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Analyzing Racism and Ethnic Prejudice in the Sudanese Political Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis

تحليل العنصرية و التحامل العرقي في الخطاب السياسي السوداني : تحليل خطاب نقدي

A thesis Submitted in fullfilment of the requirement for Ph.D. degree in English Language (Applied Linguistics)

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Dedication

To the people of my country . . Sudan

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to investigate the role of the discursive strategies of the political discourse reflected in the media discourse in the development, reinforcement, legitimating, and hence reproduction of racism and ethnic prejudice. It aims to investigate the role of the media, the proverbs and the used discourse strategies in developing racism and ethnic prejudice. The study investigates three types of discourse : the discourse of media elites , the discourse of a Sudanese newspaper, and the discourse of the Sudanese proverbs that contain any racial or ethnic content. The researcher used two methodologies : the first is the discourse historical approach , in particular, the strategies of positive self \ negative other presentation, in which the discourse is analyzed according the representation of self and others , this method used to analyze the media discourse of the newspaper *Akhbar Alyaom,* where the researcher traced the news coverage of the events in Darfur at the very beginnings of the conflict from January to June 2003, the same method is used to analyze the cultural heritage of Sudanese proverbs as a way to construct the collective mind . The second methodology is the semi structural interviews, which the researcher has conducted with four of the media elites who have a wide opportunity to speak and communicate their ideologies to the public. The findings of this study revealed that the media has an influential role in the developing, reinforcing, legitimating, and hence reproducing racism and ethnic prejudice. Moreover, there are certain discourse strategies that indicate the increasing under-lying ethnic or racial ideologies in the media and political discourse. Finally, the study finds that there are more than 3 0racial proverb that used regularly in our every day discourse.

مستخلص الدراسة

الهدف من هذه الدراسة هو دراسة دور الاعلام والاستراتيجيات اللغوية المستخدمة في الخطاب السياسي المنعكس في خطاب الاعلام، في تطوير واضفاء الشرعية واعادة انتاج العنصرية والتحامل العرقي. تهدف ايضا الي التحقق من الامثال الشعبية التي تكرس للعنصرية كاداة خفية لتشكيل الوعي الجمعي. الدراسة تحقق في ثلاثة انواع من الخطاب: الخطاب الاعلامي لصحيفة اخبار اليوم، خطاب اربعة من النخب الاعلامية، وخطاب الامثال الشعبية السودانية كاساس لتشكل معتقدات الناس ووعيهم استخدمت الباحثة منهجيتين لتحليل الخطاب السياسي: الاولى منهجية تحليل الخطاب التاريخي الجمعي تحديدا ثلاثة استراتيجيات للتعبير الابجابي عن الذات مقابل التعبير عن الاخر بصورة سلبية استخدمت هذه المنهجية في تحليل الخطاب السياسي في صحيفة اخبار اليوم، حيث تتبعت الباحثة التغطية الاعلامية لبدايات اندلاع الصراع بدارفور 2003، ايضا تم استخدام نفس المنهجية في تحليل خطاب الامثال الشعبية السودانية. اما المنهجية الثانية فهي الحوارات شبه الهيكلية مع النخب الاعلامية حيث اجرت الباحثة اربعة حوارات مطوله مع نخب اعلامية سياسية لها تاثيرها في مخاطبة الناس. اظهرت نتائج هذه الدراسة ان لوسائط الاعلام دورا مؤثرا فى تعزيز وتطوير واضفاء الشرعية، ومن ثم استنساخ العنصرية والتحامل الاثنى. وعلاوة على ذلك، هناك بعض استراتيجيات الخطاب التي تشير الى زيادة فى الايديولوجيات العرقية او العنصرية الخفية فى وسائط الاعلام والخطاب السياسى. واخيرا وجدت الدراسة ان هنالك اكثر من 30 مثل شعبي يكرس للعنصرية بصورة مباشرة ومستخدم بين السودانيين بصورة معتادة.

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Chapter One
Introduction

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

In the recent half of the twentieth century, many scholars adopted a more critical perspective towards language studies; they realized the great influence of discourse in our social and political life. This influence - which actually has been changing societies- makes them appreciate the importance of using language analysis as a method for studying various sciences such as social or human science including political science, psychology, sociology, literary and cultural studies, education.

The perception of discourse as just words, with no actual influence on our social life has no more been debunked. Racial and ethnic discourse could catalyze serious negative and violent consequences, as it has been witnessed in the ethnic conflicts, in South and West of Sudan, Rwanda, Cambodia, As well as in Austria, USA and every place where there is a bias in power among different ethnicities.

In Africa, racism seemed to be one of the most significant reasons for conflicts. South Africa has suffered from white racial discrimination for decades; the long history of the apartheid against black people still has its impact on social and political life there. Many of the armed conflicts turned into genocides here in Sudan in Darfur as in Nigeria (Biafra), Cambodia, and Rwanda.

These armed conflicts don't break out suddenly, they occur as a result for long suppression and unequal situations that are justified by governments. Legal distinctions between citizens and aliens, even between citizens themselves are

still considered legitimate in many spheres of life and seen as national and therefore justified ,like what is happening in many Gulf countries .

This study adopted the approach of van Dijk 1984 who considers ethnic and racial as synonyms, he equals the term ethnic with the term racial and considers the two terms as reflections for the same concept, and the study has adopted this approach in dealing with the two terms as synonyms, he states:

"Our usage of the term racism follows traditional terminology, but it is intended to cover also the notion of ethnicism. In this perspective, we sometimes use the term as an adjective, for instance, in combinations such as racist attitude, which in that case is synonymous with ethnic prejudice 'because of the negative implications of the term racist" (p.28)

The idea of dealing with racism and ethnicism as two similar concepts or two different ones is not the most crucial point in our study since they are social realities with their impacts on the social and political life, Smelser agrees by saying:

> *"The concepts of race and ethnicity are social realities because they are deeply rooted in the consciousness of individuals and groups, and because they are firmly fixed in our society's institutional life"(2001:3).*

Also, the study adopts the interest of van Dijk (2002) which is mainly on the analysis of the media discourse including the elites discourse, as it could be discriminating and hence, damaging. The role of the discourse that is used is highly influential, however media elites are much more influential in structuring power relations to establish, confirm or legitimate their abuse of power which resulted in different types of bias. The discursive construction of 'Us' and 'Them' is the foundation of prejudiced and racist perceptions and discourses. Moreover, this discursive construction may be used to*" problematize,*

marginalize, exclude, or otherwise limit the human rights of ethnic/ religious/ minority out group" .(Schaffner 2009:413).

The study of this discursive reproduction of racism through text and talk , provides not only a highly relevant field of application, but also more insight into the relations between various structures of text and talk on minorities also, the mental, socio-cultural, and political conditions, effects, or functions that is, various contexts of the reproduction of racism on the other hand. Overlapping with its sister discipline of linguistics, the study of racism in discourse shows how various grammatical structures, may express or signal the perspectives and ethnic biases of certain group speakers.(van Dijk 1993)

In this study, the adopted main methodological approach for investigating racism and ethnic prejudice in the Sudanese political discourse is: the critical discourse analysis,(hence CDA) which is one of the most popular interdisciplinary approaches that investigate racism : (van Dijk 1991,19093,1999,2000 Wodak 1999,2001,2006, Dovidio and Gaertner, 1986; Essed, 1991; Katz and Taylor, 1988;Wellman, 1993; Omi and Winant, 1994). Miles1993, Quasthoff 1973, 1978, 1980, 1987, 1989, 1998, Wodak and de Cillia 1988,Wodak, 1990a,1990b,1990c 1993,1996a,1996b,1997a,1997b,1997c,2000,, Riesigl and wodak 2001)

The major concern goes beyond the text to include the context with all its social, psychological, political and ideological components. CDA studies and analyses the written and spoken texts, to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias. It examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts."(van Dijk 1998: 13).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) attempts to "uncover the ideologies which contribute to the production and reproduction of power, it also has a political aim: It looks for how a discourse limits our understanding of the world (i.e. function as an ideology) but also for how they contain several competing discourses and therefore the possibility of dominant ideologies to be contested." (Pederson 2009). There are two major objectives of CDA : the sociopolitical objective and the problem oriented one, which gives CDA the favor of being much more serious and dynamic approach.

These characteristics make the use of CDA much more tempting to target political discourse as the most discourse that lacks trustworthiness, due to the way politicians 'non-communicate' essential meaning components what make it necessary to reveal this opacity (Holly 1989).

This study tries to reveal a part of this opacity by tracing racism and ethnic prejudice in the political discourse through the analysis of the media elite discourse. The overall ideological influence of the news media, on the structures and contents of social cognitions of groups is considerable, as van Dijk explains; the news media are the main source of information and beliefs used to form the interpretation framework for certain types of social and political events including those in the field of ethnic relations.(van Dijk 1993:242). Hence, media is one of the major influential reasons in reproduction racism or any other ideologies, as van Dijk stated: "it is shaping the social cognitions of the republic at large, if not of other influential elites" (1993:242). Van Dijk believes that media influence is of a strong power because of two things : its structural influence in shaping and changing the social mind, as mentioned above; news media is the main source of information and beliefs that is used in forming the interpretation framework for specific types of social and

political events. Moreover, other institutions elites need this power of the media to inform both the public at large and each other, to exercise their power, to seek legitimation, and to manufacture census and consent.(van Dijk 1993:243)

 The reproduction of racism and ethnic prejudice in Sudan Specially in the recent decades, has increased noticeably. Different political complications in dealing with such ethnic diversity in Sudan, has resulted in a long history of trust crisis on the political level and more recently in the separation of the South after the referendum of 2011 as a result of Nivasha agreement which gave the southern people the right to decide to continue as a part of Sudan or separate.

In this study, we are trying to analyze the discourse of the certain genre of media, particularly of specific Sudanese newspapers, and interviews with media elites who have a wide opportunity to speak and communicate their ideologies to the public .

Choosing to analyze the political discourse of media elites is justified in many respects , politician and journalists are the highly influential elites who are able to transfer racism to other groups in society by pre-formulating the elements of a discourse that may be taken up by segments of the public at large in a more blatant form. (vanDijk 1998)

1.2 Statement of the problem
The study seeks to investigate the role of the discursive constructions of the political discourse of the media discourse in the development, reinforcement, legitimating, and hence reproduction of racism and ethnic prejudice. As van Dijk puts it blatantly : "Besides necessary political action, scholarly work is needed to unravel and expose the prevailing myths about the role of the elite in ethnic affairs. (1993:17). It also examine the discourse of media elites and looks at what discourses/topics and micro-linguistic mechanisms are employed to

legitimize the self and delegitimize the other. Van Dijk argues that because elites attribute the problem of racism to other social groups, they fail to recognize and deal with the racism that the dominant class imposes. He examines elite discourse in the mass media, education, politics, and business to expose inherent, institutional racism.(1993:1).

The study analyzes media discourse in a Sudanese newspaper that tends to take the side of the government, the discourse is in the first six months of 2003, when the conflicts had just exploded in Darfur, in addition to interviews with four media elites .This case of critical discourse analysis attempts to reveal the hidden ideologies of racism and ethnic prejudice adopted by the elites represented in the politicians and journalists.

It is thought to be relevant to focus also on folk culture represented in the proverbs, to give a broader sight on the deep social layers since proverbs are a discursive representation to deep cultural and ideological perceptions about the other.

1.3 Significance of the Study

While it may take centuries to eliminate the prejudice underlying ethnic and religious tensions, incitement to ethnic and religious hatred by irresponsible elites like politicians, religious leaders and journalists might lead a peaceful country within only a few years or months into armed conflicts and genocides. The lesson Sudanese will learn is the need to be vigilant and to combat any advocacy of national, ethnic or religious hatred as early as possible and by all means.

An international trend of highlighting a broader use of discourse analysis in the political science show that problems in political science can in principle be studied more completely and sometimes more adequately when it is realized

that the issues have an important discursive dimension, as van Dijk (1998) stated: '' Linguists and critical discourse analysts should formulate a plea that advocates this broader use''(p.45)

Racial and ethnic prejudice, are some of the major keys in understanding the nature of the long history of trust crisis and conflict. However, if we just due all the political conflicts to racial prejudice, that would be naive. Politics as whole is a complex struggle of power, for the sake of each group's interest, People are aware of this, but the focus in this study is on the discourse representation of this particular influential key of racism and ethnic prejudice. Moreover, realizing the great influence of the political discourse on transforming the ideologies and decisions can raise the awareness of the political responsibility of controlling conflicts as earlier as possible.

1.4 Hypotheses of the study

The study is going to achieve the following objectives:

1- The role of the media discourse in the development, reinforcement, legitimating, and hence reproduction of racism and ethnic prejudice is influential.

2- The positive self and negative others strategies are influential strategies in the discourse of the Sudanese media discourse

3- The cultural heritage of Sudanese proverbs on establishing and entrench the concept of racism and ethnic prejudice amongst Sudanese is influential.

1.5 Questions of the study

1. What is the role of media discourse in developing, reinforcing, legitimating, and hence reproducing racism and ethnic prejudice?

2. What are the discourse strategies that indicate the increasing under-lying ethnic or racial ideologies in each newspaper ?

3. To what extent have proverbs managed to establish and entrench the concept of racism and ethnic prejudice amongst Sudanese?

1.6 Methodology of the study

This study is a qualitative research that used the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis in analyzing the political discourse in two newspapers texts and in the data of interviews with four Sudanese media elites

The main method in this study is inherited from CDA, the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA).This method was proposed by Ruth Wodak to get the entire picture by integrating as many of the genres of discourse referring to a particular political issue as possible, as well as the historical dimensions of that issue. Two strategies are used to analyze the political discourse ;

1. Referential or nomination strategy by which one construct and represent social actor, and analyze how persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions are named and referred to linguistically. (Riesigl & Wodak 2001:45)

2. Predicational strategy which investigates what are characteristics, qualities and features attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes. It is realized as stereotypical evaluative attributions of negative and positive traits in the linguistic form of implicit or explicit predicates. (Riesigl & Wodak 2001:45)

The second method is another analytical descriptive method, that is the semi-structural interviews which is crucial in social science research, to avoid bias, and to clarify the research domain or the specific research question, this type of

interviews can help the researcher in getting more representative idea about the political and social context and background.(Marriam 2009).

1.7 Limitation of the Study

The study analyzes racism and ethnic prejudice in the media discourse, that is taken from two sources of data, the coverage of two Sudanese newspapers in 2003, the study is limited in this year because it is the year that Darfur conflicts has exploded, and the government hasn't prevented the media from covering the events.

The texts of interviews which is conducted during 2017 with four media elites from different ethnic backgrounds with different levels of political ideologies

The study chose to interview four elites as a sample data.

The topic is new and complicated; it has various perspectives, however, in this study, the researcher focused on applying tow strategies only of DHA in analyzing the data of media discourse.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This literature review intends to familiarize the reader with the main approaches, theories that are related to the discursive racism in the media. This discursive construction of 'Us' and 'Them' which is a reflection of prejudiced and racist perceptions and ideologies, may be used to "problematize, marginalize, exclude, or otherwise limit the human rights of ethnic/ religious/ minority out group" .(Schaffner 2009:413).

The study of these discursive reproduction of racism through the political text and talk reflected in the media provides not only a highly relevant field of application, but also more insight into the relations between various structures of text and talk on minorities on the one hand, and the mental , socio-cultural, and political conditions, effects, or functions that is, various contexts of the reproduction of racism on the other hand. Overlapping with its sister discipline of linguistics, the study of racism and discourse shows how various grammatical structures, may express or signal the perspectives and ethnic biases of certain group speakers. (van Dijk 1993)

The general assumption guiding this study based on the research of 'Tuen van Dijk',one of the pioneer scholars in the studies of racism in discourse, in his book "racism and press" 1991, where he based his research on main assumption , that ethnic prejudices or ideologies are predominantly acquired and confirmed through various types of discourse or communication, such as socializing talk in the family, everyday conversations, laws, textbooks, government publications, scholarly discourse, advertising, movies and news reports. Since many of these types of text and talk are formulated by members of various elite groups, and since the elites control the public means of symbolic reproduction, it is further assumed that the reproduction of ethnic ideologies is, at least initially, largely

due to their `preformulation' by these elites, which therefore may be seen as the major inspirators and guardians of white group dominance. (vanDijk 1991:6)

We discuss all these related concepts and domains divided into two parts, the first one is the linguistic perspective of the study, which is the critical discourse analysis (CDA) and its political implications and discussions. The second one is about racism and ethnic prejudice, and all the relevant issues that discuss racial discursive representation in the media and press in particular.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis CDA

2.2.1 Analyzing discourse

It is all started during the recent half of the twentieth century, many scholars adopted a more critical perspective towards language studies; the huge impact of discourse in our societies become a subject of their research, this social impact makes them appreciate the importance of using language analysis as a method for studying various sciences such as social or human science as well . Chilton (2004) states:

" linguistics took enormous strides largely through the realization that language must be seen as an innate part of all human minds. Chomsky's influence is undoubted, as is the impact of the generative model of language with which he is associated." (p.1)

So, analyzing discourse is not a new approach; it has been carried out within this variety of social science disciplines since the days of Aristotle. What is new here is the theoretical and methodological interest in the way of studying the relationship between language and social and political action, Pederson believes that discourse and power differ in how they attach the concept of discourse to other concepts such as knowledge, ideology, ideas and truth. (Pederson 2009),

Thus, the main concept of this linguistic revolution, that discourse is considered as a social act or practice which can have its own impact on our social and political life. This critical analysis for the political discourse or any other types of discourse aims to prevail injustice, inequality, and other social problems, and take side with the powerless and suppressed.(Wodak 1989).

2.2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

This innovative approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), investigates and asks further questions about the relation between language and society through analyzing different types of discourse written or spoken**.** When we contrast the discourse analysis, with Critical Discourse Analysis, we will find an obvious difference by adding the critical perspective to CDA, van Dijk states:

"CDA is a critical perspective on doing scholarship: it is, so to speak, discourse analysis 'with an attitude' "(VanDijk 2001 :96). He sees CDA as a focus on "the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance" (1993.249). This explicit sociopolitical nature is what distinguishes CDA from other discourse analysis types. Van Dijk (1998:13) sees it basically as a field that is concerned with studying and analyzing written and spoken texts in order to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias. It focuses on how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts.

This role of context is highlighted in CDA to understand texts, without considering the surrounding context, the power of a text cannot be activated. Studying the text in relation to its context could reveal the ideological assumptions in addition to the decoding of propositional meaning of a text. Moreover, Interpreting texts according to their context, (social, historical, political and cultural context) is what gives CDA the nature of

interdisciplinarity and open characteristics . Research in CDA started to use this approach to analyze written and spoken texts from different sciences especially politics, trying to "reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias"(van Dijk 1997: 12). This political essence has been viewed by Pederson (2009) as a strong discourse - institution interwoven relationship, he states:

" In contrast to the theory of discourse, the critical discourse analysis distinguishes between discourse and institutions as two different types of social phenomena. It studies how discourse and institution interact in the constitution of a social world, and how discursive practices are institutionalized or are moved from being linguistic utterances to set conditions for stable social relations. While critical discourse analysis attempts to uncover the ideologies which contribute to the production and reproduction of power, it also has a political aim: It looks for how a discourse limits our understanding of the world (i.e. function as an ideology) but also for how they contain several competing discourses and therefore the possibility of dominant ideologies to be contested." (p.6)

There are many approaches that emphasize the connection between discourse and power, however, they differ in how they attach the concepts of discourse to other concepts such as knowledge, ideology, ideas and truth(Wilson 1990). CDA highly concerns these social problems and political issues what makes it the most suitable theoretical foundation and methodology as well, for this study.

It appears clearly now that, the two major objectives of CDA are the sociopolitical objective and the problem oriented one, which gives CDA the favor of being much more serious and dynamic approach . This revolutionary attitude of opposition against those who "abuse text and talk in order to establish, confirm or legitimate their abuse of power" (van Dijk2001:96), gives CDA the opportunity to be the voice of the suppressed people, however, it makes it sometimes swim against the political flow. This risk of starting an ideological, and sometimes political conflict with the politicians can expose CDA to be neglected and criticized, since it tends to accuse people and

institutions of being unfair toward the others. However, scholars of CDA tries as possible as they can to avoid being bias in their research, by integrating their work with a combination of multidisciplinary approaches, they include other disciplines and theories in the analysis of discourse in order to have a comprehensive picture about discourse in society with all its social, psychological, political and ideological perspectives.

2.2.3 CDA method and theory:

The nature of the analysis of the political discourse in CDA is interdisciplinary, which locates it in several levels:" in theory, in the work itself, in teams and in practice"(Wodak 2001.69), Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999, see also Fairclough,2000, 2001a), have advocated theoretical diversity, suggesting that researchers should be 'open to a wide range of theory' and should allow CDA to mediate interdisciplinary dialogue between social theories and methods (Fairclough, 2000, p.163). In arguing this case, Chouliaraki and Fairclough emphasize that the theory of CDA is a synthesis of theoretical positions and cannot be separated from method. The two components are regarded as mutually informing and developing each other, so that 'the ways of analyzing "operationalize" – make practical – theoretical constructions of discourse in (late modern) social life, and the analyses contribute to the development and elaboration of these theoretical constructions' (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p.17)

This challenging views about CDA as theory and method, open the door for many criticism. Some scholars think of this theoretical diversity as a sign of weakness in CDA ,for example , Widdowson (1998, p.137) accused critical discourse analysts of "a kind of *ad hoc* bricolage which takes from theory

whatever concept comes usefully to hand". Moreover, Luke (2002, p.98) argued that the tendency for critical discourse theorists to pull together a range of linguistic and social theories – so that those that lean 'toward comprehensive, rational grand theory' sit beside those with a 'radical skepticism toward system and structure' – makes the theoretical task a tricky one. And, of course, that tendency has been a source of criticism.(Henderson 2005)

According to Weiss and Wodak (2003, p.7), it is useful to think of CDA as 'a theoretical synthesis of conceptual tools'. They argued that a plurality of theory and method does not have to be considered unsystematic or eclectic, suggesting instead that it can be understood as a specific strength of CDA that provides opportunities for 'innovative and productive theory formation' (p.9). This conceptualization is reminiscent of Bourdieu's understanding of theories as sets of 'thinking tools' which can be used to work with the 'practical problems and puzzles' of research (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.160),allowing researchers to focus on the specific question of " What conceptual tools are relevant for this or that problem and for this and that context? " (Weiss & Wodak , 2003, p.7). Theory, then, can be understood as tools that researchers may apply or develop, to deal with the issues, problems, puzzles and difficulties that are at hand (Henderson2005).

This nature makes it convenient to be the method that is used in this study as to analyze the racial and ethnic prejudice that is found in the Sudanese political discourse. There are a crucial need to understand the surrounding context with all the economical, social, political, cultural, historical roots of racism and ethnic prejudice in Sudan in order to get a reliable interpretation and analysis.

Researchers may face this challenge sometimes , of having (CDA) as the theoretical grounding for investigating their hypotheses, and as the methodology

for analyzing data from a CDA perspective as well. So it is difficult as Henderson (2005) argues to 'successfully discuss the methodological use of CDA without referring to theory'. As Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) pointed out, method 'operationalises' and develops theory, and theory helps to construct method. In addressing the issue of whether a Faircloughian approach to CDA is method-driven or theoretically-framed, Henderson (2005: 5) argues that it is both, he states: "It is not a matter of either/or. Even though theory tended to be implicit in Fairclough's (1989) early work and was more explicitly identified in the work of Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), theory and method have both been there all along and work to inform each other". As Chouliaraki and Fairclough acknowledged, the relationship is a complex one.

2.2.4 CDA and social issues

Our complex modern world is full of struggles and contradictions in different issues that related to politics and its influences on society such as power, ideologies , identities, and hegemony , especially with the rise of nationalism and xenophobia as well .This makes it a huge challenge to explain these contradictions on many levels such as economics, science , technologies and so on .

   Critical discourse analysis starts from prevailing social problems and working on those who suffers and critically analysis those in power, those who are responsible, and those who have the means and opportunity to solve such problems" (Van Dijk 1986:4)

 This accusation against those who abuse power is proved by various reliable interdisciplinary methods that have been developed by CDA practitioners through years. Fairclough, who has intensive writings on CDA sees it as:

" A discourse analysis, which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony." (1993 :135)

These characteristics make the use of CDA much more tempting to target political discourse as the most discourse that lacks trustworthiness , due to the way politicians 'non-communicate' essential meaning components what make it necessary to reveal this opacity (Holly 1989:128). Thus, CDA tries to raise the awareness of its role in society by considering discourse as a social practice .As van Djik stated :

"It focuses primarily on social problems and political issues ." He explains: "CDA focuses on the ways of discourse structures, it tries to explain them in terms of properties of social interaction and especially social structure."(1998)

These targeted social problems and political issues is the main reason for choosing CDA as a tool of analysis in this study. The strong relationship between CDA and social justice encourage the researcher to adopt a mixed approach of CDA to investigate and trace racism and ethnic prejudice in the society. However these discourses which exercised by the elites specially in the media are powerful and influential on their audience, also in structuring power relation to establish or legitimate their abuse of power which resulted in different types of bias.

2.2.5 CDA : Theory and Methodology

Regarding the role of CDA in such fields, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) have also advocated theoretical diversity, however, they suggested that researchers should be 'open to a wide range of theory' and should allow CDA to mediate interdisciplinary dialogue between social theories and methods (Fairclough, 2000, p.163). In arguing this case, Chouliaraki and Fairclough emphasize that the theory of CDA is a synthesis of theoretical positions and cannot be separated from method. The two components are regarded as mutually informing and developing each other, Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999 give a justification by saying :

" the ways of analyzing "operationalize" theoretical constructions of discourse in social life, and the analyses contribute to the development and elaboration of these theoretical constructions" (p.17)

According to Weiss and Wodak (2003), it is useful to think of CDA as 'a theoretical synthesis of conceptual tools', a plurality of theory and method does not have to be considered unsystematic or eclectic, rather, it can be understood as a specific strength of CDA that provides opportunities for 'innovative and productive theory formation'(p.9) . Bourdieu's understanding of theories as sets of 'thinking tools' which can be used to work with the 'practical problems and puzzles' of research . Similarly, Henderson (2005) agrees that theory, can be understood as tools that researchers may \apply or develop, to deal with the issues, problems, puzzles and difficulties that are at hand.

2.2.6 language and Politics

The concept of political discourse has been used for centuries to describe political debate or deliberation in political theory and philosophy. However, it is

only within the last 40 or so years that there has been a theoretical and methodological interest in how to study the relationship between language and political action. This started in the 1960s in Europe as part of a philosophical renewal of the humanities (including the social sciences) later to be known as structuralism and post-structuralism, or in more general terms as the 'Linguistic Turn'. In the 1970's it spread to the USA with studies of how political concepts and political news play a role in the construction of social problems. Today there are several approaches to how to understand the role of language in politics."(Pederson 2009:1)

Historically, the study of language and its relation to politics began a long time ago. The Greco-Roman tradition of rhetoric, understood as the art of verbal persuasion, was a means of codifying the way public orators used language. In both the Greek *polis* and the Roman Empire, the rhetorical tradition played a central part in the training of political orators. This provided a framework for the observation of political verbal behavior that continued for many centuries (Chilton & Schäffner 1997: 206-07).

 The influence of ancient Greek on the foundation of rhetoric is considered the basic, Empedocles is considered the founder of rhetoric.

Then the Sophists came who were essentially instructors of rhetoric and writers of speeches. Socrat and Plato were the greatest Sophists then. After that period, Aristotle's book On Rhetoric appeared to be considered a classic in the study of the subject, he opens his book stating that there is nothing wrong with rhetoric, the persuasive use of language, as long as it is used rationally to demonstrate the truth. .(Moreno 2008) .Moreover , Aristotle (1253a7) mentioned politics and speech in the same paragraph when he gives his celebrated definition of human as creatures whose nature is to live in polis:

" But obviously man is a political animal, in a sense in which a bee is not, or any other gregarious animal. Nature, as we say, does nothing without some purpose; and she has endowed man alone among the animals with the power of speech ".

Chilton (2004) sees Aristotle's connection between the linguistic and the political make-up of humans has a fundamental implication. However, Politics still a matter of debate and controversy, there is no integral and universal conception of the term ,may be the answer of the question 'what is politics ?' is the whole science of politics (vanDijk 2001).

Thus, it is important to introduce the relation between our critical discourse analysis in one hand and political analysis in the other ,even each has different aims, theories and strategies ,we should advocate a broader use of discourse analysis in political science (van Dijk1997) .If we look at the cognition of the term ' political ' for political scientists , we will find that they have many approaches , one of the interesting and closely related to our study is Hay's (2002) who defines the term political in two senses, first : " political should be defined in a way as to encompass the entire sphere of the social"(p.3) .So social sphere is basic for political because of the emphasis that it places on the political aspect of social relations ,he considers that " all events, processes ,and practices which occur within the social sphere have the potential to be political"(p.3) .Second ,he sees politics and political as concerned with" the distribution, exercise and consequences of power". He stated :

" Politics is about power, about the forces which influence and reflect its distribution and use ; and about the effect of this on resource use and distribution about the ' transformatory capacity ' of social agents, agencies and institutions; it is not about government or government alone " (2002.74)

So, political analysis draws attention to the power relations implicated in social relations. Lakoff (1990) simply summarizes this political scientist's view with adding the linguistic concept which should be interwoven with political analysis in order to give a comprehensive cognition about the political discourse analysis. She states :

" Language is politics, politics assigns power…power governs how people talk and how they are understood. The analysis of language from this point of view is more than an academic exercise: today, more than ever, it is a survival skill."(p.7)

Chilton (2004) agrees with Lakoff's point of view and sees the relation between language and politics as fundamental, he stated:

" What is clear is that political activity doesn't exist without the use of language .It is true that other behaviors are involved and, in particular, physical coercion. But the doing of politics is predominantly constituted in language."(p.6) .

He even argues that without the 'socio-political functions' of the linguistic structures, most of the political interaction cannot be recognized.(2004:21) .This strong triangular relation between politics ,society and discourse is expressed by Fairclough simply, when stated :" We attempt to link social practice and linguistic practice, as well as micro and macro analysis of discourse" (Fairclough 1989: 97).

2.2.7   Political Discourse Analysis (PDA)

There have been many attempts to provide an adequate definition of the term Political Discourse Analysis,(hence PDA).However, there is a diversity among these definitions which is due to the interdisciplinarity and different perspectives that is taken towards analyzing political discourse. In general, trying to come to a statement of what is PDA, presupposes a study of the relations between

discourse, power, dominance, social inequality and the position of the discourse analyst in such social relationships, this comes to a complex, multidisciplinary and as underdeveloped domain of study, what makes Threadgold to call it ' sociopolitical discourse analysis' (Threadgold 2003) .

Political discourse is considered as an influential manner and persuaded tools on the audience, and the importance of political discourse analysis rely on particular genres who exercises their power and influence through these discourses, in addition to the role of defining politics and political institution which depends on the transference of the forms of utterance. About this influence Chilton (2004) states :

" Political actors recognize the role of language because its use has effects, and because politics is very largely the use of language ,even if the converse is not true_ not every use of language is political"(p.13)

However, parliamentary debate recognizes by the implicit and explicit rules which govern their conduct, then many political institutional genres appears in the public-sphere such the journalistic interview of politicians, and the idiosyncratic genres that function to manage the relation between individuals politicians and the electorate which can be described in terms of discourse and linguistic features. van Dijk states :

"A genre is a *type* of discursive social practice, usually defined by specific discourse structures and context structures as spelled out above. For instance, a parliamentary debate is a discourse genre defined by a specific style, specific forms of verbal interaction(talk) under special contextual constraints of time and controlled speaker change, in the domain of politics, in the institution of parliament, as part of the overall act of legislation, engaged in by speakers who are MPs, representative of their constituencies as well as members of political parties, with the aim (for instance) to defend or oppose bills, with formal styles

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of address and argumentative structures supporting a political point of view ...''(2002:150)

Thus ,political discourse is not a genre, but a class of genres defined by a social domain, namely that of politics (Van Dijk 1998b) and this description may overlap with the evolution of their value, deceptiveness, manipulate positional, and so on. The ambiguity of political discourse, that scholars face in their attempts to draw limitations to its nature can explain how this field is broad and complicated.

It is worth noting that we are going to deal in this study with certain type of CDA , which is thought to be much more convenient to analyse political discourse. Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) with its own theories and methods that is derived from the larger umbrella of CDA will be used in the discussion of the theoretical grounding of the study as well as the methodology. So we will refer to CDA as specifically PDA along the whole study. In this chapter, PDA is discussed from a likely more theoretical perspective, in order to understand the whole surrounding concepts that is founding the interrelated issues of racial and ethnic prejudice in the political discourse.

2.2.8 Political discourse criteria

Political discourse is a vague term if we think about all the surrounding participants and practices nature, for example, what text and talk is considered political, is it only the discourse that takes place inside political institutions by political actors such as parliaments members debates inside the parliament building?. Can we consider the discussions between people in the street or in restaurants about political issues as political discourse?

 'What is political discourse'' is a question that all scholars in the field try to answer, yet they haven't arrived to an agreed answer .Jaeger (2007) tries to

delimit the nature of a political discourse by determining two restrictions, firstly : " if it deals with matters of public interest such as general public affairs, for example housing or health services, activities of politicians, political parties or trade unions, foreign or home affairs, political aims and concepts, philosophies, ideologies, etc." Secondly, " if it deals with political issues but is not classifiable as an instance of the specialized discourse of political science. " (p.147). He explains :

"Indeed, political discourse is not characterized by any special structural, rhetorical, or stylistic features such as special metaphors, special sentence structures, special text types, etc. It draws on the full repertoire of a given language, although it may do so in special ways, depending on the context, aims, and topics of the specific text. In other words ,the political nature of discourse does not so much depend on the competence of individual speakers, it is more a question of their use of language, of their particular aims and intentions, and so on" (p.147).

