

# 27 Discourse and Racism

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## 0 Introduction

Discourse plays a crucial role in the creation and reproduction of racism. 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, and discriminatory practices are prepared, promulgated, and legitimated through discourse. On the other hand, discourse serves to criticize and argue against racist opinions and practices, that is, to pursue anti-racist strategies. In our chapter, we adopt Garner's description (2010: 18):

Racism is a multifaceted social phenomenon, with different levels and overlapping forms. It involves attitudes, actions, processes and unequal power relations. It is based on the interpretation of the idea of "race", hierarchical social relations and the forms of discrimination that flow from this.

In the following, we focus on important aspects of connections between discourse and racism. After briefly reviewing relevant concepts of "race" and "racism" (Section 1), we discuss five discourse analytic approaches to racism (Section 2), including an illustration of our own *discourse-historical approach* by the analysis of a political poster taken from a radical right-wing populist election campaign in the city of Vienna in 2010 (Austria). Our conclusion poses questions that still remain unanswered (Section 3).

## 1 Concepts of "Race" and "Racism"

"Racism" can be defined as a stigmatizing flag word that is frequently instrumentalized as a political "fighting word" with a polysemic meaning. Most commonly, the concept

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refers to social discrimination (Reisigl 2007a) based on practices of racialization, that is, semiotic practices that construct social relations in terms of race categories (Banton 1977; Murji and Solomos 2005).

If not defined adequately, the terms "racism" and "racist" risk becoming analytically weak categories being used for too many and also quite different phenomena. Nowadays, we encounter a "genetic," "biological," "cultural," "ethnopluralist," "institutional" and "everyday racism," a "xeno-racism," a "racism at the top," an "elite racism," a "racism in the midst," an "old" and a "new" or "neo-racism," a "positive racism," and even a "non-egalitarian" and a "differentialist racism" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 5–10). Moreover, the specter of a new "cultural or culturalist racism" is also invoked as a feature of present-day patterns of social exclusion, related to the existence of a more deeply rooted structural racism pervading some of the key institutions of contemporary society (such as those regarding politics, the media, work, education, housing, and state services). Despite the obvious impossibility of clearly definable "races," racism is still flourishing in Europe and beyond – thanks to discriminatory discourses and related ideologies and policies.

Even for geneticists and biologists, the concept of "race," in reference to human beings, is not linked to biological reality; it presents a scientific artifact (e.g., Jacquard 1996: 20). 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 construct hegemonic collective identities and scapegoats: in this way, the concept of "race" can rationalize the claim of collective as well as individual superiority, and it can be used to exercise power, to oppress and exploit specific social groups. Often, "race" is employed to deny specific groups access to relevant resources, to work, welfare services, benefits, housing, and political rights. On the other hand, some targeted groups have adopted the idea of "race" and reversed it: to construct an alternative, positive self-identity, as a basis for political resistance (see Mecheril and Scherschel 2009: 53; Miles 1993: 28), and to fight for more political autonomy, equality, and participation.

From a linguistic point of view, the term "race" has no precise etymological history. The Italian "razza," the Spanish "raza," the Portuguese "raça" and the French "race" have been documented occasionally from the thirteenth century onwards, and with more frequent occurrences since the sixteenth century, when the term also appeared in English. It has, at different times, entered different semantic fields such as, (1) the field of ordinal and classificational notions (that include such words as "genus," "species," and "varietas"); (2) the field that includes social and political group denominations (such as "nation" and "Volk," and, more rarely, "dynasty," "ruling house," "generation," "class," and "family"); and (3) the field that includes notions referring to language groups and language families<sup>1</sup> (such as "Germanen"/"Teutons" and "Slavs") (see Conze and Sommer 1984: 135).

The commonsense meanings of "race" with regard to human beings (up to the eighteenth century) were mainly associated with membership of a specific dynasty. The term primarily denoted "nobility" and "quality," and had no reference to biological criteria. However, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, pseudo-biological and anthropological systematizations accommodated its meaning to overgeneralized, phenotypic features designated to categorize people, from all continents and countries. The idea of "race" was slowly incorporated into politico-historical literature and then transferred to the terminology of human history.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the concept, with its specific historical and national attributes, was linked to social Darwinism and became a buzzword outside the natural sciences. "Race theorists" started to interpret history as a "racial struggle" in which only the fittest "races" would (have the right to) survive. They employed "race" as a political catchword almost synonymous with the words "nation" and "Volk" for the purposes of their bio-political programs of "racial cleansing," eugenics, and birth control.

The radicalized "race" theory of the German antisemites and National Socialists in the tradition of Arthur de Gobineau, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and Georg Ritter von Schönerer syncretically linked religious, nationalist, economist, culturalist, and biologicistic antisemitism,<sup>2</sup> which then served as *the* ideology to legitimize systematic, industrialized genocide.

It was this use of "race theory" "that stimulated a more thorough critical appraisal of the idea of 'race' in Europe and North America and the creation of the concept of racism in the 1930s" (Miles 1993: 29).<sup>3</sup> Since 1945, use of the term "race" in German-language countries has been taboo. In France, the expression "relations de race" would also be regarded as racist (Wieviorka 1994: 173). On the other hand, the term "race relations" is still used in the United Kingdom and the United States. Research about racism should take into account these differences in language use. Misinterpretations may lead to difficulties in translation and even to mistakes in shaping different analytical categories when dealing with issues of racism (see Wieviorka 1994: 173).

