Applied Linguistics to Identify and Contrast Racist 'Hate Speech': Cases from the English and Italian Language

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ABSTRACT

Applied linguistics makes use of analytical tools from many not only language-related disciplines. Purpose of the research was to show how the methodological choices of analysis are driven by the nature of the object of analysis itself. The 'hate speech' phenomenon is particularly interesting for this, due to its complexity which is reflected in a series of definitions, none of which really grasps completely its multifaceted nature. Indeed, one needs to use a variety of analytical tools originating from different social and human disciplines to support and integrate an 'applied linguistics' approach. Current 'hate speech' research focuses mainly on a lexical-semantic level (verbal communication), adding in some cases also visual aspects (visual communication), but neglecting body language (non-verbal communication) and the use of the voice (paraverbal communication). The same restricted understanding of hate speech emerged from the analysis of legal texts and their language use talking about hate crime and hate speech. The empirical case studies presented here stem from a two-year European project named RADAR - Regulating AntiDiscrimination and AntiRacism (JUST/2013/FRAC/AG/6271) and include the analysis of two advertising images from UK and one talk show extract from Italy. Given their different communicational configuration, the materials needed to be analyzed by means of different tools ranging, in our case, from Language Critique (*Sprachkritik*), Critical Discourse Analysis, Ethnomethodology, Ethnographic Conversation Analysis, Psychology of Color and Forms. The RADAR project advocates for a deeper understanding of the 'hate speech' phenomenon, not only in its verbal dimension; we therefore had to apply a multifaceted interdisciplinary approach, through which raise a deeper understanding of racist communication practices.

Keywords: Applied linguistics; hate speech; race categories; critical discourse analysis; visual analysis.

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1. Introduction

In the late sixties through the seventies/early eighties, applied linguistics was an area of study mainly concentrating on applying analytical tools and notions from systemic linguistics to second/foreign language teaching and acquisition as well as to translation issues. Later from the eighties on, other work areas are added. This is evidenced in dictionaries of and introductions to modern linguistics (Martinet, 1969; Welte, 1974; Crystal, 1987; Bußman, 1990; Lewandowski, 1994⁶). Martinet (1969) defines machine translation and second language acquisition research as one of

the main areas of applied linguistics; Welte (1974) lists "language teaching, translation technique, Machine analyses (data processing, computer linguistics)" (p. 325) and adds "advertising" (translation from German by the A.); in the Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language, Crystal (1987) writes:

> The term is especially used with reference to the field of foreign language learning and teaching […], but it applies equally to several other fields, such as stylistics […], lexicography […], translation […], and language planning […], as well as to the clinical and educational fields below (p. 412).

Among these fields he lists biological linguistics, clinical linguistics, computational linguistics, educational linguistics, ethnolinguistics, geographical linguistics, mathematical linguistics, neurolinguistics, philosophical linguistics, psychological linguistics, sociolinguistics, statistical linguistics, theolinguistics. In 1990, Buβman defines applied linguistics as "Sammelbegriff für einige Teilgebiete der Linguistik sowie interdisziplinäre Arbeitsgebiete mit linguistischen Anteilen" (p. 84) ["Collective term for some sub-areas of linguistics as well as interdisciplinary work areas with linguistic interest"; translation by the A.], listing ethnolinguistics, contrastive linguistics, lexicography, computer linguistics, patholinguistics, sociolinguistics, language teaching, language acquisition research, language planning, psycholinguistics, translation science etc. He also reminds that the denomination "applied linguistics" is misleading, as all these research fields have not only a practical but also a theoretical interest. Lewandowski 1994 (p. 67) as well points this out defining applied linguistics as:

> Mit Sprache befaβte Wissenschaftszweige, die nicht der Systematik der Linguistik folgen, sondern eigene zielorientierte und integrative theoretisch-praktische Ansätze ausgebildet haben oder ausbilden, indem sie von eigenen Prämissen ausgehen und sprachpraktische Zusammenhange auf je besondere Weise thematisieren (z.B. Übersetzungswissenschaft, Fremdsprachen- und Muttersprachendidaktik).

> [Language-related areas of science that do not follow the systematics of linguistics but have developed or develop their own goal-oriented and integrative theoretical-practical approaches, starting from their own premises and dealing with language-practical issues in a unique way (e.g. translation science, foreign language and mother tongue didactics) (translation from German by the A.)].

Applied linguistics today has much widened its scope of interest making use of notions and analytical tools from many not only language-related disciplines. Purpose of this paper is to show, through a selection of three concrete case studies, how the methodological choices of analysis are driven by the nature of the object of analysis itself. The *hate speech* phenomenon is particularly interesting for this due to its complexity, manifesting itself in diversified communicational products: to tackle it, a variety of analytical tools are necessary originating from different social and human science disciplines to support and integrate an applied linguistics approach.

The study of *hate speech* and, in particular, *racist hate speech or racist discourse, messages* have an over 20 years old tradition in linguistics and discourse studies (Whillock & Slayden 1995). Racist and more generally discriminatory discourses are being investigated since the eighties/nineties by Teun van Dijk (1984, 1987, 1991, 1993, 1995) and some year later also by Ruth Wodak together with Reisigl (2001) and with Meyer (2009). In current research, *hate speech* is mainly analyzed on a lexical-semantic level (verbal communication), adding in some cases also visual aspects (visual communication), but neglecting the other two levels of communication: body language (non-verbal communication) and the use of the voice (para-verbal communication). For a more detailed understanding of the interplay between these four levels of communication in an integrated comprehensive approach, see Dossou, Klein, and Ravenda (2016). Indeed, the study, on which this paper is based, adopted a theoretical eclectic approach to communication represented graphically in the below reported model suggesting all four communication levels not only separately, but also in their reciprocal interaction together with various interfering personal, psychological, social, cultural, and contextual elements.