Jaeger's attempt of delimitation has missed an important factor which is the political actors themselves as the obvious powerful factor in controlling political discourse. Since the simple traditional aim of political discourse is the production or the resistance of power, power abuse and domination, and this cannot be achieved without political actors of different levels such as presidents, members of the government and the public as recipients of political events. Van Dijk has made a more comprehensive delimitation, though he admits the complications that associate with any delimitation of the field. He defines political discourse with two overlapping ways. First, is by its all participants or 'actors'. This includes the professional politicians and political institutions on their local, national and international levels. Moreover, it includes various recipients in political communicative events such as the masses and the public as voters, members of pressure or demonstrators. VanDijk (1997) opens the possibilities for the political actors much more by saying :

" Once we locate the political discourse in the public sphere, many more participants in political communication appear in the stage" (p.13). Second, by focusing on the nature of the activities or practices being accomplished by political text and talk, rather than focusing only on the nature of its participants. By presenting his overlapping delimitation, Van Dijk concludes " we may finally take the whole context as decisive for the categorization of discourse as political or not". (1997.14).

So political discourse, as understood from this discussion, is not just the discourse of professional politicians or of political science, even though elements of these special discourses always attend into political discourse, as is the case with any special discourse. It is as that part of general or everyday 'inter-discourse' that deals with political topics and themes.(Jeager 2007)

Political discourse, is not only defined in terms of political discourse structures, but also in terms of political contexts. VanDijk (2005) explains:

" Acting as an MP, prime minister, party leader, or demonstrator will typically be perceived by speakers or recipients as a political relevant context category in political discourse, whereas being a dentist or a door keeper much less so. Similarly, political contexts may be defined by special settings, featuring locations such as parliamentary buildings or events such as debates or meetings, as often controlled by precise timing, as is the case in parliamentary debates." (p.733).

Moreover, political discourses and their structures will only be able to have the political functions they have when they are enacting political acts or processes, such as governing, legislating, or making opposition, and with very specific political aims in mind, such as defending or defeating a bill or getting elected. And finally, political actors obviously do not participate mindlessly in political situations, but have political knowledge, share political norms and values, as well as political ideologies. Indeed, it is through this form of contextualization

that we are able to link the ideologies of the participants to their discourses (Gumperz, 1982). This link is clearly understood as vanDijk (2005) explains :

" those ideologies form the basis of more specific group attitudes, which in turn may influence group members' individual opinions, constructions or interpretations of specific events, as well as the social practices and discourses in which group members engage."(p.739)

2.2.9 The Theoretical Grounding of PDA

The various theories of PDA whether it is the institutional theory ,the linguistic theory , the history theory or the narrative theory among others (Pederson 2009), all these intellectual formation of the field are integrated from the work of Halliday with socio-theoretical understandings from Foucault's work in relation to discourse, interwoven with understandings from critical theory and the Frankfurt School, Marxism and neo-Marxism ,Habermas, Gramsci, Althusser, Foucault and Pecheux in different national contexts (Wodak 2001). Van Dijk has included Stuart Hall and the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies as part of the narrative of the development of critical perspectives in the study of language (van Dijk 2001a: 301).

In England ,socially concerned linguists produced Critical Linguistics (Fowler 1979,Kress and Hodge 1979,Hodge and Kress 1993,Fowler 1991,1996).They were followed by the critical discourse analysts who are socially and politically oriented linguists from a variety of backgrounds, have tended to work with the systemic- functional linguistics associated with Halliday - Verschueren and van Dijk are exceptions- (Chilton 2004) . Chilton considers that this theoretical perspectives investigate language as a social phenomenon, he states :"

Starting from single issue such as racism , or from political categories such as ideology, scholars in this tradition have tended to use linguistics as a tool kit and

have tried to tell us more about the human language instinct. Worthily, they have sought to fight social injustice of various kinds. " (p.2)

Similarly, van Dijk believes that, those perspectives on doing research 'focuses on social problems' and 'on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination' (2001b: 96). His emphasis is on the necessity 'for a broad, diverse, multidisciplinary and problem-oriented CDA' which will select its methods and areas of analysis on the basis of a theoretical analysis of social issues (2001b: 98)

2.2.9.1 The Critical theory

As we have explained before, the most distinguished scholars to link language, politics and culture is the Frankfurt school and proponents of critical theory , including Benjamin , Adorno ,Horkheimer ,Marcuse , Habermas , Stuart Hall ,Bourdieu Fenichel1993; Simmel 1993; Reich 1986; and more of Marx Horkheimer in 1937 , which argues that social theory should oriented towards critiquing and changing societies as whole, instead of the traditional theories of just understanding or explaining societies (2001) . They combine neo-Marxism, politically committed psychoanalysis, and Socio-psychology . In this way, 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.(Wodak and Chilton 2005)

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. Adorno (1973) regards insight into the character structure as '' the best protection from the

tendency to ascribe constant traits to individuals as "innate" or "racially determined." As a specific character structure - the authoritarian personality - makes an individual susceptible to antidemocratic propaganda, the social and economic conditions under which the potential turns into active manifestation have to be uncovered."(p.8)

Wodak and Meyer (2008 :7) believe that the core concepts of understanding of critical theory should be directed at the totality of society in its historical specificity, and also it should improve the understanding of society " by integrating all the major social sciences, including economics, sociology, history, political science, anthropology, and psychology " (p.7)

Thus, the interdisciplinarity of the critical theory is central in political discourse analysis. Actually Bourdieu (1984) has emphasized the role of the analyst himself in the whole process of critique. He argues that research in science have a central social embeddedness. He believes that the research system itself is dependent on the social structure and the criticism can be no means draw on an outside position but is itself well integrated within social fields. (Wodak 2001) .These views have been adopted by Wodak herself when she stated :

" Researchers ,scientists and philosophers are not outside the societal hierarchy of power and status ,but are subject to the structure. They have also frequently occupied and still occupy rather superior positions in society " (p.7)

Bourdieu's concepts of 'violence symbolique' and 'méconnaissance' (1989), discuss the aims and functions of critical theories, in that they produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to " emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection." (Bourdieu 1989. p. 12). Again Wodak agrees on Bourdieu's thoughts and even explains more about the functions of the critical theories :

" They aimed at producing ,enlightment and emancipation. Such theories seek not only to describe and explain, but also to root out a particular kind of delusion. Even with differing concepts of ideology, critical theory seeks to create awareness in agents of their own needs and interests ." (p.7)

An example of this in language studies is a- missing – by – phrase in English passive constructions might be seen as an ideological means for concealing or " mystifying reference to the agent ".(Chilton 2008). Thus the use of language is a "social practice" which is both determined by social structure and contributes to stabilizing and changing that structure simultaneously . (Wodak 2001)

More broadly, Krings (1986) argues that "practical linking of social of social and political engagement with ' a sociologically informed construction of society "

In agreement with its Critical Theory predecessors, CDA emphasizes the need for interdisciplinary work in order to gain a proper understanding of how language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing social institutions or in exercising power" (see Graham, 2002; Lemke, 2002;Martin and Wodak, 2003).

Although critical theory has long been associated with Frankfurt school, however, different points of view about critical theory have been posed by several critical and social theorists who have criticized the critical theory and the Marxism brands as being one dimensional thoughts that are limiting their intellectual lenses to traditional Eurocentric theories and single –subject disciplines that has long overlooked racism and sexism and colonialism which Rabaka 2010 called ironically (ivory tower " white – washed discourse) .(Rabaka 2010 : xi). These studies try to reconstruct an African contemporary theory which could be much more African and black radical. Rabaka states:

 "Contemporary critical theory as I envision and expliate it , should not only challenge " conventional critical theory" as to be more race and racism conscious, develop a deeper commitment to gender justice and women's

liberation, compassionately concern itself with colonialism(especially racist capitalism) and unequivocally dialogue with cutting edge anti – heterosexist and queer theory, but also unapologetically and generously draw from the work of W.E.B Du Bois , C.L.R James , Aime Cesaire , Leopold Senghor ,Frantz Fanon and Amilcar Cabral as well as innumerable Other non -European/non- white critical theorists, who collectively emphasize :the importance of avoiding the obsessive economism of many mainstream modern and post modern Marxists, the power of ideology critique, the primacy of politics, the political economy of race(especially the black race) in a white supremacist world; the racist nature of colonialism and capitalism ;the political economy of patriarchy and the need for women's decolonialization and women's liberation ; the politics of religion in a racialized and unjustly gendered world, and the need to constantly deconstruct and reconstruct critical social theory to speak to the special needs of the "new times" to borrow one of Stuart Hall's (1996) favourite phrases " (Rabaka 2010 : xi) .

This criticism didn't come only from African theorists , Wodak and Reisigel (2001) agree on these thoughts by saying :" We believe that no monocausal and monodimensional approach is adequate to grasp the complexity of racism. Racialization is criss-crossed by ethnic, national, gender, class, and other social constructions and divisions, thus rendering a separating view on "race" or "racialiation" as an isolated determinant of social relations short-sighted. Multidimensional analysis is required in order to obtain adequate historical reconstructions, actual diagnoses, and anticipatory prognoses, all of which are necessary to develop promising antiracist strategies. Among many other things, a multidimensional analysis of racism requires taking into account adjacent and overlapping phenomena like antisemitism, nationalism, ethnicism, and sexism." (wodak & Reisegl 2001 :18)

2.2.9.2 Discourse and discourse theories

The term 'discourse' is used very differently by different researchers and also in different academic cultures.

 In the German and Central European context, a distinction is made between 'text' and 'discourse', relating to the tradition in text linguistics as well as to rhetoric. In the English speaking world, 'discourse' is often used both for written and oral texts (Schiffrin 1994). Other researchers distinguish between different levels of abstractness: Lemke (1995) defines 'text' as the concrete realization of abstract forms of knowledge ('discourse'), thus adhering to a more Foucauldian approach (Jäger 2001 , wodak 2002) .

This later approach is much more closer to that is adopted by PDA , it goes beyond the form to the function of discourse as a language use . For example Fairclough (1992) when using the term -discourse- , he refers to the whole process of social interaction, he identified a discursive event as simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice and an instance of social practice. He considers discourse as a diverse representation of social life which is inherently positioned - differently positioned social actors 'see' and represent social life in different ways, different discourses. For instance, the lives of poor and disadvantaged people are represented through different discourses in the social practices of government, politics, medicine, and social science, *and* through different discourses within each of these practices corresponding to different positions of social actors. (Fairclough 2002)

These conceptualizations integrated linguistic definitions of discourse from the work of Halliday with socio-theoretical understandings from Foucault's work in relation to discourse, interwoven with understandings from critical theory and

the Frankfurt School, Marxism and neo-Marxism. By discourse, Foucault means 'a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment' (Hall 1992). Discourse, Foucault argues: "*constructs* the topic". It governs the way that a topic can be meaningfully talked about. It also influences how ideas are put into practice and used to regulate the conduct of others. This in turn means that discourse (or discourses in the social theoretical sense) can limit and restrict other ways of talking and producing knowledge about it (e.g. discussing working-class crime as an individual problem in the media can marginalize an alternative conception of it being a social problem).(Mayer 2008:7)

Thus, a different view of discourse has also been incorporated into the theoretical framework of PDA. Moreover, the socio-cognitive theory of van Dijk (1995,1993,1998) views 'discourse' as a form of knowledge and memory of social practices, whereas 'text' illustrates concrete oral utterances or written documents (Reisigl and Wodak 2001).

Reisigl and Wodak put it more precisely by saying "discourse can be understood as a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts that manifest themselves within and across the social fields of actions as thematically interrelated semiotics, oral or written tokens, very often as 'texts' that belong to specific semiotic type, i.e genres. "(p.36). In this study , we elaborate and link to the socio-cognitive theory of Teun van Dijk (1985, 1993, 1998) as it gives the discourse the character of ideological reflection. Wodak also agree that discourse is the place where language and ideology meet, and discourse analysis is the analysis of ideological dimensions of language use, and of the materialization in language of ideology. (2002:23)

This understanding of discourses and the effect of their power have attracted many scholars following Michel Foucault. Yager (1993 ,1999, 2001) and Link (1983). They go further by analyzing discourses in order to investigate the techniques to legitimize and ensure government in the bourgeois- capitalist modern industrial society . (Yager 2001). Link defines discourse as : " an institutionally consolidated concept of speech inasmuch as it determines and consolidates action and thus already exercises power "(1983:60).Yager illustrates this definition by saying : " discourse as the flow of knowledge and / or all societal knowledge stored – throughout all time"(Yager 1993,1999). The political essence in discourse has been viewed by Pederson (2009) as a strong discourse - institution interwoven relationship, he states:

" In contrast to the theory of discourse, the critical discourse analysis distinguishes between discourse and institutions as two different types of social phenomena. It studies how discourse and institution interact in the constitution of a social world, and how discursive practices are institutionalized or are moved from being linguistic utterances to set conditions for stable social relations. While critical discourse analysis attempts to uncover the ideologies which contribute to the production and reproduction of power, it also has a political aim: It looks for how a discourse limits our understanding of the world (i.e. function as an ideology) but also for how they contain several competing discourses and therefore the possibility of dominant ideologies to be contested." (p.6)

2.2.9.3 Social theory

Marxist theory of ideology has inspired many researchers to contribute ,when Pecheux and his collaborators (Pecheux. et.al. 1979 , 1982) have developed a critical approach to discourse they attempt to combine a social theory of discourse with a method of text analysis, working mainly on written political discourse .Pecheux's approach in social theory as Fairclough 1992 describes it "... marries a Marxist theory of discourse with linguistic methods of text analysis "(p.33) . The approach develops the idea of language as a central material form

of ideology .It uses the term discourses to stress the ideological nature of the language use. (Fairclough 1992 p.30).

Picheux stated :" Discourses show the effects of ideological struggle within the functioning of language, and conversely ,the existence of linguistic materiality within ideology "(quoted in Courtine 1981).

Thus, these relations of the theories of discourse ,power and ideology are overlapping and each one influences and systematically form the others .

2.2.9.4 Ideology theory

Ideology, according to Van Dijk (1998, 2000, 2001), is a form of social cognition or a belief system shared by/in a group. Defined as 'the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group' (Van Dijk, 1998: 8), ideology is constituted by " basic propositions that represent what is good or bad for the group"(Van Dijk, 2000: 95). In other words, ideology is a belief system perpetuating norms and values held by a group. The interplay between language and ideology has drawn linguists' attention (Fairclough, 1995, 2004; Fang, 2001; Hawkins,1997; Kuo and Nakamura, 2005; Van Dijk, 1988, 1993, 1998, 2000, 2001;among others), their diverse theories and methods subsumed into what is now called critical discourse analysis (CDA).

Althusser's ideological theory and Foucault's theory were major points of reference for the second tendency in French discourse analysis, notably the work of Michel Pecheux (1982) (Wodak 2002). Pecheux's main focus was political discourse in France, especially the relationship between social-democratic and communist discourse within left political discourse. Pecheux stresses the ideological effects of discursive formations in positioning people as social subjects .(Wodak 2002) .

Many writers have proven that ideology shapes the representation of any social issue. For example, if we look at the representation of the written and spoken discourse in the media ,we will find a strong relation between the tendencies of representation and the ideologies that are implied in the news ,racist ideologies for instance, can be implied in the news coverage by focusing on the negative representation of the minorities and investing any reports that imply how they could be a threat in the society of the majority which the newspaper represents , racism here is thus not merely an abstract system of social inequality and dominance ,but actually represented in the beliefs, actions ,and discourses .

(vanDijk 2001).So the concept of ideology in this study is basic in understanding the analysis of political discourse.

The relationship between discourse and ideology as we have seen before, is drawn in different levels and ways, discourse is always seen as a means through which ideologies are reproduced (Blommeart & Buclean 2000). Fairclough (1995) argues that what makes a difference is to find a satisfactory account of the dialectic of ideology as a property of structures and as a property of events as well. There is a close relationship between discourse, ideology and politics, in the sense that politics is usually discursive as well as ideological, and ideologies are largely reproduced by text and talk and this was obvious in Pecheux's work. Traditionally, ideologies are vaguely and negatively defined in terms of 'false consciousness' (Henderson 2005). In a more contemporary, multidisciplinary approach, ideologies are described in terms of the axiomatic foundation of the social representations shared by groups.(vanDijk 2005) .

To view it in a broader way, we are going to draw on vanDijk's point of view in that ideological discourse analysis should be viewed as a type of the socio-political analysis of discourse (Van Dijk 1995) essentially perceives discourse analysis as ideology analysis, because according to him, "ideologies are

typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs and movies" (p.9 17). His approach for analyzing ideologies has three parts: social analysis, cognitive analysis, and discourse analysis (1995, p. 30). Whereas the social analysis pertains to examining the "overall societal structures," (the context), the discourse analysis is primarily text based (syntax, lexicon, local semantics, topics, schematic structures, etc.). In this sense, van Dijk's approach incorporates the two traditional approaches in media education : interpretive (text based) and social tradition (context based), into one analytical framework for analyzing media discourse . However the most distinguishing feature in van Dijk's work is the cognitive analysis. For van Dijk it is 'the *socio-cognition'* social cognition and personal cognition that mediates between society and discourse. He defines social cognition as "the system of mental representations and processes of group members" (p. 18). In this sense, for van Dijk, "ideologies, are the overall, abstract mental systems that organize socially shared attitudes" (p. 18). Ideologies, thus, "indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members, in their act of comprehension of discourse among other actions and interactions" (p. 19) .(in Henderson 2000)

Later, Fairclough 2003 defined ideology as "a representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining, and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation. This 'critical' view of ideology, seeing it as a modality of power, contrasts with various descriptive views about ideology as positions, attitudes, beliefs, perspectives, of social groups without reference to relations of power, domination between the two groups".(p. 9). He calls the mental representations of individuals during social actions and interactions "models". For him, "models control how people act, speak or write, or how they understand the social practices of others" (p. 2).

According to van Dijk, mental representations "are often articulated along Us versus Them dimensions, in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms" (p. 22). Analyzing and making explicit this contrastive dimension of Us versus Them has been central to most of van Dijk's research and writings (1988, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1996,1998a, 1998b).

So the concept of ideology constructed by a group based selection of relevant social values (van Dijk 1995).He believes that linking the surface of talk and text to underlying ideologies is a process fraught with complexities and contradictions (1995.142) .

Ideology invests language in many ways at various levels as Fairclough argues that the key issue is whether ideology is a property of structures or a property of events, and the answer is ' both'. And the key problem is to find a satisfactory account of the dialectic of structures and events.(1995 .71) , he sees ideology as " the structure option has the virtue of showing events, actual discoursal practice, to be constrained by social convention, norms, histories. So structures constitute the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events , and it is ideology again in events themselves as they reproduce and transform their conditioning structures. (p.72).

 Billig (1991) Van Dijk explains the relation between ideology and language with a cognitive framework , however come to the same conclusion , he believes that the actual text and talk is influenced by the speaker's own personal history ,accumulated experiences, personal believes and principles, motivations and emotions and all other personal cognitions beside the socially shared knowledge , attitudes and ideologies (1991.140). For example , a southern Sudanese female journalist in Khartoum may have to combine the ideological systems of gender, ethnicity, profession and nationality, and conflicts between these will affect her social activities , her news reports and her other discourse.

2.2.9.5 Power theories

The most important contribution from discourse analysis to political science is within the theories of power. From Thomas Hobbes to Robert A. Dahl, power has been seen as the ability to affect, to limit or to control the behaviour of people. Pederson (2009) explains the discourse analysis views about power :

" Power is not only the ability to affect the behavior of others. It is also the productive force by which A and B are constructed with each their set of interests, and with each their set of expectations and interpretations." (p.167) .

Van Dijk (1993) ignores all complicated theories and views social power as

" a property of intergroup relations in terms of the control exercised by (the members of) one group or institution over the actions of (the members of) another group. Such power is based on access to socially valued resources, such as force, wealth, income, status or knowledge."(p.22)

CDA always link discourse to power and social interests, as Fairclough states:" one of the causal effects of texts which has been of major concern for critical discourse analysis is ideological effects ,ideologies are representations of aspects of the world."(1992).

The Foucauldian approach that developed by Fairclough offers important theoretical concepts for understanding institutions as sites of discursive power. He illustrates : " Foucault didn't think of discourse as a piece of text, but as 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault, 1972: 49).

2.3 Racism and Media: Grounding thoughts

The serious and wide spread social and ethnic problems of prejudice, discrimination, and racism make it inevitable for the scholars to investigate these phenomena to reveal and reflect the negative consequences that have been affecting our societies. The role of the discourse that is used by the elites

specially that is reflected in the media, is highly influential, in structuring power relations to establish, confirm or legitimate their abuse of power which resulted in different types of bias, van Dijk(2000) summed it up by saying :

" racism is a complex system of social inequality in which at least the following components are combined: a) ideologically based social representations of (and about) groups, b) group members mental models of concrete ethnic events, c) everyday discriminatory discourse and other social practices, d) institutional and organizational structures and activities e) power relations between dominant white and ethnic minority groups."(p.79)

It is crucial to consider that racism is a complicated issue that can be manifested differently, according to various cultural and social considerations, the white (Western) racism is something totally different from what we have here in Sudan , racism in the European sense has to do much more -as we will see- with the issues of refugees and asylum seekers and foreign minorities as general . American racism studies tend to use the black white contrast in the discussions of different types of racism. African racism has different parallels, that of ethnicity and tribalism. Being multi-ethnic, multi- cultural, and multi- religious, make it a great challenge to integrate and build one nation (Hashim 2014). Thus, even the ethnic groups in these African communities are of mostly the same nationalities, however conflicts have a very loud voice there.

Sudan is not an exception, the diversity of cultural and ethnic groups makes a strong power dynamics here, that resulted in different ethnic conflicts which reproduce racial and ethnic prejudice. These negative consequences become much more serious when it is empowered by political bias with the power and authorities.

In this part we focus on various basic concepts, theories and approaches that analyze racism, and ethnic prejudice, we discuss the reproduction of these discrimination phenomena through the media discourse.

2.3.1 Race and Racism

The term 'race' in the modern studies of racism is taken from different points of view, speaking from a Marxist point of view, race is a human construct, with a regulatory power within society. Race is thus an ideological effect; a mask which hides real economic relationship (Miles, 1984 cited on John Solomos & Les Back 1996:8).

According to Reisegl & Wodak (2001) ,the concept of 'race' is taken from two perspectives , from a social functional point of view as a social construction and from a linguistic point of view. As Reisegl & Wodak (2001) classify, they consider it as a social construction "that has been used as a legitimizing ideological tool to oppress and exploit specific social groups and to deny them access material, cultural and political resources, to work, welfare services, housing and political rights."(p.2). Similarly , Miles (1993) believes that the term has been used by the elite in legitimizing ideological tools to oppress and exploit specific social group, he states :

" they also have turned the concept around and used it to construct an alternative, positive self-identity; they also have used it as a basis for political resistance which will helps them to fight for more political autonomy, and gives them the power to express their power against minority" (p. 28)

Hence, the scientific and political critique of fascist ideologies that resulted in the creation of the concept of racism was not accompanied by a consistent rejection of either the idea of 'race' or the belief that the human population was divided into biologically distinct 'races'. Indeed, the dispute about whether or not the term 'race' should be used within science to refer to populations characterized by particular genetic profiles continues to this day (Miles 1982: 16).

Reisigl & Wodak (2001) believe that from a linguistic perspective, the term 'race' has a young - although not precisely clear- etymological history, though, many scholars connected race and racism with language "philology and linguistics". According to Romer (1989:41), there are three errors which are the basis for the connection and approximation of race and language classification:

First, they confused language relationship and speakers relationship and that's clear in the twentieth century, where they connect the language with certain families and certain groups in the society, neglecting all the historical and geographical contingencies and factors of "linguistic imperialism" which influence language choice, change and spread, and forgetting the natural development.

Second, philology and linguistics also responsible for a discriminatory hierarchy of languages and languages type, and in creating a new form of higher and lower language or levels, as a result, they created "royal language" and language for ordinary people who will create or of course it created a huge discrimination between members of on society.

Third which is connected with the second point, philology and linguistics connected language with cultural level and ability of the speakers and this wrong concept exists till the half of the twentieth century, where people connected a primitive culture with an allegedly primitive language, and a high culture with a highly educated and developed language.

These allegedly high language and high culture was only some ways and methods from the elites to control and to defend their power in the society. So they considered the Indo-European language such as an 'exotic language' and considered there speakers as 'deviant' and 'primitive' people.

On the other hand we find that the term 'racism' with the suffix 'ism' denotes a theory, doctrine was probably first used in the title of a temporarily unpublished German book, written by Magnus Hirschfield in 1933/4. In this book, which was translated and published in England in 1938, Hirschfield argued against the pseudo scientifically backed contention that there exists a hierarchy of biologically distinct 'races' (in Miles1993:29). Since the 1945, the use of the term in the German-language countries has been strictly taboo for politicians, as well as for the general public.

Thus, the modern concepts of race and racism are of relatively recent origin. Although ideas about human differences on the basis of color and phenotypic characteristics already occurred in earlier societies (Hannaford, 1996; Snowden, 1995; Lewis, 1995; Wood, 1995; Wilson, 1996: 37-41), the present meaning of the concept of "race" only became current toward the end of the Eighteenth century subsequent to the French and American revolutions. The notion of "race" thus originated in modern times and has changed with the evolution of modern society. As Hannaford (1996) shows, the introduction of this concept constituted the culmination of a complex development in modern thought regarding descent, heredity and human differences. After the reformation, explanations of the origin of people in terms of religion or reason was increasingly displaced by a racial discourse in which anatomy, bloodlines, climate, geographical location and language were central. The development of the natural sciences and of the related principles of categorization (Linneaus /Blumenbach) contributed to this development (Hannaford (1996:39).

2.3.2 Race : the socio-historic concept

The history of the construction and reproduction of the idea of 'race' has been analysed exhaustively (e.g. Barzun 1938, Montagu 1964, Jordan 1968, 1974, Guillaumin 1972, Stepan 1982, Banton 1987). As a result, it is well understood that the idea of 'race' first appeared in the English language in the early seventeenth century and began to be used in European and North American scientific writing in the late eighteenth century in order to name and explain certain phenotypical differences between human beings.

 It is often argued that even now a generally accepted definition of the term is lacking. The absence of such a generally accepted definition is related to a recognition of the fact that the concept "race" has no static, unchanged or unchanging signification. Historical research into the usage of the concept "race" has shown that this concept has taken different forms in different national contexts (Goldberg, 1993; Hannaford, 1996). According to Bulmer and Solomos (1999) "race" had three central meanings:

" First : humanity is composed of different groups, each with its own common physical characteristics; second: these groups have different origins; third : racial boundaries have cultural and social significance. "(p.7)

The definition of race is complicated in many of the same ways as that of ethnicity. However, in some cases scholars make no explicit attempt to separate race from ethnicity, as in this definition from W. E. B. DuBois:

" What, then, is race? It is a vast family of human beings, generally of common blood and language, always of common history, traditions and impulses, who are both voluntarily and involuntarily striving together for the accomplishment of

certain more or less vividly conceived ideals of life." ([1897] 2000:110)(in Fought 2002)

Omi and Winant (1994), give no explicit definition of ethnicity, although they clearly have the understanding that it is different from race, as shown by the fact that they discuss these concepts in separate sections. Their definition of race is "a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies" (1994:55).

Ibrahim (2004) tries to explain in much more details :

" [R]ace, exactly like sex, is taken as an "immediate given," a "sensible given," "physical features," belonging to a natural order. But what we believe to be a physical and direct perception is only a sophisticated and mythic construction, an "imaginary formation," which reinterprets physical features ... through the network of relationships in which they are perceived. (They are seen as black, therefore they are black; they are seen as women, therefore, they are women. But before being seen that way, they first had to be made that way.Race, I contend, is a network of meanings against which we negotiate our psychic being; that is to say, who we are, what future we envision for ourselves and others, and where we invest and find our desires reflected. Being a network of meanings or a collection of stories we "tell" ourselves and others and henceforth live by, race is a symbolic capital that is either valued positively in schools and in the larger society–if your narrative is the "right" narrative–or negatively–if your telling does not have the "right" infrastructure of the symbolic market of exchange: namely, possessing an authorized language, being an authorized speaker, speaking with authority and hence command hearing." (p: 87).

Distinctions between and negative evaluations of phenotypic differences in skin color, in hair color, in the color and shape of eyes, in the shape of the skull and so on for a long time been a central element of the ideology of racism. These kinds of differences were used as explanations for differences in culture and in mental properties. By the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century this mode of thinking was common in the Western world. It was developed in academia and spread throughout society (Shipman, 1994). It was used to justify practices such as slavery and colonialism. "Race" was construed as a social fact and thus as an object of scientific inquiry (see Montagu, 1963; De Rooy, 1991).

By the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century the concept of "race" acquired major political significance too. "Race" as a dominant and widely accepted ideological concept in western thought was no longer only used to explain differences but, in particular, also to justify inequalities at the political level. The shift to a political implementation of racist doctrines at the national level was made in the thirties by the National Socialists, under the leadership of Hitler. This development culminated in genocide during the Second World War, when the Nazis killed six million Jews and at least two hundred thousand Gypsies in gas champers (Reisigl & Wodak2001).The central concept of history in understanding race is explained by Omi and Winant (1994) who states :

"Race is indeed a pre-Eminently socio-historical concept. Racial categories and the meaning of race are given concrete expression by the specific social relations and historical context in which they are embedded. Racial meaning, have varied tremendously over time and between different societies" (p. 20.).

Regarding the term 'race', Guillaumin (1991; 1992) has much comprehensive thoughts, she believes that the word lacks 'semantic boundaries', be it in ideologies or in the sciences. However, for her its 'field of perception' has not become obsolete. It 'resurfaces in different verbal forms, that is in different words or in circumlocutions or equivalents' (Guillaumin, 1992:80). Similarly, Wodak (1996) differentiates between general groups of traits and list the following examples of distinguishing features:

• physical traits (real or attributed ones such as skin and hair colour, sex, physiognomy, etc.), e.g. the darker skin and hair colour of some Romanians or Jews

• spiritual-cultural (socio-historically acquired) traits

• religion ('the Muslims', 'the Jews')

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• nationality in the sense of belonging to a specific ethnic group ('the Slovenes' in Austria)

• nationality in the sense of belonging to a certain national state ('the Americans', 'the Israelis')

• social traits

• socio-economic ones (economic system, prosperity) (the economic refugees, e.g. 'the Ossis' from East Germany)

• political (power system) ('the Communists').

Hall, believes that , it is first and foremost a discursive category, "the organizing category of those way of speaking, systems of representation and social practices (discourses) which utilize a loose, often unspecified set of differences in physical characteristics - skin color, hair texture, physical and bodily features, and so forth--as symbolic markers in order to differentiate one group socially from another" (Hall, 1992b: 298). The UNESCO statement advocated dropping the term "race" and replacing it by the more neutral term "ethnic group". "Race" no longer existed; that is to say, science abandoned the concept. Racism, however, did continue to exist. (Hall 1992).

2.3.3 Race : theoretical status

Modern scholars still posing deep questions about the nature of the concept of race, after they overcome the traditional large believe in Europe and North America that race was an essence, and natural phenomenon (Omi&Winant 1994). Few scholars in the earlier twentieth century developed their understanding about the concept of race .Du Bois, Franz Boas and Robert Park of the Chicago school conceived of race in a more social and historical way

.Omi & Winant discuss the continuing significance and changing meaning of race, they state : " Although racial essentialism remains very much with us , at the dawn of the twenty – first century, the theory of race has been significantly transformed." (1994:67).They criticized two points of view about the nature of race then they propose their own .Firstly, the conservatives argue that race is merely an illusion, an ideological construct utilized to manipulate, divide and deceive. This position has been taken by many theorists and activists as well, including many who have served the cause of racial and social justice in US . Another approach considers race as something real, material that reflects an objective condition, this approach also has its adherents , including both racial reactionaries and racial radicals .

However , Omi & Winant believe that these approaches are not correct. The concept of race is neither an ideological construct, nor does it reflect an objective condition, instead, they suggest the racial formation theory, they explain :

"Such a theoretical formulation must recognize the importance of historical context and contingency in framing of racial categories and the social construction of racially defined experiences. What would be the minimum conditions for the development of such a critical, processual theory of race ? Beyond addressing the standard issues to which we already referred , such as equality, domination /resistance and micro – macro linkage, we suggest three such conditions for such a theory : first ,it must apply to contemporary politics , second ,it must apply in an increasingly global context, and third, it must across historical time ."(1994: 67)

2.3.4 Racialization

The concept of racialization has developed over time. In his 1989 book *Racism*, sociologist Robert Miles described racialization as "a dialectical process by which meaning is attributed to particular biological features of human beings, as a result of which individuals may be assigned to a general category of persons which reproduces itself biologically. The process of racialization of human beings entails the racialization of the processes in which they participate and the

structures and institutions that result" (Miles 1989, p. 76). Later in 1993 Miles analyses the process of 'racialzation' in the capitalist centres in connection with migration, capital accumulation and class formation.

Earlier, in "The Wretched of the Earth", the political theorist Frantz Fanon (1925–1961) had described the "racialization of thought" in reference to the failure of early Europeans to recognize that Africans had a distinct culture that was unique to them. Instead Europeans, "set up white culture to fill the gap left by [what they believed was] the absence of other cultures" (Fanon 2001, p. 171). Sociologist Yehudi Webster later defined the concept of racialization as:

 "a systemic accentuation of certain physical attributes to allocate persons to races that are projected as real and thereby become the basis for analyzing all social relations" (Webster1992: 3).

He goes on to argue that the second foundations of Racialization are provided by social scientific research on race relations, in which the disciplines of history and sociology play an eminent role.