Many approaches from different disciplines have reflected on the material, economic, social, political, sociopsychological, cognitive, and other causes for the continuing existence of racism and attempted explanations (for an overview see Garner 2010: 1–33; Poliakov *et al.* 1992: 145–96; Zerger 1997: 99–164; for a more detailed synopsis see Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 10–19). Like Miles (1994: 207), we recognize the multiple determination of racism. No mono-causal approach is able to grasp the entire complexity of racist discrimination. Racialization is criss-crossed by ethnic, national, gender, class, and other social constructions and divisions. Thus, viewing "race" or "racialization" as an isolated determinant of social relations remains short-sighted. Multidimensional analysis is required in order to develop promising anti-racist strategies: such an analysis necessarily requires accounting for similar and overlapping phenomena, like anti-semitism, nationalism, ethnicism, and sexism, as well as for problems of intersectional and compound discrimination (Makkonen 2002: 1).

We consider racism to be discrimination against racialized social groups or racialized imagined communities. Racism includes the following practices and processes in which discourse plays a crucial role (see also Rommelspacher 2009: 29):

- 1 Two types of differences, that is, natural and cultural differences, are marked and stereotypically generalized, as well as polarized, in order to construct homogenous groups or communities of persons (*marking of natural and cultural differences, group-internal homogenization, and polarization*).
- 2 These two types of differences are connected via the naturalization of cultural differences. This implies that fictitious or real, usually visible, more or less unchangeable features are linked – as allegedly natural traits – with social, cultural, or mental characteristics (*naturalization of cultural differences*).

- 3 This naturalizing social construction is accompanied by the hierarchization and negative evaluation of the racialized Other (*hierarchization and negative evaluation*).
- 4 Naturalized hierarchization and negative evaluation subsequently serve to *justify and legitimize power differences, (economic) exploitation and various practices of social as well as political exclusion* (Priester 2003: 250).

## 2 Discourse Analytical Approaches to Racism

### 2.1 *Prejudices and stereotypes as a basis of racism*

Racism is based on prejudices and stereotypes. Uta Quasthoff was one of the first to study prejudiced discourse. She regards *prejudices* as mental states (normally) including negative attitudes toward social groups as well as corresponding stereotypic convictions (1973, 1978, 1980, 1987, 1989, 1998). According to Quasthoff, a *stereotype* is the verbal expression of a certain belief directed toward a social group or an individual member of that group and shared to a high degree in a particular culture (see Quasthoff 1987: 786, 1978). It takes the form of an oversimplified and generalizing judgment that attributes or denies, usually with an emotionally biased tendency, particular qualities or behavioral patterns to a certain class of persons (Quasthoff 1973: 28).

Quasthoff's investigations cover various kinds of social prejudices and stereotypes – not only racist and nationalist ones.<sup>4</sup> According to Quasthoff (1973), the sentence is the linguistic unit most amenable to her type of analysis. However, Quasthoff (1987: 786, 1989: 183) emphasizes that although “the grammatical unit of the linguistic description of stereotypes is the sentence, [that] does not mean that stereotypes empirically have to appear in the form of complete sentences. It solely implies that the semantic unit of a stereotype is a proposition, i.e. reference and predication, as opposed to a certain form of reference as such.”

Since 1973, Quasthoff has conducted empirical analysis of stereotypes in very different kinds of discourse, among others, in everyday argumentation (Quasthoff 1978, 1998) and narratives (Quasthoff 1980), thus broadening her linguistic horizons to social prejudice and transcending the single-sentence perspective. When, for example, she applied Toulmin's argumentation schema (1969) to the micro-structural level of argumentation, Quasthoff concluded that stereotypes do not exclusively, or even primarily, appear as warrants. If they are used to support a claim, they appear normally as a backing (Quasthoff 1978: 27). Moreover, stereotypes can themselves be either data or claims, supported, in their turn, by other kinds of propositions (for a detailed overview of the concept of stereotype see Reisigl 2008 and 2009).

### 2.2 *The sociocognitive approach to racism*

The model of prejudice developed by Teun van Dijk is partially based on socio-psychological considerations similar to those of Quasthoff. According to van Dijk, prejudice is a socially

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 in-group. Their cognitive structures and the strategies of their use reflect these social functions. (van Dijk 1984: 13)<sup>5</sup>

Van Dijk focuses on the “rationalization and justification of discriminatory acts against minority groups” in much more detail than Quasthoff (van Dijk 1984: 13). He designates the categories used to rationalize prejudice against minority groups as “the 7 Ds of Discrimination.” They are dominance, differentiation, distance, diffusion, diversion, depersonalization or destruction, and daily discrimination. These strategies serve in various ways to legitimize and enact the distinction of “the other” – for example, by dominating minority groups, by excluding them from social activities, and even by destroying and murdering them (van Dijk 1984: 40; see also van Dijk, this volume).

