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**NATIONAL STEREOTYPES IN THE *DAILY  
TELEGRAPH'S* AND THE *DAILY MIRROR'S* EURO  
2012 MATCH REPORTS  
MA thesis**

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## ABSTRACT

Drawing on previous studies which focus on national and racial stereotypes in the coverage of major international sport events, the main aim of this study is to analyze the nature and extent of the stereotypes employed by the papers analyzed for this study in their coverage of the 2012 UEFA European Championship. This is done by employing the methodology of textual analysis. It was chosen to analyze football media because even though football writing may at first sight seem innocuous, being placed in the back pages of newspapers, football texts, like football itself, become arenas where various national, racial, gender and class identities and ideologies are produced and disseminated.

The study consists of Introduction, which is followed by two core chapters, and conclusion. Introduction gives a brief overview of the perceived notion of football as mere leisure activity; introduces the notion of sport as an arena in which racial, regional, class, sexual, and national identities are constantly produced and reproduced.

Chapter 1 firstly gives an overview of the role of the media in constructing and representing reality. Secondly, the chapter introduces the main characteristics of tabloid and broadsheet newspapers. It then proceeds with discussing the issue of ethnic discrimination in the media, drawing mostly on the work of Teun van Dijk. The paper then analyzes the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Fourth, the paper discusses the relationship between sport and the media. Lastly, the paper focuses on the connection between international sport, nationality, and the media.

Chapter 2 analyzes the presence and character of national stereotypes in the coverage of Euro 2012 in comparison to previous tournaments. The chapter focuses on England, France, Germany, Italy, and Greece, as stereotypes about these nations appear to be the most common and most clearly defined in the *Daily Mirror*'s and the *Daily Telegraph*'s coverage. The chapter also examines the presence of military metaphors in the papers' coverage.

The results of the analysis are given in the conclusion.

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## INTRODUCTION

Sport is a major or even indispensable component of print and broadcast news. The page space and broadcast time devoted to sport may vary across different newspapers and news programs, but it is difficult to imagine major daily newspapers such as the *Sun* or the *Guardian*, for example, not featuring sport and particularly football in any way, since coverage of sport satisfies the interests of both the readers and papers. In other words, media sport is “a valuable consumer commodity which has to be packaged in an attractive and therefore marketable linguistic form” (Crolley et al 2000: 108).

However, despite being prominent in the media, sport is usually found on the back pages of newspapers, which might lead to the assumption that sport can be viewed as being distinct from hard news or serious news. Furthermore, it is commonly believed that sport is devoid of ideology, which is understood here as “‘common-sense’ assumptions which are implicit in the conventions according to which people interact linguistically, and of which people are generally not consciously aware” (Fairclough 2001: 2). Ideology might not be completely missing from sport, but it does not seem to be clearly noticeable either. Sport is mostly seen as an entertaining and frivolous recreational activity and is often not considered to be one of the essential parts of culture (Georgalou 2009: 108). While sport is indeed a recreational activity which offers participants and audience members, among other things, entertainment and a chance to get away from everyday life, sport is, nevertheless, linked to the complex systems of human behavior of society (Beard 1998). Sport, especially football, is capable of uniting communities and consolidating social formations (Dimeo 2001: 105). Football can be considered to be England’s and perhaps even the world’s most popular sport (Vincent et al 2010: 200). Football can also produce and reproduce identities, which include, for example, class, regional, sexual, racial and, most important for the present thesis, national identities.

The issues of class and regional identities in sport appear to be interrelated. The most common distinction in England is that of between the north and the south. This division is associated with numerous stereotypes and images, which see the notion of Englishness being constructed around assumed class divisions (Gibbons 2010) that separate the northern working class, which would be associated with sports such as football and rugby, from the southern political elite that is mostly thought of in relation to cricket and polo, for example, in the context of sport.

Another aspect of identity that has garnered considerable attention is that of sexuality, which is associated with notions of gender. Many perceive that we live in an era where masculinities and moralities are said to be in crisis (Whannel 2002), and sport is often seen as the one arena where the notion of assertive masculinity is unambiguous. Sport is something in the context of which men can gather regularly to celebrate hypermasculinity, that is, exaggerated forms of masculinity (Burstyn 2002). In addition, it is often claimed that the hegemonic form of masculinity against which other forms of masculinity are measured essentially means “avoiding ‘feminine behaviour’” (Bernstein and Blain 2002: 10). Football is among sports in which displays of unambiguously masculine behaviors are available to both players and audiences. It is not just femininity that is to be avoided, but also non-hegemonic masculinities that are mostly marginalized, and not acknowledged or represented by media coverage of sport (Bernstein and Blain 2002:11).

The issue of race in sport has been more prominent in academic writing perhaps from the 1990s in the United States and United Kingdom (Bernstein and Blain 2002: 17). In this literature, the term ‘race’ often seems to have restricted reference, since much of the discussion refers to media images of black people (ibid: 17-18). Less has been written about ethnic and national tensions in the context of sport.

Media coverage of sport communicates information not only about sporting events themselves but also about culture and society as a whole (Crolley et al 2000: 108). In addition, football can be seen as communicating information about national identity which is a key concept in the coverage of international tournaments (Crolley et al 2000; Vincent et al 2010; Crolley 2006).

The concept of nation can be understood as an “imagined political community” (Anderson 1983: 6). The nation is seen as imagined, since “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson 1983: 6). In addition, the nation is seen as a community because it is always conceived of as a deep, horizontal comradeship despite the inequalities which might prevail in each nation (ibid: 7).

Thus, the notions of collective national identities, or national stereotypes, are constantly repeated in various texts (Crolley et al 2000: 109) such as in the media. It can be argued that the media can be seen as a conduit for concepts of national identity to be created, recreated and shared within a national community (Crolley 2006: 3).

It is argued (Hobsbawm 1983; Anderson 1983) that national identities must continually evolve and be reinvented, in other words, they need continuous reinforcement (Crolley 2006: 4). National cultural identity is constructed and then reproduced by narratives, mainly by images and symbols that portray common and shared values and meanings within a nation (Crolley 2006: 4).

Common ways of constructing images of nations are through the use of (military) metaphors; personal pronouns which differentiate “us” from “them”; and cultural and historical references. Metaphors are said to help people to understand complex and unfamiliar aspects of reality in terms of more specific and familiar concepts (Trčková

2011: 145). Historical and cultural references are related to the notion of invented traditions, which can be understood as:

a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past. (Hobsbawn 1983: 1)

National identities, along with some of the most identifiable identities in Western culture are related to gender; race and ethnicity; class; age; sexuality; and physical ability (McKee 2003: 43). Identity categories give members of communities a feeling of belonging (ibid). In addition, identity categories guide members of societies in their treatment of other people (ibid), which means that identity categories are involved in a process of creating “wedom” and “theydom” (Hartley 1992: 206). This is an ongoing process where the perceived “self” is differentiated from and opposed to the perceived “other”. The behavior of “us”, the “self” or the “ingroup” tends to be interpreted quite differently from that of “them”, the “other” or the “outgroup” (McKee 2003: 43). This seems to be the case even when the behavior of “us” and “them” appears to be almost identical (ibid), meaning that people tend to be more tolerant, accepting and forgiving towards people who belong to the same community than towards those who are considered to be outsiders, people who are interpreted as “them” (ibid).

The abovementioned identity categories might appear to be quite clear and fixed, but it is important to stress that identities are not universal nor are they fixed since identity categories, their perceived common features, and their status change over time (McKee 2003: 42). Likewise, national identity is a “fluid and evolving construct” (Vincent et al 2010: 200). National identity can be seen as having a dynamic and fluid character, which means that nationhood should perhaps be interpreted as a process rather than an entity which either does or does not exist (Jacobson 2002: 175).

Nationalities are commonly interpreted as having distinct general characteristics which appear to be common to all members of a particular nationality. However, Cohen (1994: 192-193) argues that the general characteristics of nationalities cannot be assessed since beliefs about the supposed presence of such characteristics assume the presence of a genetic blueprint that is radically different from that of other nations; secondly, because nationality is a fluid and constantly evolving construct, which is not fixed in some particular era; and, thirdly, because generalized notions of nationality often do not recognize the presence of other identity categories related to, for example, gender and ethnicity.

Despite academic arguments which appear to deny the existence of general national characteristics, media coverage of international sporting events is, nevertheless, constantly told through a national perspective. In using the idea of nation as a reference point, as an example of a “sense-making practice”, three dimensions are evident: firstly, the existence of the nation and the meaningfulness of the concept are taken for granted, in other words, it is assumed that the nation does exist and the idea of the nation is understandable to all (Jacobson 2002: 178); secondly, the nation is seen as an entity which is capable of responding in an emotional way to issues and events (Jacobson 2002: 188); and thirdly, audiences are called to share these emotions (ibid).

As already mentioned, the notion of national identity tends to be a key concept in football and football coverage. As was mentioned above, nation is commonly depicted as an entity which is capable of emotional feelings which are expected to be shared by the public. This becomes particularly evident during international sport events, which can generate patriotic feelings in athletes, the public, and the producers of media texts. As a result, such events serve as occasions of national “flag waving” (Billig 1995).



The present thesis, while focusing more specifically on depictions of nationality, is related to studies on racism and ethnic prejudice and stereotypes in the press. Racist attitudes in the media may seem to have been analyzed quite thoroughly at first glance. Older studies, for example van Dijk (1991) tended to focus on the overt forms racism, which would be realized in discrimination towards those not belonging to the majority races, for example, stressing the negative characteristics of minorities and denying them access to various institutions. Newer studies, for example Van Dijk (2000), in contrast, often focus on what has been called “new racism” which involves ethnic and national stereotypes and prejudice in a more covert manner. Differently from the more explicit forms of racism which generally seem to be publicly condemned in western liberal democracies such as the United Kingdom and the United States, “new racism” appears to be not only quite common but also seemingly accepted or at least overlooked. Thus, “new racism” can be even more harmful than the more explicit forms of racism, as it allows national stereotypes and generalizations to be spread and repeated without much opposition.

