

The Racist Discourse of Segregation in Lorraine Hansberry's 'A Raisin in the Sun': A Socio-Cognitive Approach to Ideology

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Abstract

This research paper studies the racist discourse of segregation in Lorraine Hansberry's 'A Raisin in the Sun'. It analyzes this play from a socio-cognitive approach to ideology. In this play, the 'raisin' stands for the black American families living under the sun of white racists. The research is mainly concerned with the relationship between racism, discourse and ideology. It is considered as an instance of critical discourse analysis. It shows that discourse is the way through which various discursive practices of segregation, discrimination and national oppression are enacted and exercised. It analyzes discourse with regard to the social contexts of its production and comprehension by individuals as members of social groups, institutions or organizations. Thus, it inspects racist ideology from a socio-cognitive perspective. In so doing, it selects the following theoretical framework: Overt racist discourse and covert racist discourse. Overt racist discourse will deal with lexicalization and pronouns. And covert racist discourse will deal with syntax, lexicon, global semantics, local semantics and schematic structures. The research shows that although racist people deny their racism to look tolerant and brotherly while segregating the blacks, yet they will not proceed unopposed like this for ever. And this is the main objective of this research. It acquaints the blacks of the argumentative strategies of the whites that segregate them as out-groups. Hence, the blacks will become able to resist them.

Key words:

Racism, segregation, Hansberry, 'A Raisin in the Sun', discourse, ideology, and social cognition, overt and covert racist discourse.

المستخلص

□ الخطاب العنصري للفصل في مسرحية "زبيبة في الشمس" للكاتبة لوريان هانسبيري:
□ اتجاه اجتماعي ادراكي للأيديولوجية
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يدرس هذا البحث الخطاب العنصري للفصل في مسرحية "زبيبة في الشمس" للكاتبة لوريان هانسبيري حيث يتم تحليل المسرحية من خلال: اتجاه اجتماعي ادراكي للأيديولوجية. في هذه المسرحية تمثل "الزبيبة" العائلات الأمريكية السوداء التي تعيش تحت شمس العنصريين البيض. و يهتم البحث أساسا بالعلاقة بين العنصرية و الخطاب و الأيديولوجية حيث يعتبر حالة مناسبة للتحليل النقدي للخطاب. فهو يوضح ان الخطاب هو الطريقة التي من خلالها يتم استخدام و اصدار العديد من الممارسات المختلفة للفصل و العنصرية و القمع القومي. و يتم تحليل الخطاب بالنظر الى السياق الاجتماعي لانتاجه و فهمه عن طريق الأفراد كأعضاء في المجموعات الاجتماعية أو المؤسسات أو التنظيمات. و هكذا فهو يبحث الأيديولوجية العنصرية من منظور اجتماعي ادراكي. و في ذلك فإنه يختار الاطار النظري التالي: الخطاب العنصري الظاهري و الخطاب العنصري المستتر. سوف يعرض الخطاب العنصري الظاهري تسمية المفردات و الضمائر. اما الخطاب العنصري المستتر فسوف يتناول النحو و المعاني العالمية و المعاني المحلية و التركيبات التخطيطية. يبين البحث انه على الرغم من انكار الأشخاص العنصريين لعنصريتهم حتى يبدووا في مظهر الأخوة المتسامحين بينما هم يحاولوا فصل الأقلية السود. الا انهم لن يستمروا بدون معارضة هكذا الى الأبد وهذا هو الهدف الرئيسي للبحث حيث انه يعرف السود باستراتيجيات النقاش التي يستخدمها البيض لفصلهم كخارجيين عن المجموعات. و بهذا سوف يصبح السود قادرين على مقاومتهم. كلمات مفتاحية: العنصرية- الفصل- لوريان هانسبيري- "زبيبة في الشمس"- الخطاب- الأيديولوجية- الادراك الاجتماعي- الخطاب العنصري الظاهري و المستتر.

I.Introduction

This paper studies the racist discourse of segregation in Lorriane Hansberry's 'A Raisin in the Sun' from a socio-cognitive approach to ideology. In so doing, it discusses the triangular relationship between discourse, racism and ideology. It attempts to show the interconnection between language, represented in discourse, and the world. For discourse can help us to disguise as well as to uncover the world. Discourse includes any instance of "language in use" (Brown and Yule, 1983:1). Discourse analysis can be helpful to the study of any type of linguistic or even non-linguistic form of representation. It can study written or spoken texts, interviews, lectures, media, etc. And because of the pivotal role of discourse as a mediator between racism and ideology, this paper offers a multidisciplinary view of discourse. It shows how it is used to communicate and support ideologies that maintain racial segregation in Lorriane Hansberry's 'A Raisin in the Sun'.