Since the 1990s, van Dijk has conducted a series of important case studies on “elite racism” and racism in the press as well as in politics. Van Dijk (2004: 351–2) distinguishes between two forms of racist discourse: (1) Racist discourse directed *at* ethnically different Others is produced by dominant group members who verbally interact with members of dominated groups. This form of racist discourse (often realized as “everyday racism”) can be explicit and direct, or more subtle and indirect. It involves all levels of language use from intonation to pragmatics and nonverbal communication. (2) Racist discourse *about* ethnically different Others is normally directed toward other dominant group members. This form of discriminatory discourse may become visible both in informal everyday conversations and in “elite discourse” (van Dijk 2008). It can be found in parliamentary debates, TV shows, movies, news reports, editorials, textbooks, scholarly publications, laws, and treaties. It evolves at all levels of text and talk (including visuals) and around the two overall strategies of negative other-presentation and positive self-presentation (van Dijk 2004: 352).

Van Dijk identifies three main topic clusters in racist discourses relating to minorities and migrants: topics emphasizing the differences of Others, and hence their distance from the we-group; topics emphasizing that the behavior of Others is deviant and breaches the norms and rules of the ingroup; and topics referring to “them” in terms of a threat (van Dijk 2004: 352–3). Moreover, van Dijk (2004: 354) focuses on the generic formats typical of racist discourses: racist everyday stories differ from prototypical stories in various respects. Their complicating action usually relates to foreign neighbors, whereas orientation refers to the narrator and her or his we-group. The resolution is often left out, in order to put emphasis on the unsolved (alleged) problem with Others. In parliamentary debates, editorials, and scientific articles involving argumentation against the Other, authoritative sources are frequently referred to in order to support racist prejudices with an *argumentum ad verecundiam*. In addition, negative other-presentation in/on the press, film, TV, or the Internet is often connected with visual salience (important position in the layout, suggestive illustrations, and tables), whereas negative information about the racism of ingroup members is frequently backgrounded. Moreover, van Dijk stresses the difficulty of minority groups and minority journalists in getting access to leading media (e.g., van Dijk 2004: 354, 2005).

### 2.3 *Collective symbols, discourse strands, and dispositives supporting racism*

Siegfried Jäger and the Duisburg group are the most prominent discourse analysts in Germany dealing with the links between racism and discourse (see S. Jäger 1992, 2012; M. Jäger 1996; S. Jäger and M. Jäger 1992; M. Jäger and S. Jäger 2007; S. Jäger and Januschek 1992; S. Jäger and Link 1993; Kalpaka and Rätzzel 1986; Link 1990, 1992). Their research was triggered largely by the violent racism emerging after 1992, when new and stricter immigration laws were implemented in Germany. Simultaneously, the unification of West Germany and the former communist East Germany resulted in the eruption of racist violence against many foreigners, who were physically attacked and whose asylum homes were set afire. This violence is *inter alia* connected to the fact that German unification continues to pose cultural and economic problems for many Germans, especially in times of internationally far-reaching economic crises, and so foreigners constitute convenient scapegoats for these problems.

In various respects, the Duisburg group follows and extends the research of van Dijk. Most of the studies focus on discourse semantics, and especially on the uncovering of “collective symbols” that are tied together in “discourse strands,” which are best explained as thematically interrelated sequences of homogeneous “discourse fragments” (S. Jäger 2012: 80–1).<sup>6</sup> These fragments appear on different “discourse levels” (i.e., science, politics, media, education, everyday life, business life, administration). “Collective symbols” function as “cultural stereotypes,” in the form of metaphorical symbols and synecdoches that are immediately understood by members of the same speech community (see Link 1990, 1992). “Water,” natural disasters like “avalanches” and “flood disasters,” military activities like “invasions,” 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 those on an “overcrowded boat,” and the “house and door” metaphor that depicts the ingroup’s (e.g., “national”) territory as a “house” or “building” and the stopping of immigration as “bolting the door.”

More recently, S. Jäger has started to include the Foucauldian concept of “dispositive” into his discourse analytical framework (S. Jäger and Maier 2009). A dispositive is a heterogeneous ensemble of interrelated discursive and non-discursive practices and materializations that together serve to realize a (collective) plan by relating discourse, knowledge, and power to each other (M. Jäger and S. Jäger 2007: 103ff.). “Institutional racism” functions as an administrative dispositive, with stable elements of racism, including discursive practices, for example, laws and legal regulations, and non-discursive practices, for example, coercive deportation, as well as objectivations, for example, buildings such as prisons or surveillance cameras (M. Jäger and S. Jäger 2007: 105ff.).

Besides studying everyday racism, the Duisburg group frequently conducts media analyses, specifically of the leading German tabloid *Bildzeitung* (e.g., M. Jäger and S. Jäger 2007: 73–93), which runs large campaigns against foreigners and thus contributes to the normalization of racist attitudes “in the midst,” but also of the conservative broadsheet *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, the regional daily newspapers *Frankfurter Rundschau*, *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Rheinische Post*, and the liberal weekly

*Der Spiegel*. M. Jäger *et al.* (1998) illustrate how most of the papers tend toward singularization and individualization of (alleged) German perpetrators and toward collectivization of “foreigners” who have (allegedly) committed a criminal offense. They emphasize that “foreign perpetrators” are frequently marked by reference to their national or ethnic origin. The Duisburg group also focuses on media impeding integration: in this context, the group studies the German media coverage of the so-called “headscarf debate” (S. Jäger and Halm 2007) and the conflict about the cartoons depicting the prophet Muhammed first published in the conservative Danish daily *Jyllands-Posten* in September 2005 (M. Jäger and S. Jäger 2007: 109–60; see also Triandafyllidou, Wodak, and M. Krzyżanowski 2009). This type of critical media analysis can be embedded into the framework of a dispositive analysis, since media function as dispositives.

