

DISCOURSE AND RACISM IN SPAIN

RACISM IS A SOCIAL SYSTEM OF POWER ABUSE OR DOMINATION, REPRODUCED BY SOCIAL PRACTICES OF DISCRIMINATION ON THE ONE HAND, AND BY PREJUDICED ATTITUDES AND IDEOLOGIES ON THE OTHER HAND. DISCOURSE IS ONE OF THE MAJOR SOCIAL PRACTICES INVOLVED IN THIS REPRODUCTION PROCESS, ALSO BECAUSE THEY ARE THE SOURCE OF THE ACQUISITION OF RACIST ATTITUDES AND IDEOLOGIES IN THE FIRST PLACE. IN THIS ARTICLE I EXAMINE A NUMBER OF MAIN PROPERTIES OF THE ELITE PUBLIC DISCOURSE THAT PLAY ROLE IN THIS REPRODUCTION OF RACISM, SUCH AS POLITICAL DISCOURSE, MEDIA DISCOURSE AND EDUCATIONAL DISCOURSES, SUCH AS BIASED LEXICALISATION, TOPICS, STORYTELLING, AND ARGUMENTATION. THESE DISCOURSE TRUCTURES IN GENERAL FOLLOW AN OVERALL STRATEGY OF POSITIVE SELF- PRESENTATION OF WHITE EUROPEANS, AND A NEGATIVE PRESENTATION OF THE OTHERS SUCH AS NON - EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS AND MINORITIES.

by **Teun A. Van Dijk**
Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona

INTRODUCTION

The history of English Language Teaching is associated with the dominance of English as a consequence of the global hegemony of Britain as a colonial state and the current military, economic and cultural supremacy of the USA (Mangan, 1993; Phillipson, 1992). This linguistic domination was often imbued with prejudices and racism against non-European 'others'. Although most teachers of English today, also in Great Britain itself, reject such blatant racism, this does not mean that more subtle forms of prejudice and stereotyping have totally disappeared from textbooks and other forms of educational discourse. Indeed, research shows that among the many other contemporary forms of discursive elite racism, educational discourse remains one of the sources for the acquisition of ethnicist and racist attitudes (Blondin, 1990; Gill, 1992; Giustinelli, 1991; Troyna, 1993). It is therefore of utmost importance that teachers of English be aware not only of the best strategies to learn English, but also to avoid the pitfalls of biased representation of those who are 'different' from us. Given the history of European racism, this is especially - though not uniquely - the case for those teachers and textbooks from the UK or the USA being deployed in the so-called Third World.

In this paper, and following my earlier research on this topic (Van Dijk, 1984, 1987, 1991, 1993), I shall briefly sketch some of the more general theoretical backgrounds of the discursive reproduction of contemporary racism, and shall focus on the relations between discourse and racism in Spain. I shall leave the application of my findings to English Language Teaching, both in Spain as well as elsewhere, to the specialists in that area.

Elite Racism

In order to be able to assess racism in teaching and textbooks, as well as in other elite discourse, we need to know what racism is. The problem is that when it comes to racism, everybody seems to be a specialist, especially when it comes to its denial: Our country, university, science, teaching or textbooks are of course never racist. There might have been a 'problem' in the past, but certainly no longer today.

Thus, one of the first corrections to the commonsense conceptions of racism, still widespread among white Europeans, is that racism only manifests itself in racist violence, overt discrimination or blatantly prejudiced discourse. Although such 'radical' forms of racism continue to exist, most contemporary racism is rather

TEUN A. VAN DIJK WAS PROFESSOR OF DISCOURSE STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM UNTIL 2004, AND IS AT PRESENT PROFESSOR AT THE UNIVERSITAT POMPEU FABRA, BARCELONA. AFTER EARLIER WORK ON GENERATIVE POETICS, TEXT GRAMMAR, AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF TEXT PROCESSING, HIS WORK SINCE 1980 TAKES A MORE «CRITICAL» PERSPECTIVE AND DEALS WITH DISCURSIVE RACISM, NEWS IN THE PRESS, IDEOLOGY, KNOWLEDGE AND CONTEXT. HE IS THE AUTHOR OF SEVERAL BOOKS IN MOST OF THESE AREAS, AND HE EDITED THE HANDBOOK OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (4 VOLS. 1985) AND THE RECENT INTRODUCTION DISCOURSE STUDIES (2 VOLS. 1997). HE FOUNDED 4 INTERNATIONAL JOURNALS, POETICS, TEXT, DISCOURSE AND SOCIETY, AND DISCOURSE STUDIES, OF WHICH HE STILL EDITS THE LATTER TWO. HIS LAST MONOGRAPH IDEOLOGY (1998), AND HIS LAST EDITED BOOK (WITH RUTH WODAK), RACISM AT THE TOP (2000). HE IS CURRENTLY WORKING ON A NEW BOOK ON THE THEORY OF CONTEXT. TEUN VAN DIJK, WHO HOLDS TWO HONORARY DOCTORATES, HAS LECTURED WIDELY IN MANY COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY IN LATIN AMERICA.

