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STRATEGIES OF OTHERING THROUGH DISCURSIVE PRACTICES: EXAMPLES FROM THE UK AND POLAND

Abstract
This article discusses findings of a qualitative study on strategies of othering observed in anti-immigrant discourse, by analysing selected examples from the UK and Polish media, together with data collected from interviews with migrants. The purpose is to identify discursive strategies of othering, which aim to categorise, denigrate, oppress and ultimately reject the stigmatised or racialised 'other'. We do not offer a systematic comparison of the data from the UK and Poland; instead, we are interested in what is common in the discursive practices of these two countries/contexts. In using newspaper together with interview data, we are combining representation and experience in identifying not only strategies of othering, but also how these are perceived by and affect the othered individuals. The paper uses the following data: 40 newspaper articles – 20 from the UK and 20 from Poland, and 19 interviews – 12 from Poland and 7 from the UK. The analysis that follows identifies five shared strategies of othering: a) Stereotyping; b) Whiteness as the norm; c) Racialisation; d) Objectification; e) Wrongly Ascribed Ethnicity. We conclude with the research limitations and outlining possible next stages, such as working with a larger corpus, investigating frequency, or including other media genres.

1   Introduction

The link between language use and culture has been explored by scholars for decades (Sapir 1929/1958; Hall 1959; Byram 1997; Kramsch 1998 and many others). Anthropologist Edward Hall famously commented, "culture hides much more than it reveals, and strangely enough what it hides, it hides most effectively from its own participants" (1959: 53). Language, inextricably linked with culture, works in the same way, as it may mask (or betray) hegemonic relations as relics of colonialism, racialisation and othering in the context of societies that foster monoculture. This article discusses findings of a qualitative study on mechanisms and strategies of othering that are ingrained in anti-immigrant rhetoric, by analysing purposefully selected examples from the mass media in UK and Poland, jointly with data collected in interviews with migrants. The purpose of these investigations is to identify strategies of othering, which aim to categorise, denigrate, oppress and ultimately reject the stigmatised or, in some cases, racialised 'other'. We do not offer a systematic comparison of the data coming from the UK and Poland; instead, we identify strategies that are common in the discursive practices of these two countries/contexts. Naming such strategies as a first stage of analysis is the focus of this paper, and not establishing their frequencies in language use, which can be the focus of a subsequent study. In using newspaper as well as interview data, we are combining representation and experience, the constructed and the lived, in identifying not only strategies of othering, but also how these are perceived by the othered individuals.

    First, the concept of othering is critically examined before looking at already established categories of its discursive realisations. Secondly, the paper uses the following data: 40 newspaper articles – 20 from UK newspapers and 20 from Polish newspapers, and 19 interviews – 12 from Poland and 7 from the UK. Thirdly, the analysis that follows identifies five strategies of othering, which are common to the two countries: a) Stereotyping; b) Whiteness as the norm; c) Racialisation; d) Objectification; e) Wrongly Ascribed Ethnicity. We conclude by stating the limitations of this research and outlining possible next stages, such as working with a larger corpus, investigating frequency, or including other media genres.

2   Othering

2.1 A hierarchical process of categorisation

Othering is a natural cognitive process which forms part of identity formation when coming into contact with other cultures or individuals (Cahoone 2003;

Robyns 1994; Gülerce 2014). The process of seeing difference and categorising is natural, however the categories themselves are (socially) constructed (Hall 1997; Crang 1998; Tilly 1999; and others). Social psychologist Henri Tajfel coined the terms "ingroups" and "outgroups", referring to groups people identify with (self) and those they do not identify with (other) respectively (Tajfel 1974). "Natives" and "migrants", "white" and "black", "legal" and "illegal" are examples of such in- and outgroups that we are focusing on in this article. More importantly, othering constitutes a process "through which identities are set up in an unequal relationship" (Crang 1998: 61). What is fundamental in processes of othering is that categorisation takes place and is established by the dominant group, which constructs group boundaries and assigns subordinate characteristics to other groups, devaluing and demoting them to a lesser category, thus establishing a hierarchy. Foucault's (1980) seminal work on power and knowledge emphasised precisely this process of othering (although he did not use the term) as one establishing and perpetuating power. This hierarchical categorisation leads to the assumption that difference from the dominant group signifies weakness or subordination. Billig (1973) described this as "ingroup favouritism" and "outgroup derogation".1