National stereotypes appear to be quite common in sports coverage and in football coverage in particular. The present thesis is interested in how ethnic designations are employed in the coverage of the most recent major football competition, the European Championship of 2012. The focus of analysis is media, as one of the sites where stereotypes are projected to a mass audience. Since previous studies have suggested that ethnic stereotypes and (negative) generalizations seem to be more common in popular tabloid newspapers, the study involves both quality and tabloid newspapers to gain a better understanding of where and how potentially injurious stereotypes of nationalities are being created. The thesis will situate itself with other similar studies, for example Vincent et al (2010) and Crolley et al (2000), with the aim of highlighting and analyzing the presence

and nature of national stereotypes in British newspapers' football coverage. The study will examine the nature and purpose of the stereotypes; in other words, it will be seen whether the newspapers rely solely on the "us" versus "them" opposition where "us" is represented positively, relying largely on feelings of patriotism and pride, while depicting "them" in a negative manner or do the papers also feature negative images of "us" and favorable images of "them".

# **1 MEDIA LANGUAGE AND MEDIA COVERAGE OF ETHNIC MINORITIES**

## **1.1 The role of the media in representing and constructing reality**

The media have an important role in how people understand the world around them and their place in it (Lunt and Livingstone 2001: 585), as news reflects and also shapes the prevailing and prevalent values of a society (Fowler 1991: 222). It can be argued that two of the most crucial positions taken in theoretical accounts of producing, reading and understanding news are that news is a product (Fowler 1991: 222), and that newspapers construct readers (Fowler 1991: 232).

News is a product or a “practice” (Fowler 1991: 2) in the sense that news is socially constructed (Fowler 1991: 2). Fowler (1991: 222) argues that news is not a natural phenomenon which emerges straight from reality. News is always produced by an industry and shaped by the “bureaucratic and economic structure of that industry, by the relations between media and other industries and, most importantly, by relations with government and with other political organizations” (Fowler 1991: 222). As news publication is a significant industry, it is to be expected that commercial structures and relationships related to news production have an effect on what is selected to be published as news and on how the news is presented (Fowler 1991: 20). In other words, news is not really the newsworthy event itself, but rather the depiction or account of an event (Hartley 2001: 11).

News, like anything that is said or written about the world, is always reported from a particular angle, because those institutions creating the news are politically, socially and economically situated (Fowler 1991: 10). The selection of news is “accompanied by transformation, differential treatment in presentation according to numerous political, economic and social factors (Fowler 1991: 11). Thus, it can be said that the world of the

media is not “the real world”, as it is a world always skewed in some direction (Fowler: 1991: 11).

For example, news appears to be skewed towards the economically, politically and socially powerful, as the opinions of members of governments, the police and army, the legal system, and representatives of other news media are prominently featured in the media, while “common people” are cited rarely (Fowler 1991: 22). In other words, the sources most useful and convenient to monitor are institutions and persons with official authority and financial power, since these sources are established by official authority, they are organized, meaning that they have a structure which includes spokespersons, and lastly, they have the financial resources to pay for publicity (ibid). By frequently citing these sources, the newspapers are provided with “modes of discourse which already encode the attitudes of the powerful elite” (Fowler 1991: 23). Newspapers adopt the language of the elite for their own; and by using this language, the newspapers, thus, reproduce the opinions of the powerful (ibid).

As was previously claimed, news is not that which happens, that is, the events themselves, but that which can be seen and represented as newsworthy (Fowler 1991: 13). In order to be included in news, events must fulfill certain criteria and conditions (Hartley 2001: 76) which were identified by Galtung and Ruge (1973). According to them, the general news values are frequency, which is the time-span taken by an event; threshold, meaning the size of an event; unambiguity, meaning the clarity of an event, a limited range of possible meanings; meaningfulness, which has two dimensions, that is, cultural proximity and relevance; consonance, meaning the predictability of an event; unexpectedness, meaning the unpredictability or rarity of an event; continuity, which means that a story, once selected, will be covered for some time; and composition, meaning the mixture of various kinds of events (Hartley 2001: 76-78).

It was argued that news aims to be unambiguous. In other words, “news-discourse is hostile to ambiguities and seeks to validate its suppression of the alternative possibilities intersecting its signs by reference either to ‘the facts of the story’ or to ‘normal usage’” (Hartley 2001: 24). This means that one of the most consistent self-imposed tasks of news is to prefer particular meanings over alternative possible meanings (ibid). Thus, it can be argued that there is a “preferred reading” (Hall 1977: 341) encoded into the manner in which a story is told (Hartley 2001: 63).

Newspapers construct a mode of address which is considered to be appropriate for their audience (Hartley 2001: 95). The language used by the newspapers will be the papers’ version of the language of the public to whom the papers are addressed (Hall et al 1978: 61). The newspaper uses its version of the imagery, rhetoric and common stock of knowledge, which is assumed to be shared by the audience (Hall et al 1978: 61).

The key notion here is “common stock of knowledge”, which can also be called common sense. Common sense is viewed to be “what everyone thinks” and “what everyone knows”; what is “natural” and “obvious” (Hartley 2001: 97). Thus, it can be argued that common sense refers to ideas and beliefs which are easily and commonly accepted and rarely contested. News is constructed in a manner which relies on common sense, meaning that a newspaper assumes that there is only one reasonable, commonsense view on any matter presented (Fowler 1991: 231). This view is affirmed throughout the paper, as it is assumed that this view is natural, it is taken for granted and does not need to be asserted (Fowler 1991: 231-232).

In conclusion, it can be argued that news does not report events which are meaningful in themselves; rather, news so to speak translates events into its own meaning system with its own scale of values (Hartley 2001: 8). Moreover, these meaning systems and scales of values are not common for all newspapers and news programs, as different

newspapers can greatly differ in their reporting. For example, broadsheet papers and tabloids generally differ in content, tone, style and audiences. Thus, it can be argued that tabloids and broadsheets have very different agendas. Moreover, there are also significant differences between tabloids, and differences between broadsheets, meaning that no two different papers of the same type, be it either tabloid or broadsheet, are alike. In other words, every publication has its own unique set of values, aims and characteristics.

### **1.1.2 Tabloid and broadsheet press**

Broadly speaking, major daily British newspapers can be divided into two groups, namely tabloids and broadsheets, the last of which tend to be mostly conservative and right wing (Newton and Brynin 2001: 282). Broadsheets and tabloids generally differ in content, layout, format and price (Nadkarni 2011), even though it has been argued (for example, Franklin 1997) that broadsheet papers are in a process of tabloidization, which can be seen as a series of processes which are transforming rationalist discourses into sensationalist discourses (Connell 1998: 12). Even though tabloid and broadsheet are types of print formats, some formats have been used by newspapers which focus on certain topics and rhetorical choices and, thus, the formats have come to be associated with the seriousness of a publication (Newspapers 2009). In other words, ‘broadsheet’ tends to be the code word for a so-called quality paper, as neither the *Guardian* nor the *Independent* are broadsheets by format but both are, nevertheless, associated with the “quality” broadsheet papers. Tabloids, on the other hand, are often associated with the yellow press, this being mostly seen as a pejorative term.

Broadsheets are mostly associated with serious news, also known as hard news, meaning politics; business; financial; industrial and agricultural topics; along with human-interest and cultural topics (Connell 1998: 21). Broadsheets are often seen as more “learned” and more “cultured”, for example, because of the use allusion, that is fragments of literary,

classical, Latin and scientific jargon, which appears to suggest knowledge in some particular area (Fowler 1991: 227).

In the United Kingdom the most popular daily newspapers are tabloids (Nadkarni 2011). Tabloids and broadsheets generally tend to be addressed to different audiences, with the tabloid press being most popular among the working class (Nadkarni 2011). Tabloids are often characterized by sensationalism and a linguistic, as well as an ideational populism (Connell 1998: 14). Visually, the most noticeable features of tabloids are banner headlines, large print, shorter words, less text and more pictures than in broadsheet papers, also the common usage of puns (Franklin 1997: 7). The register of tabloids is more colloquial than that of broadsheets (Fowler 1991). The most common themes in tabloid press are crime, sex, sport, personalities and entertainment (Williams 1962: 90). In relation to the present study, it can be argued that in comparison with broadsheets, tabloids offer more “race-related” sports coverage (Law 2002), where there is a more explicit distinction between the majority/”us” and minorities/”them”.

### **1.1.3 Ethnic discrimination in the media**

One of the most prominent and widely cited discourse scholars who has worked on social topics like racism and ethnic discrimination is Teun van Dijk. However, van Dijk often tends to present his arguments in a manner which is perhaps more generalizing than his evidence allows. Thus, van Dijk’s work is useful but needs to be treated somewhat cautiously, as he is perhaps too quick to use words such as ‘bias’ and ‘prejudice’ in contexts where their usage might not be entirely unequivocal or justified. Fowler (1991: 12) suggests that instead of ‘bias’, ‘representation’ or ‘mediation’ might cover the stages that lead to supposed misrepresentations less provocatively, as the word ‘bias’ usually tends to have negative connotations.

Van Dijk (1993: 179) suggests that media discourse expresses, convincingly conveys and legitimizes ethnic and racial stereotypes. The stereotypes are created already by the frequency of coverage. Media discourse appears to pay very limited attention to minority ethnic groups, unless they are involved in illegal activities or associated with violence (van Dijk 1989: 218). Moreover, van Dijk (1989: 219) argues that because of news values and perceived ethnic prejudices of editors and reporters, minority ethnic groups are represented in a biased way, with immigration viewed as a permanent threat and not as a normal phenomenon.