indirect, implicit and subtle, as is also the case for sexism.

Secondly, such racism is not mainly found among the uneducated or the lower class, as is often thought, but also holds sway among the elites. This is particularly serious among the symbolic elites who have special access to, or who control the influential forms of public discourse, such as those of politics, the media, science and education. Indeed, if these elites are mainly responsible for the reproduction of knowledge, attitudes and ideologies in society, they are also the ones who are responsible for the reproduction of racist ideas. Unfortunately, precisely because of their widely publicized positive self-image, the same elites are also the ones who most vigorously deny their own racism, on the one hand, while being ignorant or indifferent about race relations and racism on the other hand.

It is against this background of solid results of empirical research that we need to define racism as a form of domination of one group over other groups, in our historical case of 'white' Europeans over 'non-white' Others, resulting in many forms of social inequality. (For some recent studies of racism, see, e.g., Back & Solomos, 2000; Bulmer & Solomos, 2000; Cashmore, 2003; Essed & Goldberg, 2002; Feagin, Vera & Batur, 2001; Goldberg & Solomos, 2002; Lauren, 1996; Terwal & Verkuyten, 2000; Wodak & Van Dijk, 2000);

Such racism manifests itself at two interrelated levels. The first is that of social practices of various forms of violence, exclusion and discrimination. The second is that of ideas: the prejudices and ideologies that sustain and legitimate such racist practices. Discourse is the social practice that relates these two levels, namely by formulating, reproducing and spreading the racist ideas that give rise to racist practices in the first place.

Indeed, prejudice and racism are not innate but learned in social situations, not only by imitation of others of the dominant white ingroup, but especially also through its dominant discourses, namely those of politics, the media, research and education.

The history of European textbooks has shown that educational discourse, often as simplified reflection of contemporary science, has been among the major sources of the acquisition of racist ideologies (Blondin, 1990; Klein, 1986). Whereas this was earlier the case for the representations of the Others in the colonies and the Third World, today this is (also) the case for the representation of those from the South that have come to live in Europe and Northern America. Similar remarks hold for the textbooks in North America, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand dealing with the respective indigenous populations of these countries, or those in Latin America about indigenous peoples and people of African origin. Despite the differences between these countries and their textbooks, research shows that it is warranted to make generalizations about 'white' or 'European' textbooks and other educational discourse anywhere. In that respect, textbooks and teaching are a product as well as a means of reproduction of racist white societies, which tend to ignore, exclude, marginalize or problematize their indigenous or immigrant non-white others.

Racist Discourse

If discourse plays such a fundamental role in the reproduction of racism in society, we need to examine in close detail its structures and its functions in the formation of racist beliefs (for studies on racist discourse, see, e.g., Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998; Cottle, 2000; Hecht, 1998; Henry & Tator, 2002; Jáger, 1998; Van Dijk, 1984, 1987, 1991, 1993; Wodak et al., 1990; Wodak & Van Dijk, 2000).

Despite the contextually based differences between the structures and strategies of political, media, scientific and educational discourse, racist discourses in these different social domains show some fundamental similarities. First of all, expressing, confirming and producing underlying prejudices and ideologies, such racist discourse is generally polarized between Us and Them. That is, between Us, white Europeans, or people of European origin, on the one hand, and Them, non-white, less white, or also culturally different others, on the other hand.