Robyns (1994, cf. Szczepaniak-Kozak and Sambor 2010: 23–26) describes the attitude of the dominant group constructing the subordinate othered group as an imperialist attitude. This rests on a paradoxical claim of, on the one hand, the specificity of a group's own identity, and, on the other hand, the universality of its values. However, no culture can claim to be specific and universal at the same time (ibid.). Furthermore, an imperialist attitude as described by Robyns goes beyond categorisation and hierarchy, to a complete rejection of the outgroup. This can be achieved, for example, by denying that the other culture makes a valid contribution to society, implying that only the dominant culture of the ingroup is universally human. The othered culture is then reduced to a barbarian or exotic curiosity (also see Blumer 1958). This "superiority complex" leads to assuming the role of a cultural guide for the more primitive people, frequently despite their will. This happens despite an unscrupulous assimilation of the cultural artifacts which come from the denigrated culture (eating exotic food, listening to others' music, visiting "barbarian" places).

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1 Cf. also: "The apparent identity of what appear to be cultural units – human beings, words, meanings, ideas, philosophical systems, social organizations – are maintained only through constitutive repression, an active process of exclusion, opposition, and hierarchization. A phenomenon maintains its identity in semiotic systems only if other units are represented as foreign or "other" through a hierarchical dualism in which the first is privileged or favored while the other is deprivileged or devalued in some way. This process must itself be hidden or covered up, so that the hierarchy can be assumed inherent in the nature of the phenomena, rather than a motivated construction" (Cahoone 2003: 11).

2.2 Racial othering

Our study looks at othering mainly through the constructed categories of "native" vs. "foreigner", their subcategories of "legal" vs. "illegal" and various related categories such as "law-abiding" vs. "criminal", etc. It also looks at racial othering as central to the creation of a "native", white-dominated hierarchy. It is important, therefore, to include here an explanation and thematization of the concept of race (see Alim, Rickford and Ball 2016). It is now widely accepted that race is purely a social construct (see Smedley 1999; Garner 2010; Gunaratnam 2003; Aspinall 2009; Machery and Faucher 2005), or simply something that "we made up" (Appiah 2018). As all processes of othering, dividing humanity into different races constitutes a "tool to oppress and exploit specific social groups and to deny them access to material, cultural and political resources, to work, welfare services, housing and political rights" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 2; see also Bethencourt 2015: 3, and others). We have highlighted elsewhere (Strani, Klein and Hill 2017) that Black, anti-racist and anti-colonial scholars have long argued that there is neither a biological nor scientific basis for racial division between humans (Fanon 2008; Spivak 2010, and many others). Yet racialised language and racialised ways of thinking still exist. In recent discussions on the Philosophy of Race, Gopal (Appiah, Gopal and Meer 2018) argues that "race has an operative force in society", namely to essentialise and categorise groups. While such categorisations may seem benign or even necessary for government or statistical reasons (see Foucault's "biopower" concept2), they are bound to be skewed in favour of the white majority, being the "unmarked norm" (Gopal 2018). So even though race is made up, differences in the treatment of minorities and outgroups, as well as their experiences of oppression, are real. Indeed, when processes of othering are translated into systemic practices, they become dangerous. Hall (1997), Memmi (2000), Fanon (2008) and many others have long argued about structural racism which leads to systemic differences between human beings.

Furthermore, because group boundaries are socially constructed, they are not static, but dynamic and may change in different social contexts and over time. Tilly (1999) gives the example of the Irish, which was once a racialized category in the

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2 Foucault's concept of "biopower" refers to a "regulatory and corrective mechanism" (Foucault 1990: 144) of modern capitalist societies aimed at subjugating bodies and controlling populations. Health regulations and habits, family planning, legislation on sexuality and more generally the notion of the state as a "body" (Foucault 1980: 55-62) itself all constitute elements of biopower. This produces asymmetries between processes of power and the bodies that are affected by them. The "controlled distribution" (Rabinow 1984: 20) of individuals around a norm is key to this system of normalisation. Not only the body, but also life ultimately become subject to "explicit calculations" (Foucault 1979: 11) for the purpose of manipulation.

