to guarantee media pluralism for a well-functioning democracy, how highly concentrated media affect pluralism and in that case what kind of role alternative media play.

Chapter 10 "Media Pluralism 2.0: Digital Threats to Media Freedom and Democracy" both examines several digital threats which are used for the purpose of propaganda & manipulation and how they harm the digital information sphere and how they cause the spread of disinformation/misinformation, online hate speech and discriminative language towards minority groups.

Chapter 11: "Promoting Multiculturalism and Interculturalism" aims to explain the concept of intercultural communication, to examine the barriers encountered in the intercultural communication process and to focus on the role of the media in this process.

In this section, after the definitional framework of the concept of intercultural communication is given, the obstacles to intercultural communication are mentioned and the role of the media in the intercultural communication process is explained.

Chapter 12 "Media Literacy: a Tool to Combat Stereotyping, Prejudice and Discrimination" elaborates the concepts of media literacy, information literacy, and digital literacy in order to understand the new directions and changes in the media settings to create the meanings.

While the module of "Steam Judgments, Prejudices, Xenophobia and Racism" draws attention to the possible consequences of stereotypes and prejudices such as hate speech, hate crime, xenophobia and racism in societies, it draws attention to the propaganda, digital manipulation and algorithmic bias in the 21st century. It aims to provide examples of how they actively benefit from troll and bot accounts on media platforms, and to share some criteria on how to identify hate speech in the media. It has turned into an intercultural dialogue experience that includes the elements of inclusiveness, diversity, participation, productivity and creativity. The reason why discussion questions, case studies or activities are included in each chapter is to present the topics more clearly with lively and up-to-date examples.

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### AIM

The aim of the chapter is defining stereotypes, prejudice, racism and xenophobia.

Trying to understand how our perception and interpretation of the social world is affected in the formation of stereotypes and prejudices. Giving examples of racism and xenophobia in Covid-19 pandemic times.

## EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES

- To gain a deep understanding of the main concepts such as stereotypes and prejudices: xenophobia and racism.

- Raise awareness on the danger of stereotype, prejudices, and racism.

- Given a specific example, recognize stereotypes, prejudices, and racism.

- Given a specific case, recognise hate related racism.

## **KEYWORDS**

stereotypes, prejudice, xenophobia, racism, social identity theory

## CHAPTER 1

## STEREOTYPES & PREJUDICES: XENOPHOBIA & RACISM

We define prejudice as a negative attitude toward a group or toward members of the group. Defining stereotyping has been more problematic-there are tens, if not hundreds of definitions in the literature, although they are mostly based on the general idea of stereotypes as knowledge structures that serve as mental "pictures" of the groups in question (Lippmann, 1922). With some exceptions, we generally agree that stereotypes represent the traits that we view as characteristic of social groups, or of individual members of those groups, and particularly those that differentiate groups from each other. In short, they are the traits that come to mind quickly when we think about the groups and they often offer a convenient scapegoat for individual or group problems.

The tendency to simplify things has led us to discard some of the presumed characteristics of stereotypes and prejudice that were integral to early conceptualizations, such as those of Allport (1954), including inaccuracy, negativity, and overgeneralization. It is unfortunate that we have let those original requirements go—after all, they really are the heart of why we care about the topic at all. Our concepts should be simple, but also not so simple that they lose their essence. Stereotypes are problematic because they are negative, inaccurate, and unfair (Todd, 2009).

Gordon W. Allport (1954) defines prejudice as a hostile attitude or feeling toward a person solely because he or she belongs to a group to which one has assigned objectionable qualities. Allport stresses that this hostile attitude is not merely a hasty prejudgment before one knows the facts. It is a judgment that resists facts and ignores truth and honesty. According to Allport, it may be felt or expressed, and it is directed toward a group as a whole or toward an individual because he or she is a member of that group. Religious, ethnic, or racial prejudice persists for several reasons. Prejudice gives an individual a false sense of identity and self-worth; that is, a person may discriminate against others to make himself feel more powerful and to elevate his own self-esteem. Some of the most well-known types of prejudice include: racism and xenophobia.

Racism policies, behaviors, rules, etc that result in a continued unfair advantage to some people and unfair or harmful treatment of others based on race. Xenophobia is any attitude, behavior, practice, or policy that explicitly or implicitly reflects the belief that immigrants are inferior to the dominant group of people and it is reflected in interpersonal, institutional, and systemic levels of oppression and is a function of White supremacy.

Psychologists and other social scientists have established that racism, xenophobia, racial discrimination, and ethnic conflict and violence are pervasive and persisting challenges for the the international community; they threaten human development because of the obstacles which they pose to the fulfillment to basic human rights to survival, security, development, and social participation. (Resolution Against Racism and in Support of the Goals of the 2001 UN World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance, Approved as an Emergency Action by The American Psychological Association Board of Directors on June 10, 2001. In this chapter we will examine four concepts and their relationships to each other by giving some examples.

#### **STEREOTYPES**

Walter Lippmann's (1922) Public Opinion begins with the chapter entitled 'The World outside and the Pictures in our heads,' where he introduces his conception of the 'stereotype'. He tries to explain that Public opinions are the pictures inside men's heads, "the pictures of themselves, of others, of their needs, purposes, and relationship" and supports his argument by discussing how men are misled in their dealings with the World outside.

Stereotypes are exaggerated or distorted beliefs about the characteristics, attributes, and behaviors of individuals and communities that categorize individuals and communities into singular, pejorative terms. (CSSP, 2019).

According to Rommes (2006), groups are often stereotyped on the basis of sex, gender identity, race and ethnicity, nationality, age, socioeconomic status, language, and so forth. Stereotypes are deeply embedded within social institutions and wider culture.

They are often evident even during the early stages of childhood, influencing and shaping how people interact with each other (Aboud& Doyle, 1996). They are learned through many different processes; either through our communications with parents and peers. (Brown, (1995). This multiplicity of causes is unfortunate because it makes stereotypes and prejudices even more likely to form and harder to change (Tyler, 2020).

Stereotypes influence how people attend to, encode, represent, and retrieve information about others, and how they judge and respond to them. As can be seen from some examples below, stereotypes may not always be negative but negative stereotypes are effective in the formation of prejudices.

- \* All Arabs and Muslims are terrorists.
- \* All blonds are unintelligent.

- \* Men are strong and do all the work.
- \* All Japanese are ' hardworking'
- \* "Black people make better athletes."
- \* "Latin men are fantastic lovers."

Since stereotypes lead to social categorization, -the first component of the social identity theory-, we need to try to understand how our perception and interpretation of the social World is affected through this fundamental cognitive process in the formation of stereotypes and prejudices.

#### **SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY**

HenriTajfel and John Turner Turner (1979) introduced the social identity theory where they proposed that there are three mental processes involved in evaluating others as "us" or "them" (i.e. "in-group" and "out-group". Generally, individuals wish to maintain a positive social identity by maintaining their group's favorable social standing over that of relevant out-groups. (Tajfel, 1978). Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of inter-group conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worche Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of inter-group conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worche).

Social identity theory studies the processes of internal and external group discrimination. According to the theory, group members of an in-group will seek to find negative aspects of an out-group, thus enhancing their self-image. In the process of creating a mold, external group members and their beliefs are also unified, thus strengthening the belief that the views of the outside group are not similar to those of the inside group. In any form at the cognitive level the' US and them ' differentiation created is a sufficient condition to favor the inner group. As a result, the boundaries between the inner and outer group become stronger and the distance that constitutes discrimination is a self-fulfilling prophecy as it occurs spontaneously.

The first component is social categorization. Social categorization, which affects our perception and interpretation of the social world, arises as a fundamental cognitive process in the formation of stereotypes and prejudices. Stereotypes lead to social categorization which is one of the reasons for prejudiced attitudes (i.e. "them" and "us" mentality) which leads to in-groups and out-groups (McLeod, 2015).

In the second stage, social identification, we adopt the identity of the group we have categorized ourselves as belonging to. There will be an emotional significance to your identification with a group, and your self-esteem will become bound up with group membership. The final stage is social comparison. Once we have categorized ourselves as part of a group and have identified with that group we then tend to compare that group with other groups.

#### **STEREOTYPE THREAT**

According to Pennington, Heim, Levy and Larkin (2016) "Stereotype Threat" refers to a fear of doing something that would confirm negative perceptions of a stigmatized group that we are members of. Stereotype threat effects are very robust and affect all stigmatized groups.

#### PREJUDICE

Prejudice is often confused with stereotypes. They are two different concepts, but also they complement each other. Both are elements of the process that serve to roughly schematize social reality. Prejudices are based on stereotypes. The word "prejudice" comes from the Latin roots "prae" (in advance) and "judicum" (judgment), which essentially means to judge before.

Prejudice is a baseless and often negative preconception or attitude toward members of a group. Prejudice can have a strong influence on how people behave and interact with others, particularly with those who are different from them, even unconsciously or without the person realizing they are under the influence of their internalized prejudices. "The human mind must think with the aid of categories," Allport explained in his book, The Nature of Prejudice. "Once formed, categories are the basis for normal prejudgment. We cannot possibly avoid this process. Orderly living depends upon it." Allport defines prejudice in his book as "aversive or hostile attitude toward a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to that group."

For example, visible, accessible and relevant role models are important. One study (Marx, Ko, Friedman, 2009) reported a positive "Obama effect" on African Americans. Whenever Obama drew press attention for positive, stereotype-defying reasons, stereotype threat effects were markedly reduced in black Americans' exam performance

At the same time, this research provides evidence that real world role models, such as Obama, can trump racial stereotypes only when their success and accomplishments are especially salient to fellow ingroup members.

## THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL NORMS ON PREJUDICE

Minard (1952) investigated how social norms influence prejudice. Whether or not prejudice is shown depends on the social context within which behavior takes place.

Pettigrew (1959) also investigated the role of conformity in prejudice. He investigated the idea that people who tended to be more conformist would also be more prejudiced, and found this to be true of white South African students.

Rogers and Frantz (1962) found that immigrants to Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) became more prejudiced the longer they had been in the country. They gradually conformed more to the prevailing cultural norm of prejudice against the black population.

Prejudice is a preconceived opinion or assumption about something or someone rooted in stereotypes, rather than reason or fact, leading to unfavorable bias or hostility toward another person or group of people and it refers to the beliefs, thoughts, feelings, and attitudes someone holds about a group (McLeod, 2008). Some of the most well-known types of prejudice include: racism and xenophobia.

#### RACISM

The word 'racism' is often interchanged with 'prejudice', however unlike prejudice, racism is organized and persistent.

While prejudice is not necessarily specific to race, racism is a stronger type of prejudice used to justify the belief that one racial category is somehow superior or inferior to others; it is also a set of practices used by a racial majority to disadvantage a racial minority.

We can define racism as The marginalization and/or oppression of people of color based on a socially constructed racial hierarchy that privileges white people. (Anti-Defamation League, n.d.)

Racism is the belief that there are human groups with particular (usually physical) characteristics that make them superior or inferior to others. But we must underlie that there are no universally accepted legal definitions of the term racism.

The most comprehensive provision on racism is Article 4 of ICERD (International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination) which clarifies the meaning of the term and proclaims that when there is a clash between provisions of the ICERD and other rights, such as freedom of speech, the prohibition of racism should prevail.

The Inter-American Convention against Racism, Racial Discrimination and Related Forms of Intolerance, an instrument adopted by the General Assembly of the Organization of American States and which entered into force in 2017, defines racism as "any theory, doctrine, ideology, or sets of ideas that assert a causal link between the phenotypic or genotypic characteristics of individuals or groups and their intellectual, cultural and personality traits, including the false concept of racial superiority" (Guidance on racism and xenophobia, 2020).

Five broad groups are particularly affected by racism and discrimination:

Roma - 78% of Roma in Slovakia and 73% in the Czech Republic experience discrimination when looking for a job.

People of African Descent and Black Europeans -In the UK, Black people are at least six times more likely to be stopped and searched than a white person.

Muslims - 1 in 3 Muslim respondents EU-wide experienced discrimination at least once over the last 12 months. In France, 85% of Islamophobic acts target women.

Jews - 2 in 3 Jewish respondents consider anti-Semitism to be a major problem in the eight countries in which the majority of the estimated EU Jewish population lives.

Migrants - In Greece, there were 154 incidents of racist violence - mainly physical attacks - committed against refugees and migrants in 2012 (European Network Against Racism, n.d.).

Individual racism stems from personal prejudice. When it's expressed consciously, the individual is aware of their prejudice and bias. In most instances though, individual racism is insidious and unconsciously shapes beliefs, attitudes and decisions. (ENAR, 2019)

#### **XENOPHOBIA**

The term "ethnocentrism" was coined by William Graham Sumner in reference to the view that one's own group is the center of everything, with others judged in terms of the familiar standards of that group. One manifestation of ethnocentrism is "xenophobia," or the fear of outsiders. Fear, like all emotions, arises from our perceptual experience. https://www.idrinstitute.org/resources/ethnocentris m-xenophobia/ Another definition of xenophobia proposes the following aspects: "attitudes, prejudices and behavior that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity." (International Migration, Racism, Discrimination and Xenophobia, 2001).

Racism and xenophobia are distinct phenomena, although they often overlap. While racism generally implies distinction based on differences in physical characteristics, such as skin color, hair type, facial features etc xenophobia denotes behavior specifically based on the perception that the other is foreign to or originates from outside the community or nation. By dictionary definition, xenophobia is "the intense dislike or fear of strangers or people from other countries." As a sociologist puts it, xenophobia is "an attitudinal orientation of hostility against non-natives in a given population. Boehnke, K., cited in Akokpari and Matlosa, 2001.

The definition of xenophobia, and its differentiation from racism and racial discrimination, is still evolving.

Racism is an ideological construct that assigns a certain race and/or ethnic group to a position of power over others on the basis of physical and cultural attributes, as well as economic wealth, involving hierarchical relations where the 'superior' race exercises domination and control over others;

"Xenophobia describes attitudes, prejudices and behavior that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity" as mentioned on Declaration on Racism, Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance against Migrants and Trafficked Persons, 2001) In many cases, it is difficult to distinguish between racism and xenophobia as motivations for behavior, since differences in physical characteristics are often assumed. Racism and migration distinguish the 'other' from the common identity. However, manifestations of xenophobia occur against people of identical physical characteristics, even of shared ancestry, when such people arrive, return or migrate to States or areas where occupants consider them outsiders (OHCHR, UNESCO, n.d.).

There is a close link between racism and xenophobia, which is difficult to distinguish from each other (Perruchoud & Redpath – Cross, 2013:97). A person who exhibits xenophobic attitudes develops a rejecting and hostile attitude towards those whom he perceives as strangers, therefore threatening, based on his subjective life experience. This hostility is often directed at people who are perceived differently from majority society in terms of national-ethnicity, religion, and racial characteristics. The hostility in question can manifest itself in the form of exclusion, physical assault, exile, and even destruction.

According to social identity theory, xenophobia is based on the relationship of faith between an individual's own identity and their social identity. In other words, social identity causes the individual to show favor and tolerance to the group to which he belongs, and to act intolerantly towards the group to which he does not belong (Tajfel, 1982).

We have witnessed many examples of racism and xenophobia in Covid-19 pandemic times. Lynching is rooted in fear, hatred, racism and a tendency to violence. Attacking the Chinese, thinking that all Asians on the street are Chinese, is the result of hysteria that moves subconsciously, reaches primitivism with a lot of psychology ready to take into action the thoughts that are inculcated to it. Provocation and agitation are also the two most important feeders of this herd psychology. Now let's look at some examples of corona-virus related racism that have taken place recently in the US and the UK:

\* A passenger sprayed Febreze air freshener on an Asian passenger on the Brooklyn subway in front of everyone (Brito, 2020).

\* In Los Angeles, a 16-year-old Asian boy was pushed around by students, accused of carrying the coronavirus.

\* A 59-year-old Asian man walking down Madison Avenue in New York was being kicked in the back and knocked to the ground by a teenager who chanted, "Chinese coronavirus! go back to your country,".

\* An Asian woman walking in Manhattan was attacked by an assailant who screamed as she bumped the victim , then spat on her and pulled her hair from carrying coronavirus, spitting it out and pulling it out of her hair screaming "You're the reason why the coronavirus is here!. (Tracy, 2020).

\* Jonathan Mok, a 23-year-old Singapore student who has been studying at the University of London for two years-was walking on London's Oxford Street when he was racially attacked by a 16 year old boy The words of the attacker who kicked and punched him were: "we don't want your coronavirus in our country. (BBC, 2021)

Since the outbreak of coronavirus several accounts of racism and xenophobia have been reported and documented on social media. Aguilera, (2020) states that racial stereotyping and fear mongering can be exacerbated during times of public emergency on social media where people share inaccurate and racist information in "echo chambers" with people who may already have existing prejudice towards various groups.

#### **EXAMPLE OF HATE RELATED RACISM**

Some hate speech related racism produced in our country on social media that is directed at Chinese people is nothing new. (İnceoğlu, 2020). In 2005, videos and photos that had nothing to do with East Turkestan and Uyghur Turks were shared, '- you hang the rope around our neck, the food you eat is dog meat. One day, when you're cornered, don't ask for forgiveness, You Chinese bastard."- Dog-eating red China. Dry off your dog clothes. For bloody revenge. God Bless The Turk. ' Looking at the shares in the entry entitled "The mysterious relationship between the Wuhan virus and the Uighurs" in the sour dictionary (ekşi sözlük), there are comments linking the Wuhan virus to divine justice and karma: "the Chinese imprisoned the Uighur Turks for no reason, I believe in karma, what goes around comes around. That's how it works. Sooner or later the universe will serve you the revenge that you deserve." In a tweet from Turkey, one said: " you should have thought about it before you threw the animals alive into boiling water". "Look at divine justice, the treatment of a Chinese traveling by bus in Turkey... The Chinese, who looked at Muslims with the eye of germs until yesterday, have now become a symbol of disease, virus, filth, germs in the world."

#### **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

1- Describe the danger of stereotype, prejudices, and racism.

- 2- Is stereotyping a form of racism?
- 3- Why are people racist?

4- Are you prejudiced? If yes, what are some recent instances in which you behaved in a prejudiced way? If not, how do you know that you're not prejudiced?
5- Which forms of prejudice are most socially acceptable, and which are least acceptable? Why are some forms more acceptable than others?

#### **ACTIVITY1**

Note the stereotypes, prejudices, or discrimination that you have experienced regarding religion, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, sexual identity, age, life, social status, profession, etc.

#### **ACTIVITY 2**

Find a news article, a TV program, or an advertisement that conveys messages of stereotypes, prejudices or racism. Identify the issues, and propose a different way of presenting it.

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### AIM

The aim of this chapter is to provide a contextual outline of three key concepts regarding the study of prejudice, namely "otherness", "discrimination" and "discriminative discourse". Anyone interested in a critical approach to modern public discourse and vulnerable groups' media representation, and in particular students should have a solid comprehension of these concepts, as they constitute basic elements of a complex socio-discursive process that often generates misleading conclusions, ambiguous behaviors, or even unjust policies.

## **EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES**

Apprehend the main concepts related to discrimination and intolerance
Get a thorough insight into the link between otherness and prejudices with discrimination and discriminative discourse

 Become familiar with knowledge of scientific theory and research in the field of discrimination
 Examine different types of communicative events that cause the reproduction of xenophobia, racism, and discrimination, and their channels

- Critically reflect on the effects of discriminatory speech in public discourse

### **KEYWORDS**

other, otherness, exclusion, discrimination, discriminative discourse

## CHAPTER 2

## BASIC CONCEPTS: OTHERNESS, DISCRIMINATION & DISCRIMINATIVE DISCOURSE

### ABSTRACT

This chapter focalizes on two basic concepts otherness and discrimination - and analyses their forms, modus operandi, social impact, and their main communicative tool: the discriminative discourse. The concept analysis follows the social science methodologies, in particular the interdisciplinary approach.

### **SECTION 1.1: INTRODUCTION**

"Otherness" is discussed as a social phenomenon with a long record throughout history. It is considered to belong in the sphere of discourse and it is closely related to power establishments and dynamics. It is considered to have a catalytic role and a significant potential in the development of discriminative behavior, through stigmatization and oppression. Through its impact in the social realm, otherness creates the mature environment to cultivate "discrimination". Whereas there is no unanimous definition of discrimination, its core elements are outlined here, allowing the readers to approach discrimination critically and identify its multiple manifestations. Last but not least, the concept of "discriminative discourse" is presented. It regards the special analytic contexts of discourse and language used to discriminate against people, in the realm that follows the formation of the Other. Although the discriminative linguistic practice is always an accompanying element of discriminative behavior, it does not necessarily lead to such behavior, nor its actors are always conscious of the act itself.

The presentation and discussion of all three concepts are expected to provide readers with an

analytical context, which allows them to examine prejudice and its impact both on the realm of discourse and action. Moreover, it aspires to equip readers with the necessary theoretical tools, to actively combat media mistreatment of persons belonging to vulnerable social groups, who are usually victimized on the account of their social group membership.

### **SECTION 1.2: OTHERNESS**

Otherness is a quite modern term in social sciences' analysis, despite the fact that it traced as a socio-discursive process since the ancient Greek times. It contributes to the investigation of how identities, or in broader terms, how majorities and minorities are built up via power relations among communities of various kinds. More precisely, otherness refers to the discourse or the viewpoint of a dominant Self who is in a position to identify the Other. It originates from a socio-discursive process that generally results in the division of humanity into two different groups; on the one hand, the in-group is the one who is able to set its identity proclaiming to itself its norms, values, and characteristics; on the other hand, the out-groups are those identified by the dominant in-groups. The out-groups are defined by their either factual or fictional devalued characteristics that the dominant group attributes to them, often linked with spatial marginality.

It is important to identify Otherness as a process belonging to the sphere of discourse, rather than to the sphere of facts which is where differences are conferred. In this realm, the dominant in-group creates the Other through stigmatizing differences, and through simplistic ideas and stereotypes, it denies out-groups to embody their own positive-connoted identities. Hence, the mere process of constructing identities stands as a possible justification for discrimination. The development of Otherness is based on the one hand upon hierarchy, reassuring the superiority of Us in relation to Them, on the other, upon hetero-determination, since the One exists only in relation to the Other.

Another pillar of Otherness is the asymmetry in power relations among the identified communities. It is the dominant in-group that imposes its point of view on the identity of all humans, whereas the Others cannot prescribe their norms. Through the realm of power, One can also understand the process of the out-groups denouncing their position as such. For the Others to proclaim themselves valued characteristics and confer positive identities (e.g. LGBTQ+ Pride movement), they have to successfully address oppression and then construct their own out-groups. Social, political, and economic power is a major variable in this process, settling a battleground in which the reasoning power of discourse is often only complementary.