Modern racism has abandoned its old ugly form that stresses the biological inferiority of other races and took a new cunning form. The new racism focused on "racial difference" as a plea against the different race (Clyne, Michael in Scheffner and Wenden, eds. 1999: 111). Thus, it could exclude some races as outgroups, rather than ingroups, and develop an aggressive attitude towards them. And here arises the role of discourse as a socio-cognitive mirror. According to Haider and Rodriguez (in Schaffner and Wenden, eds. 1999:120) discourse is "every unit of language larger than a sentence that (1) accomplishes syntactic, semantic and pragmatic rules, (2) is ruled by the conditions of its production and perception, and (3) constitutes a distinctive sociocultural practice that is institutionalized to a greater or lesser degree". Discourse functions as an interface between people's ideas and their social practices of racism. Wodak (in Coulthard and Coulthard, 1996: 111) points out that discourse is said to be racist when it focuses negatively on "difference". Discourse analysis, and in particular, critical discourse analysis (CDA), answers questions such as: why do we perceive others' utterances likewise? Why are we angry from their utterances although they look friendly on the surface? What are their personal opinions, ideologies and beliefs about us? Therefore, this paper is considered an instance of critical discourse analysis. CDA is a modern branch of linguistics that is concerned with "power, dominance, hegemony, inequality and the discursive processes of their enactment, concealment, legitimation and reproduction in the social and political frame of reference" (Dijk, 2000: 352; Dijk, 1993a: 132; and Wenden and Shaffner in Shaffner and Wenden, eds. 1999:xviii).

Discourse analysis focuses mainly on the social context of the utterance. Whereas CDA transcends to the cultural and political contexts also. CDA mainly stresses the reproduction of social domination via discourse. Van Leeuwen (1993a: 193) claims that “CDA is, or should be, concerned with ... discourse as the instrument of power and control as well as with discourse as the instrument of the social construction of reality.”

II. Lorraine Hansberry and ‘A Raisin in the Sun’:

II. 1. Lorraine Hansberry

Lorraine Hansberry (1930- 1965) was an Afro-American black dramatist who lived in Chicago in the middle of the twentieth century. She was the fourth child of a family that strived against racial segregation. Her father, Carl Hansberry, was a banker and a real estate-broker. He believed that it was unethical to charge black families high prices for their low quality segregated houses. Hence, he worked hard to terminate housing discrimination against blacks. Lorraine’s mother was a former school teacher. She shared her husband’s views about social and political change. By that time, the blacks were forced by state law, represented in Jim Crow Law, to live in separate segregated districts that were poorly maintained. Blacks were segregated in all fields of life including: housing, education, jobs, churches, public transportation, entertainment and even hospitals. This resulted in the creation of very crowded areas, called ghettos, which were full of crime, poverty and unemployment. Also, this led to the existence of the matriarch mother to support her family. On his quest for a better life, any black American person was having the dream of moving from the South to the North where the whites live.

During her youth, Lorraine’s family house was an open salon where serious social, cultural, economic and political issues concerning the blacks were discussed. Salient national writers, as Langston Hughes and many others, paid her family house some visits. In 1948, Lorraine joined the University of Wisconsin where she studied art and literature. After a two-year- study, she moved to New York. Then she married a promising black writer and executor, called Robert Nemiroff. She figured out that she can change prevalent racial ideologies through writing. So, she wrote her play ‘A Raisin in the Sun’ when she was at the age of twenty six. The play’s title is derived from Langston Hughes’s famous poem ‘Harlem’ or ‘What happens to a dream deferred?’ The dream whose realization is late is like “the raisin in the sun”. Its future is unknown. It might “dry up”, “fester”, “stink”, “crust”,

or “explode” (Hughes, 1994). In fact, the ‘raisin’ is the collective American dream of black people to achieve equality in an inegalitarian society ruled by whites.

II. 2. ‘A Raisin in the Sun’

‘A Raisin in the Sun’ is an important play for two reasons. Firstly, it is the first play written by an Afro-American, young, black and unknown woman to be produced on Broadway. Secondly, it gained great success as its run lasted for nineteen months. So, it gained the New York Drama Award as Best Play of the Year, 1961. The play is about a black family living in Chicago in the last forties and the beginnings of the fifties of the twentieth century. The family consists of five characters: Mama, called Lena Younger; her daughter, called Beneatha Younger; her son, called Walter Lee Younger; Walter’s wife, called Ruth Younger; and Walter’s son, called Travis Younger. The family is maintained by two female characters: Mama and her daughter in law who do domestic works for the whites. And Walter Lee who works as a chauffeur for a white family also. Soon as the play proceeds, we feel the suffering of the family members. They live in an old narrow house that is accommodated to have more people for a long time. The husband and the wife, Walter and Ruth, have one separate room. Mama and her daughter, Lena and Beneatha, share another room. And the grandson, Travis, sleeps in the living room that is accommodated to include the kitchen as well. They have only one bathroom that they also share with another family.

Racism in this play is depicted through three main issues: housing, unemployment and poverty. Because of segregation policies, the blacks’ houses are more expensive and less served than the whites’ ones. And even when the blacks get these houses, they find their walls “cracking” and filled with “marching roaches” (Hansberry, 1959: 77). When the chance came for the poor family to be transferred to the middle class, the whites denied them this right. Mama received an insurance check for her dead husband. Each one of the members of the family was having his own dream about this money. Mama dreamed of a better house with a little garden to raise her plants in. Beneatha dreamed of studying medicine and being a successful doctor. Walter dreamed of having a liquor store and being rich. Ruth dreamed of having a house where sun beams can get in. And Travis dreamed of a house where he can sleep in a bedroom and not in the kitchen. Mama decided to use some part of this money and buy a house in a better neighborhood beside the whites in Clybourne Park. But unfortunately, Mr. Liner, a representative of the Clybourne Park Improvement Association, came to her

family and told them that they are unwelcome in this white territory. He offered them extra money to buy back the house. Though the Youngers were in a very bad need for this money, they acted proudly and refused Mr. Linder's offer. This recalled Hansberry's words about the cognitive beliefs that her parents raised her upon. She stated out that "we were the products of the proudest and most mistreated of the races of men" (Hansberry, 1959: v). Also, she elaborated that "above all, there were two things which were never to be betrayed: the family and the race" (ibid, v).

