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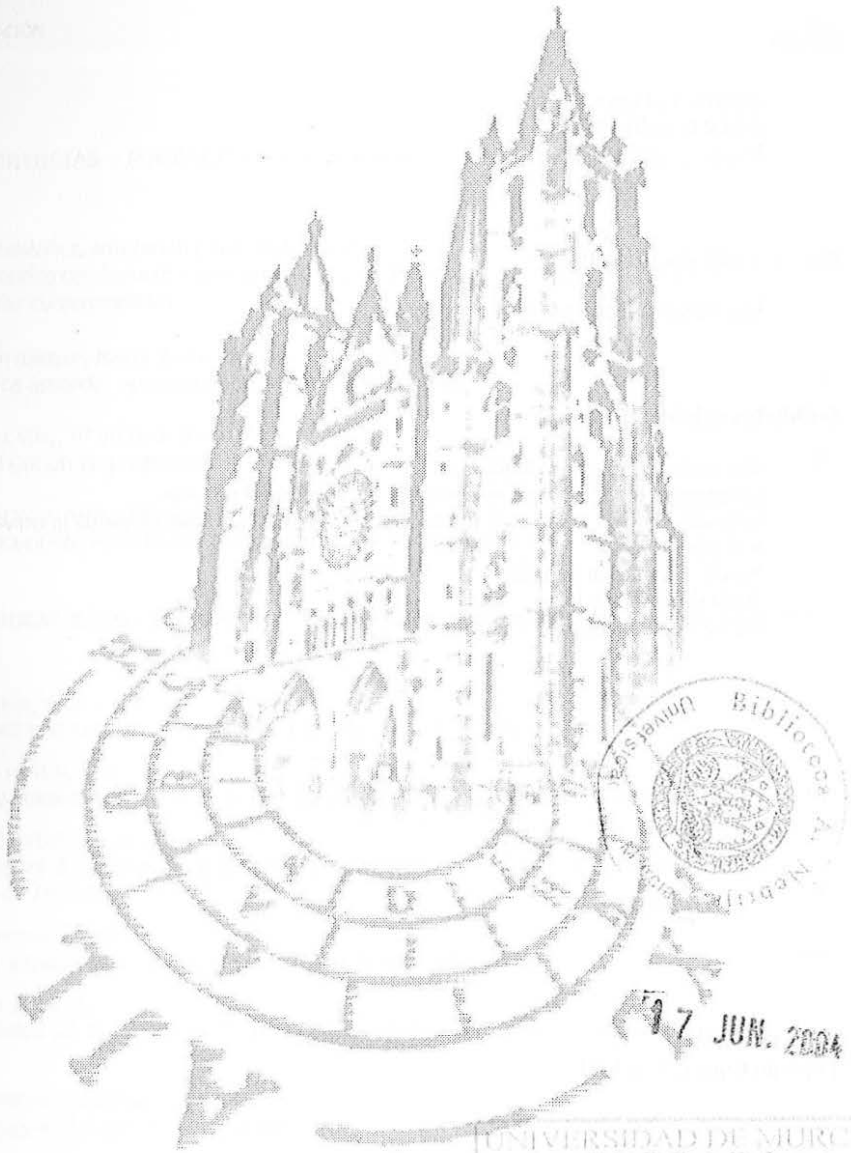
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NOELIA GONZÁLEZ VERDEJO  
MARIBEL RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ

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## ANTI-RACISM IN "WAR" AND "AFRICANOS EN MADRID": A CONTRASTIVE CULTURAL ANALYSIS

RAQUEL CRIADO SÁNCHEZ  
UNIVERSIDAD DE MURCIA

### 1. Introduction

Cultural studies examines culture as the whole system of practices or representations through which a social group's identity is created, maintained and reconstructed. These representations include texts (whether oral or written), visual and aural symbols, rules of behaviour, etc., all of which configurate every element of social life at different levels: class, gender, race, sexuality, age, ethnicity. A resulting major task of this branch of studies is to analyze the relationship between social power and cultural structures. Due to the broad range of areas embraced under its concept of culture, Cultural studies is cross-disciplinary: it draws from the fields of gender studies, feminism, psychoanalysis, anthropology, sociology, literary criticism, history...

Within this theoretical framework, the present paper includes the contrastive cultural analysis of two songs: "War", by the Jamaican Bob Marley and the Wailers (1976) and "Africanos en Madrid", by the Spanish *Amistades Peligrosas* (1991). The lyrics of the songs are contained in the appendix.

The overriding topic in both compositions is racism, and specifically its criticism of it, "Africanos en Madrid" containing a major related variant: immigration. We believe that although the overall attitude towards the subject is similar in both cases in content, the singers' racial, social and historical differences will allow for two neatly distinct points of view. Concerning "War", the major posture relates to the direct sufferers of that discrimination: the Africans. Marley is portrayed as their spokesperson (in spite of his Jamaican origins, his racially-mixed background and although he had not visited the African continent yet –he would for the first time in 1980). As to "Africanos en Madrid", the victims' situation is screened by two sympathetic white men who contemplate an immigrant's life from the singers' native country.

These viewpoints mold the particular perceptions about the other characters depicted in the songs: in "War", the dictatorial tyrants and the subjugated people from racists; in "Africanos en Madrid", the oppressors or antagonists of understanding white men together with the mistreated and unfortunate immigrants.