UK and the US but is now included in dominant categories such as "white", "EU", "Christian" etc., depending on the context. Just as the concepts and understandings of race and racism differ across countries and are socio-historically and demographically contingent, the language of race in different countries also shows great variation. In some languages, the term "race" is the same as tribe or breed and the same word is used for animals and humans. In other languages, the term "race" does not exist at all and in others (such as German, and increasingly Italian) it has been banned or is avoided as an analytical concept (see Grigolo, Hermanin and Moeschel 2011).3 France banned the term 'race' from its legal texts in 2013 and the term is also banned in Germany. Italian scholars and anti-racist activists have also tended to avoid the term (see Hawthorne and Piccolo 2016) and have also called for banning it from official texts. Banning the term race does not eradicate the problem of racism, however. In fact, as Gunaratnam (2013) puts it, "without race terms and categories it is difficult, if not impossible, to challenge racism or to name and share experiences". In the same vein, Warmington (2009) wrote a convincing article against putting the term "race" in inverted commas or euphemising it. He argues:

> [R]ace is not simply something to be overcome. […] [R]ace, despite its unscientific status, remains real: a real practice, with its own inner workings, enacted by real subjects with consequences that reach way beyond rates of GCSE achievement or school exclusions. […] The effects of racial ideology are all too real; race may lack scientific integrity but it is a lived experience, a lived relationship. These effects need not always be racist and damaging in themselves but the boundaries and tools that produce them are necessary to racism. (Warmington 2009: 281–284)4

Race and racism have this paradoxical and interdependent relationship of the constructed and the lived. Language plays a key role in this interplay. Due to the multiplicity of (neo-)racisms (Bethencourt 2015; Garner 2017) and the arbitrary understandings of race and racism by majority groups, racism is understood and experienced differently. The analysis below illustrates such differences, for example in racism as a fundamental belief that certain groups of people are biologically different (and inferior) to others, or as an isolated behaviour that results in racialisation and hate communication.

2.3 Discursive practices of othering

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3 For a thorough examination of the challenges in translating the language of race and anti-racist terms across multilingual and multicultural contexts, see Strani, Klein and Hill (2017).
4 It is worth noting here that arguments against banning the term 'race' come from people of colour themselves (Gunaratnam 2013; Warmington 2009, and others)

A rich body of literature already exists with regard to discursive practices of othering. Some of the most notable practices identified in this literature are: "(a) the denial of prejudice, (b) grounding one's views as reflecting the external world rather than one's psychology, (c) positive self and negative other presentation, (d) discursive deracialisation, and (e) the use of liberal arguments for "illiberal" ends" (Augoustinos and Every 2007). Baker et al. (2008: 282) used a corpus approach in their critical discourse analysis of discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press, and identified the following strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation: "(a) referential/nomination, (b) predication, (c) argumentation, (d) perspectivation, framing, or discourse representation, (e) intensification, mitigation" (ibid.). Van Dijk has also written extensively about the denial of racism (1987, 1992, and elsewhere) and strategies used by people expressing racist views to justify their legitimate use. In relation to othering the poor, Cohen, Krumer-Nevo and Avieli (2017) named additional strategies, which they were able to isolate from soup-kitchens interactions in Israel: drawing boundaries, distancing and rejection, stripping of personal identity, and the attribution of stigma. Our analysis here adds to this literature and identifies functions specific to discourses in the UK and Poland. The purpose of our study is not to compare practices and strategies, but instead to identify common strategies between the UK and Poland.

3   Data and method

Our paper investigates strategies of othering based on a small corpus collected by means of two techniques: a) (heuristic) analysis of newspaper/magazine articles and b) interviews with non-nationals who reside in the UK and Poland on the topic of their experiences in the host country. 5

The corpus of the written texts comprises 40 texts in total, mainly newspaper/magazine/webpage articles we collected over the years 2014–2017. Half of these articles (20) were taken from UK national newspapers with the widest circulation, such as the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Telegraph*,6 as well as the *Guardian*, BBC News and two local newspapers. The other (Polish) 20 newspaper articles were taken from various newspapers, magazines or news services, that is *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Rzeczpospolita*,

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5 The research is partly based on the findings of the EU-funded project RADAR (Regulating AntiDiscrimination and AntiRacism), which ran from 2014 to 2016.

6 *Source: The Statistics Portal,* **Circulation of newspapers in the United Kingdom (UK) in 2017.** *https://www.statista.com/statistics/529060/uk-newspaper-market-by-circulation/*

Nacjonalista, *Newsweek*, *Metrocafe*. The texts were chosen on the basis of their topics; they needed to focus on migrants or immigration in the respective country. We did not focus on a particular political or economic event. The UK political context at the time was the Brexit referendum, but only 4 articles focused explicitly on this (N5UK, N10UK, N13UK, N14UK). There was no particular political context in Poland. Our search was heuristic in nature and not random, because that served better our main aim of identifying strategies of othering.