Secondly, this polarization not only involves the enhancement of differences between Us and Them, and the mitigation or denial of similarities, but also valorization: Thus, We are usually associated with what is good, and They with what is bad. Thus, We, white Europeans, are not only the dominant protagonists in elite discourse, and in education, but also associated with modernity, progress, democracy, tolerance, moderateness, leadership, initiative, and so on. On the other hand, They, such as Third World countries, minorities, immigrants, or generally non-whites, tend to be associated with backwardness, stagnation, dictatorship, fundamentalism, lack of initiative, delinquency, drugs, and so on. It is not surprising, therefore, that immigration of those people to the countries of the North is usually associated with a menace, an invasion or at least with serious problems.

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We not only find such polarized forms of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation in many forms of political discourse, but also in the mass media, literature, science and educational discourse. The major difference between today and yesterday in this case is that the racist representations of yesterday were more blatant than those today, and that social and legal constraints of political correctness today often require more subtle forms of text and talk. This is not necessarily a continuous development towards anti-racist or multicultural ideologies: Much political and media

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The discursive polarization between (good) Us and (bad) Them follows more general patterns of ideologically based social cognitions of and about ingroups and outgroups as expressed at all levels of text and talk. Thus, our good things and their bad things will be emphasized by frequent, large, prominently placed articles in the press, programs on TV, political debates or educational texts, that is on top, on the front page, in headlines, larger type, main topics, conclusions, and so on. Similarly, the choice of topics or themes of course will reflect the overall strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation, as suggested before. Thus, minorities, immigrants, indigenous peoples or Third World countries, will primarily be topicalized as different, deviant or as a threat, if not as problematic or as 'our' burden. Crime, drugs, lack of democracy and religious fanaticism, besides the stereotypical representation of poverty and backwardness, are among the main topics of Our discourses about Them.

This may also be more subtly the case at other levels of structure. Thus local meanings may be organized in such a way that our good things will be enhanced and our bad things mitigated, and conversely, their bad things stressed and their good things ignored or mitigated. This may happen by explicit vs. implicit meanings, by general vs. specific levels of description, by vagueness or preciseness, and so on. Thus, as may be expected, our white racism and prejudice will seldom be topicalized, and hardly ever salient on front pages, political debates, scientific meetings and journals. And when it is being dealt with at all, it will be denied, or mitigated by indirect, implicit, vague, or euphemistic descriptions. On the other hand, we will tend to deal frequently, saliently, explicitly, specifically, and in great detail with their crimes, drugs, deviance, fanaticism or backwardness. Similarly, the semantic move of the disclaimer will typically combine these two tendencies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, for instance in such classical denials as «We have nothings against blacks, but...», where the first part denies racism and hence is a form of positive self-presentation, but in which the -dominant - part followed by but usually is a negative presentation of the others.

This polarization is not only embodied in global meanings (topics) and local meanings of words and sentences, but also in the rhetorical features of (de)emphasizing such meanings, such as hyperboles, euphemisms, metaphors and comparisons, among others. It is in this way that the phenomenon of immigration is routinely metaphorized in political and media discourse in terms of 'waves', 'floodgates', 'avalanches', or 'invasion', that is, in terms of a threat.

Finally, racist polarization in discourse may even become manifest in many formats or structures, also those of grammar. Thus, our bad agency, such as our discrimination, may be minimized by passives and nominalizations. Obviously, this will be less the case when speaking or writing about their bad things.

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In sum, at all levels of dominant discourse about Us and Them we tend to find a positive representation of ourselves, and a negative representation of the others. This is not only the case for political, religious or social others, but especially also the case for ethnic or racial others.

Such biased discourse is not only a form of discriminatory social practice in its own right, but also the major means of the acquisition of racist ideas. That is, unless contextually influenced by alternative experiences, beliefs and discourses, such dominant racist discourse and their structures will influence the mental models and the social representations that make up the minds of the readers and the listeners. Frequency, salience, negative topics and biased semantics and syntax of racist discourse will thus have a negative impact on the way people represent social events and actors in their mental representations.

If this happens in textbooks and other education discourse, the consequences on the minds of children and adolescents is possibly even more serious, because they have less knowledge, experience or explicit opinions and ideologies to resist or contradict such biased text and talk. It is not surprising therefore that many of the stereotypes and prejudices about others and the rest of the world are first learned and anchored in our youth, both through children's literature, TV programs and textbooks.