The objective of this paper is to unravel this pair of stances and the resulting attitudes regarding the other parties involved. For that purpose we have drawn upon three approaches as our methodological tool in the following order: firstly, the Ethnography of Communication (M. SAVILLE-TROIKE 1992), which supplied a basic context for the analysis through the examination of generic aspects of the songs regarded as communicative acts (setting, participants, purpose, key / tone, etc.). Secondly, and within Critical Discourse Analysis, the theory of Social Psychology (J. POTTER and M. WETHERELL 1987, additionally complemented by T. A. VAN DIJK 1996). This one allowed for the discernment of the social categories reflected in the texts. Thirdly, Discursive Psychology (D. EDWARDS 1998), which uncovered the conceptions of the individual selves present in the songs towards both the social entities they are ascribed to and the remaining ones. The rationale for dealing with Social Psychology before Discursive Psychology is due to the fact that the former facilitates a transparent unmasking of the social categories depicted in the songs (a particularly important feature in the topic of racism). Once these are clear enough, the analysis supplied by Discursive Psychology is more easily undertaken: the viewpoint of the individual selves in the songs are shaped by these social groups.

The songs will be jointly studied together for each one of the theories. We will start with a brief outline of the extralinguistic context (historical and cultural references) of both songs. We believe that this is an essential previous step for a more accurate analysis (especially that of "War") in the light of the three above-mentioned theories.

## 2. Historical and cultural references

Bob Marley and the Wailers are worldwide known for being the major figures of Reggae music *par excellence*, which will dramatically affect the elements of the Ethnography of Communication of Purpose, Key and Norms of interpretation. Reggae is defined by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (2002) as a style of popular music that stemmed from Jamaica (Marley's homecountry) in the late 1960s and quickly emerged as the nation's dominant music. By the 1970s it had become an international style that was particularly popular in Britain, the United States and Africa. What is of great significance for our analysis is that reggae was widely perceived as the voice of the oppressed and that it is linked with the politico-religious movement Rastafarianism, whose origins can be found in several independent prophets and particularly to the Back to Africa movement led by Marcus Garvey in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Still following the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (2002),

Rastafarians worship Haile Selassie I, former emperor of Ethiopia, under his precoronation name, Ras (Prince) Tafari. They consider the Ethiopian emperor to have been a divine being, the Messiah, and the champion of the black race. According to the Rastafarians, blacks and the Israelites reincarnated and have been subjugated to the evil and white race in divine punishment for their sins; they will eventually be redeemed by repatriation to Africa, their true home and heaven on earth.

"War" is specially ascribed to reggae and Rastafarianism in the sense that its lyrics were taken and adapted from a speech that Emperor Haile Selassie I delivered to the United Nations on 6<sup>th</sup> October, 1963. The two main topics were "disarmament and the establishment of true equality among men".<sup>1</sup> Besides, the historical references included in both the song and the speech are Angola, Mozambique and South Africa. The latter's apartheid was at its peak in this time, whereas the mention of the first two countries might suggest that the song was written before its release (1976), as both Mozambique and Angola got their independence from Portugal in 1975. Beyond all this, their inclusion is very important from a psychological point of view as we shall see in the analysis supplied by Discursive Psychology, since they are tangible examples of the injustices denounced.

Several historical and cultural allusions can also be pointed out in "Africanos en Madrid". They will have important implications in the delimitation of the social categories in the section of Social Psychology. One of these references is (2) "El pecado de ser ébano, sangre y marfil" (lines 11, 23). Precisely the words *ébano* (ebony) and *marfil* (ivory) immediately evoke an African image in our minds. According to the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (2001), not only is ebony an exotic tree, but also the Spanish term to name the black man in the slavery times (*ébano vivo*). Ivory refers us to the name of an African country (The Ivory Coast) as well as to the material found in the elephants' tusks, an animal irremediably associated with Africa.

The other historic references are concrete and local examples of the singers' country: *Madrid* (lines 9, 21); *Gran Vía* (line 13) and *Plaza de España* (line 16). These will equally be dealt with in the Discursive Psychology due to their significance.

## 3. The Ethnography of Communication

This is a field of study whose focus is

the speech community, the way communication within it is patterned and organized as systems of communicative events, and the ways in which these interact with all other systems of culture. (M. SAVILLE-TROIKE 1992: 3).

The following components of communicative events are distinguished by M. SAVILLE-TROIKE (1992: 138-139), the maximum exponent of this theory: Scene, Key, Participants, Message form, Message content, Act-Sequence, Rules of interaction and Norms of interpretation. For our purposes and due to space limitations we will deal here with the most relevant and clearly delimited ones in both songs.

<sup>1</sup> See the References section for the Internet address where the whole text of this speech can be found.

### 3.1. Scene

This element is defined by M. SAVILLE-TROIKE (1992: 141) as “the extrapersonal context of the event” and embraces Topic, Genre, Setting and Purpose. As we have recently stated, the Topic or referential focus is racism in “War” and racism plus immigration in “Africanos en Madrid”.

On the other hand, the Setting includes the Communicative situation, which in both cases may be considered a concert, regarded as the basic or prototypical realization / manifestation of this element. The Genre or type of event is the songs, and the specific sort of Communicative act is the kind of song. “War” is a rights-demanding one. A kind of *musique engagée* could well apply to “Africanos en Madrid”: the artists denounce as they know- through their music and specifically through pop music-, a situation that surrounds them and their audience in order to arise their social conscience. No wonder these dissimilarities are due to the different points of view mentioned above.

For a better comprehension of the last aspect of setting (Purpose), we will now deal with the Participants.

### 3.2. Participants

In “War” there exists the singers as the performers of the song (Bob Marley and the Wailers); the lyrics themselves; the audience and the people involved in the song. The latter comprise the whole human race (“That until the basic human rights / Are equally guaranteed to all”; line 15) and the victims of racism, the Africans (“We Africans will fight”; line 41). They are generally associated with the black people, as it could be inferred from lines 25-28:

And until the ignoble and unhappy regimes  
That hold our brothers in Angola,  
In Mozambique,  
South Africa.