The interviews were semi-structured and conducted at the turn of 2014 and 2015. Twelve people were interviewed in Poland, of which 5 were women and 7 men, from Lebanon, Nigeria, Belarus, Jamaica, Cameroon, Australia, Croatia and Egypt. Seven interviews were conducted in the UK; 5 interviewees were women and 2 were men. They were Chinese, Romanian (2), Black South African, Polish, Basque, Black British. The reason for the discrepancy in the number of interviews is that interviewees were invited in the form of an ad that was circulated, as well as through word of mouth. Despite repeated attempts by the UK researchers to secure interviews, reminding them of the strict anonymity rules and secure storage of recordings and transcripts, people were reluctant to share their experiences. We interviewed everyone who responded to our request for interview through the ad or word of mouth and did not attempt (or aim) to create a representative sample of age, gender or country of origin. The complete list of primary sources can be found in Appendix 1.

The pool of data is relatively small, therefore the sample cannot be representative and we have not worked with descriptive statistics or any other quantitative criteria. However, the stories reported and the mechanisms of othering form a preliminary schema that can be used to test larger samples of data, by means of, for example, corpus studies (cf. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2005, Kopytowska and Grabowski 2017). With reference to the analysis of the collected data, this was intratextual in character. "Interdiscursive and intertextual relationships" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 37) were not taken into account. Although we are fully aware of the advantages of research oriented in this way, given the early stage of our research, we prefer to begin from a micro-analysis. For that purpose, the textual corpora were investigated in search of the strategies of othering across the datasets. The paramount aim was to obtain insight into the general mechanics of othering, that is elucidating strategies out of the collected texts, in order to offer conclusions pertaining to counteracting othering by means of awareness campaigns. In this sense, our analysis does not focus on the internal semantic structure of lexical items present in our datasets but rather on discursive practices.

4. Analysis: Strategies of othering

4.1 Stereotyping

Stereotyping is a common practice of othering and exclusion, especially with regard to minorities and people of colour in general. Stereotyping reduces a marked group into one single category in a way that members of that group cannot be considered in any other role or context. Differentiation more often than not is carried out "on the basis of irrational emotional criteria e.g. 'good Tunisian grocers, scary terrorist Muslims' etc." (Body-Gendrot, in Cross and Keith 1993: 81). In the Polish data, an Egyptian interviewee recounts how she was ordered out of a shop because she was mistaken for a "gypsy", and because of the stereotype that Gypsies are thieves (I7P). In the UK data, article N13UK discusses the "high" number of EU migrants claiming benefits in the UK, and includes references to "UK taxpayers" vs. "EU migrants", as well as "law-abiding citizens" vs. "migrants claiming benefits", as if the latter are criminals, or as if EU migrants cannot be UK taxpayers. This crude distinction creates the stereotype that EU migrants, and indeed people claiming benefits, are abusing the system and constitute a burden. It is also interesting that, in the same article, the Irish are not considered as belonging to the group of 'EU migrants', even though they are.

Additionally, *religionyms* (Reisigl and Wodak 2001) are often employed in stereotyping. These constitute generalisations used to identify foreigners by means of their assumed religious denomination instead of, for example nationality or ethnicity. Suchecka (N6P, see also Adamczak-Krysztofowicz and Szczepaniak-Kozak 2017) reports an incident in Poland which took place in a club where a group of Polish men engaged in a fight with a group of Arab men. The Polish men stated: "At the place we found a few followers of Mahomet's religion who introduce the standard methods of picking up girls, e.g., buying our countrywomen cocktails and closely observing them".7 The same men explained that they are against "the Muslim character", which, in their view, is Arab men's persistence in getting the telephone number of a woman they like, jointly with their insistence and hostility towards anybody around8.

In general, Muslims, or people *considered* by Poles as Muslims, are often portrayed in Polish press as possible terrorists, e.g. "most certainly at least half of whom [migrants] are seeking citizenship and are radical"9, as well as people who mistreat and abuse women (see the entire quote in N6P). The motif of Polish

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7 "Na miejscu zastaliśmy kilku wyznawców religii Mahometa, którzy zaczynają standardowo wprowadzać swoje metody podrywu, czyli zamawianie drinków oraz obserwację naszych rodaczek."