The problems of unemployment and poverty are presented clearly in this play through the introduction of the matriarch mother. The woman- heading family arose as a result of social segregation that deprived black men from good human jobs. Although they are all Americans, yet the blacks occupy low class jobs. They act as servants for the whites. This appeared in Walter's response to his mother when she was speaking to him about the blessings that he has got in his life, namely his family and his job. Consider these utterances: "Walter: A job. (Looks at her) Mama, a job? I open and close car doors all day long. I drive a man around in his Limousine and I say, 'Yes, sir; no sir; very good sir; shall I take the Drive, sir?' Mama, that ain't no kind of job... that ain't nothing at all. (very quietly)" (ibid: 57). Mama, also, is convinced with her son's opinion about his job. She stated that her husband, Walter's father, used to have the same beliefs. She said to her friend, Johnson: "... My husband always said being any kind of a servant wasn't a fit thing for a man to have to be. He always said a man's hands was made to make things, or to turn the earth with- not to drive nobody's car for 'em-or- (she looks at her own hands) carry they slop jars. And my boy is just like him- he wasn't meant to wait on nobody" (ibid: 87). The blacks accept these kinds of low-wage-jobs simply because they are racially and ideologically segregated. Although they are Americans, they have inner feelings that they are second class citizens. They are trapped in a vicious circle of ideological social oppression that makes them exert so much effort for nothing. They work very hard; however, they get very low wages. They pay a lot for their houses' rents as a result of the supply and demand rule. Ruth says: "Well, Lord knows, we've put enough rent in this here rat trap to pay for four houses by now" (ibid: 28). Even if it happened that they could provide money that helps them to shift to a higher class, they find themselves menaced by being bombed, burned or killed as it happened several times before by the whites. So, their dreams of wealth and social improvement are deferred. That is why when Mama was about to

cancel the move to the new house in Clybourne Park, especially after her son's loss of most of the insurance money, Ruth begged her with urgency: "Lena- I'll work... I'll work twenty hours a day in all the kitchens in Chicago... I'll strap my baby on my back if I have to and scrub all the floors in America and wash all the sheets in America if I have to- but we got to MOVE! We got to get OUT OF HERE!!" (ibid: 124). Not only is this old house a "rat-trap" (ibid: 28) as Ruth said before, but also the big trap is introduced in two things: The American social system with its racist ideologies that legalize segregation; and the biased cognitive beliefs of the majority group of this society. George Wallace who was a former Alabama governor once said: "segregation now, segregation tomorrow, and segregation forever" (2019). However, he denied his being a racist.

III. Research Questions

The paper attempts to answer the following questions:

- 1.How does racist discourse function in sustaining and changing the racist ideologies of segregation in Lorriane Hansberry's 'A Raisin in the Sun'?
- 2.What are the socio-cognitive components of racist discourse of segregation?
- 3.How can people realize covert as well as overt inegalitarian ideological practices in discourse and thus become more able to resist or change them?
4. How do racist ideologies manifest themselves through the discourse of segregation in Hansberry's play?

I.V. Objectives of Research

The paper has the following objectives:

1. Identifying the relationship between discourse, racism and ideology.
2. Showing that racist discourse is used effectively to achieve segregation between its members.
3. Inspecting ideology from a socio-cognitive approach.
4. Realizing covert and overt inegalitarian ideological practices in discourse.

V. Theoretical Preliminaries

V.1. Racist Discourse and Ideology

Racism or social inequity based on colour, culture, creed, nationality, language, prosperity or political trends is widely known long time ago. Williams (1983: 119) pointed out that from the fourteenth century to the nineteenth century, the term 'ethnic' was used to refer to heathen, pagan or Gentile. Then it gained the name

'racism' till the twentieth century. Afterwards, and in particular in 1961, 'ethnics' was used again in America as a polite label for Jews, Italians and other minorities. Nowadays, 'ethnic' and 'folks' are used interchangeably in America to refer to the same thing. Dijk (2003: 26) discussed the triangular relationship between racism, discourse and ideology. He stated out that "racism is a system of ethnic/ racial inequality, reproduced by discriminatory social practices, including discourse, at the (micro) level, and by institutions, organizations and overall group relations on the global (macro) level, and cognitively supported by racist ideologies". Wodak (in Coulthard and Coulthard, eds., 1996: 112) remarked that whether racism is dealt with as a "negative attitude towards the other" or as a "system of extermination", it still focuses on "difference". For Wodak, "racist discourse" and the "discourse of difference" are the same. She claimed that people's attitudes and ideologies change gradually over time. Therefore, she proposed a discourse- historical approach that emphasizes three dimensions of biased language use: "the content of prejudiced remarks (which varies according to the targeted social group); argumentation strategies (cohesive devices in texts which serve specific argumentative aims); and linguistic forms of realization (generalizations, stories, etc." (ibid: 111).

As for the content of racist discourse, it always focuses on topics such as "difference, deviance or perceived threat" (ibid: 111). Communication with minorities is based on the generalization that they are socially and culturally different from the majority group. They are dangerous because they are disdained by many negative activities such as: raping, overpopulation, loudness, drug abuse, violence, and any uncivilized acts. So, their mere presence represents a threat to the established order of discourse in society; they will infect the society with their deviant acts. Barak Obama, President of America, called Mexican immigrants "rapist criminals" in one of his most recent tweets (2019). All these discriminatory topics are presented in racist discourse through the "we- they antithesis" (Clyne- in Scheffner and Wenden, eds., 1999: 112; Dijk, 2000: 36).