The rest of the African countries is embraced too: “And until that day, / The African continent / Will not know peace” (lines 40-42). Also, the oppressors are subliminally identified with the whites owing to the reference to colonialists: “regimes” (line 25).

We should equally add the song’s authors, Aston and Carlton Barrett. As stated above, the lyrics of “War” were taken from a speech by Emperor Haile Selassie. Finally, Bob Marley himself as the leader of the band should be included too. In effect, we could assume that the first person in the song, though in theory ascribed to the Emperor, is completely identified with the singer himself. We believe so owing to Marley’s status as a Rastafarian prophet by his fans (significantly, the title of the album is “Rastaman Vibration”), which allows for regarding him in the song as a military leader who appeals his people to the need of war.

Regarding “Africanos en Madrid” we may distinguish the song’s authors (I. G. Pelayo and Yamil Z.), the singers and the people who appear in the song again: the immigrant (“Hay un hueco a medida para el polizonte”; line 2), whose situation is extrapolated to all Africans (“El pecado de ser africanos en Madrid”; lines 9, 21); the police (“Quizás con un poco de suerte llegarás hasta la Gran Vía sin que la policía te pida el pasaporte”; lines 13-14); the audience: “Si miras bajo tu piel hay un mismo corazón”; lines 12, 24). Further, the whole of Madrid society may be also considered to be depicted in “El pecado de ser africanos en Madrid / Abrir los ojos para ver que no llega el sol aquí” (lines 9, 21).

With the Participants delimited we will turn now to the Purpose (which is influenced by the singers’ racial and historical differences) and which, in turn, will have a great effect on the Key.

### 3.3. Purpose

Even though the primary or most evident function of a song is to entertain, in the case of “War” it seems that music is just a means to serve an end, the latter being the denunciation of the discrimination suffered by the Africans and its consequences: war. This is directly connected with the type of reggae music as the “voice of the oppressed”. Thus another purpose



immediately emerges: to alert and to threaten the oppressors with war. A possible fourth purpose could be to hearten the victims of racism, in accordance with Marley's status as a Rastafarian prophet: "And we know we shall win" (line 44).

As far as "Africanos en Madrid" is concerned, the condemnation remains the same in content: "El pecado de ser africanos en Madrid / Abrir los ojos para ver que no llega el sol aquí" (lines 9-10). However, since the singers are not related to the victims' race, it could be argued that they find it unable to transmit the same spirit or form in the message as in "War". It would not look realistic or credible. This feature will equally affect the Key (as we shall see immediately below). Then their main aim that of awaking people's ethics about the situation by means of the entertainment implied by a song. To do so, Amistades Peligrosas directly appeal to this collective conscience: "Si miras bajo tu piel hay un mismo corazón" (lines 12, 24). This plea is covered up with the type of music they used to do (pop).

### 3.4. Key

As in the component of end, the singers' divergences in their historical background will influence the Key. M. SAVILLE-TROIKE defines this element as "the emotional tone of the event" (1992: 138) and affirms that it necessarily derives from the end (1992: 142). Therefore in the case of "War" the Key is mainly threatening, hostile and serious (as can be seen in lines 9-13):

That until there no longer  
First class and second class citizens of any nation,  
Until the colour of a man's skin  
Is of no more significance than the colour of his eyes  
Me say war.

M. SAVILLE-TROIKE (1992:142) states that "Key may be signalled by choice of language or variety, by nonverbal signals [...], by paralinguistic features [...], or by a combination of elements". A formal and cultivated / literate variety of language (which will also be appreciated in the act sequence) is noticed throughout most of the song, in accordance with the solemnity of a speech delivered to the United Nations. On the other hand, in this specific case non-verbal signals must be seen studied in the communicative situation of songs (a concert, either live or recorded). Since the authoress has not had access to a video-recording of the performance any of the songs, non-verbal signals will not be contemplated here.

Here the hostile and threatening nature of the song as well as the validity of Marley's demands are reinforced by the connotations of the vocabulary used and the rhetorics:

a) Adjectives: "lasting peace" (line 19); "fleeting illusion" (line 22), whose nearness in the song reflects a sharp contrast; "ignoble and unhappy regimes" (line 25).

b) Adverbs: we could distinguish two main groups: intensifiers ("utterly destroyed"; line 31) and adverbs with a definite meaning, not subject to change: "Is finally / And permanently / Discredited / And abandoned" (lines 4-6).

c) Verbs: "toppled / utterly destroyed" (30-31); "We Africans will fight" (line 43).

d) Nouns: "bondage" (line 29). The most important point here is, of course, the great number of times that the word "war" is repeated throughout the song: fourteen times.

Regarding "Africanos en Madrid", the Key is primarily sympathetic. It could never be threatening or alarmist as in "War" because of the singers' condition as non-victims and as not members of the oppressed race. They have nothing to contribute with except for their denunciation framed in an understanding stance towards the immigrant. This attitude is constantly breathed in the choice of language when referring to the latter; for example, in the adjectives and adverbs: "Algo 'triste' pero amable 'siempre infatigable' tras el pan y la sal" (my highlighting; lines 6, 18).

It should be pointed out that the tone of this song is serious as well, although lighter than in "War" owing to the above reasons. For example, the tragedy of the dangerous journey to Spain is directly addressed to ("Hay un hueco a medida para el polizone"; line 2). This seriousness becomes sarcastic in the chorus. Following M. SAVILLE-TROIKE's claim (1992: 142), in "El pecado de ser africanos en Madrid" (lines 9, 21) the sarcasm overrides the form and

the literal content of the message: obviously, there is nothing blameful in being "africanos en Madrid". Thus this signals a different relationship between the singers and the immigrant as participants than would be the case if the xenophobic statement was felt as true by the former.