8 "muzułmański charakter: usilne wyciąganie numeru telefonu, natarczywość, wrogość do wszystkich dookoła".

9 "…z czego pewnie połowa [imigrantów] szuka obywatelstwa i jest radykalna."

women being in danger is also noticeable in slogans of Polish Defence League, whose representatives said in an interview conducted by Elbanowska (N2P): "This is a fight for the future of our country! One of these girls, unconsciously infatuated by one of these exotic princes, can end up very badly with her offspring in the world of Islam that approaches us with giant steps".10 Furthermore, a nationalist activist in Poland stated during a nationalistic rally: "These murderers, these Islamist, these fundamentalists are not going to assimilate. They are going to sow terror, they are going to rape and slay" (N9P).11

The creation of stereotypical categories is interesting in these cases. Muslims (or those considered to be Muslim) are referred to in the data as "men" (N8UK), "radicals" (N3UK, N10UK) and "dangerous" (N3UK, N10UK, N11UK) whereas the image of Polish people as victims is contrasted with that of a "girl" (not a woman), "Polish" instead of a corresponding religionym (cf. N6P). The stereotype therefore becomes "Muslim man" vs "Polish girl", neither of which is a corresponding antonym. There is no mention in the data collected of Muslim women, or of Arab men who are not Muslim – or indeed not religious at all. The racialisation of Muslims is also crucial and it is examined in the next section.

Finally, an interesting mechanism of stereotyping is the use of false pretenses (N13P, cf. Adamczak-Krysztofowicz and Szczepaniak-Kozak 2017: 290–291), that is using impolite or offensive language to describe foreigners, which is justified by the user on the grounds that they observed foreigners themselves to follow the practice. For example, in reference to offering stale pastries for free to a group of Nigerian football players, a football pundit stated: "my dear Paweł, in Nigeria they eat raw rice. This is the promised land for them"12 (ibid.: 300). In Poland, Pławski, the ex-spokesman for Młodzież Wszechpolska (a Polish nationalist organisation), maintains: "We are not racists [...]. We are racial separatists" (N1P).13 Ultimately, such covert discursive practices and mitigated expressions, which seemingly recognise differences in a respectful manner, mask underlying stereotypes and prejudices that ultimately become labels and stigmas for the individuals (see Van Dijk 1987: 220; 1992).

4.2 Whiteness as the norm

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10 "To jest walka o przyszłość naszego kraju i naszych kobiet! Bo jedna z tych dziewcząt, nieświadomie zauroczona egzotycznym księciem, może wraz ze swoim potomstwem bardzo źle skończyć w świecie islamu, który nadchodzi do nas wielkimi krokami."

11 "Ci mordercy, ci islamiści, ci fundamentaliści nie będą się asymilować. Będą siać terror, będą gwałcić i zabijać."

12 "Pawciu, oni w Nigerii jedzą surowy ryż! Dla nich to jest ziemia obiecana!"

13 "Nie jesteśmy rasistami [...]. Jesteśmy separatystami rasowymi"

Othering is also visible in practices that promulgate the higher status of the white majority. In Poland, this is particularly evident with reference to the Roma people. During a nationalist march in Andrychów (June 2014), a member of Młodzież Wszechpolska, the above-mentioned Polish nationalist organisation, reportedly shouted: "Depriving Gipsies of social benefits is the first step towards normality" (N4P).14 The comparison between 'Gypsies' and 'normality' is a case in point, as it implies that Roma people are not normal, as different from the standard. This is typical of what Nowicka (2018: 825) describes as "primordialising the imagined or real body attributes of human beings".

One of instances of the hegemony of whiteness is "hidden racism" in European countries, where promotion of people of non-European origins is blocked. The interviews provided accounts of migrants being denied certain rights at workplaces and asked to perform minor tasks, which white people employed at the same posts were not asked to do, e.g., photocopying services, preparing beverages, etc. (I8P). Additionally, there was a case in the UK where a client of a service was racially abusing a Black care worker and making him sit on the floor while his white colleagues sat on chairs and sofas, but the organisation did nothing to address it, expect for removing the Black care worker from that client. This protected him, but effectively left the racist attitudes unpunished (I5UK). Furthermore, in the case of workplace misunderstandings or conflicts, white employees could count on their superiors' support or understandings and non-whites could not. A further manifestation of the hegemony of whiteness is the stereotypical image of the "white savior": "My association and I myself undertake attempts to educate the black sportsmen so that they learnt what they are allowed to do and what not. For their own good!" (N13P).15