As mentioned before, racist discourse is not always blatant. It might take different colouring to transmit the same content. Wodak (in Coulthard and Coulthard, eds., 1996: 114-123) states four dimensions of argumentation in racist discourse: sympathy, tutelage, justification and economic. The discourse of sympathy, as its name suggests, is very polite. Here, the majority claims sympathy with the minority group. Then, this type of discourse proceeds to take the form of tutelage. For the

majority pretends that its animus acts are for the sake of tutelage. And the last stage is the severest one. Here, the majority group declares that its racist crude discourse is a defensive self-justification against the terrible deeds of the minority group. It reaches the point of "blaming the victim" (Rayan, 1976). In this case, the bad deeds of the majority group are overlooked. The emphasis is only upon the mischievous acts of the minority group. Economic discourse belongs to justification discourse. In this case, the minority group is marginalized and excluded from the society for the sake of scientific hard facts and economic reasons. They are regarded as a threat to the economic interests of the majority group.

To linguistically realize these forms of racist discourse, Wodak (in Coulthard and Coulthard, eds., 1996: 116) claims that the majority group has to apply two main strategies of argumentation: firstly, strategies of group definition and construction; and secondly, strategies of self-justification. Failing to select the right form of argumentation that is appropriate to the context or the topic, the discourse participants lose successful communication. Therefore, they lose credibility between each other (Wenden- in Schaffner and Wenden, eds., 1999: 221).

V. 2. Ideology and Social cognition

Ideologies find their way to people through discourse and communication. Thus, racist discourse reflects racist ideologies. For ideologies "sustain social discrimination" (ibid: xxii). Ideologies are not permanent or fixed. Rather, they change slowly and gradually over time as the beliefs, thoughts and aims of the group- members of the society change. Ideologies are not bound to the majority group only. Also, the minority group has its counter ideology. Ideologies, expressed via discourse, have to be studied from a socio- cognitive perspective. Dijk (2000: 2) points out that "in a cognitive analysis, interpretation is not static, nor an abstract procedure, as in linguistic semantics, but a dynamic, ongoing process... assigning meaning and functions to units of discourse. Dijk (in Schaffner and Wenden, eds., 1999:18) defines social cognition as "the system of mental representations and processes of group members". He maintains that "the basic frameworks for organizing the social cognitions shared by members of social groups, organizations or institutions". In the light of the social and political context of social struggle, any critical discourse analysis that handles, supports or refutes the views of the self-centered majority group is worth noting for ideological analysis.

On their study of the relationship between racist discourse, social cognition and ideology, linguists have proposed models for ideology structure that serve the

social function of legitimating dominance or justifying prejudiced actions against the dominated minority group. Dijk (2003: 19; and in Schaffner and Holmes, eds., 1996: 16) stated that ideologies are “basic frameworks of social cognition”. And as modern racism has changed its form in a way that it even denies itself, so linguists attempted to acknowledge its existence. Blow (2019: 23) pointed out that denying racism or refusing to acknowledge its existence is a problem in itself. Shirley Chisholm, a black Afro-American woman who was the first one to be voted for Congress and the first to gain great nomination for president, stated that “racism is so universal in this country, so widespread and deep-seated, that it is invisible because it is so normal” (ibid). Linguists classified racist discourse into two types: overt and covert. Overt racist discourse is usually used between similar group members who share the same sympathetic beliefs. Whereas covert racist discourse is used between different group members who have heterogeneous beliefs. According to Clyne (in Schaffner and Wenden, eds., 1999: 112- 117) and Krishnamurthy (in Coulthard and Coulthard, eds., 1996: 141), overt discourse is presented through the use of pronouns, assaults, collocations of labels of ethnic groups, complex symbols, dysphemisms and feminine words. For Haider and Rodriguez, it also appears through discourse micro-acts, ideological stereotypes and personal pronouns (ibid: 127- 128). Covert discourse shows up through modal auxiliaries, pronouns, words of concession, tolerant talk, complex symbols and playing down.

Dijk (1991, 1992a, 1993b, 1999, 2000) focused his work on elite discourse and denying racism. In the light of his view of ideologies and social cognition, he identified the following elements of ideological discourse structure that serve the function of legalizing supremacy and justifying biased acts by the elites.

V.3. Ideological Discourse Structure

V. 3. a. Ideological Surface Structure

Ideological surface structure is presented through the use of capitalization. It reflects emphasis on intonation and some lexically important items.

V.3.b. Syntax

As racist ideologies are subtle, they penetrate in discourse through the use of pronouns and agency. The general racist tendency is to stress the positive points about Us and to unstress any positive points about Them. Only negative things

about Them are mentioned. We are Americans but they are less Americans. On the other hand, agency refers to the selection of the grammatical subject and its location in the sentence. Of course there is a wide range of the cunning use of agency in the language through agentless passives or nominalizations. They serve the ideological function de-individualization of minority group members as they represent them irresponsible and in need of tutelage.