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Racism in Spain

Whereas much of what was said above has been extensively described and analyzed for North America and Northern Europe, racism is unfortunately not limited to the North. Thus, despite the lingering prejudices about and discrimination of Southern Europeans is by Northern Europeans - which are sometimes assumed to be an antidote of racism in Southern Europe - in Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain we find prejudices and discrimination against Africans, Asians and Latin Americans. Indeed, within Latin America, we find many forms of white, European, racism against indigenous and African peoples and their descendants. In the remainder of this paper, I shall however limit my observations to Spain as a characteristic example (for further studies, see, e.g., Bañon, 2002; Calvo Buezas, 1997; Colectivo Ióé, 2001; Manzanos Bilbao, 1999; Martín Rojo et al., 1994; S.O.S. Racismo, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003; Van Dijk, 1993).

Although most immigration to Spain is of recent origin, racism in Spain is hardly new and goes back to the religious and political persecution of Jews, the reconquista against the Arabs or 'Moors' and the colonization of the Americas as from the end of the 15th century. Throughout the ages, similarly, 'Gitanos' and 'Gitanas' in Spain

suffered from discrimination, exclusion and criminalization, as did 'gypsies' in other parts of Europe. Only today, the negative prejudices about them have been predominated by those about the 'Moros' from Northern Africa.

Not only economically and culturally, but also ideologically Spain is increasingly being integrated with the rest of Western Europe. This is unfortunately also true for its racism against Latin Americans, Africans and Asians. Everyday forms of discrimination in housing, employment, services and other forms of interaction are rife, as are the biased elite discourses that express and spread the racist opinions and ideologies on which such practices are based.

Dominant political discourse of the conservative government explicitly associates immigration with problems, illegality and delinquency, rather than with badly needed contributions to the economy or the demography of the country. Prime Minister José María Aznar himself took advantage of the success of Front National presidential candidate Le Pen in France to emphasize the alleged threat posed by «illegal» immigrants during the 2003 Sevilla meeting of European leaders. Some nationalist leaders in Catalonia emphasized the threat to Catalan language and culture due to continuous immigration. On the other hand, it should be emphasized that unlike in other European countries there are no explicitly racist parties in Spain. Similarly, for mass media discourse, it should first be observed that there are no right-wing tabloids in Spain as they exist in e.g. the UK and Germany. Conservative ABC usually voices the opinions of the conservative PP (Partido Popular), also in questions of immigration. Statistics show that on the whole both the national and the local press dealing with immigration, mainly (25% of the articles) focus on (failed) immigration attempts, such as the often fatal accidents with the little boats («pateras») used by the irregular immigrants coming from Africa. Another frequent topic (17%) are the administrative aspects of immigration, such as legislation, residence permits, and so on. On the other hand, quite remarkable are also the frequency (17%) of articles dedicated to the solidarity of Spanish people and organizations (NGOs, unions, etc.), an important aspect of positive self-presentation in the press. Unlike the conservative tabloid press in Northern Europe, relatively few articles (7%) explicitly dealt with crime of immigrants. Of course, these are figures for the late 1990s, and as immigration increases, these percentages may change. Few explicitly racist articles appear in the mainstream Spanish press, but stereotyping by focusing on crime, irregular entry and illegality, especially in the provincial press of Andalusia.

As yet there are few systematic data about other forms of elite discourse. There are some scattered testimonies of immigrants reporting racist or other discriminatory treatment by employers. Some interviews with employers similarly point at prejudiced opinions about immigrant workers. The official organization of employers generally welcomes (cheap!) immigrants, for obvious reasons.

Schools, especially in cities such as Madrid and Barcelona, are facing the arrival of many children from many different backgrounds and

speaking many different languages. Various forms of multicultural education therefore are rapidly developing, as was earlier the case elsewhere in Western Europe. On the other hand, especially the private Catholic schools have much fewer immigrant children than the public schools, and there are also incidents of schools refusing Muslim girls wearing a scarf. As yet, there are no large scale discourse studies of textbooks and the ways they represent the new immigrants today, or minorities such as Gitanos or Third World peoples more in general. Surveys among adolescents show that substantial minorities of the students have racist prejudices against Gitanos or Moroccans, the latter usually negatively referred to as «Moros» (Moors), the old term for the Arab occupants of the Peninsula. Prejudices against (black) sub-Saharan Africans are much less negative.