Culture is a key aspect in both Miles's and Fanon's definitions of racialization. Historically, there have been intense debates over the issue of race as a social construction versus race based on biology. Omi and Winant addressed the debate and articulated the concept of racialization that many scholars use today. They defined racial formation as "the socio-historical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed. Race is a matter of both, social structure and cultural representation" (Omi and Winant 1994. 55). This view revolutionized the conception of race as a process and as a social construction. They explain :

"We use the term racialization to signify the extension of racial meaning to a previously unclassified relationship, social practice or group. Racial identity emerges from the struggles of competing political projects and ideas seeking to articulate similar elements differently."(1986:56)

Riesegl and Wodak (2001) explain comprehensively how they view racialization:

" Racialization is crisscrossed by ethnic , national ,gender ,class and other social constructions and divisions. Thus making highly shortsighted a separating view on 'race ' and 'racialization' as isolated determinants of social relations. Multidimensional analysis is required in order to obtain adequate historical reconstruction, actual diagnoses and anticipatory prognoses, all of which are necessary to develop promising anti-racist strategies." (p. 18)

2.3.5 Racism : the concept

By the mid-Nineteenth century, the dominant theory of 'race' asserted that the world's population is constituted by a number of distinct 'races', each of which has a biologically determined capacity for cultural development. Although the accumulation of scientific evidence during the early twentieth century (e.g. Barkan 1992) challenged this theory, it was the use of 'race' theory by the National Socialists in Germany 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.

The concept of racism is therefore a recent creation in the English language (Miles 1989a:42– 3). It was first used as a title for a book written in the German language by Magnus Hirschfeld in 1933/4 ,which was translated and published in English in1938 (Wodak and Reisigl,2000:43; Miles,1993:29) . In Racism, Hirschfeld criticized racial thinking, refuted nineteenth century arguments which claimed the mantle of science to sustain the notion of the existence of a hierarchy of biologically distinct 'races'. But he did so without offering any

formal definition of racism and without clarifying how racism is to be distinguished from the concept of xenophobia (Miles 1983:227).

During the same decade, a number of other books were published which sought to demonstrate that the idea of 'race' employed in Nazi ideology lacked any scientific foundation, some of which also used the concept of racism to label these ideologies (Huxley and Haddon 1935, Barzun 1938, Montagu 1974, Benedict 1983).

Thus , the concept "racism" is much younger than the concept of "race" since the first scientific use of the concept is attributed to Hirschfeld (1933).

Historically, racism has also varied in signification. It should be noted, however, that many other complex social phenomena equally lack an accepted definition, as is the case for example with sexism. Different disciplines, such as economics, sociology and social psychology, have developed different theories about the phenomenon of racism on the basis of their specific perspectives (Wilson, 1996). Thus, a definition of racism that can be accepted unanimously does not exist.

Anthropologist Ruth F. Benedict has the distinction of being one of the first scholars to use the notion in her 1942 book Race and Racism. She defined racism as "the dogma that one ethnic group is condemned by nature to congenital inferiority and another group is destined to congenital superiority. Later she stated " Racism like a religion, a belief which can be studied only historically" (1959:87).

Despite some refinements, the current usage of the concept of racism in the social sciences is very similar to that of Benedict. In the words of renowned scholar Pierre van den Berghe, racism is:

"...any set of belief that organic, genetically transmitted differences (whether real or imagined) between human groups are intrinsically associated with the presence or the absence of certain socially relevant abilities or characteristics, hence that such differences are a legitimate basis of invidious distinctions between groups socially defined as races" (van den Berghe 1967: 11)

Miles (1982) sees that race relations problematic is inadequate and that racism has to be located within economic, political and ideological relations, rather than relations between races, we don't agree that category of race has ruled out of court because it's category of everyday life and shouldn't be employed analytically (Miles 1982: 42)

Richard T. Schaefer provides a more concise definition of racism: "a doctrine of racial supremacy, that one race is superior" (1990: 16).

An apparently different view is that of William Julius Wilson who defined racism in his theoretical piece (Power, Privilege, and Racism (1972) as an " ideology of racial domination or exploitation that incorporates beliefs about a particular race's cultural and/or inherent biological."

Racism can be broadly defined as any attitude, belief, behavior, or institutional arrangements that favors one racial group over another. According to Farely, (1995),this broad definition of racism includes four specific dimension:

First , ideological racism , or racist ideology, which is a system of belief that one racial group is biologically, intellectually, or culturally superior or inferior to another. Second , attitudinal racism or racial prejudice, which usually refers to negative attitudes or believes about a racial group and it's members that are based on faulty or inadequate information. Third , behavioral racism or racial discrimination, which refers to discriminatory actions taken by individuals or groups. And finally institutional racism or institutional discrimination, which

refers to laws policies or practices of social institutions and organization which favor one racial group over another.(farely, 1995).

According to Taguieff (1991) 'racism' implies three different forms of racism, namely ideological racism (as structured cluster of representations and views), prejudice-based racism (sphere of opinions, attitudes, beliefs) and behavioural racism (racism as practices of discrimination, persecution and even annihilation). The confusing array of ideas circulating as racism has resulted in two central reductions, between racism (anti-semitism) as a negative attitude towards 'the other' and racism (anti-semitism) as a system of extermination (Wodak 1996). The popular use of the word shows hybrid forms which, according to Taguieff, become concrete in one general synthetic definition:

" racism is an ideology, the hard core of which consists of an asserted inequality. This is founded on natural differences between groups (races). An assumption implying the practices of exclusion, discrimination, persecution and annihilation is ushered in, and accompanied by, forms of hate and disdain." (1991:225)

2.3.6 Race and racism theories

Theories of Race and Racism are such a debatable field, we are attempting to provide an overview of a field that is constantly changing. In recent years it has become increasingly difficult to provide a reliable map of this field, particularly as it has become increasingly multidisciplinary and as it has spread out to include arenas that were largely neglected by previous generations of scholars. .(Les Back & Solomos 2001)

Thus, while the debates of the 1970s and 1980s continue to influence research agendas, a number of recent developments have led to a questioning of many of the certainties that dominated theorizing in this field even a decade ago.(Les Back & Solomos 2001)0

There are different theories about racism, from different disciplines reflect on the material, economical, social, political, socio-psycological, cognitive and other causes and motives to racism, however we will start with two modern sociologists, and each one has a different approach to racism. The first is Robert Miles. Miles has contributed to the separation of race as socially constructed, and racism as the process that produces race. The other theorist is Zygmungt Bauman, who is some sort of specialist in the fields of modern and postmodern society. They have both different inspiration sources to racism. Miles theories are based on the experience of colonialism and Bauman theories are based on holocaust racism. Both do differentiate between racism on one side and xenophobia on the other side. In Miles book titled Racism (Miles 1989: 69-98). He is arguing that, the term racism is often used in relation to all other discourses about the other.

Contrary to Miles definition, Banton says that, race is socially constructed just like any other given category such as ethnicity, nationalism among other categories (Banton 1998).

However, Miles insists on the notion that racism is a totally different type or species. He says that this term is all about, imagined biological differences. He is theorizing these differences. In his arguments there are two selection principals, the first one being the biological traits to categorization, and after that these traits are used to characterize differences between humans. The end product of this selection process is what is known as races. The races are then given a certain cultural trait, whereby groups get ascribed bio-cultural profile, so that all groups with biological profile are given the same cultural traits and vice-verse. According to this process race is socially imagined but not a biological one. Miles says that it's important that we focus on racialization but not race. What is important for Miles is the ideology, because racism is representational

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form, which has a function of inclusion and exclusion. At the same time it has an evaluative element.

Bauman in his book Modernity, racism, extermination II and Modernity and Holocaust (Bauman 1994: 87-111) highlights the Aryans racism paradox. On one side this racism mobilized anti modernity feelings, which is why it was effective. The Jew represented modernity in a society that was not modern. The Jew could be therefore used as a frightening picture in building up the imagined future Aryan society that Hitler had in mind. On one side this form of racism is unthinkable without the advancement of modern science, modern technology and modern forms of state- power. For him modernity made racism possible and it created demand for racism. Furthermore Bauman just- like Miles says that racism is something different from heterophobia which many researchers mix together. He means racism is different from xenophobia. For him racism means a practice that indicates that some people are seen to be in possession of some elements that do not fit in the rational order, because of defects and shortages which cannot be cured.

Another exponent in the field of racism who is worth mentioning is Banton. According to Banton, race is socially constructed just like any other given category such as ethnicity, nationalism among other categories; see (Banton 1998). Banton confines himself to the concept of race through biological variety, in what he termed as racial typology and since race cannot be biologically proven it no longer valid or useful.

Another central theory proposed by van Dijk (2002) who broadens the concept into a whole theory that has " a complex sociatel system of ethnically or 'racially' based on domination and its resulting inequality " (p.145) . He believes that racism is much more than an ideology of racists, it should be understood in a broader sense . In other words ; racism is both an ideology and its

manifestation as a social practice with its all consequences on our societies, and that what makes racism and ethnicity blatantly influencing in the relations between different social formations.

Van Dijk goes on and defines the system of racism as consisting of a social and a cognitive subsystem. He explains :

" The social subsystem is constituted by social practices of discrimination at the local (micro) level, and relationships of power abuse by dominant groups, organizations, and institutions at a global (macro) level of analysis (most classical analyses of racism focus on this level of analysis"(2002:76)

The second subsystem of racism is cognitive. Whereas the discriminatory practices of members of dominant groups and institutions form the visible and tangible manifestations of everyday racism, such practices also have a mental basis consisting of biased models of ethnic events and interactions, which in turn are rooted in racist prejudices and ideologies 'van Dijk, 1984, 1987, 1998" (2002 . 146)   . He continues " This does not mean that discriminatory practices are always intentional, but only that they presuppose socially shared and negatively oriented mental representations of Us about Them. As we see most of the definitions share a common platform that all start from, the relation between racism as ideology and as social practice **.** According to Wodak who agrees partly with van Dijk   (2002),there are two levels of racism : the level of ideology and beliefs (about groups, minorities, 'Others') which is very often 'imaginary racism' without actual 'races' (stereotypes, prejudices) and that looks at 'race' as a construct . The level of social practices which highlights the idea of who is included and who is excluded? .It is about the active practices of inclusion and exclusion; practices of limited access to resources and rights (e.g. labour and residence rights, language rights, etc.). Similarly , Essed (1991) believes that ideology and social practice are the base for any definitions to racism , she states:

"racism covers ideological and social processes which discriminate against others on the basis of their being associated with different racial or ethnic group membership" (p.204)

Thus, racism is a system of ethnic/racial inequality, reproduced by discriminatory social practices, including discourse, at the local (micro) level, and by institutions, organizations and overall group relations the global (macro) level, and cognitively supported by racist ideologies.(van Dijk 2005: 41) Racism also needs to be defined in terms of various types of social practice, such as discriminatory discourses and other acts of interaction, at the micro-level. At the same time it requires analysis at the macro-level, through analysis of institutional arrangements, organizational structure, and group relations of power abuse.

2.3.7 The Marxist theory about race relations

 As we have mentioned above, ideology is the base for any definitions to racism, it is also identified as one determinant of the 'race relations'(Miles 1982), what entails that a theory of racism becomes entangled in a theory of 'race relations'. These interrelated theories go back to the Marxism theory. Marxist writers incorporated an idea of 'race' as an analytical, or even a descriptive, concept into their theorizing about racism. One of the earliest Marxist texts to analyze 'race relations' was O.C. Cox's " Caste, Class and Race "(1970). It was first published in the United States in 1948. Despite the existence of another tradition of Marxist writing in the USA which claimed to theorize 'race', Cox's book was cited for a long time by Marxists and non-Marxists alike (e.g. Castles and Kosack 1972: 16, Rex 1983: 15–16), as the seminal Marxist statement, and the work of the Frankfurt school was largely ignored(Outlaw 1990: 69–72) .Cox (1970) who was influenced by Miles views which sees racism within the classical Marxist tradition as the consequence of colonialism and imperialism in

the context of capitalism. His race-relation approach analyzes racism in the light of the development of capitalist world economic system. He characterizes 'race relations' as ' behavior which develops among people who are aware of each other's actual or imputed physical differences (1970:320) Although Cox claims that 'races' are social constructions, he reifies them as distinctive, permanent , immutable, collectivities distinguished by skin color.(Reisigl and Wodak 2001). As Miles (1991,1994) points out Now, it is referred to rarely in the British and North American literature, although recently one of the original British architects of the 'race relations' problematic has shown a renewed interest in it (Banton 1991). This silence results partly from the fact that there is no longer any widespread interest in Cox's central theme, namely a comparison between caste and 'race' relations. It is also because Cox denied Afro-Americans any autonomous political role, a view that is contrary to more recent political philosophies of 'black' resistance which advocate autonomous political organization on the part of 'black' people. Finally, Cox rejected the use of racism as an analytical concept, a concept that has in the past three decades become central to Marxist analysis and to critical analysis more generally. (Miles1991,1994)

Nevertheless, at the time of its publication, Caste, Class and Race was a work of some originality and it remains a work of considerable scholarship. Cox set out to construct a Marxist theory of 'race relations' (1970: ix). He attempted this largely by means of an extended critique of extant writing on 'race relations' in the USA, most of which defined its object of analysis as 'race relations' in the southern States. Miles (1993) summarizes Cox's arguments and explains its consequences clearly by stating :

" *His central argument was that 'race relations' were not similar, or equivalent, to 'caste relations', as most writers claimed at the time. As a result, a large part of Caste, Class*

and Race sought to establish the nature of caste in Indian society and then to demonstrate that 'race relations' in the USA did not exhibit the defining features of 'caste relations".(98)

The decline in the significance of the caste thesis means that much of this argument has little relevance to contemporary concerns. But Cox's alternative theorization is of interest because of the way in which it incorporated the ideas of 'race' and 'race relations' and attributed them with analytical status within the framework of Marxism. As a result, Marxists could claim, contra 'bourgeois' theorists, that they too had a theory of 'race relations', a theory that was (at least as far as they were concerned) superior. But the ideas of 'race' and 'race relations' had no specifically Marxist content . Cox, in the manner of mainstream sociological thinking, noted and then passed by the uncertainties about the biological meaning of 'race', and defined 'race' as 'any group of people that is generally believed to be, and generally accepted as, "a race in any given area of ethnic competition" (Miles 1994:319)

2.3.8 Racism and Ethnicity

The overlapping meaning between racism and ethnicity is still a debatable issue which has different points of views among scholars .

Van Dijk (1984) equates between racism and ethnicism ,he states ”racism or ethnicism are taken as notions that denote complex social phenomena both at the abstract, macro levels of societal structures, and at the micro levels of social cognition, discourse, communication, and interaction.” (p. 28).He tries to define racism by saying :

"Racism is an abstract property of social structures at all levels of society that manifests itself in ethnic prejudices as shared group cognitions, in discriminatory actions of persons as dominant group members, as well as in the actions, discourses, organization, or relationships within and among groups, institutions, classes, or other social formations." (p. 28).

Better (2008) who investigates American racism, She views the terms of racism and ethnicity as separate and distinct concepts , moreover, she sees that using the

two terms as synonyms is unfortunate , and that is done by some scholars to neutralize the term 'race' and thus reduces its importance in the American society, she defines ethnicity as : " any social grouping defined or set off by religion, language, national origin, and cultural differences, or a combinations of these categories" while she defines racism as :"an individual act that perpetuates inequality based on racial membership, that may or may not be supported by a personal belief in stereotypes."(p.12)

 Van Dijk's definition of ethnicisim also include racism in that it is " a system of ethnic group dominance based on cultural criteria of categorization, differentiation, and exclusion, such as those of language, religion, customs, or worldwide. Often racial and ethnic criteria are inextricably linked in these systems of group dominance, as in the case of anti- Semitism".(van Dijk 1993:5). However , these issues have totally different connotations and meanings in Sudan since we are talking about the same Sudanese nation. Hence, racism and ethnicism are viewed by van Dijk as an interrelated notions that express the same complicated issues , whether we use the former or the later. According to him (1984) "racism or ethnicism are taken as notions that denote complex social phenomena both at the abstract, macro levels of societal structures, and at the micro levels of social cognition, discourse, communication, and interaction." (p. 28).He tries to pinpoint the relation between racism and ethnic prejudice by saying "Racism is an abstract property of social structures at all levels of society that manifests itself in ethnic prejudices as shared group cognitions, in discriminatory actions of persons as dominant group members, as well as in the actions, discourses, organization, or relationships within and among groups, institutions, classes, or other social formations." (p. 28). Ethnicity, refers to physical characteristics which are treated as ethnically significant- most commonly skin color- (Milory 2001) , while racism refers to

the false attribution of undesirable inherited characteristics to someone of a particular physical appearance.(Giddens1989)

The sociologist Anthony Giddens describes "racial differences" as "physical variations singled out by the members of a community or society as ethnically significant." Racism, for Giddens, thus "means falsely attributing inherited characteristics of personality or behavior to individuals of a particular physical appearance." Consequently, "[a] racist is someone who believes that a biological explanation can be given for characteristics of superiority or inferiority supposedly possessed by people of a given physical stock." (Giddens 1989: 244). He links the rise of racism in the new world with slavery and the early periods of colonialism, he points out that :" ever since the racial conflicts and divisions have tended to have pride of place in ethnic conflicts as a whole."(p.246). Racism has always been related generally to the group behavior ,however ,a different point of view have been proposed by Galander (2004) who sees it narrowly ,as a product to the pure individuality, in that when the individuals struggle to fulfill their own goals and when they fail to defend their weak ideologies, they stand behind their ethnicity or their tribes to empower themselves .

However ,van Dijk believes that racism is much more than an ideology of racists, it should be understood in a broader sense as "a complex societal system of ethnically or "racially" based domination and its resulting inequality" (van Dijk 1993). In other words, racism is both an ideology and its manifestation as a social practice with its all consequences on our societies, and that what makes racism and ethnicity are blatantly influencing the relations between different social formations.

Van Dijk (1984) stated " Ethnic prejudice -which abbreviated in prejudice- will be theoretically analyzed as a specific type of negative ethnic attitude shared by

the members of a (dominant) in-group. This fragment of a definition, which, of course, is to be fully spelled out in a theory, already suggests (a) that the analysis of prejudice is framed primarily in cognitive tercos, but also (b) that it is a social concept in the sense that it is a forro of social cognition about other groups and is shared by in-group members. In other words, for us there is no inherent distinction between the *cognitive* and the *social,* as the very notion of *social cognition* suggests" .(p. 26)

The idea of dealing with racism and ethnicism as two similar concepts or two different ones is not the most crucial point in our study since they are social realities with their impacts on the social and political life, however ,we adopt van Dijk's view about racism as the same concept of ethnicity. Smelser agrees by saying : "The concepts of race and ethnicity are social realities because they are deeply rooted in the consciousness of individuals and groups, and because they are firmly fixed in our society's institutional life.(2001:3) . Scholars from the various relevant disciplines, including sociolinguistics, seem to have taken three basic approaches to this problem:

 1) trying to define *ethnicity* in isolation;

2) trying to define *ethnic group* instead, then defining *ethnicity* as a corollary term;

 3) trying to define *ethnicity* in relation to *race*.

 Each of these has advantages and disadvantages. Cohen 1978 defines ethnicity as :" a set of descent-based cultural identifiers used to assign persons to groupings that expand and contract in inverse relation to the scale of inclusiveness and exclusiveness of the membership." (p : 387)

While ethnic groups are defined by Weber as :" human groups that entertain a subject belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration . . . it

does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists." (Weber, cited in Smelser et al. 2001:3) .

 Ethnic groups are supposed to have these characteristics :

1. Is largely biologically self-perpetuating

2. Shares fundamental cultural values . . .

3. Makes up a field of communication and interaction

4. Has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others,as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order. (Barth 1969)

  The ethnic group is a modern social construct, one undergoing constant change, an imagined community too large for intimate contact among its members, persons who are perceived by themselves and/or others to share a unique set of cultural and historical commonalities , It comes into being by reasons of its relationships with other social entities, usually by experiencing some degree of friction with other groups that adjoin it in physical or social space. (Zelinsky 2001:44)

The phenomena of social discrimination has manifested itself in complicated and overlapping types, mainly , racism, anti-semitism, and ethnicism, nationalism and sexism as well (Reisegl &Wodak 2001).

The analysis of racism in its modern western sense has been widely related to the expressions of prejudice towards immigrants and outsiders as general (eg; Wodak 1992,1993,1994, Jung& Wengeler &Boke & Fachtagung 1997,Wetherell & Potter 1993, van Dijk, 1984, 1987a, 1987c, 1991). These minorities are categorized according to their race, color, religion or culture. Van Dijk (1984) explains that" prejudice and racism are not limited to what are traditionally called different *racial* groups. Especially in Western Europe, in particular in the countries that have immigrant workers from several Mediterranean countries, the

discourse of race and racism has gradually taken a more sophisticated form by focusing primarily on "ethnic" properties of minority groups, and by emphasizing "cultural" differences."(p. 28). This concept of difference is constructed by the dominant class (us) to refer to the different minority groups (them). These generalizations of 'us' and 'them' categorizes people according to their physical and economic differences, and continue to produce inequalities between "us" and "them" (Dei and Calliste, 2000; Ogbu, 2003). More recently, it has been argued that race is a social construction typically used to "create and justify social and political hierarchies that maintain the *status quo* for the dominant race" (Smedly and Smedly, 2005). Hence, racism needs a more general, sociocultural correlate, namely, *ethnicism* (Mullard, 1985).

2.3.9 Terms in racial language

Krishnamurthy (1996) conducted a study to investigate three terms in the language of racism , ethnic ,racial and tribal. It reflects three major language sources which are : the media, the dictionaries and a large language corpus. In British media the word ethnic mean "black and Asians" (p.33).Interestingly 'race' is commonly found in less elevated combinations (race relations, race riots) rather than in scientific , academic and technical compounds like ethnic (in Caldas, Clouthard& Clouthard1996)

Krishnamurthy (1996) claimed that both native speakers dictionaries and learners dictionaries have not agreed on the same definitions on the terms race , ethnic or tribal. For example they do not have the same connotations, he states

:"Ethnic and racial , are not used pejoratively and humorously at all, so we cannot use tribal 'derogatively and humorously to refer to politicians, 'school – children' and 'overlarge families' on some occasions , and still expect it to be 'neutral' when we use it to refer to ethnic groups. And if we use it only of some 'ethnic groups' and not others, this strengthens the suspicion of racism." (p. 138).

He considers ethnic and racial as synonyms. This point of view is earlier adopted by van Dijk (1984), when he equals the term ethnic with the term racial and considers the two terms as reflections for the same concept, and the study has adopted this approach in dealing with the two terms as synonyms, he states:

"Our usage of the term racism follows traditional terminology, but it is intended to cover also the notion of ethnicism. In this perspective, we sometimes use the term as an adjective, for instance, in combinations such as racist attitude, which in that case is synonymous with ethnic prejudice 'because of the negative implications of the term racist" (p.28)

The idea of dealing with racism and ethnicism as two similar concepts or two different ones is not the most crucial point in our study since they are social realities with their impacts on the social and political life, Smelser agrees by saying :

"The concepts of race and ethnicity are social realities because they are deeply rooted in the consciousness of individuals and groups, and because they are firmly fixed in our society's institutional life"(2001:3).

Regardless of the social relativity of their definitions, or of whether we believe that race and ethnicity should or should not have the prominent role in society that they have, we cannot dismiss them as having no basis in reality. The ideologies associated with them create their own social reality (Fought 2006: 5).

Omi and Winant use the term "racial formation" for the social construction of race, more specifically for "the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed" (1994:55).

Thus , Regardless of the social relativity of their definitions, or of whether we believe that race and ethnicity should or should not have the prominent role in society that they have, we cannot dismiss them as having no basis in reality. The ideologies associated with them create their own social reality.(Fought 2006)

The deffrentialist racism is another type that emphasizes cultural differences , including lifestyles, habits, customs and manners, and paints a threatening picture of the mixing and interbreeding of culture and ethnic groups . Riesigl and

Wodak(2001) see deffrentialist racism as a synonymous with the notion of (cultural racism) because" every racism is undeniably a cultural phenomen." (p.9)

2.3.10 Racism and intergroup relations: Majority versus Minority

The phenomena of social discrimination has manifested itself in complicated and overlapping types, mainly , racism, anti-semitism, and ethnicism, nationalism and sexism as well. (Reisegl &Wodak 2001).The analysis of racism in its modern sense has been widely related to the expressions of prejudice towards immigrants and outsiders as general .These minorities are categorized according to their race, color, religion or culture. Van Dijk (1984) explains that:

" prejudice and racism are not limited to what are traditionally called different racial groups. Especially in Western Europe, in particular in the countries that have immigrant workers from several Mediterranean countries, the discourse of race and racism has gradually taken a more sophisticated form by focusing primarily on "ethnic" properties of minority groups, and by emphasizing "cultural" differences."(p. 28).

This concept of difference is constructed by the dominant class (us) to refer to the different minority groups (them). These generalizations of 'us' and 'them' categorizes people according to their physical and economic differences, and continue to produce inequalities between "us" and "them" (Dei and Calliste, 2000; Ogbu, 2003). More recently, it has been argued that race is a social construction typically used to "create and justify social and political hierarchies that maintain the *status quo* for the dominant race" (Smedly and Smedly, 2005). Hence, racism needs a more general, sociocultural correlate, namely, *ethnicism* (Mullard, 1985).

From this discussion we realized that the only person suffers from discrimination and racism is the minority members including "Blacks, Asian, Jews and Arabs" because these minorities are simple workers and simply asylum seekers. consequently the citizens especially in European countries and also in United

states of America mistreated and abused the minority because of their power and their white color, nationality or maybe their religion, they try to insult the minority because of their black color or may be because of their religion if they are Muslims or any other religion. Some sociologists have defined racism as a system of group privilege. In *Portraits of White Racism*, David Wellman has defined racism as "culturally sanctioned beliefs, which, regardless of intentions involved, defend the advantages whites have because of the subordinated position of racial minorities" (1993:76)

Nevertheless the white people express their insult and racism on the minority but we can figured out that the elite discourses played crucial role in this business of racism, through broadcasting it and publishing it in newspapers and news in television, so many racist opinions and beliefs are produced and reproduced by means of discourse.

Contrary to the popular beliefs, the concept of minority and majority in intergroup relations is not determined by group size, instead it is determined by group power and holding sway over the others.(Kleg 1993)

A central construction which explain these group concepts by considering both the size and power of the group is Schermerhorn (1970). He suggests the concepts of dominant group and subordinate groups. The dominant group is that group holding power:

" If this dominant group is in also numerical majority , it simply called majority . A group possessing power but numerically a minority is referred to as an elite . Among subordinate groups, that group lacking power and fewer in numbers is referred to as minority, if they numerically superior but lack power , the term " mass subjects " may be used " (p. 330).

Thus , when coming to analyzing racism and ethnic prejudice, power is central in that unless the racist person has a powerful situation on the oppressed people,

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he wouldn't be able to discriminate or hurt them. This power could take different types, it could be social, political, religious, economical, cultural or ideological power. .(Cartwright 1959; Clegg 1989 ;Galbraith1985;Lukes 1974; French & Raven1959 ;Wrong 1979; vanDijk 1993). Van Dijk (1993) stated :

" The top-down view on the processes of the reproduction of racism does not mean that the population at large passively accepts the ethnic views from the top or that popular racism does not have its own socio-economic and cultural dynamics"(p.86,in Phizacklea and Miles 1979).

Indeed, the thesis of the role of elite racism does not make the trivial claim that societal power, including racist ideologies, is simply dictated from above. The production and reproduction of social power is much more complex, and presupposes active contributions from various social formations, institutions, domains and layers of societal structure" (Lukes 1986:3).

However, vanDijk (1993) believes that this power that relates to racism is not individual or personal, it is a group power or dominance , he explains :

" Group power is basically a form of control: the range and nature of the actions of dominated group are limited by the actions, the influence ,or the perceived wishes of dominant group members."(p. 21)

There are generally two perspectives towards analyzing discourses of discrimination, the first one is the insider perspective (Dentaly, Jones,Wodak,Krzyzanowski and Wodak , Wodak 2009). It examines the ways in which minorities or migrants experience racial discrimination. According to Wodak (2009), "such analysis can only provide relevant knowledge to the many facets of racial discrimination from the perspective of the marginalized and vulnerable."(p. 65). However, it can't lead to a casual explanation of racial inequality. The second is the outsider perspective, which is much wider one, because it analyzes the discourse of the public arenas where politics are performed .The analysis here is 'about' minorities, as well as the frequently to be

observed positive self- presentation of politicians which manifests itself in disclaimers and even in the denial of racism.(Wodak 2009).

2.3.11 Prejudice and racism

Most psychological studies of "prejudice" deal with this aspect of racism, though seldom in those terms, that is, in terms of their role in the *social* system of racism. Prejudice is mostly studied as a characteristic of inviduals (Brown, 1995; Dovidio and Gaertner, 1986; Sniderman et al, 1993; Zanna and Olson, 1994). The conceptions of racism and ethnic prejudice are much more interrelated though the levels of this interrelation are viewed differently between scholars. Van Dijk (1993) tries to pinpoint the relation between racism and ethnic prejudice by saying :

"Racism is an abstract property of social structures at all levels of society that manifests itself in ethnic prejudices as shared group cognitions, in discriminatory actions of persons as dominant group members, as well as in the actions, discourses, organization, or relationships within and among groups, institutions, classes, or other social formations." (p. 28).

Unlike vanDijk, Better(2008) who focuses on American racism, and think that it is unfortunate to equate prejudice with all racism, and cling to non-structural barriers to account for its consistency. Better defines prejudice as "an irrational attitude of hostility directed against an individual, a group, a race, or their supposed characteristics, the act of prejudgement"(2008:12),while she defines racism as " an individual act or an institutional practice, that perpetuates inequality based on racial membership."(p.12) According to Better the idea of stereotype is separated from the definition of prejudice unlike the approach of Quasthoff (1973) that sees them as one concept, Better defines the stereotypes as " the process of maintaining a standardized image or mental picture of a group or a race to which all members of the group or race are said to conform "(p.12)

Van Dijk suggests what he called the ideological square, he states :

" In order to enable a more subtle ideological analysis that also applies to others structures in the expression of ideology, we modify the four principles :

1- Emphasize positive things about Us.

2- Emphasize negative things about Them.

3- de-emphasize negative things about Us.

4- de-emphasize positive things about Them." (2000.p.42).

Wodak and her group in Vienna investigate prejudice and racism, first in the 1990s, to trace in detail the constitution of an antisemetic stereotyped image as it emerged in public discourse in the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim. The study addressed the problem of ' antisemetic language behavior ' in contemporary Austria, antisemetic is defined as they studied the linguistic manifestation of prejudice towards Jews. Wodak (1990) were able to show that the context of the discourse had a significant impact on the structure, function, and the content of the antisemetic utterances and assumptions.(Reisigl & Wodak 2001,Wodak & Reisigl 2002;Wodak 2004b,Pelinka &Wodak 2002). Several other studies on prejudice and Austria in have led the group in Vienna to more general and theoretical considerations on the form and content of racist discourse about foreigners, minorities, immigrant workers..etc. As an example, the study on racist discrimination against immigrants coming from Romania (Matouschek,Wodak &Januschek 1995). When racism comes to be more than mere social practice, then it turns to be an institutional racism that refers to laws policies of social institutions and organization which favor one racial group over another.

2.3.13 Racial Discourse

The relation between language and racism have been investigated mostly by van Dijk (1984,1987,1991,1993a,1993b,2000). The connection between discourse

and racism is obvious in that discourse plays an important role in the production and reproduction of prejudice and racism. Van Dijk believes that this happens every day from the socialization talk of parents, children's books, and television programs to textbooks, news reports in the press, and other forms of public discourse, white people are engaged daily in communication about ethnic minorities and race relations. In this way, they acquire the mental models, the social knowledge, the attitudes, and the ideologies that control their action, interaction, and dialogues with or about minorities.(vanDijk 2000) . He explains :

" This cognitive system of biased social representations is at the basis of the racist social practices of the dominant group. One of these social practices is discourse. And it is discourse that also plays a fundamental role in the reproduction of racist ideologies throughout the ingroup".(p. 212).

The discursive construction of 'Us' and 'Them' is the foundation of prejudiced and racist perceptions and discourses, this discursive construction may be used to " problematise , marginalize, exclude ,or otherwise limit the human rights of ethnic/ religious/ minority out group" .(Schaffner 2009:413).

Similarly, van Dijk sees Discourse as playing an important role at both the micro and macro levels as well as in both interaction and cognition. At the micro level, discourse as a form of interaction may be directly discriminatory, for example, when white speakers or writers derogate minorities. At the same time, discourse expresses and influences social cognitions such as ethnic prejudices, and this contributes to their acquisition, use, and reproduction in everyday life.

Although not yet very detailed, nor very sophisticated, this brief list of levels and some structures of discourse gives a first impression of how discourse and its various structures may link up with some aspects of racism. Note also that the examples given show the kind of group polarization we also know from

underlying prejudices, namely, the overall tendency of in-group favoritism or positive self-presentation, on the one hand, and out-group derogation or negative Other-presentation, on the other.

In other words, with the many subtle structures of meanings, form, and action, racist discourse generally emphasizes our good things and their bad things, and mitigates or hides our bad things and their good things. This general "ideological" square not only applies to racist domination but in general to in-group out-group polarization in social practices, discourse, and thoughts. (Reisegl & Wodak 2001)

2.3.14 Elite Racism in the Political discourse

The perception of that discourse is just words , with no actual influence on our social life has no more been debunked. Racial and ethnic discourse could catalyze serious negative and violent consequences. Van Dijk (2002) is interested mainly on the power of the elite discourse as it could be discriminating and hence, damaging. He stated:

" They do so largely by speaking or writing, for instance; in cabinet meetings and parliamentary debates, in job interviews, news reports, advertising, lessons, textbooks, scholarly articles, movies or talk shows, among many other forms of elite discourse. That is, as is true also for other social practices directed against minorities, discourse may first of all be a form of verbal discrimination. Elite discourse may thus constitute an important elite form of racism: Similarly, the (re)production of ethnic prejudices that underlie such verbal and other social practices largely takes place through text , talk, and communication." (p.146).