In accordance with the nature of the Key and the specific Purpose of this song, another difference with "War" may be observed: the connotative load of the terms is considerably milder. Further, the overall impression of understanding and denunciation is not so lexically marked as in "War". It is textually and pragmatically carried out by means of the tools of sarcasm and metaphors: "A cambio de ese pasaje vendió su alma al diablo" (line 4); "Abrir los ojos para ver que no llega el sol aquí" (lines 10, 22); "El pecado de ser ébano, sangre y marfil" (lines 11, 23); "Si miras bajo tu piel hay un mismo corazón" (lines 12, 24).

Concerning the language variety a mostly standard one is used in accordance with the main audience expected to listen to the song: youths and young adults presumably.

### 3.5. Act Sequence

It is defined by M. SAVILLE-TROIKE as the "ordering of communicative / speech acts, including turn taking and overlap phenomena". The external layout of this element, in the specific case of songs as the type of event, is constituted by stanzas (separated by a more or less wide silence pause) and a chorus. This is the pattern of both "War" and "Africanos en Madrid". In turn, the stanzas reflect the communicative acts of the songs.

In "War" there are eight stanzas of different size. At the end of each one there is a sentence containing the word 'war' in the place of a chorus as such: "Me say war" (stanzas one, two and five); "Dis a war" (stanza three); "Now everywhere is war, war" (stanza four). The communicative acts could be all categorized as reprooves and threats. Additionally, the thematic organisation of the song (which goes from the general to the particular) is provided by the stanzas: in the first one, racism is defined; in the second and third general consequences or manifestations of racism are observed; in the fourth one the opposite phenomena are depicted in abstract terms; specific examples of racism are supplied in the fifth stanza, and finally a conclusion (reivindication of the solution on Africa's part: war) is expressed in the sixth and seventh stanzas.

As for "Africanos en Madrid", there exists six stanzas with a more homogeneous size than those of "War". Contrary to the latter, there is a two-stanza chorus which constitutes the core of the song (the second and the third together with the fifth and the sixth). The thematic organization consists of the troubled journey to Spain that appears in the first stanza, followed by the immigrant's day-to-day (stanzas two, four and five). The communicative acts contained in the stanzas vary from mere recounting of true events (first, second, fifth), predicting facts (fourth one) to expression of irony and a request to the listener (third and sixth).

### 3.6. Norms of Interpretation

This component includes "all the other information about the speech community and its culture which is needed to understand the communicative event" (M. SAVILLE-TROIKE 1992: 155). The style of reggae music greatly determines the Norms of interpretation, since as claimed before it became the voice for the poor and the dispossessed. Of course, Marley's condition as a Rastafarian prophet by his fans has an extraordinary bearing in the interpretation of the song too. With regard to "Africanos en Madrid", the message involved is expressed with the singers' kind of melody (pop-music) and specifically the jubilant rhythm of this song could be considered to contribute to a vision of hope.

## 4. Social psychology

This theory advocates that "psychological models of the self are inevitably culturally and socially contingent, dependent on certain kinds of social practices" (J. POTTER and M. WETHERELL 1987: 102). In order to identify the social categories which underlie both songs,

we will firstly follow T. A. VAN DIJK's approach<sup>2</sup> before entering into J. POTTER and M. WETHERELL's analysis.

#### 4.1. Social categories in "War" and "Africanos en Madrid"

Racism, as an ideology that holds that the Others are somehow inferior, presupposes an overall dichotomy of US (white people) versus THEM: the rest (T. A. VAN DIJK 1996: 45). This in-group and out-group distinction, being a common feature of ideologies, can also be found in our case but reinversed: anti-racist ideologies, i.e., anti-racist versus racists. For the purpose of this paper, in Marley's song the distinction of categories will be in line with the latter type (US / victims; THEM / oppressors, respectively compared to "Good" and "Evil"; lines 47-48). In "Africanos en Madrid" we will use the former division. Besides these two social categories in "Africanos en Madrid" there also lies another one already mentioned at the beginning: whites who take non-whites seriously. All the comments of this section will refer to the respective US group's perspective of each song.

Following T. A. VAN DIJK (1996: 12-44), these three groups are characterized by the categories that constitute a group self-schemata; by the societal functions of racism inherently related to the groups' structure; by the social-cultural values embodied in a racist ideology and by the acts of unequal treatment by dominant group members of racially different Others in equal situations. Most of these elements are observable in both songs and help to more thoroughly determine the groups that we have already discriminated.

##### 4.1.1. Group schemata

According to T. A. VAN DIJK (1996: 56), ideologies are specific forms of social cognition: fundamental group self-schemata that organise social attitudes and indirectly the social practices that successfully reproduce the group. To define this element, the following features are distinguished by T. A. VAN DIJK (1996: 19-20): Membership, Position, Goal, Resources, Norms and values and Task. Due to space limitations we will only deal with the most pertinent ones.

Membership "underlies judgements of inherent identity" (T. A. VAN DIJK 1996: 19). It is present in "War" in "We Africans will fight" (line 44), which implies that they know who they are and where they come from, etc. The THEM category (the racist people) is not directly signalled except for the regimes that oppress the Africans in Mozambique, Angola and South Africa (as stated in the element of Participants of the Ethnography of Communication). In "Africanos en Madrid" the THEM category (the racism victims) is directly addressed by origin as well as by race, in a way that emphasizes the differential component with the other group: "El pecado de ser africanos en Madrid" (lines 9, 21). In turn, the tolerant white men (the other US) are characterised too by the sharp contrast immediately inferred after establishing the THEM's origin. The US group is subliminally symbolised by the security forces in a light way due to the latter's mild strictness implied by the adverbial and prepositional phrases in the corresponding lines: "Quizás con un poco de suerte llegarás hasta la Gran Vía sin que la policía te pida el pasaporte" (lines 13-14). As claimed in the Participants component of the Ethnography of Communication, the US category is equally represented by (apparently) the whole of Madrid society: "El pecado de ser africanos en Madrid / Abrir los ojos para ver que no llega el sol aquí" (lines 9, 21).