## 2.4 Discursive psychology of racism

Margaret Wetherell and Jonathan Potter (1992: 70) argue that attitudes and stereotypes are not simply mediated via cognition; rather discourse is actively constitutive of both social and psychological processes, and thus also of racist prejudices. Following Billig (1978, 1985, 1988) and Billig *et al.* (1988), they posit that racism should be viewed as a series of ideological effects with flexible, fluid, and varying content (Wetherell and Potter 1992: 59). 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 within the same discursive event.

Like the Duisburg group and the discourse-historical approach (Section 2.5), the Loughborough Group stresses the context dependency of racist discourse. They define their task as “mapping the language of racism” in New Zealand, and draw up a “racist topography” by charting themes and ideologies through exploration of the layered texture of racist practices and representations that make up part of the hegemony taken for granted in this particular society. They detect many ideological dilemmas and the manifest and latent argumentation patterns (Wetherell and Potter 1992: 178ff., 208ff.).

Somewhat similar to Link’s concept of “*interdiscourse*” (which refers to the shared culture and traditions of a society that are entrenched as systems of collective symbols) is the Loughborough concept of “interpretative repertoire”:

broadly discernible clusters of terms, descriptions and figures of speech often assembled around metaphors or vivid images ... systems of signification and ... the building blocks used for manufacturing versions of actions, self and social structures in talk ... some of the resources for making evaluations, constructing factual versions and performing particular actions. (Wetherell and Potter 1992: 90)

Over recent years, Wetherell and her colleagues have strengthened their efforts of methodological self-reflection. They have particularly become interested in the genre of research interviews as forms of social interaction and knowledge production, especially with respect to attitudes toward “race” and ethnicity (Wetherell 2004). Their interviews show that racializing and ethnicizing attitudes, as a part of the “lived ideology”

of interviewees, are often more contradictory and disorganized than is assumed by social scientists. These empirical findings lead to a re-evaluation of the theoretical concept of "prejudice." Among other things, Wetherell identifies various ideological roles of prejudice for white New Zealanders (i.e., Pakeha): their function to distract somebody from actual problems, to justify or rationalize individual behavior, to construct a positive identity, and so forth (Wetherell 2012).

## 2.5 *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, multi-methodologically 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 purely linguistic dimension and to include, systematically, the historical, political, sociological, and/or psychological dimension(s) in the analysis and interpretation of a specific discursive event (see, e.g., Matouschek, Wodak, and Januschek 1995; Mitten and Wodak 1993; Reisigl 2011; Reisigl and Wodak 2001, 2009; van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999; Wodak 1986, 1991a, 1991b, 1996b, 2011a, 2011b, 2015; Wodak *et al.* 1990, 2009).

In accordance with other approaches devoted to Critical Discourse Analysis (see van Dijk, this volume), the discourse-historical approach perceives both written and spoken discourse as a form of social practice (Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Wodak 1996a). "Discourse" is understood as a complex of interrelated context-dependent semiotic acts (in the sense of semiotic tokens) that are situated within specific fields of social action and belong to conventionalized genres and subgenres (in the sense of semiotic types). They are socially constituted, socially constitutive, and related to a macro-topic. They are linked to argumentation about validity claims, such as truth and normative validity, involving several social actors who have different points of view (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 89).

"Fields of action" (Girnth 1996) are conceived of as segments of social reality which frame a discourse according to institutionalized functions. In the area of political action, we distinguish between the functions of legislation, the formation of public attitudes, opinions and will, the development of party-internal consent, the interparty formation of attitudes, opinions and will, the organization of international/interstate relations, advertising and vote-getting, governing as well as executing and administrating, and controlling as well as expressing (oppositional) dissent (see Figure 27.1). A "discourse" about a specific topic can have its starting point within one field of action and "spread" to other fields. Discourses cross between fields, overlap, refer to each other, or are in some other way functionally linked with each other (some of these relationships are described as "textual chains," "intertextuality," "interdiscursivity," "orders of discourse," or "hybridity;" see Fairclough 2010: 94ff., 102ff., 117, 180; Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 92).