The spatial heterogeneity of societies has been a matter of interest and investigation ever since the times of Homer and Herodotus. However, it was the establishment of colonial geography in Europe, in the late 19th century, that motivated western geographers to explain societal heterogeneity through the documentation of the physical environments' particularities, in relation to tropical societies. Radical and feminist geographies in the 1960s were the first to focus their analyses on minorities through a motive of denouncing oppressive mechanisms. Only when postmodern analyses inquired about diversity in socio-discursive terms, Otherness was integrated into geography.

Nevertheless, the spatial origins of Otherness are deeply integrated into ethnocentrism. As Cl. Levy-Strauss indicates many auto-ethnonyms (e.g. Inuit) refer to "the people", implying non-human features for the out-groups. However, when discussing ethnocentric bias and the construction of the Other, specific attention should be paid to Western society's case. On the one hand, it can provide a gritty example of Otherness' binary reasoning, since it has generated a series of binaries that identifies contradictions between positive-connoted and negative-connoted concepts - as dichotomies (male-female, black-white, adult-child, heterosexual-homosexual, believer-non believer, etc.). On the other hand, western values, through the force of colonization and the universalism of science and Christianity, have been not only widely exported, but also set as mere prerequisites of progress according to western thought.

Whereas not all variations of Otherness are completely linked with a geographical dimension, such as in the case of women or LGBTQ+, the existence of the Other as such, mobilizes the dominant in-group to generate a kind of spatial separation, often resulting in segregation or even ghettos. That is because cohabitation disrupts false conceptualizations of the Other, as it allows the particularities of each group to be influenced, or even mixed.

#### **SECTION 1.3: DISCRIMINATION**

Defining discrimination has been a challenge that still has no "universally accepted" answer (W. Vanderhole, 2005) regardless of whether the approach is in the legal or the social realm. In the context of the legal definition, core human rights texts usually provide "non-exhaustive lists of the grounds on which discrimination is to be prohibited" (A. Altman, 2020). However, there is an intersectional consensus on the core elements that constitute discrimination. These are actions, policies, or practices, put forward by individuals or not, oriented towards persons due to their identities as members of social groups that are perceived as inferior from the in-group's point of view (Lippert-Rasmussen, 2006).

Thus, discrimination against persons can be described as the unfavorable treatment of these persons that takes place due to their membership in specific social

groups, discriminatory behavior indicates elements of disadvantageous treatment - not just differential - i.e. imposing wrong or harm on those affected. In order to determine the disadvantage, another variable should be considered for the comparison to be made. The reference addresses an appropriate social group belonging to the same society, or the same political structure (A. Altman, 2020). It is important, though, to note that discrimination can take place even if the behavior concerned confers benefits to those discriminated against. This is the case when affected persons might eventually enjoy a benefit, that is of less importance than the one conferred to the comparison group (in-group). Even if individuals have accepted no harm, but an absolute benefit, if this benefit is of a smaller scale than the one accepted by their fellow citizens, it can lead to serious disadvantages, related to important features of one's life, such as education and social status which in their turn can lead to, or sustain inequality, even oppression, and domination by other groups (Anderson, 1999).

The social science approach to discrimination looks into three distinct types: direct discrimination, indirect discrimination, and organizational/structural discrimination.

Direct discrimination is usually identified, inter alia, by explicitness, indicating a certain treatment for members of certain social groups. Such would be the case in a job advertisement that imposes age limits that are not justified for the purposes of the specific position; or the case of a customer in a store that is denied service, solely due to his/her membership in a specific social group. Direct discrimination takes place even if it is unintentional and its reasoning seems neutral but it serves for the exclusion of individuals, based on their belonging to a social group. As Lippert-Rasmussen (2014) points out, general indifference to the rights of some social groups may confer disadvantages and result in direct discrimination. Persons being unaware of discriminatory motives behind their acts, due to prejudice, may still disadvantage other people on the account of their social group affiliation.

Indirect discrimination can be identified as the sum of all disadvantageous acts for members of certain social groups when the agent has no motivating bias or intention and the act has no justification, although it is contested as a term (Cavanagh, Young, Eidelson). A gritty example is that of a U.S. Supreme Court case (Griggs v. Duke Power, 1971): it considers a written test of a company in North Carolina, for the accommodation of promotions, in which nearly all black employees failed. Although in this case, the company did not directly discriminate against any social group, it turned out that the test was inappropriate regarding the promotions at hand, and that the state of North Carolina presented a long record of discrimination against black people, inter alia, by providing them far more inferior education (A. Altman, 2020). Another example of indirect discrimination is that of "Statistical Discrimination" (Phelps, 1972). This is a form of discrimination by the exaggeration of intergroup differences while devaluing within-group dispersion and individual characteristics that may differ from the perceived group characteristics (Ryan, 1995).

Organizational/structural discrimination refers to two interrelated subtypes: On the one hand, organizational discrimination can be attributed to collective agents, not natural persons, such as government and religious authorities, educational institutions, corporations, etc. On the other hand, institutional or structural discrimination applies to the policies and regulations of the major sectors of life (political rights and responsibilities, family relations, property ownership, etc. (Pooge, 2008).

Discrimination in all its forms is a quite useful concept to depict the unfavorable features of human societies through time. Although as a concept it is not fully explored it allows us to identify, investigate and employ action that can successfully address oppressive systems and habits of thought.

## SECTION 1.4: DISCRIMINATIVE DISCOURSE

Discriminative discourse refers to the special role of discourse and language that is used to discriminate against outgroup members. As mentioned in Section 1.3, discrimination can be identified in actions, policies, or practices that establish unfavorable treatment towards members of a distinct social group. However, discrimination does not stand only in the sphere of action but it can be identified in verbal and written proposals of social discrimination, in linguistic means. Hence, discussing discriminative discourse or discriminatory speech can provide a special analytic context to better understand discrimination. Linguistic practice, according to speech act theory (Austin, 1975, Searle, 1970), is just another appearance of social practice since people "do things with words", and so it can be investigated as such.

Discursive discrimination is a common part of all types of discrimination (K. Boreus, 2006). As K. Boreus indicates, spreading non-linguistic discrimination in any society can be the result of certain forms of discursive discrimination's prevalence in public discourse. In fact, any intergroup aggression or hostility "is without fail accompanied by discriminatory discourse", in terms of preparation, justification, or condemnation (C. Grauman, 2010). However, the opposite is not true. i.e discriminative speech occurs, to a great extent, in closed discussions among members of the same ingroup, that do not necessarily incite hostilities or aggression against distant Others. That is the case when discrimination is identified in the talk about the Other, or Others, and not directly talk to them.

But the mere identification of discriminative speech is a matter of perspective, and it cannot be assumed that all parts involved, are aware of its signs and patterns. According to C. Grauman's actor-observer-victim distinction, the "target persons" are well aware of how and when they are discriminated against, and they are usually sensitive to such behavior. An unbiased observer would recognize an explicit discriminatory speech, or at least identify it, by the victim's affective reactions. On the contrary, discriminators are not always aware of their speech as such. Even when they are, they find it difficult to acknowledge it in most cases. Bias and discrimination are deeply integrated into some languages' structure (such as gender bias), thus it cannot be related to an individual's use of a language in every circumstance.

In Grauman's study, discriminative discourse is not limited to direct talk to a member of a socially distinct group (T. van Dijk, 1984, 1987, 1993), nor to the mere choice of words and syntax (M. Sykes,1985). As he claims, there is no reason to assume that a speech devaluing a person on account of his/her membership to an outgroup, is foreign to discrimination, solely because the victim is absent. He goes on to pinpoint that another dimension of the term is to be found in the printed or audio-visualized discourse of media, where there is no control over whether the recipients are the victims or just people in line with the authors.

Discursive discrimination can be conducted in a direct or indirect, explicit or implicit manner. Direct discursive discrimination, namely a speech addressed to the victim – as communication among ingroups and outgroups – can be either explicit or implicit. One can confer to the victim negative traits, treating him/her not as an individual but as a member of an inferior group either plainly, or using disguised linguistic means. Indirect discursive discrimination is identified mostly among ingroup talks, serving ingroup dynamics and cohesion and setting ingroup boundaries (Grauman C. and Wintermantel M., 1989).

Another useful distinction among the different kinds of discriminative discourse is K. Boreus' typology, which reveals different aspects of the term. According to this typology, discriminative discourse can be distinct among exclusion from discourse, negative other-presentation, objectification, and proposals pointing towards unfavorable non-linguistic treatment. The first one can refer either to the exclusion of outgroups from discussions directly related to them, or invisibility making, as the exclusion of relative references and images in public discourse. The second is mainly related to the concept of otherness. It refers to the presentation of the Other as inferior and the choice of labels. Objectification in its linguistic expression concerns the discussion about people as if they were things. The last type of discriminative discourse relates to non-linguistic discriminatory practice.

Whereas the distinction of discursive discrimination is not universally agreed upon, the first approach of its different forms is very useful in order to understand it both as a concept and as a practice. Its role in the oppressive mechanisms of discrimination, in general, is decisive whether the discussion is about discrimination as an undesirable societal feature, or about the implications of it on victims and their lives.

#### **CASE STUDY**

There has been observed a discriminatory, exclusionary, and 'othering' discourse towards Syrian refugees in print media over the last few years. In both the mainstream press and local newspapers, the news articles about Syrian refugees re-generate 'othering' discourse against refugees. In a considerable part of the news, 'primary sources', whose opinions together with their calls for 'common sense' are given coverage, are members of the parliament, governors, the president of the chamber of commerce, local businessmen, and headlines are presented in banners. However, the opinions of Syrian refugees are not included in these news articles. Please use this case study as a point of reference to initiate a discussion around media representation of refugees in your country.

Types of discursive discrimination	Varieties of expression	Typical speech act
<ul> <li>Negative other-presentation</li> </ul>	Negative labels	<ul> <li>Referring ro attribution of</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>Negative descriptions</li> </ul>	traits or typical behaviour
	<ul> <li>Negative associations</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>None; occurs as pattern in discourse</li> </ul>
Exclusion from discourse	Exclusion of voices	None
	<ul> <li>Exclusion of images and</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Abstention from referring</li> </ul>
	references	to argumentation
<ul> <li>Proposals that point towards</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Explicit proposals</li> </ul>	None
unfavorable non-linguistic	<ul> <li>Support for normalization of</li> </ul>	
treatment	existing unfavorable treatment	
<ul> <li>Discriminatory</li> </ul>	People discussed as if they	None
objectification	lacked feelings, needs and	
	wishes: denial of subjectivity	
	<ul> <li>People discussed in other</li> </ul>	None
	ways as if they were things, for	

#### **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

- On which elements is the development of Otherness based?
- What are the main types of discrimination?
- How can discourse contribute to or reproduce discrimination?

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### AIM

The aim of the present chapter is after giving the relation of memory with culture and history, it is to focus on collective memory. In this context, it will be focused on how the collective memory is shaped by the media and in today's conditions through the new media.

## EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES

To gain a deep understanding of the main concepts related to collective memory.
To gain the relation of memory with culture and history.

- To gain awareness on how collective memory is shaped by the media.

## **KEYWORDS**

memory and culture, memory and history, collective memory, collective memory and media

## CHAPTER 3

## HISTORICAL AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY: SOCIAL CATEGORIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC APPROACH

### **SECTION 3.1: INTRODUCTION**

Our current perception of the world is in close connection with the experiences we have had in the past, and memory has a decisive and impressive power in shaping our present life. As a simple rule, participants in the social order share and carry memories of the past. In fictions about the past; narratives, rationalizations and feelings are decisive factors and constitute the reference points for our identity. In other words, our existing possessions are largely dependent on the past, and pervasive images of the past are used as a tool to justify the present social order (Connerton 1989: 3). Memory is both the identifier of the individual and identity and the narrator of our group identity and our relationships with others. Apart from that, memory is a highly individual subject and includes a deep network of social relationships. It carries knowledge of myths, legends, songs, proverbs, kinship, rituals and other forms throughout life. In a different aspect, it is a sense of memory, it is connected with emotions and may be patterned with prejudices. Distortions, incomplete recollections or obvious ignorances are essential points that need to be addressed. In particular, the existence or addition of some distortions can be debatable and can be used for individual or political purposes (Climo et al. 2002: 13). Reminiscences associated with the traces of the past also necessitate the explanation of where and how memory is formed. Especially without memories, it is extremely difficult to separate group identities from each other and to make sense of intergroup relations. Even the simplest

everyday conversations are quite complex and involve our needs, what we do, where we belong, our relationships with other people. For this reason, studies on memory attract the attention of different disciplines, both as individual memory and collective memory studies. In addition to individual studies such as biographies, life experiences, travel memoirs, subjects focused on the academic field; can be specified as collective memory studies with social and political importance (Climo et al. 2002: 2).

### **SECTION 3.2: MEDIA AND CULTURE**

Information about the individual's religion, class and family is an important data source in making sense of experiences or in collective memory studies. The information in question is preserved individually, historically, socially and politically, and is transferred from generation to generation by any social group with its cultural dimensions. In this respect, collective memory is the main tool in the transport and preservation of culture and tradition (Rodriguez et al. 2007: 7). The cultural carrier role of collective memory includes the social harmony of values, reading and writing skills, getting used to the new social environment and behaviors, and gives individuals a sense of belonging. But at the same time, social and cultural relocation is closely linked to the effort and desire to maintain cultural continuity. Traditionally, in societies where change is slow, primary generations insist on the continuation and transfer of existing culture, and cultural innovations are mostly provided by younger generations (Schonpflug 2009: 9). In this context, cultural memory reveals the extent to which shared memories of the past are mediation, textualization and acts of communication (Rigney, 2005: 11-28).

Apart from remembering and reconstructing the past, there are two distinctive features that can be encountered and need to be taken into account regarding collective memory. The first of these is the surviving history, politics and marginalized individuals, and the second is the intellectual factors as a living form. Four different aspects in cultural memory studies; images, secrets, narratives and similarities are the determining variables (Rodriguez et al. 2007: 4).

### **SECTION 3.3: COLLECTIVE MEMORY**

Collective memory is dependent on time, space and historical conditions (Halbwachs, 1992: 1). Individual recollections of a particular group are based on personal experiences and perceptions. The existence of similar memories shows that individuals have actually experienced such an event. In this respect, collective memory is homogeneous and contains only minor differences (Wertsch 2002: 25). In addition to the complexity of individual and collective memory, it is a debated topic in memory studies on the factors that make up memory and social activity. However, as a general approach, it is accepted that the factors shaping memory are perceptions and individual experiences (Qi Wang et al. 1996: 10).

The basic paradox of collective memory studies is the existence of forgetting in the memory production process. Despite this feature, forgetting or incomplete recollections form a part of memory studies. As a matter of fact, collective memory is based on the widespread memories of the participants in rituals and certain features of objects (Mills 2008: 81). Creating the collective memory of individuals and the meaning of the signs associated with it, the place where the memory takes place; identifying objects, people, biographies, rituals, cultural practices, language and symbols is the basic need. The dynamic structure of memory, taking into account forgetting, denial and renewal, and specifying data about different individuals and groups as only a

memory and identity are special issues that should be emphasized (Climo et al. 2002: 3).

Collective memory is used to refer to individual recollections, official commemorations, collective representations, and the spiritual and constructive aspects of shared identities. It can be said that collective memory is located in personal testimony, oral history, tradition and myth, language, art and popular culture (Olick, 1999: 336).

Collective memory provides an important basis for nation building and national identity. It establishes a bond that creates an image of temporal continuity between generations and legitimizes the existing socio-political order (Gross, 2002: 342). Collective memory is the discovery of a common identity that unites any social group with different interests and motivations, such as family or nation. To raise awareness in society, it is enough to choose any background. This past must govern emotions, stimulate people to action, and be perceived; in short, it should be a socio-cultural mode of action (Confino, 1997: 1390). In this respect, collective memory provides the necessary motivation for the mass mobilization of the group. Institutions, cultural practices and physical spaces that contain meaningful history and trigger memory and identity with these aspects function as "memory reservoirs" (Gross, 2002).

The continuity of the collective memory, which consists of the common memories and experiences of societies, depends on the continuous feeding and reproduction of the memory in question. This nurturing and reproduction is carried out through various social and cultural channels. From an anthropological point of view, it is possible to give examples of these channels such as folkloric plays, oral and written literature, traditions and customs in which various cultural elements of collective memory are thematized and transferred to new generations. If we consider it at a more macro level and in the context of the state/society, we see that the diversity in the number and categories of the mentioned channels is increasing. States follow social and cultural policies that emphasize the common values shared by the society and keep them alive in order to keep the

society together and facilitate their loyalty and obedience to the state superstructure. The first process that comes to mind when it comes to the unity and integrity of society is creating a national identity. The policies that establish and develop the national identity implemented by the states also shape the collective memory and the desired national unity on the ideological principles set by the state. What Eric Hobsbawm calls "invented traditions" is one of the best examples of this situation. Accordingly, the political elites invented traditions to channel the energies of the popular masses and internalize them through repetition. These traditions are a set of habits and practices that are of a ceremonial or symbolic nature and have accepted rules. In this respect, according to Hobsbawm, there are three ways to keep society under control: to create new institutions such as sports and festivals, to invent new status systems and socialization methods such as hierarchical education system and royal ceremonies, and to create communities that symbolize the unity of the group - that is, the nation (Hobsbawm & Ranger)., 1983: 1-13).

## SECTION 3.4: HISTORY AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Collective memory is not history. Yet it is occasionally shaped from a similar material. Memory is a collective phenomenon, but it reveals itself in the acts and expressions of individuals. It may be captured by events of the historically and socially distant past, but it generally takes care of the needs of the present. It can be the result of conscious manipulation or the product of unconscious absorption, and it is always mediated. It can be observed by its effects rather than its characteristics and only indirectly (Kansteiner, 2002: 179-197).

Individuals do not directly remember events; Therefore, events are remembered in indirect environments such as reading, listening and commemoration events. These environments are the moments when the collective work and achievements of the group take place. Historical memory reaches social actors through written sources or other records such as photographs. (Coser, 1992: 369). This type of memory includes information that reaches the individual indirectly through books, movies, commemorations, and the education system (Levy, 2002: 91). On the other hand, collective memory is a social and cultural key and descriptor for the individual depending on time and place. It is historical reconstruction in relation to the past and lived, and is often equipped with political and social narratives (Agnew 2005: 185).

Apart from that, collective memory studies have the feature of having a rich dynamic structure beyond recording the changes and carrying historical intertwining with it, just like the studies of history (Wertsch 2002: 41). But collective memory needs a much more specific distinction than historical reconstruction. It is more specific than the effort to reveal certain events and traces and may require analysis away from different emotional evidence and interpretations (Connerton 1989: 13).

## SECTION 3.5: MEDIA AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Yoram Peri states that the media draws the framework of the remainder and is very successful in the formation of instant memory. Peri emphasizes that the media is more advantageous than other memory-forming elements in terms of reaching isolated individuals and societies that are spatially distant, with the effect of technological developments (1999, p. 107). According to Garde-Hansen, the media provided a space for production, storage and consumption for collective memory (2011, p. 60). On the one hand, the media is seen as a space where the social ritual of remembering is done and memories are shared in public and private spheres (Nieger, Meyers, & Zandberg, 2011, p. 13). Garde-Hansen states that today, being able to learn and preserve historical processes has reached a certain level with media tools, and tools such as television, telephone, social media, and cinema contribute to remembering collective memory (2011, p. 7).

Fictional descriptions produced in all media can also change people's perspectives on historical figures and processes, as modern life affects many areas from family life to education, from religious habits to business environments (Nieger, Meyers, & Zandberg, 2011, p. 3). Anderson, on the other hand, states that although the function and limitations of visual media are open to discussion, it has gained a certain degree of trust. Anderson points out that television should not be simply ignored as a negative object that does not contribute to the development of historical consciousness (2001, p. 20).

As a matter of fact, Zelizer states that journalism and memory cannot reach an optimum mechanism without resorting to past knowledge. Just as journalism needs a social context while re-presenting social developments and a collective memory to create this context, memory also needs journalism while creating the social drafts of the past. Journalists, while creating their own agenda, bring up collective memories of the past and reconstruct these memories. Therefore, the historical process is a rich repository that journalists can use to explain current developments (2008, pp. 79, 81-83).

With the transition to the printing culture, memory begins to be historicized in more concrete ways. Press culture textualizes the past. By removing ideas, persons and events from the realm of oral tradition and giving them a specific place and time in the collective memory, texts enable readers to understand the historicity of the past in a deeper and more informed way (Hutton, 1993: 19).

Today, despite the rise of visual and digital media, one of the most important mass media tools that still maintains its effectiveness is the newspaper. The fact that the newspaper is a "document" for future generations, constructing the future "past" now, can help to grasp the importance of its function. According to a common saying, 'the journalist writes the first draft of history' (Edy, 2006: 71). Journalists use their background knowledge to 'limit any period', to make analogies as a criterion, and for brief explanations and lessons that can be drawn from history (Lang and Lang, 1989: 123-129). By using the past to construct current knowledge, it simultaneously creates future past knowledge. Although using history or past events to understand the present is a method of academic studies identical with collective memory, this method is also used in journalism. Past; it provides a point of comparison, an opportunity for analogy, an invitation to nostalgia, and a correction and compensation in the interpretation of previous events (Zelizer, 2008a: 379-389). The use of historical information in newspapers is also the reason why the 5W1K rule is "Why?" functional to explain its size (Zelizer, 2008b: 82). Considering that a past narrative is constructed in the texts used in mass media, it can be said that this narrative will inevitably be eclectic, 'fluid and ambiguous' and represent a fragmented image of semiotic activities rather than complete (Rasmussen, 2002: 125).

Stories about the past come to the fore in news in three forms: commemoration, historical analogies and historical contexts (Edy, 2006: 74-80).

"Remembrance" news is the news in which the past has a direct place in the present. These days, which are often determined by the official authority to ensure social cohesion, are generally the periods on which social consensus is achieved. Or, on the contrary, the issue at the center of the commemoration event is an event or person on which the official authority tries to consolidate public consensus. It can be said that at the beginning of the important periods when the media's view of the past carries a critical side, commemoration events are reported (Edy, 2006: 76).

Unlike commemorations, "historical parables" explicitly attempt to relate the past to the present in order to analyze a present situation and predict its consequences. A present dilemma is built on a similarity to a crisis in the past, and the past is referenced as a 'history lesson'. It is seen that historical analogies are used especially by political authorities and sometimes even the very distant past is instrumentalized when referring to current issues (Edy, 2006: 78). It can be observed that historical analogies are used more frequently in times when social mobilization is in crisis and social cohesion is eroded. History is used both to instill self-confidence in the social group and to provide historicity to the social group, especially in the most crisis periods of nation-building, when the knowledge of history is more needed. The main theme of historical analogies is to provide the material that increases the group's bias towards itself through the "decorative contrast between the glorious past and the ordinary present" (Lukács, 1982: 222).