Against this backdrop, Mateusz Pławski, the ex-spokesman for Młodzież Wszechpolska, stated in an interview, that "a black-skinned person is not a Pole because Poles are white" and that "there should be a bipolar identification and therefore a black-skinned person cannot be a Pole" (N1P).16 Another example comes from N4P. In May, 2014, a teacher in a Warsaw school shouted at a teenager, of half-Polish origin, to leave Poland: "You are a mongrel from a mixed-marriage. You are not a Pole, there is nothing Polish in you".17 The same pattern can be identified in one of the interviews conducted in Poland. A black-skinned

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14 "Podstawą powrotu do normalności jest odebranie Cyganom wszelkich zasiłków socjalnych."
15 "Moje stowarzyszenia i ja sam jeszcze podejmiemy próby edukacji czarnoskórych sportowców, by wiedzieli, co im wolno, czego nie. Dla ich własnego dobra!"
16 "Uważamy, że powinna funkcjonować dwustronna identyfikacja i dlatego jednak uważamy, że osoba czarnoskóra nie jest Polakiem."
17 "Jesteś kundlem z mieszanego małżeństwa. Nie jesteś Polakiem, nie ma w tobie nic z Polaka."

girl attending a Polish kindergarten and later school (I8P) was latched in a school toilet by a boy, with no possibility to leave the cubicle on her own. Earlier, in a common room in the school, the same boy had said to her that she is dirty, that even if she scrubbed herself, she would never be white (I8P). This attitude suggests the now defunct "one-drop rule" that was popular in 19th century USA, where it was believed that one ancestor from sub-Saharan Africa ("one drop of blood") is enough to consider a person black, in the sense of "not white", not part of the standard. Finally, a Pole who was sentenced for ten months in prison for beating a black-skinned man said in court: "I have punched this black-skinned man, because I saw him walking with a white woman. This is the only reason I did it" (N4P).18 Again, the use of "black" and "white" here actually refers to "other / deviation" and "norm", where the other can never be part of the norm and the norm will always be unspoilt.

Finally, a typical discursive practice is the claim of reverse racism to show that white people are also victims of racism – as if they should be exempt from it in the first place, as if racism is something for whites only. A 2004 *Daily Mail* article (N7UK) stated that "a growing number of white people believe they are the victims of racial prejudice in Britain", citing "official research" without any further details. The article claims that whites are now discriminated against in the job market or in housing for reasons of positive discrimination, that Asians are favoured by authorities and the police to the detriment of whites. It is also claimed that "most ethnic minorities living in Britain feel stronger ties to the nation than whites", and that "whites also now feel less able than other ethnic groups to influence decisions affecting their local area and the country as a whole" (N7UK). Even though the Daily Mail is one of the traditionally right-wing anti-immigration newspapers, claims made by white people of reverse racism are not rare and constitute a typical justification for the denial of racism (see Van Dijk 1992). Gopal explains that, even though attitudinally we can all be racist, there is something systemic about racism, which means that reverse racism is not possible because "the ground is not level" (Appiah, Gopal and Meer 2018). And institutional racism is perpetuated through language as a marker of difference, where white dominance is evident (Blackledge 2006: 77).

4.3 Racialisation

Racialisation refers to the process of "reifying the idea of 'race', naturalising and homogenising the social, behavioural and cultural attributes imputed to the groups so defined, and lending spurious justification to the inequalities which divide

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18 "Uderzyłem tego czarnoskórego, gdyż widziałem, jak szedł z białą kobietą. Tylko dlatego go biłem."

them" (Smith 1993: 137). Instead of race being reflected in or described by language, it is language in a given country or society that racialises. It is the use of language that evokes Van Dijk's "mental models" (1987, 1992), and it is language first and foremost that betrays not only 'othering' but also the reality of othered experience and racialisation (cf. Ashcroft 2001: 314–315).