Discursive practices are socially constitutive in a number of ways: first, they play a decisive role in the production of certain social conditions. Discourses serve to construct collective subjects like "races," nations and ethnicities. Second, they reproduce



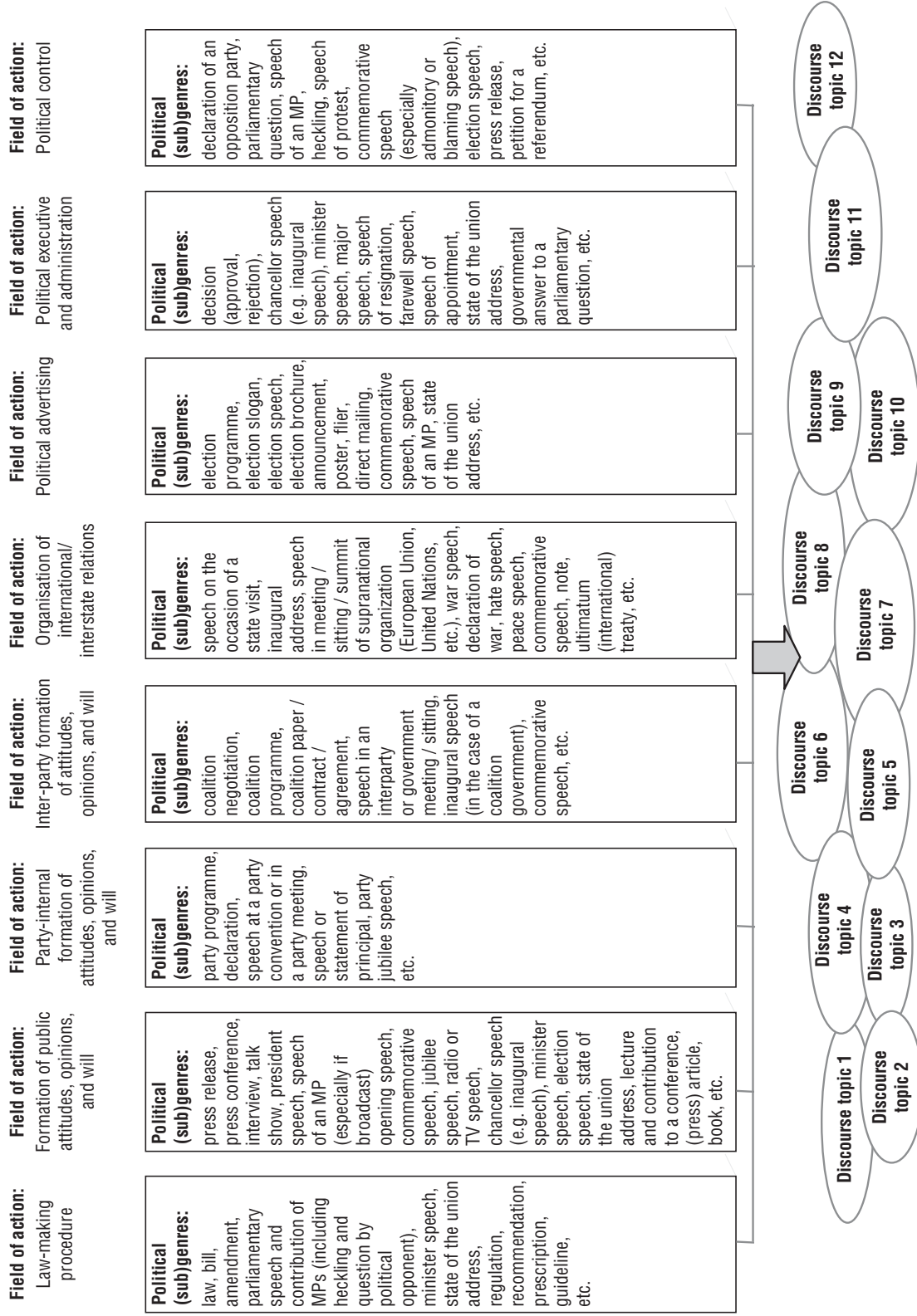


Figure 27.1 Fields of political action, political genres, and discourse topics (see Reisigl 2007b: 34–5; Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 91).

or justify a certain social status quo and the “racialized,” “nationalized,” and “ethnified” identities related to it. Third, they are instrumental in transforming the status quo and the “racializing concepts,” nationalities, and ethnicities related to it. Fourth, discursive practices have an effect on the dismantling or even destruction of the status quo and the racist, nationalist, and ethnicist concepts related to it. According to these general aims, one can distinguish between the constructive, perpetuating, transformational, and destructive macro-functions of discourses.

The discourse-historical approach relies on a concept of “context” which takes into account:

- 1 the immediate language, or text-internal co-text and co-discourse, of utterances and the local interactive processes of negotiation and conflict management;
- 2 the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres, and discourses;
- 3 the language-external social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific “context of situation;” and
- 4 the broader sociopolitical and historical context that the discursive practices are related to (for more details see Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 41).

There are several discursive components that can be identified when racialized people are discriminated against. They can be analyzed with respect to five types of discursive strategies, which are all employed for positive self- and negative other-presentation. By “strategy” we generally mean a more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a certain aim.

- 1 First, *nomination strategies* construct and represent social actors, for example, ingroups and outgroups, via membership categorization devices, including making reference by tropes, such as naturalizing and depersonalizing metaphors and metonymy, as well as by synecdoche (see Zimmerman 1990).
- 2 Second, social actors as individuals, group members, or groups are depicted by predication. *Predicational strategies* may be realized as stereotypical attributions of negative and positive traits in the linguistic form of implicit or explicit predicates.
- 3 Third, there are *argumentation strategies* via which positive and negative characteristics are legitimized and racist discrimination against racialized Others is justified, usually by employing various fallacies.
- 4 Fourth, speakers express their involvement in discourse and express their point of view via *perspectivation, framing, or discourse representation*.
- 5 Fifth, there are *intensifying strategies* on the one hand, and *mitigation strategies* on the other. Both qualify and modify the illocutionary force of racist, antisemitic, nationalist, sexist, or ethnicist utterances (for more details see Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 44–85).