Similarly , Reisigl and Wodak (2001) considered that elite people , specially politicians are responsible of shaping a specific public opinions and interests , and as seismographs that reflect and react to the atmospheric anticipation of changes in public opinion and on the articulation of changing interests of specific social groups and affected parties.

Hence, it is not enough to use only one approach or method to analyze any issue in the field, specially a complicated one like racism. The relationship between politics, people and media is one of the most difficult relationships. Wodak and Meyer (2001) think that there – still - no one are able to provide clear answers about who influences who, and how these influences are directed. Thus, the nature of the analysis of the political discourse should be interdisciplinary, and locates itself in several levels:" in theory, in the work itself, in teams and in practice".(Wodak 2001.p 69), hence, no mono-causal and mono-dimensional approach is adequate to grasp the complexity of racism.

Thus, the starting point of a discourse analytical approach to the complex phenomena of racism, is to realize that racism and ethnic prejudice as social practices and as ideologies manifest themselves discursively. This role of discourse that is used by the elites is highly influential, in "structuring power relations to establish, confirm or legitimate their abuse of power which resulted in different types of bias ."(vanDijk 2001).

Hence, analysis of racism in discourse should be within the structural framework of historical, political, socio-economic and cultural power relation in society (Mullard 1985).

The work in this study is basically relies upon this pioneering work of van Dijk (1993,1998), who argued that the elites 'politician, scholars, journalists ,etc' with all their roles in the society, have a primary role in the reproduction of racial and ethnic prejudice.

When ex-Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher referred to immigrants as' swamping' the country, and when Enoch Powell threatened with rivers of blood

ensuing from ethnic conflict, the message to ordinary British people was hardly ambiguous.(Reisigl & Wodak 2001).

However, two question are posed here, first do racism reproduction is only one sided flaw? Is the role of the public really a negative receptive role ? . if we consider the role of elites politicians as the only source of racial ideologies that being passed to the public, we would be presenting an incomplete and even trivial picture about a large and complicated situation in the relation between the political elites and their population, the population is not a passive subject, rather they have their own active role in reproduction of racism in societies.

2.3.15 Racism in the Media

In the twentieth century the mass media with its different types became important mean of political communication, shifting the focus of political rhetoric from the printed word to mass telecommunication. At the beginning of the Cold War, George Orwell brought attention to the political potential of language with his novel Nineteen Eighty-Four. In this satiric work, Orwell portraits a fictional dictatorship in which the traditional language ("Oldspeak") is gradually replaced by, and transformed into, a new and simplified language ("Newspeak") that serves the regime's political purposes (Joseph 2006 119-21).

Throughout most of the twentieth century, studies of rhetoric showed a tendency to interface with other disciplines such as politics, history, media and social theory.

Although in the 1970s there were some studies on social semiotics and critical linguistics that could be considered to have a strong political discourse perspective, the analysis of political discourse in purely linguistic terms has emerged only since the early 1980s and1990s (Wilson 2001: 399).

When the concepts of political analysis first spread in the United States during the 1970s, the construction of social problems was highly caused by studies that relates political concepts and political news as an integrated and influential relation between politics and media (Pederson 2009).Those who involved in the political and media arena have become increasingly self-conscious about the language they use. They become aware of the powerful influence of the media in constructing the public's knowledge, beliefs, ideologies and even stereotypes about racial and ethnic affairs. The elite's political discourse couldn't be that powerful without the mediating role of the press, the radio and television. Van Dijk (1993) believes that ,it is the mass media that actively spread the ideologies generally and those of racism in particular :

" Most elite types of discourse such as political and legal discourse, or scholarly reports, are directly accessible only to a small segment of the ingroup. Mass circulation and sharing among the ingroup of ethnic prejudices and ideologies presuppose mass communication, that is, expression or (re-) production in the mass media. Therefore, we assume that the (news) media play a very specific role in the distribution and acceptance of ethnic)."(p.203)

Thus ,investigating the role of the media in the reproduction of racism can only be properly understood and explained in terms of an account that combines political, cultural, and societal dimensions of media organizations at the macro-level with interactional, discursive, and cognitive aspects of news making and news reports at the micro-level. In this analysis, news-making routines, ideological frameworks of journalists, and relations between the media and other societal institutions, need to be examined in relation to the contents and structures of news reports. This part of the framework links societal

macrostructures with the micro-structures of social cognition and social practices of the reproduction of racism in news-making. Media images can be instrumental in constructing and reinforcing the prejudiced terms of any debate on racial events . (Wodak 1996). Wodak states : " It is essential in this connection to reiterate the significance and influence of the choice of topics by social elites such as politicians, journalists, etc on the formation of prejudice among the broader political public" (1996 p.109). As van Dijk writes, summarising his many years of research on prejudiced discourse:

" Most ethnic news stories are not reproductions of conversational stories. On the contrary, everyday stories often reproduce media stories. It is in this sense (only) that the media (claim to) provide what the public 'wants'…. Against this background, we have reasons, and empirical evidence, to assume that elite groups provide the initial (pre)- formulations of ethnic prejudices in society, and that the media are the major channel and the communicative context for such discourse." (van Dijk, 1989:361)

2.3 16 Majority vs Minority in the media

Majority and Minority struggle is an ancient case, it's just like Tom and Jerry series which never end, instead of the inequality system between the two parties and the oppression of the majority on the minority but minorities did many attempts to be considered as a local citizens especially in the European countries and to participate in the social activities which is allowed for them as citizens. Contradictory , the majority controls everything starting from the mass media, press and television broadcasting, which is a clear symbolic of the white dominance or the dominance of the elite who can easily publish and broadcast their discourse through these means, especially the press.

The lack of media access by minorities affect on their existence and on their power, its seldom to find one of the minority controls or headed a newspaper while the white members control all the press and its headed by white news actors, and also all the events and news come from the elite's sources which

contain white perspective and white ideologies against minorities, and through the press the elites brain washing the white citizens mind through misrepresent the minority in their discourse, news paper articles and television programs, and because of white citizens have no contact with minority they took bad image and negative impression about them.

In Europe, there are no virtually minority journalists because of white dominance and the elite on the media; sometimes we can find approximately one or two token from the minorities but their articles would have strict supervision and must be revised before they publish it.

Television has a limited access, also may be we can find one or two token from the very moderate visible token minorities. And those token it's probably that they are affected by the white dominance, or maybe they don't have the freedom to publish and broadcast whatever they want, for example those token are not allowed to publish or broadcast anything about ethnic affairs, but they usually give them the soft and less risky topics such as religion, folklore or the arts and so on. And this of course will have serious consequences on news production, writing style, source access and general perspective of news discourse or television programs (Hartman & Husband 1974).

Moreover, due to their limited social and economic power, minority groups and organizations also lack of the usual forms of organized media access, such as press conferences, press releases, and public relations departments (Fedler 1973) conversely, must white journalists are known to routinely prefer (white) institutional sources(Touchman 1978) and generally we find minority less credible especially when they are providing critical opinions about dominant

white journalists and minority sources may further limit minority access to the media (kochman 1981).

However, news sources are very important as a result your article will be accepted and published, minority journalists have not an easier access to news sources because of the limited social and economic power, consequently if a minority journalist publish an article, it's rarely to be believed or have predict to have a great number of readers, because as they thought it comes from incredible source, in addition to that his article also will be considered as an uninteresting one because the writer wouldn't speak about ethnic affairs or any topic about the minority which interest the white reader, similarly may be the writer will face many critiques from the elite, on the contrary white journalists are considered to be credible and believable because of the differential sources and access to news reports. In addition to the selection of the topics which will interest the white reader, usually these topics are stereotypical and negative which represent the white members "majority" in a positive –self presentation and contradictory misrepresent the others "minorities" others negative-presentation.

Thus topics about ethnic affairs, crime, drug addicts, and immigrants are considered to be interesting and will have a great number of white readers, consequently the white writer or reporter tends to write about minority and also intended to misrepresent them in many different styles of writing, quotations from white elites, rhetoric style and also euphemism, which will guarantee for him and his news paper a good number of white readers.

In European countries, news sources are considered to be a crucial back up to publish an article and because of the minority lack of news sources, their topics are considered to be incredible and an uninteresting while the white journalists

topics who have an easier news access to media are considered such as credible and an interesting topics, all this as a result of the white dominance and the control of the elite on the news sources which facilitate that to the white journalists.

To conclude, majority injustice is very clear against the minority, for example misrepresenting the minority in news and comedies, the bad education, connecting the black youth male with drugs and considering all Arabs such as terrorists is vivid example for their injustice. Majority has a negative and a bad impression from the minority as a result of the white journalist and the elite discourse who work hard to misrepresent the minority and to exercise their power through television shows and news articles. Eventually we can say that the media especially the press played a crucial role in the reproduction of racism and discrimination, as a result the white groups have xenophobia against the immigrants "minority"

2. 3.17 The Power of the Media

Politics as one of the key areas of social life, becomes rapidly more centered upon the mass media.(kochman 1981)

Van Dijk also (1993) believes in the role and the influence of the media in the reproduction of racism, he even accuses the media in that it has the upper hand in the matter of racism and discrimination. Also he connects the media with politics or with the elite who has the power and controls everything in the society, because their speeches and conferences usually broadcast through the media "television news, newspapers" and the politicians have a huge influence on their audience. In addition he says that the press can be the passive mouthpiece of other elites. He also added; the media plays a central role in

shaping the social cognition of the public. Then he defines the media recipient as active members in the society and they are independent. However he assumed that the role of the media is crucial in the sense that it's both ideological and structural.

The power of the media is not defined only by their broad ideological influence on their audience, and the elites who broadcast and publish their speeches in newspaper, television networks and broadcast organizations…etc. and through these means they exercise their power and control peoples mind. To summarize, he assumed that the media plays a crucial role in the reproduction of racism, especially in the matter of ethnic affaires. In spite of many of white people in many of European countries has no access and contact with others "minority" and his only means is the media which is totally written by white journalists who reflect his white ideologies which are totally negative and misrepresent the minority.

Cohen and Young (1981) argue that the media are responsible for supplying the base on which different groups and classes construct the image and significance of their lives, as well as their appraisal of the others. The media plays a significant role in the construction of reality because they deliver selective information and in fact, social information about life, culture, and the landscape of different groups.

We know more about places we are close to (whatever form of closeness that is) and this knowledge increase the importance of these places in our eyes, compared to other places about which we know little (Gould and White 1986). An individual learns through the media what significance he should ascribe to different places, peoples, and issues with which he has no contact.

According to Walmsley (1982) this power is what makes the media an instrument of social control. Many social aspects are related to cognitive or ideological aspects such as knowledge beliefs and social cognitions of journalists regarding the social, cultural, and political issues they write about. A study that is made by Wodak and her group In 1989 about the negative Austrian media discourse against the Romanian refugees . In 1989 the "iron curtain" that divided Europe was torn down, this change was greeted euphorically by politicians and media alike, but when the first waves of refugees and immigrants seeking asylum and work made their way westward , this welcoming spirits have vanished. The study focused on the Austrian political and mass media discourse about Romania and Romanians before and just after the fall of the ' Iron Curtain' in 1989 and 1990. Wodak explained the role of media in changing the Austrian attitudes towards refugees by saying : "Media images have been instrumental in constructing and reinforcing the prejudiced terms of the debate on the so-called 'foreigner problem'.(1996:109). Consequently, one of the most striking findings was that the politicians' debates, addresses and interviews as well as the mass media reports showed a tendency to shift from expressing sympathy and declaring compassion with the Romanian who were dictatorially terrorized and repressed by Ceauscescu's regime, to a more or less arrogant 'we-are-better' and patronizing advising of how to reform Romania, and to attempts to justify economically the rejection of their asylum seekers and refugees in Austria who pictured as an economic and social threat. (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 42)

In conclusion, we can see how powerful is the mass media in the reproduction of racism and discrimination, also, it is not a passive process, van Dijk (1993) states : " The press does not simply mimic or mediate the power of the political

or corporate elites . It has its own power domain in the power structure and actively contributes to the legitimation of white group dominance "(p.279)

2.4 Historical background

In a vast country like Sudan which has the unique advantage as being a central bridge between the Arab world and Africa, it is natural to find a huge diversity of ethnics and tribes, however, Domestic and international efforts to unite it's ethnically, racially, religiously, and culturally diverse population under a common national identity fell short. In Sudan, there are varieties of ethnics with different languages and customs, with a strong tribal and ethnic unity.

When unified (1956-2011), Sudan was Africa's largest nation, bordering nine countries and stretching from the northern borders of Kenya and Uganda to the southern borders of Egypt and Libya. Strategically located along the Nile River and the Red Sea, Sudan was historically described as a crossroads between the Arab world and Africa. Domestic and international efforts have been exerted, to unite its diverse population under a common national identity fell short.

The historical racial and ethnic prejudice in Sudan and other African countries is deeply rooted even before the era of colonization, which took most of the blame in this racial prejudice between the North and South, this history is made with different complications, and by different generation, so we should understand the comprehensive historical, political and social context.

Sudan has witnessed one of the longest civil wars in the world. It continued thirty-six years, claimed 1.9 million lives, displaced five million people, and caused a famine that takes much more lives, all this lives were more than what happened in the Bosnian, Rwandan and Somalia wars combined.(Afif 2010).

There were many opportunities to control this South / North conflicts by the governments, which instead have contributed consciously or unconsciously in reproducing more racial and ethnic prejudice so as to stay in power. And as the world was looking forward to seeing an end to this war with a historic comprehensive peace agreement accomplished in 2005 which was between the Northern government and the Southern Sudanese People Liberation Movement (SPLM) , another serious civil war was and still is intensifying in Darfur, while a low intensity one has for years been continuing in eastern Sudan.

The history of racial and ethnic conflict in Sudan is deeply rooted even before the era of colonization, which traditionally took most of the blame in this racial prejudice between people from the South and North, However, after more than four decades of national rule , Afif argues that the problem is not only there, but has aggravated, and " its latent religious tone has now taken a full-fledged form " (2010 :1).

During the last two decades, the sounds of ethnic prejudice have got louder, specially the political relationship between the Northern government and Southern People Liberation Army (SPLA) . Coinciding with Nivasha agreement in 2005, Darfur has been having a complicated conflict that can be traced even further back. However, the current civil war in the region erupted in 2003 when the rebel groups of (SLM/A) and the justice and Equality Movement (JEM) consisting mainly of 'African tribes' launched an attack against the Sudanese Arab dominated government.

2.4.1 Ethnic and Cultural Diversity

Sudan which repeatedly described as the microcosm of Africa, has a special location as it connects Africa North of Sahara with Africa South of Sahara, this unique bridging as mentioned before, reflected a huge ethnic and cultural

diversity. This is especially true, since the Nile and its tributaries run through it, starting from the heart of Africa to reach the Mediterranean sea. The Savannah belt has historically attracted numerous groups of people through migration and trade, riching the various aspects of cultural and social diversity (Ahmed 2012) Huge hetero-geniousity comes from these movements and interaction of over 50 ethnicities and 600 tribes live in Sudan (Sudan Census 1956). This diversity has definitely represented the meeting point of Arab and African culture that allowed for the development of distinctive ways of life and promoted varying systems of livehoods.(Ahmed 2008:7). Abdel Gaffar Ahmed assures that diversity could be an asset, if it is managed in a good and equal way. It could transcends prejudice and mistrust by accepting difference and abandoning stereotypes, however, nothing of this happened.(2008:8)

It is misleading if we suppose that racism in Sudan is a political issue only. Politics have contributed effectively in reconstructing racial and ethnic prejudice in Sudan. However, the phenomena is accumulated consequences of ages of miscommunication and misunderstanding that produced through years of continuous and comprehensive social conflicts, which have started even before the first attempts of colonization (Mania Peter 2003). If we take the South and North relation, we find that the historical collapse of understanding and communication is accumulated product that is not the fault of certain generation or group. This process of prejudice, have been built through centuries by Northern and Southern tribes and ethnics, British colonizers, Turkish traders, explorers and politicians. It is essential to be aware of these complicated and rooted historical collapse of trust in these ethnic relations, in order to draw a reliable and comprehensive ,hence effective analysis.

Sudan with its own and special characteristics, and with the diversity in its ethnics, cultures and even Geographic nature will definitely experience different parameters of racism unlike the western or white racism in the west.

2.4.2 Slavery black history

If we take the South and North relationships before the separation as an example, we find that the historical collapse of understanding and communication is accumulated product that is not the fault of certain generation or government. This process of prejudice have been built through centuries of slavery trade by Northern traders , Southern people themselves, British colonizers, Turkish traders, explorers and politicians. It is essential to be aware of these complicated and rooted historical collapse of trust in these ethnic relations, in order to draw a reliable and comprehensive ,hence effective analysis.

Thus, roots of the racial and ethnic conflict in Sudan are very old, and more likely to be natural in a multi- cultural and multi- ethnic country like Sudan. It should be understood here as encompassing certain forms of ethnicism, especially when criteria of religion , origin and appearance are combined with those of culture ,such as language, customs, norms, and values.

2.4.3 The crisis of Identity in Sudan

According to Afif (2010) in his article " The Crisis of Identity in Northern Sudan: A Dilemma of a black people in a white culture " , he summarizes the attempts to understand and analyze the roots of this war, then he proposes his own attempt. Sudanese historians and political analysts adopt two approaches:

First: the traditional approach that focuses on the colonial power and their calculated measures to separate the South from the North, by sowing the seeds of hatred in the South.

Second: the new generation rethinking in shifting the focus from the enemy" without" to enemy "within", it identifies the roots of the war as " a conflict between the two main identities , Northern and Southern (Afif 2010). According to Deng (1999) -the prominent Southern Sudanese intellectual-, the North and South alike has that wide consensus that the country is a state of a crisis of National identities, as he puts it " the war is basically viewed as a war of visions and a conflict of identities"(p.2), Deng eloquently puts it " The North, feeling that it is Arab and Muslim, has always sought to define the whole country in these terms. It did not only resist any attempts by the non-Arab segment of the country to identify Sudan with black Africa, but also tried relentlessly to assimilate the South through Arabization and Islamization policies, and to turn the Southern identity into a distorted image of the Northern self. The South, on the other hand, perceiving this scheme as a kind of cultural cloning, has always resisted it .(1999:4). Similarly, El Battahani (2013) believes that this is true, especially when the National Islamic Front (NFI) assumed power in 1989, it marshaled a riverine Arab- Muslim bloc against the SPLM, which represented historically the marginalized ethnic-regional forces. The northern ruling elites provided for token representation of marginalized ethnic groups and regions in government positions, thus, this considered by their people as a collaboration only to serve the interests of the northern elites than these of their regions and ethnic constituents.(p.26).

The third approach developed by Afif (2010) , goes a step further and investigates a deeper level of the roots of the war, he suggests a new approach, that focuses on the conflict "within" the Northern identities. In his study "The Crisis of Identity in Northern Sudan: A Dilemma of a black people in a white culture", he tries to reveal the connection between 'the cleavage caused by the ruling Northern elites in the country and the fissures of the Northern self, and

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whether the former is both manifestation and sign of the latter, thus Afif in his study makes another shift of focus from external duality characterizing the Northern self-divide. (2010)

2.4.5 Paradox of identity

In his paper (The Crisis of Identity in Northern Sudan: A Dilemma of a Black people with a White Culture) which presented at the CODSRIA African Humanities Institute, Afif (2010) argued that the Northern Sudanese suffer a crisis of identity. The root cause of this crisis stems from the fact that Northern Sudanese live in a split world. While they believe that they descended from an Arab "father" and an African "mother", they identify with the father and suppress the mother. However, the problem is that the mother is so prevailing all over their physiognomy to the extent that renders the father invisible, if not an imaginative creation. While northerners consider themselves Arabs, the "real" Arabs in the Arab World, especially in the Gulf and the Fertile Crescent, do not recognize them as such, but consider them '*abeed*, slaves. It is as if that northerners, when they look in the mirror, see their invisible father only by the power of their imagination, while the Arabs, when they look at northerners, see their African mother by the naked eye.

As a cultural argument also, Northern Sudanese have borrowed all the signification system of the Arabic culture, and the symbolic order of the Arabic language. The signification system of the Arabic culture and the symbolic order of the Arabic language standardise the "white" colour and stigmatise the "black" colour, at both the cultural and social levels.

Another paradox is that northerners who are generally "brown to black" are totally subsumed by the Arabic culture, which is essentially "white".In using the signification system of this culture, which despises the black colour, northerners do not find themselves, but they find the embodiment of the centre. The northern

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self is absent as a subject in this system. It is only seen, as an object, through the eyes of the centre. And the eyes of the centre detest, despise and scorn the black colour, *aswad*, plural *sudan*, as is abundantly evident in classical and modern Arabic cultural products, whether in poetry, classical literature, history and fiqh books, or in every day usage. For instance, when northerners read al-Mutanabi's satirical poems against Kafur, which are essentially racist, they identify with the former despite the fact that the latter was Nubian, just like them. At the level of language usage, northerners use the words "white" and "black" to symbolize good and evil, happiness and sadness, purity and corruption, good omen and bad omen. Expressions such as "the black day", "the black market", "somebody's heart is white or black", are uttered by northerners normally without any indication that users are being conscious to the self-detestation involved in this language usage. This obvious "misfit" inevitably leads to internalization of inferiority, "self-depreciation", and "a crippling self-hatred. It also leads to self-deception. This is evident by the fact that instead of adapting the Arabic language in order to fit their physiognomy, northerners chose to fantasize about their physiognomy to fit the language.

Socially, northerners call black people *'abeed*, slaves, just like the Arabs do, the matter which defines and explains their suppressive attitude towards the African component of the country, whether embodied inside themselves, or projected outside themselves in the image of southerners, Darfurians, Nubas and Angessena.

Politically, the northern ruling class decided that Sudan belong to the League of Arab States shortly after independence, and thus they placed the country, along with Somalia, Mauritania, Djibouti, and Comoros, in the margin of the Arab World.

Historically, northern Sudanese worked as agents of Arabs, Turkish and European slave traders, and traded in people from the black African Sudanese as we will see later.[33] Psychologically, the average northern Sudanese yearn to be white or at least with light complexion. This colour consciousness is so strong that the first thing northerners do, when a child is born, is to look at the colour of its ear, lest it will be dark, for it gives them an indication of its future colour. Northerners also suffer an invisibility complex that drives them to be more Christian than the Pope, and hence the over emphasis on their Arab identity. Adopting an identity that placed them in the margin of the "real" Arabs' identity, northerners pushed non-Arab Sudanese to the margin of their own identity, so that the latter were placed in the margin of the margin. However, the biggest paradox about northern Sudanese identity is that while they, on the one hand, call black people in their own country "slaves", northerners, on the other hand are called "slaves" themselves by the "real" Arabs outside Sudan. On the basis of the forgoing, one would conclude that northerners, by appending themselves to the Arab world in this manner, are well placed to play the role of the agent that executes on behalf of the Arabs a cultural mission in Sudan and beyond.

2.4.6 Political discourse on racial and ethnic issues

The political discourse in Sudan has witnessed a noticeable deterioration during the recent twenty years, however, this is not surprising for the language and discourse is one of the direct reflections of the entire deterioration in the cultural and social levels. The recent three decades where the Right islamists represented in their party, National Conference Party (NCP) has been ruling the country, have witnessed the outbreak of many conflicts and ethnic animosities. The capricious political discourse, that become common in the parliament and in the media has affected among other reasons the national and international political sphere. This discourse reflects racial and ethnic prejudice and violent ideologies

of the absolutist political practice that eliminate the 'other' and which resulted already in the particularism that widening the divisions between people in the same country. (Abu Zaid 2011). This negative discourse which definitely burst out from deeper historical and social complication, leads among other reasons ,to an outbreak of animosity, between different ethnicities, in the South of Sudan and in the West , in Darfur , and much mildly in other marginalized areas in the East.

Reproduction of ethnic prejudice and racism resulted also from the splitting up policies of the government, in that it tries to weakening all the oppositional parties, the local councils, in order to stay ruling with no threat. However, stigma people (Hashim 2014) find their ethnicities as the only securing protection, hence, the ethnic identity grows bigger, what happened reciprocally in the "prestigma" (Hashim2014), is that every lobby tried to protect his interests with their ethnicities. So the conflict of interests turns automatically to an ethnic conflict with all its racial prejudice that reproduced in a very severe way.

 When the National Islamic Front (NFI) assumed power in 1989, it marshaled a riverine Arab- Muslim bloc against the SPLM, which represented historically the marginalized ethnic-regional forces. The Northern ruling elites provided for token representation of marginalized ethnic groups and regions in government positions, thus, this considered by their people as a collaboration only to serve the interests of the northern elites than these of their regions and ethnic constituents.(El Battahani 2013:26).

2. 5 Empirical studies

This section intends to familiarize the reader with the most important relevant studies that investigated racism and ethnic prejudice in the media discourse,

using the discourse historical approach (DHA), it also provide a background to other analytical approaches that are developed by the key researchers in the field to analyze racial discourse in the media . Our target is the major scholars in the field of racism and discourse, since they proposed central approaches of analysis in their studies that become references for researchers and students in the field as well as from other sciences which intersect with critical discourse analysis.

2. 5 .1 Projects of Ruth Wodak and her group in Austria

Ruth Wodak, is a Professor in Applied Linguistics, who considered one of the pioneer scholars in the field of analyzing discursive discrimination on different levels, she conducted many studies in Austria to investigate different types of discrimination like anti-Semitism . Wodak and her group concerned about this issue particularly in Austria. This country has gained a great attention from researchers in the field of racism, in particular the anti-semetism (i.e hostility against Jews) has a deep history there. (Reisigl&Wodak2001)

Between 1938 and 1945 Austria was occupied by the Nazis and, taking the Nazi side during the Third Reich. However, the postwar history of Austria started to establish the myth of having been the first victim of Hitlerite regime, and thus not being guilty for anything that happened during the Third Reich. This need of justification to the Nazis crimes and doubts, developed strategies of denying of knowledge of the past actions and events, with a parallel feeling of antisemetic, un forgiveness towards the Jews for the Auschwitz.(Reisgl&Wodak2001)

 This hostility against Jews appeared and raised after the first world war in 1918 , in that during the first Austrian Republic that lasted till 1934 , antisemitic utterances were explicit and permitted in all Austrian parties, however , things changed during the second Austrian Republic in 1948, when anti-Semitism

become officially taboo, but paradoxically still visible(Reisigl&Wodak2001) .However Bernd Marin (1983) has characterized the situation after the war in Austria as 'antisemetism without Jews', as an assumption of using antisemetism as a political tool, that it was functionalized, but that no one could dare to call himself anti-Semitic after the Holocaust. Wodak states :" Whatever general validity Marin's thesis had prior to 1986, the results of our studies suggest that Marin's findings are applicable to the period since then only with significant modifications." (1991.366).

According to Wodak (1991,2001), antisemitism in post-war Austria must be viewed chiefly in relation to the "various ways employed in dealing with alleged or real guilt, with alleged or actual accusations about the Nazi past"(p 367). She analyzes the development of Austrian discourse of collective experiences and attitudes towards Semitism as providing discursive remedies, while several new topoi have been added. The forms of expression are very different, manifest or latent, explicit or very indirect. But each and every one appears to be a discourse of justification and defense.(Wodak1991)

2. 5 .2 Waldheim Affair 1986 p (43) Reisigl & Wodak

This study which conducted by Wodak and her team, started initially to trace in detail, the constitution of an anti-Semetic stereotyped image as it emerged in public discourse that arose in the 1986 during the Austrian presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim, the former secretary- general of the United Nations, and the controversy surrounding the disclosure of the previously unknown Nazis past of Kurt Waldheim during his military service during the war in the German army, this triggered an international media campaign in which he has been accused of concealing this past, and presented a flat contradiction to the official biography

of him. (Reiter2013,Reisgl & Wodak 2001,Wodak 1990). The affair focused international attentions to Waldheim personally, in that in April 1987 , the US department of Justice announced that it was placing him on a watch list.(Reisgl & Wodak 2001). However, the important thing is that (Waldheim Affair) posed many questions about the history of Antisemitism in Austria, it symbolizes the postpower unwillingness or inability to adequately confront the implications of Nazi abomination(Mitten 1992).

This study was carried out on the occasion of the Austrian ' Gedenkjahre' in 1988, the year in which the 50th anniversary of Austria's occupation by the ' Third Reich' was commemorated. The main interests of investigation in the study were:

1/ The publication and the media treatment of the report by a commission of seven international historians on former president Waldheim's Nazi past in February.

2/ The official political commemoration of the Austrian 'AnscluB' in March.

3/ The unveiling of a 'memorial against war and fascism' by the sculptor Alfred Hrdlicka in November, as well as the controversial discussions that preceded it several months.

4/ The premiere of the play 'Heldenplatz' by Tomas Bernahrd in November, which deals with Austrian anti-semetism then and now and its psycho-terrorising long-term impact on surviving Jewish victims.

5/ The commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the November pogrom."(Reisigl & Wodak 2001:42)

The public discourse in Austria during the events of 'Waldheim affair' in 1986, unleashed waves of anti-Semitic hostility in that lots of taboos were broken. Moreover, the public discourse switched noticeably to a sharp (us) and (them) pattern. The exclusionary boundaries of the (us) in-group have shifted constantly to Austria, Waldheim, the people's party and "all the people who wanted to stop thinking about the past". Meanwhile the (others) out group is the Jews, leftists, those Austrians who "foul their own nest", and also those 'Ausland', this describes everything outside Austria, and it could be mainly the international press and the Jews on the US East- Coast.(Mitten 1992). According to Reisigl and Wodak (2001), this constant allusion to the (us) group, facilitated the constitution of a ' Feinbild Jude' of an image of 'Jews as enemy', which in turn reinforce existing prejudice.

This study which entitled ' language of the past ' developed a triangular analysis of (linguistics, history and psychology) fields, to be presented later as the discourse historical approach. Wodak and her team believe that the analysis of the linguistic manifestation of anti-Semitic prejudice is not simple, because it is not totally characterized or identified language of prejudice, that is why they didn't rely on the (meta-data) alone. They collected (Waldheim story) with the all different historical documentation. The study has targeted two areas : First: analyzing the linguistic manifestations of prejudice in discourse, embedded in the linguistic and social context like newspapers reports for example. Second : confronting the media reports critically with other facts and contexts phenomena, and make a contrast between the texts that they have with the historical knowledge to depict and detect any disfiguring of facts and realities.(Reisgl & Wodak 2001)

The data comprised oral and written texts, three newspapers were read systematically, every day during the four months of the presidential election campaign (March to June 1986) and then at regular intervals after June 1986 (die Presse , Neue Kronen Zeitung, New York Times). Day to day radio and TV news, interviews, TV discussions. Hearings, larger news documentary series were systematically tape-recorded and partly transcribed. Discussions in diverse institutional settings and parts of the (Mahnwache), the vigil commemorating Austrian resistance in June1987 on Stephen Platz in Veinna, were also recorded and partly transcribed. (Wodak 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1991b)

Moreover, various levels of formality and a very different international settings were taken into account. Reisigl and Wodak (2001) justify and explain by saying :

" Antisemitic content can be expressed in a manifest or latent way depending on the setting (public, semi public, semi private, private), the formality of the situation, the persons gathered, the topic discussed and the presence or absence of Jews." (p.102)

2. 5 .3 The discourse of difference in Austria after the iron curtains (1989)

Wodak and her group in Vienna have developed – as we have mentioned- an interdisciplinary analytical approach of Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), first in the 1990s, to trace in detail the constitution of an antisemitic stereotyped image as it emerged in public discourse in the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim as mentioned before. However, several other studies on prejudice in Austria have led the group in Vienna to more general and theoretical considerations on the form and content of racist discourse about foreigners, minorities, immigrant workers..etc. As an example, the study on

racist discrimination against immigrants coming from Romania (Matouschek, Wodak & Januschek 1995). In 1989, the "iron curtain" dividing Europe was torn down. In Austria, as in other Western countries, these changes were welcomed by politicians and media alike, but when the first waves of refugees and immigrants seeking asylum and work made their way Westward , this welcoming spirits have vanished. This study tracing the development of public discourse in Austria on "foreigners and refugees problem ", Wodak focused on the changing of Austrians' attitudes towards their Eastern Central European neighbors. She studied the Austrian political and mass media discourse about Romania and Romanians before and just after the fall of the ' Iron Curtain' in 1989 and 1990. According to Wodak (1991b), one of the most striking findings was that the politicians' debates, addresses and interviews as well as the mass media reports showed a tendency to shift from expressing sympathy and declaring compassion with the Romanian who were dictatorially terrorized and repressed by Ceauscescu's regime, to a more or less arrogant 'we-are-better' and patronizing advising of how to reform Romania, and to attempts to justify economically the rejection of their asylum seekers and refugees in Austria who pictured as an economic and social threat. (Wodak 1991b, Reisigl & Wodak 2001. 42)

The prejudiced discourse about Romanians which developed in 1989 and 1990, employed different strategies of justification

2. 5 .4 FPO Party Discourse (Austria first petition 1992)

Austria used to have a relaxing official control on travel restrictions which made it an attractive destination for immigrants, especially with its wealthy state . According to the census (September1991) approximately 250,000 immigrant

entered Austria to settle, and by 1994, approximately 720.900 foreigners were living there. However, as we mentioned above, these welcoming policies have been changed to a xenophobic one in that refugees are the main source of dirt and crime in the country, in addition to that, they occupied jobs that supposed to be for Austrians, this increased a negative attitude towards refugees and immigrants.(Wodak 1991b)

In early Nineties, the right-wing and populist Austrian Freedom Party (FPO), a party sharing many features with Le Pan in France about hostility towards refugees, has put up a campaign poster declaring ' Vienna must not allowed to become Chicago' (Wodak 1996). This slogan had obviously the intended effect , for the FPO was able to more than double its previous votes (Plasser and Ulram1991) .However, another element of meaning is suggested by this slogan ,, that Chicago is the city with the largest concentration of people of Polish heritage outside Poland, according to Wodak (1996) '' if this pattern were related discursively, as it was temporally, to the dominant campaign issue of "foreign criminality", there seems a little doubt that the FPO party slogan about Chicago was a characteristic allusive formula designed to trigger just the kind of xenophobic resentment the new wave of '' criminal tourism '' had unleashed."(p.115). A bit later, after that campaign, FPO initiated two petitions to restrict immigration, the Austrian First Petition and the Anti-Foreigner Petition, the party with the leader Haider, launched another campaign, collected 417.278 Austrian signature to support the anti-foreigners laws that restrict and hinder the entrance and settling of thousands of refugees and asylum seekers who came from Romania, Poland, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia (Lebhart and Munz1999). Debates were continuously about the fear of millions of potential immigrants '' ready to inundate helpless Austria" (Reisigl &Wodak 2001:150).