"Historical contexts" differ from historical analogies in that they trace past knowledge of the present situation in the past. Rather than explaining any past event by analogy with any present event, the historical context explains 'how we got to this point'. Trying to explain why is a riskier claim for a journalist than explaining an analogy. At this point, the journalist needs more legitimating sources (Edy, 2006: 80).

History information in newspapers is grouped in two main channels: From time to time, special projects are created by news organizations, and the past is strategically addressed directly and projects are created for this purpose. Projects include the printing and publication of retrospective topics, programs, special publications, books and book series following a general history (Zelizer, 2008a: 385).

Apart from the content, the format of the news also includes the relationship established with memory. Sometimes news is linked to the past as a matter of formality; in such cases format requires memory. At other times, the news invites contact with the past, but the present is a foothold. And finally, sometimes the news appeals to the past in order to better understand a past event, but this is not necessary and often not explicit. In such cases, the format allows memory (Zelizer, 2008b: 83). The genres in which the news format directly invokes the past and is dependent on memory are the above-mentioned memorial journalism news or obituaries. The genres in which the formal features of the news invite memory are historical analogies, direct comparisons of the past and present, and the investigation of relatively "historical" events. Here, the relationship that the journalist establishes with the past is an "explanatory" relationship. In cases where the form allows memory or the memory leaks into the news, the past enters the news as an afterthought or an inner voice. Although past knowledge is not important in understanding current news, journalists can better explain the present by making some investigations (Zelizer, 2008b: 84-85).

Media plays an important role in the construction of local identities, history, narrative and other issues related to memory. Considering the hegemonic power it has in producing and framing memory in the field of contemporary popular and cultural experience, the obvious crises it creates in memory, and the forms it has developed to encourage 'organized forgetting' (Belanger, 2002: 69-92), the role of the media in constructing the reality of the present and the past is considered. The importance of showing interest becomes evident.

Still, it would be misleading to think of the media consumer as a passive audience exposed to media products. As the mass media (medium) collectivized (that is, as its existing or potential audience expands), the rate of reflecting the collective memory of this audience group will decrease. In general, the readers of a certain book or the viewers of a television program do not form a cohesive interpretative community because the same media text is used for different purposes (Kansteiner, 2002: 193).

## SECTION 3.6: NEW MEDIA AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Today, where digital technologies are used by a large part of the society, digital channels are seen as places where countless information, documents and documents are stored. As in the written and oral tradition, all kinds of information transferred from the past are transferred and recorded to digital media. In this sense, digital channels are also sources where the memory of society is stored. As an area of mutual interaction, digital media opens a new window to collective memory and becomes an area where the user also contributes to the production of content and thus to the production of collective memory. In addition, the fact that the background information to be obtained from dozens of books and copies can be obtained through a single device in a short time is a distinctive feature in terms of understanding, adopting and protecting collective memory. The technological environment created by digitalization makes it possible to process, share, store and acquire information far superior to traditional methods (Mayer-Schönberger, 2009, p. 62).

Huyssen sees the new media as the carrier of all memory forms, and for this reason, it does not seem possible to separate the new media from collective or individual memory. It would be wrong to evaluate individual or public memory independently of the magnificent influence of the new media (2003, p. 18). This memory, which is also defined as collective network memory. includes a mix of public and private space memory (Garde-Hansen, Hoskins, & Reading, 2009, p. 6). Today, individual photos and videos are uploaded on digital media such as Flickr or Youtube, and these contents are served free of charge to the whole world. In this way, sharing and transferring information becomes very easy and fast (Mayer-Schönberger, 2009, p. 84).

LeGoff, on the other hand, states that the digital age has created a magnificent revolution in terms of storing information and memory (1992, p. 90). Garde-Hansen defines the collective memory created by digital developments as an area where "nothing is forgotten and everything is archived" (2011, p. 82). The digital age, with its structure that contains all the information and presents it to the society at regular intervals, increases the act of reminding and gradually consumes the habit of forgetting. In many parts of the life we live, digital surveillance tools such as cameras accompany us and prevent many things from being forgotten. Digital media tools make individuals almost forget to forget, and so many things that are assumed are remembered. Along with digital technologies, the balance between forgetting and remembering is changing (Mayer-Schönberger, 2009, p. 2).

The success of the media in drawing the frame of remembering and creating instant memory is the success of its technological advantages and infiltration into all kinds of social and human areas, no matter how remote and isolated it is against other memory builders (mnemonic agents). Television has become the most important memory place and memory builder today (Peri, 1999: 106-107). Television and other mass media provide the national community with the opportunity to 'imagine' itself within the same world of meaning and codes by cyclically repeating the symbolic events and nation-founding myths and rituals determined by the state.

#### **SECTION 3.7: SUMMARY**

In this section, after giving a theoretical framework on memory, the relation of memory with culture and history is revealed. After giving the definitional framework of collective memory, discussions on how the media and especially the new media shape collective memory in today's conditions are given.

### **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

- How does the media shape collective memory in your country?
- What are the social events that the mainstream media especially reminds and forgets in your country?

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## AIM

The aim of the present chapter is to examine the way race and ethnicity are constructed through media representations and media practices.

Firstly, the historical construction of national identity will be briefly examined by analyzing the way that the rise of newspapers contributed to the development of national identities and specific practices of belonging that favored the foundation of the nation-state. In a similar vein, the emergence of racial identities and hierarchies through media representations will be examined.

Then, by turning focus to the contemporary media environment, it will be argued that racial and ethnic inequalities are persistent. Media representations of race and ethnicity tend to simultaneously misrepresent and underrepresent certain social groups, reinforcing pre-existing stereotypes and discriminations. Thus, media portrayals can harm the social and economic status of vulnerable social groups as well as shape their self-image and the way they construct their own identity.

## **EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES**

- To gain a fundamental understanding of the historical process of formation of nations

To understand the rise of mass media and their role in this process
 To understand the notion of social construction and its implications for social studies

- To be able to discern media representations that are racist and offensive towards ethnic minorities

- To gain an understanding of the various ways that racism still has an effect on mass media

## **KEYWORDS**

nationalism, national identity, constructionism, mass media, media representations, racism, refugees, ethnic minorities, stereotypes, xenophobia,
# **CHAPTER 4**

## RACISM AND ETHNICITY IN THE MEDIA

## SECTION 4.1: MEDIA AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

National identity refers to one type of collective-social identity. Therefore, we need a general definition of social identity. According to Noels, Yashima & Zhang, "social identity derives from knowing in which social category one belongs and assuming the characteristics of that social group...Social identity is linked to language when language serves as a marker of group distinctiveness" (2012:54). A social identity may refer to an identification with an ethnic group, a social class, a nationality, a religious group, or an intersection of different groups. Each category of social identity has its own specific characteristics, its own history, a certain mode of articulation and renewal.

When examining national identity, we turn to nationalism and the question of the nation. What is a nation and what are the main characteristics of nationalism? According to Gellner, "nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent." (1983: 1). Anderson proposes a different definition of the nation: "it is an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members...The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations....It is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the

legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm" (Anderson, 2006:6-7). Hobsbawm (1992) speaks of nationalism as "invented tradition", seeking to highlight the fact that each nationalistic movement tends to construct a sense of continuity that exceeds its limits, attempting to link the formation of national identity with the past and the traditional culture of the nation. However, this tradition is "invented" because it reconstructs a diverse past of different languages and cultures in order to project an image of unity and continuity.

The aforementioned approaches exhibit significant differences. However, they share an important common element: they conceptualize nation and national identity as a historical process, tied with other socio-economic processes like the rise of nation-states, the disintegration of empires, the industrialization of the economy and the emergence of mass media. According to this notion, the national identity is a construction, feasible only within certain circumstances. Construction should not be misrepresented as "fabrication" or "falsity" (Anderson, 2006:7). it only aspires to highlight its historical dimension. As Hobsbawm notes "the basic characteristic of the modern nation and everything connected with it is its modernity" (1992: 15). Humanity was not always divided and united along the borders of the nations-states. In that sense, the birth of nations and national identities is not a natural or God-given process (Gellner, 1983: 48), based on the pre-existing essence of people which was awakened (according to the essentialist conceptualization of nations).

A certain discrepancy often arose: the leaders of the movement, the intellectual elite that formed the vanguard of the nationalist movement, often spoke other languages than the official one of the new nation-state (Anderson ,2006: 196). This "problem" was resolved as nationalist movements often presented themselves as an awakening that disrupted the long "sleep" of the national identity. Thus, the territorialization of languages and the breakup of "polyglot communities" was combined with a narrative of a process of rediscovery: supposedly, the nationalist intellectuals were not inventing an identity, they were merely restoring the continuity.

In sharp contrast with that approach, constructionism conceptualized the formation of the national identity as a historical process, situated within a context of transformations that resulted in the birth of what is known as "industrial society" or "capitalist society" and is connected with the rise of modernity. What Anderson, Hobsbawm and Gellner have shown is that the existence of communities and identities before the emergence of national identities was radically different. The prevalence of nations, national culture and their political expression, the nation state, was not a foregone conclusion · On the contrary it involved conflicts and ruptures which transformed societies until the 19th century. In many ways, this process was never completed, and new national identities were formed in the second half of the 20th century, after the decolonization of the Global South and the collapse of the USSR.

The content of each national identity depends on the specific, historically contingent conditions under which a nation develops its self-consciousness and aspires to form a nation-state. While the work of Anderson, Gellner, Hobsbawm and others offer a valuable general framework as well as fundamental analytical tools, the different conditions under which nations are formed, should not be overlooked. The colonial legacy and the formation of post-colonial nations present a different set of challenges than those faced by nationalism developed within Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries (Aaron Koh, 2005: 79). More recently, the dissolution of the USSR gave birth to a rising number of nationalisms in Eastern Europe, which develop unity and antagonism in their own unique way (Erjavec, 2003: 83).

The formation of national identity is inscribed within a number of cultural transformations that radically rearranged the way pre-modern communities understood culture and their relationship with it. As Gellner notes, in premodern societies, political power is not based on the common culture of its subjects: "the whole system favors horizontal lines of cultural cleavage, and it may invent and reinforce them when they are absent" (1983: 10). On the contrary, industrial society rearranges division of labor in such a way that cultural homogenization is necessary. Citizens need to be able to speak the same language despite their different cultural backgrounds and workers need (at the very least) to be able to read and write, as the industrial economy requires "sustained and precise communication" (Gellner, 1983: 128). This leads to an expansion of the educational system and only the state has the resources to offer universal access to literacy. Therefore "culture is no longer merely the adornment, confirmation and legitimation of a social order which was also sustained by harsher and coercive constraints; culture is now the necessary shared medium, the life-blood or perhaps rather the minimal shared atmosphere, within which alone the members of the society can breathe and survive and produce" (Gellner, 1983: 37-38). In the age of modernity, cultural homogenization is both a prerequisite and a result of industrialization of the economy and the rise of modern state bureaucracies. Spanou, by studying the effect of cultural festivals on the formation of national identity, speaks of "cultural nationalism as a branch of political nationalism" (Spanou, 2020: 481). In that sense, culture, media, and the state (through its cultural policy) intersect.

The importance of media for the emergence of national identities is undisputed. However, there is a discordance on the specific role that media have played historically. According to Gellner, it is not the media content per se that contributes to the rise of nationalism but "it is the media themselves, the pervasiveness and importance of abstract, centralized, standardized, one to many communications, which itself automatically engenders the core idea of nationalism" (1983: 127). Print capitalism developed and sustained a kind of bond that was radically different from the one existing between the isolated and scattered communities of the medieval age. As Anderson notes "print-capitalism, which made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways" (Anderson, 2006: 36). This new way of belonging required a common code, a shared language · This need could not be met neither by the Latin of the official authorities nor by the plethora of languages and dialects spoken in the rural communities. Through the prevalence of print media, the diversity of spoken languages and dialects was narrowed down, and the foundation was laid for a common national language. Certain languages were favored, as being more suitable for the new needs of the nation-state, while others were shunned and excluded.

According to Anderson, "these print-languages laid the bases for national consciousnesses in three distinct ways. First and foremost, they created unified fields of exchange and communication below Latin and above the spoken vernaculars... Second, print-capitalism gave a new fixity to language, which in the long run helped to build that image of antiquity so central to the subjective idea of the nation... Third, print-capitalism created languages-of-power of a kind different from the older administrative vernaculars. Certain dialects inevitably were 'closer' to each print-language and dominated their final forms." (Anderson, 2006: 44-45). A national language was necessary as the basis for a national consciousness as well as the legitimation of state institutions that claimed to represent the nation.

Donald (1988:32) slightly alters Anderson's conceptualization by making a three-way distinction "between, first, specific nationalist ideologies... second, a community figured as a narrative of nationhood...and, third, the apparatus of discourses, technologies, and institutions (print capitalism, education, mass media, and so forth) which produces what is generally recognized as 'the national culture'". Through the media, whether public or privately owned, national identity is articulated and reproduced (Aaron Koh, 2005: 76). Building upon the notion of the nation as a lived experience, research has focused on the way mass media are engaged in the constant renewal and renegotiation of national identity. Nation-related rituals are broadcasted by the mass media and contribute to the formation of collective identity (Ismer, 2011).

The aforementioned should not lead us to conclude that national identity is a strictly discursive phenomenon or an immaterial abstraction. On the contrary, as the formation of national identity is connected with the role of the media, it has a specific material expression. As Erjavec notes, "the media allow people 'a space of identification" · the nation is to be understood not simply as an abstraction bus as a lived experience made possible by the media" (Erjavec, 2003: 98). Media, as part of a wider culture, forms a place of struggle where cultural practices arise, interact or even collide and come into conflict. People watching a football match, identifying with the team of their nation experience the emotional bond of the imagined community (Ismer, 2011: 551) . The same can be said about people watching a parade or a commemoration, inviting their children to join. National identity has a material as well as an immaterial part that together form a bond that is expressed in emotions, collective memory, and identification as well as everyday life and its routines.

So far, we have discussed nationalism and national identity in neutral terms. However, under certain circumstances, the formation of national identity is tied with feelings of hostility towards other nations or ethnic minorities existing within the boundaries of a nation state. Moreover, in the era of globalization the unity between the nation, nation-state and the national culture seems to be weakening, as hybrid cultures arise, and intracultural communication is becoming an integral part of labor as well as relaxation. In this setting, a feeling of cultural anxiety may be expressed (Aaron Koh, 2005: 80) and may influence state policies that seek to renew national identity based on a moral panic against "outsiders" (Erjavec, 2003:98-99).

As identity is built on the intersection between culture, nationality, and race (Chuck,2020), prejudice and stereotypes of all kinds may be invoked and politically employed in order to transform collective bonds accordingly. This process may aim to obfuscate social and political conflicts that cannot be contained otherwise (Ismer, 2011: 560) or to prime the political arena accordingly. Thus, we now turn to representations of race and ethnicity that involve a negative aspect, as identity is built around exclusion and dichotomy.

## SECTION 4.2: REPRESENTATION OF RACE AND ETHNICITY

Given the rise of the Far Right in the past decade it cannot be concluded that overt racism is extinct in public discourse (Traverso, 2019). However, generally speaking, overt racism (openly evaluating a race or ethnic group as inferior/superior) tends to be considered unacceptable in contemporary societies (Breazu & Machin, 2020), van Dijk, 1992). This "denial of racism" has another aspect, often disguised: it is not simply a negation of racism but also a negation of the need to continue talking about racism, examining racist stereotypes, and uncovering the ways racism continues to shape our world. In media discourse, this is expressed as a notion that "more than enough has been done to counter discrimination" which is often tied with the fear that "too much" attention is paid to the issue of race (van Dijk, 1991: 119-120). Therefore, in the modern context (where racism is supposedly extinct or is promoted only by fringe political extremists), the anti-racists and the anti-racist discourse is the one that is being over-sensitive, even "non tolerant" (van Dijk, 1992: 90).

As overt racism is suppressed, the debate on race and ethnicity tends to shift to the cultural level (Husbands, 1994: 201) · refugees are not inferior people but "culturally incompatible" and therefore should be kept away or remain within specific spatial and cultural limits. Therefore, research on media representations of race and ethnicity should focus on the covert ways that racism is transmitted through metaphors, allegories and particular frames that highlight specific characteristics, while omitting others. Some of the most common discriminatory representations of race and ethnicity include:

War-like metaphors that depict refugees and immigrants as an invasion, an external threat that disrupts social life in the host country (Richardson, 2014, Erjavec, 2003). A similar function is held by the aquatic metaphors that highlight the presence of an aquatic mass ("a flood of refugees") that threatens to drown the host country, its population and its culture (Husbands, 1994: 200).

• Strategies of ridicule articulated on images and text that convey the image of a backward culture that is unworthy of interacting with the dominant culture of the host country (Breazu & Machin, 2020: 831)

• Depiction of refugees as fraudsters that pretend to suffer in order to exploit the gaps of the welfare state and claim social benefits at the expense of the citizens of the host country (Richardson, 2014: 54). Part of the negative stereotype of the "other as a thief/criminal" is the attribution of blame to immigrants for the rise of unemployment (Husbands, 1994: 201). Depictions of refugees as criminals are promoted y by over-reporting on minority crime (Van Dijk, 1992: 92) and by constantly referring to them as "illegals" (Fiske, 2006:220).

These representations are often combined with a lack of representation with regard to the social, economic, and political conditions that force people to emigrate (Philo & Beattie 1999). The overall frame of "legal/illegal" alien overlooks the specific challenges that refugees face (Gilbert, 2013) and, unsurprisingly, leads to a limited presence of refugees themselves as sources of news reports (Pulitano, 2013).

A strategy of exclusion emerges that is built on these representations. The underlying concepts that shape this strategy are rooted in a homogenized conceptualization of the "other": refugees, immigrants and ethnic minorities are represented en masse, without referencing any specific names or personal characteristics. In this way, personal characteristics are obfuscated, and the refugees are reified as an object with stable properties (Wright, 2002). When the hegemonic discourse highlights acts of violence and criminal activity perpetrated by members of the group, then the whole group can be labeled as such. Moreover, racist representations are indirectly dehumanizing a social group. Breazu & Machin note the way certain verbs are used in news reports to connote the identification of Roma with garbage (2020: 836). Similarly, the prevalence of threat metaphors (invasion, flood, river), depicts refugee populations as malevolent entities, devoid of human characteristics.

As it is obvious homogenization/essentialization and dehumanization are often coupled to create a powerful image that deepens the divide between "us" (members of the dominant culture, law-abiding citizens, humans) and "them" (invaders, thieves, members of an alien and backward culture, non-humans). Thus, any notion of integration and cultural fusion between different social groups (representing different cultural backgrounds) is rendered ridiculous. Racist representations are tied with politics of exclusion which can often become an integral part of the official state policy towards refugees (Fiske, 2006). In that case, racist discourse is strengthened and normalized, gaining in legitimacy as it is reproduced by state officials.

These representations attempt to achieve a hegemonic position by invoking "the common man" or the "common sense". Media organizations can often eschew responsibility for the values and opinions that are expressed in their reporting by invoking a widespread consensus on these views, which is proven by official reports or by anonymous statements (Erjavec, 2003: 95). According to this narrative, it is "common sense" (and should, therefore, not be disputed) the fact that refugees disrupt social life, threaten the national culture, and engage in criminal activities. By juxtaposing the refugees with the overburdened "common man" (van Dijk, 1991: 123), a racist discourse is legitimated and normalized, avoiding, thusly, to be scrutinized as an ideology that resorts to seemingly "common sense interpretations" (van Dijk, 1992: 207) of complex social issues in order to reinforce negative stereotypes.

The power and effectiveness of racism in the media is always contextual and historical. National identities are not eternally fixed but, on the contrary, define fields of struggle and negotiation on what being part of a certain nation and culture entails (Donald, 1988). As various scholars have noted (Husbands, 1994) that the emergence (or not) of a moral panic is contingent upon a number of factors that determine a specific historical context (e.g., an economic crisis, a social-political turmoil). Racist media representations cannot create moral panics ex nihilo. However, they are especially powerful when they are able to embed themselves within a pre-existing moral panic around the national identity, amplify the feeling of insecurity and frame this as a result of a threat by "outsiders". More specifically, in the context of globalization, the potential of cultural fusion co-exists with an increased "cultural anxiety and moral panic of the state" (Aaron Koh, 2005: 80). As it was referenced earlier, media discourses enable the existence of a nation and a national identity as a lived experience. This can also be manifested in the bonding of a national community through antagonism with other social groups (Erjavec, 2003: 99), an antagonism which can be expressed in multiple ways.

In that sense, racist representations are not simply a matter of discursive articulation. The hegemonic discourses in the public sphere tend to inform public policy as well as the way a host population is acting when interacting with refugees and ethnic minorities. A prevalence of disguised and overt racist representations contributes to the establishment and renewal of physical and symbolic ghettoization (Richardson, 2014: 59) that actively harms refugees, immigrants, and ethnic groups by excluding and suppressing them.

#### **SECTION 4.3: SUMMARY**

Media organizations have historically played a crucial role in the construction and preservation of national identities. Nation-building, as a historical process, is tied to the emergence of national public spheres where a common, national language is developed. This is a discursive as well as material process: daily media consumption is embedded with rituals and cultural practices that renew and strengthen the national identity.

National identity is conceptualized as the product of the interaction between culture, tradition and race. In that sense it is not necessarily tied with prejudice and racist representations of the Other (race, ethnicity, etc). However, such representations are often developed and inscribed within national identities.

While in contemporary societies, overt racism and hate speech is considered unacceptable, media organizations often propagate racist representations, either by ridiculing the supposedly "backward culture" of refugees either by presenting them as an invasion that threatens the nation-state or as a corrosive force that undermines the rule of law. These representations deepen the divide between "us and them" and present an ethnically homogenized image of contemporary societies that is incompatible with the reality and the challenges of globalization and widespread migration.

As the "essence" of the national identity is presented to be threatened, a feeling of cultural anxiety (tied with moral panics) is reinforced. The outcome is detrimental to refugees and migrants as suppressive policies are legitimized as a way to safeguard national unity.

#### **CASE STUDY 1**

In 2017, a Greek journalist attended an NBA press conference after the game between Golden State Warriors and Sacramento Kings. During the conference, he asked Steve Kerr (coach of Golden State Warriors) whether being black and a Greek (as is the case for NBA star player Giannis Antetokounmpo) is an oxymoron.

(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z-azREnRgLw&t=13 s). While not being overtly racist, this question is underpinned by a notion of racial purity - "Greeks as white". Discuss the ways race and ethnicity intersect to create ideas of belonging and exclusion.

#### **CASE STUDY 2**

During the 2020 Olympic Games (held during 2021), ERT television (Greek public broadcast service) fired sports commentator, Dimosthenis Karmiris for his (supposedly humorous) remark on Korean eyes.

When commenting Korean table tennis players and their eyes, he noted that "I can't understand how they can see the ball moving back and forth" (https://www.independent.co.uk/tv/tokyo-olympics/gre ece-commentator-racism-south-korean-olympics-v6d07 26ca). Discuss this incident as well as similar cases where overtly racist comments are masked as playful and/or humorous.