Summarizing these (few) results of earlier research, we may conclude first of all that racism in Spain is not a new phenomenon but rooted in an age-old tradition of anti-Arab, anti-Jewish, and anti-Gitano prejudices and exclusion as well as colonialism of the Americas. Secondly

, current racism in Spain against the new immigrants mostly from Africa and Latin America is quite similar to the racism that has characterized the rest of Western Europe in the last decades. Thirdly however, current research data suggest that as yet Spanish racism is less radical and less widespread than elsewhere in Europe, also because there is no political party o

Some nationalist leaders in Catalonia emphasized the threat to Catalan language and culture due to continuous immigration.

newspaper that explicitly promotes racism. Also, in line with the resistance against Franco's dictatorship, especially on the left, there is still a strong tradition of popular and elite solidarity, for instance in the unions, that also favors solidarity with the new immigrants.

Racist Discourse in Spain

It is against this general background of these conclusions, then, that we shall briefly consider some examples of current discourse in Spain that might be interpreted as forms of racism.

The Press

The articles in the press that most clearly favor negative stereotypes about immigrants are those that associate the new citizens with illegality, crime, deviance, lack of adaptation, or z being the cause of other problems. Here are two typical examples

(1) «Carteristas y ladrones peinan Barcelona buscando turistas. Los latinoamericanos son los carteristas mejor preparados y los magrebíes dominan el arte de robar en coches con dueño en su interior.» (La Vanguardia, 21/07/00).

(2) «La quinta parte de los delitos registrados el año pasac

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en Murcia fueron cometidos por inmigrantes. El 15% de los reclusos internados en la cárcel de Sangonera son ya ciudadanos extranjeros.» (La Verdad de Murcia 25/09/00).

In other words, crime is described in example (1) as being committed especially by immigrants, whereas in example (2), as well as in many other news and background articles, as well as in much political discourse, the high incidence of foreigners in the crime statistics are being emphasized. The resulting overall message for the readers is obvious: Immigrants are not only illegal but also criminal. Crimes committed by Spanish people are not described as such, and the alternative formulation of (2), namely that the vast majority of inmates (85%) is of Spanish origin, is also not chosen. In this way, crime tends to become «ethnicized», also in the social representations of the population at large. Moreover, much of the «foreign» crime is not committed by immigrants, but by foreign Mafias of temporary residents. Finally, in order to emphasize the racist and the sexist nature of reporting, it is virtually never emphasized that the most impressive statistics are not about whether or not the criminals are Spanish or foreigners, but rather that the vast majority are committed by men, and not by women. In other words, crime reporting in much of the Spanish press is clearly biased, if not racist, as it is elsewhere in Europe. The golden journalistic rule that ethnic identity or origin of criminals need not be mentioned at all unless very relevant is obviously flouted here. Unfortunately, the conclusions of such press reporting are also made at the political level when especially (but not only) conservative politicians emphasize the criminal tendencies of immigrants, or the necessary link between irregular («illegal») entry and crime, as is obvious from the following quote from former interior minister Mayor Oreja:

(3) Normalmente lo ilegal lleva al delito. Hay mayores índices de delincuencia cuando aumenta la inmigración. Tenemos que asociar lo irregular a la delincuencia, y la cultura de la legalidad es el mejor antídoto. (Mayor Oreja, El Periódico 26 de Mayo, 2002)

Obviously, the same press hardly speaks about the vast amount of daily crimes and misdemeanors that are constituted by the daily forms of discrimination, exclusion, aggression and multiple other inequities against immigrants. No statistics are provided about that, testimonies of racist experiences of immigrants are seldom reported in the press, and only large-scale violent attacks and assassination reaches the headlines, typically as exceptional forms of excess.

It should be stressed that the forms of discursive racism dealt with in this paper are merely the verbal expression of other kinds of discrimination, exclusion and violence against immigrants, e.g., by the immigration authorities, the police, employers, club owners, and so on. Most of these more or less everyday forms of power abuse hardly reach the press. Indeed, if there is one way in which even a relatively little explicitly racist press like the Spanish may contribute to racism it is by condoning such everyday racism by its very silence.