V.3.c. Lexicon

Lexicalization refers to the naming of the item. It is up to the interlocutors to select the naming that serves their elite or subordinate cognitive models. So, blacks are named 'illegals', 'criminals', 'rapists' or any such word that carries negative connotations. Dijk (in Schaffner and Holmes, eds., 1996: 13) associates personal opinions with mental models. He claims that cognitive representations of personal opinions are identified in terms of mental context models. He states that models are personal, unique context-bound opinions or representations of the event or situation a discourse is about. For Wenden (in Schaffner and Wenden, eds., 1999: 225), lexical transfer occurs in the case of multilingual interlocutors where the lexically chosen words are transferred from the first to the second language. Such a transfer sustains nationalist ideology based on group similarity.

V. 3. d. Global Semantics

Global semantics deals with macro or global meanings or themes in discourse, namely topics. Topics stand for the main point about which the participants speak. As mentioned before, only important subjects are topicalized. And less important subjects are de-topicalized in favour of the ones that emphasize the desirable cognitive models of the participants. Usually three main categories of topics about racism are discussed: cultural difference, deviance and unfair competition. They all revolve around one main topic which is 'threat'. Topoi are in the binary area between semantics and the rhetoric of racist ideological argumentation. Dijk (2003: 35) states that "topoi are like topics but they have become standardized and publicized, so that they are used as 'ready made' in argumentation".

V. 3. e. Local Semantics

In addition to macro semantics or topics of discourse, local semantics has to be studied also. It handles coherence and rhetorical strategies of argumentation.

Coherence deals with the implicit connectedness between the utterances of the text. Dijk (in Schaffner and Wenden, eds., 1999:26) points out that “well-known socio-cognitive processes underlying positive self- presentation of ingroups and negative presentation of outgroups... may also translate as ‘biased’ local coherence in the semantics of text and talk”. Thus, minorities are never represented in a positive role. They are always de-emphasized implicitly.

Another feature of local semantics and its relationship to racist discourse is generalization and vagueness. The crimes of the majority group are generalized and not mentioned. Whereas the crimes of the minority group are always discussed in specific degrading detail. And to deny racism rhetorical semantic strategies such as disclaimers, mitigations, euphemisms and metaphors are used. They all have a rhetorical function in discourse semantics as they emphasize the tolerance of the speaker. Disclaimers occur when a speaker mentions a neutral statement about the Others, then he follows it by “but”; eg. “they are good, but...”. Or, “I have nothing about them, but...” (Dijk: 1987). Dijk (2003: 33) identified disclaimers with the ‘apparent negation: I have nothing against X, but...’. They represent biased discourse because they stress positive self- glorification as opposed to negative other- presentation. He classifies disclaimers into the following six types:

“Apparent concession: They may be very smart, but...

Apparent Empathy: They may have problems, but...

Apparent Apology: Excuse me, but...

Apparent Effort: We do everything we can, but...

Transfer: I have no problem with them, but my clients...

Reversal, blaming the victim: They are not discriminated against, but We are!”

Mitigations appear through euphemism or indirectness; eg. “we are not racist, only worried” (Dijk, 1992: 189). The speaker chooses words that do not really express his subtle feelings. Rather, they are selected to emphasize his positive self- presentation. Metaphors are used to represent racist ideologies. Demeaning metaphors reflect the inferiority of minorities. Racist discourse is replete with dirty animal metaphors like rats and cock roaches. Also, immigrants are represented as ‘floods’, ‘rats’, etc. So, they are metaphorically represented as a real threat.

V. 3. f. Schematic Structures

Schematic structures are a continuation to the work on topics as they are mainly concerned with topic organization. People engaged in discourse organize their topics in ways that serve their argumentative strategies of self and other-representation. In so doing, they tell 'stories' that persuade their listeners of their biased racial cognitive models. Stories "contribute to the reproduction of racism" (Dijk and Mumby, eds., 1993: 122). The message the minorities get from such stories is clear: "assimilate and shut up" (Sally, David et.al. 2019).

VI. Theoretical Framework

This research paper studies the racist discourse of segregation in Lorraine Hansberry's 'A Raisin in the Sun'. It applies a socio-cognitive approach to ideology. In so doing, it selects the following theoretical framework: Overt racist discourse and covert racist discourse. Overt discourse will deal with lexicalization and pronouns. And covert discourse will deal with syntax, lexicon, global semantics, local semantics and schematic structures.

VII. Analysis of Data

VII. 1. Overt Racist Discourse in Hansberry's 'A Raisin in the Sun'

Overt racist discourse plays a pivotal role in representing the conflict between the blacks and the whites. As mentioned before, such a type of discourse is always used between homogenous members of the same group. So, they do not need to decorate or play down their discourse to hide their feelings towards the Others. This reveals the ugly truth about the American society that lacks "positive peace" and hails "structural violence" (Wenden and Schaffner- in Schaffner and Wenden, eds., 1999: xxii). Structural violence exists when basic human rights are not fulfilled as a result of the discriminatory practices of the governmental institutions. Such prejudiced acts shorten the life span of its members and reduces its quality. As long as structural violence exists, physical violence will always be there.

VII. 1. a. Lexicalization and Pronouns

From the very beginning of the play we perceive the conflict between the characters. This conflict is two-fold: the first one is between the members of the same black family for economic reasons. The second one is between the black obliterated minority group and the white dominant group. The point here is that whenever the Youngers are together or with anyone who belongs to them, they

are at ease and they speak up their minds overtly and without any euphemisms or playing down. Mama labels herself and her family as “no business people”, “plain working folk” (Hansberry, 1959: 26); Mama elaborates that she “wasn’t no rich white woman” (ibid: 28). On the other hand, the whites are always labelled by the Youngers as “rich white people” (ibid). Beneatha calls them “snobbish rich white men” (ibid: 33). Walter calls his sister’s boyfriend “black brother” (ibid: 62). We perceive that this black family doesn’t enjoy positive peace as it is denied the minimum amount of human dignity and social welfare.