Starting from this integrated communication model (Fig. 1) leads to question the possible definition(s) of *hate speech* and whether the definitions take into account the complexity of

Figure 1. Communication model.

communication. The more or less official definitions of *hate speech* imply at most the two aspects, i.e. verbal elements (words) and visual elements (image), in a context of public communication with various harmful intentions towards specific social groups (or single members of such groups), perceived as different due to ethnic-cultural traits; these groups or members of them may be exposed as targets in a one-way communication or interacting either face-to-face or remotely (i.e. in an online modality) in a wider or closer multicultural context or situation.

In the last 5-10 years, the attention to hate speech, including online instances (Ziccardi, 2016) has become a public concern. This is testified by the attention the European Union gives to it through its institutions, such as ECRI - *European Commission against Racism and Intolerance* (https://rm.coe.int/ecri-european-commission-against-racism-and-intolerance-brochure/16808c6e42) which is a human rights monitoring body specializing in questions related to the fight against racism, discrimination (on grounds of so-called "race", ethnic/national origin, color, citizenship, religion, language, sexual orientation and gender identity), xenophobia, antisemitism and religious intolerance. Other institutions are ENAR (*The European Network Against Racism*, www.enar-eu.org/) which is a network of member organizations across Europe, the DG Justice, the Council of Europe with its European Court of Human Rights). Another evidence of the growing issue about the phenomenon of racism and related hate speech is documented in several publications (Ben Jelloun, 1998; Faso, 2008; Palidda 2009; Bartoli, 2012; Alfano 2015; Cozien, 2015; Dubosc & Nijmi, 2017) and the fact that since a few years the European Commission issues calls for analyzing and contrasting hate crime and hate speech (NO HATE SPEECH MOVEMENT 2013-2017 and beyond; LIGHT-ON 2013-2014; BRICKS 2014-2016; PRISM 2014-2016; RADAR 2014-2016; COALITION OF POSITIVE MESSENGERS 2016-2018).

LIGHT-ON, BRICKS, PRISM and COALITION OF POSITIVE MESSENGERS are mainly concerned with online crime and hate speech in its verbal and visual dimension, while the NO HATE SPEECH MOVEMENT (Del Felice & Ettema, 2017), and RADAR include offline hate speech, RADAR focusing systematically also on other public media and all four communication levels.

The empirical material, presented in this paper, stems from the two-year project named RADAR (Regulating AntiDiscrimination and AntiRacism, JUST/2013/FRAC/AG/6271) which was co-funded by the European Union under the Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Programme (http://win.radar.communicationproject.eu/) and coordinated by the author between 2014 and 2016. Within the framework of the project, seven communication typologies totalizing 360 communication products from 6 EU countries (Finland, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, and the United Kingdom) were analyzed: Newspaper articles, advertising images, other images (murals, political propaganda

posters), advertising videos, other videos (mainly from political propaganda), sequences of posts from social media, and tv/radio talk shows and can be accessed registering to the RADAR platform (http://lnx.radar.communicationproject.eu/web/htdocs/radar.communicationproject.eu/home/dokeos/).

In addition, legal texts (laws and judgments; EU directives) were analyzed to detect their language use talking about hate crime and hate speech. Given their different communicational configuration, the materials needed to be analyzed by means of different tools ranging from Language Criticism (*Sprachkritik*), Critical Discourse Analysis,

Ethnomethodology (Membership Categorization Analysis), Ethnographic Conversation Analysis, Multimodal Analysis, Psychology of Color and Shapes. The RADAR research team advocates for a deeper understanding of the hate speech phenomenon, not only in its verbal discourse/speech dimension; a multifaceted interdisciplinary approach needs to be applied, which does not only offer an analysis of 'bad' communication, but also proposals for alternative, awareness raising and anti-hate communication practices through which it is possible to contrast and overcome concrete racist hate communication practices.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Definition of *hate speech*

So, what is *hate speech*? What are *hate messages*? What is hate communication? The definition is complex because it involves many communicational means (linguistic means, voice elements, body language, and visual elements) and dimensions: it depends, on one side, on the institution which defines it and, on the other, on the context to which the definition refers to. It involves a delicate interplay between communicational intention (intended meaning with all its implications) and communicational reception (understood meaning with all its interpretations). As we know, implicated meaning and interpreted meaning most rarely coincide, being therefore a source of misunderstanding, not only on a linguistic-semantic level, but also on a relational level. Taken literally, the term *hate speech* may apply to any text, discourse and talk expressing hate in verbal form.

The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines it as "speech expressing hatred of a particular group of people […] speech that is intended to insult, offend, or intimidate a person because of some trait (as race, religion, sexual orientation, national origin, or disability)" (https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/hate%20speech).