#### **CASE STUDY 3**

In February 2020, thousands of refugees and migrants cross the Turkish borders and attempt to enter Greece through Evros, its northeastern border. Passage is prohibited by Greek authorities who utilize police and army forces to suppress the movement of refugees.

The UN Refugee Agency records racist and xenophobic incidents where people are actively harmed by authorities and locals

(https://www.unhcr.org/gr/en/14153-racist-violence-rec ording-network-serious-concern-over-attacks-against-ref ugees-and-humanitarian-workers.html). However, major Greek media organizations present the incident as a heroic effort that successfully safeguarded the territorial integrity of Greece..

(https://www.ekathimerini.com/news/250770/greece-a verts-push-at-northeastern-border/). Discuss the utilization of war-like metaphors and the various ways (images, texts, sounds) that refugees are depicted as an invading force.

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## AIM

The aim of the present analysis is to describe and explain how media and nationalism shape each other. This complex is going to introduce the reader to discourse theory, as well as to the ideology of nationalism. The former functions as the vehicle in which the latter gets in order to be propagated. However, media effects are not the same for everyone.

## EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES

- To gain an understanding of the complex between media and nationalism.

- To comprehend their interaction as a two-way process.

- To obtain knowledge about the basic principles of nationalism.

- To get introduced to how the new media as a public sphere reshape nationalism.

## **KEYWORDS**

media, discourse, ideology, nationalism

# **CHAPTER 5**

## NATIONALISM AS A MEDIA DISCOURSE

#### **SECTION 5.1: INTRODUCTION**

The aim of this chapter is to develop and provide a schema that succinctly describes the complex between media and nationalistic discourse. Nationalism gains worryingly ground again in Europe and, although it is a social phenomenon that has been scrutinized by social theorists and philosophers for decades (Marx & Engels, 1845/1997, Poulantzas, 1979, Hobsbawm, 1994, Demertzis, 1996), its fundamental principles should be explained again considering new variables and characteristics, such as new technologies, social media, alt-right populism etc.

The complexity of this relation stems from the fact that media do not have only a specific role to perform: they are not intended just to inform or to inspect politicians and institutions. They carry out a bunch of important functions in daily life from contributing to the early socialization of a child to presenting programmes that target to elderly people. Media, along with communication, comprise a social science and they have to be divided into scientific fields. Their content and their effects are two of those prominent fields for doing science.

Nationalism is a phenomenon often correlated with incidents where stereotypes and prejudices are manifested. It is closely connected to severe social pathogenesis such as racism, xenophobia, homophobia and religious intolerance (Fuchs, 2019: 8). The nation as a concept is historically delimited (Hobsbawm, 1994). It is not a panhistoric phenomenon, despite nationalists' belief that nation is intertwined with the history of humanity. Therefore, the concept of nation is suggested to be studied under the time frame of modernity (Demertzis, 1996: 27) and capitalism (Fuchs, 2019: 9). First, section 1.2 deals with the concept of discourse. A discourse reveals how an individual thinks about the world. Its method, discourse analysis, is used by many scholars who desire to extract qualitative results from texts, videos, images. In section 1.3, this essay explores a specific ideology, nationalism. Its historic characteristics and some useful interpretations about it are analyzed in this section. Finally, in section 1.4 these two main concepts, discourse and nationalism, are synthesized with media approaches. The way the media construct nationalistic discourse and vice versa lies at the heart of this chapter.

#### **SECTION 5.2: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

Discourse theory emerged in the late 1970's due to Michel Foucault's (2002) work which attempted to highlight the power relationships in society by interpreting their expression through language and other social practices. Therefore, discourse is observable via the expression of a set of social practices. It is a particular way of representing some part of the (physical, social, psychological) world (Fairclough, 2003: 18, Phillips & Jørgensen, 2009:18) and crosses the distinction between language and practice (Hall, 1997). Each individual shapes its own discourse by combining elements of one or more ideologies and other discourses. This process is almost a result of political decisions. Discourse is the vehicle driven by ideology that helps the latter be transmitted from words to social practices. Foucault (2002: 131) claims that "discourse practice is a body of anonymous, historical rules, always determined in the time and space that have defined a given period, and for a given social, economic, geographical, or linguistic area, the conditions of operation of the enunciative function".

According to Marx and Engels (1845/1997) ideology is false consciousness as it makes working people downgrade the underwent exploitation into the labor market. Althusser (2014: 181) was based on their definition in order to describe ideology as "the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence". An individual who espouses a certain ideology has specific answers for solving problems (each ideology functions as a system which generates answers by combining a set of fundamental principles). These answers remain almost stable across time (each ideology also offers a utopia), although the problems may have become deeper. This process leads to a perpetuation of problems, because the individual has developed a distorted view of reality due to its ideology and the effects that various other ideological state apparatuses have on it.

The method for analyzing specific discourses is called discourse analysis. It comprises a useful method to recognize and analyze nationalism, as well as other ideologies, "a powerful tool" (Lueck, Due & Augoustinos, 2015: 615) for studying the distribution of power between different institutions, individuals, social groups and ideas. It is a matter of connecting contradictions, according to Foucault (2002: 168-169): "if it gives rise to those that can be seen, it is because it obeys that which it hides. To analyze discourse is to hide and reveal contradictions".

Discourse is related to systems of meaning which are central to identity construction for both subjects and objects (Tastsoglou, 2020: 193). A discourse shows us the way that the expressing subject interprets reality. It can either strengthen or contest the dominant ideology. Hence, the method of discourse analysis is based on "the details of speech (and gaze and gesture and action) or writing that are arguably deemed relevant in the context and that are relevant to the arguments the analysis is attempting to make" (Gee, 2011: 117). Discourse analysis is more problem-driven than method-driven. It is the product of an analyst's suspiciousness concerning what is said about reality and what is not said. Howarth (2005: 319) believes that its main objective is "to elucidate carefully problematized objects of study by seeking their description, understanding and interpretation".

## SECTION 5.3: THE IDEOLOGY OF NATIONALISM

According to Hobsbawm (1994), nationalism is defined as the ideology which believes that the political and national units should coincide. Therefore, to the emerging issues of identity nationalistic ideology answers with an attempt to create and spread a homogenous identity for the whole political unit or the state (Fox & Miller-Indriss, 2008: 536). Nationalism is based on the concept of nation. Studying a variety of this term's definitions (Anderson, 1991, Hobsbawm, 1994, Demertzis 1996, Giddens, 2009), it is understood that nation refers to a community and a resulting strong belief that this community is uniform. Hobsbawm (1994), as well as Anderson (1991), tends to historically equalize the nation with the state as they were both established at the dawn of modernity. This approach allows us to assume that if the concept of nation is inseparable from the state, the same matters with the borders, as borders comprise a basic characteristic of the state. National states are products of modernity. So, Hobsbawm (1994) argues that the state is a prerequisite for the existence of nation. Therefore, he places the start of the nation's era in the last decades of the 18th century. However, there are theories (Demertzis, 1996: 27) suggesting classifications of the term in order to include premodern or tribal nationalism.

Whilst there is no nation without a state, there is also no nationalism without a nation that includes the people living inside a foregone territory. This sense of belonging to a community (Griffin, 1999: 154) is crucial in our attempt to explore the ways that nationalistic discourse is constructed. Anderson (1991) presents the concept of nation as an imagined community, after its members perceive themselves as a part of this group and they develop relations flattered by the aforementioned sense of belonging. Individuals tend to adopt homogenous practices with other members of their society. This function means the articulation of the nationalistic discourse. Having predefined criteria about a potential nation's membership, nationalistic discourse is exclusionary de facto.

Fuchs (2019: 4) theorizes nationalism as an ideology that:

a) defines a group identity,

b) organizes and regulates the relationship between leaders and followers,

c) distinguishes nation from enemies, either externally or internally,

d) suggests methods of dealing with enemies.

For the protection of the nation's unity, nationalism "ideologically constructs a collective cultural and political identity" (Fuchs, 2019: 5). When the characteristics of this identity are demonstrated, nationalistic discourse is articulated, too. But, the same author (Fuchs, 2019: 8) suggest to frame the concept of nation under the conditions of capitalism, because of modernity is not offered for delving into the relations of productions, which have been described by Marx (1859/1904) as the base (on the other side of superstructure). So, in order to understand nationalism, we have to put it in the context of class, capitalism, colonialism, and imperialism, processes that largely shaped modernity. For Marxism, each ideology produces false consciousness to its followers. This effect means that nationalism "distracts attention from actual power differentials" (Fuchs, 2019: 9) between the two classes: the dominant one and the working one. In contrast, workers are separated into nations disregarding the exploitation they suffer by the capitalist class.

However, it is argued that, regardless of attaching nationalism either to capitalism or to modernity, nationalism is not an inbred feature of humanity, despite what nationalists tend to believe. As Anderson (1991: 205) puts it: "as with modern persons, so it is with nations. Awareness of being embedded in secular, serial time, with all its implications of continuity, yet of 'forgetting' the experience of this continuity, engenders the need for a narrative of 'identity'".

## SECTION 5.4: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEDIA AND NATIONALISM

Media are another product of modernity, too. Media could not exist without the emergence of mass society, an historical point which was facilitated by industrial revolutions and technology that took place in the end of the 19th century. However, the sense of belonging to a nation, even at an initial level, is attributed to the invention of printing by Gutenberg during the 15th century. Anderson (1991) believes that the habit of reading a paper daily during the centuries that followed the typography's invention contributed to the emergence of the aforementioned sense of belonging.

Contemporary media function as a catalyst for spreading globalization. Indeed, they tend to combine ethnocentrism (Herman & Chomsky, 1994, Gans, 1979/2005, Demertzis, Papathanassopoulos & Armenakis, 1999) with globally shared forms of programme. According to Demertzis (1996), this strategy produces a selective response to the public. Despite the foreign, imported forms of communication, nationalistic content is still produced and consumed by millions of people. As a result, although nationalists develop distress and negative attitudes towards globalization, they still use globalized products to share their messages. Nonetheless, analyzing the relation between media and nationalism is not an easy task. On the one hand, the national media facilitated the spread of nationalism. On the other hand, nationalism is an ideology that is manifested in a daily basis through media as a discourse and, furthermore, this discourse is expressed in various spaces, existent or virtual. So, it is something more than a media discourse and its manifestation should not be investigated only in the areas of media and politics. "Discourse is shaped by structures, but also contributes to shaping and reshaping them, to reproducing and transforming them", as Fairclough (1995: 73) demonstrated.

The way that news is created is complicated. Many social groups expect their opinions to be expressed or reproduced through them. However, journalists are workers that produce media content on a daily basis. Their daily efforts for fresh news and valid, always-on-time information needs a plan, a strategy, a method. Hence, journalistic routine is not only a safe method for organizing their assignments, but it also includes several practices for avoiding mistakes and errors that could lead to misinformation or disinformation. Despite its various benefits for journalistic production lines, journalistic routine causes some collateral damages. Hermann & Chomsky (1994) showed that there are five dominant journalistic filters (ownership, advertising, sourcing, flak and anti-communism) that dictate the agenda setting. These filters also create news biases (Fuchs, 2019: 250), which constrain the receiver's range of vision. Ethnocentrism is one of the most stable- and unfortunately sine qua non-values when a journalist has to select an issue to present (Gans, 1979/2005, Severin & Tankard, 1992: 304-305, Demertzis, 1996: 355). Media are responsible for creating and reproducing national consciousness. During the second World War, radio programmes were used by governmental propaganda to encourage people. Similarly, television programmes advocated the Vietnam war in the USA.

Concerning this national consciousness, Demertzis (1996: 356) alleges that it is an "irredeemably mediatized consciousness", while media tend to shape and spread their approaches about the nation, the public interest and the state in a particular way. According to Gans (1979/2005: 8), national news is about the nation itself and the represented actors are people whose activities are usually oriented to a national base. And even when journalists have to cover the relations between institutions, agencies and communities, they produce information nationally framed by building a stable and highly repeated national context, through which they "bring the nation into being". Hard news issues such as disasters, scandals and risks are covered via the same context setting a national agenda (Demertzis, Papathanassopoulos & Armenakis, 1999: 26), while they primarily care and comment about the issues' consequences "for the country as a whole" (Gans, 1979/2005: 21). Even the media's international agenda is defined by national alliances, official foreign policy and biases dictated by the nation's (or the government's) interests (Demertzis, Papathanassopoulos & Armenakis, 1999: 27). The same authors (1999: 28) sum up that media are included in a set of various "structural prerequisites" that prompted the development and solidification of nationalist discourse as a dominant one. Symbols and habits managed and reproduced by the media allow nationalism to enter into our daily lives as a usual ideology and not as an aggressive, exclusive and dangerous one (Gans, 1979/2005: 312, Fuchs, 2019: 115).

A discourse is in constant interaction with a variety of social structures, such as media. The relationship between them "is not just representational but constitutive" (Fairclough, 1995: 73). Discourse is a producer and a product of those structures at the same time. Nationalism is described as having among its priorities to create a homogenous identity, more or less, for people that share the same nationality (Lueck, Due & Augoustinos, 2015: 610) and media are a useful tool for this purpose. Second, since nationalism, or at least a subset of nationalistic practices, has been a hegemonic part of the dominant ideology (Demertzis, Papathanassopoulos & Armenakis, 1999: 28), media reflect this tense, on the one hand because they comprise an ideological state apparatus (Althusser, 2014) 17) that facilitates the crystallization of the dominant ideology, and on the other hand because the public prefers nationalistic content. Nonetheless, journalists should not be blamed directly, as the dominant ideology tends to affect individuals unconsciously (Gans, 1979/2005: 80, Eagleton, 1991: 58).

National identity and its components are often celebrated by dominant elites and social groups. Hyun & Kim (2014: 768) state that these groups infuse national identity to the masses in order to gain support or legitimation for the privileges they delectate. It is noticed that the dominant classes tend to activate people's nationalistic beliefs when their legitimation is at stake. For example, the Chinese Communist Party reproduced nationalistic features to "sustain public support for the regime in the face of a market-oriented social shift" (Hyun & Kim, 2014: 766). The same was done by the Australian Kevin Rudd's government in order to legitimize the human rights violations that asylum seekers had endured (Lueck, Due & Augoustinos, 2015: 609).

## Figure 1. The interaction between nationalism and the media



## SECTION 5.5: NEW MEDIA AND NATIONALISM

At the beginning of the current century, the internet seemed as a virtual fulfillment of the public sphere (Papacharissi, 2002: 11). Web 2.0 technologies facilitated political participation in various ways (Wright & Street, 2007: 855). However, twenty years later the internet as a tool for political participation has also given prominence to features of the dominant ideology such as homophobia, racism, sexism, fascism and religious fundamentalism. Despite the fact that during the 18th and 19th centuries nationalism was enforced by printed speech and typography (Demertzis, 1996: 352), nowadays it seems to multiply its social feedback on the internet. Forms of nationalistic activism (Hyun & Kim, 2014: 768) and far-right populists invoking a retrograde revolution (a set of politicians called alternative-right) have emerged through social media, blogs, fake news sites and AstroTurf campaigns (McBrayer, 2021: 11).

According to Fuchs (2019: 27), new media appear to have a twofold role to play. First, they function as a platform, or a set of platforms, where nationalistic discourse is articulated, expressed and reproduced. Second, they challenge nationalism in novel ways reflecting and rekindling the ideological struggle. As well as the old media until the 1960's (Demertzis, Papathanassopoulos, Armenakis, 1999: 26), new media has been reorganizing the social imagery concerning the nation and nationalism since the emergence of Web 2.0 platforms. However, it is still early for concluding about the complicated relationship between nationalism and the new media.

#### **SECTION 5.6: SUMMARY**

To sum up, our main argument concerning this chapter is that nationalism and media content constitute the nationalistic discourse bidirectionally. To a certain degree, this relation is also noticed between media and other ideologies that represent the interests of the media owners or the bourgeoisie in general. The relations of production (base relations and hegemony) are expressed through specific discursive practices shared between capitalists and workers. These discursive practices, being reflected in society, compose an ideology which is reproduced in the media. Then, while the media and other ideological state apparatuses communicate this ideology, they transform an ideology to a discourse facilitating, indeed, the dominance of this discourse. Next, this discourse is rearticulated again by ideological state apparatuses. Its rearticulation is manifested through various social practices that are dictated to society crystallizing the former ideology to a dominant one.

When individuals adopt these practices by integrating them, either actively as political beings or by default and unconsciously, into their behavior, attitudes and relations, the dominant ideology is crowned (superstructure relations and hegemony). This schema (Tastsoglou, 2020: 199) could also describe the conclusion of Fuchs (2019: 248) that nationalism "is imposed and constructed from above by political elites and intellectuals, but is also lived and hegemonically produced/reproduced from below by everyday people".

#### **CASE STUDIES**

During the restoration of the Taliban's power in Afghanistan, in the summer of 2O21 and despite the fact that the covid-19 pandemic and wildfires were dominating the media agenda in Greece as well as the public's interests, the incident was covered by the Greek media as a new refugee crisis generator. Even if the Taliban had less than a week in power, the Greek media presented images and videos from the new wall built in the borders between Greece and Turkey. Even a huge humanitarian and political crisis that concerned a distant country was used by nationalists as a new enemy, a new scapegoat.

A couple of weeks later, a human size doll called Amal arrived in Greece in the context of a symbolic campaign. The doll had visited many other countries before. However, in Larissa, Thessalia, a group of people shouted loudly against Amal and whatever it represents, while the most dangerous demonstrators did not hesitate to pelt it with stones. Of course, the media criticized them and attempted to attribute this incident to right-wing minorities.

However, these two incidents show us that the frame of nationalism in news is common and almost always present. The same media that were presenting members of the House of Parliament to check the wall's strength by pulling it were the same that criticized the behavior of the nationalists that attempted to disparage Amal's campaign in Larissa. What about the connection between the two incidents?

#### **ACTIVITY 1**

Choose a text presented (written or spoken) by a right-wing politician and try to recognize the four principles of nationalism (definition of a group identity, regulation of the relationship between leaders and followers, distinction of the nation from enemies, suggestion of methods of dealing with enemies). What are the most prominent meanings coming out of the text?

#### **ACTIVITY 2**

According to Gans, the national news brings the nation into being. Think of and discuss incidents that, although they had an oecumenic meaning and value, were presented by the news as a matter of national interest. Then, think of and discuss the advantages and disadvantages of presenting an issue of global interest under the approach of internationalism. What would you finally choose to do?

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## AIM

The aim of the present chapter is to examine the way disability is constructed in the media. Disabled [1] people are often depicted through a pathogenic lens which puts a strong emphasis on impairment ignoring the existence of barriers imposed by society. The chapter highlights the medical versus the social model of defining disability. By drawing on previous studies, it provides a brief overview of stereotypical portrayals in the media by exploring, whether the last perpetuate a typical and often problematic depiction of disability, leading to further stigmatization and exclusionary practices. The chapter concludes by suggesting ways to combat discriminatory media discourse in an effort to enhance the integration of disabled people in mainstream media and promote a more balanced and accurate portrayal of disability.

## EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES

 To gain a deep understanding of the basic models related to disability
 Foster awareness on media representation of disabled people

 Enhance critical skills on identifying stereotypical depictions of disability in the media
 Explore ways of promoting an accurate and balanced portrayal of disability

## **KEYWORDS**

media representations, stereotypes, disablism

# **CHAPTER 6**

## MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF DISABILITY

#### **SECTION 6.1: INTRODUCTION**

Historically, disability has been portrayed in a negative way in popular culture. According to Barnes (1992) disabling stereotypes that medicalize and dehumanize disabled people abound in books, films, and in the press. In literature for instance, the typical representation is that of disabled characters that are treated as objects of pity and fear (Fiedler 1982; Garland-Thomson 1997; Garland-Thomson 2005). Moreover, stereotypes reinforcing the idea that "physical beauty symbolizes goodness and disability symbolizes evil" (Shapiro, 1999, p.3) can be traced back in popular fairy tales, where characters with physical and or mental disabilities are depicted mostly in a negative way (e.g the dwarfs and wicked witch in Snow White, the Little Lame Prince, the evil giant in Jack and the Beanstalk, among others). Garland-Thomson (1997) argues that disabled characters are so removed from reality as to render the character a "freak," whose sole contribution is "a single stigmatizing trait" (p. 11). Although over time advancements have been made and media has shifted its focus on diversity and inclusion of marginalized groups, disability, as a subject, is still on the margins, connected with negative connotations and inauthentic depictions. Before we proceed with the presentation of common portrayals of disabled people and further explore how the media perpetuates a negative and medicalized construction of disability it is important to highlight first, the basic conceptual models of disability.

#### **SECTION 6.2: MODELS OF DISABILITY**

Defining disability is complicated as it is 'complex, dynamic, multidimensional and contested' (WHO, 2011, p. 3). On one hand, the term "disability" covers a broad range and degree of conditions and on the other, disability is approached from different scientific perspectives including medicine, economics, sociology, education, political science, etc. (Altman, 2001). The fact that it has been subject to many definitions, as well as the multitude of models that have been developed. reflects the multifaceted nature of disability (Mitra, 2006, p.236). Since a detailed analysis of all models of disability would be outside of the scope of this chapter, the two most prominent models, namely the medical and the social model of disability are presented below. The Medical and Social Model of Disability The medical (or biomedical) model puts a strong emphasis on impairment and attributes the problem to the individual who has a condition. According to Berghs et al. (2006):

In essence, medical models see impairment as a consequence of some 'deviation' from 'normal' body functioning, which has 'undesirable' consequences for the affected individual. Impairment is seen as indicative of an underlying physical abnormality (pathology), located within the individual body, and medical treatment, wherever possible, should be directed at the underlying pathology in an attempt to correct (or prevent) the abnormality (p.26).

The model views disability in terms of a deficit/problem that has to be fixed placing the individual in the "sick role" (Parsons, 1975). Oliver (1990) argues that the medicalization of disability is inappropriate because it locates the problem in the wrong place; within the individual rather than in society resulting to "the personal tragedy theory of disability" which suggests that "impairments are chance events happening to unfortunate individuals" (p.14). The medical model often stands in contrast to the social model that views disability as a social construct. The social model developed in the UK during the 1970s, from the experiences and activism of disabled people, has at its core, the view of disability as a social construct. More specifically, the core definition can be found in the UPIAS (Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation) document, Fundamental Principles of Disability, where it is argued that it is social oppression rather than impairment that disables people: "In our view, it is society which disables physically impaired people. Disability is something imposed on top of our impairments, by the way we are unnecessarily isolated and excluded from full participation in society. Disabled people are therefore an oppressed group in society." (UPIAS, 1976, p.3-4).