We know that Mama’s daughter in law is pregnant and her baby is not welcome because of poverty. So, Ruth, his mother, is planning to abort him. Exactly like her mother in law, Mama, who lost her baby years ago for the same reasons. Also, Big Walter, Mama’s husband, died because of excessive work for less money. Mama said “ I seen him... night after night ... I seen him grow thin and old before he was forty... working and working and working like somebody’s old horse, killing himself” (ibid: 113). She used the animal metaphor and likened her husband to an old horse waiting for the mercy shot. Mama herself is “working like a dog every day” (ibid: 89) as her daughter in law said. So, the use of the animal metaphor is recurrent in the play. We feel the bitterness of life in the throats of all the family members. Ruth selects the rat metaphor as she speaks about their house. She calls it “a rat trap” (ibid: 28). Also the metaphor of sickness attached to ghetto is mentioned in Beneatha’s speech with her Afro-American boyfriend, Asagai. She justifies her disturbance, saying: “we’ve all got acute ghetto-it is” (ibid: 44). From the side talk between Mama and Asagai, we perceive that the white French and Englishmen are great thieves who steal the donation money that is afforded by the blacks to help their poor black brothers in South Africa. She selects the lexicon “pour” with “money” to depict the water metaphor. As Asagai is black like her, she uses the taboo word “Negroes” to refer to their group (ibid: 48). Also the metaphor of wrath that “eats up” the man is manifested in Walter’s fury like a “giant volcano” (ibid: 69) that is about to explode and destroy everything around it. On her discussion with George, Beneatha expresses clearly her point of view about “assimilationist Negroes” and states her hatred to them. She defines the assimilationist as “someone who is willing to give up his own culture and submerge himself completely, in the dominant, and in this oppressive culture” (ibid: 65). Her selection of lexicon reflects her full awareness of the dominant society with its oppressive institutions and members. And this reflects her character as well as her

family's characters; they are not assimilationist Negroes. Rather, they are resistant people who try to keep their dignity and refuse to submit to the whites' oppressive practices. When the Youngers were celebrating the coming of the check, Walter, Ruth and Beneatha were joking together. Beneatha called her brother and his wife "old fashioned negroes" (ibid: 96). They knew exactly what the others, namely the whites, called them behind their backs.

All this overt racist discourse is presented in the framework of the "we/ they" juxtaposition. Mama stated their housing problem as she said: "Them houses they put up for coloured in them areas way out all seem to cost twice as much as other houses. I did the best I could" (ibid: 77). The Youngers became habituated to discrimination to the extent that their cognitive models about themselves became distorted. Walter said: "we all tied up in a race of people that don't know how to do nothing but moan, pray and have babies" (ibid: 77). The verb "tied up" is an agentless passive. Walter is convinced by the prevalent ideology that the blacks are worth for nothing and capable of nothing. Even when they perform acts, they perform negative ones, "moaning, praying and having babies", that do not help the society to push forward.

Under the pressure of losing the insurance money, Walter called Mr. Linder, the Representative of the Clybourne Park Improvement Association. Walter tried to convince his family to return their new house for the association. At that time, Walter used overt racist discourse in a way that both reflected his hatred to the whites as well as his wish to resist them. He said to them:

"...I'm going to look at that son-of-a-bitch in the eyes and say -(He falters)- 'All right Mr. Linder-(He falters even more)- that's your neighborhood out there! got the right to keep it like you want! You got the right to have it like you want! You write the check and the house is yours'. And I am going to say- (His voice almost breaks)- 'And you- you people just put the money in my hand and you won't have to sit next to this bunch of stinking niggers!...'And maybe I'll just get down on my black knees ... (He does so; Ruth and Bennie and Mama watch him in horror) 'Captain, Mistuh, Bossman, (groveling and grinning and wringing his hands in profoundly anguished imitation of the sloe-witted movie stereotype) Great white-Father, just g'ussen de money, fo' God's sake and we's- we ain't gwine come out deh and dirty up yo' white folks neighborhood" (ibid: 128).

Walter labels Mr. Linder with the assault "son-of- a- bitch" from behind his back. But in front of him, he begs and calls him "Mr, Captain, Mistuh, Bossman, Great white, Father and white folks". Thus we get to know that oppression, lack of

equality and absence of social justice create liars and hypocrites. Mama uses the demeaning metaphor “toothless rat” (ibid: 128) in her description of Walter’s acts that lack dignity. The problem with Walter is that he quite understands Mr. Linder’s covert racist discourse very well. He knows that the whites enjoy seeing the blacks humiliated, kneeling on their “black knees” and begging them “for God’s sake” to get money. He knows that whites call them “stinking niggers” that will “dirty up” their white territory. And he knows all the ideological stereotypes that the whites think about this race. So, he tries to come to terms with all their negative things just to survive.