The authoritative Cambridge Dictionary defines hate speech for British English as "public speech that expresses hate or encourages violence towards a person or group based on something such as race, religion, sex, or sexual orientation (=the fact of being gay, etc.)" (https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/hate-speech?q=HATE+SPEECH) and as "speech that attacks, threatens, or insults a person or group on the basis of national origin, ethnicity, color, religion, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, or disability" as well as "speech disparaging a racial, sexual, or ethnic group or a member of such a group" (https://www.dictionary.com/browse/hate-speech), whereas the Oxford Dictionary reports for US and so-called world English: "Abusive or threatening speech or writing that expresses prejudice against a particular group, especially on the basis of race, religion, or sexual orientation" (https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/us/hate_speech).

Nwabuzo, senior research officer assistant at ENAR (2014, p. 7) defines and explains it as:

> A public expression of hate towards a person or a community because of its race or ethnic origin, sexual orientation, gender, age, disability, religion or belief. There is no common legal definition of it within EU Member States and the prohibited content differs among countries. Some jurisdictions penalise incitement to hate or insult. Others recognise hate speech when it denigrates a person's dignity or honour. In some jurisdictions, the concept of hate speech is linked to the historical background of the country. For example, in Germany, it covers Holocaust denial or Nazi glorification.

So according to some definitions, the term is referring to the public sphere and thus would exclude the private sphere.

From a definition of 1997 by the Council of Europe (1997, p. 107) *hate speech* is limited to what we would define today as *racist hate speech* "covering all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin".

In the European DG Justice Project PRISM against racism and hate speech online, Jubany and Roiha (2015, p. 6) emphasize that there is no common international definition of the *hate speech* concept, but rather several definitions exist in parallel. In legal terms, *hate speech* tends to refer to "expressions that advocate incitement to harm […] based upon the targets being identified with a certain social or demographic group" (UNESCO 2015). The definition used in US legal contexts is broader widening the perspective from speech to communication:

> Hate speech is a communication that carries no meaning other than the expression of hatred for some group, especially in circumstances in which the communication is likely to provoke violence. It is an incitement to hatred primarily against a group of persons defined in terms of race, ethnicity, national origin, gender, religion, sexual orientation, and the like. Hate speech can be **any form of expression** regarded as offensive to racial, ethnic and religious groups and other discrete minorities or to women (https://definitions.uslegal.com/h/hate-speech/).

In the RADAR research it became evident that the definitions from legal professionals and public institutions, concerned by the *hate speech* phenomenon, are not covering really the whole complexity of the phenomenon from a linguistic and communicational perspective. Thus, the RADAR research, from which – as mentioned - the empirical material quoted here stems, tried to widen the range of definition based on the empirical evidence: hate speech as a subcategory of the broader 'hate communication', but restricting its scope to *racist hate communication* practices, as the empirical material gathered shows (Dossou & Klein, 2016).

The definition of *hate speech* is not only complex but also controversial, because of the use of terms scientifically incorrect such as *race* and *racial*: Being there only one human race, it does not make sense to talk about *racial* discrimination (Chiarelli, 1995; Goodman, Moses, & Jones, 2012; Klein & Ravenda, 2016), or controversial regarding the use of categories like *ethnicity* and *ethnic group* (typically used by anthropologists in colonialist contexts), *origin* (fuzzy concept), *color* (of what?), *white* and *black* (simplified dichotomization of humanity) referred to human beings.

Furthermore, there is a broader definition including all dimensions of discrimination ("race, ethnicity, national origin, gender, religion, sexual orientation, and the like" or "race or ethnic origin, sexual orientation, gender, age, disability, religion or belief") and a narrower definition restricting its scope to the purely racist discrimination referred to socio-ethnic-cultural differences (see also the discussion in Adamczak-Krysztofowicz, Szczepaniak- Kozak, & Jaszczyk (2016).

2.2. Use of the terms race and racial and related categories in a language critical perspective

It needs to be stressed that the expression *racist discrimination* in Italian, English and many other European languages is *racial discrimination*, while in German the term commonly used is *rassistische Diskriminierung*, i.e. *racist discrimination* and not *Rassendiskriminierung* corresponding to *racial discrimination*. If the notion of *race*, as we affirm, does not make sense, also *racial* discrimination does not make sense. Comparing the two formulations *racial* discrimination and *racist* discrimination shows how one can turn around the perspective: In the case of *racial* discrimination, the discrimination happens because one is supposedly 'belonging to a different, namely inferior, race'; here the focus lies on the side of the person targeted with hate. In the case of *racist* discrimination, the focus lies on the person expressing hate.

Analyzing legal texts, such as laws and judgements, we notice some critical issues in terms of Language Critique (…), and notably the use of the terms *race* and *racial*.

The words *race* and *racial* are also present in the EU anti-discrimination Directives being in place since 2000. The "Race Equality Directive" mentions discrimination on the ground of "racial or ethnic origin" and, related to the workplace, also on the ground of "religion or belief" (cf. EUROPEAN

COMMISSION, 2014). Nevertheless, it is explicitly stated that "The European Union rejects theories which attempt to determine the existence of separate human races. The use of the term 'racial origin' in this Directive does not imply an acceptance of such theories." (cf. Footnote 6 in the Council Directive 2000/43/EC of 29 June 2000 implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin, Official Journal L 180, 19/07/2000 P. 0022 – 0026). This seems to be contradictory. If the European Union does not accept theories on the existence of separate human races, then it is not clear why the term *race* is being used. If the reason is the lack of a better term, this should be clarified in the Directive. Laws should clarify that the term *race* does not represent a fact, but a constructed classification, a metaphor that does not describe any natural, biologically founded or objective reality. In the EU directive, the notion *race* is defined only partially by what it is not; it is not a biological concept. Three critical points emerge from observations related to legal texts:

> [†]This discussion does not advocate for color-blindness (cf. Strani, Klein & Hill, 2017) or even race-neutrality. Trying to avoid the term *race* does not di per se overcome racism which still remains a fact, while *race* is a false concept not having any correspondence in reality (Dossou & Klein, 2016, p. 20; see also Cozien, 2015, pp. 50-51).

