Discourse and Racism

Mariam Kareem Saeed

Introduction

 "Racism" is a stigmatizing headword and political "fighting word" that seems to be on almost everyone's lips today. Perhaps this is because the meaning of "racism" has become extraordinarily expanded and evasive.

 There is talk of a "genetic," "biological," "cultural," "ethnopluralist,"
 "institutional," and "everyday racism," of a "racism at the top," of an
 "elite racism," of a "racism in the midst," of and "old" and a "new" or "neoracism," of a "positive racism," and of an "inegalitarian" and a
 "differentialist racism." The starting point of a discourse analytical approach to the complex phenomenon of racism is to realize that racism, as both social practice and ideology, manifests itself discursively.

 On the one hand, racist attitudes and beliefs are produced and promoted by means of discourse; discriminatory exclusionary practices are prepared,
 promulgated, and legitimated through discourse.

 On the other hand, discourse serves to criticize, delegitimate and argue against racist opinions and practices, that is, to pursue anti-racist strategies.



The Concept of "Race": A Historical-political Etymological Overview

 It is currently an undeniable fact for geneticists and biologists that the concept of "race," in reference to human beings, has nothing to do with biological reality.

From a social functional point of view

- "Race" is a social construction.
- On the one hand, it has been used as a legitimating ideological tool to
 oppress and exploit specific social groups and to deny them access to
 material, cultural, and political resources, to work, welfare services,
 housing, and political rights.
- On the other hand, these affected groups have adopted the idea of "race." They have turned the concept around and used it to construct an alternative, positive self-identity; they have also used it as a basis for political resistance and to fight for more political autonomy, independence, and participation.

From a linguistic point of view

- The more frequent occurrences beginning in the sixteenth century, when the term appeared in English. It has, at different times, entered different semantic fields, for example:
- the field of ordinal and classificational notions that include such words as "genus," "species," and "varietas";
- the field that includes social and political group denominations such as "nation" and "Volk and, more rarely, "dynasty," "ruling house," "generation," "class," and "family";
- the field that includes notions referring to language groups and language families such as "Germanen" and "Slavs"

- The prescientific (up to the eighteenth century) meaning of "race" in regard to human beings was mainly associated with aristocratic descent and membership, to a specific dynasty or ruling house.
- The term primarily denoted "**nobility**" and "**quality**," and had no reference to **somatic criteria** yet.
- However, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries pseudobiological and anthropological systematizations soon conformed its meaning to overgeneralized, phenotypic features designated to categorize people from all continents and countries.
- The idea of **"race"** became closely incorporated into **political-historical** literature and was conceptually transferred to the terminology of **human history.**
- **'Race theorists'** interpreted history as a **"racial struggle"** within which only the **fittest "races**" would have the right to survive.
- They employed the **political catchword** with its vague semantic contours almost synonymously with the words "**nation**" **and "Volk**" for the purposes of their **biopolitical programs** of "**racial cleansing," eugenics, and birth control.**

How to Explain "Racism

Many approaches from different disciplines reflect on the **material**, economical, social, political, social psychological, cognitive, and other causes and motives for **racism**. The explanations offered by each have an important impact on the choice of **specific antiracist** strategies.



Social cognitive accounts

- Social cognitive accounts focus on social categorization and stereotyping, relying on the cognitive concepts of "prototypes," "schemas," "stereotypes," and "object classification.
- the way our minds work, the way we process information, may in itself be sufficient to generate a negative image of a group.
- Their concepts of society and social environment are quite static, and they assume that prejudicial apperceptions and categorizations (inherent in all persons) are inevitable and cognitively "useful."
- In presuming this, they risk playing down and even at least implicitly justifying racism as a "survival strategy."
- In addition, they cannot explain why some people are more **susceptible to racist** ideology than others.

Social identity theory

- It recognizes the importance of socialization and group experiences in the development and acquisition of social categories.
- From the perspective of social identity theory, the **social** structures **individual perception**, **identity**, and **action**.
- Individual perception is formed by patterns aligned with group memberships and non memberships. These learned patterns of perception tend to favor the in-group and to derogate the out-groups.
- The image of the in-group is more differentiated than the images of the out-groups, which, all in all, are much more characterized by "internal attributions" than the in group. Racism and ethnocentrism are, in large part, seen as the interpersonal result of group membership and as the psychological effects of identifying with a specific group in economic and social competition with other groups.