VII. 2. Covert Racist Discourse in Hansberry’s ‘A Raisin in the Sun’

Whenever people get involved in different face to face interactions, they always tend to communicate in a way that saves their face and makes them look tolerant. But the interactional process of discourse does not go that simple. People who have bad messages or news resort to indirectness in order to facilitate their ugly mission. And this is exactly what happens with racist discourse. Dominant groups use covert racist discourse to sustain their racist ideologies. They do so through syntax, lexicon, global semantics, local semantics and schematic structures.

VII. 2. a. Syntax

Mr. Linder introduces himself to the Youngers family as “a representative of the Clybourne Park Improvement Association”. Whenever he speaks about himself, he uses the pronouns “I”, “we” and “our”. He assigns himself responsibility for the welfare and peace of his white group. On the other hand, when he speaks to the Youngers, he uses pronouns like “you” or “our” and he follows them with nouns like “you people” or “our negro families”. He uses the pronoun “we” to refer to himself and the Youngers also. Hence, he deprives them from their individuality. He speaks for them and decides for them as well. He says: “Well, now we’ve been having a nice conversation. I hope you’ll hear me all the way through” (ibid: 102).

Mr. Linder is always careful to put himself or his group in the agent position that performs positive tolerant actions. Contrarily, he puts the Youngers in the position of the object. He says: “I tell you” (ibid: 102); “we are prepared to make you a very generous offer” (ibid); and “I want to give you the exact terms of the financial arrangement” (ibid). He uses the auxiliary “have to” to enforce them to accept his opinion as he says: “You’ve got to admit that” (ibid: 101); and “I want you to believe me” (ibid: 102). Even when he puts them into subject positions, he assigns

them negative actions. He says: "Well- I don't understand why you people are reacting this way." He maintains: "What do you think you are going to gain by moving into a neighborhood where you just aren't wanted..." (ibid: 103). The point here is that Mr. Linder manipulates syntax in a way that serves the racist aims. He uses the passive form "aren't wanted" without saying by whom, of course the answer is by him and his majority group. Also, he uses incomplete comparative structures to deliver his covert racist discourse. He states his racist ideological stereotype as he says: "...Negro families are happier when they live in their own communities" (ibid: 102). He didn't complete his utterance by saying 'than when they live in others' community'. And when the Youngers, headed by Walter, finally decided to refuse Mr. Linder's offer and move to their new house, Mr. Linder appealed to Mama and said: "You are older and wiser and understand things better I am sure" (ibid: 132). He didn't say 'than your younger son' who refused my offer.

VII. 2. b. Lexicon

Mr. Linder uses lexicon in a way that serves self- glorification of the majority group. He calls his group "our organization", "a welcoming committee", "a unique type of organization" and "our New Neighbors Orientation Committee" (ibid: 99). He speaks to the Youngers as if he were the prophet of happiness, tolerance and mutual understanding in the world. He calls his business with them "caring about the other fellow" (ibid: 101). He describes his financial offer to them as "very generous" (ibid: 102). He labels his talk to them as "friendly" and his conversation as "fine" (ibid: 102).

On the other hand, Mr. Linder selects lexicon that represents the Youngers negatively. He, and his organization, call them "special community problems" (ibid: 99) that of course need to be solved. He claims that they represent "threat" (ibid: 103) for the white majority. And when the Youngers told him that they refused his offer and "decided to move", he replied: "I take it then- that you have decided to occupy" (ibid: 132). He selected the lexicon "occupy" instead of 'moving' to transfer a negative feeling about them.

VII. 2. c. Global Semantics

Global semantics is mainly concerned with topics. Significant issues are always topicalized. In a mixed community like America, blacks are always topicalized by the whites. This appears in Mrs. Johnson's visit to the Youngers. Being their black

neighbor who knows about their move to the new house, she visits them and tells them about the black family that was bombed by the whites. She hands them the newspaper which published the news and tried to convince them not to move for their safety. But they refused and suggested the title to be written about them in coming news: "Negroes invade Clybourne Park- Bombed" (ibid: 86).

Mr. Linder told the Youngers that they represented a topic for their last meeting with the members of Clybourne Organization. He said: "we have had it brought to our attention at the last meeting that you people- or at least your mother- has brought a piece of residential property..." (ibid: 98). And because they are an urgent, dangerous and threatening topic, he "was elected" to go there and talk to them (ibid: 101). He builds his argument on the point that they are different. Therefore, they represent a real threat by all means.

VII. 2. d. Local Semantics

Local semantics is manipulated through local coherence and rhetorical strategies of argumentation. Local coherence is considered biased when it conforms to mental personal models that can be imagined to occur in real situations or contexts. If these imaginary mental models are racially and ideologically controlled, they are considered biased. Applying this to Hansberry's 'A Raisin in the Sun', we find that the conflict between the white group and the black group is quite reasonable. For the play was written and performed in a time when racial segregation was supported by law. Mr. Linder and his organization work according to the racial proposition that blacks are culturally deviant as they don't "share a common background" (ibid: 102). Therefore, they have to be segregated. On the other hand, the Youngers feel that they are Americans exactly like Mr. Linder and his group. So, they have the right to move wherever they want and to get a better residence.

Local semantic rhetorical strategies of argumentation support covert racist discourse. They help racist people to hide their malicious messages, deny racism and seem against it. Such strategies de-emphasize the negative acts of the racists and make them look tolerant and brotherly. And this is exactly what happens in Hansberry's play. On her evaluation of Mr. Linder's first visit to them, Beneatha tells her mother that he didn't threaten them directly. She knows that racism has changed its habitual form. She says: "Oh- Mama- they don't do it like that anymore. He talked Brotherhood. He said everybody ought to learn how to sit

down and hate each other with good Christian fellowship" (ibid: 105). To reach such a target, Mr. Linder used mitigations and disclaimers.