In a series of research projects on discourses about immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers in Austria, the UK, and elsewhere, this approach to discourse has been combined with corpus linguistics and the analysis of visual communication (e.g., Baker *et al.* 2008; Delanty, Wodak, and Jones 2011; KhosraviNik 2010; Krzyżanowski and Wodak

2009; Richardson 2004; Richardson and Wodak 2009a; Richardson and Wodak 2009b; Wodak 2011c, 2011d, 2015; Wodak and Richardson 2013).

In the following, we illustrate the discourse-historical approach with an example of political discourse taken from an election campaign in Vienna in 2010. This was launched by the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) – a radical right-wing populist party that has for decades capitalized on polarizing campaigns directed against both “the establishment” and ruling “elite,” and against “foreigners,” particularly Muslims, who are attacked from a nationalist, ethnicist, and racist point of view. The FPÖ’s former leader was Jörg Haider (Wodak and Pelinka 2002). Since 2005, Heinz-Christian Strache has been the party’s chairman. In August 2010, a provocative poster was distributed across Vienna (see Figure 27.2).



**Figure 27.2** Poster used by the FPÖ during the Vienna election campaign of 2010, with English translation.

© FPÖ; see also [www.helge.at/2010/08/reines-wiener-blut](http://www.helge.at/2010/08/reines-wiener-blut), © Helge Fahrenberger.

The poster is situated in the action field of political advertising.<sup>7</sup> On the left, we encounter a portrait of H. C. Strache, including a series of positive visual predications. Strache looks youthful and casual and is wearing a white shirt, unbuttoned at the top. His bright light-blue eyes address the viewers as potential voters. The figure of the politician is not positioned at eye level with the viewers, but slightly above. Strache, who was trained as a dental technician before becoming a professional politician, smiles with spotless white teeth. His complexion is suntanned and his hair tidy and brown.

At the top, on the poster's right, we find the party logo consisting of two elements: the party acronym FPÖ, standing for "*Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs*," meaning "Austria's Liberal Party," and the predication "*Die soziale Heimatpartei*," meaning "The Social Homeland-Party." The logo emphasizes the self-presentation of the party as liberal, social, and homeland oriented. These three predications fulfill the principle of multiple addressing. The party acronym satisfies traditional FPÖ voters and simultaneously represents the whole party. The attribute "social" is a positive signal to socialist voters who are dissatisfied with the social-democratic party. The German high-value term "*Heimat*" is intended to evoke patriotic feelings of belonging to the local community. It is primarily used by conservative people who are oriented toward traditional rural values and refuse geographic mobility, including immigration, which is often framed as intrusion disturbing the old-established community of the "real Austrians." The party logo is blue, white, and red. The red letter "Ö" (standing for "*Österreich*," i.e., Austria) forms the logo's center. It encircles an open white oval, thus symbolizing the Austrian flag and its colors (red, white, red). Blue represents the main color of the party (see Köhler and Wodak 2011: 70). The FPÖ is also referred to in terms of the color metaphor and synecdoche "*die Blauen*" ("the blues").

Beneath the logo, on the right, straddling the horizontal red line, there is a rhyme in red letters: "*Mehr MUT für unser 'Wiener Blut'*" ("More Courage for our 'Viennese Blood'"). And slightly beneath the rhyme, in black, we read: "Too much of the Foreign is not good for anybody." ("*Zu viel Fremdes tut niemandem gut.*"). The red message is more than twice as big as the line in black. The black message slopes slightly and is bordered by a black line that fades on the right side. Viewers are reminded of a postmark. Postmarks represent authoritative certification. In this sense, the illocutionary force of the black assertion is visually intensified.

However, it is the red message with its reference to "Viennese blood" which provoked huge public protest and accusations of racism. The rhyming speech act is an elliptical appeal in slogan-like nominal style, constructing a "we-group" characterized by its blood. The blood is specified as having the quality of being "Viennese." The biologizing metaphor of the blood with its localizing predication "Viennese" is ambiguous. Its use follows the principle of "calculated ambivalence," which is typical of party programs and populist rhetoric aiming at multiple diverse groups of recipients (see Engel and Wodak 2009; Klein 1996: 206f; Reisigl 2002: 170ff).

First, the blood, which is also visually symbolized by the red letters, stands for and, in this context, clearly implies biological descent, kinship, and ancestry. The opposition of "our Viennese blood" and the depersonalizing metonymy "too much of the Foreign" contributes to the naturalizing and homogenizing construction of a Viennese we-group allegedly threatened by too many foreign immigrants. The producers of the poster took precautions against a too literal biologist reading of "Viennese blood." The inverted commas mitigate the potentially racist meaning of the appeal.