Van Dijk (1991; 1995; 2000) analyzes how the media in general and print media in particular represent ethnic and racial stereotypes and prejudice. Van Dijk (for example 1991 and 2000) focuses on how certain discriminating attitudes and assumptions are embedded in the media, as the media are never able to represent and reproduce events in their extensive entirety. Instead, events and their participants covered by the media are carefully selected. Thus, it is unlikely that ethnic and racial events, along with all matters covered by the media, will be “fairly” portrayed because of the selective nature of the media. Van Dijk (2000) studies some of the ways how the media are involved in the enactment and expression of negative portrayals of immigrants and minorities. However, the strategies discussed by van Dijk are not necessarily restricted to news on immigrants and minorities, as they appear to be evident in news coverage connected with ethnicity and nationality in general.

Van Dijk (2000: 36) sees the media, along with politicians, academics and professionals, as belonging to the elite discourse, members of which seem to have considerable influence over the mostly white majority and also over racial and ethnic minorities. In other words, the elites are “the group(s) in society who have “most to say,” and thus also have preferential “access to the minds” of the public at large“ (van Dijk 2002:



148). Van Dijk (ibid) argues that the elites are the ideological leaders of society who formulate and establish common aims, values and concerns along with so-called common sense, which is assumed to be the 'common stock of knowledge' that is shared by the public (Hall et al 1978: 61).

Van Dijk (1995: 10-11) concedes that mind control exercised by the media is never complete, as he (Van Dijk 1995: 10) stresses that media power is mostly symbolic and persuasive, meaning that even though the media have the ability and potential to influence the minds and opinions of media audiences, the media cannot directly control the actions of readers and viewers. In addition, it is important to stress that 'the media' cannot be considered to be one homogeneous whole with common agendas and ideologies, as what is considered 'the media' includes both major and mainstream publications and programs but also minor publications/the alternative media, which offer the means for democratic communication to those who are normally excluded from "traditional" media production (Atton 2002: 4).

Nevertheless, Van Dijk (1995: 12) states that the elite groups and institutions "may essentially determine who may say (or write) what, to whom, about whom, in which way and in what circumstances". Thus, it could be argued that those belonging to the elite, for example the mainstream media, are at least partly responsible for shaping and swaying people's beliefs and opinions. Van Dijk (2000: 37) claims this is because different media discourses are the primary and often the only sources of information on what are perceived as facts on topics of immigration and ethnicity. Van Dijk (ibid) also argues that most white readers do not come into contact with minorities often enough to challenge the opinions of the media, and minorities often either do not have access to biased reporting or do not have the power to oppose biased reporting. If minorities are covered in the media, they tend to be featured in news stories which reinforce negative prevailing opinions about them (van

Dijk 1989: 219). Van Dijk (2000: 37) believes that discourse on ethnic issues is widely accepted and seen as credible information, and this is largely because:

the typical sources for this kind of news [negative news stories about immigrants and minorities], viz. the authorities, and especially the national or local government, the police, the courts or state agencies such as employment or welfare offices, have preferential access to the media, because of their elite status, power, high credibility and because of systematic links with newsbeat routines. That is, their versions of the 'facts' will get routine attention, and they are represented as neutral or positive actors, so that, by contrast, more negative images about minorities will result. (van Dijk 1989: 220)

Van Dijk (2000: 38) claims that even though the number of topics in the media generally tends to be quite varied, news articles about immigrants and ethnic minorities are restricted to a relatively limited range of topics, which includes the arrival of immigrants and the majority's reactions to it, along with political reactions to immigration. In addition to the dominant group's reaction to immigrants, the media also covers social problems connected to the arrival of immigrants, for example problems with housing and employment (van Dijk 2000: 38). Another common topic related to immigration is that of crime, which means that news on immigration often covers the various ways in which immigrants break the law. By heavily focusing on instances of immigrants' criminal behavior and mostly ignoring the immigrants' lawful conduct, the media appear to imply that illegal behavior is an intrinsic part of settlers. Furthermore, van Dijk (*ibid*) states that news on immigration often tends to explore the ways in which immigrants and ethnic minorities are perceived as different from the majority population.

Even though the preceding section focused mainly on van Dijk's studies on immigration, it can be argued that the stereotypes discussed by van Dijk apply not only to immigrants but are also employed when talking or writing of ethnic/national "others", in general. In other words, stereotypes akin to the ones discussed in the previous section seem to be common in contexts which involve a dichotomy of (national, ethnic, racial) "us" versus (national, ethnic, racial) "them".

#### **1.1.4 Positive self-presentation and negative self-presentation**

Van Dijk (2000: 39) suggests that the abovementioned topics on immigration in the news can be collectively called a strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. This strategy seems to create a binary opposition between “us” and “them”, where “us” is the dominant group in a country and “them” represents the ethnic and racial minorities and immigrants. News reports that employ the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation highlight the positive actions of the dominant group and the negative actions of the minorities and immigrants. The negative actions of the dominant group and the positive actions of the minorities are given significantly less prominence (van Dijk 2000: 38) or thoroughly censored (van Dijk 1995: 20).

The media, meaning not only print media but also broadcast media, use various lexical, syntactical and stylistic devices and methods to report the positive actions of the dominant group and the negative actions and characteristics of the immigrants and minorities.

Van Dijk (2000: 39) claims that news articles today tend to avoid explicitly racist or prejudiced labels and words and use certain code words and metaphors instead. This means that the prejudiced and stereotyping attitudes towards immigrants and minorities are merely implied or presupposed, as much of the information presented by the news is “supplied by the recipients on the basis of their knowledge of the context and the real world” (van Dijk 2000: 40).

In conveying negative attitudes about immigrants, news reports often use various hyperbolic metaphors (van Dijk 2000: 43), the most common of which are military metaphors, which associate immigrants with words such as ‘army’ and ‘invasion’. The use of such metaphors is problematic, as they imply that immigrants can be seen as being violent and also a threat to host society (ibid). In addition to military metaphors, equally

problematic metaphors of threatening water are also used, for example the usage of words such as ‘swamp’ and ‘tide’ when talking about immigrants (van Dijk 2000: 44).

Van Dijk (2000: 45, 47) suggests that examples of the ‘number rhetoric’ or of the ‘number game’ can be often seen in news reports on immigration. Van Dijk (2000: 45) argues that numbers are often used as facts in news articles on immigration to add credibility and objectivity to the articles’ claims. However, van Dijk (2000: 45) seems to believe that numbers are mostly used to signify the size of threats and problems connected with immigrants.

The news coverage of immigration is also characterized by the explicit use of ‘ingroup designators’ (van Dijk 2000: 44), which mainly means the use of the pronouns ‘us’/’them’, ‘we’/’they’ and ‘our’/’their’. The aim of ingroup designators is to establish a clear contrast between the majority and the ethnic minorities (ibid: 44).

Van Dijk (2000: 44) also highlights the use of ‘rhetorical repetition’ which means that certain lexical items are repeated in articles on immigration to emphasize certain aspects associated with immigrants. For example, the repeated usage of the phrase ‘illegal immigrant’ emphasizes the association between immigrants and unlawfulness and crime (ibid). The usage of synonyms can be also seen as a way of rhetorical repetition. In another words, using synonyms is another way of repeating and consolidating a certain idea or belief about a group or phenomenon.

The abovementioned strategies are mostly lexical, but van Dijk (2000) argues that non-verbal devices are also used in the media to convey certain assumptions about “them” and to emphasize certain attitudes towards immigrants. For example, van Dijk (2000: 41) mentions different letter types, layouts and photographs. Moreover, van Dijk (2000: 44) claims that the usage of capital letters is a common way of graphically emphasizing and drawing attention on certain lexical items. Another way is the usage of bullet lists, which

work as mnemonic devices (van Dijk 2000: 47). However, at this point it should be mentioned that while the abovementioned strategies discussed by van Dijk are used in news on immigrants, they are not exclusive to the coverage of ethnic matters in the media but are common to news language in general.

On the basis of the above discussion it can be argued that the media tend to portray immigrants, along with ethnic and racial minorities, in other words “others”, mostly negatively. For example, news coverage of immigrants stresses their illegal activities and focuses on their perceived negative characteristics by using the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. This generally produces distorted images and perceptions of minorities but also of the majority groups, as the former tend to be portrayed too negatively and the latter perhaps more positively than seems realistic.

The preceding section focused on scholarship about the depictions of immigrants and ethnic minorities in the media. It was claimed above that ‘the media’ is not a homogeneous group and the same applies to ‘immigrants’, as they are of various ethnicities. Moreover, members of various ethnic groups covered in the media are not necessarily immigrants. Thus, it can be argued that the strategies discussed by van Dijk are used by the media when depicting ethnic “others” in general. It appears that the media tend to present a one-sided view of non-majority ethnicities and racial minorities in contexts other than immigration. It seems fair to claim that this one-sided perspective can lead to generalizations. Generalizations can, in turn, lead to stereotypes, which can be defined as “false and misleading generalizations about groups held in a manner that renders them largely, though not entirely, immune to counterevidence” (Blum 2004: 251). In relation to this study, it can be argued that there is a very thin line between generalizations and simple and crude ethnic stereotypes (Whannel 1992: 30). Furthermore, stereotyping can easily lead to obvious racism (Bernstein and Blain 2002: 15) or ethnic animosity. It can be argued

that ethnic and racial stereotypes constructed and disseminated by the media may be easily adopted and further spread by the consumers of media texts.

The strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation when discussing immigration can be seen as belonging to the broader notion of xenophobia, which can be defined as “the fear of difference embodied in persons or groups” (Berezin 2006: 273). In relation to notions of nationality and ethnicity, xenophobia can be broadly viewed as the fear or hatred of foreigners. Xenophobia can be viewed as potentially being a more serious and problematic notion than national stereotypes and generalizations, as the latter can be both negative *and* positive, while xenophobia is realized only in negative feelings and opinions about others; thus, it is possible to argue that xenophobia can lead to serious hate crimes perhaps more easily than the use of stereotypes. Negative feelings towards “others” appear to be most evident in reactions to immigration, and seem to have the most serious political implications. For these reasons, the notion of positive self-presentation and negative self-presentation in relation to immigrants has been perhaps studied more extensively than national stereotypes, which appear to be more widespread and activated, for example, in international and intercultural contexts.