1. If the "European Union rejects theories which attempt to determine the existence of separate human races" as stated above, what does the EU legislator then understand by the term *race* and why is this still being used?

2. Why do terms like *race* and *ethnic origin* (*ethnic group*) go together? Have they the same meaning?

3. The same may be pointed out for the connection between belief and religious practices.

Related to the texts of judgments a further critical point emerges: The discriminatory evidence is detected – if it is not a physical attack or an image – mainly through words, expressions, sentences, i.e. through linguistic expressions. Even to determine whether a physical attack is merely a physical violence without racist intent, or whether the physical violence is motivated by racist intent, judges need to base their decision on words expressed by the offender. Non-verbal and paraverbal messages usually are not taken into consideration. Only a few exceptions were found: in a Polish judgment where also non-verbal behaviors, such as gestures, may be considered as offensive on the ground of ethnic differences, and in a Dutch case, where a person's accent was declared as offensive.

As already pointed out, the RADAR research privileged the analysis of racist communication practices, but some of the identified communication processes and practices can also be found in other dimensions of discrimination.

Based on what underlined before, *hate speech* or better hate *communication/hate message(s)* is a perfect phenomenon to show that and how language and more broadly communication elements are interlinked with society and culture. It is not only interlinked but more complexly interacting with society and culture. This means hate speech is not comprehensible without the reference to a context. Therefore, it is not completely graspable through a mere systemic linguistic analysis; a functionalist perspective instead is needed, i.e. a perspective of applied linguistics, and in particular in its critical and communicational dimension.

Each communication and each interaction is situated and contextualized. To understand messages as they are meant, they need to be understood and interpreted in their context. Despite the fact that the communicational element itself has a meaning, or better has several meanings, only the socio-cultural firstly and the situational context secondly can allow to interpret its presumably intended meaning. This is because communication is complex and intended meaning rarely coincides with interpreted meaning. Therefore, it is possible to negotiate meaning, as in particular Ethnographic Conversation Analysis (Gumperz, 1982a, 1982b) largely demonstrates.

As already mentioned, in the seventies the research field of Applied Linguistics was much concerned with applying systemic linguistic concepts to language learning and teaching. In the meantime, other concepts and analytical tools have been elaborated originating from sociolinguistics, pragmalinguistics, language critique, discourse analysis, critical discourse

analysis, conversation analysis. But this is still not enough to define communicative instances such as hate speech and hate communication. We need also to refer to anthropology, sociology (e.g. ethnomethodology), psychology (e.g. psychology of color), communication models, media studies, philosophy etc.

In fact, Cozien (2015) in her analysis of stereotypes in the South-African context emphasizes that "An accurate and detailed understanding of the construction of racial stereotypes and implicit biases in society demands a multidisciplinary approach to research" (p. 50).

Cozien (2015) uses the words *race* and *racial* throughout her article and only at the end (pp. 50-51) she problematizes and criticizes them:

> As Mesthrie (2012, 371) quite accurately points out, 'race and color are fuzzy concepts, not at all biologically determined (but) dependent upon power and cultural relations within a territory'. The lexemes used to describe so-called racial categories change, as do their meanings, and it is usually the political power of the time which determines this. […]. A careful analysis should look at what contexts we are still using these labels in, and in which of those contexts could we afford not to use them, without sacrificing any progress we have already made towards addressing the wrongs of the past and achieving equality.

And she concludes with an affirmation, completely in line with the RADAR results:

> It seems also that many people, not just in South Africa but in other countries too, think it is acceptable to use racial category lexemes to describe people, yet this preserves the idea that race is a real thing. That race as real is in itself wholly debatable. However, one thing is relatively certain – that the use of racial category lexemes, whether malicious or not, **perpetuates the idea of differentness, and is contrary to any progress towards a non-racial society**. [emphasis by the A.]

"Ideologies and discourse are mutually inclusive - how else do people become aware of ideologies except through discourse?" (Cozien, 2015, p. 28) and communication is always an ideological matter and hate communication in particular as it involves stereotypes and power relations. "Language is the medium by which people share their understanding of different racial stereotypes and, in turn, mould or shape shared cognitions about the nature of these stereotypes" (Cozien, 2015, p. 27) Therefore, it is obvious that the verbal side of the issue is what at once communicates racist hate, racism, anti-Semitism, islamophobia, Afrophobia, anti-migrant attitudes, xenophobia, and discrimination. This explains, why in the hate speech studies, words are still very much in the foreground, in particular those with more or less explicit racist meaning ("nigger" / "negro"; "all Arabs are terrorists"; "All Italians are Mafiosi"; etc.). The real meaning, i.e. the implication, though, is given only considering what is said by whom, to whom, for what purpose, in which circumstance/context/situation, with which intention. Thus, "nigger" / "negro" may also have a non-offensive, inclusive meaning, e.g. within an African American community of young rappers.