Psychoanalytical theories

- psychoanalytical theories tends to ascribe to all persons the same dependency on unconscious aggressions and fixations which undoubtedly characterize the inner life of neurotic and psychotic persons.
- In positing the "thanatos," that is to say, innate death instincts, many varieties
 of psychoanalysis naturalize aggressions against "the other" as an
 anthropological invariant and thus relinquish their political potential to be
 critical of society.

Critical theory

- They connect economic, political and cultural structures, as well as social dynamics, with the character structure of a person that has been fundamentally formed through childhood socialization.
- Thus, critical theory does not merely describe racist, and especially
 antisemitic, prejudice, but primarily tries to explain it in order to illuminate
 the conditions for the emergence and social maintenance of Nazi fascism
 and antisemitism and in order to help to eradicate authoritarianism and
 racist prejudice.

The colonial paradigm or race relations approach

- This approach views racism within the classical Marxist tradition as the consequence of colonialism and imperialism in the context of capitalism.
- It analyzes racism in the light of the development of a capitalist world economic system.
- "Race relations" is a "behavior which develops among people who are aware of each other's actual or imputed physical differences".
- "colonial paradigm," assuming that racism was created to legitimate colonial exploitation, externalizes the problem of racism one-sidedly.

Political economy of migration paradigm

- analyzes the processes of "racialization" in the capitalist centers in connection with migration, capital accumulation, and class formation. They focus on worldwide migration after 1945 as a consequence of uneven capitalist development on a world scale.
- They identify immigrant workers "as having a specific socio-economic function found in all capitalist societies, namely to fill undesirable jobs vacated by the indigenous working class in the course of the periodic reorganization of production.
- This stratum of immigration workers thereby came to constitute a 'lower stratum' of the working class which was thereby fragmented".

The postmodern approaches and the cultural studies perspective

- primarily try to analyze the cultural, ideological, and political construction of racism.
- They emphasize "that ethnicities, nationalisms, racism and other forms of collective identities are products of a process to be conceptualized as a cultural politics of representation, one in which narratives, images, musical forms and popular culture more generally have a significant role"

Racism after race relations paradigm

- he locates the explanation for racism in the "disorganization of capitalism," strictly speaking in a field of several contradictions "between:
- on the one hand, universalism and humanism, and,
- on the other, the reproduction of social inequality and exploitation"
- 1. The first contradiction in the conflict between the universalizing and equalizing tendencies embodied in the "commodification of everything" and the capitalist necessity to reproduce social inequality.
- Here, racism mediates ideologically by attributing specified essential, naturalizing traits to social collectivities, thereby justifying social inequality and uneven development.

- 2. The second contradiction is that "between the capitalist universalizing tendencies and the reality of extensive cultural diversity rooted in the disaggregation of social formations.
- Here, racism makes it possible to racialize social groups resisting capitalist "progress" as primitive and inferior.
- 3. The third contradiction is that between the economic globalization tendencies and the nationalization of social formations, that is to say, the partial confinement of capitalist relations of production within the political form of nation-states wherein political subjects are nationalized and racialized.



Five Discourse Analytical Approaches to Racism

it is time to turn to the **approaches** through which the **discursive** manifestations of racism have been analyzed.

1. Prejudices and stereotypes

- One of the first discourse analysts to attempt to study and categorize prejudiced discourse was Quasthoff.
- Quasthoff distinguishes between "attitudes," "convictions," and "prejudices."
- attitudes is the affective position taken towards a person one relates to and to whom one can express dislike or sympathy.
- **Convictions** ascribe **qualities** to others and often provide **rationalizations** for negative attitudes (e.g. *that "blacks smell bad"*).
- **Prejudices** are **mental states** defined (normally) **as negative attitudes** toward social groups with matching **stereotypic convictions** or **beliefs**.