According to T. A. VAN DIJK (1996: 21), together with Membership Position is the central category of racist ideologies, "since white identity is basically construed by its difference and conflict with non-white others". In "War" it is clear that the enemies of the US category are those who either exercise their oppressive power or agree with it concerning Angola's, Mozambique's and South Africa's situation. The friends are naturally the rest. In "Africanos en

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<sup>2</sup> T. A. VAN DIJK's theory will be used only as a tool to define the social categories expressed in the songs. We do not intend to produce a Critical Discourse analysis of which this author is one of the major figures.

Madrid”, the enemy of the THEM category is also the one who dominates the victims: the police and the society of the capital of Spain.

#### 4.1.2. Societal functions of ideologies

T. A. VAN DIJK (1996: 22-24) states seven social points of ideologies perfectly applicable to racism: Social Evaluation, Motivation for social action, Coordination of action and solidarity, Discourse and communication, Realization of common goals, Social identity and cohesion, Ritualisation and Institutionalism. We will concentrate on the most evident ones in both songs.

Concerning Social evaluation, an anti-racist ideology presupposes that minorities learn how to recognise and understand racist events, which is exactly what happens in “War” (lines 1-8):

Until the philosophy that holds one race superior  
And another  
Inferior  
Is finally  
And permanently  
Discredited  
And abandoned,  
Me say war.

The overall aim of the THEM category, to maintain power and dominance, is uncovered too: “That until there no longer / First class and second class citizens of any nation” (lines 9-10). The US group provides an interpretation and evaluation framework which perceives the Others’ existence as dangerous and oppressive (“sub-human bondage”; line 29). In “Africanos en Madrid” it is naturally the understanding white men who are able to acknowledge the consequences of racist practices, with a sarcastic / ironic attitude as seen in the factor of Key of the Ethnography of Communication.

As regards the Motivation for social action, the following T. A. VAN DIJK’s statement (1996: 22) is self-revealing in the case of “War”: “If ‘our’ social position is perceived to be unfair or unjust, the socially shared wish to resist oppression is a strong motivation for group members to join in a collective action, as is the case for feminist, anti-racist or socialist ideologies”. This feature is shown everywhere in the song, as for example in “We Africans will fight, we find it necessary” (line 44). In “Africanos en Madrid”, this level is present and framed within the conscience-arising function: “Si miras bajo tu piel hay un mismo corazón” (lines 12, 24). In effect, the tolerant whites are urged to realize that there are no differences between the US and THEM categories. That is the first step for the social action below.

The Coordination of action and solidarity is intrinsically related to the Membership and Position of Group schemata. Knowing where we are, who are the group’s friends and enemies will provide us with the planning for execution and social action. In Marley’s song it entails war; in “Africanos en Madrid” it consists of becoming solidary with the people unfairly treated.

Membership and Position are linked to the Realization of common goals as well. In this way, the US category portrayal in “War” as the victims and the clear definition of who belongs to that category naturally leads to the establishment of common goals: “the victory of Good over Evil” (lines 46-53), obtained by war. Concerning “Africanos en Madrid”, the ultimate aim constitutes the need of awakening people’s scruples, in accordance with the other US category (the sympathetic white men).

#### 4.1.3. Socio-cultural values

Mental, Action, Environmental and Interaction are the socio-cultural values mentioned by T. A. VAN DIJK (1996: 37-44). We will deal with the first three as they are the most evident ones in both songs.

Mental comprise Knowledge, Functions of mind, Logical functions, Imagination, Judgement, Emotion, and Sane and sound (T. A. VAN DIJK 1996: 37). Those related to

judgement and logical functions are the most obvious ones in "War". Within the latter, consistency and coherence, logic and rationality are ascribed to the US category. Victims opt for war after having clearly stated, from the general to concrete examples, the evil attitude that induces them to act in that way. Conversely, the THEM category lacks those values. As for judgement, the US category is described as fair (to set the Africans free war is necessary and they will do it).

In "Africanos en Madrid", the US category allegedly represented by the policeman is rendered as partially strict. Subliminally, by means of a metaphor (sun for hope), Madrid society or the oppressors' class is also depicted in a general way as intolerant and inflexible: "Abrir los ojos para ver que no llega el sol aquí" (lines 10, 22).

On the other hand, Action values are composed of Competence, Initiation, Activity, Continuation, Overcoming Obstacles, Optimizing, Style and Success (T. A. VAN DIJK 1996: 38). In "War" it is obvious that initiation, particularly revolution and decisiveness, is associated with the US category: they are determined to put an end to the unfair situation. That is, the belligerent Tone or Key determines the values as well: a threat to call for revolution on the victims' part. In "Africanos en Madrid", Key equally affects the depiction of the THEM category as persevering, persistent, tireless by means of the kind adjectives granted to the immigrant as previously seen: "Algo triste pero amable siempre infatigable tras el pan y la sal" (lines 6, 18).

Environmental / Society values concern how people evaluate the context in which they live, work or act as well as the group or institution, or even the whole society and culture of which they are members (T. A. VAN DIJK 1996: 43). As such they include control, equality, legitimacy, protection, want and finally well-being, comfort. In "Africanos en Madrid" the good white men category is portrayed as fair and egalitarian: "Si miras bajo tu piel hay un mismo corazón" (lines 12, 24), whereas the opposite implicitly applies to the US category (the racist). It goes without saying that in "War" the victims group is depicted as egalitarian, democratic (within Equality) and free (which belongs to Control): "That until the basic human rights / Are not equally guaranteed to all / Without regard to race" (lines 14-16); lines 25-33 are also very illustrative:

And until the ignoble and unhappy regimes  
That hold our brothers in Angola,  
In Mozambique,  
South Africa  
(Sub-human bondage),  
Have been toppled,  
Utterly destroyed,  
Well, everywhere is war.