Therefore, an integrated approach in terms of communication is needed within an interdisciplinary perspective to tackle the complexity of the phenomenon. This is what the RADAR research tried to carry out. Assuming a communication analytical perspective, we would concentrate not only on words and sentences/formulations (lexical/semantic side) and visual elements, but also other elements which constitute interaction: i.e. non-verbal communication (body language) and paraverbal communication (use of vocal elements: length of a sound, stress on a sound, change of loudness/volume, change of speed…). This presupposes that specialists cooperate, interacting, not just juxtaposing research findings but integrating them into each other from different angles. This is even more true as Niehr (2015, p.10) reminds:

> Das übergeordnete Prinzip, das derartigen linguistisch fundierten sprachkritischen Analysen zugrunde liegt, ist das rhetorisch begründbare Prinzip der funktionalen Angemessenheit. Mit ihm gehen wir davon aus, dass es nicht "den" guten, angemessenen, schlechten oder unangemessenen Sprachgebrauch schlechthin gibt. Dieser ist jeweils nur in Abhängigkeit von der Sache, der Situation und dem Publikum zu bestimmen, und zwar auf allen sprachlichen Ebenen. Vor diesem Hintergrund

> ließe sich beispielsweise nicht sinnvoll dafür argumentieren, dass die Verwendung bestimmter Wörter per se zu kritisieren sei.
>
> [The fundamental principle underlying such linguistically based analyzes of language is the rhetorically founded principle of functional appropriateness. With it, we assume that there is no "good", reasonable, bad or inappropriate language par excellence. This must be determined only on the basis of the topic, the situation and the public, and indeed at all linguistic levels. In this context, for example, it would make no sense to argue that the use of certain words per se should be criticized. (Translation from German by the A.)]

As mentioned, there are other critical categories which are in particular the color categories, closely associated, as we know, with the race categories: In several legal texts, one can read the argument of the discrimination on the ground of color, sometimes connected to the skin and other times without stating to what this attribute refers to; intuitively and based on our experience, we know that it is, presently, referred to the color of the skin. But if there is no precise explanation, it could or may one day refer to the color of the eyes or the hair. So, this is a dangerous definition which in the future (again) might get in use also for eyes and hair.

The main color categories are the terms *black* and *white*, terms with which the political power can perpetuate the difference of inferior and superior individuals and communities. One could argument that these categories are harmless, but it can be proved through certain analyses that they are not harmless, when they are used by representatives of the hegemonic ideology and the political power. When, instead, such and similar categories are defined and used by representatives of the target group, they are not offensive, which is e.g. the case of "Writers of Colour" in the UK (cf. https://web.facebook.com/WritersOfColour/?_rdc=1&_rdr), where the protagonists are from African descent.

3. The Study

Hate-oriented communication processes: Analyses from the RADAR research

In the Introduction, we stated that analyses of Applied Linguistics are determined by the object one intends to analyze. *Racist hate communication* as object of analysis determines which tools are the most appropriate and effective ones to grasp an explicit or implicit, subliminal racist meaning in a given communicational product. For the present purpose, we selected three cases from the 360 products and related case studies carried out by the project partners from six EU countries (Finland, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, and United Kingdom): two advertisement pictures from the UK context and one talk show extract from the Italian context.

Based on the analyses (Heller, 1997; Berger, 2015) of these 360 communication products, we identified 25 racist hate-oriented communication processes (Dossou & Klein, 2016) without pretending that this list is exhaustive, neither that some of these processes could not also occur in other discriminatory dimensions expressing hate towards people with disability, women, elder people, people with different sexual orientation etc. These processes, which may also co-occur in one and the same communication product, are the following (Table 1):

In each of these different communication processes we identified the following communication mechanisms:

• communication technique

where *technique* refers to the implementation of a communication phenomenon, made by the communicator (what is used: a word, a sentence, a picture, a tone of voice, a gesture, a gaze, a symbol, an image etc.)

• communication procedure

where the notion of *procedure* highlights the method of implementation of a technique in its sequential and contextual development (how, where and when the technique is used)

• communication strategy

where the term *strategy* highlights the method of reaching a specific communicational purpose (why the technique is used).

Table 1. 25 hate-oriented communication processes

1.	Animalization	14.	Militarization
2.	Banalization	15.	Nationalization
3.	Criminalization	16.	Patronization
4.	Dehumanization	17.	Physiognomization
5.	Demonization	18.	Polarization
6.	Denigration	19.	Racialization
7.	Ethnicization	20.	Reification
8.	Exclusion from citizenship	21.	Religionization
9.	Humiliation	22.	Radicalization
10.	Infantilization	23.	Sensationalization
11.	Intimidation	24.	Sexualization
12.	Minimalization	25.	Victimization
13.	Missionization		

These notions are adopted from a distinction made in Conversation Analysis (cf. Klein, 2006: pp. 244-246) which we propose to transfer to a wider communicational activity, highlighting different aspects of the same identified communication product. In the following, three examples are given to show the different analytical tools applied and the interplay between all communicative means used in a communicational product which produces a racist hate message. For more coherence and in accordance to the available space here, we concentrate on the race and color discourse, neglecting other frequent discourses in the current racist hate discourse, such as the xenophobic anti- migrant discourse, the terrorist/Islamophobic discourse, the anti-Semitic discourse, or the anti-Roma discourse.