The official Austrian reaction against these waves of immigrants was through different requirements and laws which restrict immigration waves, especially after the new residency law on July 1993 which close the door to many potential immigrants and empowers the immigration authorities to expatriate any number of those who have lived legally in Austria for years. According to the new law if the Austrian immigration authorities fail to complete work on requests of extending immigrants temporary residency permit by the end of six weeks after the expiration of the current permit, applicant lose their authorization to remain in the country, even if the delay is due only to slowness or inefficiency of the immigration authorities themselves.(Reisigl and Wodak 2001)

As whole, Wodak and her group look at the discourse about the two petitions as mainly evolving in six fields of political activity:

1/ law making procedure.

2/ Formation of public opinion and self- presentation.

3/ Part- internal development of an informed opinion.

4/ Political executive/ administration.

5/ Political advertising propaganda.

6/ Political control.

The text that Wodak selected from the whole petition is the text of the petition itself, it can be assigned to the political genre of 'petition for a referendum' and is primarily situated in the field of control. (put the diagram)

Through studying the text of the petition, Wodak and her group were trying to answer certain questions, which are:

1/ What were the issues that were coded in the text of the petition for the referendum? .

2/ What were the issues of the official rationale?

3/ How these issues were presented to achieve the consent of the 417,278 supporters?

4/ How these issues were presented to make the restrictive claims acceptable?

5/ What argument strategies and rhetorical devices were used to construct ' the foreigner ' and to mask explicitly racist or ' xenophobic ' contents?

6/ What slogans were employed, in pro and contra- campaign in the public press discussions and controversial parliament debate about the petition? (Reisigl and Wodak 2001:58)

In the twelve points of the petition, Wodak argues that some passages in the petition and its rationale are not only polemical rhetorically, but also explicitly racist, or at least ethnicist and which ascribe ethnic significance to social problems that have social and political causes beyond the influence of the ; foreigners'.(Reisgle and Wodak 2001)

According to Reisigl and Wodak, the petition used mitigating language as a party of the FPO's positive self- presentation, presenting the Austrian positive presentation in that they portray the world of 'law and order', contrasted with a second world of negative others presentation the portray of non- Austrian world of 'crime and disorder'.(2001)

Thus, the use of language in the twelve points of the petition criminalize foreigners, and depicted them as aliens who are illegal, guilty, dirty, and who do not speak or understand German. Wodak (1990a) concludes "The underlying

assumption become very clear as soon as one reads the first proposal: ' Austria is not a land of immigration' should be stated in the constitution itself."(p.46)

The most frequent negative topos found in the text of the petition are combination of : topos of threat, topos of burden, topos of culture, into the topos of ' impending decline of the Austrian cultural identity' and topos of authority.

Slogans were also investigated, since both the FPO and their opposition started a large campaigns around the petition, FPO used quotes from powerful politicians of the governing parties to underlie their proposal, we will take an example that Wodak (1991b) analyzed , which a slogan with the quotation " Weiner Blut" of a famous waltz by Johann Strauss (junior),Wodak explained :

" patterns to analyze is patterns of provocation, reaction and counter-reaction , the quotation marks : eg (Even the quotation marks used to bracket 'Wiener Blut', the reference to 'blood' can be seen as part of the strategy of pre-emptively warding off accusations of racism. For one, quotation marks are generally used in written communication as a means of creating distance between the text's producer and the text itself (i.e. this word, this phrase is not my own, but another's). Secondly, the phrase 'Wiener Blut' is known, to at least part of the population, as the title of a famous waltz by Johann Strauss (junior).[41] Significantly, however, the poster would not be meaningful if the reference were simply to the waltz or the operetta of the same name. In this context, the quotation marks mean first and foremost: 'We don't mean this literally, so please don't "misunderstand" our meaning...' (p.36)

2. 5 . 5 Van Dijk , racism in discourse studies

Van Dijk is an internationally known scholar in the field of discourse analysis, and the first who has addressed the problem of prejudice and racism from a discourse perspective. He started by investigating the role of the Dutch media in the reproduction of racism, then it turns to an ongoing, long-term project that has been active since 1981. Since then, many other sub-projects have been carried out, for instance on everyday conversations and storytelling about immigrants (in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, and San Diego, California), the representation

of immigrants and 'Third World' peoples in (Dutch) social science textbooks, the discourses of politicians, both in Europe and the USA, on immigration (a project carried out by a team led by Ruth Wodak and vanDijk), as well as the discourses of business managers. Racism and the media has been a permanent concern of this project. One of the major findings of these projects was about the prominent role of the "symbolic elites" in the (pre) formulation of racism in society. Later years the project has focused on the same topics in Spain and Latin America (vanDijk 2009).

Thus, the overall aim of van Dijk's research was to link structures and strategies of text and talk of white majority group members with the structures and strategies of their ethnic social cognitions, and the latter to the social practices and societal processes of the reproduction of racism, that is, to various forms of ethnic and racial discrimination. The goals of this project were to examine :

(a)   The ways in which white people write and talk about minorities and ethnic/racial affairs.(the micro level investigation of newspapers, editorials, schools books, academic discourse, interviews with managers, political speeches and parliamentary debates.)

(b) The social cognition that is the base of such discourse, and the integration of the   concept   of   ideology   into   this   socio-cognitive   model.
(c) The social, cultural, and political functions of such discourse and cognition in the reproduction of ethnic inequality (vanDijk, 1984, 1987, 1991, 1993).

(Reisigl & Wodak 2001).

2. 5 . 5 .1   Racism in the British newspapers in (1985-1986)

In this study the materials used for the empirical investigation consist of all types of news discourse that appeared in the British Press during the second part

of 1985. Selected were all news reports, background and feature articles, columns and editorials about ethnic affairs published between 1 August 1985, and 31 January 1986. A representative sample of both quality and popular national newspapers were thus studied in detail, namely, the Times, the Guardian, the Daily Telegraph, the Daily Mail, and the Sun, which together published more than 2,700 articles about ethnic affairs during this period. Clippings were obtained from the media files of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) in London. Double checking for accuracy showed that this collection was remarkably complete. `Missing' items are estimated to amount to approximately 1 per cent of the coverage.

Van Dijk tried to make the analysis up to date, by briefly examining the coverage of ethnic affairs in the same newspapers, plus the Independent, for the first six months of 1989. This coverage appeared to be much less extensive than that of 1985, and amounted to some 1,200 news items. In order to provide a comparative perspective, van Dijk reported some results'whatt!'' of a study of the major newspapers of the Dutch national Press, of which he analyzed the Press coverage for the second half of 1985 (about 1,500 items). Finally, to show the international implications of this study, and to emphasize the fact that the Press portrayal of ethnic affairs has similarities in many European countries and in North America, he also make occasional remarks and give brief reviews of studies about the coverage by and analyses of newspapers in some other countries(van Dijk 1993)

2. 5 . 5 .2 Parliamentary Debates

Van Dijk (1980 -1990) examined the ways in which politicians speak about race and ethnic relations, immigrants, refugees, and other minorities as well as how

they contribute through media coverage of their discourse to the ethnic consensus in white dominated societies. Analysis of fragments of parliamentary debates about ethnic affairs in Europe and North America shows that such talk often is premised on humanitarian values of tolerance, equality, and hospitality. At the same time, however, politicians participate in more subtle forms of elite racism when they present immigration and minority relations as essentially problematic, if not threatening, while defining refugees, immigrants, or minorities as a main cause of many societal problems. This study was one of the pioneer studies that investigated parliamentary debates in U.S , Great Britain, France, Germany and the Netherlands.

First he traced the prominent debates about ethnic issues that took place in 1980's. He also selected a collection of congressional or parliamentary records from the U.S House of Representatives and Senates, the British House of Commons, the French Assembee' Nationale, the German Bundestag, and the Dutch Tweede Kamer (Second Chamber of Parliament), Italian records were collected also , in addition to policy documents, public speeches, from Netherland , as well as other political documents about ethnic affairs. (van Dijk 1993)

In spite of all these huge data, van Dijk stated that it is impossible to carry out a detailed discourse analysis of all of these data. A selection is used on more or less explicitly passages that deal with attributed properties of immigrants, resident minorities, discrimination, racism and related policies and principles of political action regarding these affairs.

The project focused primarily on the persuasive dimensions of text and talk, that is, on argumentative strategies, style, and rhetoric. This qualitative method

aimed to investigate what Members of Parliament say, and how they say, the quantitative results of 'how often' is not considered at all.

According to van Dijk (1993), parliamentary discourse is generally planned, fixed, and actually formulated in advance. He believes that parliamentarians know that their talk is for record, so they act accordingly, with control and monitoring in text and talk about ethnic minorities and immigrants. Those parliamentarians try to persuade others " … that their position on some issues is well founded, reasonable, or otherwise acceptable, or conversely, they try to show why opposed positions are not "(van Dijk 1993:71)

Despite of the large varieties of topics and issues, the range of persuasive strategies is still stereotypical. Languages of the records were translated into English as literally as possible in order to maintain their stylistic and rhetorical flavor.

The persuasive strategies that were used in the study are as follows:

1/ Positive self- presentation: Nationalist Rhetoric

There are different forms of this strategy such as : pride, self -glorification, positive comparison with other countries. These forms are used in order to :

a- Defense attacks or potential doubts, or possible objections.

b- Block negative inferences about negative things said about immigrants or minorities.

2/ Disclaimers and the denial of Racism:

This strategy could be understood better by examining the context of the passage and understand the broader ideological, sociopolitical, and local argumentative

function of such passage. It may be used as response to other opposed claims as denials of implicit or explicit accusations like 'you don't respect your values/ you are not tolerant /not hospitable, etc

Another context when counter- claims are effectively made, or even if no such accusation are made, here, positive self - representation comes to express underlying norms and values of a consensus.

Structures of disclaimers are various, but the most common one is that with the introduction of the grand claims of virtue and superiority, eg (we are very tolerant towards minorities, but …..).This general structure of 'we do' are positive, but 'they do' are negative. Mr. Lubbers, the Dutch Prime Minister for example argues that if the government have failed, this will be because of being too 'soft' to minorities. He advocates a dual system of rights and duties:

" Minority policy begins by taking each other totally seriously in rights, and those who live here have the right to the same rights, but those who live here also have the same obligation to fulfil their duties"(The Netherlands. Mr. Lubbers, IKON, radio interview. March 25, 1990. In vanDijk 1993:77)

3/ Negative other- presentation

Modern racism is most of the time symbolic or much more indirect, unlike the situation several decades ago, when elites used explicit verbal defamation (Dividio and Gaertner 1986). The ethnic attitude is still the same. However, the blatant derogatory labels are being changed. Van Dijk (1993) looked at different indirect derogation as the new way of manifestations of ethnic bias, he thinks that seemingly innocent " buzzwords" and complicated "buzz tactics" have replaced the old blatant derogatory labels. Thus , instead of categorizing the members of another group as less intelligent, or lazy or criminal, white elites

may represented them as oversensitive, underachieving or too demanding.(van Dijk 1993)

4/ Firm but fair

These are different argumentative methods of combining quasi- negative and positive self – descriptions, in that the form starts with a negative property of (us), followed by a contrast or a paradoxical conclusion. For example : " There are racist parties and there is some discrimination in Netherland but on the whole, it is a tolerant country"

One another way is to invoke the routine rhetorical pair "firm and fair", this phrase is used to legitimate immigration restriction, or other limitation of the rights of minorities. When using the word firm or tough, it cannot be positive. This "potenalistic" strategy is used in many parliamentary debates. Van Dijk has considered many parliamentary debate passages from U.S , Germany , and Great Britain . For example, here are passages from the defense of their bills by Hurd and Schuable, Interior secretaries of Great Britain and Germany respectively:

" If we are to work seriously for harmony, non-discrimination and equality of opportunity in our cities, that has to be accompanied by firm and fair immigration control."(Great Britain. Mr. Hurd. July 5. 1989.c.380)

" It belongs to this fair balance of interest that the further immigration of foreigners must be limited, because of each society there are limits to the ability and the realness to integrate" (Germany. Mr. Schuable. April 26.1990.p.16281)

Van Dijk discusses this political expedience of 'firm but fair' move in such argumentations as it defined by the constituencies being addressed by such parliamentary discourse. He considers that the acknowledgment of the need to

fairness is just a fake humanitarian touch to avoid accusation of xenophobia or racism and to attract more liberal and tolerant voters, however, vanDijk finds out that all strict rules and regulations that control immigration and ethnic affairs show that firmness and not fairness is the actual aim being pursued and implemented.(van Dijk 1993)

5/ For their own good

This is another partial representation of positive self –representation, in that presenting this apparent empathy move : we are doing something good for them. According to vanDijk 1993, the standard argument, heard in every day conversations and in the racist propaganda about immigrants is that, limiting immigration would not better for 'us' , but for 'them' , in that they should go back to build their countries, which is good for them and their countries.

A typical example of this Apparent Empathy - among various ones that were investigated by vanDijk- is these fragments in the radio interview of Prime Minister Lubbers of the Netherlands:

" But minority policy as care-policy, minority policy as the prevention of discrimination, as only offering things, is insufficient……well-meaning policies in favour of minorities will have reverse effects, therefore we should have a mature approach…Moreover , such a measure is hard to implement. It leads to demotivation. (Netherlands, Mr. Lubbers, IKON radio, March 25, 1990)

In these fragments many tough policies were advocated, in that welfare policies or anti- discrimination measures are declared as immature and out of fashion ,and that they are bad for minorities. This implies that 'our' new ' mature' approach will be good for them. Thus as van Dijk sees it " firmness and toughness are associated with the realism and pragmatism of adult parents who

really care for their children, even when it seems 'a little hurt'. Other approaches only lead to 'demotivation', the well- known buzzword for 'they don't want to work'."(van Dijk 1993:96) .

6/ White racism

This is another strategy that is used by the Right politicians to persuade the parliament and the public to establish much more strict policies against the immigrants and it always accuse the left of being soft to immigration issues, what reproduces much more racism. Van Dijk decided that it is an obvious elite strategy because:" it exclusively attribute potential racism to the white lower class, and in particular to those in the inner cities. The argument is : stop immigration or stop Affirmative Action because otherwise, we will get even more racist !"(1993:112). Those elites, especially on the Right may attack their liberal colleagues by emphasizing that they at least listen to ordinary people , as said by Dutch Prime Minister Lubbers in his radio interview when he said :

" Preferential hiring may also give rise of feeling of jealousy of the other involved in such business enterprise"

This move might be counter- productive as van Dijk call it, because it may alienate white voters, so it is mostly combined with the populist claim that the politicians speak for the people. British Tories especially play this game of the people's voice, Sir John Stokes' the Right wing speaker' formulates sneering at Labour, and inviting popular support and legitimation for their own restrictive policies:

"In debates of this kind, I have always been struck forcibly by how much Labour and Liberal Members have distanced themselves from the feelings of ordinary people. In so far as the small changes in the rules reduce the flow of immigration

to this country, they will be welcomed wholeheartedly by the British public. We must be careful to respect the view of the people who elected us to this place" (Great Britain .Sir John Stokes, May 15,1990(columns 842-844). This strategy has different moves that are used by the Right as generally trying to focus on certain issues that can gain support from people to be much stricter against immigrants. Some of them are : 1/ The anti- intellectualism move (the people's voice) : being close and respectful to the ordinary people – who elected us- and listening to them by protecting them from the newcomers who will come to take their jobs and thoroughly protecting them of being jealous and hence more racist. 2/ The move of reverse (blame transfer): , when conservatives caught between the Left and the Right, they want to distance themselves from both. This move becomes a complete reversal of possible accusation leveled against the conservatives for sharing many anti-minority attitudes with the extreme Right and for contributing to the rise of racism.(van Dijk 1993:101). Van Dijk found this move very popular, when conservatives accuse others to be the reason of the rise of racism to defend themselves. It is common everywhere, in the British Parliament , the French Assemble'e when they accuse the socialist of being the real cause of the rise of racism, with the conservatives in Germany, and in the United States about the civil rights there.

7/ The Numbers Game: This is another well-known moveespecialy in the press, in the negative presentation of immigrants, the rhetorical use of quasi-objective figures, conversingly display how many "come in" every day, week, month or year, this is one of the most compelling scare tactics in the formation of the public opinion. The figures presented in a certain way to appear impressive, however, they are not presented with the whole picture, for example, they are always given in an absolute numbers, so that thousands, or even hundreds of

thousands of refugees or immigrants arriving each year appear to be quite impressive, sometimes it is never mentioned even if these rhetoric numbers are every week, or month, or year. In percentage of the total population, even all minorities counted together amount to only a small percentage, at least in Europe. This percentage is increasing very slowly, a numerical fact, however, that is not routinely presented to the public. Another example is that reference may be made to only one city or one specific period as when a British MP finds it " a frightening concept " that one in three children born in London, is of ethnic origin. (van Dijk 1993:107)

8/ Anti-Racism and Resistance

In western parliaments, the discourse on ethnic affairs by the Right – wing and conservatives may be opposed by liberals, van Dijk noted that such opposition is primarily also political. That is , it is formulated as part- political opposition, and not primarily as moral or ideological opposition against everyday political racism of the Right. The more negative presentation on minorities over tunes when the Left happen to be on power. An example of this move in this speech of Sir John Stokes in the British Parliament :

" The history of immigration rules is almost the history of allowing people to drawn within the sight of shore. Indeed, they should no longer be called" immigration" rules , " exclusion" rules would describe their purpose much more accurately ."(Great Britain , Sir John Stokes, May.5.1990.c.390-391)

In this study as we have seen, vanDijk tries to examine the discourse dimensions of the politics of race and ethnicity. The debates in Western parliament show some contradictions and complexities, both in their discursive structures and strategies and in the underlying social cognitions and ensuing decision making

of (white) politicians. As van Dijk (2000) explained below, a part of the results that he found in these studies :

" According to my theory and analysis, parliamentary debates are, by definition, ideologically based. MPs do not speak as individuals but as group (party) members. Parties are the quintessential ideological groups, because party formation is largely ideological. This (theoretically) implies that contributions to a debate are a function of the ideology of the party as interpreted by the speaker. In other words, the social representations of MPs are one of the cognitive categories that form part of a context (that is, of a context model).

This is not merely an analytical category, but also a practical, group member's category. Not only will MPs express (intentionally or not) their ideologically based mental models of a particular event (e.g., the immigration of asylum seekers), but other MPs (and the public) will typically hear such discourse as a partisan and hence as ideological. Conversely, parliamentary discourses may also contribute to the changes of context, such as the relations between groups, for example, between government and opposition parties. "(p.99)

Moreover, vanDijk comes to such surprising similarities in results, despite the obvious national and regional differences, complexities and contradictions in western Europe and US, results is remarkably homogenous, both as to topical content and as to rhetorical and argumentative strategies of persuasion, rationalization and legitimation. Also, similarities there are no evidence of real realization of any legislation against discrimination, or with true ethnic – racial equality, justice and multi-culturalism (vanDijk 1993:114)

2. 5 . 6 John Solomos and Les Back studies

Les Back and Solomos who are a professors in sociology and who have intensive research on race and ethnicity issues, have conducted a series of studies of the dynamics of race, class and social change in the British politics. It is informed by three kinds of conceptual and empirical input :

1/ A series of studies for a decade about the changing politics of race, ethnicity and notion in the British society.

2/ An important study about racialised politics in Brimingham. This study shape the politics in the British society, it focuses on the recent changes in the involvement of minorities in the political system, the emergence of new political forces and movements and responses of the main political parties to issues such as the representation of black minorities, and the emergence of black politicians.

3/ The ongoing attempt to provide a theoretical framework for the analysis of the interplay between the development of racial identities and wider socio-political process.(Les Back & Solomos 2002)

This input specially the second one, has been discussed and summarized in their book "Race, Politics and Social change " , Les Back and Solomos have written the book against the background of ongoing change and transformation of the politics of race in Britain and other industrial societies. They investigate the development and transformation of political debate about race and ethnicity, they analyze the changing dynamics of racialized political mobilization in Brimigham and in the British society as a whole, in addition, they link up to the broader debates about the impact of multiculturalism on contemporary politics, the role of minorities in political life and the limits of democratic government.

The book key argument derive from their study of the everyday process that have produced new forms of political discourse mobilization around the issue of race in Brimingham.

These studies tries to answer some central questions:

1/ Why are the contemporary forms of racialised politics instable?

2/ How have new forms of mobilization helped to change the face of political institution in the political system.

3/ How have these new forms helped also to generate new means of involvement and participation in the political system.

4/ What role and impact do minority politicians have within political system. (Les Back & Solomos 2002: x)

The method used for this study is interviews, they interview different types of people, the black labor councilor politicians, and as many elected representatives as possible , drawing the samples from all political parties. The interviews also targeted the key council officers for all the major departments that serviced the key committees within the council structure. In addition to the activists in community mainstream politics, the target here is to get an idea of how Birmingham City Council was viewed from within the community. The study also involved archival research and regular discussions with key political actors and participants observation.(Les Back & Solomos 2002: 5)

2. 6 Conclusion

The goal of this chapter is to present the theoretical framework which the study is based. The chapter is divided into three parts. The first part, entitled critical

discourse analysis, starts by tracing the history of the study of critical discourse and the development of Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) today. It then defines what PDA is and reviews related issues to analyzing political discourse.

The second part, entitled ' Racism' discusses in related issues in details, like racism approaches and all the manifestations of social discrimination and racism in the media .

The third part is a historical background about the Sudanese context and the racial and ethnic prejudice roots. The fourth part is about some empirical studies about racism in discourse.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is made to give a brief account about the detailed picture of most relevant research methodology, tools and sample of the study which is exclusively drawn to pursue this study.

The researcher was used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Approaches namely, discourse historical Approach, as well as method of semi structural interview.

The specific discourse- analytical approach applied was adopted from the discourse historical approach presented by Wodak and her group in 1990 to trace the intertexual history of phrases and arguments(Wodak 1995, van Leeuwen&Wodak1999) Martin Riesigl (1998. 1999). The researcher applied two dimensional approach. First, we established the specific contents or topics of the political discourse. Second, we chose three important discursive strategies which are referential , predicational and the argumentation strategies that are used in the positive self presentation and negative- others presentation.

3.2 Research method

The adopted methodology which is CDA, has different approaches and methods, in this study ,it is thought that the most suitable method to analyze racism and ethnic prejudice are two methods ,the first is the historical discourse approach, and the second method is descriptive which is used semi structural interviews.

3.3 Research Design: Qualitative analysis

In endeavouring to explore the research questions put forward, a 3 dimensional Qualitative research framework (figure 3.1) was especially designed to examine the newspaper data from various perspectives: (1) In-depth qualitative Critical Discourse analysis (CDA), (2)Semi - structural interviews, and (3) Proverbs interpretation analysis
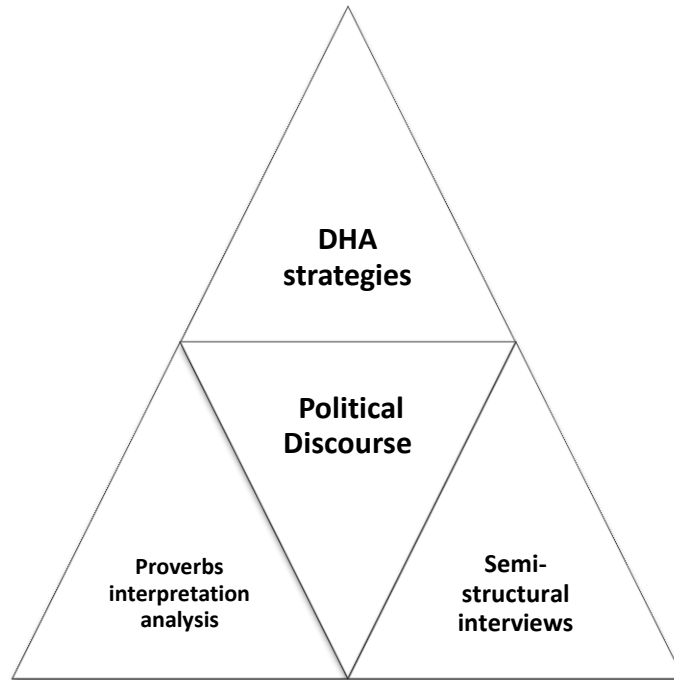
Figure 3.1 Three dimensional qualitative analytical research framework

This 'triangular method research' approach is justified as follows:

1\ To explore the various facets required to form a comprehensive understanding of the context and ideologies that may be found in newspaper texts.

(2) To achieve methodological triangulation, whereby using more than one method and source of data to explore the same social phenomenon, the findings of the study can be crosschecked (Bryman 2008: 700), consequently, further enhancing the validity and reliability of the findings. In this case, the primary study will be the critical discourse analysis of newspaper texts, followed the discourse of the media elites in the semi structural interviews, and finally conducting an interpretation analysis of some of the proverbs found in the Sudanese folklore.

3.4 Discourse Historical approach (DHA)

There are many approaches committed to CDA. In a field like politics with all its complications, it is not enough to work only with CDA, it should be only one component of a multiple approaches needed. Wodak (2001:64) believes that the relationships between media, politics, and people are very complex, she admitted that scholars still have not been able to

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provide clear answers about who influences who and how these influences are directed. Only interdisciplinary research will be able to make such complex relationships more transparent. Ruth Wodak and her group in Vienna developed a type of CDA which is The discourse historical approach.(Reisigl &Wodakl 2009, DeCillia,Reisigl,and Wodak 1999, Wodak &Meyer2009 and Krzyzanowski 2008) .

 In CDA, social practices imply a 'dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and…situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s)' (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258). Wodak stated: "Discursive events are identified as being constitutive of and constituted by social context (situations), by objects of knowledge (institutions) and the social identities of (and relationships between) people and groups (social structures). Thus, discourse-historical approach DHA is the approach that seeks to integrate as many of the genres of discourse referring to a particular issue as possible, as well as the historical dimensions of that issue.

The key DHA argument is that a focus on objective social variables, such as gender, class, or ethnicity cannot sufficiently demonstrate the influence of social context on language variation and discourse. The interaction between social structures and discourse structures is mediated, van Dijk argues, by the cognitive (social psychology) context. Wodak and Meyer (2009) developed this argument and stated that it is not objective social situations that influence language variation but rather it is the "subjective definitions of the relevant properties of these communicative situations that influence talk and text," (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, 14).These subjective definitions are determined by the social-psychological contexts of the relevant actors.

DHA intensively highlights the need to include the historical, social, political context within the analytical process. It offers insight into the interplay between social structures and individual actors, and offers a way to reconceptualize subjectivity and agency in more cognitive terms. (Wodak, 1999)

 (DHA) is multi-methodical, multi-theoretical, critical and self-reflective, it doesn't focus only on discursive practices, but also a wide range of material and semiotic practices (Wodak 2001)

DHA follows three dimensions of analysis :

1. The specific contents or topics with racist or ethnicist ingredients are to be collected.

2. The selected discursive strategies is going to be investigated.

3. The linguistic means and the specific context dependent linguistic realizations of the discriminatory stereotypes are going to be examined.

In this study one dimension has been used , which is the discursive strategies. Wodak has chosen five strategies by which people are discriminated against in an ethnicist or racist manner, and involved in the positive self-and negative others presentation, she posed the five questions by stating :

" We orientate ourselves to five simple but not at all randomly selected questions : How are persons named and referred to linguistically? What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them? By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimise the exclusion, discrimination, suppression and exploitation of others? From what perspective or point of view are these namings, attributions and arguments expressed? Are the respective discriminating utterances articulated overtly, are they even intensified or are they mitigated?" (Reisgl &Wodak 2001:44)

The strategies are :

- **Referential :** which are enacted via membership categorization devices, including tropical reference by biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing metaphors and metonymies as well as synecdoche, eg Negger, stranger , gay.

- **Predication :** attribution and categorization to people, things , places or events, eg . foreigners are dirty.

- **Prespectivation and involvement** which is framing or discourse representation by which speakers express their involvement in discourse, position their point of view in a report, eg : description, narration or quotation of discriminatory events or utterances.

- **Intensification and mitigation** : how are arguments, points of views and other discursive strategies intensified or mitigated through linguistic means.

   Argumentation : A key discursive strategy in the media texts ,Reisigl and Wodak (2000) suggest that in analysing discriminatory discourse, *topoi* are powerful and influential discourse strategies. Topoi can be described as parts of argumentation that belong to obligatory, either explicit or inferable, premises. They are the content-related warrants or 'conclusion rules' that connect the argument with the conclusion or claim (Reisigl & Wodak 2001: 75).There is a fund of topoi through which positive and negative attributions are justified, through which, eg: the social and political inclusion or exclusion, the

discrimination or preferential treatment of the respective persons or groups of persons is suggested to be warranted. (KhosraVinik 2010:175)

In this study the researcher has chosen three strategies to analyze the political discourse in the Sudanese press , the referential , predicational and argumentation strategies.

It is worth noting that this research on racism and ethnic prejudice in discourse in this interdisciplinary perspective, is a recent kind of research, the first study was by van Dijk in 1990, thus, there is no much studies in this field, and even if exists as we have seen, they are from Western perspectives, which is different from the African and much more specifically the Sudanese perspectives . So applications of DHA on the Sudanese context , will definitely prove different parameters.

3.5 DHA : Self and other presentation in the political discourse in the press

According to the DHA, there are different fields of action, these are the segments of the respective societal 'reality' which contribute to constituting and shaping the 'frame' of discourse. The media discourse' about a specific topic like racial and ethinc discrimination can find its starting point within the field of ' formation of public-opinion and self – presentation.' . In this field of action there are various genres, like press releases, press conferences, interviews, talk shows and others. However, it is not necessarily to take them all under consideration during analysis. In this study the main genre is the interviews. The topics under analysis depends on the question of the research, so an open number of topics can be analyzed in the selected genres.(Riesigl and Wodak 2001)

Abundant methods have been used and proposed within the general framework of CDA in analysing discursive representation of various types. These may vary in form and content, depending on (a) the general approach that a research topic may require e.g. assigning prominence to sociological, cognitive, political, or discoursal aspects of analysis, and (b) the choice of conceptual, theoretical, formal and methodological options made by the researcher(s). Analysis of representations of social groups and discursive qualities of demarcation of Us vs. Them on the basis of factors such as race, ethnicity, religion, social class, nationality, language/dialect, gender, etc. have constituted a bulk of research in CDA for the past few decades. These studies have been informed by a variety of grand and middle-range linguistic and social theories which equip them with the crucial *explication* level where

the linguistic processes/mechanisms are contextualized in various different contexts. In the meantime a considerable level of overlapping exists in terms of both macro-argumentative and micro-linguistic strategies among all exclusionary discourses in Self and Other representation (KhosraviNik,2010 :171) .

3.5.1 Referential Strategy

The general framework of referential strategy employed in the elites discourse arises from and contributes to its Us/Them categorization constructing a world of 'Us, the virtuous' and 'Them, the bullies and enemy'. Such categorization is essentially and strategically vague in terms of its conflation of countries, groups, communities, phenomena and social actors which are explicitly or implicitly grouped together. The main strategy pursued is to assume that a strong clear-cut classification exists. Us is constructed as an absolute right as well as an unjustified, bad Other.

3.5.2 Predicational Strategy

Predication strategy is one of the important strategies that express the positive self /negative others representation, according to Riesigl and Wodak (2001) , it is the basic process and the result of assigning qualities that employed to ascribe certain traits and attribute certain characteristics - either positive or negative ones – to people , groups , animals , things , events , actions and social phenomena . This predication assign these categories with respect to quality , quantity, space , time and so on, hence, predication construct certain judgment on certain category, as Riesigl and Wodak (2001) stated : " Predications are linguistically more or less evaluative (deprecatory or appreciative),explicit or implicit and specific or vague/ evasive."(p.54)

3.5.3 Argumentation strategy

It is used in analyzing racial discourse as well as tracing the exclusion / inclusion discrimination." (Wodak & Reisigl 2000: 44) ,where there is a fund of topoi through which positive and negative attributions are justified, through which, for example, the social and political inclusion or exclusion, the discrimination or preferential treatment of the respective persons or groups of persons is suggested to be warranted)(KhosravNik 2005)

3.5.3.1 Topoi

The Discourse-Historical Approach focuses on the analysis of topoi as part of the argumentation structure in discourse. It maintains that topoi have a crucial role in the structure of discourses of Self and Other construction by drawing on Van Eemeren *et al.(l987;* 1996), Van Eemeren & Grootendorst (1992) and Kienpointner (1992). Reisigl and Wodak (2001) characterise topoi (or loci) as 'parts of argumentation which belongs to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises'. They are the content-related warrants or 'conclusion rules' which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion - they claim. They justify the transition from the argument to the conclusion (Reisigl and Wodak 2001:74-5).