Hence, it can be concluded that the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is most typical of but not exclusive to news associated with immigration, as national stereotypes are prevalent in media coverage including that of international sporting events such as the Olympic Games, which aim to be inclusive and tolerant events ideally accepting of everyone. However, this aim is almost never wholly met since these events are international competitions, which means that they can be viewed as being based on inherent “us” versus “them” rhetoric. In addition, the media coverage of these tournaments is often flavored with national and racist stereotypes and generalizations. Moreover, media coverage of these events seems to suggest the existence

of general characteristics of particular nations, as nations are routinely constructed as unified wholes with distinct common characteristics, which differ noticeably and clearly from those of other nations (Rowe 2009: 551). In other words, international sporting events such as the UEFA European Championship “accentuate a dichotomy of national ‘self’ and ‘other’ (Inthorn 2010: 791) and construct “distilled, concentrated representations of chauvinistic national identities based on binary constructions of ‘Us’ and ‘Them’” (Rowe 2009: 551). In short, these events are capable of adding to negative conceptions of “others” in societies.

## **1.2 Sport and the media**

Media scholars see sport as a very important and popular aspect of the media, as it is connected to a range of issues such as questions of identity and globalization (Bernstein and Blain 2002: 1). In fact, it can be difficult to analyze and discuss sport in contemporary society without recognizing the relationship between sport and the media, as the two domains have become associated to great extent (Bernstein and Blain 2002: 3). David Rowe (2009: 543) agrees with this view, as he claims that “the institutions of media and sport have increasingly converged over the last century, forming a media sports cultural complex of global proportions”. In fact, Rowe (2009: 547) suggests that media and sport are connected to such an extent that they are now viewed as inseparable, which has raised concerns whether the former holds too much power over the latter. Recent research on the connection between sport and the media recognizes the fact that the boundaries between representation of sport in the media, media production of sport and audience reception are often blurred and, thus, it is sensible to analyze these three domains which interact with one another together (Bernstein and Blain 2002: 2).

Particular attention perhaps should be paid to analyzing how media sport texts reproduce or challenge predominant ideologies in areas such as ethnicity, gender and race

(Rowe 2009: 543). Sport is often seen as an innocent realm, which is insulated and protected from common and mundane struggles of everyday social existence (Rowe 2009: 548). Consequently, sport is often constructed as a magical place characterized by fair competition and mutual respect (Rowe 2009; Jennings 1996; Humphreys 2008). However, these idealistic images tend to starkly contrast with reality. Through its competitive nature, sport has the potential to symbolize, crystallize and even exacerbate friendship but also conflict (Rowe 2009: 548).

In relating to the relationship between sport and the media, it can be argued that media sport texts have the clear potential to perpetuate, reinforce, reproduce and amplify ideologies of domination already present in the social institution of sport (Rowe 2009: 548-549), as media sport texts carry ideas about sport beyond its restrictive origins, meaning that sport is a domain which does not include only specific athletes participating in specific events, but also audiences; economic industries related to organizing the events; various governing bodies such as the Football Association in England; industries producing coverage of the events, athletes, managers of national teams and clubs; owners of clubs; anti-doping agencies and so on.

In addition, it is important to stress that football in England's or any other country's press cannot be read, understood or interpreted within a cultural vacuum, as every media text is contextualized within its own cultural, social, political, economic and ideological environment (Crolley 2006 : 1). In other words, it may seem that media texts about sport, for example, football matches, may seem to be "innocent", "neutral" and "objective" texts that simply represent and report the "facts" of an event. However, media sport texts do more than that, as they construct, reproduce and reflect various ideologies of nationality, gender, race, class and so on.



“Media considered worthy of investigation are typically those that have the potential for disseminating influential ideas, whether in the form of information, entertainment, or rhetoric” (Cashmore 2006: 170). Media texts on international sporting contests seem to be highly worthy of investigation, as they can spread influential ideas in all of the previously mentioned three forms. The most noticeable aspect of the coverage of major football tournaments is the “xenophobic cliché” (Garland 2004: 79) evident in many newspapers, but especially in tabloids, which not only has the potential to disseminate influential ideas but, in fact, does seem to influence people’s opinions on “other” nationalities.

### **1.3 Football and nation**

As was discussed previously, ethnic stereotypes and generalizations are most commonly found in news about immigration and ethnic and racial minorities. However, ethnic stereotypes, both negative and positive, are not restricted only to specifically immigration-related news, as ethnic prejudice and stereotypes appear to be quite common also in sports coverage and in football coverage in particular, at least in English football coverage as the situation may be different in other countries. Nations are pitted against one another in international competitions, and this seems to give the media the opportunity to highlight the supposed existence of national identities and characteristics and the perceived differences between nations. In other words, media coverage encourages people to “read these events through a nation-based grid” (Inthorn 2010: 791). Sports frequently create patriotic responses in the context of the Olympic Games or other major international competitions such as the FIFA World Cup or the UEFA European Football Championship where various national teams meet. Thus, sports that attract considerable passion from the audiences, for example football, can also become an arena where national sentiments can be expressed and national identities created and articulated (Blain et al 1993).

Football or any other kind of sport may at first appear to be merely a leisure activity, news coverage of which is typically placed at the end of news coverage or on the back pages of newspapers; thus giving the appearance that sport lacks the seriousness associated with political matters. However, news coverage of football can be seen as extending beyond mere sport journalism, as media coverage of football can be seen as a broader field of production with which various kinds of cultural, political and psychological issues can be associated (Blain and Boyle 1998: 370). News coverage of sport and the way in which sport is written about can be seen as a source of information about people's attitudes and beliefs. Hence, it can be said that in addition to offering coverage and results of various sporting events, news coverage of sports provides people a sense of who they are and what other people are like (Blain and Boyle 1998: 370). According to Bernstein and Blain (2002) news coverage of sport involves the interaction of three major domains in order to achieve this. Firstly, the process of producing information about people's attitudes and beliefs involves the production of mediated sport texts. Secondly, the messages and content of the mediated sport texts have an important role in producing certain attitudes and beliefs. Finally, the third important factor is the audience response to mediated sport texts.

The idea of the nation is often seen as a reference point in sports media, for example by drawing on national stereotypes and making numerous references to styles of play and fan behavior. Media coverage of international tournaments seems to suggest the existence of national characters and identities (Inthorn 2010: 791) and the interaction between media coverage of sport and nation is perhaps best manifested in international competitions such as the FIFA World Cup and the Olympic games (Rowe et al 1998). Media coverage of such international spectacles produces imagery and discourses of internationalism (Whitson and Macintosh (1996) in Bernstein and Blain 2002: 14).

However, the perceived and supposedly peaceful and inclusive internationalism often can turn into full-fledged nationalism or nationalistic reactions. Even though some authors have argued that the concept of the nation-state is no longer valid because of population shifts, immigration and multiculturalism of contemporary societies (Hunter 2003: 417), “nationalism as a human force is alive and kicking; some would say too hard” (Parris 2002). Relying on their studies, which analyzed media coverage of football in four European countries – England, Spain, France, Germany - Crolley et al (2000) restate that press coverage of international tournaments often relies on national stereotypes, and Crolley et al (2000) argue that there is reason to suggest these tend to be the same across European countries.

In addition, media coverage of major international sport events may be seen as providing an opportunity for the emotional display of patriotism (Billig 1995). Thus, one of the results of media coverage of sport is transforming an international sport event into a wider ideological process by representing sport as a ritual which heightens the connection between individuals as well enforcing their collective identification with the cultural and political community of their nation (Blain et al 1993: 45).

## 2 REPRESENTATIONS OF ETHNICITY IN EURO 2012 MEDIA COVERAGE

### 2.1 Media coverage of previous international tournaments

It appears that possibly during and after every major international football tournament, be it either the UEFA European Football Championship or the FIFA World Cup, experienced and aspiring researchers seem to feel compelled to analyze the ways how ethnic identity is portrayed in media coverage of major tabloid and broadsheet newspapers.

Several papers on questions of ethnicity and race in press coverage of major international football tournaments, for example Crolley et al (2000), Garland (2004) and Vincent et al (2010) refer to the coverage of the 1996 UEFA European Football Championship in England which is perhaps viewed as the nadir of xenophobic and jingoistic reporting. In the 1996 European Championship coverage the English are characterized by their fighting spirit and fair play; the French by their style and flair; the Germans by their aggressive strength and efficiency while the Spanish are seen as a tough and harsh nation (Crolley 2000: 126). While Crolley et al (2000: 107) highlight the presence of national stereotypes and military metaphors in Euro 96 coverage, they also suggest that the language used in Euro 96 coverage is inventive, varied, entertaining and also provocative. Vincent et al (2010: 202) suggest that the language of the Euro 96 coverage was perhaps more than just provocative, as newspapers such as the *Sun* and the *Daily Mirror* were criticized by the National Heritage Select Committee (1996: 1) for their “xenophobic, chauvinistic and jingoistic gutter journalism”, because of their use of headlines such as ‘Let’s Blitz Fritz’ and ‘Achtung Surrender’ (Vincent et al 2010: 202).

Nevertheless, not much seems to have changed during following World Cups and European Championships. For example, the coverage of the 2002 World Cup in Japan and

South Korea was very similar to that of Euro 96 in content and tone, namely in its use of war metaphors and antagonism towards “other” nations (Garland 2004: 89), as the tabloids “contrasted the ‘fair’ English with the ‘dirty’ foreigners (Garland 2004: 85). Garland (2004: 90) notes that even though the English fans appeared to be less xenophobic and chauvinistic than during the 98 World Cup in France and Euro 96, the tabloids’ coverage was, nevertheless, still quite aggressively nationalistic and flavored with “a kind of casual xenophobia” (Garland 2004: 81).