Second, “Viennese blood” stands for Viennese culture, since “*Wiener Blut*” – and this is intertextually recoverable from the collocation – is the title of the well-known waltz and operetta by Johann Strauss (junior). Strauss and his music are identity brands for Austrian and particularly for Viennese culture. In this respect, the red and black catch-phrases construct an opposition between the Viennese and foreign culture, the latter being a threat to the former. However, it is worth looking at the respective text of Strauss’s operetta. The refrain starts as follows: “*Wiener Blut, / Wiener Blut! Eign’er Saft, / Voller Kraft, / Voller Glut. / Wiener Blut, / selt’nes Gut, / Du erhebst, / Du belebst / Unser’n Mut!*” (“Viennese blood, / Viennese blood! / Special sap / full of force, / full of fire. / Viennese blood, / exceptional good, / You turn on, / You liven up / Our courage!”). Contextualizing these lines within the plot of the operetta, it is obvious that boiling “Viennese blood” is considered to be responsible for various love affairs and embroilments, and that several of the operetta’s protagonists are “blue-blooded,” that is, aristocrats. In addition, we learn that the FPÖ’s claim for “more courage” can be linked intertextually to the libretto of the operetta, where Viennese blood is said to “liven up our courage.”

Yet it is clear that the FPÖ poster recontextualizes the motifs of “courage” and “Viennese blood” quite differently: here audacity is no longer connected to amorous passion and desire. The request for “more courage for our Viennese blood” presupposes that, nowadays, political opponents are not brave enough to engage in protection of the “Viennese essence” (both in its biologist and culturalist senses). The request and appeal suggest that the FPÖ, in contrast to the other political parties, is ready to defend this “Viennese essence” against “too much of the Foreign” and that it should thus be elected. The nominal ellipsis at the bottom of the poster, written in a mixture of upper- and lower-case white letters, concludes with the claim: “Therefore, Yes for HC Strache.” (“*Deshalb Ja zu HC Strache*”). The claim is visually supplemented by a circle marked with a seemingly hand-drawn red cross. In fact, the central message of the whole poster relies on the following argumentation scheme: “You should vote Strache and the FPÖ, because he and his party are more courageous than their political opponents and will stand up for “Viennese blood” and “defend us” against “too much of the Foreign.”

The statement “Too much of the Foreign is not good for anybody” has the form of a generalizing assertive speech act. The assertion functions as an indirect warning to everybody. It refers to the relationship between “Own” and “Foreign.” It appears somehow harmless, because it is linguistically mitigated by “too much.” That is to say: the assertion suggests that “one/everybody” can be exposed to a certain amount of “Foreign.” At this point, the question remains: What do Strache and the FPÖ consider being “too much of the Foreign”? The answer is not explicitly given in the poster, but rather intertextually in other election campaign material that contains anti-foreigner and particularly anti-Muslim statements and sentiments. One particular intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between the poster and other FPÖ election campaign material deserves attention.

Strache employs all the new communication formats and modes for his political propaganda (see also Wodak, Mral, and KhosraviNik 2013). Over the last few years, several right-wing populist rap songs have been recorded featuring Strache as a rapper. In the Viennese election campaign of 2010, a song with the title “*Wiener Blut*” (“Viennese blood”) addressed younger voters. This song recycled a song with the same title by the well-known Austrian popstar Falco. Strache’s rap contains the slightly extended

slogan: "Too much of the Red and too much of the Foreign, / neither is good for anybody! / Thus the slogan goes: / More courage for our 'Viennese blood' " ("Zu viel Rot und zu viel Fremdes, / beides tut niemand gut! / Deshalb lautet die Parole: / Mehr Mut für unser 'Wiener Blut'"). In contrast to the poster, the song's text specifies a warning against "too much of the Foreign." Strache claims that Islamists are intruding, that the Social Democrats intend to install a minaret with a muezzin in the town center of Vienna, that Istanbul's customs would become naturalized in Vienna and that criminal gangs of foreigners are terrorizing "our children," and so forth. This fear mongering had its intended effect: in the Viennese election, the FPÖ got 25.8 percent of the votes – 11 percent more than in 2005. In a public opinion poll after the election, 68 percent of the respondents who voted for the FPÖ argued that they did so because the FPÖ engages actively against migration (see Köhler and Wodak 2011: 73).

### 3 Conclusions

In this chapter, we have provided a necessarily brief overview of conceptions of "race" and "racism" as well as a synopsis of five discourse analytical approaches to the phenomenon of racism, and an illustration of the discourse-historical approach. We have argued that racism is a multifaceted and theoretically complex phenomenon that relates to many questions, such as: Which specific forms of "genetic," "culturalist," and "institutional racism" do we face nowadays and what leads to them? How do these different forms of racism manifest themselves in the specific discourses in various regions of the world? Is it possible to distinguish racism from other discriminatory phenomena like antisemitism, nationalism, ethnicism, and sexism? Which analytical – including discourse analytical – criteria can be used to distinguish between these different "-isms" and to identify intersectional as well as compound discrimination?

As early as the 1930s and during World War II, *critical theory* (e.g., Adorno 1973, 1993; Adorno *et al.* 1950; Horkheimer 1992; Outlaw 1990) combined neo-Marxism, politically committed psychoanalysis and sociopsychology in the attempt to answer some of the questions listed above. Critical theory relates economic, political, and cultural structures, as well as social dynamics, to the character of a person that has been formed through childhood socialization. Thus, it does not merely describe racist, and especially antisemitic, prejudice, but primarily attempts to explain it. Adorno (1973: 8) regarded insights into character structure as the best possible protection from the tendency to ascribe constant traits to individuals as "innate" or "racially determined." Moreover, Adorno (1973: 8) claimed that a specific character structure – an authoritarian personality – makes an individual susceptible to anti-democratic propaganda, especially under difficult social and economic conditions.