Further developed, by its most famous proponent Mike Oliver (1990), the social model implies that it is not individual limitation the cause of the problem but society's failure to provide appropriate services and ensure that the needs of disabled people are fully taken into account. In addition, one of the strengths of the aforementioned model is the fact that it promotes the emancipation of disabled people by emphasizing that disability "is no longer considered simply a medical problem effecting only a minority of the population but is increasingly perceived as one of the major socio/political phenomena of our time with implications for society as a whole" (Barnes and Oliver, 1993, p. 17).

Despite the fact that, the medical and social model are often presented as dichotomous, the World Health Organization (WHO) offers an in- between definition of disability by bringing together an individual medical understanding of impairment, whilst acknowledging the social environment. More specifically, in the International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health, is emphasized that disability "is the umbrella term for impairments, activity limitations and participation restrictions, referring to the negative aspects of the interaction between an individual (with a health condition) and that individual's contextual factors (environmental and personal factors)" (WHO, 2011, p.4).

As mentioned earlier, there are various models of disability that have been developed, either as extensions of the medical, the social model or as integrations of the two (Mitra, 2006). By the early 2000s, interesting debates have taken place, questioning the dualism between impairment and disability (Shakespeare and Watson, 2001; Morris, 1991; Coleman-Fountain & McLaughlin, 2013) by paving the way to new and interdisciplinary approaches of disability. However, the two prominent models were presented in order to discuss next the tendency of media to portray disabled people in an oppressive, unrealistic and non-empowering way.

## SECTION 6.3: STEREOTYPICAL DEPICTIONS OF DISABILITY

Stereotypes can influence the ways that non-disabled people react to the disabled community. Thus, it is useful to look at this point, some recurring media representations of disabled people, where there is a tendency to depict disability through a problematic lens by focusing solely on impairment. As Shakespeare highlights (1999, p. 164) "impairment is made the most important thing" and disabled characters are "objectified and distanced from the audience". In regards to the portrayal of disabled people, Donaldson (1981, p. 415) also observed that characters were usually accompanied by "some sort of stress, trauma, overcompensation, character flaw or bizarre behavioral tendencies". Hence, in most cases, the media continue to enforce negative stereotypes by contributing significantly to the discriminatory process (Barnes, 1992).

Paul Hunt, in his 1991 study, identified ten stereotypes particularly evident on television, in the press, and in advertising[2]. The list includes presenting the disabled person as: pitiable and pathetic, as an object of curiosity or violence, as sinister or evil, as the super cripple, as atmosphere, as laughable, as her/his own worst enemy, as a burden, as non-sexual, and as being unable to participate in daily life. Along the same lines, Nelson (2000) observes that movie and television portrayals of disabled characters generally fell into these categories: The Disabled Person as Victim: The Focus of Telethons, The Disabled Person as Hero: Supercrip, The Disabled Person as a Threat: Evil and Threatening, The Disabled Person as Unable to Adjust: "Just Buck Up", The Disabled Person as One to Be Cared for: The Burden, The Disabled Person as One Who Shouldn't Have Survived: Better Off Dead. For the purpose of this chapter, we will focus at depictions, drawing from examples of popular movies, which tend to fall into the following four categories: the Super Crip, the Villain, the Victim and the Innocent Fool (Heumann et al., 2019).

#### THE SUPER CRIP

Super Crips are disabled characters who have special, almost magical powers and triumph over their disability. Even though, this may seem like a positive stereotype, since the disabled is seen as a hero, the Super Crip stereotype eventually reinforces the idea that disability is something that must be overcome (Heumann et al., 2019) and encourages the view that disabled people have to overcompensate in order to be accepted into society (Barnes, 1992). Additionally, "Hero" roles are nearly always played by non-disabled actors, presenting a false picture of disability (e.g. Daniel Day Lewis in the movie My Left Foot).

#### THE VILLAIN

Many films connect impairment to wickedness and villainy (Barnes, 1992). Physical and mental disabilities have been used to suggest evil or depravity and characters have been portrayed as being driven to crime or revenge by resentment of their disability. For instance, Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde', symbolizes the stark contrast between goodness and evil (Barnes, 1992) while another striking example is the Joker, one of the most recognizable iconic villain characters in popular culture (Peaslee and Weiner, 2015). This stereotype can lead audience to false assumptions regarding disabilities such as the connection of mental illness with violent crime. THE VICTIM

A common stereotype is that of disabled characters often portrayed as victims of their disability. Their disability becomes their defining characteristic and are often presented as helpless, sufferers and objects of pity (Worell, 2018) in order to earn sympathy from the audience. Quasimodo in The Hunchback of Notre Dame, John Merrick in The Elephant Man and Tiny Tim in Dickens' A Christmas Carol are only some examples where the emphasis is given to disability rather than the person.

#### THE INNOCENT FOOL

Adult characters having intellectual disabilities are often presented as childlike and unable to make rational decisions for themselves (Heumann et al., 2019). They are often depicted as naïve, to be laughed at and heavily depended on non-disabled others. This stereotype reinforces patronizing perceptions around disability by perpetuating the infantilization of disabled adults. The stereotype of innocent fool is apparent to movies such as 'Rain Man', 'I am Sam' and 'Forrest Gump' among others.

#### **SECTION 6.4: SUMMARY**

Despite the fact that nowadays media industry has taken substantial steps to enhance and respect diversity, disabled people still continue to be negatively stereotyped and portrayed as 'Others'. In an effort to dispel pervasive stereotypes that perpetuate discrimination and exclusion, disabled groups should be actively involved. For instance, disabled characters that appear in popular films are often performed by non-disabled actors. Disabled actors should thus be encouraged to participate in films not only, as a means to promote their inclusion, but also as a way to avoid inaccuracies. It is important therefore, the media industry to recruit and train more disabled people for the acting profession by taking further steps towards the employment of disabled actors. Additionally, in order to avoid the use of inappropriate and possible offensive terminology, media personnel should seek advice

directly from organizations run by disabled groups, check the accuracy of their work before it is made public while at the same time, ensuring that all content is produced in accessible forms (Barnes, 1992). Lastly, it is important to foster the promotion of more accurate portrayals of disability by avoiding representations that are based solely on impairment as the only defining characteristic of a person's identity. Depicting disabled people, as complex personalities, with strengths and weaknesses (Ellis, 2014) who interact as equals with non-disabled people, instead of being receivers of charity or objects of curiosity and ridicule, are important steps in enhancing disability awareness and combating disablist imagery in the media.

#### **ACTIVITY1**

Please choose a "text" (film / book / advertisement / TV series etc.) of your interest that includes a disabled character as your case study. Then, critically analyze how the character is portrayed. Can you identify any negative stereotypes in regards to disabled people?

#### **ACTIVITY 2**

Work in groups or pairs. Select a source (film/book/advertisement/ TV series etc.) where a disabled character is negatively stereotyped. Then, provide an alternative scenario to counter misleading and false assumptions around disability.

[1] For the purposes of this chapter, I use the term
"disabled people" (identity-first language) instead of
"people with disabilities" (people-first language) since
with the emergence of the disability rights movement the
word 'disabled' before 'people' has come to signify
identification within a collective identity.
[2] For a list of commonly recurring media stereotypes,

see also: Barnes, (1992).

#### **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

- How is disability represented in the media?
- How can negative stereotypes be challenged? Suggest ways in order to promote more positive and inclusive media representations of disabled people.

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## AIM

The aim of the present chapter is to explain how gendered minorities and disadvantaged groups are represented in media, and define the possible reasons and methodologies to analyze gender-based and disadvantaged groups experiences reflected in media. With the basic information, the types of media representation are discussed by emphasizing semiotic approach and discursive approach to enable the participants to understand how we can find out the possible outcomes within media messages.

## EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES

The learner will be able to: - identify gendered minorities and disadvantaged groups;

name the representation types when needed;
understand the methodologies of how to analyze the media texts to reveal the bias;
comment on how media ownership and economy affect the representation process;
practically use the approaches in order to reveal the reality behind the media texts or scenes.

### **KEYWORDS**

gendered minorities, disadvantaged groups, representation, misrepresentation, semiotic approach, discursive approach

## CHAPTER 7

# GENDER STUDIES: MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF MINORITIES AND DISADVANTAGED GROUPS

#### INTRODUCTION

Of many other influences on how we see and show men and women, media are the most general and familiar in individuals' everyday lives. During our daily lives, individuals are confronted with many different types of media messages which are hinted into our consciousness at every possible opportunity. This insinuation process is not only related to gender binary such as male and female as mentioned in the very first sentence of this chapter, but also about any kind of gender identities and/or sexualities, a great deal of which maintain unrealistically, stereotypically, and of course are represented by limiting the perceptions of the individuals as message receiver. The themes to understand and discuss on how media represent gender especially on the basis of minorities and disadvantaged groups can be grouped in a) underrepresentation, b) misrepresentation, c) stereotyping, d) generalizing feminine / masculine traits, e) portraying in circumscribed roles, f) emphasizing vulnerability in order to normalize violence against minorities and disadvantaged groups. To reveal these themes in context when individuals are exposed to consciously or unconsciously, there is a need to define an approach which can be a semiotic approach or discursive approach. The above-mentioned themes are exemplified and then analyzed by using one of these approaches.

The media are essential in individuals' everyday lives for many different reasons which consists of their long-acknowledged power to represent 'socially acceptable' ways of being or relating to others, as well as to allocate, or more usually withhold, public recognition, honor and status to groups of people (Carter & Steiner, 2004). For this reason, the academics and research professionals investigate how genders, gender identities, minorities or disadvantaged groups have been portrayed in various forms of media such as movies, soap operas, television dramas, newspapers and magazines, cartoons, books, advertisements, lyrics of songs, and pornography. Rudy et al. (2010) states that published content analyses of gender roles have seldom examined gender depictions in "new media."

As Carter and Steiner (2004) implies, the media are useful and effective in the process of public consent on any information. It is widely known that media contents do not only mirror reality, but also construct hegemonic depictions of what should be seen / experienced / accepted as reality. That's why even the definition of reality is inevitably discussed as a consequence of the fact that media texts or images can hide the truth in order to be aligned with the power in society.

In this Chapter, the general viewpoints of gender studies on media are firstly discussed. Then, the representation types are exemplified in the context of gendered minorities and other disadvantaged groups. Following this basic information, two approaches to criticize and examine the media messages are explained shortly. The case studies and activities are given at the end to lead up to discussions on worldwide issues related to such experiences or state of affairs in or among societies.

### GENERAL VIEWS OF GENDER STUDIES AND MEDIA

The portrayal of gendered minorities and disadvantaged groups in international media serves to play an extensive role in shaping the ideas on and the formation of international minority identities. As Henry states (1999), researchers started insisting that it is imperative to carry out some research on minority-media relations because of the fact that media has been playing an important role in creating social identities. In other words, the media has provided a really general source of information in which the audiences gain knowledge about themselves, their attitudes and beliefs which are mostly shaped by what the media picks up as public knowledge.

The depictions of gendered minorities and disadvantaged groups pave the way for letting every individual learn how they and the others are represented in the media. By demeaning the characteristics and leading to an absence of nuanced representations, any kind of minorities are impacted to feel as if they do not belong to the society which they live in. The whole international media outlets keep on broadcasting or publishing the negative and stereotypical images which only serve to demean the individuals in minorities and disadvantaged groups. When there is no other alternative portrayal or there are only one-sided portrayals, the media outlets could create the reality in the minds of the audience easily.

Upon the evidence discussed in research studies, every media professional or academic should move beyond content analysis as a solely used methodological tool to understand and reveal the representation issues. That's why the gender studies based on representation are also related to media ownership and economic imperatives. Before looking at the details of minority representation, the media ownership and economic imperatives on this issue should be known in detail. The Media Ownership and Economic Imperatives. Fleras (1994) specifies the fact that the researchers have downplayed the "commercial logics" underpinning these portrayals and ignored the constructed nature of media reality and corporate commitments. From this point of view, we can easily infer that there is a key determinant in minority representation which is the ownership of media organizations. Henry (1999) also supports this idea by emphasizing that the ownership and management of media organizations has led to a homogenized media. That said, hegemonic realities must be continuously renegotiated, con-tested, reconstructed and renaturalized. Along with the media, other social institutions are central to these processes, including the education system, religion, and the family. Even with considerable propping up, however, there are ideological seams through which leak out evidence of flaws in the system and of the politically constructed nature of hegemonic ideology. Counter-hegemonic impulses of resistance and struggle are always possible.

Following the content analysis of different media outlets and the organizational impacts on minority representation, many different studies make it clear that all the gender identities except white male are under-represented in media, and when they are present in media, they are typically relegated to the stereotypes. Such meanings and messages are constructed through some interactions and situational concepts, revealing with the help of the contents analyzed and the management systems examined. The basis of these ideas depending on the expanding analysis of minority representation in media relates to social constructivism, which is that the world is constructed socially.

#### **REPRESENTATIONS TYPES**

Previous research on gender and media is quite extensive and they cover different forms of media, such as television, cartoons, music, games, and much more recently the internet where the new forms of media have been produced by both professionals and audiences. There is a wide range of methods used in this field of studies, but the most common ones are known as content analysis and discourse analysis within the quantitative methods (Carter & Steiner, 2004: Collins, 2011; Gauntlett, 2008; Rudy et al., 2010). By just checking the results of the primary or secondary research results, we can summarize the types of representation in six different forms: namely, a) misrepresentation, b) underrepresentation, c) stereotyping, d) generalizing feminine / masculine traits, e) portraying in circumscribed roles, f) emphasizing vulnerability in order to normalize violence against minorities and disadvantaged groups.

The misrepresentation. Misrepresentation is taken into consideration as an umbrella term for using the words, focusing on the techniques of under-representation, exclusion or discrimination to label the individuals or groups. There are various forms of misrepresentation, one of which leads to the perpetuation and strengthening of racism and its defenders, which may lead to violence in the same ways as we hold conversations about.

The underrepresentation. The underrepresentation or absence of portraying gender minorities or disadvantaged groups has been termed as symbolic annihilation by Merskin (1998), and Ohye and Daniel (1999). In early references, Tuchman (1978) defines symbolic annihilation as a process by which the mass media omit, trivialize, or condemn certain groups which are not valued socially. Following Tuchnam's definition, Merskin (1998) stated the same term as "the way cultural production and media representations ignore, exclude, marginalize, or trivialize a particular group." Upon these definitions, it can be easily understood and grasped that the basic idea behind the underrepresentation is showing / supporting / portraying the valued groups in media frequently to make the audience get exposed to, and for not that much valued groups, the same media tend to not make them get involved in their contents.

The stereotyping. Stereotyping in media is a twofold issue, one of which helps the audience get

a feel for the media messages easily and the other of which can lead to distortion, simplification and depreciation of social or cultural issues. Under any circumstances, it represents an essential component in the social construction. According to Hinton (2000), stereotypes occur as a part of discourse. So, they will be employed as a device for maintaining an ideological position in an argument rather than a result of some cognitive process of categorization (p. 25). The latter is about stereotyping with a tendency to distort and simplify the image of individuals, groups, or communities. As Lott (1994) asserts, the most frequent stereotype is so-called sexism, which influences the increase of negative attitudes towards women, confirmation of stereotypical convincing about their presented role and leads to their discrimination.

The generalizing feminine / masculine traits. The analytical framework of feminine and masculine traits is discussed by England et al. (2011: 561) to reveal the opposites within a basic list.

Table 1. Analytical Framework of Feminine and Masculine (England et al., 2011)	
Feminine Traits	Masculine Traits
Physically weak	Physically strong
Submissive	<ul> <li>Assertive</li> </ul>
Emotional	Unemotional
Dependant	Independent
Nurturing, Helpful	Selfish/Self-serving
<ul> <li>Afraid, Fearful</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Hero, Brave, Inspires fear</li> </ul>
Troublesome	Problem solver
Follower	Leader
<ul> <li>Victim</li> </ul>	Perpetrator
Described as	Described as having higher
physically attractive	economic/career status
	and being intellectual
Asks for or accepts	<ul> <li>Gives advice</li> </ul>
advice	
Ashamed	Proud

The portraying in circumscribed roles. Portraying the disadvantaged groups in circumscribed roles refers to enclosing the representation within bounds. Even if the disadvantaged groups or gender minorities are represented in media, they are often portrayed in circumscribed and subordinated ways (Collins, 2011) in traditionally stereotyped roles.

The emphasizing vulnerability in order to normalize violence against minorities and disadvantaged groups. Asking about whether media messages contribute to the abuse and violence against gender minorities and disadvantaged groups is very important because we have experienced that media positively portray the violence in males and passivity in females. Specifically, Hansen and Hansen (1988) found out that there is fairly convincing evidence that exposure to sexual violence through media is linked to greater tolerance of violence.

When listing all these types and others which cannot be assumed while this Chapter was prepared, the theory of representation frames the language as a part of culture and the main medium with which the individuals interact. To understand it better, it should be emphasized that the language to portray meanings in different ways consists of spoken components, texts or visual forms. That's why, the semiology cannot be enough to produce the knowledge on this issue. In this Chapter, we are going to use representation, semiotics and discourse to understand the variables of limited or absence of portraying the world.

#### **SEMIOTIC APPROACH**

The semiotic approach focuses on the meaning of language and individual text components which can be considered as the analysis of the media texts in the cultural analysis (Fairclough, 1995; Lacey, 2000). As we know in general, the languages are the systems built on signs. That's why this approach is influenced by the ideas asserted by Ferdinand de Saussure as a linguist. According to Saussure, the signifier is the word, image or photo of the object and the signified is the object itself (Hall, 1997). That's why we can infer that the signs have no fixed meanings and they are socially constructed, which is ever-changing and adapting itself to the time and place.





Despite Saussure's ideas, Charles Sanders Pierce came up with another definition of sign and a taxonomy of signs. According to Pierce, signs include words, images, sounds, gestures, and objects. That's why, Pierce adopts a triadic – not a dyadic like in Saussure's ideas.





The typology of signs, according to Pierce, are symbol, icon, and index. A symbol refers to the situation when the signs have an arbitrary or conventional link. In addition, icons are signs where their meanings are based on the similarity of appearance. Lastly, indexical signs refer to a cause-and-effect relationship between the sign and the meaning of it.

#### Figure 3. Samples of Pierce's Symbol, Icon, and Index



#### **SEMIOTIC APPROACH**

The discursive approach is mostly covered with the ideas of Michel Foucault. This does not focus on the semiotics like the language side of things presented, but it focuses more on the production of knowledge and meaning. Discourse is a difficult concept to understand because Foucault's discourse approach is much broader than the semiotic approaches asserted by Saussure or Pierce. As defined by Foucault, discourse refers to the ways of structuring knowledge, together with the social and cultural practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which are fundamentally in knowledge and relations between them. Foucault defined discourse in many ways in "The Archaeology of Knowledge" (1972) and "The Order of Discourses" (1981).

Focusing on the discourse helps us grab the basis of "how individuals think, what they already know, and how they utter about the environment which we are in, and lastly, how their knowledge is embedded culturally" (Raby, 2002). We can infer that discourse is a complex set of practices which try to keep statements and utterances in circulation or try to seclude them from others and 'exclude' those statements from circulation (Mills, 2003).

#### **CASE STUDY**

Please remember the last episode of a series you have been watching, and find out whether there

are any members of gendered minorities or disadvantaged groups. Then, analyze the actions that the character goes into and the language that the character utters by revealing the possible representation and misrepresentation.

### **ACTIVITY 1 (DISCUSSION)**

Please list the minorities in the country where you live, and collect the information from the ministry reports regarding to what extent the political representation of visible minorities at the local level.

#### **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

- What are the common issues facing minority groups in your country?
- What rights do minorities have?
- How does pluralism contribute to the well-being of minorities in media representation?

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## AIM

This chapter examines the media representation of refugees and asylum seekers through different channels. Particular focus is paid to the importance of building a critical approach to discourses on refugees and asylum seekers since one of the main reasons for their poor acceptance and integration in the host society is their misrepresentation by the media. The chapter also includes the case of Bulgaria in terms of media misrepresentation of refugees and asylum seekers. It is aimed at bringing the attention to the potential that false or misleading information can contribute to creating a certain discourse within the host society.

## EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES

- To gain a deeper and critical view on the media representation of refugees and asylum seekers.

- To understand the role media can have on both the migrants and host societies, thus how can then influence public discourses on refugees and asylum seekers.

- To address different approaches to discourses on migrants based on the national context.

### **KEYWORDS**

mass media, social media, refugees, asylum seekers, migration, civil society, politics

## **CHAPTER 8**

## **MIGRATION STUDIES: MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS**

## SECTION 8.1: MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS

In recent years armed conflicts in the MENA region and poor economic and social conditions in many other countries around the globe have significantly contributed to increased mixed migration towards the so-called Western world. Yet, the media are the main factor that brings the attention of all of us to the images of refugees, building a particular reality through which we see them (Wright, 2002). Very often this is done through visual images which have the remarkable Opotential to influence people and help them form an opinion. In fact, as Wright (2002, p. 64) notes, migrants are often objectified through visual images, which can neglect important aspects such as their historical, cultural and political background. Further, media representation of refugees and asylum seekers can contribute to rising xenophobia and racism, as well as to marginalization, dehumanization and stereotyping of those in need of assistance. In addition, media representations of refugees and asylum seekers, and the respective public reply, are very complex. This is due to the fact that they are influenced by the national context, including discourses on belonging and identity, and simultaneously, they have an impact on the same national context (Haw, 2021, p. 14).

We can assume that political narratives and media representations have the potential to shape the public's perceptions and attitudes, including when it comes to migrant issues no matter whether this is in a positive or negative light (Dempster & Hargrave, 2017, p. 16-18). Misrepresentation of refugees, asylum seekers and generally of migrants, can increase the hostility of the local population towards them, particularly when words such as invasion are often used to describe migrant flows. The "positive misrepresentation" of migrants should not be accepted as a better option as well, as it creates unrealistic expectations eventually lead to loss of credibility and growing populism. Therefore, the media's integrity remains a central point.

Whitham (2017) notes that people trying to reach Europe are often binary presented as refugees fleeing conflict, or migrants moving across the countries for economic reasons. It is expected that the former will confront us with an ethical dilemma, while the latter are more easily confronted by the media, political actors and society.

Furthermore, the significant migration inflows from the Middle East and Africa over the last ten years have been often labeled as a crisis. Many scholars contest that term. For example, Hoerder (2019, p. 34) states that in the case of some European countries this is due to their own systemic crises, which leads political actors to present the refugee and migrant related situation as a crisis. Georgiou & Zaborowski (2017, p. 4) highlight that in the mid-2010s the media played a crucial role in framing the events regarding the refugee and migration flows as a "crisis". According to them, the mainstream media have the paramount informational role as they are still predominantly seen as a trusted source for officials and publics to make understand particular events. For refugees, whose life and plans for the future are facing enormous difficulties, resettlement gives new hope and opportunities to rebuild their lives. There are a lot of resettlement higher goals than the physical relocation of refugees in third countries. This includes the process of admission and integration into a new society. State authorities, non-governmental organizations, volunteers, the local population and refugees themselves – they all have their contribution to the integration process. With the support of the host communities, the refugees have the opportunity to start a new life with dignity and respect.