Racialisation may result in stereotyping by reducing human or somatic traits to racial classifications and, more importantly, it may lead to particular groups being "whitened" or "darkened" as a means of legitimating exclusion (Fox, Morosanu and Szilassy 2012: 692). A typical example of this is the difference between the terms "migrant" and "expat" in the UK. "Expat" is typically used for affluent white British people moving abroad to work (so essentially economic migrants), often living in separate expat communities, not necessarily learning the local language and not interested in integrating, socialising instead only with other expats (see Koutonin 2015). By contrast, "migrant" is used for poorer economic migrants with darker skin, who are expected to integrate, learn the local language and be part of the host society (ibid.). An "expat" is therefore a "whitened" term, implying privilege19, with no need to integrate and be "darkened", whereas a "migrant" is a "darkened" term, implying a need for integration as a form of achievement, "lightening" their experience and making them as closer to the white norm as possible. The distinction between migrants and expats does not exist in Polish, or indeed in any other European language.

Still, there are examples of racialisation taking place in Poland. To some Poles, there are better and worse Slavs. In an interview with a woman from Belarus (I4P), we can hear that Poles treat Belarusians as worse and poorer and that they declare there is no difference between Belarusians and Russians. Processes of racialisation can also be followed by euphemisation in an attempt to mitigate the strong connotations of race-related terms. Euphemisation may also constitute an attempt for political correctness to avoid offending people, but instead of achieving this, it results in downplaying race and trivialising people's experiences. For example: "'urban' (a sociological term), 'inner city' (a geographic term), and 'blue collar' (an economic term), are employed to connote race and ethnicity. […] 'Poor' is euphemized as 'disadvantaged' and often used as a synonym for people of color" (Woods 2002).

What is more interesting in these cases are more subtle forms of stereotyping that may appear benign or even positive, but which result in equally damaging situations of systematic discrimination, othering and ultimately exclusion. Indeed, due to the widespread condemnation of propagating explicit hatred, prejudice or disdain, nowadays otherness may also reveal itself as an apparently benevolent recognition of the differences that presupposes the stereotyping of an individual's cultural and social identity (Adamczak-Krysztofowicz and Szczepaniak-Kozak

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19 On "white privilege" see McIntosh and Peggy (1990).

2017: 290). This conflation of race and culture results in social categorisations based on skin colour or imputed national origin. But by stressing "the reasonable concept of difference rather than the uncomfortable facts of inequality, cultural and racial boundaries are depicted as benign expressions of identity, not as supremacist assertions of power" (Smith 1993: 138). Albeit seemingly positive, such practices "reproduce social categories based on somatic traits" (Smith 1993: 137), which constitutes a standard form of racial classification – namely racism.

4.4 Objectification

Objectification or reification is a typical linguistic practice of othering by form of denigration. Extensive research has been carried out on metonymy and metaphors as othering practices (Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Adamczak-Krysztofowicz and Szczepaniak-Kozak 2017; Baider and Kopytowska 2017, and many others). Our newspaper data do not have much to add in this respect, however the interviews do. Djenaba's experience is a case in point (I1UK). She was ushered out of a pub, just because she was black. She was told "your kind are scum", and she found the use of "your kind" much more hurtful than scum, as she felt she was considered as "non-human, as an object" (I1UK).

In a similar incident, Grace, from China, was called by various Chinese foods' names in one incident on the bus (I2UK). "Why would they call me chicken chow mein? I am a person!" she argued (I2UK). In the same way, in the data from Poland (N10P), a Pole of mixed parents is referred to as chapati bread. Foreigners from India living in Poland are negatively referred to by means of the word *ciapaty* or *tsiapaty* (Adamczak-Krysztofowicz and Szczepaniak-Kozak 2017: 300). The same dataset includes statements by a football pundit who states "a man I know imports Negroes by the dozen" (N13P).[20] Another case in point is an incident involving Mariusz Pudzianowski, a well-known Polish MMA sportsman and a strongman, who is also the owner of a truck-forwarding company. He wrote the following comment on Facebook on 21.01.2016 about migrants waiting in Calais to enter the UK and destroying his trucks and good that the drivers working for him transported: "I have no mercy - human rubbish! I have no tolerance for rubbish – what some of you call allegedly humans" (quoted in N4P).[21]

4.5 Wrongly ascribed ethnicity

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[20] "Mój znajomy sprowadza Murzynów tuzinami."
[21] "Nie mam litości – śmiecie ludzkie! [...] ja już nie mam tolerancji dla tych śmieci – co niby nazywają się ludźmi!"