Vincent et al (2010: 202) argue that over time the media have increased their use of war metaphors and controversial reporting. Vincent et al (2010: 219) also conclude that their findings on the coverage of the 2006 World Cup in Germany do not differ much from the studies of Maguire and Poulton (1999) or Maguire et al (1999), for example, as many newspapers still drew on images of the Second World War, since the papers extensively used military rhetoric and xenophobic headlines which included puns that evoked negative German stereotypes. However, Vincent et al (2010: 219) find that the coverage of the 2006 World Cup, xenophobic and stereotyping as it was, nevertheless was not quite as inflammatory and adversarial as that of Euro 96.

Thus, it can be argued that very little seems to have changed over the years, as coverage of recent tournaments seems to be (almost) as xenophobic as in the reporting of Euro 96. Therefore, it will be interesting to see whether there have been any significant changes in the coverage of the 2012 European Championship, or whether the media still rely on the “xenophobic cliché” (Garland 2004: 90), “casual xenophobia” (Garland 2004: 81) and “jingoistic gutter journalism” (National Heritage Select Committee 1996: 1) of Euro 96.

## 2.2 Methodology

This study can be placed in the broad field of discourse analysis. ‘Discourse’ is understood here as a form of social practice where the discursive event is socially shaped but also socially shaping (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 28). In other words, discourse can be seen as a language act which helps to make symbolic constructs real (Jacobson 2002: 174). These constructs are used to make sense of reality but also to construct and reconstruct reality (Jacobson 2002: 174).

This study employs textual analysis, as it is an unobtrusive tool which can be used to expose the explicit but also implicit ideas conveyed by the newspapers (McKee 2003). In doing textual analysis the researcher does not aim to find out the “correct” interpretation of a text. Rather, the aim of textual analysis is to find out what kind of interpretations are produced by a text, and which interpretations seem to be most likely in particular cultural contexts (McKee 2003: 67).

Online versions of the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Telegraph*, both national daily newspapers, were analyzed for this study. These papers respectively represent the tabloid press and broadsheet papers, and thus can differ in their content, style, tone, and demographic. Hence, it was decided to analyze representative papers of both the tabloid press and the quality press in order to get a more complete understanding of how national identity is covered in football writing. The paper focuses on the vocabulary and style used by these papers in their coverage of the nations participating in the 2012 European Championship (henceforth Euro 2012)

Because of the limited scope of this paper and in order to focus on a particular type of football writing, it was decided to analyze only match reports, meaning that no pre- or post-match coverage was included. The articles were collected during the length of Euro 2012, which lasted from the June 8 to July 1. As thirty-one games were played during the

tournament, the corpus analyzed for this study consists of sixty two articles, since the paper examines two newspapers.

All 62 match reports were carefully read and analyzed, highlighting phrases related to national identity. Careful attention was paid to the use of metaphors, the most frequent and common of which were certainly military metaphors. The analysis is largely based on the work of Crolley et al (2000) and Crolley (2006). Both of these studies draw their data “from a number of ‘quality’ daily newspapers that act as representative samples of the European press” (Crolley 2006; 9), in other words, data was drawn from broadsheet papers from England, France, Germany and Spain.

It has been argued that national stereotypes, compared with national identities, are very stable and to change very little over time. Thus, it was decided to examine whether the major stereotypes identified and discussed by the abovementioned authors, that is, stereotypes relating to England, Germany, France and Spain, also apply in the coverage of Euro 2012. Because of the limited scope of this study it would not have been feasible to analyze representative papers representing the previously mentioned nations, as was done in the studies of Crolley et al (2000) and Crolley (2006). However, the studies were chosen particularly because of their cross-cultural nature, as the results of these studies seem to support the claims about the iterative nature of national stereotypes in football media. Moreover, it was analyzed in the present study whether stereotypes about any other nations seemed to be as clearly defined and as frequent as those pertaining to the aforementioned nations. It was decided not to include the teams who did not advance beyond the group stages, as the teams who played only three games did not seem to provide enough material from which clear and systematic stereotypes could be constructed.

It was decided to analyze match reports from both a tabloid newspaper and a broadsheet paper. However, in the course of conducting the analysis it was seen that the

*Mirror*'s and the *Telegraph*'s coverage differs far less than might have been expected. In fact, the major differences were more in style and tone, as the *Mirror* repeatedly used puns, nicknames and had an overall more colloquial tone than the *Telegraph*. However, there did not appear to be many significant differences in content, as the nature and frequency of the stereotypes used in the coverage seemed to be very similar in both papers; thus, it was decided to analyze the papers together in a common narrative below.

In order to get a clearer picture of the analysis, it seems reasonable to give a brief overview of the major games, particularly of those concerning England. In the tournament the national teams were divided into four groups. England belonged to Group D, along with Ukraine, Sweden and France, and topped the group with seven points. In the quarterfinals England lost to Italy on penalties. Other quarterfinals were played between Germany and Greece, France and Spain, Italy and England, and Portugal and the Czech Republic. The semifinals were played between Italy and Germany, and Portugal and Spain. The tournament was won by Spain who beat Italy 4-0, thus defending their title, as Spain won the title also in 2008.

### **2.3 National stereotypes in Euro 2012 coverage**

Analysis of written media texts, in this case match reports, can show how various European nations – England in the context of the present study – view themselves, and how they are perceived by other nations; these processes can be called ‘autotypification’ and ‘heterotypification’, respectively (Blain et al 1993).

As has been argued, national stereotypes are neither permanent nor stable, as they change over time and need to be constantly reinforced. In addition, stereotypes are often paradoxical, meaning that a nation is often characterized by seemingly opposite and contradictory qualities (Crolley et al 2000). Lastly, stereotypes often manipulate reality to make a stereotype fit preconceived notions, thus preserving prevailing notions of national



identity (ibid: 126). In other words, when evidence seems to suggest a stereotype is inaccurate, “then the evidence itself is moulded by media discourse to fit the preconceived image even at the risk of setting up contradictions, inconsistencies, or discursive incoherence” (ibid: 120). The present analysis, therefore, analyzes the supposedly stable nature of national stereotypes relating to England, Germany, France and Spain, and the paradoxes and contradictions apparent in the stereotypes.

### **2.3.1 Military metaphors in Euro 2012 coverage**

International football matches may at first sight appear to be quite straightforward affairs, where one team, consisting of eleven players who happen to represent a particular nation, play against another team of eleven footballers who happen to represent their respective nation. However, football games are not just depicted as events where one team plays against another team. Rather, one nation is often viewed to be at ‘war’ or in ‘battle’ with other nations taking part in international tournaments.

In football writing footballers are often represented as symbolic warriors whose mission is to uphold the honor of their respective nation by protecting it from its “enemies”, so to speak (Billig 1995: 123). Military metaphors are not the only ones used by football media in general or the *Mirror* and the *Telegraph* in particular, as there are also references to machinery and (threatening) water, for example. For instance, in the quarterfinal against Spain France made an effort to “keep the foot on the pedal” (The *Telegraph*, 23 June), and in the final against Spain Italy were “swamped by the Spanish tidal wave” (The *Mirror*, 1 July). However, such metaphors are far less frequent in the coverage, which is dominated by military metaphors. The standard metaphors used in the context of football media are ‘attack’ and ‘defence’ (Beard 1998: 34). In fact, these are “official” terms in sport vocabulary, meaning that that the use of these terms is not exclusive only to sport media, but it certainly seems to be the most evident there. For

example, in Germany's group stage game against the Netherlands which the Germans eventually won the Dutch at least momentarily seemed to be the stronger team, as their "all-out attacking approach began to bear fruit for the Orange men [orange being the traditional color of the Dutch kit]" (The *Mirror*, 13 June). After England's first round game against France it is argued that the first half saw "the best and worst of England" (The *Telegraph*, 11 June), as the English were occasionally "defending so deep they were almost in the Crimea" (ibid).

However, the military metaphors used in the *Mirror*'s and the *Telegraph*'s coverage are not limited only to 'attack' and 'defense'. For instance, Portugal and Germany's first round group game came to life in the last minutes as Portugal "laid siege to the German goal" (The *Mirror*, 9 June). Spain's second round group game against Ireland saw the Spanish midfielder Cesc Fabregas "rifling past [Ireland goalkeeper Shay] Given with a well executed short corner" (The *Mirror*, 14 June). After Spain's third round group game against Croatia which saw Spain advancing to the quarterfinals it was declared that "The big guns are loading at Euro 2012" (The *Telegraph*, 18 June). The Dutch team's coach Bert Van Marwijk was apparently "dodging grenades because of his use of two holding midfielders" (The *Mirror*, 13 June) in the game against Denmark which the Dutch had lost. In Ireland's game against Italy, which Italy won convincingly 2-0, "the first signs of the Irish rearguard wavering rippled to the surface" (The *Mirror*, 18 June). England's second round group game victory over Sweden became "another huge step forward for [England manager Roy] Hodgson and his troops, who have demonstrated they can dig their way out of a crisis" (The *Mirror*, 15 June). After Ireland's first round loss to Croatia, it was argued that "avoiding defeat in last night's game was of paramount importance as the no-longer 'Lucky General' Trapattoni [manager of Ireland] sends his men into battle" (The *Mirror*, 10

June) against following opponents Spain and Italy in a complicated situation in which Ireland seem to have little hope of qualifying for the quarterfinals.

Thus, it can be said in conclusion that the preceding examples, which are just few among many, many more, demonstrate, firstly, that military metaphors indeed seem to be highly prominent in football writing, and, secondly, that the vocabulary and metaphors used are quite varied including allusions not only to standard metaphors of ‘attack’ and ‘defense’ but also to weaponry, to footballers as soldiers, and to high-ranking military officers, for example.