On the contrary, the oppressors (exemplified in the metonymy "regimes") are ascribed to inequality, dictatorship and above all to lack of freedom. This links with T. A. VAN DIJK's feature for the identification of the racists: their acts of Unequal treatment:

#### 4. 1. 4. Unequal treatment

T. A. VAN DIJK (1996: 12-13) distinguishes the following social domains in which the acts of unequal treatments are exercised on victims: immigration, integration, employment, education, housing and health, media, welfare and social security, politics, law and order. "War" well embraces these domains in lines 14-21:

That until the basic human rights  
Are equally guaranteed to all,  
Without regard to race,  
Dis a war.  
That until that day  
The dream of lasting peace,  
World citizenship,  
Rule of international morality.

Regarding "Africanos en Madrid" it is inferred that the US category's discrimination is prevalent in housing and health ("Si la luna está de su parte, por ventura tendrá su cama hecha de hojas y ramas en la Plaza de España"; lines 15-16) and immigration. The latter is materialized in the harassment by the police with the observations stated in the section of the Group schemata and Socio-cultural values: "Quizás con un poco de suerte llegarás hasta la Gran Vía sin que la policía te pida el pasaporte" (lines 13-14).

#### 4. 2. "War" and "Africanos en Madrid" Social Psychology - perspective analysis

According to J. POTTER and M. WETHERELL (1987: 114), "People's behaviour is explained by their set of traits". It is precisely the Mental and Environmental values which will suffice to justify the violent reaction (war) that proclaims Marley's song from the US category's point of view. The practical consequences of the THEM group being dictators and oppressors is that the victims call for an immediate and natural declaration of war ("We find it necessary"; line 43). It is the racists who provoked the unprivileged, who are embraced by the generic pronoun "we" ("We Africans will fight"; line 41). "We" denotes a collectivity of people to whom Marley ascribes himself and whose great psychological burden will be thoroughly studied in Discursive Psychology. Similarly to J. POTTER and M. WETHERELL (1987: 113-114), this technique for making sense of collective actions might protect and maintain a certain kind of *status quo* unchallenged: the THEM categories actions are the source for the violent attitude adopted by the US category, who is merely responding with a natural reaction.

An obvious response equally applies to "Africanos en Madrid": sympathy and a certain affection emerge spontaneously in the singers after verifying the immigrant's persistent and kind nature (as was claimed in the Action values).

#### 5. Discursive psychology

D. EDWARDS (1998: 3) claim that "the discourse of mind-related world relations includes offering one's thoughts, opinions, policies, ideas as constrained by the nature of the world" is perfectly mirrored in the two songs.

As was stated in the analysis supplied by the Ethnography of Communication, Marley's status as a speaker of the victims and as a Rastafarian prophet granted by his own followers allows the recognition of the song's demands as Marley's, despite the fact that the lyrics were taken from Selassie's speech. Besides, his audience is prepared to consider him a credible leader and to firmly regard his demands in the first person as legitimate. From this starting-point, the essential discursive device of the song consists of the shift from the first personal pronoun (identified with Marley) to the collective "we", a very important psychological process which is accompanied by revealing changes in the difficulty of the syntax.

"Me" was originally absent in Selassie's paragraph from where the song was adapted. Out of the eight stanzas that the song is composed of, "me" is used in three endings as well all throughout the song, alternating with two "impersonal" endings ("Now everywhere is war, war"; line 24). At the end of the song, precisely in the stanza before the last one, this "me" is replaced by the generic pronoun "we".

When the first personal pronoun is used, the syntax of the stanzas is frequently rather complicated: relative clauses as modifiers of nominal nucleus ("Until the philosophy which holds one race superior / And another / Inferior" (lines 1-3); appositions ("Sub-human bondage"; line 29); multiple subjects for a single verb (as in lines 19-22), etc:

The dream of lasting peace,  
World citizenship,  
Rule of international morality  
Will remain in but a fleeting illusion to be pursued.

In these parts of the song the lexis is more formal too as seen in the element of Key of the Ethnography of Communication. Maybe the assertion of the leadership inherent in that first personal pronoun accounts for these two aspects. Nevertheless, the "pseudo" chorus remains very simple in structure and even colloquial in vocabulary, as belonging to a normal

conversation: "Dis a war" (line 17); "Well, eveywhere is war" (line 32). Perhaps the latter acts as an anticlimax to remind us of the leader Marley's closeness to his audience, very different or at least much more varied than the heads of state who heard Selassie's speech at the United Nations.

Significantly, the syntax gets simpler as soon as we move to the end of the song, where "we" starts to appear. By including himself into the collective pronoun and by extension to the category of Africans (previously signalled by the reference to "our brothers"; line 26), Marley clearly states his involvement and attitude towards the cause. Moreover, with the position of "we" towards the end of the song (in the seventh stanza), it seems that the revolutionary leader reunites all the people involved in his serious claims: those suffering from injustices in the world and those who do not but who are equally committed to them. This effect is enhanced by the much simpler syntactic structure of this piece in contrast with the rest of lyrics. Thus there exists a change from formal variety (role of Marley as a leader) to standard variety (role of leader and audience in one collectivity: "we"). The choice of language variety, both in lexis (discussed in the component of Key of the Ethnography of Communication) and syntax is therefore one of the indices of the relationship between the singer and the audience.

On the other hand, Marley's demands for the oppressed liberation get strengthened by three additional discursive resources. To begin with, the shameful facts are depicted as constant (as illustrated in lines 9-13):

That until there no longer  
First class and second class citizens of any nation,  
Until the colour of a man's skin  
Is of no more significance than the colour of his eyes,  
Me say war.