Finally, othering can also take the form of wrongly ascribed ethnicity which aims to belittle or mock. The case of Iker in the UK is worth mentioning (I7UK). Iker worked at a call centre where he was constantly criticised and discriminated against because of his strong Spanish accent and his unusual name. Iker is not his real name but the alias chosen for him for confidentiality purposes. His real name is a typical Basque name but not very well known in the UK. Clients would immediately ask him where he is from and were rude to him, assuming he was Indian ("Sorry, I thought you were Indian"); they would also ask to be transferred to another person "who could speak English", to "an English person" or in some cases they would hang up the phone immediately. It is worth noting that Iker speaks English fluently.

The interview data show that some foreigners are not welcome in shops, restaurants, banks or other public facilities because of wrongly ascribed ethnicity (I5P, I7P, I1UK). As mentioned above, an Egyptian woman studying in Poland (I7P) stated that such incidents often happened to her when she was buying something or when she wanted to order food in bars. Because she looks Gypsy to Poles, shop assistants or waiters often accused her of shoplifting or stealing and asked to leave the premises. Gypsies are commonly stereotyped by Poles as earning their living by thefts (I7P). Additionally, during her first week in Poland, Interviewee 2 (I2P), a woman from Lebanon, met two policemen who took her passport away, laughed at her in a "very weird way", as she said, and shouted at her "Lebanon, Africa!". Additionally, they were not willing to help her find the right train at the railway station. Interviewee 3 (I3P) tells a story heard from her colleague that comes from Iraq. He strolled one day in a major city in Poland with his girlfriend and was stopped by two policemen and asked to account for himself. When he produced his passport, and they learnt he is from Iraq, they exclaimed in an amused tone of voice, "Send our best regards to Osama bin Laden". Additionally, they asked his Polish girlfriend, who accompanied him, if everything was ok, meaning whether she felt safe with the Iraqi man.

5   Research limitations, next stages and conclusion

By combining data on representation and experience of othering, our study has identified five strategies that are common to discursive practices in the UK and Poland. Strategies such as stereotyping, ingroup hegemony, racialization or objectification have already been identified elsewhere (Van Dijk 1987, 1992; Baker et al 2008; Reisigl and Wodak 2001). Our study has also used interview data to take into account the lived experiences of othered individuals and it has confirmed that the above mechanisms are felt and have an impact on the lives of the target groups. Furthermore, the category of "wrongly ascribed ethnicity" has been identified as way of grouping together and using a superordinate, such as

"East European migrants" or "foreigners". In the case of black people, for example, or people of colour in general, the assumption that they recently arrived from other continents seems to be common – and this is attested by our interview data, as seen above. The possibility of people of colour having been born and raised in their country of residence is not considered.

There are multiple ways in which this research can and should be continued. First of all, in this study we were more interested in finding representative examples of strategies of othering. Therefore, it needs to be admitted that our study should be followed by, for example, a quantitative corpus-driven study to establish which features are more frequent or representative of the discourse of othering in English and Polish (cf. Kopytowska and Grabowski 2017). Furthermore, an analysis with view to textual chains, to observe how the social order is portrayed and framed in a sequence of related texts (cf. Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 37) could be useful. Other media genres should also be included in such research.

Additionally, linguistic practices of othering change as societies change. For instance, Nowicka (2018) conducted a valuable study of discriminatory attitudes and practices of Poles living in England and has found that such attitudes and practices are brought back to Poland: "racism is an idea that travels […] it can be motile" (2018: 836). This porosity of attitudes and discriminatory discursive practices is of great interest to scholars studying race and racism. It means that no such study can make generalisations and that the data is by definition rich and contingent.

Lastly, discourse and dominant terminology are developed and led by the white, "local" majority (we use this term through lack of a better term, as we reject the term "native"). This means that othering is perpetuated by this majority. Furthermore, there is still a lack of research on the language of race and mechanisms of racialisation conducted by people of colour themselves. This is not so much true in the UK context, but the racialised minority voices in other countries, and in Poland in particular, are almost non-existent. Any study that is not led or at least co-created by the target group will inevitably be incomplete. Against this backdrop, further research is needed on changes in the discourse of race and racism in a given country, or between countries. Studies of migrants' attitudes such as Nowicka's (2018) would also provide significant insight into the dynamic and porous nature of racism, as well as its connection with migration, with the ultimate goal of regulating and countering hate-producing practices (see also Gagliardone et al. 2015 for techniques of countering hate speech).

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