Given the above-stated, it should be noted that integration is a dynamic two-way process that requires the participation of both refugees (immigrants in general) and the host community. Refugee integration involves more than welcoming their basic needs and providing access to services. Integration requires the host country and civil society to create an environment that helps refugees to achieve long-term economic stability, their adaptation to the new society, as well as developing and strengthening a sense of belonging and encouraging their participation in the host community. Well-designed integration programs give refugees and their families the chance to enjoy equal rights and opportunities in the social, economic and cultural life of the receiving country.

The adaptation and integration activities are aimed at creating conditions for the realization of the potential of those who have received protection as well as at providing opportunities for their active participation in the economic, social and cultural life of the host society.

## SECTION 8.2. BUILDING A CRITICAL APPROACH TO DISCOURSES ON IMMIGRANTS IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

The media play a significant role in world affairs,

promoting certain ideas and policies at the expense of others and contributing to their implementation in practice. More often than not this role could be seen as a part of a propaganda machine, the purpose of which is to direct the public in a predetermined direction. The migration and refugee topic is not an exception. The so-called Arab Spring contributed to the overthrow Muammar Gaddafi's regime in Libya and the start of civil wars in Syria and Yemen. In the first two cases, as a consequence, there were significant refugee and migrant inflows to the EU. This, in turn, has put particular focus on the future of migration, given not only current armed conflicts, but also the growing global inequality, climate change, structural violence and technological advances.

Against this background, the open door policy of the then German Chancellor Angela Merkel and the belief expressed by her and other European political figures that the EU could successfully cope with the intensive inflow of refugees and migrants, proved to be a stumbling block in the relations between the member states. To a certain degree, this has resulted in a clash between ideas for short-term and long-term solutions to the critical events. Today, the situation is not that different. In fact, it can be argued that in the 2020-2021 period the covid-19 pandemic hindered the return of the refugee and migrant topic as a major one in the political agenda. On the other hand, it is the pandemic that has created some opportunities in the migration management field, as it has given time to the so-called developed world to find solutions to the issue of increased migration, including refugees and asylum seekers.

Under such circumstances, the media have a great impact on shaping public opinion, and often on political decision-making. In this role, their objectivity and independence is extremely important. However, both terms can often be seriously questioned when it comes to the coverage and interpretation of events and facts, which is mostly associated with certain political and economic interests. This has been especially evident in the last decade, as the migrant flows from conflict and underdeveloped countries and regions in economic and social terms to the Western world has created many challenges to political, economic and social life in the host countries.

When covering events that have the potential to affect entire countries and regions over a long period of time, a journalist may face certain challenges to his or her professionalism, integrity and ethics. For example, one of the main points of discussion in the coverage of the migration and refugee flows over the last few years concerns the terminology used. Should we write or say a refugee or a migrant? Is it a migrant or refugee crisis? Can we call the whole situation a crisis? Is it right to call individuals, political parties and even entire countries homophobic and racist or not? It can be argued that very often this is associated with certain generalizations, resulting in divisions in society as well as between state and local authorities at the national and international levels.

Most people receive information about migration processes from public and private media, including television, radio, print and internet media. Such information can include, for instance, who and how leaves a given country of origin, which transit countries are being crossed (if any), the desired country of final destination, the challenges to possible integration or return migration. What is more, this information can be false, biased or misleading. Therefore, it is difficult for an individual to navigate through the entire flow of information. It can be said that even the appearance of the so-called "fact checkers", working in some media, do not contribute that much to the orientation of the audience, as doubts remain about the integrity and ethics of the fact checkers in question.

To some extent, the suspicion of many people is caused both by the lack of understanding of certain processes in their environment and by the inability or unwillingness of the given government or even of international organizations, such as for example the EU, to transmit understandable messages to the citizens. This leaves the impression that there are ideas hidden behind certain policies, which in turn is a fertile ground for an information flow, which may be aimed at destabilizing a country or region or purely pursuing electoral success, rather than simply presenting another point of view as a constructive critique. Such manifestations evidently vary across the countries. For instance, according to Berry et al. (2015, p. 261), the German press is a space for "significant advocacy for a liberal and welcoming policy". Therefore, as Ruokolainen and Widén (2020) argue, a more nuanced understanding of information is needed, that is, different perspectives, including of misinformation and disinformation.

Nowadays, there is journalism, the purpose of which is not to convey the relevant information in the most reliable way, but to make the material interesting and engaging for the audience, and by doing so, it hinders the balance and neutrality in informing readers, viewers and listeners (Thussu, 2003, p. 225). The representation of refugees and asylum seekers can also be seen in this light. Baker (2020, p. 2) argues that "the contemporary discourse on migration is governed by relations of power and a regime of truth" and therefore, it should be remodeled stepping on more humane principles.

The presentation of the significant flow of migrants to the EU in the last decade as compared to the waves of migrants from Sicily and Italy as a whole to the United States in the 1920s and in Western Europe after World War II is rather inappropriate and counterproductive. This is because it does not take into account the relevant circumstances and the specific political and economic situation, incomparable with today's conditions, for example the automation and the huge world population increase. Regarding the latter, for comparison, after the end of WWII the global population was about three times less than it is now. In addition, it can be said that the media coverage of refugee and migrant flows in 2010 passed more through the personal tragedies of those who, for one reason or another, decided to seek refugee and a better life in the developed world. This, certainly, can be seen in the light of a strategy using the media as a tool to get more

public support for open-borders policies. Furthermore, Baker (2020, p. 4) states that the term "refugee crisis" is very often used in an uncritical way on the Internet media, with all possible interpretations and consequences arising therefrom.

Therefore, it is of great importance how discourses are seen and used. As Weiss and Wodak (2002, p. 13) state, the term "discourse" differs across the countries and academic cultures. The Merriam-Webster dictionary (n.d.) defines discourse as "verbal interchange of ideas (such as conversation); formal and orderly and usually extended expression of thought on a subject; connected speech or writing; a linguistic unit (such as a conversation or a story) larger than a sentence; a mode of organizing knowledge, ideas, or experience that is rooted in language and its concrete contexts (such as history or institutions)". According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p. 258 in Weiss and Wodak, 2002, p. 13), discourse is both socially constitutive and socially conditioned, for instance, it can contribute to sustain or transform the status quo. In fact, mass media have the necessary tools to manufacture popular consent, especially when it comes to ethnic relations (van Dijk, 1991, p. 42-43).

Generally, there are many genres of migration discourse: media, political, legal, educational, social or personal discourses, just to name a few. As we are particularly interested in media discourse, it should be noted that as such we can assume for instance reportages, news reports on and off the internet, interviews etc. (van Dijk, 2018, p. 229-231).

According to van Dijk (2018, p. 230), a migration discourse is generally related to migration and its many aspects, but it can also be an integral part of migration as a phenomenon. He further argues that "migration as a social phenomenon consists of (groups of) participants, institutions, many types of social and political (inter)action, as well as of many genres of migration discourse as social and political acts and interaction" (Ibid, 2018, p. 230).

When it comes to discourse, it is very often that certain implications emerge. This is mainly due to the individual's knowledge on the matter and his/her mindset in general. The latter is to a lesser or greater extent formed by the context in which a person lives and works. Van Dijk (2018, p. 242) states that "a more critical study of migration discourse should involve the way ideologies are expressed for ideologies are fundamental and normally lead to polarization, for example the good ones (us) against the bad ones (them). Since ideologies express certain characteristics, actions, aims, norms and values of a group, they influence the personal mental models of events (for example migration) of the given group's members, which in turn affects the way a discourse is expressed".

Despite some common characteristics, the migrant discourse differs across the countries. This is true in the case of the EU as well and it has been particularly evident during the so-called migrant and refugee crisis in mid-2010. The political actors in power and the media in most Western Europe countries took a more pro-migration position while more anti-immigration rhetoric was publicly expressed in some Central and Eastern European states. Certainly, it can be assumed that in the majority of cases the respective discourse has been expressed due to politically driven factors such as upcoming elections or PR campaigns for gaining more public approval, especially when political scandals have already been in place. Yet, in order to avoid loss of public trust, more balanced discourses on refugees and asylum seekers are needed, that is, we have to take into account both their human values and the challenges to their reception and integration into the host society.

#### **CASE STUDY**

Bulgaria's media freedom is a subject of analysis of various international think-tanks and non-governmental organizations advocating for human rights across the globe. In 2021, the country ranked 112th out of 180 countries in the Reporters Without Borders' World Press Freedom Index (RSF, 2021). In addition, many Bulgarians do not believe in the country's media independence.

Regarding this, according to a 2022 report, only 15% of Bulgarian citizens consider the news free from political interference (Reuters Institute, 2022, p. 16). To a greater or lesser extent this can be attributed to the fact that a number of media outlets are owned by the so-called oligarchs, and thus being closely related to some of the main political parties in the country. Hence, they are often used as a propaganda tool for political and economic reasons, including for carrying out media based attacks against opponents.

For migration issues, including those related to refugees and asylum seekers, represent a political topic that has the potential to influence politics and society (prospective voters in the narrow sense), in recent years they have been of particular interest to the media. It can be said that in the case of Bulgaria the misrepresentation of facts and events about refugees and asylum seekers have contributed to their media image as a problem to the Bulgarian society.

More often than not this misrepresentation includes controversial or even incompetent speech about refugees and asylum seekers, including the usage of stereotypes and prejudices, as well as the lack of a clear distinction between the terms "refugee" and "migrant". In fact, in a number of cases, one may remain with the impression that the information provided, including publications, analysis, reportages, interviews etc. is not unbiased or based on constructive criticism.

Politically driven factors can be seen more often than not, particularly when political leaders express their opinion about refugees and migrants as a whole. At the same time some media outlets have been publishing titles and articles which can be regarded as either aimed at provoking unnecessary alarmism (see for example "A Syrian bit off the ear of a Bulgarian" (Trud, 2016) or openly promoting the application of practices suitable mainly for Western European countries, without taking into account the political, social and economic context in Bulgaria.

In the case of alarmism, it is worth noting a particular article from "Agency PIK" (in Bulgarian "Агенция ПИК"), which, it should be underscored, is not an exception. It is interesting to note that as of September 2021 "Agency PIK" has more than 113,000 followers on Facebook, that is, it is a platform with the potential to influence many Bulgarian citizens. The article in question was published on 2nd of September 2016 and titled "IT'S GETTING SCARY! The refugees will conquer us within a week. We can still accept only 1,100 more, while there are already over 12,000 migrants in our country" (Agentsia PIK, 2016). This title can be seen in the light of media sensationalism, trying to attract more views and website visits.

One possibly may try to understand such a practice provided the highly competitive media environment. A host of researchers, for example Davis & McLeod (2003, p. 214-215) among others, argue that sensational news can be regarded somehow even useful from an evolutionary point of view, including when they possibly concern physical threats to human existence. However, over the last decade the migration and refugee topic has been of great interest to the society and thus, such a title as the aforementioned one, should be regarded as an unethical and even as dangerous to some extent, as it can provoke or further enforce clearly negative and aggressive attitudes towards migrants and refugees.

It should also be underlined that no names were provided as author/s of the article. What is more, in both the title and the main body no clear distinction between migrants and refugees was made, which could easily lead to misleading the reader and even instigating hatred towards migrants and refugees. The same goes for the migrant registration and reception centers run by the Bulgarian State Agency for Refugees, which are more often than not presented by the media as refugee centers. This is also misleading and in the case of criminal or unethical actions involving people living in those centers, it could easily lead to certain generalizations and further reinforcing negative perceptions among the local population towards asylum seekers.
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### AIM

The aim of this chapter is to clarify what are media pluralism and media diversity, why only sustaining media diversity is not enough to guarantee media pluralism, why we need to guarantee media pluralism for a well-functioning democracy, how highly concentrated media affect pluralism and in that case what kind of role alternative media plays.

## EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES

To gain a deep understanding of the main concepts such as media pluralism, media diversity, freedom of expression, learners will:

Raise awareness of the need for a pluralistic media environment.

- Develop a critical understanding of media diversity and media pluralism.

- Exemplify media pluralism by discussing market pluralism and ownership, political independence and basic protection areas as freedom of expression and human rights.

- Develop a critical approach to media content by analyzing the effects of media conglomerates.

- Understand media diversity and find solutions to figure out current problems arising from media concentration to guarantee media diversity for hearing different voices.

### **KEYWORDS**

media pluralism, media diversity, media freedom, and political economy of media, market plurality

# **CHAPTER 9**

# MEDIA PLURALISM AND DIVERSITY: OLD AND NEW CHALLENGES TO MEDIA FREEDOM

#### **SECTION 9.1: INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter, it has been discussed why we need to guarantee media pluralism and diversity for media freedom and a well-functioning democracy. Firstly, media pluralism and media diversity are examined to clarify how to build a more pluralistic media environment.

Then to draw a way to guarantee media freedom and democracy, we open a discussion on the political economy of media and market plurality, and to better understand the importance of media independence for a more pluralistic and diverse media environment, by exemplifying media concentration in different countries, we trying to figure out problems and find solutions.

# SECTION 9.2: MEDIA PLURALISM AND DIVERSITY

Media pluralism is a must for a well-functioning democracy. What is media pluralism and why it is necessary to sustain democracy is an immersive question. To answer this question firstly we need to define media pluralism.

In normative theories, metaphors such as 'marketplace of ideas' and 'public forums' are utilized to define a pluralistic environment that empowers freedom of expression (Raeijmaekers & Maeseele; 2015). The simple and clear definition of media pluralism is the plurality of voices. But to make those voices heard, it is also a must to have the plurality of media outlets, different types of media (digital, TV, print and radio) and additionally it is necessary to have coexistence of private owned media and public service media at the same time. According to RSF's report on media pluralism that is prepared for the European Union, the first one is the internal definition of media pluralism and the second one is the external definition of media pluralism (RSF, 2016).

Since 2013, The Centre for Media Pluralism and Media Freedom has been developing and implementing the EU-funded project Media Pluralism Monitor (MPM) for assessing the risks for media pluralism in EU member states and candidate countries. Within this project, academics and researchers from those countries answer around 200 indicators and try to map risks for media plurality. Same with the two definitions of media pluralism made by RSF, in this project these different dimensions of media pluralism have been discussed. Indicators of MPM consist of 4 major areas that are fundamental protection, market plurality, political independence and social inclusiveness. In recent years, within the project an additional section is developed on the digital dimensions of media pluralism. In the 2021 Media Pluralism Monitor report, MPM covered 32 European countries (EU 27 plus Albania, Montenegro, Republic of North Macedonia, Serbia and Turkey).

As it is understood from reports and publications, in parallel with technological developments these areas of research have been changed and developed every year with the development of digital technologies. The Fundamental Protection area of the MPM examines the necessary preconditions for media pluralism and freedom as the existence of effective regulatory safeguards to protect the freedom of expression and the right to seek, receive and impart information to European net neutrality obligations, many areas of pluralism have been monitored to determine risks in the basic protection area ((Bleyer-Simon et al., 2021).

Under the Market Plurality area, the MPM assesses the economic risks to media pluralism, by analyzing areas as the threats to market plurality that derive from a lack of transparency caused by a high concentration of ownership; the economic conditions of the news outlets; and the other interest on journalistic activity (Bleyer-Simon et al., 2021).

Political independence is based on areas that represent the diversity of the political spectrum and of ideological views in the media and other relevant platforms. In this area, MPM sees political pluralism as one of the crucial conditions for democracy and democratic citizenship. In this area from the distribution of resources to the media; political control over media organizations and content to the editorial autonomy many indicators have been answered for defining risks (Bleyer-Simon et al., 2021).

And lastly, in the social inclusiveness area, Media Pluralism Monitor tries to analyze risks on the access to the media by various social and cultural groups, such as minorities, local/regional communities, people with disabilities, and women. In this area, to observe the fight against disinformation and hate speech have also been examined to define digital risks (Bleyer-Simon et al., 2021).

### SECTION 9.3. MEDIA PLURALISM IN UNDER-CONTROL

Media pluralism is an unclear term and when it comes to media landscape trying to define media pluralism especially for countries in where media ownership, market plurality, media diversity are very controversial and where media are under the control of certain political and social powers, it is hard to construct a bridge between media pluralism and democracy.

In Western democracies, pluralistic media content that gives a place for all types of minorities and holds all ideas might mean media pluralism. However, for defining a total pluralistic environment we need to think about pluralistic media outlets that function independently free from any kind of idea and which are not dependent economically on any political ideology.

In an ideal world, it is possible to talk about a public sphere where all the voices are heard. But even for the very first definition of 'public sphere', which was developed by Jurgen Habermas, it is not possible to envision a perfect public sphere. In this early definition, the bourgeoisie plays a role as a transmitter and opinions of the public are not directly reached to governors in other words to the power (Habermas, 1999). As argued in normative theories of media, media outlets should play a role as a channel to guarantee freedom of expression of all. It means that the media should be a place/a sphere to share ideas and information. But in many countries, because of media concentration and very close relations between media, ideology and the power (mostly political power), the media could not be able to guarantee freedom of expression for all and in that way could not guarantee media diversity as well.

As analyzed in the RSF's report on Media Ownership Monitor in Turkey, similarly to Media Pluralism Monitor Reports of Turkey (İnceoğlu, Sözeri, Erbaysal Filibeli; 2017, 2018, 2020, 2021), there are high level risks on media ownership concentration, control over media outlets and distribution, control over media funding and control over news agencies. As it is discussed in MPM's reports on Turkey (İnceoğlu, Sözeri, Erbaysal Filibeli; 2017, 2018, 2020, 2021), there are regulations to safeguard media ownership, and additionally there are several laws and regulations to guarantee the right to freedom of opinion and expression of all. But in practice, these laws and regulations barely guarantee representations of all, since both private and public service media are mostly under state control and highly concentrated (RSF, 2019). For this reason, especially in countries where media outlets are under economic, political and somehow social pressure as in Turkey, the efforts for trying to define media pluralism are becoming inadequate.

#### **SECTION 9.4. MEDIA DIVERSITY**

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights guarantees the right to freedom of opinion and expression of all with Article 19 as:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; the right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers."

As it is understood from article 19, the concept of media diversity is based upon the representation of all without any frontiers. So for guaranteeing media diversity, firstly it has to sustain a media landscape, which is suitable for reporting on any minority, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexuality etc. Within this approach, the access to media of minorities is also very important. So, religious and ethnic minorities should publish or broadcast for themselves. On the other hand, public service media as well as private media outlets should also guarantee the representation of minorities. Here, access to media for people with disabilities should also be considered as a part of media diversity. At this point in developed democracies there should be laws and regulations to assure access to media of people with disabilities at a certain level with both audio description and subtitles.

On the other hand, while talking about media diversity we also should think of who produces news for who is immensely important, because having a media outlet created for minorities does not always mean guaranteeing media diversity (Raeijmaekers & Maeseele; 2015). On some level, it might be seen like there is media diversity, but in-depth analysis, the content produced by some news outlets, might be oriented according to interests of the power.

Lastly, the representation of women is another dimension that we should consider in media diversity. In most countries, the media mostly are under the control of men. It means women are barely finding a place in the board of directors of media conglomerates and also in public service media. Additionally, in news content and TV programs, women are not presented as opinion leaders, they are mostly pictured with their social roles in daily life as mothers or framed as victims in news (TGS, 2019).

#### **CASE STUDY: MEDIA AND POWER IN TURKEY**

As an example, during the history of Turkey public service media (PSM), Turkish Radio and Television Cooperation (TRT), was always under state control, since it was first established in 1964. Normally PSMs serve for the public, so the main job of PSM has to be to give voice to the public. For this reason, PSM channels should proportionately spare time to minorities. In Turkey, when we analyze PSM channels we see channels specifically founded for minorities as TRT Kurd and TRT Arabic. In practice, the foundation of these channels might mean an attempt to sustain media diversity. However, here we have several problems. Firstly, the definition of minorities is problematic because in Turkey only Armenians, Greeks and Jews are defined as legal minorities according to the Treaty of Lausanne. So TRT does not spare time for legally recognized minorities. On the other hand, according to law Kurdes and Arabs are not legally recognized even though the Kurdes are the largest ethnic minority in Turkey. For Kurds, there is a TV channel but the programs scheduled for this channel are mostly in parallel with the programs in TRT and operated according to state policies (Înceoğlu, Sözeri, Erbaysal Filibeli; 2017, 2018, 2020, 2021).

#### **ACTIVITY1**

As a case study, please try to map public service media's situation in your country and compare and contrast PSM's broadcasts and channels with TRT's broadcasts and channels to discuss 'having a diverse media landscape is enough for guaranteeing media pluralism and in that way democracy?'

#### **ACTIVITY 2**

In countries where mainstream media are biased with media mergers and with the effects of high-level media concentration, alternative media outlets create a sphere for alternative voices as critical media (Atton, 2010; Fuchs, 2011). In Turkey, day-by-day alternative media outlets enlarge their audiences since the mainstream media are not functional.

Please analyze media concentration in your country and discuss the function of alternative media by criticizing the function of mainstream media in your country?

#### **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

- How can you define media pluralism and media diversity?
- Why sustaining media pluralism is a must for a well-functioning democracy?
- Why should media concentration be regulated for guaranteeing media pluralism and in that way media freedom?
- How is the representation of all might possible? Please, try to recommend policies for guaranteeing freedom of opinions and expressions of all?
- How do you define alternative gateways for sustaining media diversity and guaranteeing media pluralism?

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In this chapter firstly several digital threats as recommendation engines, filter bubbles and algorithmic bias; bots and troll accounts which are used for the purpose of propaganda & manipulation; information disorder caused by the use of some digital technologies as deepfake, tech programs utilized for digital content manipulation, distorted videos, Al-based text generators, etc. are presented. Secondly, we aim to examine how those digital threats harm the digital information sphere, cause the spread of disinformation/ misinformation on minority groups and in the end give rise to online hate speech and discriminative language.

To provide solutions we open a discussion on what we need to do to create a well-functioning digital information ecosystem and how to tackle digital threats in order to protect media freedom and democracy.

# EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES

Within this chapter to gain a deep understanding of the current discussions on computational propaganda and misuse of big data, students will:

- Develop a critical understanding on search engine algorithms

- Understand digital information landscape and detect trolls, bots, false information, deep fakes, distorted videos etc.

- Raise awareness of the harm that is caused by digital threats

- Exemplify how the spread of disinformation/misinformation on minority groups negatively affects vulnerable groups.