3.1. Case 1

The advertising picture (Fig. 2) below from the Notting Hill estate agents Strutt & Parker, appeared in the late 2014 in the London Underground, was immediately defined by some people as "utterly moronic racist nonsense" who reacted to it on the web. The company withdraw the campaign with excuses; Nevertheless, it is still on the net (http://www.urban75.org/blog/utterly-moronic-racist-nonsense-advertising-by-notting-hill-estate-agents-strutt- parker/).

The **communication technique**, which immediately strikes, consists of the sentence "Some Notting Hill folk were **born** to dance. Others to sell flats." This verbal sequence suggests a deterministic relationship between some ability and a specific socio-ethnic group. The **communication procedure** is implemented by the technique used as a claim of an advertisement picture dividing clearly the two different worlds of dancers and real estate sellers, evidenced,

Figure 2. Ad picture 1.

among other elements, by a dividing red line in the middle of the picture. The **communication strategy** – whether intentional or not – achieves the effect to reduce the subjectivity of each person in a generalization on the basis of ethno-socio-cultural backgrounds.

In this picture each main element, the two men and the two sentences taken separately, cannot be defined as offensive or even racist. A subliminal racist meaning emerges only in the interplay of all four elements together: an African descent is stereotypically "born" to dance, a European descent to be a business man. This picture would never work the other way around. This ideology is even reinforced by the sentence written underneath in smaller letters: "If you are eager to perfect your pirouette, Mark's your man, but if you're looking to buy or sell, chat to Nottingh Hill's only dedicated flats team."

As Dossou (2016) states in his analysis:

One can notice an ambiguity from the general theme of the advertising picture.

In fact, here are two distinguished situations: an informal and a formal one; the informal setting is characterised by a casual-dressed man in a dancing posture, whereas the formal setting is characterised by a formal suited man in a calm posture (which is a social model nowadays).

The structure of the layout leads the viewer's eye from left to right, giving a sort of a chronological judgement from first step and a final step, thus showing the better setting on the right. (p. 10)

This case, therefore, is characterized by physiognomization, ethnicization, racialization and ultimately denigration: a physical appearance goes with ethnized professions (for African descents: mainly sport and dance professions) resulting in a racialization, insofar as in the Western (White) collective imagination, the business profession is of superior prestige compared to an artistic profession such as dancing. In this very subtle way, the superior/inferior principle is re-established. This antithesis is also suggesting denigration evidenced by the words "but" and "only" juxtaposing contrasting ideas like in the sentence: "If you are eager to perfect your pirouette, Mark's your man, but if you're looking to buy or sell, chat to Notting Hill's only dedicated flats team.". The subtle red line drawn in the middle of the picture, divides the two qualitatively different worlds representing at the same time in a deterministic way that these worlds – represented by *Blacks* and *Whites* - are separate and cannot encounter or mix up each other. Also, the utterance "Some Notting Hill folk were born to dance. Others to sell flats." is divided through full stops into two separate clauses. The two men do not look to each other; there is no contact between them (cf. Dossou & Klein 2016, p. 41; Klein, Dossou, Fountana, & Sokoli, 2017).

3.2. Case 2

Another examples (Fig. 3) from the *White-Black* contrast in terms of *white* supremacy towards black inferiority is given in the next picture from a British INTEL advertisement. The sentence itself "Multiply computing performance and maximize the power of your employees", again, would not be offensive without the picture.

The **communication technique** used is given by the juxtaposition of *white* and *black*, personalised respectively as master and slave. In this example, people from African descent represent machines, i.e. objects, ready for a multiplying computing performance. The *communication procedure* is implemented by portraying six *black* runners as identical, without any human characteristics, as machines pre-set to do one specific thing: serve the white master and help him grow the computing performance of his business. The resulting *communication strategy* is to dehumanize *black* employees conveying the idea that they are only good for the 'physical' and mechanical labour, but that it requires a *white* man to run the company. Along with the communication process of dehumanization goes a reification, typical in racist discourse (cf. Dossou & Klein, 2016, pp. 39, 55).

The advertising picture was published in 2007 and Intel had to apologize for the "racially insensitive ad" after the "outrage over its parallels to plantations and slavery" (http://www.theregister.co.uk/2007/08/02/intel_apologizes_for_racially_insensitive_ad/). As Dossou (2016) stresses:
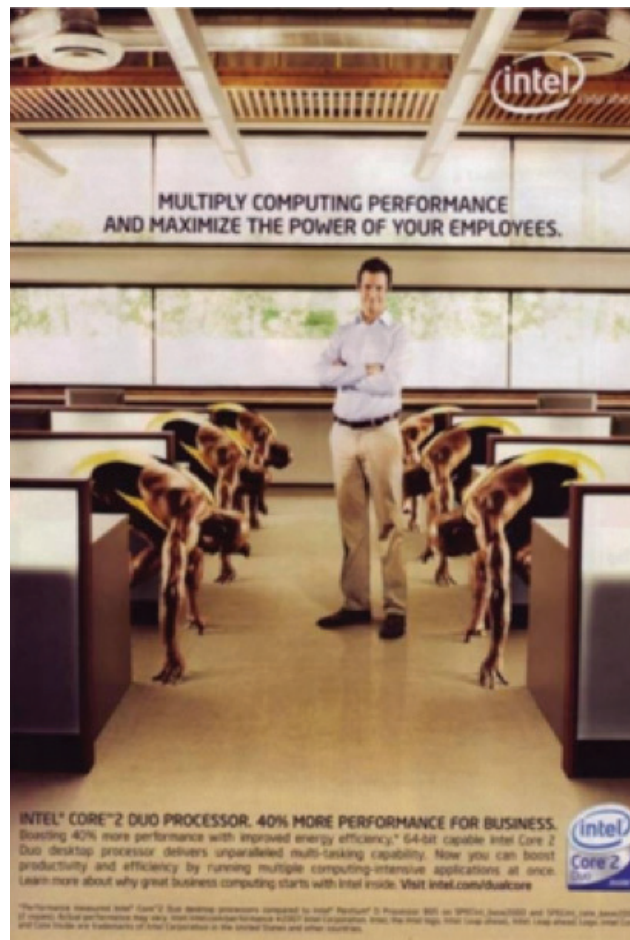
Figure 3. Ad picture 2.