### **2.3.2 England**

It is probably no surprise that in English football writing the most positively represented nation is that of England. Stereotypes of England and the English also seem to be the best defined compared with other nations. Positive images of the English in general and players of the English national football team in particular often invoke “the metaphorical ‘bulldog spirit’ and ‘lionheart’ attitude of the English” (Crolley 2006: 19; Crolley et al 2000; Vincent et al 2010), as sports journalists seem to view these concepts as embodiments of the English people and of the desired spirit of the English national football team (Crolley 2006: 20). The image of the loyal and pugnacious bulldog has become an emblem of determined and patriotic Englishness (Crolley 2006: 20). Hence, the references to the ‘bulldog spirit’ are not exclusive only to sport media but appear also in a variety of contexts such as in satirical cartoons and advertisements (Crolley 2006: 20).

While the English players “were, indeed, “bulldogs”” (The *Mirror*, 24 June), it appears they were more akin to lions because of the various allusions to the ‘lionheart spirit’ and the ‘Three Lions’ logo, adopted by the English Football Association in the latter part of the 1990s as part of its branding for the England team (Crolley 2006: 20). The lion as a symbol “was thrust into prominence by the reign of Richard I, nicknamed the

lionheart, whose heraldic arms of the three lions became an English national emblem” (Crolley et al 2000: 111). Richard I earned the accolade ‘the Lionheart’ after his military exploits in the 12<sup>th</sup> century during the Third Crusade (Vincent et al 2010: 212; Crolley 2006: 20). After England had beaten Sweden 3-2 in their second group game, it was declared that “these lion cubs have claws” (The *Telegraph*, 15 June), thus referring not only to the image of the lion but also to ‘fighting spirit’ and ‘tenacity’, two values associated with the ‘lionheart’ image. When England advanced to the quarterfinals against Italy after beating Ukraine 1-0 in the last group game, it was argued that even though Lady Luck has “turned her back on the Three Lions so often, something special is stirring” (The *Mirror*, 19 June), as the game against Italy “is going to be epic, lions meeting gladiators” (The *Telegraph*, 20 June). After the English lost the “epic” game on penalties it was lamented that the “Three Lions lose another shootout” (The *Mirror*, 24 June), referring to English footballers’ supposed inability to beat an opponent on penalties.

As has been demonstrated, references to ‘lions’ are common but even more common are examples evoking the supposedly typical English qualities associated with the ‘lionheart’ image. Commitment, energy, fighting spirit, courage, determination, passion, patriotism, tenacity, pride, and ferocity are all seen as values associated with ‘the lionheart’ image and considered to be typical English sporting virtues (Crolley et al 2000: 109). By referring to these qualities, sport journalists reconstruct the myth of “the brave Englishman totally committed to his cause” (Crolley et al 2000: 111).

For example, during England’s first game against France England apparently wanted to see “an England team that had courage, determination, discipline and desire, heart and soul” (The *Mirror*, 11 June), and that apparently was what the English got, since the English team “played like a team that cared, that fought like lions, that ran itself to the point of exhaustion” (ibid). In their second game the English “demonstrated they can dig

their way out of a crisis” (The *Mirror*, 15 June), as they “stiffened their sinews, showed their pride, did what they had to do” (ibid). After beating Ukraine it was argued that even though England will have to play much better against Italy than they did against Ukraine they cannot “show much more courage and heart, the qualities that served them so well last night” (The *Mirror*, 19 June), meaning that “England will face Italy with respect but no fear” (The *Telegraph*, 20 June). Eventually though, England’s game against Italy resulted with “tears on my Pirlo” (The *Mirror*, 24 June), referring to the Italian midfielder Andrea Pirlo, even though England showed “sheer bloody mindedness [sic]” (ibid) and “resilience and organisation” (The *Telegraph*, 25 June), thus once again reconstructing the image of the determined and resilient Englishman who does not give up. The English might have played with the ‘lionheart spirit’ expected of them but that evidently was not enough as apparently “more guile was required” (ibid) of them.

All of the preceding qualities associated with the ‘lionheart’ image can be all seen as belonging to the notion of combat which seems to be overriding theme of British sport media’s construction of the ‘typical’ English image. The theme of combat also seems to be the overriding theme of the press coverage of the following nation Germany.

### **2.3.3 Germany**

It has been argued that the stereotype of Germany in British football press is probably as well defined as that of England (Crolley et al 2000: 111). While the (positive) stereotypes of the English are mainly based on their supposed ‘lionheart’ attitude built around the qualities of pride, fighting spirit, determination and so on, the image of the perceived characteristics of the Germans is based on the notions of efficiency, strength/aggression and self-belief.

In Euro 2012 coverage the most common of the abovementioned qualities seems to be that of strength/aggression. It has been argued (Crolley et al 2000: 111) that this myth

tends to be conveyed by military metaphors which often evoke Germany's role in the First and Second World War. Furthermore, it has been suggested (ibid) that references to warfare seem to be the most common when describing the German team. Hence, it can be said that associating the German team with military vocabulary serves to reinforce the "belligerent image of the Germans which has been circulating in many cultural arenas" (Crolley et al 2000: 111). While this paper does not aim to statistically prove the suggestion that references to warfare may be used the most often when writing about the Germans, the frequency of military metaphors in match reports on Germany's games seems to suggest this might just be true.

For example, in Germany's first game of the tournament which they won 1-0 they "battled their way past Portugal" (*The Mirror*, 9 June). In their second game against the Netherlands, which the Germans won 2-1, prolific striker Mario Gomez "unsheathed the old rapier again" (*The Mirror*, 13 June), meaning that the Dutch goalkeeper Maarten Stekelenburg had to "busy himself to prevent first-half carnage" (ibid). After Germany had taken the lead they became "ruthless" (*The Telegraph*, 13 June), as the Dutch were "sentenced to defeat" (ibid) by midfielder Bastian Schweinsteiger who set up both of Germany's goals. The Dutch may have started the game decently enough but in the end Germany "pulled them apart" (ibid). Germany started their third game against Denmark "with authority" (*The Mirror*, 17 June). They "remained camped in the Denmark half" (ibid) and sent "wave after wave of attacks" (*The Telegraph*, 17 June) the Danes' way. The Germans' aggression and strength was apparently seen as alarming by England, as their possible semifinal opponents showed no signs of being "battle weary" (*The Mirror*, 22 June) after the Germans' "four-goal demolition of Greece" (ibid). In this game against Greece the Germans were "rampant" (*The Telegraph*, 22 June), and the whole evening was apparently a lesson in "the ruthless reality of German's attacking power" (ibid). After all,

the Greeks may have equalized after Germany's first goal, but all their attempts merely "provided the catalyst for a rout" (ibid). Unfortunately for Germany, who are "all power, aggression, pace and penetration" (The *Mirror*, 28 June), their semifinal opponents were Italy who have never lost against Germany in "competitive combat" (The *Telegraph*, 29 June). This game was no different, as Italy won 2-1 and advanced to the final.

Another characteristic which is apparently also "very German", and also very common in Euro 2012 coverage, is that of efficiency. The idea of German efficiency at least partially seems to derive from "widely-held appreciations of the post-war German economic miracle" (Crolley et al 2000: 112). Germany reconstructed after the war swiftly and impressively, and, as a result, the German economy became the third strongest in the world (ibid). In addition, Germany became "something of a model of economic efficiency for her European partners" (ibid). In previous coverage of German football the imagery in British football media has constantly evoked machinery, "especially automotive machinery with which the modern German economy is inextricably identified" (ibid).

As was argued, the stereotype of German efficiency has been very common in football writing; in addition, the football media do not seem to employ this myth in particularly subtle ways. For example, the very first sentence of the match report on Germany's emphatic victory over the Netherlands, a rivalry which is "one of the fiercest in international football" (The *Mirror*, 13 June), argues that "it was bad enough when they [the Germans] used to win with dour efficiency" (ibid), referring to the myth of the German's "dull efficiency" (Crolley et al 2000: 126). After Germany won against Denmark it was slightly unwillingly claimed that "We [the English] have always begrudgingly admired their efficiency and admitted they are everything an England team should be." (The *Telegraph*, 17 June). Lest readers forget that the Germans are efficient, it was once again stated in a match report on Germany's quarterfinal victory over Greece that

“it wasn’t enough that in the group stages Germany demonstrated trademark efficiency and reliability” (The *Telegraph*, 22 June), as there was now apparently also a “demand for traces of Latin flamboyance” (ibid), which was “on full, ominous display” (ibid) in the second half.

In addition, as was previously stated references to the alleged German efficiency often employ images of machinery. For instance, the German squad against Greece in the quarterfinals included many new young players who, apparently, “slipped into the machine without a glitch” (The *Mirror*, 22 June). In the semifinal against Italy, though, “the mighty footballing machine” (The *Mirror*, 28 June) known as Germany could not cope with the Italian team and were beaten 1-2.

The third supposedly “typically German” characteristic alluded to in the *Mirror*’s and the *Telegraph*’s Euro 2012 coverage is that of German self-belief which often borders on arrogance. Germany had “caned” (The *Mirror*, 13 June) the Netherlands 3-0 in a friendly match in 2011 and, thus, Germany went into the group stage match against the Netherlands “with an all-to-familiar [sic] superiority complex” (ibid). Even though Germany eventually won the game 2-1, there were moments in the match where Germany’s win did not seem very secure. Nevertheless, the Germans “held their nerve, though, as Germans tend to do” (ibid). The German self-belief also seems to be realized in their ability to “contain technically superior teams, grind them down and beat them” (The *Telegraph*, 17 June). In the game against Greece, it was argued that “As may be expected of a German team the air of confidence about beating Greece was overwhelming” (The *Mirror*, 22 June).

In conclusion, it can be said that Germany and Germans seem to be characterized by three main key words – efficiency, self-belief, and strength/aggression – in the coverage of Euro 2012 and previous tournaments. All of the discussed qualities apparently are



something of a thorn in the English' side, as it is claimed that "We're used to them winning, it's the panache which kills us" (The *Mirror*, 13 June), thus implying that Germany's dull efficiency and arrogant self-belief, in fact, seem to be quite enviable qualities, at least from the English' perspective, as these days the English seemingly have to suffer "Germany frolicking to victory with a swagger in their stride and with a crafty wink to the galleries" (The *Mirror*, 13 June), meaning that Germany's efficiency is now mixed with apparent flair and panache, thus seeming to make the English particularly envious.