3. 6   Semi structural interviews with media elites

> Van Dijk (1993), Reisigl and Wodak (2001) considered that elite people , specially politicians are responsible of shaping a specific public opinions and interests, and as seismographs that reflect and react to the atmospheric anticipation of changes in public opinion and on the articulation of changing interests of specific social groups and affected parties.The relationship between politics, people and media is one of the most difficult relationships. Wodak and Meyer (2001) think that there still no one is able to provide clear answers about who influences who, and how these influences are directed. Thus, the nature of the analysis of the political discourse should be interdisciplinary, and locates itself in several levels:" in theory, in the work itself, in teams and in practice".(Wodak 2001. 69)

The second method in collecting and analyzing data in this study is semi structural interview, which is non-standardized and are frequently used in qualitative analysis (David, & Sutton, 2004, p. 87). The researcher has five topic oriented questions to be covered, in order to determine interviewees' views, attitudes and strategies of discourse they use to express racial or ethnic discrimination. The interviews took place in a relatively relaxed and flexible setting, which enabled the interviewer to react to unanticipated turns in the conversation and provided ample opportunity for feedback and clarification of ambiguous points. In most cases, the interview took place in the interviewee's home or workplace in order to ensure a relaxed and 'normal' atmosphere. The interviews followed a protocol in which the questions were grouped around several thematic areas (question sets)(Wodak 1999). This largely open method of questioning allows the interviewee to elaborate lengthy narratives which capture his feelings,

opinions and attitudes very clearly; indeed, the interviewees are encouraged to illustrate their statements with historical events and political .The topic oriented questions have been asked :

1. What was the most influential events in reproducing racial prejudice in the contemporary history in Sudan?
2. What is the role of the media discourse in the development, reinforcement, legitimating, and hence reproduction of racial prejudice in Sudan?
3. What are the discourse media strategies revealing the overwhelming growth of the underlying tone of racism and ethnic prejudice?
4. Was there any political practices that encouraged the reproduction of racial prejudice ?

5 . To what extent has folk culture managed to establish and entrench the concept of racism and ethnic prejudice amongst indigenous folk?

  In this type of interview the order of the questions can be changed depending on the direction of the interview. An interview guide is also used, but additional questions can be asked as to form question set. Corbetta (2003) explains semi-structured interviews as follows: " The order in which the various topics are dealt with and the wording of the questions are left to the interviewer's discretion. Within each topic, the interviewer is free to conduct the conversation as he thinks fit, to ask the questions he deems appropriate in the words he considers best, to give explanation and ask for clarification if the answer is not clear, to prompt the respondent to elucidate further if necessary, and to establish his own style of conversation. " (p. 270)

Additional questions can be asked and some may be questions that have not been anticipated in the beginning of the interview. Note taking or tape recording documents the interview. This type of interview gives the researcher opportunities to probe for views and opinions of the interviewee. Probing is a way for the interview to explore new paths which were not initially considered (Gray, 2004: 217). Having key themes and sub-questions in advance lies in giving the researcher a sense of order from which to draw questions from unplanned encounters (David, & Sutton, 2004: 87)."

The strengths of semi-structured interviews are that the researcher can prompt and probe deeper into the given situation, especially in social sciences.

In this study we use interviews to create discourse to be analyzed , since the interviewees are Journal and academic and politician elites, with different points of view and different origins, The researcher chooses the elites according to three things "

 1. The origin: where they are from, ethnicity or tribe is a controlling issue in shaping their point of view.

2. The long experience along the different political periods.

3.   The professional : academics, journalists, and politicians as the models of the most important stakeholders in racial discourse reproduction

The selected interviewees are :

 1\ **Dr. Mohamed Mahjoob Haroon**   **:** A professor of Social Science at the University of Khartoum**.** He obtained a PhD from the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1997 and his master's degree in psychology from the University of Khartoum in 1987. Haroon served as the director of the University of Khartoum's Peace Research Institute (PRI) from 2010 to 2017. He was also the founding editor-in-chief of *Discourse*, a bi-annual PRI-refereed journal released in both Arabic and English on issues relating to conflict, peace, public policy and social knowledge from 2013 to 2017. Haroon has made valued contributions to journalism and a wider public, political and intellectual sphere, and has written extensively in both Arabic and English. **(Aljazira.net)**

2\   Dr. Amin Hassan Omer : He is a writer and journalist, he is in charge of overseeing the implementation of the <u>Darfur peace</u> accord signed in 2011 between the government and the<u>Liberation and Justice Movement (LJM)</u>.He was deputy editor - the managing editor (Banner), Director of Research Center for Social Studies – Khartoum, the Secretary General of Ministry of Culture and Information, Press Counselor to the President of the Republic At the same time Chairman of the Board. in the era of National Rescue work and Minister of State, Ministry of Culture and Information, Chairman of the Board and Chairman of the Editorial Board Casablanca national flags, Chairman, National Authority for Television, Chairman of the Board of Directors of communication technology, Chairman of the Board of Directors of telephones to call automation, Director General of the Sudanese Radio and Television.

3\ **Dr. Faisal Mohammed Salih** : A prominent human rights journalist, a reporter, editor, columnist and journalism teacher .He has awarded The Peter Macler award for courageous and ethical journalism in 2013, Founder of Teeba Press, an NGO that trains young journalists.

4\ Mr . Abdelmune'm Abu Idreis : A Journalist and expert in Eastern Sudan and African horn issues.Manager of the French agency of New in Sudan.

3 .7 Specification of the Period of the newspaper discourse analysis.

The period from the first of January 2003 till the 31st of June 2003, is the period specified for analysis. It starts with the early beginnings of Darfur conflict . The chosen newspaper is Akhbar Alyaom which is published daily, this newspaper is more likely to represent the government side rather than being independent. The researcher has chosen it as an example of the political discourse that can express the positive self and negative other representation in a clearer way. The study looked at the political reports and the daily main articles by the elite journalists, and had a general look at the directions of news coverage to Darfur events during the first six months of 2003.

3.8 Problems encountered the researcher

Investigating racism and ethnic prejudice in Sudanese political discourse is a sensitive topic that still considered as taboo to be discussed blatantly. Frequent questions have been posed about the extent of safety of the researcher to discuss such topic. People think it could be risky to discuss the relation between political issues and racial discrimination, in that, an implicit accusation to the government could be understood from this research. Actually the researcher found difficulties in getting data about racism in Sudan, the issue is still silent taboo so that no research or books have been written about, except a few books and articles that mostly have been published abroad. When the researcher started to interview media elites, some apologized from being interviewed, two have agreed, however, when they know that the interview will be recorded, they become very conservative and give very short and ideal answers, so that the researcher couldn't consider their interviews as valid data.

When the researcher started her online survey about racial proverbs in the face-book research group " Sudanese Researchers Initiative", she faced bullying and objection from people in

that, it is impolite to make people write down such racial proverbs in public, many requests for deleting the post had been proposed, in that some people could feel offensive, so the researcher and the administration of the group kept explaining the scientific purpose of this data .

3. 9 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter reviewed mainly the most relevant methodology which is used in this study. Research tools were defined and brief account is made about the CDA approaches and Ruth Wodak's method of discourse historical approach, in particular the positive self/negative others presentation, and the strategies chosen to analyse data , referential and predicational, in addition to the discussion of the used tool of semi structural interview.

Chapter Four

Analysis and discussion

4.1 Overview

This chapter provides an analysis on the data that is collected to investigate the three questions of the study and test the hypothesis that are presented by the study. Discourse historical analysis is applied, and the general category of positive self / negative others presentation specifically drawing on the dimension of discursive strategies, referential and predication, and argumentation strategies. This analysis will applied on the collected data from "Akhbar Alyaom" newspaper and the discourse of the media elites in the interviews . Then a discussion of detailed discursive characteristics of the proverbs and the way in which the "Self" and "Other" are represented. Finally the researcher summed up the discussion, into the results of the hypotheses of the study

4.2. Hypothesis 1: The role of the media discourse in the development, and reproduction of racism and ethnic prejudice is influential.

The researcher has investigated in the first hypothesis, the influence of the media through two methods: analyzing political discourse in the press and conducting semi structural interviews with three media elites with specific criteria about their opinions. According to van Dijk 1991, the role of the media of liberal democracies is vital, it has given the societies a 'discursive' nature in which consensus plays a definitive role. He argues:

" The process of reproduction ultimately finds its rationale with the public at large. In democratic societies, little power can be legitimated and hence be truly effective without some form of popular support or consent. Here, we confront the vital role of the media .The mass media have nearly exclusive control over the symbolic resources needed to manufacture popular consent (1991: 42-3).

In Sudan, the case has a different application, in a country ruled by military government which represented later in the National conference party (NCP) , the democracy could be a question in the society and hence in the media communication, in that it justifies, legitimates and represents the interest of the ruling party ,which has a strict censorship and restrictions over the press and other media channels .Media blackouts and detentions are common for reporters covering sensitive topics ,media elites should fight for media freedom.

4.2.1 Racism and ethnic prejudice in the media according to media elites

The interview questions try to draw a comprehensive background about the racial and ethnic roots and context with highlighting the media role. Certain topics have been agreed on by the media elites as turning points in the racial reproduction in Sudan, some questions have been ignored or shortly been answered , meanwhile others have been intensified, the varieties due to the ethnic, political background of the elites . The questions that were discussed here as follows:

5. What was the most influential events in reproducing racial prejudice in the contemporary history in Sudan?

6. What is the role of the media discourse in the development, reinforcement, legitimating, and hence reproduction of racial prejudice in Sudan?

7. What are the discourse media strategies revealing the overwhelming growth of the underlying tone of racism and ethnic prejudice?

8. Was there any political practices that encouraged the reproduction of racial prejudice ?
    We discussed each interviewee, and summarized each discussion below.

4.2.2 Dr. Mohamed Mahjoub Haroon

According to the first interviewee, Dr. Haroon, the Sudanese community is still pre-model which still get the power and the authorization through social systems like the tribal or ethnic relations, different types of media is not very much out spoken in the racist and ethnic discourse, either because of the censoring by the government, or the social correctness. Cyber media is much more open and people express the hatred discourse much blatant, may be because most of the writers are abroad and away from any government authorities, comparable with the conventional media which in general cannot contribute in racial media discourse with a direct and blatant way .However, this conventional media may be contributed in reproducing racial discrimination indirectly through different discursive and non discursive strategies. Dr. Haroon thinks that strategies of media discourse are quite indirect, for example the extensive media coverage of certain ethnicities news or reports, or cultural events comparable with ignoring other groups, for example, the domination of the Northern culture in music and art in the media channels, while there is an obvious neglect to a huge and diverse culture

from different ethnicities like the Western and Eastern. Also, the silence towards certain ethnic issues is an important strategy, in that it is used in the news coverage when raising the issues of certain mainstream ethnicities and keep silent towards others issues.

4.2.3 Dr. Amin Hasan Omer

Mr. Amin argued that the media discourse and even the political discourse cannot be racist in Sudan because of the political correctness that control the discourse generally, he said that it is a very sensitive issue that cannot be openly expressed .He admitted that any racist comments or connotations by politicians or journalists could be in the private chats or behind closed doors, and mostly as jokingly chats . Mr. Amin argued that there is no events that he can remember that produced blatant racial discourse, he said the media can not do that because of the political and the social correctness.

Even "Al Intibaha" the news paper that has been accused of having racial discourse, Mr. Amin argued that Al Intibaha didn't lead a racial discourse. It was about a political discourse of discriminating the south as a totally different culture and that culture is primitive and cost the North too much , he claims that the accusation of racism towards " Intibaha" was directed by the opposition parties only . Dr. Amin argues that there is no direct media strategies that there is no direct media strategies that can reveal the underlying tone of racism, therefore, we need to look behind the words. What is noticed from the discourse of Dr Amin , that he tends to discuss the questions with the politicians attitude, in that he tried to deny any racial reproduction that represented in the political practice that other interviewees admitted or mentioned. When being asked about the influence of the racial proverbs on constructing ideologies among people he denied and claimed that even these proverbs are not representing Sudan , rather, certain areas in certain circumstances. His answer to the question of the role of media in reproducing ethnic and racial prejudice was also deniable , when claimed that Intibaha newspaper didn't represent any triggering factor, while many journalists and political analysts agreed that it played a central role in reproducing the image of ethnic discrimination, through the blatant racial discourse.

4.2.4 Mr. Abdelmune'm Abu Idreis

Mr Idries, the third interviewee, has talked about the linguistic discrimination in that, frequent mistakes is happening in pronouncing the Eastern names in TV or radio stations, in names of peoples , places and towns of the East. This brings to people there , a feeling of underestimating and ethnic discrimination .Mr. Abu Idries claimed that the Sudanese media doesn't have the ethnic sensitivity that should consider in handling ethnic diversity, this ignorance is causing a deeper sense of discrimination and exclusion . He argued that the media has a central role in reproducing racial and ethnic prejudice through the irresponsible coverage of the events, for example , in the past 20 years, there has been a wave of jokes and ironic humor about tribes and ethnicities in a blatant way. The media had a great role in perpetuating racism and racial discrimination by providing media platforms to broadcast such comedy .Since media must contain responsible and strict guidelines regarding ethnic prejudice, Mr. Idries considered it as a negative contribution. He believes that one of the main reasons for this irresponsible behavior by the media, whether public or private in Sudan, is that it lacks clear editorial media policies whether oral or written. There are also no application for a code of ethics , not to devote to hatred or discrimination ,even if there are written one , the application is still minor, also, according to Abu Idries, there is no special training to fresh journalists on the sensitivities of these issues . Politics is directly and indirectly responsible for the perpetuation of racism and racial discrimination. It is directly responsible for the official media. When the official media is allowed to broadcast material in which there is clear devotion to racism, this is a direct responsibility and the government is directly accused. It is also possible to provoke racist strife in the private press, while ignoring the racist abuses that are being written and which can cause many crises, while they can be very violent to protect the regime.

The Intibaha newspaper played an essential role in reproducing racial prejudice in the South and North, even after the secession of the South, it   still handle issues related to the southerners ,in a racist way, it even exceeded the South to touch other areas specifically Darfur. In the consecration of racism is a real role in broadcasting content in general lacking ethnic sensitivity, sometimes it is ignorance, but this does not absolve the responsibility, especially since the media organizations do not protect its employees with enough training to avoid such deep failures.

4.2. 5 Dr. Faisal Mohammed Salih

Dr. Faisal when discussing the question of the role of media discourse in the development, reinforcement, legitimizing and hence reproduction of racism and ethnic prejudice. He answered, yes the media has a central role in reproducing racial prejudice, he divided the media into two categories : the official governmental media and the independent media. He believed that each of which has contributed in the reproduction. For the official media, a negative image has been presented about John Garang during the early nineties during the civil war between the government and the SPLA in the South of Sudan. The mental image about Garang and the Southern people as betrayal and un trusted people has been propagated to the public. A racial discourse has been used with a religious touch to contribute effectively in the construct of a racial ideology. He believes that Al intibaha has contributed in reproducing racism through the hatred discourse that it used against Southern government and people. The second category which is the independent media, has also contributed by keeping silent and stay passive towards the racial discourse used by the official media then. Dr. Faisal stated that there was some political practice along the modern political history that contribute in reproducing prejudice, for example, after the secession, Southern people have been ceased from their jobs , and the Sudanese nationality has been taken from them , even if one of the parents is Northern Sudanese. Also, the bad diversity management, which resulted in deep feelings of marginalization for some ethnic groups Dr. Faisal also claimed that if we look at the important ministries in the government like the finance or the defense ministries, we will never find a minister from the marginalized regions, they always have chosen from the Northern ethnicities. Dr. Faisal believe that the elites in Sudan whether in the government or the opposition, have missed lots of opportunities to build trust and collaboration for the sake of Sudan.

Table (4.1) A Summary of the positive self\ negative others presentation strategies that media Elites mostly used .

Interviewee	Strategy	Objective	Device	Example
Dr.Amin Hasan Omer	Mitigation\ argumentative	Modifying (intensifying or mitigating) the illocutionary force and thus the epistemic or demotic status of utterances	**D**iminutives or augmentatives (**M**odal) particles, tag questions, subjunctives, hesitations, vague, expressions..etc **I**ndirect speech acts(e.g. questions instead of assertion) **V**erbs of saying, feeling, thinking, etc. **H**yperboles, litotes, etc.	1.*We need to ask our self, is it really racism what causes these conflicts* (**questions instead of assertion**) 2. *I don't remember any !* **(denying)** 3.*There is no obvious racial discrimination in the media* **(denying)** 4. *I don't think public discourse* 5.*Will you find any direct racial functioning from " the other party"to face the political incitement about racism* ? (**hyperboles**) 6.*Filipp Gabosh is who use direct racial discourse in accusing the North being discriminative, not the Northern politicians!*. (**Augmentatives**)
2. Dr.Mohamed Mahjoub Haroon	Predication	discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena events/processes and actions (more or less positively or negatively)	stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits (e.g. in Predication social actors, objects, the form of adjectives, appositions, phenomena, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctional clauses, infinitive clauses and participial clauses or groups) explicit predicates or predicative	1.*Even the Southern political mainstream didn't accept the Northern political mainstream to represent them* 2. *In Sudan , politics directly or indirectly has many cases of ethnic and racial discrimination, based on the nationality, the*

			nouns/adjectives/ pronouns collocations • explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemisms) • allusions, evocations, and presuppositions/implicatures , etc.	*natural race or the ethnic background. This doesn't mean that these cases of ethnic and racial discrimination is agreed on in the political practice, however , it is there.*
3.Mr.A.Abu Idries	Referential	Discursive construction of social actors, objects/phenoma events and processes/ actions.	Membership categorization devices, deictics, anthroponyms etc. Trops, such as metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches Verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions, etc.	*The media institutions have /contributed in reproduction of racism, /not trained its employee / ignored the minorities discrimination in media.* **professionalization/ synecdoches** *2.* The East has been discriminated against.
4. Faisal Mohammed Salih	Argumentative\ Intensifying	Modifying (intensifying the illocutionary force and thus the epistemic or demotic status of utterances	**D**iminutives or augmentatives (**M**odal) particles, tag questions, subjunctives, hesitations, vague, expressions..etc **I**ndirect speech acts(e.g. questions instead of assertion) **V**erbs of saying, feeling, thinking, etc. **H**yperboles, litotes, etc.	*1.The government has contributed badly in reproducing racism through may irresponsible acts during the secession.* *2. The Islamism discourse in the media has contributed directly in the hatred construct through presenting a negative image of Southern people as killers, betrayers, specially in Sahat Al fidaa TV program.*

4.2.6 Analysis of the interviews discourse

It has been observed that the interviewee's background influences his points of view about racism and ethnic prejudice and their applications in the media or in the political history ,The

most obvious observation about the first interviewee Dr Haroon ,who comes from an African rooted ethnicity, is that his opinion about the influence of the media in reproducing racism is moderate, in that , he admits that yes, there are many political practices for ethnic and racial prejudice through the Sudanese modern history, he still moderate in giving excuse for what happened in that may be it is not meant or made by intention. Dr. Haroon mostly used predicational strategies to express the scientific side of his opinion , in that his opinion was not emotional or biased because of his ethnic roots which considered the marginalized ethnicities. He continued by using words like " I don't think , it just happened (without mentioning the responsible person).This could be due to his past political background when he was one of the members of the revolution council who were responsible of the military overthrow of 1989 which brought the Inqaz government, however, he is not a part of the government any more.

When we compare the discourse of Dr Haroon with the discourse of Dr Amin who is from Northern ethnicity and still very active politician in addition to his responsibility of the negotiations of the armed groups that control Darfur conflict since 2005. Dr. Amin had an obvious criteria in his opinions along the interview, he used the denial strategy in discussing the role of the media and the political practice on the reproduction of racial and ethnic prejudice .He stated that there is no negative role for the media in reproducing racism because the political correctness cannot allowed the media to take such role.Dr. Amin has also mitigated the role of the official politicians in the conflict outbreak, when asking about certain events that represented the political practice that could represent any racial discrimination , he stated that he didn't remember any event that could be negative .He also used many argumentation strategies by asking And reconsidering that the discriminate is not all the time racial , mostly it is nobatism , based on ethnicities .In politics , laws is the only way to find out if there is any discrimination or not . if you want to trace the racial discrimination look at the laws that talks about it .

On the contrary, when we look at Dr. Faisal's discourse, we find a strong and direct discourse, with an intensifying strategies to assure his words which express his direct accusation to some political practices that contributed in racial and ethnic prejudice, he exemplified with many events in specific dates and details.

Mr. Abu Idries, use of references towards the Eastern ethnicities, he used many examples of how there is a verbal discrimination by using words like "Adaroob ", he was conservative towards talking about political issues, and excluded his comments on the questions about the influence of the media only .He was also direct in his discourse about some referential strategies about the -outsider- who doesn't know the culture of the East and contributed in marginalizing the Eastern culture in the media channels.

Hence the hypotheses that the media discourse has an essential role in the development, and reproduction of racism and ethnic prejudice **is confirmed** .

4.3 Hypothsis 2 The positive self and negative others strategies are influential strategies in the discourse of the Sudanese media discourse

Sudanese press has participated in the media influence on the awareness of people, even if the censorship of the government is getting tighter especially with the conflicts in Darfur and the bad economic situation that people suffer, As a result of a history of journalistic struggles, hostility to related laws and the popularly held belief that state intervention of any kind would lead to censorship, the laws regulating the press are relatively limited in Sudan, the problem is not in the laws of the press in Sudan, but rather in the implementation of these laws on the ground, the government is stepping down from the commitments to preserve the right to freedom of opinion and expression, until the mistrust is the basis between the state and journalists, while others assert that the political situation is the control of the process of censorship of the press, the more stable the political situation, , a In times of crisis system much security grip on newspapers, and apparently in their own words that the system is in crisis all the time, so it has become a feature of public restrictions on newspapers in Sudan. Sudan was among the bottom of 10 countries in the field of freedom of the press, according to the Christian Science Journal of the United States, citing the "Reporters Without Borders" on freedom of the press.The study tries to continue answering the question of the role of the media , specifically the press in reproducing , developing and legitimizing racism and ethnic prejudice.

4.3.1 Akhbar Alyaom background

The Sudanese newspaper al-Akhbar Alyaom was founded in the 1994, it considered one of the most newspapers that can be described as semi governmental ones. Its director Ahmed Albalal AlTayeb, has been known as working for the government coverage and doesn't go out of the

wanted lines, what makes the newspaper one of the privileged ones, which has the government advertising that brings a lot of money to any news paper. The researcher chooses this newspaper to see how the positive self \ negative others presentation could be expressed.

4.3.2 Positive self \ negative other representation strategies

There are different structures and strategies of discourse that tell us about under-lying ethnic or racial ideologies that expressed by each newspaper , The positive self and negative others strategies are the most influential strategies in the discourse of the Sudanese media discourse .

4.3.3 Referential strategy

The general macro-structure to present a positive, legitimate Self and a negative illegitimate Other manifests itself in *Akhbar Alyaom* in terms of the frequency and qualities of references made on the basis of linguistic choices. The generous strategic use of pronouns referring to Us and Them is a key characteristic of the language used by *Akhbar Alyaom* throughout all the texts, discourses and topics, specifically in terms of its discourse on Darfur armed conflict. Another aspect of the discursive construction of Self in *Akhbar Alyaom* is the inclusion of other groups, and popular struggles as having common grounds with the constructed in-group. This extends to Darfur innocent people, Chad and other partners.

Table (4.2) Positive self\ negative other presentation strategies in *Akhbar Alyaom* .

Discursive strategy	Objectives	Categories
Referential \ nomination strategy	**Discursive construction\legitimization of self**	**Pronouns:** We, Us , Our **References to the government and public bodies:** Armed force, police, a security source, the government, a political source , Executive leaders , the Northern region , home land , public defense , the central government , local administrations **Reference to people\ nation :** The civilians, the aggressor against , Darfur leaders , leaders of the Sudanese people .
Referential\Nomination strategy	Discursive construction\de-legitimization of **"other"**	**Pronouns :** They , them , their **Ethnical anthroponym:** Zagawa , Foar, the Northern, Southern people, Chadian

		Ideological anthroponym:
		The rebel's, some rebel groups , some outlaws and out Sharee'a , SPLA ,other parties , Justice and Equality insurgents , armed robbery groups, Garang army, Israel ,some oppositions bodies, international Zionism, conspiracy actors, armed groups, remnants of the betraying armed groups , the insurrection, A bunch of outlaw rebels. Isolated groups of rebels.

As seen in the table, the most important linguistic referential tools used to represent the Self and Other in *Akhbar Alyaom* are the pronouns referring to Us and Them. In the case of references to Self, there is a strange detachment of using words like home , country , nation without using the ownership adjectives in most times. There are also proper names of tribes and ethnicities which are used in "Other" references. A main category of references to "the Other" communicate predicational presuppositions in the form of adjectives/nouns, e.g. 'the outlaw gangs' or noun/noun compounds, e.g. 'the betraying rebels'. These ideologically evaluative references work closely with predications of the Other as they present their predicational and attributional content in the form of assumed shared knowledge.

4.3.4 Predicational strategies :

Predication strategy here is an important strategy that express the positive self /negative others representation, to describe the positive self traits and attribution and characteristics to the official people and bodies of the government.. This predication assign these categories with respect to quality , quantity, space , time and so on, hence, predication construct certain

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judgment on certain category. In *Akhbar Alyaom ,* the topics of the predicational strategies are as follows:

4.3.4.1 Cooperation

A major thematic predicational construction of Self in *Akhbar Alyaom* is through positive representation of Self as the cooperating party. This theme appears often, emphasizing the peace willingness and cooperative nature of Us and that We stand for negotiation and dialogue. Some extract examples from the newspaper as follows:

Date : 5\3\2003

The Colonel General Ibrahim Sulaiman has announced that the Sudanese armed force has totally controlled over Jabal Marrah, and send a message to those rebel gangs and **invited** them to **negotiate and come to dialogues** in order to find **solutions** to their issues.

Date : 21\3\2003

Prof Abu Algasim Seifeldin the president of the negotiation committee, has assured that after they **negotiate** with the rebels, who are **ready** to commit the choice of peace, and that those rebels have specific demands align with the development and justice demands that were discussed in Fashir meeting.

May be this is the first statement that doesn't reflect a negative image of the rebels and give a balanced point of view, this may be due of the technocratic background of the professor, and being from the same ethnicity of those rebels.

4.3.4.2 Control

Another thematic predicational construction of Self in *Akhbar Alyaom* is through positive representation of Self as the controlling party. Examples :

Date : 5\ 1\ 2003

 "the governer of South Darfur Adam Hamid Musa has declared in 19.3.2003 that **those** armed groups are from Karnoi sons from **Zagawa** ethnicity, however , they have been **controlled** by an external instigators.He also assured the readiness of the military force to punish and **control** any one who disobey the government policies and authorities.

Date : 5\3\2003

The Colonel General Ibrahim Sulaiman has announced that the Sudanese armed force has totally **controlled** over Jabal Marrah, he denied what AlGazeera TV broadcasted about the

rebels predominance of the said area. He also send a message to those **rebel gangs** and invited them to negotiate and come to dialogues in order to find solutions to their issues.

Date : 13\4\2003

During the visit of president AlBashir and the president of Chad Debbi, the governor of South Darfur assured that his armed force is ready to **clean up** " the state totally from the rebels and arms holders.

4.3.4.3 Religiousness : the Allah side.

The third thematic predicational construction of Self in *Akhbar Alyaom* is through positive representation of Self as the religious, who takes Allah side party.

The political discourse of Inqaz government is known by the religious citation and citation from "Quran" or "Hadith". The Islamists who came to the political power in 1989 had raised many Islamic slogans .These slogans have been used to legitimize and justify their political action even if it contradicts what they do. Examples for this :

Date : 6\3 2003

The governor of North of Darfur has declared that :

The armed groups that attacked Jebel Marra represent only themselves and their criminal work ,they are outside the (Shara') and the law. I herby call Darfur people to return to Allah and discard divergence and arrange disputes.

Here the governor tries to recall the religious sense of people to bring a devotion image of the armed groups , and in the same time put the responsibility on the people of Darfur in that this happened because they this recall implied that we are who takes the good side of Allah comparably. When he attributed those attackers by being outside

Date : 6\5\2003

In an interview with the vice president Ali Osman Mohammed Taha , he said that the violence and Sedition are from the "**devil" who is our enemy**"(as Muslims), and then he **cited the "Hadith" of the Profit Mohammed (peace be upon him) which talks about who kills a Muslim or support his killers will come in the doomsday desperate from his god's mercy.** Using this religious discourse in a political context is very common in the political discourse of this government. The vice president , talked about the issue of Darfur denying that this development imbalance problem happened only in Darfur, exemplifying by his home town in the North , and the water problem that they face there as a proof that this is a national issue happened in all areas of Sudan. Using the religious discourse here , could present his side as the good Muslims who take the side of Allah , unlike those killers and rebellions .

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Date : 26\4\2003

In a public speech , after the attack on Fashir, the South Darfur governor, directed his message to Darfur people that : what has been done by those rebellions is a vicious ,unacceptable crime, our people should know that we have found **amounts of alcoholic drinks with those rebels.**

This implies that we have proof that those rebels are outside the Islamic teachings, they choose this image to persuade Darfurian people that those guys are not following the religious teaching " but we do !", and this entails that all their demands even if they are justice or development shouldn't be followed.

4.3.5 Predicational strategy in constructing and de-legitimizing the Other

The radical conservative rhetoric of *Akhbar Alyaom* is strongly loaded against the constructed Other. In fact, many predicational themes in construction and legitimation of Self discussed above are propagated in opposition to the way the Other has been constructed within the radical conservative ideology. For instance, the emphasis on cooperation and peace willingness of Self as part of positive Self representation functions solely based on the shared (or strategically communicated as shared) understanding of the qualities of the Other e.g. being violent and threatening etc. In the same way, the positive interpretation of attribution of cooperation is built upon the assumption of diachronically established violence and betrayal on the side of the Other.

4.3.5.1   Threat and violence

This predicational theme roughly groups together the predications associated to the constructed Other where the Other is represented as being violent, support (military) violence, and attempt to seek domination with coercing or scaring Us. These attributions are usually provided in the background and often with disclaimers denoting to Their inability to succeed.

Date : 1\3\2003

An official declaration that has been made by the Deputy Director of Security in Al Fashir consultancy meeting : the rebels **have burned** the fields of savannah to **ignite the conflict** over the pasture and water between the " nomad Arabs" and "zurga farmers" ethnicities, this

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also lead to a **damage** in the environment, the report of the meeting also has narrated many attacks that those armed groups performed against **their people.**

4.3.5.2   Illogical and unlawful

Another theme in predicational negative Other presentation in *Akhbar Alyaom* is the one that associates the Other with being illogical and/or unlawful. This appears many times in the speeches and declarations of the government representatives.

Date : 6\3\2003

The governor of North of Darfur has declared that :

The armed groups that attacked Jebel Marra represent only themselves and their criminal work ,they are **outside the** (**Shara')** and **the law**.

4..3.5.3 Outside religion

The repeated used image of the outlaws groups as people who don't have ethics or values , killing their people , having forbidden things like alcoholic drinks , what make them out of religion and Islamic teachings. This image is used by the government in a smart way , because they talk to people with the religious language that all agree on . They use the religious emotional drives to create an ugly image of the armed rebels, regardless of their demands that could be rationale .

Date : 6\3\2003

The governor of North of Darfur has declared that : "The armed groups that attacked Jebel Marra represent only themselves and their criminal work ,they are outside the (Shara') and the law. I herby call Darfur people to return to Allah and discard divergence and arrange disputes".

Date : 6\5\2003

In an interview with the vice president Ali Osman Mohammed Taha , he said that the violence and Sedition are from the "**devil" who is our enemy**"(as Muslims), and then he **cited the "Hadith" of the Profit Mohammed (peace be upon him) which talks about who kills a Muslim or support his killers will come in the doomsday desperate from his god's mercy.**

Using this religious discourse in a political context is very common in the political discourse of this government. The vice president ,using the religious discourse here , could present the "other" side as they are not the good Muslims who take the side of the devil , those killers and rebellions .

A summary of positive Self\ negative others representation in *Akhbar Alyaom* carried out by predicational strategies is provided in the table below.

Table (4.3) Summary of the results of the referential and predicational strategies.

Discursive strategy	Objectives	Categories
Predicational strategy **" What characteristics, qualities and features that attributed to the social Actor?"**	**Discursive construction\legitimization of self**	US 1. Cooperation 2. Control **3.** Religiousness
	Discursive construction\de-legitimization of others	**Others** 1. Threat and violence 2. Illogical and unlawful **3.** Out of Islam

4.3.6 Argumentation strategies in the official discourse of the government(Self)

A key discursive strategy in the media texts surrounding the discourse relating to the political discourse about the events of Darfur in 2003 is that of argumentation. Three main topoi have provided a central means by which discriminatory argument can be tracked along chains of the official representatives discourse:

4.4.Topos of Denial :

It is noticed repeatedly in the official rhetoric that inconsistency and denials of the "Other" claims , in this case the rebels groups or the opposition parties .It is also become common for the government representatives to ignore the demands of the protesting groups and refuse to admit the existence of any problematic political or economic issues that need to be figured out. This denying attitude also is an attempt to neutralize the third party of intellectuals, locals, writers ,academia's, international public opinion, and other opposition parties .An example of a news report includes:

Date : 4\3\2003

"Outlaw groups supported by the rebellion movement has tried to control some areas, and spread a vision of the historical injustice and marginalization in Darfur and its people."

In this type of news, which is repeatedly heard, we see that the rebels groups started their demands by claiming that Darfur has suffered a historical discrimination, and development marginalization. The official rhetoric keep using the denial attitude and discourse, as a way of people manipulation, and this one important reason why the conflicts outbreak. They also claimed that many of Darfur representatives are now in the line agencies of the state, what proves that there is no marginalization. The official rhetoric kept assuring that there is no internal conflict ,and that the social fabrics is still strong.