The first impression is disgust and anger: given by the authoritarian posture of the white man over a group of black men bending down in front of him. […]. This advert […] reads as if the African-Americans are still the slaves and that the white man is still the boss, or owner. It seems to be an affirmation of the dominant white ideology that perceives African-Americans as inferior to whites. (p. 61)

3.3. Case 3

The next example (Fig. 4) regards an extract (01:15) of an Italian talk show concentrating on racism in Italy. The former Italian integration minister and, since 2014, EU member of the European

Figure 4. Talk show.

Parliament, Cécile Kashetu Kyenge, from Congolese-Italian background, affirms, as can be read on the Italian newspaper *La Stampa* represented on the screen during a talk show on the RAI3 tv channel: "Questo razzismo uccide la democrazia" [This racism kills democracy; translation by the A.]. The talk show takes place on 15th January 2014 in the programme "Agorà / Un paese a frasi alterne" [A country of alternate sentences], moderated by Gerardo Greco [in the transcript GG] interacting with the guest Jole Santelli [SJ], member of the Italian parliament (http://video.ilgazzettino.it/primopiano/gaffe_della_santelli_i_neri_fortunati_non_devono_truccarsi-21910.shtml).

The **communication technique** concerns the sentence: ha la fOrtuna <<FAST: di non doversi truccare come noi che siamo>> (l. 20-21) [has the fOrtune <<FAST: not to have to put on make-up like us that we are>>] uttered by Jole Santelli (JS). The communication procedure is a counter argumentation during a conversation in a talk show piece focusing on racism in Italy; the sentence is performed in a quicker speed. The *communication strategy* achieves the effect of triggering a subordination process of the "other" ridiculing someone based on a specific physical characteristic (Dossou & Klein, 2016, pp. 37, 47, 57).

In the following, we report the conversation piece transcribed according to the ethnomethodological tradition of ethnographic Conversation Analysis (see Gumperz, 1982 a, b); the numbered lines in Table 2, are the Italian original the unnumbered lines are the corresponding English translation carried out by the Author.

Table 2. Transcript

1 2 3	SJ	(...) intervenire su un punto delicato eh ** io credo che sia <<FAST: profondamente sbagliato>> ogni qual volta si parla in questo paese di MUOVENDO LE MANI Immigrazione\
		(...) to intervene on a delicate point eh *** I believe it is <<FAST: **deeply wrong**>> every time we talk in this country of MOVING HANDS Immigration\
4	GG	sì
		yes
5 6 7 8 9 10	SJ	e di contrasto o di leggi sull'immigrazione convaunterlo [ACTUAL BUT STRANGE PRONUNCIATION OF "confonderlo"] cor [REGIONAL PRONUNCIATION OF THE ROME AREA MEANING "con il"] razzIsmo\ * <<FAST: **son due cose profondamente diverse**>> * allora ci sono delle parti politiChe * che discutono su * leggi sull'immigrazione * che difendono una parte della bossi-fini * che difendono un concetto di cittadinanza *
		and of contrast or immigration laws confusing it with racIsm\ * <<FAST: **they are two very different things**>> * then there are political parties * who discuss about * immigration laws * that defend a part of the bossi-fini * that defend a concept of citizenship *
11	GG	sì
		yes
12 13 14	SJ	#MUOVENDO LE MANI E SCUOTENDO IL CAPO <<ARTICULATING: **questo non ha Nulla a che fare col razzismo**>> perché c'è un conge- [not understandable probably interrupted word] ci posso dire che devo contenere l'immigrazione\ *
		#MOVING HANDS AND SHAKING THE HEAD <<ARTICULATING: **this has nothing to do with racism**>> because there is a [...] [not understandable probably interrupted word] I can say that I must contain immigration\ *
15	GG	[sì]
		[yes]
16 17 18	SJ	[e] non aver nessun tipo di problema o comunque a <<FAST: **ritenere assolutamente normale che ci sia chi**>> * vive in italia da vent'anni è perfettamente integrato poi Magari ha un
		[and] not having any kind of problem or at least to <<FAST: **consider absolutely normal that there are those who**>> * live in Italy for twenty years are perfectly integrated then maybe has a
19	GG	sì sì capito
		yes yes got it
20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27	SJ	TOCCANDOSI LA MANO DESTRO SULLA GUANCIA DESTRA SORRIDENDO ha la fOrtuna <<FAST: **di non doversi truccare come noi che siamo**>> o SORRIDENDO e quindi è più fortunato di Noi punto **sono due cose diVerse** SOLLEVANDO IL DITO INDICE DELLA MANO DESTRA utilizzare il termine razzismo significa imporre ipocritamente\ [WRONG PRONUNCIATION OF "ipocriticamente"] ipocritamente\ [REPEATS THE WRONG PRONUNCIATION OF "ipocriticamente" PROBABLY TRYING TO CORRECT THE FIRST BAD PRONUNCIATION] un'inibizione all'altra parte ** per portarla sulle proprie tesi è mi mi perdoni mi scusi solo una cosa no scusami e scusa no no
		TOUCHING HER RIGHT HAND ON THE RIGHT CHEEK SMILING has the fOrtune <<FAST: **not to have to put on make-up like us that we are**>> or SMILE and so is luckier than Us period these **are two diFFerent things** LIFTING THE FINGER INDEX OF RIGHT HAND using the term racism means hypocritally\ [WRONG PRONUNCIATION OF "hypocritically"] hypocritally\ [REPEATS THE WRONG PRONUNCIATION OF "hypocritically" PROBABLY TRYING TO CORRECT THE FIRST BAD PRONUNCIATION] imposing an inhibition to the other party *** to bring it on one's own thesis this is forgive me excuse me only one thing no excuse me and sorry no no