For the purposes of linguistic access

- Quasthoff defines the term stereotype as the verbal expression of a certain conviction or belief directed toward a social group or an individual as a member of that social group.
- The stereotype is typically an element of common knowledge, shared to a high degree in a particular culture.
- It takes the **logical form** of **a judgment** that attributes or denies, in an oversimplified and generalizing manner and with an emotionally slanted tendency, particular qualities or behavioral patterns to a certain class of persons.
- **stereotypes** do not exclusively, or even primarily, appear as **warrants**. If they are used to support a claim, they appear usually as a **backing**.
- Moreover, stereotypes can themselves be either data or claims, supported, in their turn, by other kinds of propositions

2. The sociocognitive approach

- According to van Dijk, prejudice: is not merely a characteristic of individual beliefs or emotions about social groups, but a shared form of social representation in group members, acquired during processes of socialization and transformed and enacted in social communication and interaction.
- Such ethnic attitudes have social functions, e.g. to protect the interests of the ingroup. Their cognitive structures and the strategies of their use reflect these social functions.

For the elaboration of a discourse analytical theory about racist discourse

- one of the most valuable contributions of van Dijk's model is the heuristic assistance it provides in linking the generation of prejudice to discursive units larger than the sentence.
- Van Dijk's initial assumption is that those parts of long-term memory directly relevant to the production and retention of ethnic prejudices (recognition, categorization, and storage of experience) can be divided into three memory structures: semantic memory, episodic memory, and control system.

- 1. semantic memory is social memory: it is the **collectively shared beliefs** of a **society** are stored. These beliefs are organized as **attitudes**, which are of a **generalized** and **abstract** nature and are determined by their organization in **socially relevant categories** of the group that is being evaluated (e.g. *national origin* and/or *appearance, socioeconomic status,* and *sociocultural norms* and *values*, including *religion and language*).
- 2. Episodic memory retains personal or narrated experiences and events as well as patterns abstracted from these experiences. The listener constructs a textual representation of a story in episodic memory.
- General situational models are the link between narrated events or personally retained experiences and the structures of the semantic memory.

3. control system, is a **personal model** of the **social situation**. The control system's task is to **link communicative aims and interests** (e.g. persuasion) with the situational and individual **social conditions** (e.g. level of education, gender, and relationship to the person one is addressing).

- Van Dijk calls the processes involved in the perception, interpretation, storage, use, or retrieval of ethnic information about minority groups and their actions "strategies."
- The control system coordinates these various strategies and at the same time monitors the flow of information from long-term memory to shortterm memory, as well as the storage or activation of situation models in episodic memory.

 The interaction of these three memory systems thus both directly and indirectly influences the decoding and encoding – which take place in the short-term memory – of the received and/ or self-produced remarks about minorities.

3. Discourse strands and collective symbols

- **Duisburg group** are probably the most prominent researchers in Germany dealing with issues of **racism and discourse**.
- **The Duisburg group** has been very active not only in its research and documentation of **racism**, but also in proposing strategies **against it.**
- The main focus in many of the Duisburg studies is discourse semantics, and especially the uncovering of "collective symbols" that are tied together in "discourse strands," best explained as thematically interrelated sequences of homogeneous "discourse fragments" which appear on different "discourse levels" (i.e. science, politics, media, education, everyday life, business life, and administration).

- "Collective symbols" are designated as "cultural stereotypes" in the form of metaphorical and synecdochic symbols that are immediately understood by the members of the same speech community.
- Water " *natural disasters* like "avalanches" and "*flood disasters*,"
- all persuasively representing "*immigration*" or "*migrants*" as something that has to be "*dammed*," are examples of collective symbols, just as are the "*ship*" metaphor, symbolizing the effects of immigration as on an "overcrowded boat," and the "house" and "door" metaphor that metaphorizes the in-groups' (e.g. "national").

4. The Loughborough group

- They argue that attitudes and stereotypes are not simply mediated via cognition, but discourse is actively constitutive of both social and psychological processes, and thus also of racist prejudices.
- Racism must be viewed as a series of ideological effects with flexible, fluid, and varying contents.
- Racist discourses should therefore be viewed not as static and homogeneous, but as dynamic and contradictory. Even the same person can voice contradictory opinions and ideological fragments in the same discursive event.