VII. 2. d. 1. Mitigations

Mitigations are called 'negative disclaimers'. They start with a negative proposition followed by the true negative point. They also manipulate euphemisms. Consider the following examples that are said by Mr. Linder:

"We don't try hard enough in this world to understand the other fellow's problem" (ibid: 101).

"I don't say we are perfect..." (ibid: 101)

"They [means the white people] aren't rich and fancy people; just hard- working" (ibid).

"I don't understand why you people are reacting this way" (ibid: 103).

Mr. Linder plays down with language in a way that helps him win points in his argument against his black interlocutors. All these mitigations support the topic of his argument, mainly the blacks' difference from them. Also, he uses euphemisms through the recursive use of "well", "I mean", "sort of" and "to get to the right point".

VII. 2. d. 2. Disclaimers

Mr. Linder used a variety of disclaimers in his attempt to convince the Youngers that it is their benefit that they have to accept his bargain. His disclaimers ranged from apparent concession to reversals. Look at these different instances of disclaimers:

'Apparent concession': "Anybody can see that you are a nice family of folks, hard-working and honest I'm sure..." (ibid: 101). However, he tells them that they don't belong to the same elements. So, they have to remain segregated.

'Apparent empathy': "... our community is made up of people who've worked hard as the dickens for years to build up that little community. They're not rich and fancy people... But..." (ibid: 103).

Again, Mr. Linder sympathizes with his majority group. In so doing, he states indirectly that his people are totally different from the other black minority group. Linder stresses the contrast between the two groups. So, according to him, it would be far much better for the two groups to stay, each in his own territory.

On his comments upon the sad incidents that happened to colored people, he used the disclaimer 'apparent apology' to express the excuse of his organization,

represented by him. Then, he followed it by another disclaimer called 'apparent effort' to show that they do their best to prevent such incidents in the future. He says: "not only do we deplore that kind of thing- but we are trying to do something about it" (ibid: 100).

Linder always repeats the point that it is not only his will that the Youngers should stay at their old home and not to move to the white territory. But also, it is the will of the majority of the white people in Clybourne Park. He uses a 'transfer disclaimer' as he says: "and at the moment the overwhelming majority of our people out there feel..." (ibid: 103). Then he tells them that it is all the people, and not only the majority of them. So, he transfers the cause of the problem to his colleagues. He does so by using the 'transfer disclaimer' again as he says: "It is the matter of the people of Clybourne Park believing..." (ibid: 102).

When Walter, the Younger, perceived Mr. Linder's racist messages, he asked him to "get out" (ibid: 103). At that time, Mr. Linder didn't give up his argumentative strategies. He used the apology disclaimer while he puts his card for them, in case if they change their mind. He said: "Well- I'm sorry it went like this" (ibid). And when he was asked by Walter, for the third time, to get out of the house, Mr. Linder used the 'reversal disclaimer'. He said to Walter: "You just cannot force people to change their heart, son" (ibid). Mr. Linder is so cunning to the extent that he reverses the table upon the Youngers. He denies his being racist and attempts to look tact, tolerant and defeated.

VII. 2. e. Schematic Structures

Schematic structures are mainly concerned with the 'stories' people tell in order to convince others with their point of view. In Hansberry's play, Mr. Linder starts his talk to the Youngers with direct reference to the 'story' about the incidents that happened in the city to colored people who "have moved into certain areas" (ibid: 100). Thus, he makes the Youngers recall certain cognitive models of negroes being bombed by whites simply because they moved to their white territory. He threatens them indirectly. The subtle message behind Mr.

Linder's reference to this story is to assimilate, to remain segregated, and to do nothing. When they refused his generous offer, he threatened them again as he said: "I sure hope you people know what you're getting into" (ibid: 133). Of course, he wanted to tell them indirectly that they are getting into troubles of being bombed. It is left to the Youngers alone to imagine from similar schematic

experiences how the expected troubles will look like. Thus, the schematic structures, represented in topic organization, of Mr. Linder's discourse is highly indicative.

VIII. Conclusion

This research paper has attempted to represent the racist discourse of segregation in Lorraine Hansberry's 'A Raisin in the Sun'. In so doing, it analyzed the play from a socio-cognitive approach to ideology. It showed that discourse is never neutral. Rather, it is biased even if its interlocutors pretended that it is not likewise. Its main target is to segregate the blacks simply because they are different. Racist people usually tend to cover their true intentions. They even deny their racism. They use overt and covert discourse to communicate their racist ideologies that work as a general framework for their personal cognitive models of the society with its obliterating organizations and institutions. The research showed that racist people pretend being sympathetic and tolerant while segregating the blacks. The paper acquainted minority groups of the strategies of segregation in order to be able to resist them. It attempted to bridge the gap between what racist people say and what they really want to do. Also, it showed that minority groups, represented in the Youngers family, are not always passive. Rather, they are persistent people who fight for a better future based on equality and dignity. Toni Morrison (1998), a black Afro-American novelist who won Nobel Prize, said her famous words to Ed Bradley on his interview with her about white racism: "If you can only be tall because someone is on their knees, then you have a serious problem. And white people have a very, very serious problem". Still more work needs to be done on this issue.

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