1. Topos of implicitness by agent omission

In news reporting in the press, the construction of the clause, the choice of passive vs. active, and the deletion of the agent can signify what the news journalist wants to foreground or background, therefore, what he/she considers important. Patterns in the choice of passive vs. active (patients vs. agents), and the actions the actors are given in the process, i.e. negative/positive, has been instrumental in analysing ideology in the press Richardson, 2007: 56). Such Patterns can highlight the more implicit meanings. In Akhbar Alyaom, we can see agent omission technique, used by the government representatives , which is mostly the passivization of the agent of action, specially in the first quarter of 2003, when the conflict was still denied and the accusation didn't become direct from the government. According to

Fowler 1991 ,in newspaper discourse,the choice of passive vs. active construction and the voice in a clause can have ideological significance,in that , when choosing not to emphasize the agent of action and using instead the passive verb phrase, the responsibility of this action is not specified and the actions of death or killing for example is foregrounded. This avoidance strategy of specifying the responsibility of actions is usually used , meanwhile the agent of action sometimes named in a vague and suspicious way like : some people , some political parties, some unknown hands.

Agent omission can also be applied by transforming a process into a state or what is known as nominalization, "changing a process into a nominal (i.e. noun-like) entity", like : vandalism in Darfur (11March), death of 23 civillians (7 March), Extortion and oppression has happened to Darfur (7 March), some invaders (6 March), the known reasons (17 March)

For example :

 Date : 18\3\2003 a press release was out about the peacekeeping mechanism, when the colonial general announced "**the killing**" of 23 civillians in Zagawa areas.

Hence , the second hypotheses that claimed , positive self and negative others strategies are influential strategies in the discourse of the Sudanese media discourse, **is confirmed.**

3.The topos of danger or threat *:* argues that if a political action or decision bears dangerous or threatening consequences, it should not be performed; or, put another way, if there are specific dangers or threats, something should be done to prevent this

4.6 Hypothesis 3 The cultural heritage of Sudanese proverbs on establishing and entrench the concept of racism and ethnic prejudice amongst Sudanese is influential.

The study has found interesting results on how racism and ethnic prejudice are deeply rooted in our Sudanese culture, she said that" although many Sudanese proverbs call for social solidarity and unity, others show class polarization and racism among Sudanese themselves. (2005: 1).

 There is a great influence of the tribalism and ethnicity on shaping our culture and conflicts in Sudan and in other similar African cultures. In Uganda for instance, ethnicity and tribalism are central at any conflicts or political bias, as investigated by Kibanja, Kajumba, and Johnson

(2011), who believe that "the recurrence of ethnic conflict is rooted in the colonial history of almost every African country and is perpetuated today through differential power and resource inequities based on tribal divisions. Tribalism was used as a basis for mobilization of the people for social and political purposes, and major political parties were founded on tribal and religious grounds." (p.403)

4.6.1 Media elites interpretation :

The researcher asked the four media elites, this question: to what extent do you think folk culture has managed to establish and entrench the concept of racism and ethnic prejudice amongst indigenous folk .

Dr. Amin Hassan Omer, has claimed that we are not able to consider these proverbs as Sudanese, though, as cross sectional which took place in certain situations with certain ethnicities in certain circumstances , he agreed that we could find some racial proverbs ,but without generalization or total approval that it is culturally influential, he also argues that when we trace these proverbs we will find some contradictions, what proves that they reflect limited and certain experiences that can't generalized on the whole Sudanese culture. Dr. Omer's argument, goes similarly with what van Dijk called episodic memory as we mentioned previously. He has mitigated the influence of proverbs on the reproduction of racial and ethnic prejudice. Dr. Amin's political background as a member of the ruling party, which contributes effectively in reproducing racial prejudice through nepotism may make him more likely to deny any influence of these proverbs on Sudanese culture.

Dr. Faisal Mohammed Salih a journalist and academic professor, argues that there is an obvious link between the proverbs and the entrench of ethnic and racial prejudice, he specifically talked about the memory of the North and the center of Sudan as the source of this prejudice towards most of the ethnicities specially the Western and Southern ones. He claims that this prejudice is historical and it goes back to Al Mahadia time at the beginnings of the 20th century when most of their invading army were from west ethnicities. Dr. Salih argues that most of the proverbs that used against the Western ethnicities appeared in that days because the invading armies that come from the west to the North was known by the aggressive treatment and robberies specially Al Nojomi

army which was heading to invade Eygpt in1885. Dr. Salih also mentioned a poem by Al Hardalo that describe prejudicially the event

يابا النقز بالانجليز الفونا ...... ناسا قباح من الغرب يوم جونا

Dr. Haroon has similarly agreed that ethnic prejudice appeared in the discourse as a reflection of a deep ideologies that rooted through our culture, he believes this phenomena a is a multi layered complex one , the divisions are not between large groups like the riparian Northern and Southern Sudanese for example, you may find racial discrimination within the same ethnicity ,or tribe in the west , there is a traditional racial discrimination from the Arab who live in the West of Sudan against ethnicities "Zurga" who live in the region and who considered as slaves " Abeed" by those Arab ethnicities. In the North "Shaigia" tribes , call a certain "Shayigian" mainstream as "Falaleet" who are been discriminated against by the same ethnicity. Hence, the complicated issue of racial prejudice in Sudan has different perspectives, and layers.

Mr. Abu Idries a journalist who specialist in East Sudan coverage and culture, has strongly assured that folk culture form the ideologies of ethnic prejudice and racial discrimination, he gave an example of the terms that is used to name people from the East as " Adaroub" which is an ethnic name that is used ironically to speak about the primitive people in the East. He believes that every Sudanese had been raised to some extent, with seeds of racial discrimination, in the cultural content that is heard every day about the other, He argued that the racial proverbs were there everywhere and definitely has influenced peoples' ideologies and perceptions about the other , whether consciously or unconsciously. Mr. Idries has highlighted the role of the reference strategies in expressing racism and ethnic prejudice, he said that when you identify certain people or groups of people linguistically by naming them derogatorily, debasingly, such words like " *A'bid*" , " *khadim*" or " Adaroub" for people from the East of Sudan, all such names perform racist or ethnicist slurs on their own .According to Reisgl &Wodak 2001,they think that as such racial names connotatively convey disparaging, insulting meanings, without any other attributive qualities. Mr. Idries, who worked with Eastern issues for more than 30 years, thinks that Eastern people feel discriminated when the media call them in such names like "Adaroub" , or "Ohaj", which is called by van Leeuwen

(1996) " ethnification", a part of the culturalization categories of the referential strategies, he uses it to mean :

" the representation of social actor by functionalizing, identifying or appraising them: in other words, by referring to them by virtue of ascribing to them identities, functions and positive or negative evaluations they share with others"(p.47)

4.6.2 The proverbs analysis :

After the interviews, the researcher started her own investigation to find out to what extent do we have racism and ethnic prejudice in our proverbs.

We found that Sudanese social life is reflected in the proverbs that express rich cultural values and major issues in people's daily lives, including educational principles, God and religious life, family relationships, friendship, neighborhood relationships, marriage and women and other major issues in our life. (Ahmed 2005). However, it is undoubtedly that racism, remain a reality in Sudan and deeply rooted in its history. They bear witness to various kinds of social inequality and racism in Sudan. This is ironic, because it has been claimed that Islam's values are practiced in Sudanese society. Islam rejects any type of class polarization and social injustice, as they are essential causes of violence, wars, and hatred.

The researcher has collected and investigated the following racial proverbs among more than 500 Sudanese proverbs, she was looking for the direct racial discourse found in the proverbs, 30 proverbs are found as follows :

Table (4.4) Sudanese racial proverbs

The Sudanese proverb and its transcription	The English translation	The cultural interpretation
" 1. *Shira al-a'bd wala tarbiytu* شرا العبد و لا تربيته	Buying a slave is better than bringing him up	This proverb advises that it is better for you to buy a slave than to waste your time and money feeding and fostering him. Slavery existed in some parts of Africa until early in the twentieth century and Sudan was active in the slave

		trade during the Turkiyah, (Turkish regime 1821-1885
2. *La takhawi al-a'b, al-a'b nassai* لا تخاوي العب العب نساي	Do not associate as a brother with a slave, as the slave is forgetful	This proverb asserts that a slave has no manners and he always forgets your kindness and good treatment.
3. *la tbool fi al-shag la tkhawi al-a'b, al-shag hssai w al- a'b nassai* لا تبول في الشق لا تخاوي العب ، الشق حساي و العب نساي	Don't pee in a ground crack, and don't befriend a slave as well, for the slave forgets your deeds as the crack absorbs your urine	This is close to previous proverbs, however more insulting. The African race person is not the right person to befriend, he forgets your good deeds to him and betrays you, so don't trust him
4. *Al-jins al- bakhas la tajualu dukhreek* الجنس البخس لا تجعلو دخريك	Do not associate as a brother with a slave,	This proverb is like the previous one asserts that a slave has no loyalty and can't be trusted to be a friend
5. *Al- gharabi kan dakhal beitak shirib, beitak khirib* الغرّابي كان دخل شرب بيتك خرب	If a western person enter your house and drink, your house is going to be destroyed.	This proverb accused people from the west, who are African race that they are not trusted and betrayals , so people shouldn't let them in their houses or trust them.
6. *Al- jayi min al-gharib , ma bisur al- galib* الجاي من الغرب ما بيسر القلب	Who comes from the west , doesn't please the heart.	This proverb is close to the previous one , in that people who comes from the West, they mean the African race,

		are not welcomed, because they probably make some bad deeds.
7. *Al-a'rabi lahhin lu wa al-nubawi bain lu* العربي لحن له و النوباوي بين له	For an Arab use a gesture and for a non-Arab explain in detail	People who use this proverb mean that it is difficult to communicate with non-Arabs as they do not speak Arabic. In fact sometimes they use it as an insult claiming that Africans are not as intelligent as Arabs, or even stupid.
8. *Al-ghayear manziltu a'bed* الغير منزلتو عبد	He who changes his host is a slave	Some Sudanese prefer to stay with relatives or friends when they travel from one place to another inside the country; they must stay in one place as it is unacceptable that one moves from one host to another. People who use this proverb mean that one who does not understand the tradition of staying with one host is not a noble person.
9. *Al- kad'adeeb talata: A'bdan ma a'indu seed, wa zolan jai min ba'eed, wa shaiban ma a'indu nadead* الكضاضيب تلاته : عبدا ما عندو	Liars are three: A slave without an owner, a man coming from a far land and an old man without a peer	This proverb suggests that those who have no coevals and the ones who are not known by their origins can easily tell lies as they do not

سيد، وزولا جاي من بعيد، و شايبا ما عندو نديد		have any witnesses to challenge them. People who use this proverb explicitly refer to slavery by using the word owner.
10. *Al-hamala sawat al-a'bid faki* الهملة سوت العبد فكي	Inadvertence has made the slave a jurist	People who use this proverb mean that firmness is required in all situations and suggest that carelessness might give slaves a chance to become ambitious and try to be religious men who are respectful at that time.
11. *Jins a'bid mino al-khear jabad* جنس عبده منو الخير جبدة	Goodness is far from the nature of slaves	This proverb says that goodness should not be expected from slaves as good values do not exist in their race.
12. *Sajam al-h'ila al-daleela a'ajami wa fas'eyh'a ra<u>t</u>ani* سجم الحلة الدليلا عجمي و فصيحا رطاني	What a disaster in a district if its leader is non-Arab and its eloquence is jargonized	People who use this proverb warn that leadership should not be given to those who are non-Arab or African and speak colloquial Arabic.
13. *Sajam al-h'ila al-daleela a'bid* سجم الحلة الدليلا عبد	What a disaster in a district if its leader is non-Arab or African	This proverb means same as the above one.
14. *A'bdan takafitu bala*	A slave whom you slap	This proverb implies that a

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ghabeena عبدا تكفتو بلا غبينة	without prejudice (You can slap a slave without any reason	slave as an ugly person that you can slap not because he did something wrong or annoyed you, but just for his ugliness.
15. *Dabarat amearam bikoha fi al-khadim* دبرة الميرم بيكووها في الخادم	The wound of the princess is cauterized on the maid	This proverb means that if a princess needs a treatment which causes pain, she should not have to endure that pain, so her servant must take it on her behalf. People use the proverb when a person of high status deserves to be punished, but cannot be punished due to their status; others in a lower status take the blame instead.
16. *Dabarat al-h'us'an bikoha fi al-h'umar* دبرة الحصان بيكووها في الحمار	A horse has a wound, but they ordered a donkey to be cauterized in its place	This proverb means same as the above one.
17. *Ghabeenat al-a'rabeah befishoha fi al-sireah* غبينة العربية بينفسوها في السرية	The anger with the wife from a noble origin is let out on the maid	This proverb similarly comments that if a man has two wives, the one of lower status will be blamed for the mistakes of the one of higher status.
18. *A'areeya ma bedoom lil-*	A borrowed cloth will not	This proverb says that

khadim um gadoom عارية ما بتدوم للخادم ام قدوم	last for the servant with a big mouth	because an African maid is poor she does not have good clothes, so she might borrow some, but soon she will return them and keep her ragged clothes.
19. *Ma biswa sha'rah min rasi* ما بسوي شعرة من راسي	Not worth a strand of my hair	People who use this proverbial phrase mean that some people are so worthless in terms of their origins that they are inferior even to a strand of their hair. It express prejudice on others
20. *Kulu a'ind al-a'rab s'aboon* كلو عند العرب صابون	Everything in the eyes of Arabs is only soap	This proverb comments that nomads do not value anything and see all things as no difference, because of their primitiveness
21. *Al-a'arbi ma bita'aza kama murah'u* العربي ما بتعزي كان ما مراحو	A nomad would not be respected were it not for his herd	Nomads are referred to as Arabs; they are considered as uncivilised by urbanites or those who live in cities and towns. People who use this proverb suggest that they respect a nomad only because of the large number of animals that he owns.

22. *Ana be seadi wa seadi baseadu* انا بي سيدي و سيدي بي سيدو	I have a master, but my master has one too	This proverb might reflect a class system in showing that everyone has someone who is superior and oversees his actions. This comes from the historical religious class system of Sufi in the earlier 20th century.
23. *Al-a'in ma ta'la a'la al-h'ajib* العين ما تعلي علي الحاجب	The eye never stands higher than the eyebrow	This proverb is close to the previous one, in that it talks about the class system of superiority according to your ethnicity and power. In that noble ethnicities are always on the top , no one should dare changes this system.
24. *Al-a'ireq dasas* العرق دساس	The root is hidden	Blood and upbringing are believed to influence character. This proverb suggests that no matter how good you are you should be judged by your origins, which might come to the surface even if you try to hide it. People also use it to refer to a bad reputation that ancestors might have. " (2005:185)
25. *Akhr al-zaman algibli*	It is unbelievable that the	The proverb indicates that

yakheeb wa al-hurra tai'eeb آخر الزمن القبلي يخيب والحره تعيب	noble race commit mistakes and fail in their life	people from noble races can't be failure or commit mistakes or unpleasant actions, as if these bad deeds appeals only to African race only.
26. *Sa'dak in ghalab, yakhdimook awlad al- a'rab* سعدك ان غلب يخدموك اولاد العرب	If you are lucky, you will be served by Arabs	This have a close meaning to the previous proverb, in that Arabs are not servants, so if some Arab serves you, you are lucky that you are served by such noble people, since they agreed that servants obviously should be Africans.
27. Al-hassani in salmak, I'd asabe'ek الحساني ان سالمك عد اصابعيك	If a Hassanian one shake hands with you, you should count and check your fingers	This proverb describes a certain tribe which is Hassania that they are robbers and thief to the point that they can steal your fingers after shaking hands.
28. Al- kahli in salamak, I]d asabe'ek الكاهلي ان سالمك عد اصابعيك	If a Kahli one shake hands with you, you should count and check your fingers	The same meaning of the previous proverb, describing Kawahla, another tribe. Both tribes live in the West of Sudan. These proverbs express ethnic prejudice practiced against certain tribes.
29. *Al-ta'aishi wa la al-*	Genuine Taa'shi is better than who claim that he is	This proverb assures the value of the ethnic origins

matoa'sh التعيشي ولا المتوعش	Taa'shian.	when it comes to the value of people, in that being original race gives you value better that try to be with other ethnicity than yours.
30. *Al- Turki wa la Al-Matoarak* التركي و لا المتورك	Genuine Turk is better than who try to mimic Turk	The same meaning.

4.6.3 Analysis of the data

The above proverbs bear witness to various kinds of social inequality in the Sudan, there are 30 proverbs in this table, which the researchers concentrated on out of more than 500, because they contain racial and ethnic prejudice. It is noticed that most of these proverbs are excluding the African rooted ethnicities located in the West of Sudan, actually 19 proverb out of 30 , blatantly use the words like "*A'bid*" or "*khadim*", " *Nubawi"* which mean slave or servant as excluded and discriminated against ,only because they are from certain ethnicities that are historically considered as less privileged and honored. The Arab ethnicities in Sudan have an untold social agreement for being superior to other ethnicities, specially the African rooted ones, they behave as if those inferior ethnicities are servants or slaves to them

كلو عند العرب صابون\   العربي ما بتعزي كان ما مراحو .

 There are 2 proverbs that reflect racial discrimination indirectly by naming certain tribes that implicitly being prejudiced because of being from certain areas such as the West of Sudan (24.27.28.) However, these kind of cross sectional proverbs that take place and reflect limited and certain experiences that can't over-generalized on the whole Sudanese culture.

 Contradictory , when looking to the rest of the proverbs, we found that only 3 proverbs above have mentioned the word *"Arab"* in a discriminated way , in proverb (20. 21,26), they attributed the Arab as primitive uncivilized people, however, the interpretation of the word "Arabi" here also exclude certain tribes or ethnicities according to their economic and social

level. Contradictory in 26 the word " Arab " is used in a different way , as the privileged Northern riparian ethnicities that have the superiority over other ethnicities. However, these kind of cross sectional proverbs that take place and reflect limited and certain experiences that can't over generalized on the whole Sudanese culture.

Also, the researcher found 5 proverbs that generally reflect superiority and prejudice without specifying certain ethnicity, in that the speaker expresses his superiority on others regardless of their race.(19.22.23.25,29.30), in 19 **(ما بسوي شعرة من راسي)**   an arrogance is expressed towards others in that everyone else is worthless, in 22, and in 23 and 25 an admission of the social system of racism and superiority of certain people over others has been expressed.

انا بي سيدي و سيدي بي سيدو \اخر الزمن القبلي يخيب و الحرة تعيب\ العين ما تعلي علي الحاجب

In 29 and 30 express how people evaluate the ethnic origins when it comes to the value of people, in that being original race gives you value better that try to be with other ethnicity than yours, it talks about the racial prejudice that we can see when it comes to judge people by their origin.

التعيشي ولا المتوعش \ التركي و لا المتورك

Hence, the racial and ethnic prejudice in these proverbs varied between three groups :

1/ The racial proverbs that discriminate the African rooted ethnicities, blatant and direct , the first18 ones, and 3 indirect ones .

2/ The cross sectional proverbs that take place and reflect limited and certain experiences that can't over generalized on the whole Sudanese culture.

3/ The proverbs that reflect a more general believe of superiority among people when using them, like proverb.

According to the researcher collection of proverbs , and according to the media elites, proverbs as a cultural folklore have a great influence on establishing and entrench the ideologies of racism and ethnic prejudice amongst Sudanese. Hence this hypotheses is **confirmed**.

4.7 Conclusion

There are different structures and strategies of discourse that tell us about under-lying ethnic or racial ideologies that expressed by each newspaper , The positive self and negative others strategies are influential strategies in the discourse of the Sudanese media discourse .In this chapter we investigate them in the media discourse of Akhbar Alyaom newspaper and the discourse of three media elites usin positive self negative others strategies., then the study tries to relate to a deeper social layers by analyzing the proverbs that express racial or ethnic prejudice to find out a relation between constructing racial ideologies and the cultural folklore that people have .

Chapter Five

Results and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a brief summary of the results of the data analysis is presented. The hypotheses are briefly tested, then the recommendations is being discussed according to the results , and finally suggested further studies are being stated.

5.2 Summary of the results

In this chapter an analysis has been conducted to analyze the data of the triangular methodology of the study, in order to investigate three hypotheses of the study .

5.2.1 Hypotheses 1 : The media discourse has an essential role in the development, and reproduction of racism and ethnic prejudice.

The researcher has discussed the role of the media through two methods, the first is analyzing political discourse in *Akhbar Alyaom* newspaper, using positive self \ negative others presentation, and the second is analyzing the discourse of semi structural interviews with four media elites .According to the results of the data collected and analyzed:

1. Sudanese media discourse could be influential in reproducing ethnic and racial prejudice.
2. Media elites were varied in the extent of admitting any racial discrimination in the Sudanese political history according to their political and the ethnic background.
3. Media discourse has no blatant racial discrimination, due to the political correctness. However, the model of Intibaha news paper was an exception and it contributed in reproducing hatred discourse those days.
4. The media use indirect strategies, that reproduce ethnic prejudice and racism , like ignoring certain news, silence instead of highlighting certain events, and presenting negative image about certain ethnicities.

   Hence the hypotheses that the media discourse has an essential role in the development, and reproduction of racism and ethnic prejudice **is confirmed** .

5.2.2 Hypotheses 2 :   The positive self and negative others strategies are influential strategies in the discourse of the Sudanese media discourse .

Through the analysis of the discourse of *Akhbar Alyaom* and the elites discourse, the researcher investigate the five strategies of positive self negative others presentation, and focus on two strategies : referential and predicational ones. The results are as follows:

1. The positive self \ negative others presentation strategies are used frequently by politicians and in the media to justify and legitimate their acts.
2. The official discourse of the government use the negative others presentation strategies in a frequent style of attributing them as outside Islam, as the ugliest image that Sudanese people reject.
3. The discourse of the politicians is the same, in that they use the same strategies in presenting positive image about themselves, in contrast to the other.

Hence , the second hypotheses that claimed , positive self and negative others strategies are influential strategies in the discourse of the Sudanese media discourse, **is confirmed.**

5.2.3   Hypotheses 3 : The cultural heritage of Sudanese proverbs on establishing and entrench the concept of racism and ethnic prejudice amongst Sudanese is influential.

The discussion and analysis of the data of Sudanese proverbs have resulted in many results :

1. Cultural proverbs are influential in creating a negative image about the other "certain ethnicities".
2. Most blatant discriminative proverbs found, are said to discriminate the African rooted ethnicities. However, there are many other racial proverbs that express ethnic prejudice against Arab rooted ethnicities , what gives evidence that ethnic prejudice could happened among the same rooted ethnicity whether African or Arab.
3. Racial proverbs are used by people as a taken for granted truth, to legitimate and justify their discriminative ideologies.
4. Ethnic prejudice appears through the proverbs to be cross sectional, in that different layers of prejudice happened between tribes and ethnicities and it is not necessarily to be African \ Arab equasion.

According to these results that resulted from data analysis of proverbs and the media elites discussion , proverbs as a cultural folklore have a great influence on establishing and entrench the concept of racism and ethnic prejudice amongst Sudanese.Hence this hypotheses is **confirmed**.

5.3   Recommendations

1. Strict policies and regulations should be made to sue and control any racial discrimination made by individuals or institutions, whether verbally or more.

2. Elites should be aware of the impact of their discourse, on constructing the ideologies of the public .

3. The Sudanese media discourse should be very sensitive towards issues of ethnicity and tribalism .

4. The media elites have a direct responsibility in presenting an honest and responsible news coverage, especially during conflicts that can lead to more prejudice.

5. Political discourse must be more responsible and sensitive towards issues of ethnic conflicts.

6. Civil society has to contribute basically in community awareness about the severe consequences of the irresponsible using of the discourse of hatred or discrimination. . Nations with youth bulges such as Sudan (54%) are thought to be particularly influential in shaping their communities with less cultural intense from old folklore. Civil society should propel youth toward peace and cohesion .

7. The political polarization shouldn't abuse the ethnic diversity or take advantage of any ethnic conflict.

8. The recurrence of ethno-political conflict in Sudan demands attention from policy makers, community elites specially media and politics ones, human rights organizations, educators, and scholars to find the best routes to resolve current conflicts and also to prevent escalations of interethnic tension and develop harmonious and peaceful societies,

5.4 Suggestions for further studies

1.   Analyzing racial prejudice in the official Sudanese rhetoric after the secession 2011.

2.   The impact of Sudanese political discourse on creating new identity.

3.   Investigating the influential discourse strategies in the Sudanese political discourse.

4. Positive self presentation and negative other presentation in the Sudanese political discourse.

5. Positive self presentation and negative other presentation in the media coverage of the referendum of 2011 .

6. SPLM rhetoric during the referendum2011: A discourse historical analysis.

7. The analysis of the argumentation strategies in the official discourse in the media.

8. A critical discourse analysis of peace rhetoric in the Sudanese political speeches.

5.6 Conclusion

Sudan, like other nations across the globe, must come to terms with its diverse and changing multicultural makeup and make strategic efforts to advance intercultural relations and ethno-political cooperation. Challenged with extreme poverty, high demands for infrastructure development, health crises, and environmental degradation, the challenges facing governments and societies in sub-Saharan Africa are especially immense. Finding a way out of these challenges needs a responsible cooperative elites and a practical plan of community development.

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APPENDFICIES

A Summary of the positive self\ negative others presentation strategies that media Elites mostly used .

Interviewee	Strategy	Objective	Device	Example
Dr.Amin Hasan Omer	Mitigation\ argumentative	Modifying (intensifying or mitigating) the illocutionary force and thus the epistemic or demotic status of utterances	**D**iminutives or augmentatives (**M**odal) particles, tag questions, subjunctives, hesitations, vague, expressions..etc **I**ndirect speech acts(e.g. questions instead of assertion) **V**erbs of saying, feeling, thinking, etc. **H**yperboles, litotes, etc.	1.*We need to ask our self, is it really racism what causes these conflicts* (**questions instead of assertion**) 2. *I don't remember any !* *(denying)* 3.*There is no obvious racial discrimination in the media* *(denying)* 4. *I don't think public discourse* 5.*Will you find any direct racial functioning from " the other party"to face the political incitement about racism* *?* (**hyperboles**) 6.*Filipp Gabosh is who use direct racial discourse in accusing the North being discriminative, not the Northern politicians!.* (**Augmentatives**)
2. Dr.Mohamed Mahjoub Haroon	Predication	discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena events/processes and actions (more or less positively or negatively)	stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits (e.g. in Predication social actors, objects, the form of adjectives, appositions, phenomena, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctional clauses, infinitive clauses and participial clauses or groups) explicit predicates or predicative	1.*Even the Southern political mainstream didn't accept the Northern political mainstream to represent them* 2. *In Sudan , politics directly or indirectly has many cases of ethnic and racial discrimination, based on the nationality, the*

			nouns/adjectives/ pronouns collocations • explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemisms) • allusions, evocations, and presuppositions/implicatures , etc.	*natural race or the ethnic background. This doesn't mean that these cases of ethnic and racial discrimination is agreed on in the political practice, however , it is there.*
3.Mr.A.Abu Idries	Referential	Discursive construction of social actors, objects/phenoma events and processes/ actions.	Membership categorization devices, deictics, anthroponyms etc. Trops, such as metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches Verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions, etc.	*The media institutions have /contributed in reproduction of racism, /not trained its employee / ignored the minorities discrimination in media.* **professionalization/ synecdoches** *2.* The East has been discriminated against.
4. Faisal Mohammed Salih	Argumentative\ Intensifying	Modifying (intensifying the illocutionary force and thus the epistemic or demotic status of utterances	**D**iminutives or augmentatives (**M**odal) particles, tag questions, subjunctives, hesitations, vague, expressions..etc **I**ndirect speech acts(e.g. questions instead of assertion) **V**erbs of saying, feeling, thinking, etc. **H**yperboles, litotes, etc.	*1.The government has contributed badly in reproducing racism through may irresponsible acts during the secession.* *2. The Islamism discourse in the media has contributed directly in the hatred construct through presenting a negative image of Southern people as killers, betrayers, specially in Sahat Al fidaa TV program.*

Appendix (2)

Positive self\ negative other presentation strategies in *Akhbar Alyaom* .

Discursive strategy	Objectives	Categories
Referential \ nomination strategy	**Discursive construction\legitimization of self**	**Pronouns:** We, Us , Our **References to the government and public bodies:** Armed force, police, a security source, the government, a political source , Executive leaders , the Northern region , home land , public defense , the central government , local administrations **Reference to people\ nation :** The civilians, the aggressor against , Darfur leaders , leaders of the Sudanese people .
Referential\Nomination strategy	Discursive construction\de-legitimization of **"other"**	**Pronouns :** They , them , their **Ethnical anthroponym:** Zagawa , Foar, the Northern,

		Southern people, Chadian
		Ideological anthroponym: The rebel's, some rebel groups , some outlaws and out Sharee'a , SPLA ,other parties , Justice and Equality insurgents , armed robbery groups, Garang army, Israel ,some oppositions bodies, international Zionism, conspiracy actors, armed groups, remnants of the betraying armed groups , the insurrection, A bunch of outlaw rebels. Isolated groups of rebels.

Appendix (3)

A summary of the results of the referential and predicational strategies.

Discursive strategy	Objectives	Categories
Predicational strategy **" What characteristics, qualities and features that attributed to the social Actor?"**	**Discursive construction\legitimization of self**	US 4. Cooperation 5. Control **6.** Religiousness
	Discursive construction\de-legitimization of others	**Others** 4. Threat and violence 5. Illogical and unlawful **6.** Out of Islam

Appendix (4)

Sudanese racial proverbs

The Sudanese proverb and its transcription	The English translation	The cultural interpretation
" *1. Shira al-a'bd wala tarbiytu* شرا العبد و لا تربيته	Buying a slave is better than bringing him up	This proverb advises that it is better for you to buy a slave than to waste your time and money feeding and fostering him. Slavery existed in some parts of Africa until early in the twentieth century and Sudan was active in the slave trade during the Turkiyah, (Turkish regime 1821-1885
2. *La takhawi al-a'b, al-a'b nassai* لا تخاوي العب العب نساي	Do not associate as a brother with a slave, as the slave is forgetful	This proverb asserts that a slave has no manners and he always forgets your kindness and good treatment.
3. *la tbool fi al-shag la tkhawi al-a'b, al-shag hssai w al- a'b nassai* لا تبول في الشق لا تخاوي العب ، الشق حساي و العب نساي	Don't pee in a ground crack, and don't befriend a slave as well, for the slave forgets your deeds as the crack absorbs your urine	This is close to previous proverbs, however more insulting. The African race person is not the right person to befriend, he forgets your good deeds to him and betrays you, so don't trust him
4. *Al-jins al- bakhas la tajualu dukhreek*	Do not associate as a brother with a slave,	This proverb is like the previous one asserts that a

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الجنس البخس لا تجعلو دخريك		slave has no loyalty and can't be trusted to be a friend
5. *Al- gharabi kan dakhal beitak shirib, beitak khirib* الغرّابي كان دخل شرب بيتك خرب	If a western person enter your house and drink, your house is going to be destroyed.	This proverb accused people from the west, who are African race that they are not trusted and betrayals , so people shouldn't let them in their houses or trust them.
6. *Al- jayi min al-gharib , ma bisur al- galib* الجاي من الغرب ما بيسر القلب	Who comes from the west , doesn't please the heart.	This proverb is close to the previous one , in that people who comes from the West, they mean the African race, are not welcomed, because they probably make some bad deeds.
7. *Al-a'rabi lahhin lu wa al-nubawi bain lu* العربي لحن له و النوباوي بين له	For an Arab use a gesture and for a non-Arab explain in detail	People who use this proverb mean that it is difficult to communicate with non-Arabs as they do not speak Arabic. In fact sometimes they use it as an insult claiming that Africans are not as intelligent as Arabs, or even stupid.
8. *Al-ghayear manziltu a'bed* الغير منزلتو عبد	He who changes his host is a slave	Some Sudanese prefer to stay with relatives or friends when they travel from one place to another inside the country; they must stay in

		one place as it is unacceptable that one moves from one host to another. People who use this proverb mean that one who does not understand the tradition of staying with one host is not a noble person.
9. *Al- kad'adeeb talata: A'bdan ma a'indu seed, wa zolan jai min ba'eed, wa shaiban ma a'indu nadead* **الكضاضيب تلاته : عبدا ما عندو سيد، وزولا جاي من بعيد، و شايبا ما عندو نديد**	Liars are three: A slave without an owner, a man coming from a far land and an old man without a peer	This proverb suggests that those who have no coevals and the ones who are not known by their origins can easily tell lies as they do not have any witnesses to challenge them. People who use this proverb explicitly refer to slavery by using the word owner.
10. *Al-hamala sawat al-a'bid faki* **الهملة سوت العبد فكي**	Inadvertence has made the slave a jurist	People who use this proverb mean that firmness is required in all situations and suggest that carelessness might give slaves a chance to become ambitious and try to be religious men who are respectful at that time.
11. *Jins a'bid mino al-khear jabad*	Goodness is far from the nature of slaves	This proverb says that goodness should not be

جنس عبده منو الخير جبدة		expected from slaves as good values do not exist in their race.
12. *Sajam al-h'ila al-daleela a'ajami wa fas'eyh'a ra<u>t</u>ani* سجم الحلة الدليلا عجمي و فصيحا رطاني	What a disaster in a district if its leader is non-Arab and its eloquence is jargonized	People who use this proverb warn that leadership should not be given to those who are non-Arab or African and speak colloquial Arabic.
13. *Sajam al-h'ila al-daleela a'bid* سجم الحلة الدليلا عبد	What a disaster in a district if its leader is non-Arab or African	This proverb means same as the above one.
14. *A'bdan takafitu bala ghabeena* عبدا تكفتو بلا غبينة	A slave whom you slap without prejudice (You can slap a slave without any reason	This proverb implies that a slave as an ugly person that you can slap not because he did something wrong or annoyed you, but just for his ugliness.
15. *Dabarat amearam bikoha fi al-khadim* دبرة الميرم بيكووها في الخادم	The wound of the princess is cauterized on the maid	This proverb means that if a princess needs a treatment which causes pain, she should not have to endure that pain, so her servant must take it on her behalf. People use the proverb when a person of high status deserves to be punished, but cannot be punished due to their status; others in a lower

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		status take the blame instead.
16. *Dabarat al-h'us'an bikoha fi al-h'umar* دبرة الحصان بيكووها في الحمار	A horse has a wound, but they ordered a donkey to be cauterized in its place	This proverb means same as the above one.
17. *Ghabeenat al-a'rabeah befishoha fi al-sireah* غبينة العربية بينفسوها في السرية	The anger with the wife from a noble origin is let out on the maid	This proverb similarly comments that if a man has two wives, the one of lower status will be blamed for the mistakes of the one of higher status.
18. *A'areeya ma bedoom lil-khadim um gadoom* عارية ما بتدوم للخادم ام قدوم	A borrowed cloth will not last for the servant with a big mouth	This proverb says that because an African maid is poor she does not have good clothes, so she might borrow some, but soon she will return them and keep her ragged clothes.
19. *Ma biswa sha'rah min rasi* ما بسوي شعرة من راسي	Not worth a strand of my hair	People who use this proverbial phrase mean that some people are so worthless in terms of their origins that they are inferior even to a strand of their hair. It express prejudice on others
20. *Kulu a'ind al-a'rab s'aboon*	Everything in the eyes of Arabs is only soap	This proverb comments that nomads do not value

كلو عند العرب صابون		anything and see all things as no difference, because of their primitiveness
21. *Al-a'arbi ma bita'aza kama murah'u* العربي ما بتعزي كان ما مراحو	A nomad would not be respected were it not for his herd	Nomads are referred to as Arabs; they are considered as uncivilised by urbanites or those who live in cities and towns. People who use this proverb suggest that they respect a nomad only because of the large number of animals that he owns.
22. *Ana be seadi wa seadi baseadu* انا بي سيدي و سيدي بي سيدو	I have a master, but my master has one too	This proverb might reflect a class system in showing that everyone has someone who is superior and oversees his actions. This comes from the historical religious class system of Sufi in the earlier 20th century.
23. *Al-a'in ma ta'la a'la al-h'ajib* العين ما تعلي علي الحاجب	The eye never stands higher than the eyebrow	This proverb is close to the previous one, in that it talks about the class system of superiority according to your ethnicity and power. In that noble ethnicities are always on the top , no one should dare changes this system.