Politics

We have already seen that, especially, conservative politicians tend to describe irregular entry as «illegal» and to associate illegal immigrants, if not all immigrants, with crime, deviance or other problems. The undoubted and well-known positive aspects of immigration (contributions to the economy, culture and demography) are seldom mentioned or emphasized by Spanish politicians, no more than elsewhere in Europe. It may safely be said that the conservative Aznar government was a major force in the discursive reproduction of racism in Spain. Again, also in this sense, Spain is hardly different from the rest of Europe, as has been shown especially in Austria, Holland, Denmark and Italy. More specific for Spain and its autonomous regions, such as the Basque country and Catalonia, are the concerns about maintaining the cultural identity of these regions when faced with massive immigration. It is in this sense that the former president of the

Catalonian Generalitat, Jordi Pujol, viewed the new immigration as a «problem», and expressed his concern about «maintaining the identity» of Catalonia - thereby forgetting that Catalan identity for centuries has been shaped by various kinds of immigration. We see that some forms of nationalism come close to ethnicism and racism when they imply the aim to

keep a region or state ethnically «pure», or when they presuppose that the new immigrants might not be able to adapt to their new context. Interestingly, such concerns tend to be expressed rather for Africans than when other Western Europeans arrive in Spain and Catalonia.

Probably the most frequent and obvious political contribution to the reproduction of racism in Spain is the repeated association by the authorities of immigration and delinquency. The S.O.S. Racismo Report of 2003 cites many pages of cases in which regional or national politicians or authorities make that ominous association. Thus, the ministry of the interior explains the 9% increase of crime as follows:

El fenómeno de la inmigración ha supuesto un aumento, en los dos últimos años, de más de medio millón de personas de la población del Estado español, principalmente en las grandes ciudades. (S.O.S. Racismo, 2003, p. 183).

At the same time the same report attributes many of the assassinations to foreign criminals. The police however emphasize that the increase in crime is mainly due to a reduction of police forces (on the other hand there are police officers who do blame crime especially on foreigners). A similar remark was made by the subdelegado del gobierno in Valencia, José Vicente Herrera, and the delegado del gobierno en Madrid Francisco Javier Ansuátegui. Before the March election, Mariano Rajoy, a former Minister of the Interior, declared that nearly 90% of the new prisoners in 2002 were foreigners, and that of the crimes that grew most, hold-ups, 50% were due to foreigners. What Rajoy did not say, even if his statistics were unbiased, is that preventive arrests very often are based on lacking papers, and hence only due to the «crime» of being an irregular immigrant. The then-Prime Minister, José María Aznar,

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repeated the same statistics in parliament, despite the protests of the socialist (PSOE) opposition.

Education

The arrival of many new children from abroad is a serious challenge for the schools, especially when the foreign students do not speak Spanish or Catalan. The reactions of the authorities and the professors have been varied. Many private (Catholic) schools in practice do admit few foreign students, and many professors and authorities have problems adapting to the obviously needed forms for multicultural education. Yet, in general, education is one of the social fields where racism and multiculturalism are topics that are at least discussed explicitly. Whereas many traditional textbooks may still provide stereotypical and occasionally explicitly racist and often Eurocentric, images of minorities, immigrants or the Third World, there is also an active movement that emphasizes the need for antiracist or multicultural teaching. Because large-scale immigration in Spain only began in the 1990s, the discussion about multicultural teaching and textbooks is also more recent in this country.

Relevant, though, is to recall that already the (lack of) representation of Gitanos in textbooks shows the familiar features of ethnic dominance and racism in educational material we know from other countries. Thus, Calvo Buezas (1989) found that in 48 textbooks (representing 9694 pages) in Spain there are only 7 references to Gitanos in primary school textbooks, and 6 in secondary school textbooks. When dealt with at all, the culture of the Gitanos is represented as exotic but stereotypical, and rather in terms of the past than the present, for instance in terms of the Gitana fortune-teller. Consistent with the strategy of mitigating Our bad things, the marginalization, let alone the racism, experienced by Gitanos is not dealt with. Similarly, the converse of that strategy, namely mitigating Their good things, is also true: no reference is made to famous Gitanos.

Studies of the portrayal of recent immigration in textbooks (e.g., Castiello, 2003) suggest that also in this respect Spanish textbooks are hardly different from those in the rest of Europe. Thus, as is the case for the media, immigration is associated with problems and threatening avalanches, as the following example shows (see the critical analysis of this example in Grupo Eleuterio Quintanilla (1998)):

«Los africanos que llegan a Europa -la mayor parte- lo hacen de forma ilegal; ... tienen que trabajar en la calle o en empresas clandestinas» (Geografía e Historia ECIR, 88).