#### **2.3.4 France**

When talking or writing about the French English football writing has tended to refer to the myth of French flair (Crolley et al 2000: 112). The British apparently appreciate Gallic cuisine, life style and culture, and this appreciation is translated into football media by portraying France as a country who play with fine technique and great style (ibid: 112), that is, with artistic flair (ibid: 126). The visual imagery used to describe French players and French playing style often draws on notions of spectacle and the performance arts (ibid: 112). While references to French 'flair' were perhaps not as evident, blatant and common as references to German 'efficiency' and 'strength', one could still notice traces of the image of 'French flair'

When France played against England in their first group game, which ended with a 1-1 draw, English players had the task of keeping "the elegant mistrals of France at bay" (The *Telegraph*, 12 June), as the French were more technical "through the likes of Samir Nasri, Franck Ribéry and the terrific Mathieu Debuchy" (ibid). Even though the French team are possibly yet to reach their full potential, particularly after their unsuccessful 2010 World Cup performance in which the French did not even qualify for the knockout stages, the French, often referred to as 'Les Bleus', can still "look electrifying when their front

men gel” (The *Mirror*, 15 June). The French are apparently also known for their “typically fluid French midfield” (The *Telegraph*, 15 June).

France’s tournament ended with the quarterfinals in which they lost to Spain 2-0, meaning that the French team did not manage to advance beyond the quarterfinals for the third successive tournament. It has been argued that according to English football writing one of the main reasons for France’s apparent difficulties with reaching the latter stages of major football tournaments is a lack of self-belief (Crolley et al 2000: 113). As a result, match reports on the French football team often reconstruct the idea of the fragile French psyche (ibid). According to contemporary football writing this supposed ‘fragile psyche’ of the French seems to be manifested in the French squad’s internal conflicts, as it has been often reported that the French players are involved in confrontations and arguments on and off the pitch. After France’s 2-0 group stage win over Ukraine, it was argued that despite winning the game, France played as badly as they did in their “dismal World Cup campaign two years ago, a campaign destroyed by their egos and in-fighting” (The *Telegraph*, 19 June). It was also claimed that the French, who “have become their own worst enemy” (The *Telegraph*, 23 June) and who “seem to travel to major occasions like a squabbling family squeezed into the car on a jammed M5 to Cornwall” (The *Mirror*, 23 June), are “beset by squad disharmony” (The *Telegraph*, 23 June) and still troubled by effects of the “mutinous campaign” (ibid) of World Cup 2010. In conclusion, it can be said that the two most persistent myths about the French in football writing have been that even though the French are capable of playing with great ‘flair’, their ‘fragile psyche’ ultimately tends to let them down.

### **2.3.5 Greece**

The *Mirror*’s and the *Telegraph*’s coverage of Euro 2012 mainly draws on contemporary references to construct images of Greece, meaning that Greece and Greeks are seen mostly

in terms of Greece's ongoing financial difficulties, debt crisis, austerity measures and the need for bailout loans from the Eurozone countries and the International Monetary Fund. While national stereotypes in the media can be often merely implied and one may have to read between the lines to even notice the use of stereotypes, the references to the economic difficulties in Greece probably cannot be seen as subtle in any way in both the *Mirror* and the *Telegraph*. The Greek national team played four games in the tournament - three in the group stages and the quarterfinal - and references to the problems in Greece were made in most of the eight match reports.

For example, the first game of Greece against Poland "ended with an unlikely Greek Euro bailout" (The *Mirror*, 8 June), as Greece, who played with ten men for forty seven minutes, were "torn apart early on in a bankrupt performance" (ibid). However, despite starting the game "with all the security of...a dodgy Greek bank loan" (The *Mirror*, 8 June), Greece managed to equalize and the game ended with a 1-1 draw. It was also argued that the game, which was the first match played in the tournament, was uncharacteristically exciting for an opening game, and if the rest of the games were to be as entertaining as this one, "Uefa president Michel Platini will be counting on enough corporate sponsorship to revive the Greek economy" (The *Telegraph*, 8 June). In their second game against the Czech Republic, which the Greeks lost 2:1, the Greeks were to beat Russia in their final group game, in order to reach the quarterfinals and to "boost morale in their crisis-hit homeland" (The *Telegraph*, 13 June). Greece managed to beat Russia and played Germany in the quarterfinals game which was dubbed "the debt derby" (The *Mirror*, 22 June). Angela Merkel, the Chancellor of Germany, was in the audience and when she was shown on the stadium big screen, she was "jeered by Greek fans in a show of protest at Germany's role in their austerity measures back home" (The *Mirror*, 22 June). In the end, Greece, seen by many in Germany as a country that "ought to have

arrived with a ceremonial begging bowl rather than flag” (The *Telegraph*, 22 June), could not manage to beat Germany, as the Greeks were ‘brutally dismantled’ by Germany (ibid).

While the Greeks are portrayed mostly in terms of the Greek economy, both the *Mirror* and, especially, the *Telegraph* somewhat predictably also allude to Greek mythology. The first game against Poland “created the unlikely scenario of the Greeks cursing rather than worshipping a Tyton” (The *Telegraph*, 8 June), Przemyslaw Tyton being the Polish substitute goalkeeper and Titans being a race of deities in Greek mythology. After the Greeks’ loss to the Czech Republic, it seemed that “the gods are not smiling on the 2004 winners” (The *Telegraph*, 13 June), and Greece manager Fernando Santos “looked like he was carrying the weight of Atlas on his shoulders” (ibid), and he acknowledged his players “face a Herculean task to beat Russia in their final match” (ibid).

So even though the newspapers also use images from Greek mythology to portray the Greeks, the most commonly used references are to the difficulties in the Greek economy. In fact, Greece was the only nation that was seen so strongly in terms of contemporary events, as most of the other nations analyzed in this study were mainly portrayed through supposedly typical English/French/German/Italian qualities and characteristics. However, Greece was understood in terms of its economy, meaning that in very simple terms the general stereotype of the Greeks seems to be along the lines of “poor Greeks are poor because they have no money. Also, they are poor”.

### **2.3.6 Italy**

Compared to the *Mirror*’s and *Telegraph*’s portrayals of England and Germany, for example, stereotypes of Italy are perhaps slightly less clearly defined. However, one can still detect three characteristics which appear to be seen as “typical” of the Italians. Firstly, Italians are described in terms of their ‘artistry’; secondly, Italians appear to be considered ‘cunning’; and, thirdly, the Italians are apparently known for their ‘resilience’.

With regard to the firstly mentioned quality, that of ‘artistry’ it is claimed in the *Telegraph*’s match report on Italy’s game against Croatia that in this match “[Andrea] Pirlo and [striker] Antonio Cassano offered the artistry” (The *Telegraph*, 14 June). After Italy’s semifinal against Germany it was similarly declared that this game was “another Italian masterclass, orchestrated by Andrea Pirlo” (The *Mirror*, 28 June).

Italy’s game against Croatia apparently did not only highlight the Italians’ perceived ‘artistry’ but also their supposed ‘cunning’, as it is claimed that while Pirlo and Cassano may have offered the artistry up front, at the back there is, nevertheless, a “familiar cunning, assisted by the Italians’ historic ability to foul while seeming to be fouled and to cause an obstruction while perfecting the purest look of innocence” (The *Telegraph*, 14 June). After England’s loss to Italy in the quarterfinals it was lamented that England may have shown the resilience expected of them but they did not demonstrate the “guile” (The *Telegraph*, 25 June) that would have been required of them, thus seemingly implying that Italy won at least partly because of their apparent guile. After Germany had lost to Italy in the semifinals it was argued that Germany had “no way of coping or quelling Italy’s sheer cunning and intelligence” (The *Mirror*, 28 June), as the Italians’ “uncanny ability to find inspiration from scandal” (ibid) was on full display.

It is also implied that Italians are known to be resilient, as it is claimed that Italy are, in fact, “well equipped in the art of resilience” (The *Telegraph*, 10 June). The Italians’ apparent resilience seems to be connected to their perceived tendency to be involved in scandals of various kinds. For instance, after their first group stage match against Spain which ended with a 1-1 draw, it is argued that “Italy’s shirts may again be stained by match-fixing allegations” (ibid), referring to the ongoing investigation into alleged match-fixing in Italy’s second, third, and fourth football leagues. However, the argument continues that just like in the 2006 World Cup during which Italy’s football was similarly

marred with match-fixing, Italy proved that “there is no country more capable of finding redemption and proving very hard to beat in international tournaments” (ibid). After all, Italy won the 2006 World Cup against France.

### **2.3.7 Spain**

In tournaments dating back mostly to the 1990s the stereotype of Spain appears to have been defined similarly to that of England, Germany, and France, meaning that Spain tended to be associated with certain fixed qualities. Spain’s image appears to have been of a “tough, harsh and cruel nation” (Crolley et al 2000: 126). Moreover, Spain has previously been represented as a team that seems to ‘lack ambition’ (ibid: 113). However, in the *Mirror*’s and *Telegraph*’s coverage of Euro 2012 there seemed to be no overt references to the ‘harsh and cruel’ image. More importantly, the ‘no ambition’ theme was entirely non-existent. It has been argued that stereotypes tend to be paradoxical and often manipulate reality. However, representing Spain as a team who seem to lack ambition seems to be felt to contradict reality too starkly. After all, Spain went into the tournament as the defenders of the title, since Spain won the previous Euro title in 2008; in addition, Spain is also the current holder of the 2010 World Cup title. It was probably too difficult for the journalists to represent Spain as team that lacks ambition, as Spain had won the two previous major international tournaments, and was seen as the favorite to win Euro 2012.