24. *Al-a'ireq dasas* العرق دساس	The root is hidden	Blood and upbringing are believed to influence character. This proverb suggests that no matter how good you are you should be judged by your origins, which might come to the surface even if you try to hide it. People also use it to refer to a bad reputation that ancestors might have. " (2005:185)
25. *Akhr al-zaman algibli yakheeb wa al-hurra tai'eeb* آخر الزمن القبلي يخيب والحره تعيب	It is unbelievable that the noble race commit mistakes and fail in their life	The proverb indicates that people from noble races can't be failure or commit mistakes or unpleasant actions, as if these bad deeds appeals only to African race only.
26. *Sa'dak in ghalab, yakhdimook awlad al- a'rab* سعدك ان غلب يخدموك اولاد العرب	If you are lucky, you will be served by Arabs	This have a close meaning to the previous proverb, in that Arabs are not servants, so if some Arab serves you, you are lucky that you are served by such noble people, since they agreed that servants obviously should be Africans.
27. Al-hassani in salmak, I'd	If a Hassanian one shake hands with you, you should	This proverb describes a certain tribe which is

asabe'ek الحساني ان سالمك عد اصابعيك	count and check your fingers	Hassania that they are robbers and thief to the point that they can steal your fingers after shaking hands.
28. Al- kahli in salamak, I]d asabe'ek الكاهلي ان سالمك عد اصابعيك	If a Kahli one shake hands with you, you should count and check your fingers	The same meaning of the previous proverb, describing Kawahla, another tribe. Both tribes live in the West of Sudan. These proverbs express ethnic prejudice practiced against certain tribes.
29. *Al-ta'aishi wa la al-matoa'sh* التعيشي ولا المتوعش	Genuine Taa'shi is better than who claim that he is Taa'shian.	This proverb assures the value of the ethnic origins when it comes to the value of people, in that being original race gives you value better that try to be with other ethnicity than yours.
30. *Al- Turki wa la Al-Matoarak* التركي و لا المتورك	Genuine Turk is better than who try to mimic Turk	The same meaning.

Appendix (5)

Interview with Dr. Mohamed Mahjuob Haroon

(Thursday 7th of November 2017)

1\ Dr. Mahjoub, do you think that we have any political discrimination based on race or ethnicity phenomena along our Sudanese modern history?

Dr. Mahjoub : Well, ethnic and racial discrimination is existing in the human cultures , interacting and interrelating with different economic , historical ,, geographical and political factors .The political practice just like other factors, is affected by the dominated culture and the dynamics of the social practice, it has been formed and transformed frequently. Since the social practice is that dynamic , it cannot be statistically traced, however, we can notice and detect the racial discrimination along history. In Sudan , politics directly or indirectly has many cases of ethnic and racial discrimination, based on the nationality, the natural race or the ethnic background. This doesn't mean that these cases of ethnic and racial discrimination is agreed on in the political practice, however , it is there. For example , it has been noticed that the political mainstreams have excluded along the modern history, certain ethnicities or racial groups, for example before the South separation , you couldn't see so many Southerners in the different political structures, or civil society bodies. This ethnic exclusion didn't happen from one side only, however, it was reciprocal,in that even the Southern political mainstream didn't accept the Northern political mainstream to represent them

2\ Are these cases of ethnic and racial discrimination that you have talked about, represented in blatant political practice, for example legislations or political actions?

Dr. Mahjoub : We live in one society , the social ideologies and practice that we have as individuals are transferred and reflected in the political practice also , affecting and causing bias. We have many social condonable divisions between the Northern riparian tribes and other Sudanese from African origins from the West or South. These racial divisions and discrimination is existed in our community, and consequently appeared in different manifestations in politics, when the politicians are from the that Northern riparian ethnicities call a Southerner or Western Sudanese he calls them (A'bd) i.e slave. This is not constructed ideology, it is a deep seated kind of cultural component that is now practiced with a power privilege. The political position helps in power abuse towards those who are considered in a lower social status. The attempts of John Garang, the Southerner leader who lead a long civil war with the Northern governments, try to challenge this ethnic discrimination from (Jallaba) as they call the Northern Sudanese, this conflict increase the sensitivity between the North and the African origins Sudanese.

Specially with the Northern negative representation in the media to the image of John Garang and Southerners as criminals, killers and serious threat.

Also the divisions that lately happened in the Western Sudanese groups specially in Darfur, which started with protesting the Northern domination on the power and wealth in Sudan , and ends up in an armed movements . The political discourse of these groups has changed into a loud negative discourse about the persecution and domination of "Al Jallaba " i.e Northern riparian Sudanese, this discourse has intensified the racial factors in the Northern domination and called for equality and justice in distributing wealth and power. Ultimately , there are many and various manifestation of ethnic discrimination within the force structures, politics and state …etc

These deep rooted ideologies of ethnic and racial discrimination could find a way to be manifested through different ways, some have logical justification, for example in the public sector , the most common ethnic force there from the Northern riparian ethnicities ,this is correct but not necessarily because these ethnicities had a planned wicked intention to dominate the public sector, May be because they were more educated, open , and settled, unlike other nomads ethnicities in that time.

Another example of ethnic domination in certain public sector is in the police ,where " Shawaiga" is historically known as the ethnic dominating group there, actually, there is an old proverb says **" AlShaigi yal oskoria yal ltouria "** which means the individual in Shawaiga tribe has two traditional options for a   career , either to be a farmer" *tarbal*" , or a soldier in the army, which reveals a traditional ideology that can explain the domination of this ethnic group , in addition to their historical participation of the Shawaiga in the Turkish army during the colonial time .The continuous representation of certain ethnic group through three or four generations in the formal force and public sector has another reason of an   un written tradition of inheriting the job specially the low ones from a worker or soldier to his son after retirement, for instance , the workers in rail ways, or the electricity companies .

However, it   just happened that in a country with such a vast ethnic diversity, certain Northern Arab groups like" Shawaiga", " Jaaleen", "Rubatab", "Merafab" and so on, are the included dominated ones,   meanwhile there are   excluded and the less presented groups coming from the East or African origin groups in the West or South. Hence , these divisions have matched different other levels and classification in the same time ,ethnically, politically, socially …etc.

When we look at the world , In Europe for example , we will find protesting movements from different groups, the Catalonian region in Spain ,Southern Italy and the Irish in England as well, have many claims of being under privileged and discriminated against, they talk about marginalization and unbalanced development . However, these claims can't be based

on ethnic base which hardly exists in that communities, racial discrimination is becoming much more limited and controlled.

Comparably, In the Sudanese society , the transformation to modernization is still immature, and pretty much " pre- model" in that , it is still recognized by its primitive bases of natural relations, like tribes , and ethnicities.

4\ Do you think that the political representation in the parliament could reflect any manifestation of ethnic or racial discrimination?

We can't assure that the representation is a planned or meant manifestation, because as I said no parameters , however, it seems that decision makers have certain restrictions about who represent them, for example, if I become a minister one day , I may unconsciously make sure that my close circle at work is from my trusted people who consequently will be my relatives or from the same ethnicity.

Political power negatively generates certain way of protective thinking like favoritism , nepotism. Moreover, it creates a tendency of aggressive action against any threatening to politician's who are in power or their sustainability. This cruet pursuit of power, lead to a bias in the political representation of the parliament on the of only the powerful ones in the circle of decision making in that powerful politicians seek to ensure their controlling power through giving (دايرة سياسية) to their ethnicity regardless of the number of the population there and demographic distribution in that a (daayra) could be distributed to 40.000 while another could represent more than 400.000 in an area of marginalized people . It is a fact that politicians have abused their power by using racial discrimination and ethnic prejudice to stay in power. Unfortunately, such manifestations are not blatantly discussed ,what make research in such topics is highly recommended to shed the light on this taboo, because this could weaken the state and the public sector , in addition to the civil society such as the political parties and labor associations. The consequences could appeared in injustice, unbalanced development, weak political representation, huge variation between the centre and the …, biased distribution of wealth and power. Unless this bias is being addressed in a direct way, many political crisis could happen, like political protest that changed into armed movements just like what happened in the South and resulted in a loud call for separation. Also what is happening now in Darfur .So, all these consequences are a chain reactions, which could start very small , however, get bigger just like a snow ball. Powerful political Elites may have the opportunity to increase their ability and the tendency to reproduce racial discrimination , however, they also could use this power to make positive reform and justice, they have the tools to use or abuse..

5\ Through the modern political history, Is there any legislation or regulations that reproduce racism ?

According to my knowledge , no legislations that reproduce racism. This could be natural because our state is not that long history so there is a lot to learn , if we look at the Western political history , we will find that they learned the same lessons of justice and equality in a very high cost through long civil wars , however, they become more inclusive to all different society entities, regardless to the cultural, ethnic, religious attributes. Then they developed much further in their constitutions and regulations to control the racial or ethnic bias. Different associations have been made to protect the minorities rights. So we have a lot to learn as a state and nation about equality and justice.

6\ To what extent has folk culture managed to establish and entrench the concept of racism and ethnic prejudice amongst indigenous folk ?

Ethnic prejudice appeared in the discourse as a reflection of a deep ideologies that rooted through our culture. This phenomena a is a complex one ,it is multi layered, the divisions are not between large groups like the riparian Northern and Southern Sudanese for example, you may find racial discrimination within the same ethnicity ,or tribe in the west , there is a traditional racial discrimination from the Arab who live in the West of Sudan against ethnicities "Zurga" who live in the region and who considered as slaves " Abeed" by those Arab ethnicities. In the North "Shaigia" tribes , call a certain "Shayigian" mainstream as "Falaleet" who are been discriminated against by the same ethnicity. Another example, is the Nubian ethnicities in the far North, who consider every other Arab riparian groups as less social status. Hence, the complicated issue of racial prejudice in Sudan has different perspectives, and layers.

About the discourse

7\ Is there any events through our modern history that you consider as a turning points in reproducing racism and ethnic prejudice?

There are many events that reproduced racism along history, for example the conflicts between the tribes in the West , "Rizegat " and " Dinka have a long history of conflict on the land and water and land in the 1980s a whole train had been burned with its passengers who where all Southerners Sudanese , Rizegat tribe burned the train as a revenge action for a continues conflicts with the "Dinka" tribe. A story about a Southern minister who was Muslim , however he converted to Christianity after his mother got burned in that train, hence , such event and others, deeply dig a sense of racial discrimination and repression .

Historically, land used to belong to tribes – Darfur means 'the place of the Fur people'. There are at least 36 main tribes in the region. Some of the Arab people felt left out of a system that gave more "dars" (districts) to non-Arab communities, ethnic differences between the two

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groups – who used to co-exist peacefully in the main – were exaggerated by local leaders in the battle over resources.

These divisions has been invested by the politicians to a great extent, During the civil war in the South in the 2000s, the mainstream of the government was fighting the SPLA in the South, however, when a new conflict in west Sudan's Darfur region flared in 2003 when two rebel groups rose up against the government, accusing it of willful neglect.

they take advantage of the traditional racial prejudice and armed the Arab tribes to face the rebels , The Arab tribes "Janjaweed " are basically cattle growers nomads who don't own land , unlike the " Zurga" who are settled tribes who own the land .the opportunity that is given by the government brings power and prestige to Arab tribes, so they work for the government. They, started to become much more aggressive in 2003, after two non-Arab groups, the Sudan Liberation Army and the Justice and Equality Movement, took up arms against the Sudanese government, alleging mistreatment by the Arab regime in Khartoum. In response to the uprising, the Janjaweed militias began pillaging towns and villages inhabited by members of the African tribes from which the rebel armies draw their strength—the Zaghawa, Masalit, and Fur tribes. This leads to an obvious reproduction of racial and ethnic discrimination .

9\ What is the role of media discourse in the development, reinforcement ,legitimizing and hence reproduction of racism and ethnic prejudice?

Well, generally, different types of media is not very much out spoken in the racist and ethnic discourse, either because of the censoring by the government, or the social correctness.

Cyber media is much more open and people express the hatred discourse much blatant, may be because most of the writers are abroad and away from any government authorities, comparable with the conventional media which in general can not contribute in racial media discourse with a direct and blatant way .However, this conventional media may be contributed in reproducing racial discrimination indirectly through different discursive and non discursive strategies.

9\ So what are these discourse media strategies that revealing the overwhelming growth of the underlying tone of racism and ethnic prejudice ?

Strategies of media discourse are quite indirect, for example the extensive media coverage of certain ethnicities news or reports, or cultural events comparable with ignoring other groups, for example, the domination of the Northern culture in music and art in the media channels, while there is an obvious neglect to a huge and diverse culture from different ethnicities like

the Western and Eastern. Also, the silence towards certain ethnic issues is an important strategy, in that it is used in the news coverage when raising the issues of certain mainstream ethnicities and keep silent towards others issues.

Appendix (6)

Interview with Dr. Amin Hassan Omer

1\ Dr. Amin, do you think that we have any political discrimination based on race or ethnicity phenomena along our Sudanese modern history?

We need to ask our self, is it really racism what causes these conflicts, when we look back to the past generations, we find that lots of political leaders who started conflicts in the South, used the racial discourse of hatred as a political bidding in order to gain the ethnic support to their claims of their rights in the jobs and economic opportunities, the discrimination is not all the time racial , mostly it is nobatism , based on ethnicities .In politics , laws is the only way to find out if there is any discrimination or not , if you want to trace the racial discrimination look at the laws that talks about it .

2\ Are there any cases of ethnic and racial discrimination that represented in any political practice, for example legislations or political actions?

I can not remember any cases of ethnic or racial discrimination in political practices , and even if , it could be behind the words and not obviously expressed . Actually, if we look at the parliament representation from the independence, the British policies had contributed in excluding the Southern from the education that enable them to compete in being parliament members, however, this is not happened by intention because if we look to other fields we find that the first female doctor in the Sudanese history Khalda Zahir was from Nuba mountains.Even if we find some discriminations, it doesn't exceed verbal discrimination in private discussions among politicians, however , you cannot find a blatant case of racial practice, which he think because of our tolerant nature as Sudanese.

3\ To what extent has folk culture managed to establish and entrench the concept of racism and ethnic prejudice amongst indigenous folk ?

We even can't say that these proverbs are Sudanese , they are cross-sectional folk culture , the proverbs and jokes are related to certain ethnicities or tribes , in certain situations or connected to certain experience .Therefore , the folk culture can not be a major reason in

entrenching the racial prejudice because it is not generalized as our Sudan . It is related to certain ethnicities or certain experiences .

4\ Is there any events through our modern history that you consider as a turning points in reproducing racism and ethnic prejudice?

I don't remember any !

5\ What is the role of media discourse in the development, reinforcement ,legitimizing and hence reproduction of racism and ethnic prejudice?

The media discourse and even the political discourse cannot be racist in Sudan because of the political correctness that control the discourse generally , he said that it is a very sensitive issue that cannot be openly expressed .He admitted that any racist comments or connotations by politicians or journalists could be in the private chats or behind closed doors , and mostly as jokingly chats .Mr.Amin argued that there is no events that he can remember that produced blatant racial discourse,he said the media can't do that because of the political and the social correctness.

Even "Al Intibaha" the news paper that has been accused of having racial discourse , it didn't lead a racial discourse . It was about a political discourse of discriminating the south as a totally different culture and that culture is primitive and cost the North too much , the accusation of racism towards " Intibaha" was directed by the opposition parties only .

6\ What are the discourse media strategies that reveal the overwhelming growth of the underlying tone of racism and ethnic prejudice?

I don't think so , there is no direct media strategies that can reveal the underlying tone of racism, therefore, we need to look behind the words.

Appendix (7)

Interview with Abdelmune'm Abu Idries

1\ Mr. Abu Idries, do you think that we have any political discrimination based on race or ethnicity phenomena along our Sudanese modern history?

قد نجد تجاوزات لافراد داخل الحكومات يمثلوا الدولة هنا و هناك ، لكن قوانين او سياسات للدولة لا توجد و لا استطيع استحضار حدث.

2\ Are there any cases of ethnic and racial discrimination that represented in any political practice, for example legislations or political actions?

كما اسلفت لاتوجد قوانين او سياسات معينة تكرس للتمييز العنصري من قبل الدولة ، لكن الدولة لم تحسن او تضع رؤية واضحة لكيفية مخاطبتها لامة متعددة الاعراق و الثقافات،قد نجد تجاوزات لافراد داخل الحكومات يمثلوا الدولة هنا و هناك ، لكن قوانين او سياسات للدولة لا توجد و لا استطيع استحضار حدث.

3\ To what extent has folk culture managed to establish and entrench the concept of racism and ethnic prejudice amongst indigenous folk ?

ثقافتنا مليئة ببذور العنصرية ، منذ الصغر بيتم تغذيتنا باختلافات بيننا و بين اهل الغرب و الجنوب و نشانا و نحن نسمع الفاظ و عبارات و امثال شعبية فيها مفردات مثل الخادم او العبد دا، بصورة شايعة و ننشا بادعاءات نقاء عرقي ، كل شخص او مجموعة بتدعي نقاءها مقارنة بالمجموعات العرقية الاخري. بالنسبة للشرق التمييز لغوي فقط و ليس عرقي.

4\ Is there any events through our modern history that you consider as a turning points in reproducing racism and ethnic prejudice?

مظاهرات 1954 التي نظمها الانصار حزب الامة لمعارضة زيارة الرئيس المصري انذاك ، اتعامل الاعلام مع الحدث باستهتار و عدم حساسية كبيرين حين دمغت الانصار باوصاف مثل انهم متخلفين و قادمين من الارياف السحيقة و من مناطق بعينها مثل غرب السودان و الذي يتعلق بصورة مباشرة بحساسية عرقية معينة.

حادثة 1965 شائعة سقوط طائرة وزير الداخلية الجنوبي هيلاري لوقالي و مقتله قادما من الولايات المتحدة، حدثت صدامات بين الجنوبيين و الشماليين و احداث موت و عنف كبيرة ، لم يكن تعامل الاعلام في تلك الاحداث حكيمة حيث لم تراعي الحساسية العرقية و كرست للتمييز العرقي البائن في الاحداث .

ايضا حين طالب سياسيون من جنوب السودان الفيدرالية في الستينات و خرجت مظاهرات للجنوبيين تردد شعارات مثل (لا فيدرالية لامة واحدة) ، لم يتعامل الاعلام بتوازن في تغطية الاحداث حيث كان يركز علي ابراز صوت و وجهة نظر الاحزاب السيادية انذاك المعارضة للفيدرالية ، و تجاهلت عكس صوت المطالبين بالقضية بصورة فيها عدم توازن بل و عدم حياد ايضا

في التسعينات ، لعب الاعلام دور اساسي في ابراز الجنوبيين في حرب الجنوب علي انهم الكفار ، و ان الحرب الاهلية الدائرة هي حرب بين المسلمين و الكفار ،ساحات الفدا كبرنامج تلفزيوني ساهم بصورة مباشرة في صناعة تحول كبير في معتقدات السودانيين تجاه الاخر

في بدايات النزاع في دارفور كرس الاعلام بصورة مقصودة سياسيا لدمغ مجموعات عرقيه بعينها كالزغاوة باعتبارهم المتمردين و الخارجين عن القانون، و تغاضي عن دعم الحكومة الممنهج لعرقيات عربية الاصل في كردفان اججت الصراع ة خلقت عدم توازن عنصري.

حين مقتل جون قرنق 2005 لم يتعامل الاعلام بصورة مسؤولة، و لم تكن التغطية محايدة بل كرست للكراهية و صورت الاحداث كهجوم غادر من الجنوبيين علي الشماليين ونشرت صور لشماليين تم قتلهم او حرقهم، في حين ان القتلي كانو من الجانبين.

5\ What is the role of media discourse in the development, reinforcement , legitimizing and hence reproduction of racism and ethnic prejudice?

انا بفتكر انو الاعلام السوداني فيهو شكل من اشكال اللغة التمييزية سواء كانت لمجموعات عرقية محددة او لجنس كالتمييز صد النساء مثلا . عندما يتم نقاش قضايا تخص جهات معينة في السودان كالشرق مثلا و نجد استخدام كلمة ادروب للاشارة لانسان الشرق دون الانتباه لان هذا الاسم متداول و مستخدم بين اهالي الشرق و قد يكون استخدامه بالطريقة النعتية هذه مثير للنعرات او الاحساس بالتمييز. استخدام اسم ادروب في الاعلام يكون فيه مدعاة للتهكم خصوصا في الاذاعات التي تبث النكات بهذه الاشارات العنصرية. في الصحافة المكتوبة ايضا هنالك اشكال في استخدام اسماء اهالي شرق السودان من حيث نطقها الصحيح و كتابتها الصحيحة مما يجلب الحساسية و الاحساس بالدونية و التمييز، اعتقد ان من اسباب استخدام الاسماء بصورة مغلوطة او تهكمية هو الجهل بثقافات السودان المختلفة من قبل الاعلام ... بالاضافة للجهل بالحساسية اللغوية المرتبطة بالمجتمعات.

اعتقد نعم ان الاعلام لعب دور كبير في التكريس للتمييز العرقي و العنصري ، مثلا نموذج قناه امدرمان بتطلق اسم الاغنية السودانية علي اغاني وسط السودان الشمالي ، و حين تبث اغنية من دارفور تخصص بانها اغنية دارفورية او اغنية من شرق السودان ، ييقي شنو البيخلي قناة قومية مفروض تعبر عن ثقافة متنوعة تقدم الثقافات بالصورة المتحيزة للوسط الشمالي كدا، حتي مناطق السودان المختلفة لا تري نفسها ممثلة في اجهزة الاعلام سواء الاذاعة و التلفزيون ،الا في الرقصات الشعبية مثلا ، لكن الاعلام لم يقدم قضاياهم او بناقش حياتهم و يعبر عن ثقافاتهم.

ظهرت موجة في العشرين سنة الفائتة للنكات و الفكاهه التي تسخر من القبايل و سماتها المميزة عبر مختلف الفرق الكوميدية ، كان لاجهزة الاعلام دور كبير في التكريس للعنصرية و التمييز العرقي باتاحة المنابر الاعلامية لمثل هذه الفرق الفكاهية، سواء كانت بثت هذا المحتوي بقصد او بحسن نية ، لكنه لا يعفيها من المسؤولية ، حيث ان الاعلام لابد ان يحتوي علي موجهات محددة.

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اعتقد ان احد الاسباب الرئيسية لهذا السلوك غير المسؤول من الاجهزة الاعلامية سواء كانت عامة او خاصة في السودان هو انها تفتقر للسياسات الاعلامية التحريرية الواضحة سواء كانت سياسات شفاهية او مكتوبة ، ايضا لا يوجد مواثيق اخلاقية متفق عليها مكتوبة بين الاجهزة الاعلامية و رغم ان اتحاد الصحفيين السودانيين قد ناقش قانون الصحافة الذي ينص علي عدم التكريس للكراهية او التمييز .. لكن التطبيق لا زال قاصر ، كما ان الداخلين للمجال لا يتم اعدادهم و تدريبهم بصورة واضحة علي حساسيات هذه القضايا قبل خروجهم للراي العام.

يد السياسة مسؤولة بصورة مباشرة و غير مباشرة في التكريس للعنصرية و التمييز العرقي ، هي مسؤولة بصورة مباشرة عن الاعلام الرسمي، فعندما تفتح المجال للاعلام الرسمي يبث فيها مواد تكريس واضح للعنصرية ، هذه مسؤولية مباشرة و تكون الحكومة متهمة اتهام مباشر .، ايضا السياسة لها دور مباشر في اثارة النعرات العنصرية في الصحافة الخاصة حين تتغاضي الطرف عن التجاوزات العنصرية التي تكتب و التي تمكن ان تسبب الكثير من الازمات في حين انها يمكن ان تكون عنيفة جدا لدرجة ايقاف الصحف و الصحفيين ما بخص اي هجوم او تجاوز عليها ، تفتقر الحكومة للحساسية تجاه تامين و حماية المجتمع

نموذج الانتباهه لعب دور جوهري قبل الانفصال في احساس الجنوبيين بالعنصرية تجاههم من خلال مواد كثيرة تتشرا و و لا زال تناولهم حتي بعد الانفصال فيه حساسية شديدة من خلال تناولا للقضايا ذات الصله بالجنوبيين، بل و تجاوز الامر الجنوب لتمس مناطق اخري تحديدا دارفور .دور الاعلام السلبي في التكريس للعنصرية هو دور حقيقي ببث محتوي عموما يفتقر للحساسية العرقية، احيانا يكون عن جهل لكن ذلك لا يعفي من المسؤولية، خاصة ان المؤسسات الاعلامية لا تحصن منسوبيها بالتدريب الكافي لتجنب الوقوع في مثل هذه الاخفاقات العميقة.

6\ What are the discourse media strategies that reveal the overwhelming growth of the underlying tone of racism and ethnic prejudice?

الاشكال الاساسي انه لا توجد استراتيجيات واضحة للتعامل مع قضايا التمييز العرقي ، مثلا عدم تطبيق معايير المهنية و اغفال بعض الجوانب للحقيقة من الاساليب الشائعة

Appendix (8)

Interview with Dr. Faisal Mohammed Salih

1/ Dr Faisal , do you think that we have any political discrimination based on race or ethnicity phenomena along our Sudanese modern history?

نعم اعتقد ان هنالك الكثير من الممارسات التي تمت عبر التاريخ تظهر تمييزا عرقيا .اعتقد ان جذور هذا التميز الشمالي ضد الجنوب و الغرب يعود لما قبل الاستقلال حين قامت الثورة المهدية التي اعتمدت علي عناصر اساسبة من الغرب و الذين عرفو اثناء الحملات بالنهب و السلب فخرج المثل الشعبي الذي يقول البجي من الغرب ما بسر القلب و ذكر الحردلو في وصف حملة النجومي التي عرفت بدخول القري و نهبها . ناسا قباح من الغرب يوم جونا .... يابا النقز بالانجليز الفونا. ذاكرة الشمال و الوسط تحمل الكثير من المعتقدات العنصرية.

نجد الحكومات التي مرت علي السودان بتعاقبها لم تفلح في ردم هوة المسافة بين الجنوبيين مثلا و الشماليين نذكر مؤتمر المائدة المستديرة و لجنة الاثنا عشر و مؤتمر اديس ابابا و كلها لم تفلح في تنفيذ خطوات جادة، نجد ان نيفاشا كانت من اهم الفرص التي توفرت للسودان لكن الاطراف المتفاوضة جميعها لم تكن جادة ،اغلب الفترات استحوذ عليها نظم عسكرية ديكتاتورية حيث غلبت عليها عدم جدية السياسيين و سوء ادارة التنوع مما ادي لنتائج التهميش الذي اختفت العنصرية ورائه في شكل صراع بين المركز و الهامش.

حدثت كثير من الاحداث التي كرست للعنصرية العرقية تاريخيا ،مثل احداث توريت 1955،احداث اشاعة مقتل هيلاري لوقالي وزير الداخلية 1965 حيث حدث صدام عنيف بين الجنوبيين و الشماليين، اغتيال وليم دينق 1966زعيم حزب سانو و هو كان من القلائل الذين دعموا الحكومة السودانبة وقتها في حوار المائدة المستديرة

2\ Are there any cases of ethnic and racial discrimination that represented in any political practice, for example legislations or political actions?

ربما من اوضح الممارسات خاصة في الخطاب السياسي الانتخابي 1960 السيد علي عبد الرحمن مرشح الحزب الوطني الاتحادي اوضح في حالة نادرة عنصرية فاضحة في التكربس لنظرية بوتقة الانصهار و الحديث عن الشمال كمتميز بدبهي علي الاعراق الاخري . لم تكن الوزارات السيادية تعطي لمجموعات عرقية بعينها علي مر التاريخ السياسي المعاصر ، فقط الوسط و الشمال هو من يحصل علي الوزارات السيادية ، ربما في حالة نادرة تولي هيلاري لوقاني وزارة الداخلية في الستينات.ايضا نسبة تعيين المحافظين الجنوبيين في الشمال كانت نادرة .الجيش السوداني كان لديه توجيهات في توازن نسبه قبول السودانيين من الجنوب و الغرب مقابل نسبة الشماليين "و الاضان الحمرا "، هنالك الكثير كمن التفاصيل في الكتاب الاسود الذي صدر في التسعينات ليوضح التكريس العنصري في التوظيف و غيره.

وصلت الممارسات مرحلة كبيرة بحلول حكومة المؤتمر الوطني و التي اعتبرها اول حكومة تكرس للعنصرية باجراءات حتي و ان لم تكن مباشرة.التشريعات و القوانين متساهلة جدا في ملاحقة العنصريين مثل جريدة الانتباهه التي ازكت النفوس ضد الجنوبيين بصورة كبيرة ثم جعل الباب الاكبر للتوظيف هو باب القبيلة و استخدمت التسييس الاثني و عملت علي تحويل القبائل لكيانات سياسية.مما ادي لظهور التمييز السياسي للجنجويد ضد قبائل الفور و الزغاوة في دارفور.ايضا الاعتراف الرسمي بالتمييز العرقي في ادراج القبيلة في الرقم الوطني ، ومحاصصة المناصب

ايضا تجد ان تقسيم الدوائر الجغرافية الانتهابية غير متوازن حيث نجد دوائر الغرب تمثل اعدادا تصل لعشرين الف نسمة ، في حين ان دوائر الشمال اقل من عشرة الف مما يظهر في التمثيل الضعيف لدوائر الغرب في البرلمان

3\ To what extent has folk culture managed to establish and entrench the concept of racism and ethnic prejudice amongst indigenous folk ?

هنالك الكثير من الامثال الشعبية و الاشعار التي تعكس تجذر هذه المشكلة تاريخيا و اجتماعيا و لقدذكرت فيما سبق عدد من الامثال.

4\ Is there any events through our modern history that you consider as a turning points in reproducing racism and ethnic prejudice?

ذكرتها سابقا ،لكنني اؤكد ان الممارسات التي حدثت بعد اتفصال الجنوب كانت من اسوا ما مر علي السودان من تمييز ، من سحب جنسية الجتوبيين من ام شمالية ، و انهاء وظايف الجنوبيين في الخدمة المدنية دون توفيق لاوضاعهم كما ان الاستقتاء بنفسه لم يعتبر الاعداد الكبيرة التي اختارت خيار الوحدة. اعتقد ان نيفاشا كانت اكبر مسمار في نعش الوحدة اذ انها كرست لفكرة التقسيم الديني للبلاد، هذا التصنيف الديني تم علي اساس عرقي. كان هناك قانونين في نيفاشا تحدثا عن الاستقتاء و الامن القومي،في اعتقادي قد تم استغلالهما من قبل طرفي الاتفاقية لمصلحة اغراضهم الشخصية و لم بتم اعتبار مصلحة الشعوب فيها .

legitimizing and 5\ What is the role of media discourse in the development, reinforcement ,

hence reproduction of racism and ethnic prejudice?

الاعلام لديه دور جوهري في التكريس للعنصرية و التمييز العرقي، ابتداء من قبول وظايف الاعلام للشماليين دون الجنوبيين في التلفزيون مثلا ، الترويج لثقافة الشمال كثقافة سودانية و نجاهل كل التنوع الثقافي للبلاد ، التركيز علي خطاب الحكومة الموجه في تصوير الجنوبي كعميل و خائن و العمل علي تشكيل صورة ذهنية يتشربها المجتمع و تم صبغها بصبغة دينية في خطاب جهادي مضلل. لعبت صحيفة الانتباهه دور اساسي في نفخ الكير العنصري و التحاملي علي الجنوب ، و لم يتم منعها ايقافها كما كان يحدث للصحف الاخري .لعب الاعلام غير الحكومي ايضا دورا في هذا التكربس باتخاذ موقف السلبية و الصمت تجاه ما كان يحدث من تكريس.

6\ What are the discourse media strategies that reveal the overwhelming growth of the underlying tone of racism and ethnic prejudice?

كما قلت استراتيجيات التعتيم من قبل الحكومة و السلبية و التجاهل من قبل الاعلام . كما استخدمت اساليب التركيز علي قضايا بعينها مقابل تجاهل اخري.