- Provide solutions to current problems in order to sustain a well-functioning democracy

## **KEYWORDS**

digital threats, digital information sphere, computational propaganda, algorithmic manipulation, filter bubbles, information disorder

# **CHAPTER 10**

# MEDIA PLURALISM 2.0: DIGITAL THREATS TO MEDIA FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

#### **SECTION 10.1: INTRODUCTION**

Every day while we use digital technologies, our computers, cell phones, smartwatches, and when we download applications or when we travel on social networks we share our personal information with these companies without thinking about how they utilize the data that we willingly give them against us (Erbaysal Filibeli, 2019). All of the digital activities that people have done have been tracked by big tech companies, and the data which is gathered from our activities are protected in the 'big data' ware-houses. In this age, when we talk about media pluralism 2.0, how those companies protect our data and why data privacy is important for democracy are very crucial questions that we need to think of.

# SECTION 10.2: FOLLOWING THE TRACES OF THE COMPUTATIONAL PROPAGANDA: VIOLATION OF DATA PRIVACY, SOCIAL NETWORKS AND SCANDALS

In 2016, with the Cambridge Analytica Scandal of Facebook, how the misuse of big data and the violation of data privacy harm democracy is ascertained by all and the discussions on computational propaganda emerged. The scandal was a very clear example of how tech people help campaign managers run computational propaganda by violating data privacy and the use of social media, namely Facebook algorithms for micro-targeting. As Wooley and Howard defined, computational propaganda is a communicative practice that encloses digital misinformation and manipulation. It relies on the use of algorithms, automation and human curation to deliberately manage and distribute misleading information through social media networks (Woolley & Howard, 2018, p. 4).

The most known example of computational propaganda is the Cambridge Analytica Scandal of Facebook. During the 2016 presidential election of the USA, Cambridge Analytica harvested millions of people's data by using the app named 'this mydigitallife' that was developed by data scientist Aleksandr Kogan.

People who took the personality test on Facebook, agreed to share their personal data for academic research. However, test takers unknowingly shared their Facebook friends' data, as well. With the personal data of users gathered from the test, Donald Trump's election campaign managers created psychographics to describe people's attitudes within the project named Alamo. They profiled voters and produced news/information as political advertisements that hold different points of views on the same topic. In that way, the potential voters in other words 'persuadable voters' were targeted and thanks to algorithms the most suitable content was made visible to influence those voters to support Donald Trump. (Bartlett, 2018; Amer & Noujaim, 2019; Cadwalladr & Graham Harrison, 2018; Rampling, 2017). In the end, with the effects of social media algorithms, Donald Trump was elected as the president of the USA.

The scandal was disclosed by whistleblower Christopher Wylie who was a former employee of Cambridge Analytica with the interviews that are published by The Guardian (Cadwalladr & Graham Harrison, 2018) and The New York Times (Rosenberg, Confessore, & Cadwalladr, 2018) on March 18, 2018. After the scandal was revealed, Facebook notified almost 87 million people all around the world that their information had been collected by Cambridge Analytica (Hern, 2018). Like Donald Trump's election campaign, during the Brexit Referendum for leaving the European Union in UK, the campaign manager of the 'Vote Leave Campaign' Dominic Cumming was also accused of the utilization of billions of targeted adverts (Bartlett, 2018; Amer & Noujaim, 2019; Cadwalladr, 2017; BBC, 2019).

The Cambridge Analytica Scandal and the contentious manipulation during the Brexit Referendum are well-known examples of computational propaganda that made people aware of how propaganda works in the digital era. How politicians or opinion leaders use digital tools to manipulate people is also related to media pluralism and media diversity, because this scandal showed people that they do not choose what they want to read/watch or listen and/or in a way they do not decide how they think and decide what to do.

## SECTION 10.3: ACCESS TO TRUTH MATTERS FOR PLURALISM AND WELL-FUNCTIONING DEMOCRACY

Without a doubt in the digital era data is the most valuable asset in the world. As Jennifer Pybus (2019) said, there is a capital market behind data. Many politicians have spent money to promote their campaigns. It is not wrong to say, how much capital politicians have is important to run a digital campaign to determine which idea will be more visible for who.

As a politician, if you have enough money while you are running your campaign, you may also promote lies. For this reason, 'post-truth' is still one of the most problematic terms and social scientists should continue to think of it. New digital technologies give people digital opportunities to create different types of content and also make it possible to diffuse misleading information to many more people than they imagine. If you want to manipulate people and want to promote an ideology all you need to do is determining your target audience, producing digital content by using new technologies as deepfake, distorted videos, text generators etc., diffusing the content via digital networks and making it visible with the use of social media platforms' algorithms, and sometimes with the help of social media trolls and bots (Erbaysal Filibeli, 2019). At this point, filtering the true information matters for accessing the truth.

# Section 10.3.1: 'Filter bubbles' and capitalist digital media system

Through the artificial intelligence-based machine learning algorithms, users' digital behaviors are analyzed and tech firms use users' digital footprint against them to show them only the content which might willingly keep them in the system much longer (Erbaysal Filibeli, 2019). So social media algorithms show us the most popular content, which gets much more clicks than others or which makes people spend more time in the system. In that way, the platforms earn more money.

The aim of Web 2.0 was to allow people to produce content and share their ideas on the networks through blogs, wikis, social networks, online streaming platforms etc. So it is not wrong to say, Web 2.0 is designed for creating a more pluralistic information sphere. However, in the long term, through the utilization of AI-based social media algorithms mostly for economic purposes, users are being captured in filter bubbles. Eventually, filters that users use in social networks, namely their choices, harmed this idea of pluralism.

In a social network, users' social media friends create their echo chamber and what they like to read, share, watch, in other words, their dislikes/likes construct filter bubbles. It causes a social dilemma because, in the end, users mostly get to be informed via the same news stories from similar kinds of information channels (Thurman, 2011). Consequently, filter bubbles create obstacles against the diversity of ideas/opinions and this one way, one type of communication harms the pluralistic information sphere and causes the dysfunction of democracy, since it reinforces social media users' own opinion repetitively.



As a social media user if you are imprisoned in a filter bubble or if you are in an echo chamber which gets polluted through misleading information, it is hard to break filter bubbles and/or get out of echo chambers.

As Wooley and Howard said (2018, p. 3);

- Surveillance capabilities are outstripping civil protections.

- Social media algorithms may be creating echo chambers where public conversations become polluted and polarized.

- Political "bots" (software agents used to create simple messages and "conversations" on social media) appear to be genuine grassroots movements to manipulate public opinion.

- Malicious actors and digital marketers run junk news factories to disseminate misinformation/disinformation and to harm competitors by generating click-through advertising revenue. - Online hate speech is also spreading via misleading information.

We have several major problems which are linked to each other, for this reason what has to be done to build a more pluralistic media landscape and to create a healthier digital information sphere need to be discussed. Since as Cass Sunstein (2009) said in a democracy, people do not live in echo chambers or information cocoons.

# Section 10.3.2: Discrimination and Online Hate Speech

Microsoft's AI (artificial intelligence) chatbot Tay was released on Twitter in 2016. Microsoft declared "Tay is designed to engage and entertain people where they connect with each other online through casual and playful conversation." The idea was that "the more you chat with Tay, the smarter she gets", since it was generating texts through the text/tweets written by other Twitter users. So she was reflecting people's ideas and emotions. If people are biased, artificial intelligence will be biased. Just in hours, she turned into a Hitler loving sex robot that also supports Donald Trump. In short, Tay was feeding on human bias. So, thanks to algorithms, it has been affected by malicious conversations and infected by racist data created by humans. In the end, Microsoft shut down Tay only 16 hours after its launch (Hunt, 2016; Molly, 2016; Wakefield, 2016). Like humans fed Tay with their racist, discriminative, sexist ideologies; in this era by using bots like Tay and troll armies are feeding digital media users with false information.

In the end false information which is spread on social networks feeds people's racist ideologies and promotes discriminative discourses (Erbaysal Filibeli & Ertuna, 2021).

### **SECTION 10.3: FACING DIGITAL THREATS**

The famous quote of John Culkin (1967) "We shape our tools and, thereafter, our tools shape us." to explain Marshall MacLuhan's ideas on how media have changed the human's environment, is very helpful for understanding today's media landscape. Thanks to the opportunities Web 2.0 offers, we have so many digital media platforms to communicate with, and thanks to new technologies, smartphones etc. it is very easy to produce any type of content in just seconds. Additionally, there are many ways to promote content and engage with masses. For this reason, within the diversity of ideas and media pluralism we need to think of the effects of malicious use of those digital technologies and current digital threats. It is not possible to measure the real effect of computational propaganda since it is impossible to test its effects with the same samples, but it is possible to develop an understanding on how companies like Cambridge Analytica work. Cambridge Analytica hacked people's data and breached the data privacy of millions of people. They did microtargeting with the data they had. Campaign managers determined their target audiences and produced information according to the ideas of their target audiences through using psychographic and shared fake news via political advertisements. This content became more visible when someone liked or shared promoted/fake content. Finally, thanks to algorithms, they were included in the news feed of the masses. Thus, they spread not only the true information, but also the false ones, and It caused an information disorder (Erbaysal Filibeli, 2019).

#### **CASE STUDY**

Please watch 'Social Dilemma' and discuss your personal experience with digital surveillance. Do you feel like your cell phone is listening to you or following where you are going? Or do you think that you are buying things that you don't really need?

#### **ACTIVITY1**

To develop an understanding on personalized search engine at the same time with your personal

computers or cell-phone, please search similar topics as below:

- Feminism
- Sexism/sexist
- Racist
- Immigrant
- Refugee
- Asylum seeker
- Turkey
- Greece etc.

#### **ACTIVITY 2**

To fight against those digital threats and sustain a more pluralistic digital information landscape, we need to develop our digital media literacy skills. Please discuss as social media users how we can develop our digital media literacy skills by observing your personal experience.

#### **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

- Might humans' ideas be manipulated with 'false information' by making use of big data, artificial intelligence, and machine learning algorithms?
- Can you exemplify what computational propaganda is?
- How do social media algorithms construct digital threats to democracy?

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## AIM

The aim of the present chapter is to explain the concept of intercultural communication, to examine the barriers encountered in the intercultural communication process and to focus on the role of the media in this process.

### EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES

- To gain a deep understanding of the main concepts related to intercultural communication.

- To provide information about the problems experienced in the intercultural communication process.

- To inform about the role of the media in the intercultural communication process.

# **KEYWORDS**

intercultural communication, ethnocentrism, stereotypes, prejudices

# CHAPTER 11

# PROMOTING MULTICULTURALISM AND INTERCULTURALISM

#### **SECTION 11.1: INTRODUCTION**

Today, interculturalism and multiculturalism are gaining more and more importance with technological developments and increasing migration movements as well as globalization. In this respect, first of all, it is necessary to focus on the concept of intercultural communication in the context of the definitional framework.

# SECTION 11.2: INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

The phenomenon of intercultural communication is conceptualized as communication between people from different national cultures, and besides, it is limited to face-to-face communication by many scientists. From another point of view, intercultural communication is also considered as a type of intergroup communication, like communication between members of different social groups. Apart from intercultural communication, intergroup communication also includes many types of communication such as communication between healthy and disabled people, communication between different generations and social classes, and communication between races and ethnic groups (Gudykunst, 2003: 163). As a result, the concept of intercultural communication refers to the communication phenomenon in which the participants, who have different cultural backgrounds, come into contact with each other directly or indirectly. In this respect, intercultural

communication presupposes and deals with cultural similarities and differences between the parties involved in the communication (Kim, 1984: 15-16).

# SECTION 11.3: FACTORS AND BARRIERS AFFECTING THE INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION PROCESS

Elements described as barriers in intercultural communication; it emerges as "high anxiety, assuming similarity instead of difference, ethnocentrism, stereotypes and prejudices, language differences, misinterpretations in nonverbal communication and a tendency to evaluate" (Jandt, 1998: 47-55,70; Barna, 1998: 173-183; 1985: 333-335).

### Section 11.3.1: Similarity Assumption

One of the factors that are effective in the process of intercultural communication and that can be an obstacle for people in this process depending on the situation and conditions is the assumption of similarity. The similarity assumption, succinctly, means the assumption of similarity rather than difference in relation to cultures (Barna, 1985: 333). The assumption of similarity between different cultures leads to ignorance or deletion of the original and different aspects of a culture. For example, assuming that there are no differences when confronted with a member of a different culture without knowledge causes people to act based only on their own culture. In this respect, it should be taken into account that each culture is different and unique at certain levels and degrees. Looking at the issue from the other side, the opposite of the similarity assumption can also lead to overlook the common points shared in different cultures. Therefore, the most reasonable solution is; customs, traditions, manners and habits, etc. instead of assuming that they are the same or different in every culture and everywhere, it is considered as asking what they are (Jandt, 1998: 51-52).

## Section 11.3.2: Language Differences and Misinterpretations in Nonverbal Communication

Another factor that affects intercultural communication and can function as a barrier is language differences (Jandt, 1998: 142; Barna, 1985: 333; 1998: 180). Language is a set of symbols shared through the transmission of meanings and experiences in a society (Jandt, 1998: 460). In this context, not sharing the meanings of words as symbols in different languages is a serious obstacle and difficulty for people in both communication and intercultural communication processes. Moreover, even among people speaking the same language, the meaning of each word is not shared in the same way (Jandt, 1998: 142).

Disregarding the context or meaning in line with language differences makes language problems even worse (Barna, 1985: 333). Due to the different styles of each language on the axis of language differences and problems, evaluations such as misinterpretation of intentions, insincerity, complexity and arrogance may occur (Barna, 1998: 180). Especially from the perspective of intercultural communication; the degree of shared meanings is likely to be less when communicating with foreigners belonging to other linguistic or cultural groups. This is exacerbated when the differences between languages are at a wide level. For example, English speakers have less in common with Chinese speakers than German speakers. In addition, the similarity of languages also affects the perception of the world in similar ways (Gudykunst and Kim, 2003: 212). In this

context, an important point that should not be forgotten is; the main way for groups to distinguish themselves from other groups and thus maintain their identity is through the spoken language. For example, immigrant groups often maintain their cultural heritage and identity by using their mother tongue in the host culture and teaching it to their children (Neuliep, 2006: 272).

In the communication and interaction process, what is said is as important as what is not said. This brings nonverbal communication to the fore. Nonverbal communication means communication established by means other than language such as facial expressions, body language, eye contact, use of time, and interactive silence (Martin and Nakayama, 2005: 149). Touch, taste, sight, hearing, smell, senses, signs, symbols, colors, facial expressions, gestures, facial expressions, attitudes, etc. can be listed. Awareness for nonverbal communication has a very important role not only in terms of survival, but also in understanding other people's thoughts, feelings and needs (Calero, 2005: 1, 5). Nonverbal messages can often tell what verbal messages cannot tell and are considered more sincere than verbal messages. In this direction, nonverbal communication, as a powerful and effective form of self-expression, is defined as communicating through multiple communication channels without words (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2005: 200).

Another very important point in nonverbal communication is the concept of cultural space. Cultural space; it is the context in which cultural meanings are produced, where people grow up, where they live, and where their identity is shaped. Therefore, the rules vary in terms of nonverbal communication and the context in which it takes place, and nonverbal communication varies from culture to culture (Martin and Nakayama, 2005: 149, 154). Parallel to this, the same nonverbal sign or message is evaluated differently by people from different cultures, which can lead to ambiguities. For example, a sign meaning "ok (Ok)" in America means humiliation in Brazil and money in Japan. In this context, misunderstandings, understandings and interpretations may occur due to the fact that intentions, signs and all other nonverbal communication channels can have

different meanings in the processes of nonverbal communication (Ting-Toomey and Chung, 2005: 200-201). From these points of view, barriers and difficulties may arise in nonverbal communication, as in other forms of communication, which act as a barrier between members of different cultures. Because the nonverbal communication process also operates dependent on culture and context. Therefore, nonverbal communication, in which there is no dictionary, is of great importance in order to understand intercultural communication (Andersen & Wang, 2009: 264).

#### Section 11.3.3: Uncertanity and Anxiety

Uncertainty is a cognitive phenomenon that affects our thoughts about other people (Stephan, White & Gudykunst, 1999: 614). Although there is a certain degree of uncertainty in every relationship, communicating with strangers from different cultures causes greater uncertainty than communicating with people in close relationships. In addition, the communication with the members of different groups also leads to more uncertainty than the communication with the members of the groups in which the people themselves are included (Gudykunst & Shapiro, 1996 as cited in Gudykunst and Nishida, 2001: 58).

Anxiety, on the other hand, is defined as a feeling that includes disturbing thoughts, unpleasant sensations and physical changes that occur in response to a situation or stimulus that is perceived as threatening, worrying or dangerous (Esses, Semenya, Stelzl, 2004: 139). Anxiety is a condition that has the same effect as uncertainty. People experience anxiety at certain levels when they communicate with others from different cultures, groups or in the sense of not being in a close relationship. The anxiety experienced in the process of communication and interaction with these others is usually due to negative expectations (Gudykunst & Nishida, 2001: 59-60). An important level of anxiety is intergroup anxiety. In these situations, where a member of a certain

group lives and which is an example of intergroup anxiety, anxiety arises from contact with outgroup members. People often experience intergroup anxiety before communicating and interacting with members of different cultures. This type of anxiety is also common in relationships between members of different racial and ethnic groups and between labeled and unlabeled groups.

# Section 11.3.4: Evaluation Tendency and Ethnocentrism

Barna (1985: 334; 1998: 182) shows the "evaluation tendency" as another difficulty and hindering factor in the intercultural communication process. The tendency to evaluate manifests itself as the evaluation of people from different cultural or ethnic groups on the basis of another culture or group, rather than trying to understand the discourse and actions of people from different cultural or ethnic groups and their feelings and thoughts that reflect their world views. The main reason for this is that each person always sees their own culture and lifestyle as correct, appropriate and natural. This tendency also prevents the open-mindedness necessary to look at behavior patterns and attitudes from the other's perspective. The tendency to evaluate formulated in this way corresponds to the phenomenon of ethnocentrism, which is an extremely decisive factor in the process of intercultural communication.

Ethnocentrism, which appears as a barrier to intercultural communication, is a negative judgment and evaluation of the standards of one's own culture and the perspectives of another culture (Jandt, 1998: 52). Therefore, this phenomenon negatively affects the intercultural communication and interaction process (Neuliep, 2006: 2000). It is possible to encounter this tendency in the forms of self-glorification, self-importance and centering in all societies. This phenomenon also indicates the tendency to see oneself superior to others.

On the other hand, ethnocentrism also functions as a central concept in terms of understanding outgroup

attitudes and intergroup relations (Neuliep & McCroskey, 1997: 385). In this respect, ethnocentrism refers to the tendency of people to identify with the group (ingroup) they belong to, such as an ethnic or racial group, and the evaluation of outgroups and their members according to ingroup standards (Gudykunst & Kim, 2003: 137). Ethnocentrism is based on the belief in the superiority of one's own culture, and everything of the culture or group involved is accepted as consistent and logical (Jandt, 1998: 52).

In the context of the relationship between ethnocentrism and communication: the phenomenon of ethnocentrism, with the perception it produces, causes other people from different cultures or groups to be misunderstood and evaluated. In this process, people wrongly distort what seems meaningful and functional to other people through their own windows through which they look at life from within the group they belong to (Kim & Hubbard, 2007: 225). This naturally causes the relations between people and groups to be negatively affected. On the other hand, the separations that occur at the level of thought and language with the effect of ethnocentrism also affect communication negatively. Ethnocentrism can easily lead to distinctions such as "us" and "them" or "us versus them" at the intellectual and linguistic level for everyone. This happens when people produce categories that invoke "we" and the other category is formulated as "not us" or "they".

#### Section 11.3.5: Stereotypes and Prejudices

Other factors that affect the intercultural communication process and act as a barrier in communication and interaction between different cultures, ethnic, racial and social groups or between ingroups and outgroups are stereotypes and prejudices (Barna, 1985: 334; 1998: 181; Jandt, 1998: 70; Martin and Nakayama, 2005: 47, 50). The symbolic meaning of the concept of stereotype, on the other hand, refers to the usual and often oversimplified conceptions, opinions and beliefs about a person, group, event or subject. Stereotypes, which are the reflection of both cognitive characteristics and social experiences, have an instrumental function in establishing a sense of belonging to the ingroups in which people are included, on the one hand, and in the differentiation between these in-groups and out-groups on the other. Therefore, stereotypes are among the central concepts in intergroup and intercultural relations, communication and interaction studies (Ibroscheva & Ramaprasad, 2007; 2008).

Stereotypes refer to stored beliefs about the characteristics of a group of people (Bar-Tal, 1997: 491). These beliefs are often oversimplified and rarely matched with objective facts. Because people, through stereotypes, categorize and process the information they have acquired about "others" in their daily lives and put them into a generalized form. Members of these groups; their physical appearance, intelligence, personal characteristics, etc. are defined by the elements. Stereotypes can also be used to rationalize and legitimize feelings of hostility and provide a framework for interaction with members of minority groups (Martin & Nakayama, 2005: 48).

Parallel to this, prejudice refers to unreasonably negative attitudes towards other people due to being a member of a certain group (Fishbein, 2002: 4-5). In this direction, prejudice; it points to beliefs, convictions and attitudes that characterize lack of flexibility, rigidity, dogmatism and narrow-mindedness (Murji, 2003: 227).

## SECTION 11.4: THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN THE INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION PRESS

Representations in the media have a persistent and enduring effect on ingroup members' perceptions of the characteristics and social status of other groups seen as outgroups and their members. Because the mass media are among the main sources that are easily accessible and widely used as possible powerful information sources and image factories that produce and support beliefs about foreigners in the stereotyping process. Another reason why mass media play a functional role in the stereotyping process is that stereotypes are not only communicated but also processed and reinforced. In this direction, the media instills some meanings, which generally reflect the perspectives of the dominant social groups, to the secondary social groups in general. The media do this mainly through a language and discourse that instills these meanings and excludes others. Therefore, the media is part of a broader social process in which the way the dominant social groups make sense of the world is also built and supported (Ibroscheva & Ramaprasad, 2007, 2008).

The role of the media or what kind of effects it has is also important in terms of intercultural communication studies. Because, while in the past, studies were limited to the individual level within the scope of intercultural communication, today this situation has changed and it is seen that intercultural communication takes place at many levels. In this context, as in mass communication, people can have information about different cultures and groups through methods such as reading and watching various sources, watching movies and videos, listening to tapes, and they can reduce the uncertainty they have about these differences (from Smith, 1999; Barnett, Chon). and Rosen, 2000 cited in Barnett and Lee, 2003: 260). Again, through mass media and other communication technologies, people around the world are increasingly exposed to the influence of cultures that were once distant from them (Kim, 2008: 363).

Media offers important areas for an indirect dialogue for intercultural communication. From a positive perspective, the media can express the cultural diversity and differences of the society, and can provide different perspectives for readers, viewers and listeners who cannot always interact directly. In addition, new communication environments, especially through social networking sites and web-based forums, can offer the opportunity to participate in a mediated intercultural dialogue and communication for individuals who may otherwise be passive (Council of Europe, 2008: 33-34).