Secondly, in Marley's discourse these reprehensible events are not portrayed as episodic or concrete, but are generalised to all the people suffering injustices (lines 14-17):

That until the basic human rights  
Are equally guaranteed to all,  
Without regard to race,  
Dis a war.

The soundness of Marley's demands is further reinforced by his explicit ascription to the victims. In effect, the consequences of the practice of racism are presented as shared by the singer and by millions of black men like him or 'brothers' not only in a generic, abstract way. The reference to specific and real cases of suffering, which constitute the third discursive tool, support the justification of Marley's demands and the threatening terms used as was seen in the element of Key (within the Ethnography of Communication) and which are exemplified in lines 25-29:

And until the ignoble and unhappy regimes  
That hold our brothers in Angola,  
In Mozambique,  
South Africa  
(Sub-human bondage).

In "Africanos en Madrid", these changes in the difficulty of syntax are absent. The latter is simpler throughout the whole song than in "War": there are no multiple subjects or predicates and word order is standard. This feature is of little significance in the configuration of the crucial strategy of the Spanish singers, which is to present themselves, in first person, as non-racist citizens. They use four discursive devices for this purpose.

Firstly, they instantiate the racial problems in Spain in the form of a narrative about an anonymous African's experiences. In effect, instead of letting him partially speak, this man is used, in D. EDWARDS's terms (1998: 5), as an eye-witness and as an experimenter ("Algo triste pero amable / Siempre infatigable"; lines 6, 18). The employment of this discursive tool allows for more credibility on the singers' part: being white men a change of race in the first person of the song would have sounded a bit stilted. Secondly, this witness is presented as close to the audience thanks to the concrete local names as posited in the section of Historical and cultural references: *Gran Vía*, *Plaza de España*, *Madrid*. The nearness of these Spanish landmarks is

emphasized by the adverb "aquí": "Abrir los ojos para ver que no llega el sol aquí" (lines 10, 22) and helps to persuade the audience or arise their conscience.

Scripts of predictable pattern (D. EDWARDS 1998: 5) are the third managing talk tool present in "Africanos en Madrid". Effectively, we can find a logical sequence of events in this song, the reliability of which gets reinforced because they fall into a regular pattern. The script in this case is signalled by conceptual links: firstly, the pitiful immigrant's arrival in Spain; secondly, his hard stay there. Further, the latter aspect is suggested to be frequent: "Hoy de nuevo le vi pasar" (lines 5, 16).

On the other hand, both this predictability and recurrence of the shameful events as reflected by this specific script result in the fourth discursive device: rational inference (D. EDWARDS 1998: 9). After stating his dramatic journey to Spain, his hard-working conditions, his politeness and the sorrowness provoked by living far away from his relatives, the logical inference or conclusion to arrive at is that the immigrant does not deserve the treatment received as he is a human-being: "Si miras bajo tu piel hay un mismo corazón" (lines 12, 22). This gets strengthened by the generalization to all Africans, similarly to "War". Besides, in this rational inference (lines 12, 22) we find the only interactive token in the song in which the singers explicitly address the listener. In that way they attempt to make their audience to identify themselves with the immigrants and therefore with the cause defended.

## 6. Conclusion

In both "War" and "Africanos en Madrid" there underlies a predominant point of view which coincides in the content (the injustice of racism) but differs in the form due to racial, social and historical divergences. As to "War", the major perspective corresponds to the immediate victims of that injustice. These concern the Africans (subjugated by reprehensible colonialist regimes). Their speaker is Marley in line with his identifying mark of the first Third World Superstar and Rastafarian prophet by his fans. Regarding "Africanos en Madrid", the rejection against racism is expressed by two sympathetic white men who examine the situation of immigration from their own native country. These two postures pattern the concrete attitudes towards the other characters represented in the songs: the tyrants in "War" and the oppressors or antagonists of good white men together with the sufferers from racism in "Africanos en Madrid".

The application of the cultural approaches of the Ethnography of Communication, Social Psychology and Discursive Psychology, together with the essential examination of the cultural and historical background of both songs, has contributed to untangle this pair of viewpoints and the related implications.

For both songs, the analysis supplied by Social Psychology and specifically T. A. VAN DIJK's study parameters for the ideology of racism revealed the establishment of two social categories: US, which corresponds to victims in "War" and to whites in "Africanos en Madrid" (who are in turn subdivided into oppressors and understanding white people); and THEM (the tyrant whites in "War" and the victims in the Spanish song). In the two songs, the class of sufferers is identified with the help of historical and cultural references (Angola, Mozambique, South Africa in "War", simply *africanos, ébano, marfil* in "Africanos en Madrid"). They are also discriminated by the colour of their skin and their origins in accordance with the elements of Membership and Position of the upper feature of Group schemata.

Within the component of Social functions of ideologies, the previous distinction of social self results in "War" in the need for cooperative action in the part of the victims as shown by the subcomponent of Motivation for social action. The latter is inherently related to the Realization of common goals, which is the obtaining of justice through war in Marley's song. On the other hand, among the various socio-cultural values indicated by T. A. VAN DIJK, the oppressors in "War" are ascribed to the Environmental / Society ones of inequality and dictatorship, which entails unequal treatment to the sufferers symbolized by neglect of integration, education, welfare, social security... Following J. POTTER and M. WETHERELL (important figures of the theory of Social Psychology), the resulting victims' unavoidable obvious joint response is a declaration of war.