- like the Duisburg group the Loughborough group stresses the context dependence of racist dis course, draw up a "racist topography" by <u>charting themes and ideologies</u> through exploration of the heterogeneous and layered texture of racist practices and representations that make up a part of the hegemonic taken-for-granted in this particular society.
- Similarities between the Loughborough and Duisburg approaches go beyond emphasis on context dependence and poststructuralist alignment.
- Somewhat similar to the Duisburg concept of "interdiscourse" (in which the shared culture and traditions of a society at a certain time are sedimented and conceptualized as systems of collective symbols) is the Loughborough concept of "interpretative repertoire".
- However, in its concrete analyses, the Loughborough group mainly focuses on narratives and argumentation and does not pay as much attention to metaphors or symbols

5. The discourse-historical approach

- One of the most salient distinguishing features of the discourse-historical approach in comparison to the four approaches already mentioned is its endeavor to work interdisciplinarily, multimethodologically, and on the basis of a variety of different empirical data as well as background information.
- Depending on the object of investigation, it attempts to transcend the pure linguistic dimension and to include more or less systematically the historical, political, sociological, and/or psychological dimension in the analysis and interpretation of a specific discursive occasion.
- the discourse-historical approach perceives both written and spoken language as a form of social practice

- We assume a dialectical relationship between particular discursive practices and the specific fields of action (including situations, institutional frames, and social structures) in which they are embedded:
- we consider discourses to be linguistic social practices that constitute nondiscursive and discursive social practices and, at the same time, are being constituted by them.
- "Discourse" can be understood as a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic (oral or written) tokens that belong to specific semiotic types (genres).

- "Fields of action" may be understood as segments of the respective societal
 "reality" which contribute to constituting and shaping the "frame" of
 discourse.
- **A "discourse**" about **a specific topic** can find its starting point within one field of action and proceed through another one.
- Discourses and discourse topics "spread" to different fields and discourses. They cross between fields, overlap, refer to each other, or are in some other way sociofunctionally linked with each other (some of these relationships are often described under such labels as "textual chains," "intertextuality," "interdiscursivity," "orders of discourse," and "hybridity"

Discursive practices are socially constitutive in a number of ways:

- first, they play a decisive role in the genesis and production of certain social conditions.
 This means that discourses may serve to construct collective subjects like "races," nations, ethnicities, etc.
- Second, they might perpetuate, reproduce, or justify a certain social status quo (and "racialized," "nationalized," and "ethnicized" identities related to it). Third, they are instrumental in transforming the status quo (and "racializing con cepts," nationalities, ethnicities related to it).
- Fourth, discursive practices may have an effect on the dismantling or even destruction of the status (and of racist, nationalist, ethnicist concepts related to it).
- According to these general aims one can distinguish between constructive, —>
 perpetuating, —> transformational, and destructive social macrofunctions of
 discourses.

- Our triangulatory approach is based on a concept of "context" which takes into account:
- 1. the immediate, language, or text-internal cotext, i.e. the "synsemantic environment of a single utterance (collocational particularities and connotations, implications, and presuppositions ..etc) and the local interactive processes of negotiation and conflict management (including turn-taking, the exchange of speech acts or speech functions..etc)
- 2. The intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres, and discourses (discourse representation, allusions/evocations, etc.);
- 3. The language-external social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific "context of situation" (the formality of situation, the place, the time ...etc.
- 4. **The broader sociopolitical and historical context** that the discursive practices are embedded in and related to, that is to say, the fields of **action and the history** of the discursive event as well as the history to which the **discursive topics** are related.

Five types of discursive strategies which are all involved in the positive self- and negative other-presentation.

- First, there are referential strategies or nomination strategies by which one constructs and represents social actors; for example, in-groups and outgroups. Among others, this is done via membership categorization devices, including reference by tropes like biological, naturalizing, and depersonalizing metaphors and metonymies as well as by synecdoches.
 Second, once constructed or identified, the social actors as individuals,
 - group members, or groups are linguistically provided with **predications**.

Predicational strategies may, for example, be realized as stereotypical,

evaluative attributions of **negative and positive traits** in the linguistic form of implicit or explicit predicates.

- Third, there are argumentation strategies, through which positive and negative attributions are justified, through which, for example, the social and political inclusion or exclusion, and the discrimination or preferential treatment, of the respective persons or groups of persons are suggested to be warranted.
- Fourth, discourse analysts may focus on the perspectivation, framing, or discourse representation by which speakers express their involvement in discourse and position their point of view in the report, description, narration, or quotation of discriminatory events.
- Fifth, there are intensifying strategies on the one hand, and mitigation strategies on the other. Both of them help to qualify and modify the epistemic status of a proposition by intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of *racist, antisemitic, nationalist, or ethnicist* utterances.

Thank you