A dialogue with such qualities also has an important potential to increase intercultural awareness, even indirectly. Another potential role of the media from a positive point of view is that it can make a positive contribution to the fight against intolerance of intercultural differences. In other words, the media, which can be functional in establishing tolerance, can do this by fostering a culture based on understanding and respect, especially among members of different ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious communities or groups. There is a need to reinforce the awareness of media professionals in order to support this culture of tolerance and mutual understanding and to ensure cooperation across ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic borders through intercultural dialogue. Because media professionals have critical roles in the process of informing the public. In other words; through a journalism education that is sensitive to ethical codes. cultures and differences, the media can help provide a forum for intercultural dialogue, while also making an important contribution to increasing tolerance (Council of Europe, 2008: 27, 47).

Intercultural misunderstandings arise and rise when the media reinforces the opinions and prejudices of viewers, readers and listeners from different communities (Klute, Valdetara, & Bink, 2008: 4). In addition, media, through factors such as stereotypes, prejudices, ethnocentrism and discriminatory discourse, cause the intercultural communication process to take place with distorted forms and perceptions. In the dialectic of "us" and "others"; it is the positioning of "Others" through definitions such as "alien demons" or "barbarians", and "We" through definitions such as "the center of the universe and civilization". In these forms and processes, "Others" are conceived as secondary humans to "We". Therefore, understanding the communication styles of others or strangers as an important issue in intercultural communication constitutes a fundamental step in overcoming the binary opposition of "us" and "them" (Kim and Hubbard, 2007: 223-225).

The phenomenon of authorisation and marginalization also refers to the process of radically differentiating other people or various groups from one's self or from one's own group, usually on the basis of racist and ethnocentric discourses (Weedon, 2004: 166). In the authorisation and marginalization process, negative characteristics are often attributed to the "Other" throughout the identity attributed to "Self" and "We", and this process also points to a "culture-first" perspective of individuals (Holliday, Hyde, & Kullman, 2004: 180). In the process, feelings of anger, hostility, grudge and hatred are projected onto what is considered dangerous foreign people or cultures. In addition, through a radical logic of polarization, the category of "We" is put into an antagonistic challenge with the "Other" (Robins, 2005: 249). In intercultural communication, the explanation of the misconceptions about those who are seen as the "Other" and the communication with them are made through four interrelated concepts. These factors, which are listed as stereotyping, prejudice, culturalism and essentialism, also constitute the components of othering. Mass media also play a decisive role in the construction of knowledge about the "Other". Because journalism and media practices are in a unique position to produce representations (Fursich, 2002: 65-66). In other words, the perception of "us" and "them", which forms the basis of othering, develops through the socialization process, as well as through the education system and texts and the media that reflect the dominant and widespread power relations in the social structure (Sonwalkar, 2005: 269).

#### **SECTION 11.5: SUMMARY**

In this section, after the definitional framework of the concept of intercultural communication is given, the obstacles to intercultural communication are mentioned and the role of the media in the intercultural communication process is explained.

### **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**

- Discuss the responsibilities of media members and communication academics so that the intercultural communication process can progress positively.
- Is there a connection between media literacy education and individuals' intercultural communication skills?

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### AIM

The aim of the present chapter is to elaborate the concepts of media literacy, information literacy, and digital literacy in order to understand the new directions and changes in the media settings to create the meanings. For this reason, following the basic definitions, the components of these skill-sets are explained and the basic ideas on the toolkits which the audience needs for media literacy.

# EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES

The learner will be able to:

- identify what different literacies are;

- be engaged to the basic skills by analyzing the media setting and content they are in need of fact-checking;

- practically experience how to analyze and criticize the media content, and inform the responsible person in a manner.

### **KEYWORDS**

media literacy, information literacy, digital literacy, basic toolkits, fact-checking

# CHAPTER 12

# MEDIA LITERACY: A TOOL TO COMBAT STEREOTYPING, PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

#### **SECTION 12.1: INTRODUCTION**

In the present-day world, every individual witnesses the emergence of various media productions which are produced within traditional or digital electronic media. These different media productions consist of an unimaginably large quantity of information which is available through multiple media in an uncertain quality. The information, with which the audience are confronted, is not ideally placed when examined with the ethical foundations.

The only way to tackle these unethical issues is to employ a literacy mindset because the media productions are subject to human agency and human understanding. These productions through various technologies bring about the fact that the audience has to acquire an understanding and adopt meaningful actions by putting different literacies into use.

The media literacy studies are definitely interdisciplinary because the media influences the perceptions, beliefs and attitudes of the audience: therefore, the examinations of using the media tools and technologies are carried out by making use of sociology, psychology, political theory, gender studies, cultural studies, and art. The way how the audience understand, interpret, analyze and create the media texts has become one of the core issues related to the communication and media studies by using the above-mentioned fields of studies. Taking the above situation into consideration, the studies on media literacy cannot be solely revealed with a point of view which is restricted, but an extensive knowledge and analysis techniques to build up better understanding of how media productions and contents work in the everyday lives of the audiences. That's why the audience must also realize the cultural, political, and economic dimensions of any kind of media sphere with a need to access, interpret, produce, consume and negotiate the meanings of media messages.

In this Chapter, the general definitions of media literacy, information literacy, and digital literacy are summarized and exemplified by emphasizing the basic skill-sets for any kind of media literacy. Following digital literacy, how these skills change to another direction is discussed. Then, the basic toolkits for media literacy are listed in order to get them involved in media education in general. Lastly, the case studies and activities are given to lead up to discussions on how to implement leading-edge technologies to media education and some visionary practices.

## SECTION 12.2: MEDIA LITERACY, INFORMATION LITERACY, DIGITAL LITERACY

Media literacy is not restricted to one medium, but it covers all the practices which enable individuals to access, evaluate, and manipulate or create the media (Potter, 2010). The practices in the definition of media literacy creates a need for media literacy education because individuals cannot get that awareness about media influence without having any knowledge on how it has been constructed and they cannot maintain an active stance against the unethical usages of media tools in different contexts. For such a reason, Aufderheide (1992) states that "a media literate person – and everyone should have the opportunity to become one – can decode, evaluate, analyze and produce both print and electronic media. The fundamental objective of media literacy is a critical autonomy relationship to all media. Emphases in media literacy training range widely, including informed citizenship, aesthetic appreciation and expression, social advocacy, self-esteem, and consumer competence."

The definition provided by the European Commission in 2007 covers the whole process in general as "media literacy is generally defined as the ability to access the media, to understand and to critically evaluate different aspects of the media and media content and to create communications in a variety of contexts." According to European Commission (2007), the various levels of media literacy include (a) feeling comfortable with all existing media and actively using media for entertainment, access to culture, intercultural dialogue, learning and daily-life applications; (b) having a critical approach to media as regards both quality and accuracy of content; (c) using media creatively; (d) understanding the media economy and the difference between pluralism and media ownership; (e) being aware of copyright issues.

There is a progressive movement to define the term from the very beginning of the study of media literacy because the media environment is ever-changing. The idea behind media literacy is anything which all individuals should deal with concretely. The term can be traced back until the present day because the concept of media literacy has been eventually evolving. Hence, there are various definitions, but the table given below<sup>\*</sup> consists of a few samples to see the developmental process how media professionals or academics could approach media literacy throughout years.

#### Table 4. Definitions of media literacy

#### Aufderheide & Firestone, 1993

... the ability to assess, analyze, evaluate, and communicate messages in a variety of forms.

#### Silverblatt & Eliceiri, 1997

... skill that enables audiences to decipher the information that they receive through the channels of mass communications.

Hobbs, 1997

... is not a cure for the ills of the media, but a method by which the media can be better understood, and thus, appreciated.

#### Adams & Hamm, 2001

... the ability to create personal meaning from the visual and verbal symbols we take in every day from television, advertising, and film.

#### Potter, 2008

... a set of perspectives we actively use to expose ourselves to the media to interpret the meaning of the messages we encounter.

#### Ashley, Poepsel, & Willis 2010

... a field of study that proposes to "foster crucial thinking about media through education and empowerment."

\* The table does not consist of all the definitions in the literature, but some of them were chosen to show the cornerstones of this conceptual development.

There are two basic approaches to understanding media literacy, which are interventionism and empowerment. When these two approaches are compared, the assessment and criticism of media literacy can be understood easily and comprehensively. The interventionist approach draws attention to media literacy by focusing on the fact that media is a corruptive enterprise in order to manipulate and modify the audiences' behaviors and ideas (Dyson, 1998; Potter, 2010). The empowerment approach goes about media literacy as a method that the enjoyment of media can be developed in the same way as art appreciation can pave the way for an individual's enjoyment of a great work of art (Hobbs & Frost, 2003; Kubey, 2003). As we can also see here in two different approaches, media literacy cannot be approached with a cone-size-fits-all approach because there is more than one focus.

The definitions of media literacy concept consist of the glimpses which we have been focusing on the information retrieved through media channels and tools. That's why information literacy comes on the stage to be able to critically evaluate whatever is given through the media tools. According to the American Library Association (1989), information literate individuals are able to recognize when the information is needed and they are able to identify, locate, evaluate, and use the information in order to solve a particular problem. By taking one of the first information literacy patterns discussed by ALA in 1989, Hobbs (2006) summarized the nature of information literacy as the need for careful retrieval and selection of information available in the workplace, at school, and in all aspects of personal decision-making in various areas related to citizenship.

Following media literacy and information literacy, within the nature of media developments, the digital literacy was explained as an ability to understand and to use information from a variety of digital sources without concern for the different competencies regarding the core points like internet searching, hypertext navigation, knowledge assembly, content evaluation (Bawden, 2008). Before this definition, Martin (2006) focused on the digital literacy with the meaning and the role of media, and defined it as "the awareness, attitude and ability of individuals to appropriately use digital tools and facilities to identify, access, manage, integrate, evaluate, analyze and synthesize digital resources, construct new knowledge, create media expressions, and communicate with others, in the contexts of specific life situations."

The changing patterns and environment in media settings make every individual become required to get more than one literacy because the participation in and evaluation of any kind of media technologies have become wider and wider every single day with the help of multiple literacies.

## SECTION 12.3: THE BASIC THOUGHTS ON HOW TO FIND TOOLKITS FOR MEDIA LITERACY

In the present day of the media environment, we have been evolving into new steps as the new technologies emerge so fast and frequently. The basis of any media technology which is used by the individuals as producer or consumer deeply changes into the new world order. There are some reasons why the audience needs to make use of some questioning techniques and some tools to strengthen their own media literacy. The basic questioning techniques allow individuals to understand the relevance of media and self-regulation for a democratic society: in addition to this, the tools make individuals familiarize with good and ethical standards for media productions. By using these bases, professionals and academics encourage the audience's sensitivity for issues of prejudice or discrimination.

There are different educator resources for teaching media literacy in order to help individuals become a better information consumer and sharer: namely, Checkology within The News Literacy Project, Common Sense Education by Common Sense Media, Facebook Digital Literacy Library at the Berkman Klein Center for Internet and Society at Harvard University, Fighting Fake News by Newseum ED, Media and Information Curriculum for Teachers by UNESCO, various news literacy courses developed by international or national universities. Throughout the years, when we have been experiencing several negative issues in traditional media and digital technologies, we have come up with some branded tools to use to teach the reliability of the sources, the purposes and contexts of manipulation, the strategies for determining differences between facts and opinions. The ideas behind using the toolkits to evaluate and use any media settings ethically are based on the core concepts as:

media messages are constructed,

 each medium uses its own techniques, features, and software to build the messages,

 media messages are produced for revealing particular purposes,

 media messages have embedded values and lifestyles,

 individuals understand the same messages in different way based on their skills, beliefs, and experiences,

 Lastly, media messages may influence the individuals' beliefs, attitudes and behaviors, and especially the democratic process.

The right questions which are asked when an individual is confronted with a media message are highly essential to be able to evaluate and criticize the content. The key questions are who constructed the message, what the techniques and features are used to create the media message, what the purpose of this message is, what the embedded values are represented in the message, what is left out, how different individuals may interpret the same message, whether the message makes you want to change something about yourself, what is promoted in the message. The questions are not limited to them, but the questions listed one by one here can be a good starting point to examine whatever you face in the media.

The traditional media cannot be changed immediately because of the process of the production procedures: however, the messages which are taken through digital media can be corrected with an immediate feedback or the correct version can be revealed to every other user. That's why the thoughts on basic toolkits are somehow different from the traditional settings.

For the traditional settings, questioning comes first as in the digital spheres. The tools we have been using for the last years cannot be available all the time, but there is a chance to know for what we are making use of these tools and do a research on them when needed. Google's Fact Check Explorer helps individuals know what kind of tools they can use for checking and correcting the information revealed in digital media.

There are hundreds of lists which can be reached by the audience. In this Chapter, the lists are not provided because of a long-lasting usage of the ideas here. For this reason, we can list what kind of tools we can be in need of using while we factcheck in order to fight online disinformation, misinformation, discrimination, or just unintentional wrong information. There are tools which the audience should be aware of, like detecting bot / spam, verifying identity online, the places, and the images. The examples we have been using for a while can be summarized as in the table below.

Fact Checking	Fact Checking
Resources	Browser Plugins
FactCheck.org	BS Detector
Snopes.com	Fake News Alert
Politifact	This is Fake
Allsides	Settle It!
Hoax-Slayer	AP.Not Real News
SciCheck	NewsGuard
FindExif.com	Trusted News
InVID	
Reverse Image Search (TinEye)	
Ноаху	
Wolfram / Alpha	
twXplorer	
OpenSecrets.org	

In addition to these fact-checking tools, there are local and international fact-check organizations which the audiences can follow on social media platforms.

#### **CASE STUDY**

Please scrutinize your daily / online newspaper published in English, and find news content, the topic of which you are interested in. Guess what kind of rumors can be generated within this subject matter or details which have been mentioned in the news piece.

Then, try to find fake news produced by using these details you have come up with. The news should not include all the details, but there could be more than one news piece to bring to the classroom discussion.

Please try to find the answers of the questions like what kind of persuasive strategies made this fake news seem to be true and what makes this topic a good choice for fake news.

## ACTIVITY 1 (DISCUSSION & LETTER WRITING)

Select an advertisement about the body image which you think is deserving of compliments or protest.

Analyze the advertisement by answering the questions like what the message is about the body image, what kind of techniques are used, who the target audience is, when and where you have seen the advertisement, who is the responsible person for creating the advertisement.

When you ask such questions in order to analyze the advertisement and the body image in it, please write a letter by addressing the person in power responsible for the advertisement message and include your key points to voice your criticizing opinion to the media outlets distributing the advertisement.

# ACTIVITY 2 (QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION)

What are the dangers of fake news in a specific society? Analyze the possible setbacks about the country where you are from.

How does cultural background affect whether an audience believes the fake news?

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## AIM

The aim of the present chapter is to summarize the previous 11 chapters and give the reader tools to process and continue the individual learning process. The present chapter encourages the readers to consider how to apply the knowledge gained in their future professional practices.

## EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES

To gain an overview of stereotypes, prejudices, xenophobia, and racism.
To understand the role of media in building respectful and tolerant societies
To summarize the knowledge built in the previous chapters.

### **KEYWORDS**

stereotypes, prejudice, xenophobia, racism, tolerance, otherness

# **CHAPTER 13**

# HOW TO OVERCOME BEING THE OTHER

#### **SECTION 13.1: INTRODUCTION**

The chapters of "Stereotypes and Prejudices: Xenophobia & Racism" have given the reader a theoretical and philosophical knowledge base to understand the inner meaning of these phenomena, their consequences, and especially the role of media in fighting against the mistreatment of vulnerable social groups. It is well presented in these chapters how powerful media is in shaping our reality and how it should carry its responsibility in creating a better world. This discussion chapter summarizes the themes and thoughts of "Stereotypes and Prejudices: Xenophobia & Racism" but also explains why this knowledge is so important for media professionals and why the discussion around these topics should be an ongoing process among media professionals.

### SECTION 13.2: FROM KNOWLEDGE TO UNDERSTANDING

HHHHThe previous chapters have built an understanding of the basic concept of stereotypes, xenophobia, prejudices, and racism. As described in Chapter 1, stereotypes are traits or "mental pictures" of a group of people that first come to our minds. Very often they are inaccurate, negative, and overgeneralizing. Prejudices are hostile attitudes towards other people and they're often built on stereotypes. Some of the most well-known types of prejudices include racism and xenophobia. Racism and xenophobia are overlapping but not synonyms. As we've learned in Chapter 1, racism is a type of prejudice used to justify the belief that one racial category is somehow superior or inferior to others. Racism is the belief that there are human groups with particular (usually physical) characteristics such as skin color, hair type, facial features, etc. that make them superior or inferior to others. Xenophobia describes attitudes, prejudices, and behavior that reject, exclude, and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society, or national identity.

Chapter 2 defined us what are the direct consequences or phenomena that follow stereotypes, prejudices, racism, and xenophobia: otherness and discrimination. Otherness is a hierarchical structure that emphasizes our superiority of us in relation to them. Discrimination against persons can be described as the unfavorable treatment of these persons that takes place due to their membership in specific social groups. As we've learned in Chapter 2, it cannot be assumed that all participants of the discussion, interaction, or any social communication, are aware of the signs and patterns of discrimination, xenophobia, racism, or otherness. The "target persons" or unbiased observers are well aware of discriminatory speech or at least identify it, but discriminators are not always aware of their speech as such. (C. Grauman, 2010).

Why do we have to understand these terms so thoroughly? Our words shape our thinking and our thinking creates action. If we wish to have a more tolerant society we need understanding in addition to knowledge. It could be argued that most of us know or are at least aware that there are phenomena such as racism and discrimination. Knowledge here refers to information or awareness gained through experience or education. Understanding is the ability to acquire knowledge of causes or to comprehend the causes of something, in this context for example racism or xenophobia. It is said that comprehension is a connection between the knower and a question of perception. It's the active use of the knowledge gained. If we wish to build understanding from knowledge, it requires engagement, thinking, re-consideration, and active participation in the learning process. (Perkins, 1994)

## SECTION 13.3: RESPECTFUL AND TOLERANT SOCIETIES: WHAT CAN MEDIA DO?

Humans are probably the most cooperative species on this planet but at the same time surprisingly intolerant of each other. Our culture and societies influence the way we think and shape our attitudes and behaviors. In the modern world, media has a powerful position in building respectful and tolerant societies. Media professionals select the content and frame of the news, and by doing so they construct reality for those who read, watch, or listen to their stories. (Burns, 2016) As we learned in Chapter 3, media is not only responsible for building the current or future reality but it provides a space for production, storage, and consumption for collective memory (Garde-Hansen, 2011). Journalists bring up collective memories of the past intentionally or unintentionally while doing their everyday work, and reconstruct these memories for the public. Therefore media plays an important role in the ongoing construction of identities, histories, and narratives. If this point is not taken into consideration among journalists and media professionals, it might lead to false rewriting and shaping of collective memory, or in the worse case, feeding stereotypes and prejudices. In Chapter 4 we learned that media representation of the vulnerable might simultaneously misrepresent and underrepresent certain social

groups, reinforcing pre-existing stereotypes and discriminations. Media also plays a complex but important role in the ideological constructions about persons with disabilities (Chapter 6), gender (Chapter 7), refugees (Chapter 8), and other minority groups. The members of these groups might not have any control over the media representation of themselves. If we wish to reach media diversity in our societies, there needs to be a media landscape, which is suitable for reporting on any minority, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexuality, etc. Journalists and content creations need to pay attention to creating inclusive media content and an environment where vulnerable groups get the opportunity to speak for themselves.

# SECTION 13.4: HOW TO OVERCOME BEING THE OTHER?

Chapter 3 presented theories about collective memory and how media shapes it. From the perspective of stereotypes and prejudices, we are influenced by society and the people around us and it shapes our attitudes and behaviors. If the society around us is stigmatized and acts in a negative way toward those different from us, it encourages distrust or aggression also in us. Societies are not always flexible and willing for change. As it was written in Chapter 3: societies where change is slow, primary generations insist on the continuation and transfer of existing culture (Schonpflug, 2009). We wish to be part of and belong to the groups around us, maybe we are afraid of the change, or maybe some bigger problem, like a pandemic, makes us want to be loyal to the "in-group" of our society in order to overcome hardship (Oliver, 2020).

If we have this "inner drive" to protect our group and be part of the "tribe", how can we overcome the fear of others? In the globalized world, individualism or isolation in small groups prevents us from solving collective problems. Contemporary media functions as a catalyst for spreading globalization but as it is clearly presented in Chapter 5, it can also be the facilitator and the spread of nationalism. As presented in Chapter 9, media pluralism is a must for a well-functioning democracy. It could be said that if we wish to tackle all the issues presented in the previous chapters, the media field needs pluralism to secure the multivoiced media environment. It is the responsibility of media and journalists to strengthen community cohesion and consider more carefully how they construct their stories and what is the impact of their work on public opinion.

On the other hand in the era of on-demand and media bubbles, the power of mass media will decrease. Media consumers are not any more passive audiences but active participants and even content creators. In chapter 11 it is stated that the recent technological development of media technology, intercultural communication takes place at many levels. For sure media can still promote the cultural diversity and differences of the society, for audiences who cannot always interact directly. At the same time through social networks and forums, individuals have an opportunity to participate in intercultural dialogue and communication instead and influence the media environment directly (Council of Europe, 2008). Therefore there should be emphasis and interest in the development of media literacy and critical thinking of people of all ages.

#### **SECTION 13.5: SUMMARY**

The media needs to fight against intolerance, racism, xenophobia, and prejudices. Media can foster an environment that promotes understanding, tolerance, and respect. This requires media pluralism, where both public, private, and community media services. Media content is no more an exclusive right of the journalists and media companies. Social media makes diversity in media more possible than ever, but at the same time, it offers platforms for hatred and confrontation. In 2021 World Press Freedom Day has celebrated with the theme "Information as a Public Good" to remind us what is the difference between information and other kinds of communications. The important role of journalism is to produce news as verified information in the public interest. (WPFD, 2021) In current times

massive flows of information and disinformation, people are at risk of being confused, misled, or manipulated. Therefore the importance of media literacy and even new methods of understanding media in order to make informed judgments over the endless and sometimes contradictory flow of media content. Every reader of this book, who wishes to truly understand these challenging and complex topics, needs to go further than the generative knowledge given, and think beyond the textbook. Understanding requires connections, like real-life practical applications, personal insights, or experiences, that give the reader a context to ponder and reflect on the knowledge. The aim of this book is to give tools for professional work. Active discussion and an expansive attitude of connectedness will open doors for us to work together in cooperation and build an inclusive and tolerant media scene.

#### **FURTHER DISCUSSION**

#### **ACTIVITY 1**

Think about the content of the book. What was the most important topic from your perspective and why?

#### **ACTIVITY 2**

How would you apply the knowledge gained from these chapters in your future career?

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