The collective nature of this strategy to be followed by the sufferers is linguistically signalled by the pronoun "we" at the end of "War". Discursive Psychology showed that it reveals Marley's definite empathy with his brothers' suffering. This involvement was preceded by the singer's acting as the victims' leader, signalled by the pronoun "me", in accordance with his status as Rastafarian prophet. His demands in the first person were granted authority by means of another three discursive devices: repetition and generalization of unfair events together with explicit references to victims (the people from Angola, Mozambique and South Africa, which connects with the delimitation of this social category). The change from leadership to Marley's integration with all victims reinforced the latter's attitude and made possible the joining together of all the people united for the cause of antiracism. This phenomenon was enhanced by the changes in syntactic difficulty, which got reduced as the pronoun "we" was used. As to the Ethnography of Communication, in line with the above-mentioned values, the major Purpose of "War" is to denounce the victims' unfair circumstances. Consequently, the Key is mainly serious and threatening and is reflected in the connotations of the lexis used.

Regarding "Africanos en Madrid", the singers' strategy is to unmistakably present themselves as non-racist civilians due to their membership to the oppressors group by race. As the Discursive Psychology showed, four related tools were used to this end. Firstly, a witness represented by the immigrant, the experiencer of the unfair treatment. This is in sharp contrast with "War", where no witnesses are needed as Marley belongs to the sufferers' race. Further, the mention of landmarks of Madrid allowed for the closeness to the audience of this immigrant's situation. This definitely contributed to better fulfil the Purpose of the song, conscience-arising, as was exposed by the Ethnography of Communication. Scripts of predictable pattern constituted the third discursive device. The recurrent nature of the events depicted resulted in the fourth strategy: rational inference. The dramatic immigrant's story unavoidably leads to a commonsensical deduction: the unfairness of the conduct towards victims. The latter in turn gives way to the only explicit singers' addressing to their audience, who are urged to realize the absence of the differences between one and another race. Accordingly, this rational inference is immediately linked with the societal function of ideologies of Coordination of action and solidarity: the need to become solidary with the THEM group. Its outcome is in turn the realization of the urgency to awake people's conscience as the common goal to achieve, especially after confirming the victim's kindness and hard-working nature. The latter naturally results in the singers' understanding response as was uncovered with J. POTTER and M. WETHERELL's analysis. In this way, the environmental / society values that apply to the good white men symbolized by the singers are fairness and egalitarianism. This stands out against the unequal treatment towards the sufferers by the other US category or reprehensible whites: discrimination in the form of inadequate housing and health together with harrassment by the police.

These unjust acts towards the victims, together with the harshness of the pitiful journey to Spain, allows for the seriousness of the Key as was displayed in the Ethnography of Communication. However, this seriousness will be lighter than "War" due to Marley's ascription to the victims category. Understandably, "War" lacks the sarcasm of the Spanish song in the chorus and which results in the literal content of the message to be counteracted: being "africanos en Madrid" is not disgraceful. In any case, the tone is mostly sympathetic in accordance with the singers' attitude described with the help of the Social Psychology and Discursive Psychology.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the authoress of this paper acknowledges the reflection of her own vision of the events depicted in the two songs. Consequently, the conclusions obtained do not have to be taken as undisputable and right on their own, since the perceptions about cultures are relative as they are shaped by the specific society to which a person belongs.

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## Appendix

### "AFRICANOS EN MADRID"

La noche se vuelve de esparto cuando llega la despedida

Hay un hueco a medida para el polizonte

Se marchó lejos de su casa con el corazón en rodaje

A cambio de ese pasaje vendió su alma al diablo

- 5 Hoy de nuevo le vi pasar  
Algo triste pero amable siempre infatigable tras el pan y la sal  
Hoy de nuevo le vi pasar  
Tenía los ojos alegres: alguien le dio noticias breves de su pueblo natal

- 10 El pecado de ser africanos en Madrid  
Abrir los ojos para ver que no llega el sol aquí  
El pecado de ser ébano, sangre y marfil  
Si miras bajo tu piel hay un mismo corazón

- 15 Quizás con un poco de suerte llegarás hasta la Gran Vía sin que la policía te pida el pasaporte  
Si la luna está de su parte, por ventura tendrá su cama  
Hecha de hojas y ramas en la Plaza de España

- 20 Hoy de nuevo le vi pasar  
Algo triste pero amable siempre infatigable tras el pan y la sal  
Hoy de nuevo le vi pasar  
Tenía los ojos alegres: alguien le dio noticias breves de su pueblo natal

El pecado de ser africanos en Madrid  
Abrir los ojos para ver que no llega el sol aquí  
El pecado de ser ébano, sangre y marfil  
Si miras bajo tu piel hay un mismo corazón (3 times)

"WAR"

- Until the philosophy which holds one race superior  
And another inferior  
Is finally  
5 And permanently  
Discredited  
And abandoned,  
Me say war.
- 10 That until there no longer  
First class and second class citizens of any nation,  
Until the colour of a man's skin  
Is of no more significance than the colour of his eyes,  
Me say war.
- 15 That until the basic human rights  
Are equally guaranteed to all,  
Without regard to race,  
Dis a war.
- 20 That until that day  
The dream of lasting peace,  
World citizenship,  
Rule of international morality  
Will remain in but a fleeting illusion to be pursued  
But never attained;  
Now everywhere is war , war.
- 25 And until the ignoble and unhappy regimes  
That hold our brothers in Angola,  
In Mozambique,  
South Africa  
(Sub-human bondage),  
30 Have been toppled,  
Utterly destroyed,  
Well, everywhere is war.  
Me say war.
- 35 War in the east,  
War in the west,  
War up north,  
War down south.  
War, war.  
Rumours of war.
- 40 And until that day,  
The African continent  
Will not know peace,  
We Africans will fight, we find it necessary.  
And we know we shall win
- 45 As we are confident  
In the victory
- Of good over evil,  
Good over evil, yeah! (3 times)