Thus, sports journalists, at least those of the *Mirror* and the *Telegraph*, seem to prefer to focus Spain’s technical abilities. As was previously argued, stereotypes are often paradoxical and contradictory, and this was also evident in representations of Spain’s technique, as Spain’s tactics in football appear to be seen as “not all it’s cracked up to be” or “the best thing ever”, depending on which interpretation seems to be considered preferable at a given time. In relation to the first theme, Spain did not seem play as convincingly as seemed to have been expected of them, at least in the first games of the

tournament. Thus, Spain were said to be “far from their customary tiki-taka beauty” (*The Telegraph*, 18 June). It was also somewhat crudely argued that Spain, who “have often behaved like the most beautiful attractive girl in the club deciding she doesn’t need to make much of an effort to remind everyone how good looking she is” (*The Telegraph*, 18 June), offer “plenty of foreplay but no real action” (*The Mirror*, 27 June), referring to the opinion that Spain’s passing style of play is perhaps not the most exciting. When deemed appropriate, for example after Spain had beaten Italy 4-0 in the final, they were, however, lauded and almost emotionally praised. Their successive title, like their two previous ones, was apparently won with “style, class, sheer footballing joy” (*The Mirror*, 1 July), as the final was evidently “a thrilling 90-minute advertisement to the world over how the game should be played, with skill, movement, bursts of unstoppable pace, with pass after pass after pass. This was simplicity and beauty” (*The Telegraph*, 1 July).

As a result, it seems that Spain appears to be seen as a bit of a conundrum by sport journalists. Spain is probably considered to be the best team in the world, some would even say that the current Spain side is the best of all time. However, journalists seem unsure of how to “translate” Spain’s apparent quality in football into an easily comprehensible national stereotype. It seems that as long this is figured out sports writers prefer to focus on Spain’s technical talent, without making many references to Spain as a nation. In other words, bar the occasional and predictable ‘fiesta’ and ‘ole’ references, Spain does not seem to be associated with certain, fixed key words, at least in the *Mirror* and the *Telegraph*.

## CONCLUSION

The main aim of this paper is to analyze how national identity is represented and possibly even caricatured in the *Daily Mirror*'s and the *Daily Telegraph*'s Euro 2012 match reports. The papers were chosen mainly in order to have variety in register and style, taking into account that they may also differ in their representations of national identity. However, the paper is not a strictly comparative study, as the two papers did not differ in their use of national stereotypes and their language use was discussed together.

It appears that the general topic of national identity and football writing is of great academic interest, as papers similar to the present one seem to be written after every major international tournament, be it either the Euros or the World Cup. While the choice of this topic might have been partially influenced by the entertaining and occasionally amusing vocabulary choices used by the journalists, the main reason for analyzing this topic was largely based on the notion of international sports as an arena in which whole nations are often understood to be in direct competition with one another, which often results in the media coverage of such sporting events being flavored with national stereotypes.

As was previously argued, the theme of national identity in football writing seems to be analyzed after or during every international event. The particular angles of these papers may differ but the overall findings tend to be very similar. For example, studies of such kind mostly argue that football writing is characterized by the presence of an "us versus them" dichotomy and of military metaphors. Moreover, the English generally tend to be represented in terms of the brave and courageous 'lionheart' spirit; the Germans are seen as strong and efficient; while the French tend to be characterized by their 'flair' and 'fragile psyche'.

The present thesis cannot contradict any of the preceding, as one of the major conclusions of this paper is that football writing is quite remarkably persistent in its



continued reliance on the same metaphors from tournament to tournament. Just like in the coverage of previous tournaments the Germans were seen as a nation that is characterized by admirable efficiency, aggressive strength which often was depicted through the use of military metaphors and self-belief which might be interpreted as being arrogant. The English were understood mostly in terms of the ‘lionheart’ and ‘bulldog’ spirit, meaning that the qualities which were seen as “typically English” were ‘courage’, ‘determination’, ‘bravery’, ‘tenacity’, and ‘fighting spirit’. While the coverage of the French did also refer to their supposed ‘flair’, coverage of the French during Euro 2012 and also during the 2010 World Cup mostly seems to draw on the ‘fragile psyche’ image, which seems to be realized in the fact that the French squad seemingly tends to be involved in internal conflicts and squabbling. Italy seemingly tends to be seen as a nation which is characterized by ‘artistry’, but the Italians also appear to be seen as ‘cunning’. The coverage of Greece tended to be the most one-sided of all the nations taking part in the tournament, as the Greeks were portrayed solely in terms of the financial difficulties in Greece.

It can be argued that even though the stereotypes employed in the coverage of Euro 2012 did not seem to differ much from the coverage of previous tournaments, the general tone of the match reports seemed to be more muted than in the past, meaning that the coverage in the *Mirror* and the *Telegraph* was not quite as xenophobic, jingoistic, or antagonistic as might have been expected based on previous coverage and previous studies. Moreover, while stereotypes appear to be by definition something “negative”, the stereotypes used in Euro 2012 coverage did not necessarily focus only on the “negative” or “unfavorable” qualities of “them”, meaning nations other than England. For example, while it was suggested that the Italians are ‘cunning’ and have more ‘guile’ than the English, it seemed to be suggested that these are qualities which the English could benefit

from. Moreover, it was begrudgingly admitted that the English do seem to actually admire the perceived German efficiency and strength, and even appear to be quite envious of it. However, the way Greece was portrayed could be seen as quite crude, as it is highly questionable whether the economic troubles in Greece needed to be referenced as often and in the manner as they were.

The second significant difference was evident in the papers' representation of Spain. It was argued previously that stereotypes seem to stay consistently very similar in the coverage of international football. It is argued in this paper that this is generally true also of Euro 2012 with the one notable exception being the media image of Spain. In the *Mirror's* and *Telegraph's* coverage there seems to be no trace of the previous 'harsh and cruel nation' or 'lack of ambition' image of Spain. Even though it was previously argued that stereotypes often manipulate reality, it seems that these two images seemed to contradict reality perhaps too starkly and were, thus, abandoned entirely in the *Mirror's* and the *Telegraph's* coverage.

To conclude, it seems that national stereotypes employed by football writing seem to change very little over time. In addition, the stereotypes also seem to be very predictable. Hence, it does not seem entirely unreasonable to argue that it seems to be not so much a question of if but rather how many times Brazil and 'samba' will be mentioned together in the coverage of the 2014 World Cup held in Brazil, as 'samba' seems to be the common reference to Brazil in football media.

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## RESÜMEE

TARTU ÜLIKOOL  
INGLISE FILOLOOGIA OSAKOND

**Piret Rebane**

**National stereotypes in the *Daily Telegraph*'s and the *Daily Mirror*'s Euro 2012 match reports (Rahvusstereotüübid "Daily Telegraph'i" ja "Daily Mirror'i" 2012. aasta jalgpalli EMI mängureportaažides)**

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Annotatsioon:

Antud töö peamine eesmärk on uurida rahvusstereotüüpide kasutamise sagedust ja olemust pealkirjas mainitud ajalehtede mängureportaažides toetudes tekstianalüüsi metoodikale.

Töö sissejuhatuses antakse ülevaade spordist kui nähtusest, milles ning mille kaudu luuakse rahvuse, rassi, soo, klassi ning piirkondliku päritoluga seotud identiteete ning ideoloogiaid.

Esimeses ehk teoreetilises peatükis antakse esiteks ülevaade meedia rollist tegelikkuse kujundamisel ning kujutamisel. Seejärel antakse lühiülevaade tabloid- ning kvaliteetlehtedest. Järgnevalt analüüsitakse vähemusrahvuste ning immigrantide kujutamist meedias toetudes Teun van Dijki töödele, mis keskenduvad positiivse enesekujutamise ning negatiivse teiste-kujutamise strateegiatele. Viimaks vaadeldakse meedia ning spordi ja meedia, spordi ja rahvuse vahelisi seoseid.

Teises ehk analüüsipeatükis analüüsitakse rahvusstereotüüpide olemust 2012. aasta jalgpalli EMI kajastuses toetudes varasematele sarnastele töödele, et näha mil moel on rahvusstereotüübid jalgpallimeedias aja jooksul muutunud. Keskendutakse nõ suurtele jalgpalliriikidele, kelle kohta käivad stereotüübid on aja jooksul olnud sagedasemad ning selgemini defineeritud ja kinnistunud. Samuti keskendutakse sõjametefooride tähtsusele jalgpallimeedias.

Kokkuvõttes leitakse, et rahvusmeeskondade ning rahvuste kajastuses ei ole olnud märkimisväärsed muutusi, kuna inglasi kujutatakse jätkuvalt 'Lõvisüdame' kujundi kaudu ning sakslasi ja prantslasi seostatakse jätkuvalt vastavalt selliste omadustega nagu 'efektiivus, agressioon/tugevus' ning 'elegants ja õrn psüühika'. Samas tõdetakse, et stereotüübid ei olnud vahest nii ksenofoobsed, vaenulikud ja jämedad kui oleks eelneva kajastuse põhjal võinud eeldada.

Märksõnad:

Meediadiskursus, sport ja meedia, rahvusstereotüübid, rahvus, 'meie' versus 'teised', sõjametafoorid, tabloidid, kvaliteetlehed, jalgpall

**Lihtlitsents lõputöö reprodutseerimiseks ja lõputöö üldsusele kättesaadavaks tegemiseks**

Mina Piret Rebane

(*autori nimi*)

(sünnikuupäev: 23.11.1987\_\_\_\_\_)

1. annan Tartu Ülikoolile tasuta loa (lihtlitsentsi) enda loodud teose  
National stereotypes in the *Daily Telegraph*'s and the *Daily Mirror*'s Euro 2012 match  
reports

(*lõputöö pealkiri*)

mille juhendaja on Raili Marling

(*juhendaja nimi*)

1.1.reprodutseerimiseks säilitamise ja üldsusele kättesaadavaks tegemise eesmärgil,  
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1.2.üldsusele kättesaadavaks tegemiseks Tartu Ülikooli veebikeskkonna kaudu, sealhulgas  
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Tartus 17.01.2014\_\_\_\_\_ (*kuupäev*)

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