The protagonist, Jole Santelli, tries to distance herself from who is associating immigration with racism (l. 2-7). According to her, immigration and racism are two different things which must not be confused (l. 5-7). Each time she tries an argument to defend herself against an attack to be racist, the speed of her talk gets faster (l. 2, 7, 16-17, 21 marked in bold), her hands move quicker with movements pushing away the accuse and even lifting her right- hand finger index in a counter accusing way (l. 22-23). In lines 12-13, she sentences articulating questo non ha Nulla a che fare col razzismo [**this has nothing to do with racism**] using also techniques of emphasis and stretching the consonant n- in Nulla as well as the vowel -i- in razzismo. With these paraverbal techniques she intends probably to reach a major effect and to be more convincing (for more details, see Dossou, Klein, & Pecorelli (2016, pp. 39-43)

Talking about a serious issue such as the immigration phenomenon and immigration policy should be done in a serious way, while Jole Santelli instead ridicules the issue, banalizing and minimalizing it introducing the topic make-up which, according to her, *black* people do not need to put on and therefore they are luckier than *white* people. Talking about a serious topic, the politician turns the issue into a banal topic, even affirming that people who notoriously are discriminated, instead are luckier than Italians from European descent. At the same time the color contrast 'black/white' turns into a 'they/us' contrast, well known from e.g. Wodak's and Reisigl's critical discourse analyses on racism and discrimination.

4. Conclusion

The presented case studies show that the race and color categories continue to shape the collectivity's mental representation of the issue. Many more analyses are needed for all four communication levels (verbal, paraverbal, non-verbal and visual) and their interplay, to solicit collectivity to change mind-set.

From the methodological perspective, the RADAR research showed that a wide range of analytical tools are necessary to solicit a deeper understanding of the present racist hate communication processes, in order not to accept as normal what should not be normal.

In a critical discourse analysis perspective, one should not only criticize terms and expressions, but be able to formulate alternatives. Together with the Italian advisory board the Italian RADAR team has worked out a proposal for the term *race* in legal texts and other official contexts. According to the lawyer of the board, it becomes difficult to convict someone of racism if the terms *race / racial* disappear completely. The proposal, therefore, is the following (see more in Dossou & Klein, 2016, pp. 20-22):

Racial can be substituted in many (con)texts with the term *racist*; as already mentioned above, expressions such as *racial discrimination* could become *racist discrimination*; the same can be proposed for *racial crime* becoming *racist crime*; *motivation based on race* becoming *racist motivation* or *motivation based on racism, racial profiling* substituting *racist profiling* or, as ENAR proposes: *ethnic profiling* (https://www.enar-eu.org/spip.php?page=recherche&recherche =a+public+expression+of+hate+towards+a+person+or+a+community+because+of+its+race+ or+ethnic+origin).

In this respect, *racist discrimination* can be defined as "based on or motivated by a false assumption or perception of the existence of human races" and as "motivated by national belonging or membership (in terms of ancestry/descent, nationality, citizenship, legal norms, geographical origin, sometimes visible from specific or perceived physical features), ethnic-cultural belonging or membership (in terms of ancestry/descent, religion, beliefs, language, traditions), and social belonging or membership (in terms of socio-economic background and/or migrant status)". Consequently, the term *race* would be substituted by a broader and more accurate definition as: "national belonging or membership (in terms of ancestry/descent, nationality, citizenship, legal norms, geographical origin, sometimes visible from specific or perceived physical features), ethnic-cultural belonging or membership (in terms of ancestry/descent, religion, beliefs, language, traditions), social belonging or membership (in terms of socio- economic background and/or migrant status)".

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Appendix

Transcription system – how to read the transcript

Symbols used	Meaning	Example
(…)	Unclear word or sequence	
e	Stretching of a sound (vowel or consonant)	Eh
<<FAST ………….>>	The sequence within the brackets is spoken faster than normally	<<FAST: **profondamente sbagliato**>>
\	Falling intonation	immigrazione\
I, CH	Emphasized vowel, emphasized consonant	fOrtuna, politiCHe
[………….]	Brackets within which to write explanations, in particular about visual, non-verbal and paraverbal features	[REGIONAL OF THE ROME PRONUNCIATION AREA
*	Short pause between verbal sequences	sull'immigrazione * che
**	Longer pause between verbal sequences	eh ** io