Many of the insights of early critical theory remain relevant to this day. However, we are aware that additional factors come into play in specific contexts where racist, xenophobic, Islamophobic, or antisemitic prejudices are expressed and vulnerable social groups are discriminated against – as experienced, for example, with respect to many incidents of racist violence in Greece and Hungary, in 2012 and 2013.

Some of these factors could partly be grasped by poststructuralist and postmodern approaches. *Postmodern approaches* and the *cultural studies* perspective (e.g., Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies 1982; Bauman 1989, 1991; Gilroy 1987; Hall 1978;

Rattansi 1994; Said 1993) particularly analyze the cultural, ideological, and political construction/s 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” (Rattansi 1994: 74). Rejecting Western “meta-narratives” constructed around “collective subjects” like “nations,” “races,” “ethnic groups,” and “classes,” postmodern approaches emphasize that the conceptual vocabulary of “nationalism,” “racism,” “ethnicism,” and “class struggle” no longer provides an adequate basis for a clear-cut taxonomy of violent social antagonisms. Multiple subjectivities and identifications, they argue, are changing under the “postmodern condition” of disembedding, decentering, de-essentializing, and reinventing traditions.

These developments ask for multidimensional and context-sensitive explanatory approaches beyond simple analytical dichotomies. “Racial” distinctions are being constructed and functionalized very strongly – again in the 21st century – in European Union member states and elsewhere. The emergence and rise of right-wing populist parties across the European Union as well as in the United States and the related rhetoric lead to the construction of new divisive cleavages in our heterogeneous and super-diverse societies – a social change triggered by fear of Islam (particularly since 9/11), by migration and globalization, by the financial crisis that began in 2007, and by many other developments. However, these factors do not entirely explain the emergence of racism, xenophobia, and antisemitism in relatively rich states like Austria, Denmark, Switzerland, or Finland, after 1989, and specifically in the second decade of the 21st century. In these states, old discriminatory ideologies and sentiments are re-activated (see Wodak and Richardson 2013) and integrated with new prejudices. Within these complex processes, communication via new and globalizing mass media is a key element. These media support the dissemination of a politics of hate and fear quickly to various parts of the world. Future research on discourse and racism will have to account specifically for their role in the discursive construction and reproduction as well as deconstruction of the racialized “Other.”

## NOTES

- 1 The contribution of philology and linguistics to the construction and taxonomy of “races” and to the legitimation of racism was an infamous one (e.g., Hutton 1999; Hutton 2005; Knobloch 2005). Philology and linguistics are (co-)responsible (1) for the confusion of language relationship and speaker relationship, (2) for the discriminatory hierarchy of languages and language types, and (3) for the metaphorical, naturalizing description of languages as organisms, which provided the basis for the connection and approximation of race and language classifications (see Römer 1989: 41ff.).
- 2 The terms “antisemitism” and “antisemitic,” which cover the entire range of religious, economist, nationalist, socialist, Marxist, culturalist, and racist prejudicial aversion and aggression against Jews, were most probably coined in 1879 by the antisemitic group surrounding the German writer Wilhelm Marr (see Nipperdey and Rürup 1972). At that time, the word “antisemitic” was

- employed as a self-descriptive, political “fighting word.” In 1935, the National Socialist ministry of propaganda (“*Reichspropagandaministerium*”) issued a language regulation in which it was prescribed that the term should be avoided in the press and replaced with the term “anti-Jewish” (“*antijüdisch*”), “for the German policy only aims at the Jews, not at the Semites as a whole” (quoted from Nipperdey and Rürup 1972: 151). Undoubtedly, the term “antisemitic” has been used in post-war Germany and Austria more often than during the National Socialist reign of terror. This is because the term has become a “stigma word” to describe others and its meaning has been expanded in the analysis of anti-Jewish prejudice of all kinds throughout history.
- 3 The term “racism” with its suffix “-ism” was probably first used in the title of an unpublished German book by Magnus Hirschfeld in 1933/4. In this book, which was translated and published in English in 1938, Hirschfeld argued against the pseudo-scientifically backed claim that there exists a hierarchy of biologically distinct “races” (see Miles 1993: 29). The actual linguistic “career” of the term started in the post-war period (Sondermann 1995: 47).
  - 4 For the concepts of “social” and “linguistic prejudice” see also Heinemann (1998).
  - 5 Van Dijk does not clearly distinguish between ethnicism, racism, and adjacent forms of discrimination (see also van Dijk *et al.* 1997), as he believes that they are fuzzy and overlapping concepts.
  - 6 A “discourse fragment” is a text or part of a text that deals with a specific topic, for example, the topic of “foreigners” and “foreigner issues” (in the widest sense) (S. Jäger 2012: 80).
  - 7 A detailed analysis of the poster can be found in Köhler and Wodak (2011: 69–73). See also Wodak and Köhler (2010).

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