We see that the little being said about immigrants is a generalization as well as an emphasis on the negative aspect of immigration (illegality) indirectly associated with crime and delinquency. Many other forms of immigration, e.g., from Latin America and Asia are barely discussed at all. The general perspective is Eurocentric, and no explanation is given of why the

immigrants come to work in Europe - for instance in terms of the economic domination of the North over the South, let alone in terms of the long-term consequences of colonialism. Spain and Europe are presented as culturally homogeneous when faced with such immigration. As is also the case in Dutch textbooks (Van Dijk, 1987), racism is only understood in its extreme cases, such as South African apartheid, segregation in the United States or the Nazi holocaust of the Jews. Thus, also in Spanish textbooks, racism is only seen elsewhere. On the other hand, one finds that stereotypes, marginalization and ignorance about Gitanos and recent immigrants is in line with the Eurocentric treatment of emigration and colonization of Europeans elsewhere, as the following quote suggests (for critical analysis, see Grupo Eleuterio Quintanilla, 1998: 96-98):

«América del Norte y Australia eran territorios prácticamente vacíos a la llegada de los europeos» (Educación Multicultural, Editorial Anaya).

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Thus, we see that representations are often given from a western-white perspective, in this case from that of the colonizers, and that the presence of indigenous people was obviously of no consequence, as being part of nature and not considered as 'people' in the first place.

Although the crudely racist discourses of white superiority are seldom found in today's textbooks, we still find the following properties of textbooks in Spain (Castiello, 2003):

- * Emphasis on illegal immigration, rather than on regular immigration.
- * Emphasis on different immigrants, so rather on those from Africa than those from Latin America.
- * Emphasis on dramatic, negative aspects of immigration: waves, invasion.
- * Hardly an explanation of the socio-economic causes of migration, such as the need for (cheap) labor in Europe: in other words, we need them as bad as they need to leave their country.
- * Exclusive association with stereotypical, low-paid jobs - and not of the highly qualified foreigners doing research, etc.
- * Racism attributed to others: USA, South Africa, Nazi Germany.
- * Emphasis on 'rejection' (rechazo) by Spanish population, because of fear of the unknown, cultural differences, job competition.
- * Multiculturalism and similar notions are being mentioned as general principles, but not illustrated with concrete examples.
- * Emphasis on cultural differences, not on equality.
- * Earlier European (Spanish) emigration, e.g. to the Americas, is positively evaluated.

Many of these properties can also be found in contemporary textbooks elsewhere in Europe.

Conclusions

Racism is a social system of domination, in which white Europeans abuse their power in relation to the non-European peoples in or from the South and the East. Its main dimensions are those of social practices (discrimination) and social cognition (prejudices,

racist ideologies), the latter especially being reproduced by discourse. Since the elites, such as politicians, journalists, writers, professors, teachers and other 'symbolic' elites control the access to public discourse, and racism is especially acquired by public discourse, the elites have a special responsibility for the reproduction of racism.

Examining the rise of racism in Spain, we first of all emphasized that such racism has a long tradition, going back to the Reconquista against the 'Moors', the expulsion of the Jews, the colonization of the Americas and the exploitation of the indigenous populations and the African slaves, as well as the age-old discrimination of Gitanos and Gitanas. Today, discrimination and prejudice are especially focused on the new immigrants especially those arriving from Africa and Latin America. Thus, in politics and the media we find a dominant association of immigration with illegality and delinquency, also at the top. The press not only focuses on 'illegal' entry in 'pateras' but also associates immigration with waves and an invasion, and has little attention for the racism experienced by the newcomers. Textbooks today speak about multiculturalism, but in practice also focus on stereotypical properties of the new immigrants, such as cultural differences, poor jobs, a lack of explanation and description of integration, and a positive evaluation of Spanish emigration to the North and the Americas. Overall, and as yet Spanish racism in politics and the media is less virulent than in many other EU countries, but that such racism already is so widespread despite the low percentages of immigrants compared to other EU countries should be a reason for concern. As was the case in Italy, such racism may grow quickly, especially when further fed by the elites.

JORNADES DE LLEIDA

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